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SCHOOLING AND ADULT EDUCATION IN RURAL JAVA

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF 37 VILLAGES

R. A. Witton

Presented for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of
Indonesian and Malayan Studies
of the University of Sydney

By

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INTRODUCTION

The Nature and Significance of the Study. In Indonesia, and particularly in Java, widespread social, economic, political and cultural changes have occurred since the sudden end of the Dutch colonial era in 1942. Although much has been written about these changes, most studies to date have tended to concentrate on urban areas rather than on rural areas. Admittedly, innovations in everyday life occurred more rapidly in the urban areas where social change has been most striking. Indeed, the fast-developing urban sector of Indonesian society has often been contrasted with what was seen as the more static rural sector. However, during the 1950's, the Indonesian government through its various departments has been active in disturbing the rural scene. Schooling and adult education have been instrumental in this process of change and have become key agents in the government's attempts to modernize the social and economic life of the village.

Education in Indonesia has been examined by a number of writers since Independence. However, most studies have either dealt with the national education system¹ or have concentrated on particular aspects of education, usually based on urban studies². But one of the most significant recent developments in education in Indonesia, the expansion of schooling and adult education during the 1950's into the non-urban areas - where approximately 85% of Indonesia's population live - has as yet received little detailed attention. The limited number of village studies:

¹ See for example such official publications as "The Development of National Education in Indonesia", in Basic Information on Indonesia, Ministry of Information, Republic of Indonesia, 1953to, Djakarta, pp. 157-172; Compulsory Education in Indonesia, Dept. of General Education, Ministry of Education, Djakarta, 1961; and Pantiawarsa, Diawatan Pendidikan Umum / Fifth Anniversary (of) the Dept. of General Education, Dept. of General Education, Djakarta, 1962. Unofficial studies of the national education system include K.S. Cunningham, The Educational System of Indonesia, UN. Technical Assistance Mission to Indonesia, Djakarta, 1957; M. Hutaseit, Compulsory Education in Indonesia, (UNESCO), 1954; and numerous articles, such as J.P. Sarumpaet, "The New Era in Indonesian Education" in Comparative Education Review, Vol.7 No.1, June 1963, pp. 66-73.

² See for example such studies as L.H. Palmier, "Occupational Distribution of Parents of Pupils in Certain Indonesian Educational Institutions", in Indonesia, Vol.X, Aug.-Sept. 1957, pp.320-376; and Wiharno Surachmad and R. Murray Thomas, "Ambisi dan Tjita-tjita Peladjar Indonesia"/The Ambitions and Aspirations of Indonesian Students in Medan Ilmu Pengetahuan, Vol.II No.3, July 1961, pp.181-190.

already published are mostly the result of research carried out during the first half of the 1950's and generally deal with aspects of village life other than education¹.

To gauge the initial impact on village society of the introduction of widespread elementary schooling and adult education, it is necessary to study the changes in everyday life that have occurred during the second half of the 1950's. By this time the first substantial group of village children had attended primary school and the first large number of adults had enrolled in adult education courses; now they were beginning to assist the introduction of new ideas into the village and to modify existing standards and values. There are very few published works on the developments

¹ These village studies include publications such as H. ten Dam, "Co-operation and Social Structure in the Village of Chibodas" (1956), W.F. Wertheim ed. Indonesian Economics, the Hague (van Hoeve), 1961, pp. 347-428; B.S. Dohrenwend, Some Factors Related to Autonomy and Dependence in Twelve Javanese Villages, Ithaca, N.Y. (Cornell University), 1957; Widjojo Nitisaastro and J.E. Ismael, The Government, Economy and Taxes of a Central Javanese Village, Ithaca, N.Y. (Cornell University), 1959; and R.R. Jay, Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java, New Haven (Yale University), 1963. These last two works are also the result of field work carried out during the first half of the 1950's.

in this period that are based on actual field work¹.

Fortunately, in the period 1959 - 1960, undergraduate students of Gadjah Mada University (Yogyakarta) and Padjadjaran University (Bandung) carried out individual surveys to examine and record the social, political, economic and cultural life of a number of villages mainly on the island of Java. The writer succeeded in having Fisher Library (University of Sydney) obtain, in microfilm form, 37 of these

¹ One had to rely on such publications as the few village studies carried out under the auspices of the Sociographic Survey of Indonesia (Tinjauan Sosiografi Indonesia). These studies dealt with many aspects of village life apart from schooling and adult education, and were carried out in a period still too early to record the full impact that widespread schooling and adult education were to have on village life. A major contribution to this period and problem - if only on a regional basis - has been R.A. Santoso Sastroamidjojo's Pendapat Rakyat Di Jawa Barat di Pedesaan tentang Tata Masyarakat yang Diinginkan (The Opinions of the People of West Java in the villages of the Social Order They Desire), Djakarta (Lembaga Ekonomi dan Kemasjarkatan Nasional), 1965. Important material on aspects of adult education is contained in Selo Soemardjan, The Dynamics of Community Development in Rural Central and West Java; A Comparative Report, Ithaca, N.Y. (Cornell University), 1963. However, one must keep in mind that the villages chosen for this study are notable for the progress that community development has made in them. Mention should also be made of another regional study, also by Selo Soemardjan, Social Change in Jogjakarta, Ithaca N.Y. (Cornell University Press), 1962. This study, while it is not primarily based on village research as such, does deal in a broad way with education and social change in both the urban and rural areas in the Special Region of Jogjakarta.

surveys covering villages throughout Java. The surveys contain much valuable material on the nature and pattern of schooling and adult education at village level, as well as information on the effects they were having on village life. Much of the data and descriptions in these surveys are of "grass-roots" character and are, to the writer's knowledge, so far unavailable in any yet published material. Moreover, the comparatively large number of surveys completed by the students allow comparisons and more general observations to be made.

The period of the surveys (1959 - 1960) is a particularly significant one. As a result of the government's rural education program, large numbers of village children were attending primary school. Many of the children who had begun primary school in the first half of the 1950's (when the expansion in village schooling began) had now finished their primary schooling and had either gone on to more advanced studies or were taking their place in village society. Many of the adult villagers had participated in the adult education programs organized by the government and its agencies.

The students who made these 37 village surveys have, with varying degrees of competence, recorded the first stages of developments in village society, developments which seem destined to modify and indeed change substantially the pattern of village life. In this process of change, the advent and growth of widespread schooling and adult education are already playing a major role. It must be kept in mind that, whereas the colonial policy had rather successfully inhibited development in the village sphere, the Japanese occupation and the revolution broke down many of the barriers to social, political and economic change in rural Indonesian society, particularly on the island of Java¹. As suggested earlier, post-independence social change has been most striking and rapid in the urban areas, and studies have tended to concentrate on them. Indeed, it had taken almost a decade for many developments to begin to penetrate into the villages of Indonesia. However, although widespread change has come slowly to the villages, the government of independent Indonesia has attempted to promote change in village society through its educational

¹ See for example W.F. Wertheim, Indonesian Society in Transition, The Hague (van Hoeve), 1964; and Soeloemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta, op.cit.

programs. This policy contrasts strongly with the policy of the former colonial government.

The purpose of this study is to use the data provided by the surveys of 37 villages on Java, to build up a picture of the pattern of schooling and adult education in the villages covered by the surveys and to ascertain what progress schooling and adult education have made. It will also examine what spheres of village life are being affected by the introduction of schooling and adult education, and investigate the reactions and attitudes of the villagers towards this.

Because they were completed at the end of the 1950's, the special significance of these surveys is that they were able to show which aspects of village life were first affected by the introduction in the early 1950's of widespread schooling and adult education. As more and more generations of villagers complete some schooling, the broader effects of modern education on village life will become more apparent and will form the bases for future studies. However, it is felt that, although the surveys do not show that the introduction of schooling immediately brought rapid and sweeping changes in the villages, they do show the starting-points of the gradual but inexorable process of change

that modern education is helping to initiate in village life. The surveys have recorded the stage reached in the introduction of widespread schooling and adult education in a sample of Javan¹ villages in 1959 - 1960, and show through concrete instances the role of schooling and adult education as agents of social change. In addition, the surveys have recorded the attitudes of the villagers towards the changes schooling was beginning to introduce into their lives. Such a picture cannot be obtained from the official accounts and statistics of the growth of Indonesia's education system.

While the writer fully realizes that many factors other than education - that is, modern "Western" schooling and adult education - are contributing to the changes now affecting the Javan village, education is undoubtedly one of the major agents in this process of social change. The government of Indonesia, like the governments of other newly independent nations, is relying on education to assist it in transforming a number of societies with differing traditions into

¹ The writer uses the adjective "Javan" rather than "Javanese", for the latter is generally used to designate the Central and East Javanese, whose culture differs from that of the West Javanese.

a well-integrated nation¹. Missing from many existing studies of education and developing societies, especially developing rural societies, are findings based on actual field work. It is felt that such findings which have recorded the various stages and patterns of social change accompanying the introduction of widespread education are of particular significance. Therefore it is hoped that, in a modest way, this study will begin to present a picture of the rapid growth of village education on Java - a picture primarily based not on official accounts and statistics, but drawing from the actual experiences of various village communities. The writer acknowledges that he has neither been trained as a sociologist nor as an educationist, and also that the surveys used are the result of the first field work ever undertaken by undergraduate students, and hence are often lacking in certain respects. Nevertheless, the

¹ See Donn V. Hart, "Southeast Asia and Education: A Bibliographical Introduction", in Silliman Journal, Vol.X No3, 1963, pp.241-271, who not only discusses this question, but also has a bibliography of some of the major works on Indonesian education. Other discussions can be found in such articles as W.J.Waines, "The Role of Education in the Development of Underdeveloped Countries", in The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, VolXXIX No.4, Nov.1963, pp.437-445.

valuable light the surveys can throw on recent social developments at village level on Java does, for the writer, fully justify their use.

At the outset of the study the surveys have been examined in an attempt to establish the pattern and provision of schooling in the 37 villages at the time the surveys were carried out. Then the data contained in the surveys were drawn on to investigate such questions as: what was the history of schooling in these villages? What was the level of school attendance? What were the villagers' attitudes towards schooling? What was the relevance of schooling to village life? How many children were continuing with schooling beyond primary level, what was their motivation for doing so and which schools did they attend? What had happened to those children who had already proceeded to post-primary schooling? What was the relationship between modern secular schooling and the more traditional, religious (Islamic) education system? What had been the experience of adult education in the villages covered by the surveys? The study concludes with an examination of the broader effects on village life of the introduction of widespread schooling and adult education, and of education as an agent of social change.

Thus the study has in effect two broad aims. First, it aims to record the progress made in 37 Javan villages of the government's program to bring universal schooling and adult education into the non-urban areas of Indonesia. Its second aim is to look at modern education in its role as an agent of social change.

There are many theories of social change which can be used to examine how an agent of social change interacts with the society into which it is introduced. The writer has found that the theory propounded by A.K.C. Ottaway can be used effectively to assist in examining modern education as an agent of social change in the villages covered by the surveys. Ottaway sees the culture (or the "kind of society") in terms of the dynamic interaction of "techniques" and "values"¹. After first examining the pattern of schooling and adult education in the villages covered by the surveys, the writer has attempted to examine modern education as a "technique" introduced into the society of the 37 villages, and has used the effects (as recorded by the students who made the surveys) of this as an illustration of this process. Thus, one of the main values of the surveys is that they provide data which will allow an examination of those changes in village society that (given the right conditions) have actually resulted from the introduction of the "technique" of modern Western-type education.

¹ A.K.C. Ottaway, Education and Society, London (Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1962, especially Ch.III: "Social Forces and Cultural Change".

The Source Materials. The data for this study are taken from sociographic surveys made in the period 1959 - 1960 by students of two major Indonesian universities, Gadjah Mada University (Jogjakarta) and Padjadjaran University (Bandung). The majority of the students were either in a Faculty of Education or were taking a major in Education; they were in the final year of their undergraduate courses. Students taking such subjects as Indonesian Sociography were required to carry out individual field work projects, usually on one village¹, and write up their findings as skripsi (a minor thesis) to be presented to the universities in partial fulfilment of the requirements for their degree (usually the Sardjana Muda or Baccalaureat). Before carrying out the field work, the students had received lectures on aspects of sociography, to give them the basic training necessary to carry out their surveys.

The students were required to collect data on various aspects of the village and the life of its inhabitants. Such aspects included demography, occupational composition, health and housing, schooling,

¹ One student, Sri Sujati, made fairly extensive sociographic surveys of three villages, those of Manishardjo, Tjepoko and Hargomuljo.

religious life, government and political attitudes, as well as village social life in general. Thus, although schooling was only one of the aspects of village life the students had to examine, the writer found that the students paid particular attention to aspects of schooling and education in the villages, because of their particular interest as students of Education faculties.

The village studies vary considerably in both length and standard. They are all written in Indonesian and range in length from 20 to 108 typewritten pages¹. Some are well set out and clear in their exposition, while the writers of others have failed to order the material they have gathered in a satisfactory manner. Thus in many of the surveys, data relevant to this study (especially data concerning education and schooling) are spread throughout the survey, and considerable effort was required (especially as the writer had to work from microfilms) to order and collate the data gathered by the students. All quotations from the surveys have been translated by the present writer.

¹ The average length of the 37 surveys is 56.5 pages.

A further difficulty encountered by the writer was the virtual impossibility of establishing what material the students were required to gather and what particular problems, if any, they were required to investigate. Nevertheless, the majority of the students have collected similar data and one must assume that those aspects of village life covered by most of the surveys were the aspects upon which the students had been directed to concentrate.

The writer is as satisfied as he can be that the students were honest in presenting the objective findings of their field-work, and has found no glaring inconsistencies between the findings of the various students that would point toward fabrication of data. Indeed, many of the students were highly critical of some conditions at village level, especially with regard to some aspects of the work being done by government agencies. That the students were prepared to do this (and avoided even mentioning the all-pervading national ideology of Manipol-USDEK, begun in that period) leads the writer to believe that these surveys were the honest findings of the undergraduate students who carried them out. Where a student was unable to gather certain data on a particular aspect of village

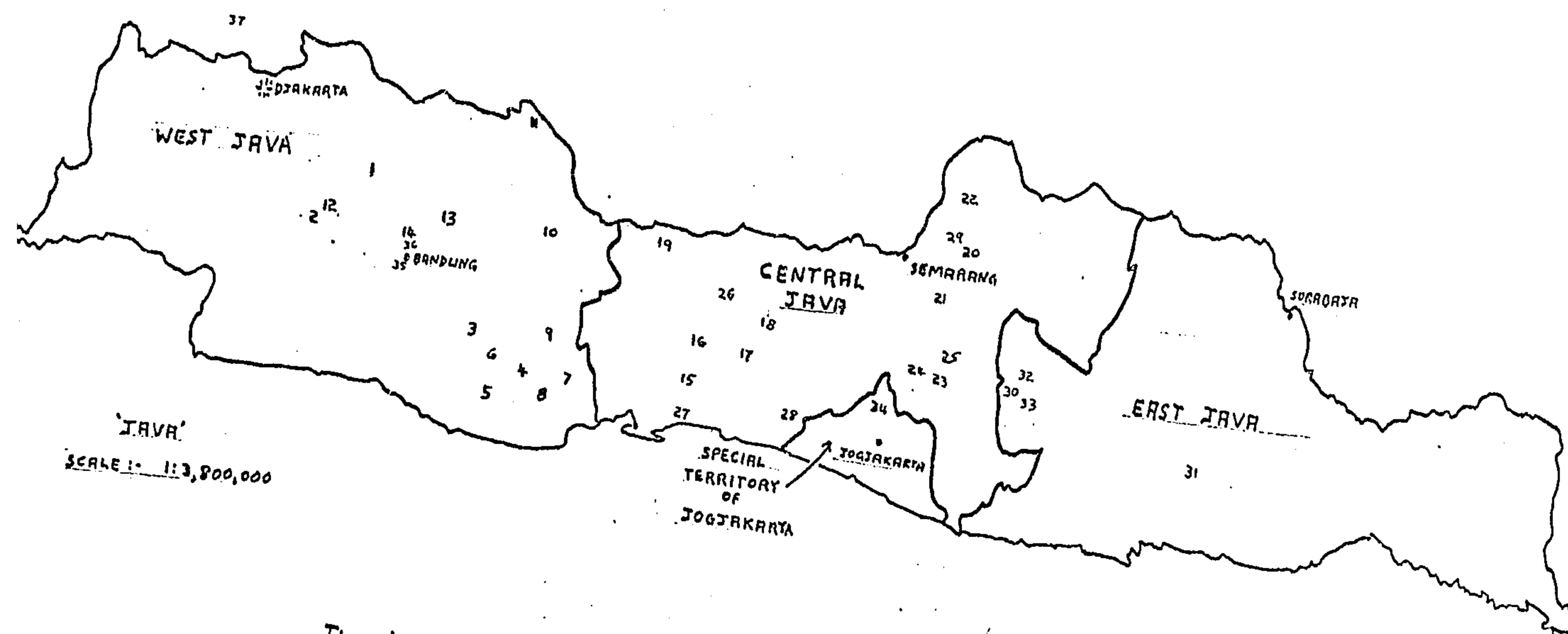
life, it is apparent that the student generally has left out an examination of that aspect and has tended to concentrate on some other aspect for which data were more readily available. This tendency has been both a hindrance and a help. It has been a hindrance in that certain aspects are not discussed by all the surveys; hence comparisons and contrasts can only be made among the limited number of surveys that discuss a certain aspect of village life or schooling. However, the longer descriptions of certain aspects of schooling and adult education given by many of the surveys have helped to present a detailed picture of the introduction of widespread schooling at village level on Java.

The 37 villages were not individually selected by the universities to constitute a random sample of the many thousands of villages on Java. The field-work was carried out by the students during the vacation of the Islamic fasting month (Ramadan) or during the long university vacation, in a village near their parental homes. They were advised not to study the actual village or hamlet of their domicile, but to concentrate on another that could be reached fairly easily by foot or bicycle. In some cases they had

relatives in the villages they were studying, where they could stay without difficulty and without being a burden. They were advised that it would be best for them to work in such villages where they had a slightly greater "stranger value"¹. The majority of the students managed to spend approximately one month in carrying out their field-work, and some of the students were able to return to the villages in the following vacation to verify some of the data they had collected.

Although the 37 villages covered by the surveys do not constitute a random sample of the villages on Java, they are fairly well scattered throughout the island (see Map). There are villages situated in all three provinces of Java, as well as in the Special Region of Jogjakarta. The standard of schooling in the various provinces has not been compared or contrasted by the writer, because the sample includes only four villages in East Java and only one in the Special

¹ These details of instructions given to the students were explained to the writer in private communication with Dr. M.A. Jaspan, former professor at Gadjah Mada and Padjadjaran Universities. Dr. Jaspan was mainly responsible for having this and other valuable field-work organized and carried out.



The Location of the 37 Surveyed Villages

out because these villages had special characteristics.
 These were the fishing villages of Tanggulasin and

Region of Jogjakarta. It was never noticeable to the writer that the nature or provision of schooling within the villages differed from province to province. The differences that were apparent seemed to arise from diversities between the various villages. The data from the surveys have been used to investigate the actual situation of schooling and adult education in a sample (though not a random one) of 37 villages in the period 1959 - 1960, and to examine those factors that assisted or hindered the growth of modern education in those villages. For this purpose, the surveyed villages represent well the different types of villages found throughout Java: there are villages on the coast and inland; village remote from, and close to, cities and towns; villages whose inhabitants gain their income from wet-rice or from dry-field cultivation, as well as villages whose inhabitants work on a nearby tea or rubber estate; and so on.

Included in the 37 villages covered by the surveys are several about whose inclusion the writer had reservations. This was not on account of the content - for these surveys have added much to the study - but because these villages had special characteristics. These were the fishing villages of Tanggulasin and

Panggang Island, and the semi-urban kampung of Warungmuntjang. However, as this study is not based on a properly selected random sample and definite conclusions can be drawn with regard to only these 37 villages, it was decided to include the above-mentioned villages in order to broaden the study somewhat; any conclusions with regard to all the other villages on Java can only be in the nature of tentative lines of future enquiry. As the study is mainly an examination of the spread of schooling and adult education from the urban to the non-urban areas of Java, the two fishing villages were considered to be legitimate areas of enquiry. The semi-urban kampung of Warungmuntjang is largely composed of people who have recently arrived in the Bandung area from the countryside and it was felt that the survey written about this community could assist in throwing more light on the subject of the study.

Method of Approach. A summary partial description of each of the 37 villages is set out in Appendix 1. Those features of the villages that are relevant to this study have been concentrated on and have been presented in such a way as to facilitate comparison between the villages. This description

will serve as a point of reference for the rest of the study, especially when the villages are compared or contrasted.

In Chapter I the provision of schooling and adult education in the 37 villages is examined, and this is followed by a brief examination of the history of schooling in these villages. Chapter II investigates the level of school attendance and looks into the question of post-primary schooling among the village children. This chapter also examines the reactions and attitudes of the villagers to schooling. In Chapter III there is an examination of the effect that the spread of secular schooling is having on religious education in the 37 villages. The various programs of adult education for social improvement (the anti-illiteracy courses, agricultural extension services and so on) that have been held in these villages are looked into in Chapter IV. The study concludes with a broader investigation of the effects of schooling and adult education in the 37 villages and a study of modern education in its role as an agent of social change (Chapter V).

Because the surveys which form the basis of this study are by no means of a uniform standard, a number

of problems arise. For example, some students have obviously been "on the look-out" for change directly attributable to the introduction of schooling and adult education, and when they found such changes, reported them in detail. This has of course been of considerable value to this study, as such reporting gives these village surveys their particular significance. However, while some students may comment on a particular change, others will not mention it at all, and in the latter case it is not known whether or not this change has also occurred in the villages covered by their surveys. Thus there is evidence that certain changes have taken place, attributable to the introduction of widespread schooling and adult education, but the incidence of these changes among the 37 village sample cannot be established with certainty.

Another - and related - problem is that, while many students were keenly aware of new developments and changes in the villages they were surveying, they did not seem, on the whole, to be so aware of the possible significance of changes that were not taking place. Admittedly, a few of the students have presented good descriptions of certain barriers and

impediments to the introduction of schooling, and hence have explained why changes which might have been expected to result from the introduction of educational programs have not occurred. However, these few students are definitely the exception to the rule, and most surveys record change rather than "un-change". Thus, in the main, the students have succeeded in presenting an overall picture, based on actual examples and instances, of how modern education can act as an agent of social change in certain circumstances. It is with full realization of the difficulties imposed by the limitations of the data the surveys provide, that this study has been made.

A Note on the Term "Village". In this study, the term "village" has been applied to all the village communities covered by the 37 surveys. However they include three different village units (dukuh, desa and kelurahan) as well as the urban and semi-urban unit of rukun tetangga (R.T.). There are two levels of village governmental units in Java. The lowest is the dukuh in Central and East Java, and the kampung in West Java. Above this level is the desa, which is headed by a lurah [village chief]. The desa

is actually a government-created grouping of several dukuh for administrative efficiency, and is officially referred to as a kelurahan. Thus while a kelurahan is usually made up of several villages (dukuh), a larger village may constitute a kelurahan in itself. The matter is somewhat complicated by some former desa, created by the colonial government, having been combined by the post-independence government with other former desa, to form a single new, larger kelurahan¹.

This means that there is considerable variation in size between different kelurahan, as well as in the size of their constituent kampung and dukuh. While there is generally an elementary school (sekolah rakyat) situated in most kelurahan, there is sometimes one even in a larger dukuh. Then again, with regard to smaller kelurahan, sometimes one school is provided for two kelurahan. The writer has therefore used the English term "village" for all the communities covered by the surveys, be they dukuh, desa, kelurahan or rukun.

¹ For various discussions of this obviously complex situation, see H. Geertz, "Indonesian Cultures and Communities", R. McVey ed. Indonesia New Haven (HRAF Press) 1963, p.45; R.R. Jay, Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java, op.cit., p.41; and M.A. Jaspas, "Rural Sociology in Indonesia", Current Sociology, Vol.VIII No.1, 1959, p.35.

tetangga. The latter, mainly urban, administrative units, are made up of a number of rukun kampung, and in turn a number of rukun tetangga constitute a kelurahan. Where a student has studied a village community, for example, a small dukuh, not large enough to have its own elementary school, he has generally then examined conditions at the elementary school which the children of the dukuh attend. This school would probably be situated in the kelurahan of which the dukuh is a component part.

The Code for the Villages. In order to assist the reader in visualising certain features of the different villages, the name of each village will, when necessary, be followed by a series of letters which will designate: its relative remoteness; and the level of school attendance among the school-age children of the village. The definitions and data used in giving the villages their respective rankings are discussed in Appendix 2 (Relative Remoteness) and Appendix 9 (Proportion of school-age children attending school). As a strong negative correlation was found to exist between a village's "relative remoteness" and "the amount of government and/or other outside influence the village has had" (see Appendix 2), the "remoteness"

ranking generally also gives a fair indication of the relative amount of government and/or other outside influence the village has had. As well as the letters indicating a village's relative remoteness and level of school attendance, the name of each village will also be followed by a number corresponding to its number on the Map.

Remoteness	School-attendance
L R : LOW	L S : LOW
M/L R : MEDIUM/LOW	M/L S : MEDIUM/LOW
M R : MEDIUM	M S : MEDIUM
M/H R : MEDIUM/HIGH	M/H S : MEDIUM/HIGH
H R : HIGH	H S : HIGH
? R : No relevant data given in survey	? S : No relevant data given in survey

e.g. Tjurug (H R - L S; No1) : This means that Tjurug village has been ranked HIGH with regard to relative remoteness, LOW with regard to the level of school attendance among the children of the village, and has been designated as village No.1, its position on Java corresponding with that numeral on the Map.

Acknowledgements. The writer would like to acknowledge with gratitude the help and guidance he has received, not only from the staff of the Department of Indonesian and Malayan Studies (University

of Sydney) - in particular Drs. R.C. de Jongh and Dr. Ph. van Akkeren - but also from Dr. M.A. Jaspán of the Department of Anthropology (University of Western Australia), Dr. D. Penny of the Research School of Pacific Studies (Australian National University), Dr. T. Miller of the Department of Education (University of Sydney) and Mr. R.W. Connell of the Department of Government (University of Sydney). The writer would especially like to express his appreciation for the considerable help and information given him by Mr. R.M. Ali Marsaban, former Director of the Departement of General Education, Ministry of Basic Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, and now Minister Counselor for Cultural Educational Affairs, Indonesian Embassy to Australia.

CHAPTER I

THE PROVISION OF SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION

This chapter examines the schooling that was available to the children of the 37 villages in 1959 - 1960, when the surveys were made¹. It also examines how the standard of schooling in the villages compared with that of the national education system. Since the nature of school facilities undoubtedly affects the villagers' decision whether to send their children to school, the chapter investigates the facilities available in the villages. This will

¹ Attention of the reader is drawn to Appendix 1, where a summary partial description of the villages covered by the surveys is given. This description concentrates on certain features of the 37 villages. These features will be used in this and other chapters in relation to the spread of village schooling and education. The data on which the villages have been ranked in Appendix 1 with regard to these features are given in Appendices 2 - 5, to which the attention of the reader is also drawn.

provide the background to the next chapter, where the actual interest of the villagers in schooling their children, and the varying levels of school attendance are discussed in detail.

The degree to which the state school system is meaningfully related to village life is problematical; this question is looked at in this chapter and pursued further in later chapters, where the subjective views of the villagers are examined.

This chapter also studies the pattern of contact the villages have had with the government's adult education programs. An examination of the actual nature, content and effects of these programs in the 37 villages will be left to Chapter IV. The final section of this chapter deals with the history of Western-type education in these villages, and concentrates on establishing whether contact with such education dates back to the Dutch colonial era. An attempt is also made to determine how

greatly the provision of schooling facilities in a village is affected by certain conditions within the village.

The Provision of Schools in the 37 Villages.

The main (and virtually only) type of schooling provided at village level in Indonesia is the sekolah rakyat /People's School/¹ or primary school. The sekolah rakyat is common to both rural and urban areas, and its six-year curriculum at present forms the foundation of Indonesia's educational system. By law, primary education in government schools is free for all children, and a child from the age of six years is entitled to enter the nearest sekolah rakyat which can accommodate him². For the great majority of village children, the schooling they receive at their local sekolah rakyat represents at present the only formal education they will gain.

¹ Since 1963, the term sekolah rakyat has been replaced by the term sekolah dasar /basic school/. However, as all the surveys used the term sekolah rakyat and this study covers a period when this term was the official name for the primary school, it will be used throughout the study.

² By the early 1960's, schooling beyond the primary level (in government schools) was also made free. However, as will be shown in this study, many costs, both direct and indirect, are involved in sending a child to school. See Chapter XI, p.127ff.

Of the 37 villages there seem to be only two where it is difficult for the children to reach a local sekolah rakjat. One is Tjurug (H R - L S; No.1) which is situated on a rubber estate in West Java. Its nearest school lies some 4 kilometres from the estate and no transport is available. The other is Tanggulasin (H R - L S; No.11), a very remote fishing village situated in the marshes on the north-east coast of West Java, which can only be reached by boat. As the boats are needed every day for the men of the village to go out and fish, no transport is available for the children to travel to the nearest sekolah rakjat. The other 35 village surveys report either that there is a school close to the village, or that the children can find transport to a school. It is not surprising that the villages out of reach of schooling are both in West Java, for this province is far less densely populated than Central or East Java; its villages are more likely to be remote, and may suggest that a proportion of West Javanese children are missing out on primary school through living too far from the local sekolah rakjat.

An examination of conditions in the two villages where the children had great difficulty in travelling to the nearest school reveals that, in the case of Tanggulasin, the fishing village, there was a sekolah rakjat at the administrative centre of the kelurahan village unit, of which Tanggulasin is a component part. Thus, the children of this small village of 42 people did have schooling provided for them at the kelurahan level, but were geographically cut off from it. This example may point towards a general lack of provision of schooling in such remote settlements as coastal fishing villages.

The village of Tjurug lies on a rubber estate which, like many others, had been formerly under Dutch control, but was nationalised in 1957. The writer of the survey, Shahminan Obos, points out¹ that at the time of the survey, in March 1960, the administration of the estate, like the former Dutch administration, had not yet provided its workers with many of the essential services prescribed in an earlier Central Labour Disputes Settlement Decision². One

¹ Tjurug survey, p.55

² No further information, such as the parties to the decision and the year it was made, is given by Shahminan Obos.

provision of this Decision was that, if no school was provided on an estate, then the children of workers should be given transport to the nearest school by the administration of the estate. Shahminan Obos notes that the former Dutch administration of the estate had also failed to implement the provisions of this Decision.

It is of interest that the two villages which did not have any access to a school were a fishing village and one on an estate. This coincides with the findings of R.A. Santoso Sastrohamidjojo¹, that the geographical inaccessibility of small fishing communities², and the general lack of interest in schooling on the part of the administration of estates, hindered the advancement of schooling.

¹ R.A. Santoso Sastrohamidjojo, Pendapat Rakyat Djawa Barat di Pedesaan tentang Tata Masyarakat yang Diinginkan/"The Opinions of the People of West Java in the Villages Concerning the Social Order They Desire"/, (Lembaga Ekonomi dan Masyarakat Nasional), Djakarta, 1965, p.20

² The second fishing village in the 37 village sample, that of Panggang Island (M/L R - H S; No.37) cannot be considered in this context, because the ketjamat (sub-district) offices are situated there and this has considerable influence on the village (see Appendix 2).

With this in mind, it is of value to examine the other four villages situated on, or very near, estates.

These are : Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5)

Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8)

Pasir Waru (M/L R - H S; No.12)

Baru Adjek (L R - H S; No.14)

All are in West Java where estates are far more heavily concentrated than in the rest of the island. The rubber estate on which Batulawang is situated, seems not to have had the problem of either providing a school, or of transporting the children of workers to the nearest school, for a government sekolah rakjat was situated only one quarter of a kilometre from the centre of the estate. Likewise, the rubber estate of Pasir Tengah, which drew many of its workers from the village of Pasir Waru, and the tea estate of Burudjul, on which the village of Burudjul is situated, both lay quite close to government sekolah rakjat. However the fourth, Baru Adjek dairy estate, which draws its workers from the village of Baru Adjek, had set up a private school for the children of its workers. It may be that the administration of a dairy estate, which of necessity is generally situated near a large city, is more open to this progressive kind of action than the more common and more "traditional" rubber and tea

estates, which are often found in more remote areas.

Thus 35 of the 37 villages had at least one sekolah rakjat within reasonable distance. In this context, "reasonable" means that the distance from the village to the nearest sekolah rakjat is not so great that it would act as a barrier to the village children attending it.

School / Population Ratio. A far more serious problem than geographical accessibility is that of overcrowding. Although there may be a sekolah rakjat within reach of nearly every village, this one school may have to serve quite a large population. This is shown in Column D of TABLE I/1, which sets out data on schools and classes in the 24 villages whose surveys provide these details (Columns A - D); the table also sets out data on pupils, classes and schools in the 11 villages whose surveys provide this more detailed information (Columns E - J). Column D indicates that the population to be served by a "basic" six-year sekolah rakjat, or S.R.VI, (i.e. one without multiple classes in the lower grades) ranged from 698 (No.18) to 3,796 (No.12). The average population served by a basic S.R.VI in the 24 villages was 1,900, and 14 of the 24 villages were within the approximate range

TABLE I/1: Statistics on the provision of schooling in 24 villages.

No.	Village (Survey No.)	A No. of SR VI	B No. of Classes	C Total Population	D Basic SRVI per pop.	E Total pupils	F Av. no. of pupils per class	G Av. no. of pupils per 6 classes	H No. of classes	I Total population	J No. of SR VI
1	Baru Adjak(14)	1	6	1,550	1:1,550	181	30	181	6	1,550	1
2	Karangdadap(15)	1	6	2,260	1:2,260	242	40	242	6	2,260	1
3	Dempet(20)	1	6	3,138	1:3,138	233	39	233	6	3,138	1
4	Kali Tengah(21)	1 SRIII	3	1,574	1:3,148	117	39	234	3	1,574	1 SRIII
5	Winong(24)	1	9	3,783	1:2,520	270	30	180	9	3,783	1
6	Malangsjiwan(25)	2	16	4,616	1:1,731	600	37.5	225	16	4,616	2
7	Bapangsari(28)	1	6	1,660	1:1,660	395	66	395	6	1,660	1
8	Manishardjo(30)	1	6	2,240	1:2,240	210	35	210	6	2,240	1
9	Tjepoko(32)	2	12	3,275	1:1,638	346	29	173	12	3,275	2
10	Hargomuljo(33)	1	8	2,678	1:2,009	332	41.5	349	8	2,678	1
11	Panggang Is.(37)	2	12	1,635	1: 818	239	20	120	12	1,635	2
12	Kel.Tjangkuang(3)	1	6	3,796	1:3,796						
13	Kel.Singaparna(4)	6	36	9,879	1:1,648						
14	Kel.Neglasari(6)	2	15	5,091	1:2,036						
15	Langen(7)	4	24	5,441	1:1,360						
16	Kel.Padaringan(8)	2	14	4,500	1:1,930						
17	Sindangkempeng(10)	2	12	1,974	1: 987						
18	Sigaluh(17)	1	6	698	1: 698						
19	Dieng(18)	1	6	2,187	1:2,187						
20	Pasarbatang(19)	2	12	5,851	1:2,926						
21	Sukodono(22)	2	12	3,568	1:1,784						
22	Wanarata(26)	2	12	6,590	1:3,295						
23	Doplang(27)	1 SRVI 1 SRIII	9	3,038	1:2,026						
24	Kadilangu(29)	1	6	870	1: 870						
T O T A L		41 ³	260	81,892	1:1,900	3,165	35	210	90	28,409	13.5

3. The total of 41 S.R.VI for Column A actually represents 40 S.R.VI and 2 S.R.III, that is, 42 separate schools.

NOTES TO TABLE I/1

1. In the surveys of the smaller villages (dukuh and kampung), the writers have given the statistics for the school(s) in the kelurahan, the larger administrative unit. The sekolah rakyat for these smaller villages is generally situated in the kelurahan. Hence in this table, the statistics of kelurahan Tjangkuang (population 3,796) are used instead of those of Lolohan village (No.3 - population 204) where there is no school; the Lolohan children attend the school of Lolohan's kelurahan, Tjangkuang. For the same reason, the statistics of kelurahan Singaparna (population 9,879) have been used instead of those of Kalawagar Lebak (No.4 - population 93); those of kelurahan Neglasari (population 5,091) instead of those of Naga (No.6 - population 343); and those of kelurahan Padaringan (population 4,500) instead of Batulanwang (No.8 - population approximately 365).
2. "S.R.VI" is the accepted abbreviation in Indonesia for a sekolah rakyat providing the full six years of primary school. "S.R.III" denotes one of the older sekolah rakyat with only the first three primary grades. A "basic" S.R.VI in Column D denotes a school with only six classes, one for each grade, and compensation has been made for such schools as the one in Winong (No.5), which has nine classes because of multiple classes in the lower grades.
3. The total of 41 S.R.VI for Column A actually represents 40 S.R.VI and 2 S.R.III, that is, 42 separate schools.

of 1,400 to 2,400. In a booklet published by the Indonesian government¹ it was stated that " . . . The plan of the government is to have one elementary school for every 2,000 inhabitants." If we compare this with the official statistics for the period under consideration (1959 - 1960), we find that there were 21,005 sekolah rakjat² in Java (and Madura) for a population of 61,234,000³, or an average of one school per 2,916 people. This figure does not take into consideration that some schools have multiple classes in the lower grades⁴ and that therefore this average should probably be lower; this would mean that the ratio of a basic S.R.VI/population from the official statistics would

¹ Basic Information on Indonesia, Djakarta (Ministry of Information, Republic of Indonesia), 1953, p.159

² Pantjawarga, Diawatan Pendidikan Umum (The Fifth Anniversary (of) the Department of General Education), Djakarta (Dept. of General Education), 1962, p.73.

³ this represents a figure mid-way between the population figures given for 1959 and 1960 in the Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia, Djakarta (Central Bureau of Statistics) 1962, p.11

⁴ for example, schools in 5 of the 24 villages surveyed in TABLE I/1, Nos. 5,6,14,16&17, 23, have more classes than just one for each of the six grades in each school.

fall from 1 : 2,916 to a figure closer to the planned 1 : 2,000. Nevertheless, the average found in the 24 villages surveyed in TABLE I/1 seems to be somewhat lower than the official average for Java (and Madura). However, the lower populations being served by village schools listed in Column D (such as 698 - No.18 and 870 - No.24) may be rather deceptive, for the school could well be catering for other villages apart from the one in which it is situated. These other villages might either not have a school at all, or else an overcrowded one. For example, the school in the ke-lurahan of Tjangkuang (No.12), which serves a population of 3,796, would probably be forced to turn away some children and send them to less overcrowded schools. Although there is quite a variation in the size of population served by one school, the majority in the 24 village sample clusters around the figure intended by the Indonesian government, namely one S.R.VI per 2,000 people.

As can be seen from Column A of TABLE I/1, most of the schools are now of the full six-year type. In the 24 village sample with 42 schools, there were only two of the older three-year sekolah rakjat type (see Note 3 of TABLE I/1, on p.35). These S.R.III are relics

of the colonial period, when virtually all village schools provided only three grades (the colonial Volksschool). Soon after Independence it was decided to replace all these three-year schools by full six-year schools. This had been done successfully in most of the 42 schools of which the surveys give details. The conversion of old three-year schools into full S.R.VI was accompanied by a rapid increase in the number of sekolah rakjat throughout Java. This is discussed later in this chapter, when the history of schooling in the 37 villages is examined.¹

All but two of the 42 schools are run by the government. One of the non-governmental sekolah rakjat is the private school run by the estate of Baru Adjak² previously mentioned (see p.32). The other private sekolah rakjat is one of the schools on Panggang Island³. This is one of the many schools^{of} the Taman Siswa organisation which, since colonial times, has run schools with a curriculum of greater scope than that of the government schools, in that it attempts to instil in the children a greater knowledge and

¹ see p.69

² No.1 in TABLE I/1.

³ No.11 in TABLE I/1

appreciation of the national culture. Its schools are now subsidised by the national government. In the case of Panggang Island village, it seems that there was no need for both a government and a private Taman Siswa school. Mohd. Muchtar, in his survey on Panggang Island village (M/L R - H S; No.37) gives no explanation why both these schools were maintained, if there was no real demand for them; but R.M. Ali Marsaban, former Director of the Department of General Education¹, believes that such a situation could continue because of agitation by the teachers or their union against any retrenchment of teachers or the closing of a school. They and the local parents may demand that the children's parents have the opportunity to choose between a government-school education and one in the Taman Siswa tradition.

Many of the S.R.VI had more than the basic six classes, one for each grade. They established multiple classes in the lower grades, to cope with the far higher demand for schooling in first, second and third grades. The tendency for children to drop out of school after only two or three years is closely examined in the next chapter². Of the 42 schools in the

¹ in private communication with the writer

² see Chapter II, p.140ff.

24 village sample, seven schools¹ had multiple classes in the lower grades, while Doplang² had retained its old S.R.III and established a new S.R.VI as well, thus also indirectly achieving multiple classes in lower grades. Thus eight, or 19% of the 42 schools had multiple lower classes.

Apparently, a new sekolah rakjat is built only when the higher grades as well as the lower ones become too crowded. Until then it is usual + provided that extra teachers are available - to establish multiple lower classes, for it is in the lower grades that overcrowding occurs first. A good illustration of this tendency is given in the survey on Sindangkempeng (M R - H S; No.10), which had a population of 1,974. This village, which evidently had the finance and staff available for a good provision of schooling³, established a new sekolah rakjat in 1957 - two years before the survey was made. This suggests that overcrowding may begin when a school had to serve a population above that intended by the government, that is, of around 2,000. A further confirmation of the figure 2,000 as the maximum size before overcrowding begins,

¹ TABLE I/1: No.5; No.6 (two schools); No.10; No.14; No.16 (two schools).

² TABLE I/1, No.23

³ see Appendix 6.

is the fact that the village of Sukodono (M/L R - H S; No.22), which was included in the Indonesian government's test "Compulsory Education" scheme¹ had all of its children attending school; it had an S.R.VI/population ratio of 1 : 1,784.

Pupil / Class Ratio. The surveys provide statistics on the number of children attending the schools in 11 of the villages (Nos. 1-11 of TABLE I/1). The average enrolment in the S.R.VI of these villages is 235². In the period 1959 - 1960, the official statistics for Java³ indicate that there were 21,005 sekolah rakjat for 5,219,574 pupils, that is, each sekolah rakjat had an average enrolment of 248 pupils. Thus the average size of the schools in the villages surveyed is only slightly below the official average for Java, although the actual enrolments in the individual schools surveyed vary quite considerably. However, the average total enrolment in the schools surveyed does not give a true picture, because of the incidence

¹ see Chapter II, p.117

² This figure was obtained by dividing the total number of pupils, 3,155, by the figure 13.5 (TABLE I/1 Column J), that is, by counting the one S.R.III as 0.5 of an S.R.VI.

³ From Pantjawarsa, Djawatan Pendidikan Umum, op. cit., pp.71 - 73.

of multiple classes in the lower grades of some schools. Thus an examination should be made not of the total enrolment figures for each school (Column E of TABLE I/1), but of the average number of pupils per class (Column F). The average size for one class is 35 pupils; hence the average number of pupils in a "basic" S.R.VI is six times this figure - 210. Thus Column G permits the comparison of the enrolment in the 13.5 S.R.VI of the 11 village, for compensation has been made in respect to the factor of multiple classes in the lower grades in some of the schools. Similarly, the average size of a school calculated from the official statistics for the whole of Java, would be lowered if the incidence of multiple classes in the lower grades of some of the schools were taken into account.

The average of 35 pupils per class¹ of the schools in the 11 villages seems to be fairly representative of the average class sizes (Column F) within the different schools. In 9 of the villages the class size ranged from just under 30 to just over 40 pupils. The average school enrolment for the whole of Java, according to the statistics given above, was 248, giving an average in the six grades of 41.3. However as mentioned, this figure would be slightly lower, if

¹ Column E divided by Column H (TABLE I/1).

allowance were made for the incidence of multiple classes in some schools.

Only two of the 11 villages listed in TABLE I/1 had average class sizes differing markedly from the average of 35 pupils. These are Bapangsari (listed No.7 in TABLE I/1) which had an average of 66 pupils per class, and Panggang Island (listed No.11 in TABLE I/1) with an average of 20 pupils per class. The existence of two exceptions in such a small sample may suggest that there would be a number of village schools with average class sizes either considerably above or considerably below 35 pupils. The case of Panggang Island, which had a very low average class size has already been discussed.¹ In the case of Bapangsari, the extremely high average class size of 66 pupils probably indicates that there was neither the extra finance to build a new school nor the extra staff available to provide multiple classes. R.M. Ali Marsaban² is of the opinion that an average of 30 pupils per class is considered a reasonable number for educational efficiency by the Indonesian Education Department, but that this figure cannot always be

¹ see p.39

² in private communication with the writer

maintained. This is largely because there are not always the teachers available to allow for the establishment of multiple classes in the lower grades.

Pupil / Teacher Ratio. Six surveys provided details of the ratio of teachers to classes in eight schools (see TABLE I/2, Columns D and M). Of these eight schools only one, the private school on the estate of Baru Adjak, did not have enough teachers to staff every class in the school. The writer of the survey mentions that one teacher had to supervise two classes. The five surveys (covering six schools) that give data on both the number of teachers and pupils, show an average of 34 pupils per teacher. This is only slightly above the number of 30, mentioned above as being reasonable for educational efficiency. However, it must be noted that the individual averages range from 29 to 42 per teacher (see Column O of TABLE I/2). The official statistics of pupils and teachers in the sekolah rakyat for the whole of Java¹ in the period under consideration (1959 - 1960) is 129,175 teachers for 5,219,574 pupils, or one teacher per 40 pupils.

¹ taken from Pantjawarsa, op.cit., pp.71-73. The writer assumes that in the official statistics compensation has been made for those teachers who teach morning and afternoon shifts or in two different schools.

TABLE I/2: The staffing of the schools in 8 villages.

45

No.	Village (Survey No.)	No. of Teachers				Q U A L I F I C A T I O N S										No. of Classes	No. of Pupils	Av. no. of Pupils per Class	No. of teachers
		M	F	Tot.	Tot.	SGE	KPKB	Pesantren	Normal School	SCA	SKPM	SR	Tot- al						
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L						
1	Kel. Parigi(9)	7	2	9	9	7	1	1					9						
2	Winong(24)	5	4	9	9	5			1	1	2		9	9	270	30	9		
3	Baru Adjak(14)				5	1						4	5	6	181	36	5		
4	Kel. Neglasari(6)	9	6	15	15	14				1			15	15					
5	Kel. Tjinangsi(12)				6														
6	Hargomuljo(33)	8	-	8	8									8	332	42	8		
7	Tjepoko(32)	10	2	12	12									12	346	29	12		
8	Dempet(20)	3	3	6	6									6	233	39	6		
	T O T A L	42	17	59	70	27	1	1	1	2	2	4	38	56	1,362	34	40		
	PERCENTAGE	71 %	29 %	100 %		71 %	2.6 %	2.6 %	2.6 %	5.3 %	5.3 %	10.6 %	100 %						

large number of the schools covered by the surveys
seemed to have better provision of school facilities

Of the six schools shown in Column C of TABLE I/2, five are below this figure and one slightly above it. However, the official figures for the number of pupils quoted above may be inflated. As will be seen later, there is a tendency for many pupils in rural areas to stay away from school during harvest times and at other periods, when their help is required in agricultural activities. Although some of the children return to school when their help is no longer required in the fields, many feel that they have missed too much schooling and that they cannot catch up with their former classmates. Hence they decide to leave school to begin earning a living. In this way the statistics of enrolments that are sent to the Department of Education do not take into consideration those children who - often quite soon after the beginning of a school year - drop out of school. Thus the actual numbers of pupils for each teacher may not be as high as the official figures suggest. These inflated enrolment figures would also exaggerate the overall pupil/teacher ratio and the average class size calculated earlier from the official statistics. This may explain why a large number of the schools covered by the surveys seemed to have better provision of school facilities

than the official statistics might have suggested.¹

The Qualifications of the Teachers. While these ratios suggest that reasonable school facilities were available to the children of the villages surveyed, an examination of the qualifications of the teachers in these schools indicates that the standard of teaching may not have been equally satisfactory². The surveys give the qualifications of 38 teachers at the schools in the villages listed as Nos.1-4 in TABLE I/2 (Columns E - L).

These 38 teachers were employed in the five schools of these four villages. We find that 27, or 71% (Column E), have only S.G.B. (Sekolah Guru "B" / "B"-Class Teachers' School⁷) qualifications, or its equivalent, which represents merely four years of teacher training after the completion of the basic six-year primary

¹ When questioned about this, Mr. Marsaban felt that it was quite possible that the official school enrolment statistics might be inflated, and that a survey "on the spot", such as these village surveys, would perhaps indicate the true situation better than official statistics.

² The writer has no other way of assessing the teaching ability than to examine the teachers' qualifications.

sekolah rakjat¹. Of the other 11 teachers, 4, or 10.6%, had only been to sekolah rakjat themselves and had not had any teacher training whatsoever; 2, or 5.3%, went to the S.K.P.N. (Sekolah Kependidikan Puteri Negeri—the lower vocational girls' secondary school of home economics) which consists of three years after the basic six-year sekolah rakjat and is not a teacher-training institution; 2, or 5.3%, went to the S.G.A. (Sekolah Guru "A" / "A" Class Teachers' School), which consists of a three-year teacher-training course, after completion of the three-year Sekolah Menengah Pertama (S.M.P. or Junior Secondary School); of the last three teachers, one attended the former colonial Normaal School which provided a four-year teacher-training course after five years of primary school; one attended a ~~guru~~ pesantren², which provides a (Muslim) religious education rather than a secular one, and one attended the K.P.K.B.

¹ Apart from the teacher training, there is of course a fair amount of (junior) general secondary education given during the four-year course. For greater detail of the curriculum of this and the other schools mentioned in this section of the study, the reader is referred to the general works on the Indonesian education system mentioned in the Introduction, or Thes Tjoen Giap, Pesantren Sekolah di Indonesia / Guide to Schools in Indonesia, Djakarta (Kinta), 1962.

² This in actual fact has no secular academic significance whatever. Pesantren are discussed in Chapter III.

(Kursus Penediara Kewajiban Beladjar [Compulsory Education Teachers' Course]), which consists of a two-year teacher-training course after completion of the sekolah rakjat.

The S.G. B. had been introduced as an emergency measure (as had the K.P.K.B), because of the great shortage of teachers in the 1950's. The Indonesian Teachers' Union had urged that the S.G.B. institutions should be abolished and that all primary school teachers should be trained at the higher S.G.A. colleges, and this was done in 1962. According to regulation, teachers with less than six years post-primary training were not supposed to be allowed to teach any class above third grade sekolah rakjat. Thus, in the sample of 38 teachers, only the two S.G.A. graduates were actually qualified to teach grades above third of the sekolah rakjat! Moreover, many of the other teachers had little or no training at all. This severe lack of training among the staff of village sekolah rakjat is mentioned in several other surveys which, because they did not provide actual school statistics, could not be included in TABLE I/2. For example, the writer of the survey on Langen (M R - M/H S; No.7), where there are four schools - and therefore probably at least 24

teachers - mentions that the only qualifications held by the staff are the S.G.B. and the old colonial C.V.O. (Cursus voor Volksonderwijzers [Course for People's (Village) Teachers]). The latter qualification was gained on completion of five years of primary schooling, followed by attendance at a morning course of teacher-training lasting only two years. Thus in the four schools in Langan not one teacher had the six-year post-primary training stipulated even before 1962 as necessary for teaching grades IV to VI.

Hence the surveys indicate that, while most of the schools were probably adequately staffed in terms of numbers, the teachers' qualifications were generally well below the minimum standard set by the Department of Education, and in some cases they had no qualifications at all.

It is of interest to note that some of the village sekolah rakyat pupils who subsequently undertook teacher training (usually S.G.B.) had returned to teach in their own village. For example, Nursaelan, the writer of the Sindangkempang (M R - H S; No. 10) survey, mentions that five such teachers - all S.G.B. trained - are among the twelve teachers in the two sekolah rakyat of the village.

Six of the village surveys mention the sex of the teachers; of the 59 teachers, 17 or 29% were women, and 42 or 71% were men (Columns B and A in TABLE I/2).

Several of the writers commented on the youth of many of the village teachers; for example, the writer of the survey on Babakan (H R - H S; No.9), who examined the staffing of the school at the kelurahan of Parigi, and the writer of the survey on Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8), who examined the school at the kelurahan of Padaringan. In particular, Subardjah, in his survey on Baru Adjak (L R - H S; No.14) is very critical of the staffing in this village school and of village sekolah rakyat in general. It should be remembered that many of the students who made these surveys were in Education faculties and many, such as Subarjah, were teachers themselves. Thus they were generally very interested in the provision of schooling in the villages they surveyed. Subarjah states that the older and better qualified teachers could usually "pull strings" to avoid being posted to villages and that the keener teachers who wished to continue their own training in order to further their qualifications, managed to be posted to the cities where the training facilities are available. He believes that thus mostly

the poorer, often bonded, S.G.B teacher, lacking both experience and qualifications, who was posted to the villages¹. Sri Hardijah, in her survey on Kadilang (H R - M S; No.29) is also critical of the standard of teaching in the village schools. However, she mentions that the government seemed to have become aware of this and appeared to be examining the standard of teaching in the villages². The fact that the S.G.B has now been replaced by the S.G.A. may be partly the result of the government's investigations. Nevertheless, it would probably not be wrong to judge that, at the time the surveys were made, the qualifications of the teachers were generally inadequate.

School Timetable. Only one survey, by Soekarno, of Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24) has set out the timetable being used in the school. Although the subjects listed - with the one exception of "Handicraft" - were the same as those in the official timetable (see TABLE I/3), there were differences in the number of periods per week devoted to each subject. Moreover, every grade in the Winong school is given a smaller

¹ Baru Adjak survey, p.68

² Kadilangu survey, p.49

TABLE I/3: Two Sekolah Rakjat weekly timetables.

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No.	S U B J E C T	OFFICIAL SEKOLAH RAKJAT						WINONG SEKOLAH RAKJAT					
		No. of periods per week						No. of periods per week					
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1	INDONESIAN	7	-	8	8	8	8	-	-	8	8	8	8
2	JAVANESE	7	7	6	4	4	4	5	5	7	6	4	4
3	ARITMETIC	5	5	8	7	7	7	4	4	7	7	6	6
4	PHYSICS	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
5	BIOLOGY	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	2	2	2
6	GEOGRAPHY	-	-	1	1	2	2	-	-	2	3	3	3
7	HISTORY	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	3	3
8	ART & WRITING	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	5	2	2	2
9	MUSIC	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	PHYSICAL EDUC.	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
11	HEALTH & HYGIENE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	CHARACTER EDUC.	1	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	HANDICRAFT	1	1	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T O T A L	23	23	35	35	38	39	17	17	34	34	34	34

NOTES 1. In Grades I and II, each period lasts 30 minutes.

In Grades III to VI, each period lasts 40 minutes,

2. According to the official curriculum, biology includes agriculture, livestock study, and human physiology.

SOURCES 1. OFFICIAL WEEKLY TIMETABLE: Rantjana Peladjaran untuk Sekolah Rakjat (Curriculum for Sekolah Rakjat), published by the Ministry of Education, Instruction and Culture. Djakarta. 1952 p.83.

2. WINONG WEEKLY TIMETABLE: Soekarno, Winong village survey (No.24) p.28.

ther such a relatively important aspect of the curriculum

¹ see p.56

number of periods per week than the official timetable provides for, and this especially true of first and second grades. Unfortunately, Soekarno gives no explanation why the school timetable was shorter than the official one.

In examining the school curriculum to assess its suitability to village life, one of the most important questions to be investigated is whether it devotes time to instruction in agriculture and related subjects. These would probably be of greatest value to village children, the majority of whom will later become farmers like their parents. As is stated in Note 2 of TABLE I/3, the official timetable makes provision for agricultural instruction under the subject of "Biology". By all indications, many of the village schools in the surveys show evidence that such instruction was being given.¹ Indeed, as can be seen, the sample timetable from the sekolah rakyat at Winong shows that the school was devoting slightly more time to biology than the official timetable recommended, despite the fact that the school had reduced the total number of periods taught per week. One might seriously question whether such a relatively important aspect of the curriculum

¹ see p.56

or at least important for most village children - should have so little time devoted to it. The importance of agricultural instruction seemed to have been realized by some individual teachers and headmasters in the surveyed schools. They promoted training and interest in agriculture by means of the local school garden. However the government, even in the new revised school timetable and curriculum¹ has done little to give agricultural subjects the dominant position they should hold in a village school. Encouragement for such training has come from the government only lately and in the form of extra-curricular activity rather than as an integral part of the school curriculum.²

¹ Direktorat Pendidikan Dasar/Prasekolah, Rentjana Pendidikan Taman Kanak² dan Sekolah Dasar /Kindergarten and Primary School Curricula, Djakarta (Departemen Pendidikan Dasar dan Kebudayaan), 1964.

² Late in 1959, the Education Department announced Sapta Usaha Tama /Seven Important Activities/ which primary school children were encouraged to undertake, on an extra-curricular basis, to supplement their character building and general knowledge. They were:

1. learning to be disciplined
2. learning to cultivate yards and gardens
3. learning to save money
4. participation in co-operative endeavour
5. conducting "community classes"
6. working in groups
7. learning health practices.

further details on this, see R.M. Ali Marsaban,

Although none of the schools seemed to have altered the official curriculum radically, individual headmasters and teachers apparently tried to adapt it to the conditions in the village, especially with regard to agricultural instruction. Eddy Karnady in his survey of Babakan (H R - H S; No.9) also comments on this:

As is the case elsewhere in Indonesia, the society of this village must accept the curriculum as set down, and can do nothing but put up with it. However, to adapt it to surrounding conditions, a school garden has been started on the initiative of the headmaster. In the garden are grown cassava, sweet-potato, taro and bananas. A coconut seedling plot has also been established.

Similarly, Johartin Hadijat, the writer of the survey on Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8) describes the provision of agricultural instruction at the school for the kelurahan of Paderingan, which the Batulawang children attend. He states that the children

"Evolution of the Present Education System", Indonesia (Mimeo) Sydney, 1966, p.14. However, none of the surveys make specific mention of the principle of Sapta Usaha Tama, and the school authorities in those villages which were giving extra agricultural instruction, appeared to have done so because of the particular interests of the children and their environment.

¹ Babakan survey, p.45

. . . receive instruction in arithmetic, general knowledge, the Indonesian language, drawing, physical exercises, as well as handicraft and agriculture. The school has a plot of land, which was given by the village, of fifty square metres; this is specifically used for test cultivation/planting by the pupils.

The children plant cassava, sweet-potato, plants with edible roots, eggplants, red peppers, as well as test plots of mangoes, rambutan fruit, coconuts and citrus fruits.¹

Husen, in the survey on Langen (M.R - M/H S; No.7) also mentions that each of the four sekolah rakjat in the village had the schoolyard full of cultivated plots, which are used both for teaching agriculture and for exhibiting new agricultural methods². Thus, although the teachers had to remain within the broad outlines of the official curriculum, there was some scope for adapting aspects of it to conditions in the villages. Further discussion of the relevance of the sekolah rakjat and its curriculum to the life of the Javan villager has been left until the following chapter.

School Buildings and Equipment. The provision of adequate numbers of schools and classrooms is a

¹ Batulawang survey, p.59

² Langen survey, p.48

major problem for many of the villages. It is not uncommon to find two, or as in Warungmuntjang (L R - M S; No.35) three, different sekolah rakjat using the same building, with the day divided between the different schools. Many of the surveys, such as that on Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) mention that the school building had only three classrooms, the teachers giving instruction to half the pupils in the morning and to the other half in the afternoon. Often this had come about because new buildings had not been erected since the school was enlarged from a three-year to a six-year sekolah rakjat. Although some surveys, such as the one on Pasir Waru (M/L R - M S; No.12) found that the school was virtually the only building in the village to fulfil basic standards of cleanliness and sanitation, most of the surveys which include a discussion of conditions of the schools state that the schools, generally built by the villagers themselves¹, were made from rather flimsy

¹ Usually the villagers were required to build the school and the government would supply and pay the teaching staff. Unfortunately the surveys provide no details on the financing of schools, nor on the wages of the teaching staff. Teachers' wages come under the general Civil Servants' Wage Regulations (Peraturan Gaji Pegawai Negeri) and are paid partly in cash, partly in a rice allowance. The effect of inflation on teachers' wages and position is examined later in the study.

materials and often lacked basic equipment. Many schools, such as the one in Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24), were made of bamboo walls and earthen floors. The Winong survey also lists the equipment available to the teachers. The entire school, which had a staff of nine teachers for its 270 pupils, possessed only 7 blackboards, 2 cupboards, 1 shelf, 7 teachers' desks, 7 teachers' chairs, 85 benches and no sporting equipment whatsoever.¹ This school, because it had only six classrooms, had to have both the usual morning session (7.30 am to noon) and a special afternoon session (noon to 4.30 p.m.).

Factors Bearing upon a Village's Provision of School Facilities. The students' descriptions of the school(s) in the villages they surveyed made it possible for the writer to rank the villages according to the relative provision of school facilities. This has been done in Appendix 6. Of the 37 villages

- 8, or 22%, were ranked as LOW
- 6, or 16%, were ranked as MEDIUM/LOW
- 10, or 27%, were ranked as MEDIUM
- 9, or 24%, were ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH
- 4, or 11%, were ranked as HIGH.

This ranking was reduced to a dichotomy and a fourfold contingency table was constructed¹, to examine the relationship between the provision of school facilities and the villages' relative remoteness (see TABLE I/4)². A strong negative correlation was found, indicating a trend towards better provision of school facilities in villages less remote from administrative centres. The relationship between the provision of school facilities and the villages' relative wealth was then examined by the same method (see TABLE I/5)³. No trend suggesting either better, or worse, provision of school facilities in the wealthier villages was evident among the 37 villages. One might expect better provision in wealthier villages, for the villagers themselves were required to construct the school buildings. However, the surveys fail to provide any reason for the absence of such^a trend. One explanation may be that the cost of erecting the buildings was relatively low

¹ in the same manner as described for the fourfold contingency table in Appendix 2.

² The data are taken from Appendix 2 (Relative Remoteness) and Appendix 6 (Provision of School Facilities). Only one village, Radjawana Kidul (? R - M/L S; No. 16), could not be ranked on both these aspects because of insufficient data.

³ The data are taken from Appendix 4 (Wealth) and Appendix 6 (Provision of School Facilities).

TABLE I/4: Relationship between provision of school
facilities and relative remoteness.

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION
HIGH REMOTENESS	8 villages	2 villages
LOW REMOTENESS	6 villages	15 villages

TABLE I/5: Relationship between provision of school facilities and relative wealth.

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION
HIGH WEALTH	9 villages	15 villages
LOW WEALTH	5 villages	8 villages

Bamboo and palm materials, with communal voluntary labour (gotong-rojong), whereas the real difficulty lay in getting staff. Hence the villages - whether better-off or poor - that are less remote from administrative centres might be in a better position to press their demands for teachers. However, this is all conjecture and a subject for further investigation.

Secondary education, or formal schooling beyond the standard of the sekolah rakjat, is generally available only in the larger centres and towns. The relevance of secondary schooling to the village sphere is discussed in the next chapter. However it should be noted here that one survey, that of Burudjul, mentions a Junior Secondary School (S.M.P.), established at the kelurahan on the initiative of the sekolah rakjat teachers.¹ This school was started when many graduates from the sekolah rakjat found there was no opportunity for them to enter the nearest government S.M.P., which was already overcrowded. The village S.M.P. was staffed by the teachers of the sekolah rakjat; classes were held in the afternoon from 2 pm to 5 pm in the sekolah rakjat building. However, as Entoh, the writer

¹ Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.60

of this survey points out, its staff was neither complete nor qualified, and the school had not yet been officially recognized by the Department of Education. As the teachers who established this school were only sekolah rakjat teachers, their qualifications would be unacceptable for teaching at secondary level. The three main teachers at the S.M.P. had completed only the six-year post-primary training of the S.G.A. and not the full six-year high school course plus a three-year university course which, since the early 1960's, had become compulsory for junior secondary school teachers. These three S.G.A. teachers gave instruction as best they could in the subjects of English, Geometry, Algebra and Physics, and the headmaster of the sekolah rakjat, who had more training, assisted them with the other subjects in the S.M.P. curriculum, which the S.G.A.-trained teachers had not studied themselves. Thus not only would attendance at this school not be recognized as an educational qualification, but also the standard of teaching seemed rather low; Entoh seemed rather uncertain of its future¹.

¹ Ibid. One might suspect that the S.M.P. was established by the sekolahrakjat teachers partly because they saw this as a way of augmenting their salaries.

Adult Education. The provision of formal education for the adult or post school-age sector of the population has mainly taken the form of the Pemberantasan Buta Huruf [“Illiteracy Eradication”] campaign, or P.B.H., which the government has promoted vigorously throughout the country. The nature and relative success of the P.B.H. campaign and the other programs of adult education in the 37 villages are discussed in the chapter dealing specifically with adult education in the villages (Chapter IV). The concern here is to determine what proportion of the surveyed villages had contact with such programs.

Details of the incidence of provision in the two main fields of adult education - the anti-illiteracy campaign, and agricultural or vocational training and information services - have been listed in TABLE I/6. Column A shows that in 18, or 49%, of the 37 villages, there had been at least one P.B.H. course; in 6, or 16%, there had not yet (by 1959 - 1960) been any P.B.H. courses; in the remaining 13 (35%) surveys no mention is made whether such courses had, or had not, been held.¹

¹ It may be reasonably concluded that failure to mention such courses probably means that the students had not found any evidence that they had been held. However, this cannot be known for certain; this is a typical example of the uneven reporting in the surveys which makes their data difficult to use.

TABLE I/6: The incidence of adult education.

VILLAGE(Survey No.)	Column A	Column B
	Anti-illiteracy Campaign	Agricultural or Vocational Training
Tjurug(1)	No mention	No mention
Lewi Bungur(2)	Held	Held
Lolohan(3)	Held	Held
Kalawagar Lebak(4)	Held	No mention
Burudjul(5)	Held	Held
Naga(6)	Held	No mention
Langen(7)	Held	Held
Batulawang(8)	Held	Not held
Babakan(9)	No mention	No mention
Sindangkempeng(10)	No mention	No mention
Tanggulasin(11)	Not held	Not held
Pasir Waru(12)	Held	Held
Peuntas Wetan(13)	Held	Held
Baru Adjak(14)	Not held	Held
Karangdadap(15)	Held	Held
Radjawana Kidul(16)	Held	No mention
Sigaluh(17)	No mention	Held
Dieng(18)	Held	No mention
Pasarnbatang(19)	No mention	No mention
Dempet(20)	Held	Held
Kali Tengah(21)	No mention	No mention
Sukodono(22)	No mention	No mention
Kebonhardjo(23)	No mention	Held
Winong(24)	Not held	Held
Malangdjiwan(25)	Held	Held
Wanarata(26)	No mention	No mention
Doplang(27)	No mention	Held
Barangsari(28)	Held	No mention
Kadilangu(29)	Not held	Not held
Manishardjo(30)	Held	No mention
Setonobetek(31)	No mention	No mention
Tjepoko(32)	Not held	Held
Hargomuljo(33)	Held	No mention
Daren Kidul(34)	Not held	No mention
Warungmuntjang(35)	No mention	No mention
Negla Podjok(36)	No mention	Held
Panggang Is.(37)	Held	No mention

How many villages had access to vocational courses for adults; that is, agricultural extension services and occupational courses? Once again, the concern here is not with the nature of the courses, for this is covered in the chapter on Adult Education, but only with establishing how widespread had been the provision of facilities for those villagers who wished to have such instruction. Column B of TABLE I/6 lists the villages where courses in agricultural or vocational subjects had been held, and where they had not been held. It shows that of the 37 villages, 16, or 43%, had had these courses; 3, or 8%, had definitely not had contact with such courses; the remaining 18 (49%) surveys do not mention whether or not courses had been held¹. The students in their discussion of these courses suggest that the anti-illiteracy campaign courses had been slightly more widespread than the agricultural or vocational ones.

There is some difficulty in investigating the pattern of distribution of these villages among the 37 which had contact with some form of adult education, because of the large number of surveys that fail to mention whether the villages had such contact.

¹ see Footnote 1, p.65

Definite information on whether both forms of adult education had, or had not, been held, is given for only 15 villages. Of these, 9, or 60%, had both forms; 4, or 27%, had only one of the two forms, and 2, or 13%, had neither form. Although this is only a small sample, it seems to indicate that villages often (in this sample 73%) had either both or neither forms of adult education. This might suggest that some villages are more likely than others to receive attention from the various government departments that promote adult education.¹ This has been partly dealt with earlier (see Appendix 2), where the villages were ranked according to the amount of outside influence and contact they had had. The order of ranking was largely based on the amount of contact the villages had with the P.B.H. campaign, agricultural extension services and/or health services. The latter often provided adult education in the fields of hygiene and mothercraft. It was found that there was a strong negative correlation between the remoteness of a village, and the amount of outside influence

¹ The anti-illiteracy campaign is run by the Dept. of Education, the agricultural extension services by the Dept. of Agriculture, and many of the vocational courses by the Dept. of Labour.

and contact it had had (see Appendix 2). This trend is clearly discernible among those 15 villages listed in TABLE I/6, which are designated as either having, or not having, had the two main forms of adult education. Of the 9 villages with both forms, 6 were ranked as MEDIUM/LOW remoteness and 1 was ranked as MEDIUM remoteness, while only 2 were ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH remoteness. Of the 2 villages that had neither form, both are ranked as HIGH remoteness (see TABLE I/7).

Thus the sample of villages covered by the surveys seems to indicate a trend towards better provision of both school and adult education facilities in those villages which are less remote from administrative centres. However, there was no marked correlation between the provision of school and adult education facilities with factors other than remoteness, such as wealth.

Background of "Western" Education in the 37 Villages. Attention is now focussed on the background of Western-style education and schooling in the villages covered by the surveys. This is done by determining the length of time that schools had existed

TABLE I/7: The relationship between remoteness and the incidence of contact with the two major forms of adult education.

HIGH REMOTENESS	TANGGULASIN(11)	X		
	KADILANGU(29)	X		
MEDIUM/HIGH REMOTENESS	LOLOHAN(3)			X
	PEUNTAS WETAN(13)			X
	WINONG(24)		X	
MEDIUM REMOTENESS	LANGEN(7)			X
MEDIUM/LOW REMOTENESS	BATULAWANG(8)		X	
	KARANGDADAP(15)			X
	MALANGDJIWAN(25)			
	TJEPKO(32)		X	
	LEUWI BUNGUR(2)			X
	BURUDJUL(5)			X
	PASIR WARU(12)			X
	DEMPET(20)			X
LOW	BARU ADJAK(14)		X	
		NEITHER	ONE	B

in the villages, and also by noting the proportion of literate adults¹. It is to be expected that both these factors would as a rule be fairly closely related. Unfortunately, very few of the surveys give the exact date when the schools in the villages were founded, though information was usually given on whether the village had a school before Independence.

Consideration is first given to those villages whose surveys explicitly mention the date when the school was founded. Only 6 of the 37 village surveys give the year when the first school was opened.

¹ There are many definitions of literacy. The one used by UNESCO is based on the 1950 world census: "The ability to read and write (with comprehension) a simple message". However, this definition was further qualified. To be truly literate, a person should:

1. speak and understand his language clearly and easily;
2. read matter necessary to his daily life;
3. express his ideas in writing;
4. make simple arithmetical calculations;
5. have some knowledge of the history, culture and institutions of his community; and
6. have some appreciation of his relationship to the world community.

(UNESCO Seminar on Rural Adult Education for Community Action, Mysore, India, 1949, p.3).

The students who made the surveys have generally considered those able to read and write Latin script (either in an area, or in the national language) as literate.

These are:

- Naga (H R - H S; No.6) in 1911, as a three-year primary school;
- Dieng (M/H R - H S; No.18) in 1913, as a three-year primary school;
- Bapangsari (M/L R - M/H S; No.28) in 1915, as a three-year primary school;
- Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32) in 1946, as a six-year primary school;
- Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24) in 1951, as a six-year primary school;
- Wanarata (M/H R - ? S; No.26) in 1951, as a six-year primary school.

Although these six cannot constitute a meaningful sample, the dates given are of interest, for they indicate some of the major turning-points in the development of schooling in Javan villages.

There had been a steady, if somewhat restricted, growth of village schools in Java during the colonial era, after the institution in 1900 of the Dutch "Ethical Policy", which aimed at improving social conditions in the colony. This growth continued until the Japanese occupation in 1942. The Japanese military rule of Java promoted a slight increase in the number of village primary schools. However, it was only after the declaration of Independence in 1945, that the tremendous development of village schooling began, at

first spasmodically, because of the revolution, but with growing rapidity after the end of the revolution in 1949. This is reflected in the official statistics for the period. In 1941, towards the end of the Dutch colonial rule, there were 13,595 primary schools in the whole of Indonesia (mainly on Java)¹, with 1,879,270 pupils; in 1944, towards the end of the Japanese occupation, there were 15,000 primary schools with 2,523,410 pupils. By 1952 there were 26,670 primary schools with 4,977,304 pupils, and by 1959/60 (the period when the villages were surveyed) there were 35,540 primary schools with 8,221,125 pupils² (see Table below). Moreover, it must be borne in

Year	Number of Primary Schools in Indonesia (to the nearest 500)	Number of Primary School pupils in Indonesia (to the nearest 100,000)
1941	13,500	1,900,000
1944	15,000	2,500,000
1952	26,500	5,000,000
1959/60	35,500	8,200,000

¹ The statistics for 1941-1952 are taken from Basic Information on Indonesia, op. cit., p.171.

² Statistical Pocketbook, op. cit., pp.23-25.

mind that while the Dutch expansion of primary education began first in the cities, then in the towns and only later moved out into the villages, much of the post-independence growth in primary education was concentrated in the rural areas, where about 85% of Indonesia's people live.¹

The majority of Dutch village primary schools were only three-year schools, with a small number of five-year primary schools. Very shortly after Independence, the Indonesian government declared that its policy was provision of a six-year course for all primary schools. Thus the former three-year and five-year primary schools of the colonial period were enlarged to full six-year schools, and the new primary schools built after Independence generally offered all six grades of the primary school system. This means that the 1941 figure of 13,595 in the above table would include a large number of three-year primary schools, while the 1959/60 figure of 35,540 would in the main refer to six-year sekolah rakyat.

¹ Sensus Penduduk 1961/Population Census 1961. Preliminary Figures. Serie S.P.II. Djakarta, (Biro Pusat Statistik), 1963, p.1

Of the 37 village surveys, 5 give no indication when the first school in the village was established. Of the remaining 32 villages

- a) 9, or 28%, had a primary school in the village during the Dutch colonial period;
- b) 10, or 31%, had some contact with a primary school (usually in a neighbouring village) during the Dutch period. This meant that only a small proportion of the children of these villages had access to elementary schooling;
- c) 11, or 34%, have had access to primary schooling only since Independence; and
- d) 2, or 7%, still did not have access to a school at the time the surveys were made.

It should be kept in mind that the villages in category b) did not actually have a school until after Independence, and in that regard belong with those in category c). Because they happened to lie close to another village with a school, a few of the children (usually those of better-off parents) were able to attend school.

Thus 21, or 65% of the 32 villages have had a school in the village only since Independence; the 9 that had a school during the Dutch period have had it enlarged to a full six-year school and, in some

¹ The names of the villages in each of the above categories are given in Appendix 7.

cases, have had other schools built as well. Therefore, the improvement has not only been quantitative, in that more schools were built, but also qualitative, for the village children can now, in general, attend their village primary school longer than in the colonial period. Sindangkempeng (M R - H S; No.10) and Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.17) are the only two among the 32 villages which had the full five-year primary course of the colonial village education system.

With regard to the level of education gained after attending a three-year primary school, there is considerable doubt among many writers of the surveys as to what standard of literacy was reached by the graduates. This is more fully examined later in this chapter.

Many of the writers noted a very rapid movement to convert the old three-year into the full six-year schools as soon as was possible after the proclamation of Independence. This was accompanied by a vigorous program of establishing new sekolah rakyat, all of the six-year type. It is important to remember that when a sekolah rakyat was set up, the village itself had to provide the materials and labour to erect the school house. The surveys provide evidence that there was a strong movement within the villages to obtain adequate school facilities as soon as the village could afford them. The surveys of only

the following 13 villages provide specific details of the increasing numbers of schools, and of the conversion of the colonial three-year schools to full six-year sekolah rakjat. (Many of the other surveys also mention these developments, but do not give specific dates). The history of schooling in these 13 villages illustrates how action was taken by the villagers (in co-operation with the government, which undertook to staff the schools) very soon after Independence had been won, and often even during the revolution (1945 - 1949):

Manisharajo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30): the colonial S.R.III was made an S.R.VI in 1947;

Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32): an S.R.VI was founded in 1946 and another in 1953, the latter being converted from a former S.R.III;

Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.17): the S.R.V, founded during the colonial period, was made an S.R.VI soon after the revolution;

Wanarata (M/H R - ? S; No.26): an S.R.VI was founded in 1951 and a second one in 1959;

Kelurahan Neglasari¹: the S.R.III founded in 1911 was made an S.R.VI in 1946/47, and a second S.R.VI established in 1954/55;

¹ the children of Naga (H R - H S; No.6) attended school at the kelurahan of Neglasari.

Kelurahan Parigi¹: the S.R.III founded during the Dutch era was made an S.R.VI in 1952/53;

Bapangsari (M/L R - M/H S; No.28): the S.R.III founded in 1915 became an S.R.VI in 1956;

Dieng (M/H R - H S; No.18): the S.R.III opened in 1913 was made an S.R.VI in 1957;

Doelang (M/L R - ? S; No.27): the S.R.III founded before the revolution was made an S.R.VI in 1954, and in 1957 a new S.R.III was started to provide multiple lower classes;

Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15): an S.R.III was founded in 1952 and soon became an S.R.VI;

Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24): an S.R.VI was started in 1951;

Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No.33): the S.R.III founded during the colonial period became an S.R.VI in 1956;

Sindangkempeng (M R - H S; No.10): the primary school of the colonial period was supplemented by an S.R.VI in 1957.

Only Kali Tengah (M R - M S; No.21) had not yet replaced the colonial S.R.III by an S.R.VI.

The fact that the school buildings were, in many cases, constructed by the villagers through co-operative effort (gotong-rojong) as a means of inducing the government to supply teachers, and so establish a

¹ the children of Babakan (H R - H S; No.9) attended school at the kelurahan of Parigi.

school, confirms the findings of Selosoemardjan¹ that, around the time of the revolution, there was a radical change in attitude towards schooling at the village level. Whereas primary schooling was, in the main, imposed on the village "from above" during the colonial period, the post-independence era saw the establishment of schools at village level often through the demands and efforts of the villagers themselves. This change of attitude towards schooling is further discussed in the following chapter.

The surveys do not describe how village schools were run during the colonial period, nor what their curriculum was². Nevertheless, several surveys give some indication of the general levels of schooling reached in those villages that were served by an elementary school.

The survey on Sindangkempeng, one of the two villages which had a full five-year school during the colonial period, provides some details of the general level of schooling reached by the villagers

¹ Social Changes in Jogjakarta, op.cit. p.66iff.

² This material is available from official sources. See S.L. van der Wal, Some Information on Education in Indonesia up to 1942, with a Bibliography. The Hague (NUFFIC), 1961, and the works cited in this booklet.

uring the pre-independence era. This village would have had the best provision of school facilities at that time of any of the 37 villages, apart from Si-aluh, which also had a five-year school during the colonial period. Nursaelan, the writer of the Sindangkempeng survey, states that before Independence, nearly 50% of the village children of school age would complete one to three primary grades, while some 25% could actually finish their primary schooling, but in general these would proceed no further with their education. The remaining 45% were either not interested in gaining Western-type schooling, or could not be accommodated in the school. Moreover, he points out that the opportunities and social attitudes made it much easier for boys to attend school than for girls¹. Many girls in the pre-independence period either did not attend school, or were married off before finishing their primary schooling.² This difference in the amount of schooling between boys and girls during the colonial period is mentioned in several other surveys as well.

² This is mentioned in several descriptions of schooling during the colonial period. See for example S.L. van der Wal, Some Information on Education in Indonesia up to 1942, with a Bibliography, op.cit., p.7

¹ Sindangkempeng (M R - H S; No.10) survey, p.42ff.

In the pre-independence period, then, about half the children of Sindangkempeng had some schooling, and of these only half finished the five grades that were available to them. The survey of Sigaluh, the only other village which had a five-year colonial school, does not give any estimates of the number of children who attended primary school during the colonial period, or of the length of time they stayed there, but the writer of the survey does comment that "many did not finish"¹. The children of the remaining villages had, during the colonial period, access only ~~not~~ to three-year primary schools if there was one in the vicinity of the village, but could not proceed beyond third grade without leaving their village and travelling to where a continuation school was available. This latter course of action would most probably be restricted to the children of the wealthier villagers. Thus the large majority of village children who attended school during the colonial period completed only one to three grades. Not only did the children who managed to gain some schooling generally form a minority group, but the lasting effect of such a short period of contact with Western education may

¹ Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.)

be questioned. For example, Johartin Hadijat¹ and Maman Suherman² have established through testing that many of the present-day adults who studied for just one or two years at the Dutch colonial village school in their youth, were now illiterate again, because either they did not gain a sufficient grasp of reading and writing during their school days, or because they had not had any practice in these skills in their daily activities. Entoh, in his survey on Burudjul, also contrasted the amount of schooling that the adults in the village had received, with the greater amount that many of their children were now receiving.³ He found, as would be expected, that the extra schooling generally gained by the children since Independence, had resulted in the younger generation being able to read and write better than those parents who had had some schooling in the colonial period. Moreover, the younger generation were often learning to read and write in Indonesian⁴

¹ Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8) survey, p.61.

² Kalawagar Lebak (M/L R - M/H S; No.4) survey, p.69

³ Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.61ff. The question of present-day school attendance is discussed in the next chapter.

⁴ Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian language, is now the official language and virtually the only language used in government, business, newspapers, radio etc. It

rather than in their regional language (in Burudjul it is Sundanese) which the colonial school had concentrated upon. Discussing those who did manage to enter school during the colonial period and receive the few years of schooling available to them, Entoh states that:

. . . their manner of reading and writing is not very fluent, for they are almost not able to read at all, so that when they receive a letter from their family, they must ask for it to be read by a neighbour who had five years schooling, or by their own children who are already able to read and write. Most of them do not understand Indonesian, especially the women; they can only read and understand books printed in clear letters and written in the regional language. The writer found this out by asking a few of the villagers to read their identity cards or marriage certificates. They could only read them with difficulty.

Thus the villagers who are supposed to be literate can only read or write printed words in their area language.

There are only a few villagers who can read a newspaper and then only very slowly.¹

is the only language used in the schools beyond the primary level. Those sekolah rakjat in which the children all have the same regional language as their mother tongue, use the regional language in the lower grades. However, the school promotes the use of the national language as fast as possible, and Bahasa Indonesia is used exclusively after the lowest grades of sekolah rakjat.

¹ Burudjul survey, p.61.

For those who were still illiterate in the early 1950's, the Indonesian government instituted a large-scale program to promote literacy among adults who either had not been to school, or who had become illiterate again because their schooling had been inadequate. As has been shown, this campaign was fairly widespread, and several surveys mention that courses were still being held when the surveys were undertaken. Although the anti-illiteracy campaign is extensively examined in the chapter on Adult Education, it can be mentioned here that, while the campaign had not totally eradicated illiteracy among the villagers, it had apparently succeeded in making some of them literate, particularly those who had wanted to learn and never had the opportunity to attend school in their youth.

Because of the wide-spread anti-illiteracy campaign, it is often difficult to distinguish whether a certain level of literacy among the adults of the villages surveyed is the result of schooling during the colonial period, or of the post-independence anti-illiteracy campaign. However, the writers of the surveys were very dubious of the effect of the colonial village school system on a village's

level of adult literacy. Not only did the colonial schools usually have to serve a fairly large population, but those children who did succeed in attending, could generally obtain only up to three years' schooling. When they left, they were often barely literate and returned to an illiterate environment with little opportunity to enhance, or even retain, their competence. Moreover, many had stayed at school only one or two years. Soegiarti, in her survey on Radjawana Kidul,¹ states that only the children of the wealthier or socially more esteemed villagers gained entrance to the school. However, this may have been a situation peculiar to the particular colonial environment of Radjawana Kidul village. Soegiarti writes that in areas such as the one in which Radjawana Kidul is situated, which were previously governed by a demang, a minor feudal chief, schooling was generally only available to the children of the demang and to his relations. This meant that these children, because of their comparatively better education, could in later life monopolise all the minor government positions.²

¹ Radjawana Kidul (? R - M/L S; No.16), p.13

² Changes in the villagers' attitudes to schooling between the colonial and the post-independence eras are discussed in the following chapter.

Higher schooling, that is, above primary level, was extremely difficult to obtain in the colonial period, because the pupils had to transfer from the "native" system (which used the vernacular as the medium of instruction) to the Dutch system. To do this, they had to go to the Schakel or "Linking" school, which was created to give Indonesian students the training (especially in the Dutch language) that they had not received at the "native" or village school. This was necessary if they were to study in the higher schools which were predominantly for the children of the European community. Suwarno, the author of the survey on Sigaluh, made a study of those few adults in Sigaluh who, as children, had managed to obtain schooling beyond primary level.¹ He found that to progress to post-primary schooling during the colonial era, a village pupil had to be at least the child of a colonial government official. Hence, as very few children would have been in this position, only a small number ever received post-primary schooling.

Several surveys provide data on the standards of schooling reached by children in particular villages during the colonial period. The above observations

¹ He does not supply any statistics, but mentions that some went to the Dutch post-primary Teachers' College (Normal School), but that none reached any tertiary institution. Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.17), p.35.

can best be illustrated by the descriptions given in these surveys.

In Naga, which had had a three-year primary school at its kelurahan since 1911, 62% of the adults were literate, but the student who made the survey believes that most of them were literate mainly through re-learning to read and write at the anti-illiteracy courses. Only one of those who had been to school had ever completed the full course and was able to continue his post-primary schooling at the Schakel school.¹ Similarly, in Babakan, which had had access to the three-year primary school at the kelurahan during the colonial period, half of the 28 adults who were of school-age during the Dutch era, never received any schooling, while of the half that did go to school, none went on to any higher form of education.² These examples of course come from villages that were actually served by schools then, but, as noted above, the great majority of villages had no school during the colonial period.

The high incidence of illiteracy among the adult women who were of school-age during the colonial era,

¹ Naga (H R - H S; No.6) survey, p.59ff.

² Babakan (H R - H S; No.9) survey, p.45ff.

clearly indicates that a smaller proportion of girls than boys received primary schooling. This fact is commented upon in several of the surveys. For example, Entoh (Burudjul village) found that, of those who were illiterate and over the age of fifteen, 65% were women¹. This proportion is fairly typical of those villages, where relevant data are available. In Negla Podjok, only 25.6% of the men as against 64.7% of the women were illiterate at the time of the survey², while in Manishardjo 75% of all illiterates were women³.

Many of the surveys comment on the fact that there were often social barriers to village education during the colonial period. Sri Sujati, who surveyed the villages of Manishardjo, Tjepoko and Hargomiljo, was repeatedly told by villagers that in the Dutch era " . . . it was only a certain [social] group that could go to school, while the majority of the people felt themselves to be inferior, so that any progress was greatly hampered"⁴. Because the school system

¹ Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.64ff.

² Negla Podjok (M/L R - M S; No.36) survey, p.61ff.

³ Manishardjo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30) survey, P.18.

⁴ Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32) survey, p.56.

during the colonial period strongly favoured the "upper class" of the village,¹ - or because only the "upper class" took advantage of what facilities were available - the best educational qualifications among those adults who were of school-age before the second world war, were usually possessed by the sons of former village heads and functionaries. Nowadays, the positions of village head and membership of village government are in general no longer hereditary or appointed², but are contested in village elections. However, these positions, during the 1950's, were still secured by the children of former village officials, who generally held the highest educational qualifications of any of the candidates. The social respect and prestige engendered by their above-average schooling assisted them in winning election to office. As the less socially discriminatory system of post-independence schooling becomes more and more widespread, the grip on village government positions by the former upper class may be weakened.

¹ Selosoemardjan, (Social Changes in Jogjakarta, op. cit. p.345ff) lays great stress on the colonial education system maintaining class differences in the Indonesian society, particularly in Java.

² usually with the formal approval of the village members.

The surveys of 31 of the villages supply sufficient data to deduce the proportion of literate adults in the villages. However, as mentioned before, it cannot always be determined what proportion became literate because they went to school during the colonial period, what proportion became literate because they attended anti-illiteracy courses during the 1950's, or what proportion owed their literacy to a combination of both these factors. Five categories were used in ranking the villages according to the proportion of literate adults; they are listed below, with the number of villages belonging in each category¹:

- 1, or 3%, is ranked as HIGH (over 80% of the adult population were literate)
- 12, or 39%, are ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH (between 60% and 80% of the adults were literate)
- 8, or 26%, are ranked as MEDIUM (between 40% and 60% of the adults were literate)
- 4, or 13%, are ranked as MEDIUM/LOW (between 20% and 40% of the adults were literate)
- 6, or 19%, are ranked as LOW (under 20% of the adults were literate).

¹ The names of the individual villages are given in Appendix B.

It is impossible to determine with any great certainty all the factors which affect the level of literacy among the adult population in a village. Definitely, two main influences are: what contact the village had had with a school during the colonial period; and whether an anti-illiteracy campaign had been conducted there since the revolution. The correlation between the level of adult literacy and these two factors are illustrated in the fourfold contingency tables of TABLE I/8 and I/9¹. Both TABLE I/8, which shows the relationship - in 30 of the villages - between adult literacy and the degree of contact with a school during the colonial period, and TABLE I/9, which shows the relationship - in 31 of the villages - between literacy and whether the village had had contact with the anti-illiteracy campaign since the revolution, use the rankings given in this chapter with regard to these factors. However, examination of the tables shows that neither factor by itself, nor both factors together, explain entirely the reasons for high adult literacy in some, and low adult literacy in other villages. Many other factors would also

¹ These contingency tables have been constructed in the same manner as those earlier in the study.

TABLE I/8: The relationship between adult literacy and contact with schooling during the colonial period.

	LOW ADULT LITERACY	HIGH ADULT LITERACY
HIGH CONTACT WITH SCHOOLING DURING COLONIAL PERIOD	9 VILLAGES	9 VILLAGES
LOW CONTACT WITH SCHOOLING DURING COLONIAL PERIOD	9 VILLAGES	3 VILLAGES

TABLE I/9: The relationship between adult literacy
and the anti-illiteracy campaign.

	LOW CONTACT WITH ANTI-ILLITERACY CAMPAIGN	HIGH CONTACT WITH ANTI-ILLITERACY CAMPAIGN
HIGH ADULT LITERACY	5 villages	8 villages
LOW ADULT LITERACY	10 villages	8 villages

have a bearing on this question, and unfortunately the surveys do not supply sufficient data to allow a deeper study. One would have to have adequate data on each village with regard to such variables as the availability of literature, the opportunity to retain literacy, employment in the village sphere that requires literacy, and the contact with large towns by the villagers. Some of these aspects are investigated with regard to individual villages later in the study, especially in the chapter dealing with adult education. However, a detailed analysis will have to await further investigation.

Conclusions. By the end of the 1950's, the vast majority of the children in the 37 villages covered by the surveys had access to a primary school. This contrasts strongly with the colonial period and was shown to be the result of a great increase in the number of village schools, often built by the villagers themselves to induce the government to establish primary schools. This has also resulted in these villages having, in general, fairly favourable school / population ratios, teacher / pupil ratios, and class sizes. Moreover, virtually all the schools surveyed provided a longer period of schooling than did the village schools in the colonial era. However, this

great expansion of village primary schooling seems to have been at the expense of qualified teaching. The majority of the teachers in the schools covered by the surveys did not possess the qualifications that the government wanted primary teachers to have. Thus the 1950's may be seen as a period of rapid expansion of the number of village schools, an expansion which outstripped the government's ability to staff these schools adequately, in terms of qualified teachers. Moreover, with regard to the curriculum, the government had apparently given insufficient consideration to those needs peculiar to a village primary school. This seemed to be partly overcome by the individual efforts of school authorities in promoting agricultural training.

The government's adult education programs have reached nearly half of the villages covered by the surveys. However, as with the provisions of schooling facilities, these programs seem to favour those villages less remote from administrative centres. Many women are attending the anti-illiteracy courses and this may assist in raising the social position of women in the villages. This is especially so, as schooling becomes more and more widespread among all

village children and is not mainly confined to boys, as was found to have been the case during the colonial period. Furthermore, present-day children proceeding to higher schooling will not have to face the barriers that were peculiar to the pre-war colonial situation. Foremost among these barriers was that of the Dutch language; it effectively hindered children crossing from the vernacular "native" school system to that of the Dutch-language "European" one. The increased facility for progress within the education system and the conditions of the post-independence era, as opposed to those prevailing in the colonial situation, leads to an examination of the changed attitude towards school attendance since Independence. "A belief that education constitutes the best means or catalyst of upward social mobility is evident throughout all strata of Indonesian society"¹. An examination in the 37 villages of this belief, of the extent to which it is held, of what education is chosen and the rationale on which this choice is based, all constitute the area of study of the following chapter.

¹ M.A. Jaspán, Social Stratification and Social Mobility in Indonesia, Djakarta (Gunung Agung), 1961, p. 15.

CHAPTER II

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Selosoemardjan has stated: "At the beginning of each school year in the Dutch colonial period, teachers used to chase children to get them to primary school; now the parents are chasing the teachers to get their children to school"¹.

Having established, in Chapter I, to what extent the physical provision of schooling facilities has, since the colonial period, increased in the villages covered by the surveys, the study proceeds in this chapter with an examination of the above statement. The extent to which the children and their parents in these 37 villages were taking advantage of the greatly increased schooling facilities available to them, is also investigated,

¹ Selosoemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta, op. cit., p. 362.

as is the pattern of schooling in these
37 villages and the attitudes of the
villagers towards schooling.

The data on school attendance given in the surveys enabled the writer to rank 34 villages with regard to the proportion of school-age¹ children who actually were attending, or had attended, school. The five categories in which the villages were placed, are listed below:

HIGH: Virtually all the school-age children were attending, or had attended, school;
17, or 50%, were ranked in this way.

MEDIUM/HIGH: Only a small proportion of the school-age children did not attend school;
8, or 24%, were ranked in this way.

MEDIUM: Approximately half of the school-age children did not attend school;
4, or 12%, were ranked in this way.

MEDIUM/LOW: Only a small proportion of the school-age children attended school;
3, or 8%, were ranked in this way.

LOW: Virtually none of the school-age children attended school;
2, or 6%, were ranked in this way.

approximately 6 - 12 years of age

It must be stressed here that the term "attendance" does not imply that the children attended school for the whole six years of sekolah rakjat. It merely designates whether the children gained any schooling whatsoever. The actual length of time the children attended school is examined later in this chapter¹

The Value of Schooling. Before proceeding with an examination of the actual reasons given by parents in the 37 villages for sending, or not sending their children to school, it should be considered ~~what~~ of what value it is for the children of the present-day Javan village to attend the local sekolah rakjat. It might be contended that the majority of village children will grow up to become farmers like their parents, and that the Javan peasant has no use for the three R's. However, schooling is of direct value to the individual child and his village, and will ultimately profit the country as a whole.

Indonesia, like the international community, has accepted schooling as a right of all its citizens. In this way, schooling and the "Western", or modern, education it provides, is seen as a means to a richer

¹ see p.140ff.

and more rewarding life. Especially with regard to Javan rural life, schooling is viewed by the government and also by many village heads, as a way of bringing the village community into contact with the values and norms that the nation has accepted. Schooling helps to bridge the gap between rural, traditional values and beliefs, and the "wider", national norms on which Indonesia has been founded. Thus the national government has desired that the system of education

. . . lays emphasis on the development of character, having as its goal the creation of a nation consisting of people with initiative, with a sense of responsibility towards society, with a spirit of independence and citizenship. . .

The Pantjasila - Belief in God, Humanism, Democracy, National Consciousness and Social Justice - forms the basis of our State as well as of our educational system. In accordance with these principles, the teacher must train the young in such a way that they learn to believe in God, love nature, be loyal to the State, love the people, appreciate the national culture, respect and love their parents. In addition, they must be made to realize that they have the duty to bring about better conditions in the country, that as individuals they are also an inherent part of the community and subject to the order of that community, that all human beings are basically equal, so that they should respect each other on the basis of justice and self respect.

In this way, the educational system acts as a process

¹ Basic Information on Indonesia, Djakarta (Ministry of Information), 1953, pp. 157-158

of national socialization, in addition to providing actual skills and knowledge necessary to improve standards of living. For a Javan farmer, this national socialization may mean no more than his realizing that he is a citizen of the Republic of Indonesia, and his having some knowledge of social and political events beyond the normal sphere of his daily contacts. If the national government professes a desire to govern through such processes as general elections¹, then the ability to read newspapers and government publications is a basic necessity for all citizens. This is especially so if one keeps in mind that the village school also gives instruction in the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, which is the language of government and politics.² Moreover, by increasing the people's ability to use the national language and understand the printed word, schooling will also help

¹ the first nation-wide general election was held in 1955, and another is scheduled for 1968.

² Several of the surveys point out that, without a sekolah rakyat education, many of the villagers failed to acquire an adequate grasp of Bahasa Indonesia, and this means that they were not only out of from newspapers and government publications through their illiteracy, but that they also had difficulty in understanding the national radio and the government officials who did not speak their regional language.

to ensure the efficacy of future schemes designed to bring about large-scale social and economic change, such as birth-control and the introduction of new agricultural methods. It will also help to break down village superstitions and traditions that might hinder the spread of such changes. Moreover, with the government's professed desire of ultimately alleviating Java's chronic overpopulation by means of economic development, schooling provides the people with the skills upon which such development will depend.¹

At the communal, as well as the national level, there are great advantages in more widespread schooling among the villagers. Communal ventures, such as co-operatives, will have a much greater chance of running smoothly, if all their members can participate in their organisation, because they are equipped with the skills of arithmetic and literacy that schooling provides.

With more and more villages stipulating literacy as a pre-condition to membership of the village

¹ "Indonesia has also proclaimed to the world her stand that free compulsory education is of profound national and economic interest..." "Compulsory Education", The Indonesian Spectator Vol. I No. 7, Feb. 15, 1957, p. 22. For further discussion on Compulsory Education see p. 117.

government, a more democratic choice will result if all the villagers are eligible for nomination in an election. A literate community forms a better source from which government officials, such as police, teachers, agricultural and health officers can be drawn.¹ One can see many advantages in this, for these officials would be familiar with the conditions in their own villages and would probably have greater interest in their work. An important factor to consider is that it might be easier to introduce new ideas into a village, where government officials are also members of that village. An official, working in his own village, would, to a certain extent, already have the confidence of the other villagers, whereas, were he not native to the village, he might first have to cultivate such confidence and trust, before he could attempt to implement new ideas or schemes.

Schooling may enrich the life of the individual villager as well. It enables him to participate more fully in activities beyond the immediate village sphere.

¹ Several of the villages, for example Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.17) and Dempet (M/L R - M/L S; No.20) had government officials stationed there who actually came from other areas, whereas other villages, for example Panggang Island (M/L R - H S; No.37) and Sindangkempeng (M R - H S; No.10) were then beginning to supply such officials from within their own ranks.

This participation may be limited to maintaining contact (through correspondence) with relatives who have left the village, but it may extend to obtaining information on events up to the national level.¹ Furthermore, there is already a large-scale movement of people from the increasingly overcrowded areas of rural Java towards the cities and towns. The problems accompanying this movement will be somewhat lessened, if those looking for employment in the cities and towns have been equipped with the skills of literacy and arithmetic learnt in school. Such skills are also essential to the villager who, without moving away from the village, attempts to improve his lot by starting any but the most simple business enterprise. This would be especially so, if the government began to enforce taxation and required accounting records to be kept. Such government action, designed to tap rural enterprises, is not unlikely in the future. Also, as mentioned before, villagers have already succeeded in obtaining prestige positions as government officials, partly because they have been to school.

¹ Usman, for example, mentions the desire of Pasir Waru villagers to read and write letters, as well as wanting to read books and other printed material: Pasir Waru (M/L R - H S; No.12) survey, p.102

Those who choose to become farmers like their parents, will also gain from having attended the village sekolah rakjat. They will probably start out in adult life with a wider outlook because of the contact with the new ideas the schools are bringing to the villages. These new ideas include practical methods of increasing agricultural production¹. Moreover, a literate farmer can make better use of the government's agricultural extension services, which often provide printed material for the instruction and guidance of farmers. In addition, it is shown later² by examples from the surveys, how contact with schooling is beginning to break down many of the traditional beliefs and superstitions, especially those which have hindered the spread of modern ideas on health and hygiene. The latter now form an important part of the sekolah rakjat's curriculum.

Factors Determining the Level of School Attendance. The surveys suggest - as does Selosoemardjan in his statement at the head of this chapter - that it was generally the village parent, rather than

¹ It was already shown, how many of the schools were promoting agricultural innovation through starting test plots in the school grounds (see Chapter I, p.54ff).

² see Chapter V, p.273f.

the children themselves, who decided whether they should attend school and for how long they should remain there. One of the clearest indications of a parent's interest in schooling is the fact that he actually sent his children to school. Therefore, it is important to examine carefully the factors which determine the varying levels of school attendance in the villages surveyed.

Several of the students who made the surveys stress that parental interest in the schooling of their children is exceptionally strong, because the parents will later look to their children for support in their old age. Hence they desire the best future possible for their children, both for their children's and for their own sake. As shall be seen, the writers found that schooling was increasingly regarded as the key to a better and more secure future. This is reflected in a folk poem which Mariam heard sung by mothers in Lolohan. The poem is reproduced here with a translation from the Sundanese:

Nelengnenkung, nelengnenkung,
Geura gede, geura djangkung,
Geura sakola di Bandung,
Geura makaja keun indung.

/Ding-ding-dong, ding-ding dong,
 Please grow up quickly, please grow up tall,
 Please go to school in Bandung,
 Please go and work for your mother.¹

Turning now to examine the two villages - Tjurug
 (H R - L S; No.1) and Tanggulasin (H R - L S; No.11) -
 that were ranked as LOW with regard to school attend-
 ance, it will be remembered that they are the only
 two villages still not served by a sekolah rakjat at
 the time the surveys were made². Tanggulasin lies
 on the coast in a marshy area and had no school close
 to it. There was a school at the kelurahan, but rea-
 ching it involves travel by boat, and the boats were
 used every day for fishing, the villagers' main occu-
 pation. Hence the children could not attend school,
 because of the distance to the nearest school and the
 lack of transport. Unfortunately, the writer of the
 survey does not mention whether this was regretted
 by the parents, that is, whether they would have pre-
 ferred their children to go to school, if transport

¹ Mariam, Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.79.
 I would like to express my thanks to Drs. Junedi Ich-
 san, who assisted me in translating this poem from the
 original Sundanese.

² see Chapter I, p.29ff.

were available. However, he does observe that no-one in the village was literate and that formal education would have little relevance to the daily activities of this very isolated village.

Tjurug also had no school provided in the immediate vicinity of the village. It is situated on an estate, and the administration of the estate would not provide the transport necessary for the children to attend the nearest school, 4 km away¹. Any child wishing to attend school had to walk 8 km each day, and this can only be expected of older children. So children could begin school only when about ten to twelve years old, instead of the usual age of six to seven years. Naturally, children in the first grade of the sekolah rakjat at the age of twelve, or even ten years, would feel very embarrassed and ashamed at being so much older than their class mates. Therefore it is not surprising that, at the time the survey was made, only 6 Tjurug children out of that village's total child population of 121, were attending the school². The student, Shahminan Obos, notes that there was evidently a desire among the adults for their children to go to school, as quite a few parents had

¹ see Chapter I, p.29ff.

² Tjurug survey, p.107.

sent their children away to relatives in other villages, so that they could start school at a younger age.

These two villages illustrate, perhaps in a somewhat extreme way, the positive correlation one would expect between the provision of school facilities available to a village, and its level of school attendance. Thus, if a village has inadequate school facilities, the level of school attendance could be expected to be low. Such a correlation was found to exist, by constructing a fourfold contingency table, using the rankings for the provision of school facilities as given in Chapter I, and the rankings for school attendance given to the villages in this chapter. It was found that the surveys yielded enough data for 34 of the 37 villages to be ranked for both these aspects (see TABLE II/1). However, as would also be expected, the correlation was not strong enough to suggest that the lack of school facilities was the only reason for the non-attendance of school-age children in some of the villages. Discussion of other reasons identified by the writers of the surveys is one of the prime concerns of this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the average length of

TABLE III/1: The relationship between the provision of school facilities and the level of school attendance.

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION
HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	7 villages	10 villages
LOW SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	14 villages	3 villages

time the children who do attend school remain there, is also an important factor, for, as was explained earlier, "attendance " here only refers to the gaining of some schooling.¹ Nevertheless, a fairly high positive correlation still remains between the provision of school facilities on the one hand and school attendance on the other, which indicates that the level of school attendance in some of these villages is determined in some measure by the degree of overcrowding of the village sekolah rakjat.

Thus the two villages ranked LOW according to school attendance were the only ones of the 34, whose school-age children were prevented from attending school because of geographical isolation. In the 17 villages ranked as HIGH, virtually all the children received at least some schooling. There remain the other 15 villages where some children did not attend school at all. The main reason for this non-attendance of a proportion of the children, as given to the writers of the surveys by the villagers, was that their

¹ One school in a large village might be able to cater for quite a high proportion of the children, if the majority of them left school after only two or three years. Thus the average length of time the children attend school is also an important factor; this is dealt with later, see p. 140ff.

parents could not afford to send them to school. The parents felt they needed the children to help in contributing to the family's income by, for example, having them help with work in the fields, or having the older children look after the younger ones and do the housework, so that the mother (freed from her home duties) could work to supplement the household income. This was specifically mentioned as the main reason for non-attendance in the surveys of 10, or 67%, of the 15 villages:

Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3)
 Kalawagar Lebak (M/L R - M/H S; No.4)
 Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5)
 Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15)
 Radjawana Kidul (? R - M/L S; No.16)
 Kali Tengah (M R - M S; No.21)
 Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24)
 Malangdjiwan (M/L R - M/H S; No.25)
 Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29)
 Manishardjo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30)

The parents in this group pointed out that failure to send their children to school was due not only to the economic advantage of having their children free to help supplement the family's income, but also to an inability to meet the incidental costs involved in sending a child to school. Such costs include the

purchase of books and writing materials, and contributions towards the upkeep of the school and its equipment. These costs are discussed later in more detail¹.

Of the remaining 5 villages, where a proportion of the children did not attend school at all, 3 surveys give the following reasons:

Negla Podjok (M/L R - M S; No.36): the overcrowding of the sekolah rakjat;

Langen (M R - M/H S; No.7): a combination of a lack of provision of school facilities and economic considerations by the parents;

Peuntas Wetan (M/H R - M/H S; No.13): a consideration by parents of the cost involved in the schooling of their children, as well as a (perhaps subsequent) greater stress on religious education.

No specific reasons why not all the children received some schooling is given in the surveys of the 2 remaining villages, Dempet (M/L R - M/L S; No.20) and Bapangsari (M/L R - M/H S; No.28). The question of religious education is examined in the following chapter.

¹ see p.127.

Thus it can be seen that by far the major factor inhibiting school attendance in the villages where a proportion of children did not attend school, was an economic one. This is either direct cost in the form of purchase of books and materials, and contributions towards the upkeep of the school,¹ or indirect cost in the form of the forgone income of the children. Often only the poorer members of a village could not afford to send their children to school; this means that not necessarily only the children of the poorer villages miss out on schooling, but also the children of the poorer sections of wealthier villages. This is well illustrated by such villages as Malangdjiwan and Winong, which are both ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH with regard to wealth, but which both had a poorer group of villagers (supported by the rest of the village) who found it necessary to keep their children away from school to help supplement the household income.

¹ The construction and upkeep of the school building is generally the responsibility of the village, usually falling directly on the members of the village (Persatuan Orangtua Murid dan Guru / Association of Pupils' Parents and Teachers/. This latter point is stressed by Husen (Langen village survey, p.48).

Few parents in the surveyed villages were found by the students to have been totally against their children receiving schooling. These parents, in general, had had little contact with the world beyond the village and, more often than not, no contact with anyone who had bettered his social or economic position through having been to school. Also, they were still very sceptical of the new ideas on agriculture and health that the schools were helping to spread. However, the writers of the surveys considered such people to be an ever-decreasing minority. Accordingly, in the great majority of the 37 Javan villages, some schooling appears in general to be looked upon - not only by the government, but also by the villagers themselves - as both a child's right and as a necessary part of his upbringing. This is reflected in the rapid progress made by the spread of primary schooling in these villages and elsewhere in the rural areas of Java since Independence. This accelerated growth of village primary schooling and the assistance given it by the villagers themselves, as well as the widespread acceptance of schooling among villagers, indicate that schooling was fulfilling a demand stemming from the villagers themselves, and this underlies Selosoemardjan's statement at the beginning of this chapter.

It is of interest to see why the parents in the surveyed villages believed it desirable that their children receive at least some schooling. The most common reason given was that they felt their children should be able to read and write (especially in Bahasa Indonesia) and carry out simple arithmetical calculations. This reason was given in almost all the surveys that discuss why parents were sending their children to school, or why they would like to do so¹. Shahminan Obos adds that the parents of Tjurug wanted to see "... their children have a better lot in life in the future than that which they [the parents] had themselves"². Some of the parents who express this sentiment may have also been thinking of the future when, as mentioned before³, they will probably expect their children to support them in their old age.

The high level of school attendance achieved in a few of the villages seems due to various forms of

¹ About 20 of the surveys give specific data on the motivation of parents to send, or not to send, their children to school. The rest of the surveys are either rather vague on this matter, or do not discuss it at all.

² Tjurug (H R - L S; No1) survey, p.107

³ see p.106

compulsion from the national and village level. In the other villages, especially those which had had more contact with the world beyond the village, the high level of school attendance had apparently been brought about by the strong desire of parents to have their children go to school.

Compulsion from the national level has come in the form of the Compulsory Education program. This program has until now only been held in certain regions in the form of pilot schemes, which were designed to assess the feasibility of introducing compulsory education on a large scale throughout Indonesia¹. The scheme is mentioned by four surveys, those of

Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8)

Sukodono (M/L R - H S; No.22)

Manishardjo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30)

Panggang Island (M/L R - H S; No.37)

The test scheme seemed to have met with success in Batulawang and in Sukodono, and to a lesser extent in Manishardjo. On Panggang Island, where Compulsory

¹ For details of the Compulsory Education program see M. Hutasoit, Compulsory Education in Indonesia, Paris (UNESCO), 1954; Preparatory Committee for Compulsory Education, Kewajiban Belajar/Compulsory Education, Djakarta (Djawatan Pengadjaran K.P.P.K.), 1956; Dept. of General Education, Compulsory Education in Indonesia, Djakarta (Ministry of Education), 1961; and "Compulsory Education", The Indonesian Spectator, Vol. I No.7, Feb. 15, 1957, p.22

Education had just begun, school enrolment had jumped from 16 pupils in Grade I in December 1958 to 75 pupils in Grade I in 1959¹.

Another form of "compulsion" came from the village head demanding that the villagers send their children to school. This is mentioned by a few of the surveys, such as those of Malangdjiwan² and Daren Kidul³. The village head of Daren Kidul, who had been educated during the colonial period, had completed the Dutch MULO (advanced elementary or lower general secondary school) course. This represents a particularly high standard of schooling for that time, and he was now most insistent that all the children of the village attended school. Some of the writers found that talks had been given in the villages they surveyed, by officials of the Department of Mass Education, who impressed on the villagers the desirability and importance of sending their children to school. This is stressed by Soegiarti as one of the main reasons for a growing interest among the parents in Radjawana Kidul in sending their children to school.⁴ Some of the villagers were urged by the headmaster of the local

¹ Panggang Island (M/L R - H S; No.37) survey, p.53.

² Malangdjiwan (M/L R - M/H S; No.25) survey, p.52f.

³ Daren Kidul (M/L R - H S; No.34) survey, p.35ff.

⁴ Radjawana Kidul (? R - M/L S; No.16) survey, p.13.

sekolah rakjat not only to send their children to school, but also to ensure that they attend regularly. Husen found that the teachers of the Langen sekolah rakjat visited the parents of any child who failed to attend school¹; in Batulawang, where schooling was considered a normal part of a child's upbringing and was already eagerly sought for their children by virtually all the parents of the village, the headmaster threatened to expel any child staying away from school without an adequate excuse².

In the majority of the 37 villages³ it did not seem too difficult to have children of school-age come to school, at least for one or two years, provided that economic considerations did not force parents to keep their children at home. This positive attitude towards schooling among the villagers and their children seems to be the result of a personal willingness on the part of the villagers, as well as a strong campaign by government departments, village

¹ Langen (M R - M/H S; No.7) survey, p.48

² Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8) survey, p.59

³ The reader is referred to the rankings according to school attendance at the beginning of the chapter, here 17 of the 34 villages that were able to be ranked, are classed as HIGH, while a further 8 are classed as MEDIUM/HIGH.

heads and teachers in the village schools. Once going to school became an accepted part of a child's upbringing, there seems to have been no need for further campaigning or compulsion. For example, Sri Sujati, in her survey on Hargomuljo, reports that the children were quite willing to go to school and were sent off by their parents as soon as they reached school-age, and that there was no longer any need for the village head to supervise school attendance¹.

Sri Sujati contrasts this situation with the Dutch period, when people would often either not want their children to attend school, or the children would not want to go. Moreover, the parents sometimes felt socially inferior and were unwilling to allow their children to mix with those of the higher social classes, who formed a large proportion of the school population². Suwarno, who surveyed Sigaluh village, comments that " . . . the former barriers to education were social, now they are economic . . . " ³

¹ Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No.33) survey, p.43.

² *ibid.*, p.56.

³ Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.17) survey, p.35.

The survey of Batulawang¹ mentions the great respect with which teachers were viewed, but adds that the villagers considered them less strict than were teachers in the colonial period². The few students who compared the position of the teacher in village society after Independence with his position before Independence, suggest that the liaison between present-day teachers and the parents and children was much closer, and that this was especially so in those villages which were beginning to produce their own teachers to staff their schools. However, the surveys fail to mention whether the government had a definite policy to post primary school teachers to the villages in which they grew up.

A growing motivation for sending children to school seems to have been the social prestige that schooling could engender. This is stressed by Sudomo in his survey of Kebonhardjo. He points out that, whereas the highest class of village society during

¹ Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8) survey, p.61

² This view of the teacher in the colonial period as being "strict", corresponds with the image of teachers in the colonial period presented in many Indonesian books dealing with school-days in that time. See for example P. Pospos, Aku dan Toba (I and Toba), Jakarta (Balai Pustaka), 1950, especially p.7ff.

the colonial period comprised those of noble descent, the highest social position in the village is now filled by those who have reached the highest level of schooling. Thus the parents in villages such as Kebonhardjo, though they may have been poor, strove to let their children attend school to as high a level as possible, so that their children may gain a higher social position in the village¹.

An examination of the levels of school attendance in the various villages, and the respective composition of the villages' workforces failed to reveal any clear relationship between these two factors.² It was noted however, that the children of subsistence farmers were more prone to have an unsatisfactory record of school attendance. This is discussed later in detail³, as is the fact that the presence of pegawai (officials) in a village give villagers concrete examples of the kind of prestige position their children could achieve

¹ Kebonhardjo (M/L R - H S; No.23) survey, p.36ff

² The failure to find any clear relationship may be the result of the sample of villages being too small, and the specific treatment of the relationship between the occupational composition of the village and its level of school attendance, being too inadequate to allow detailed examination of this,

³ see p.128f.

if they went to school.¹

A fairly strong positive correlation was found to exist between the level of school attendance and the relative level of outside influence and contact the villages had had. This observation was made from studying TABLE II/2, where a fourfold contingency table was constructed by correlating the rankings given to the 34 villages that could be ranked according to the level of school attendance², with their rankings according to the amount of outside influence and contact with life beyond the village³. It was shown in Appendix 2 that there is an extremely strong negative correlation between the level of remoteness of, and the amount of outside influence experienced by, the villages. Therefore one can also assume that there is a fairly strong negative correlation between the relative levels of school attendance and remoteness. It may be thus concluded that, as the villages in this sample have more and more contact with the administrative centres, government agencies and departments, and the world beyond the village

¹ see p.131f.

² see Appendix 9

³ see Appendix 2.

TABLE II/2: Relationship between influence and
school attendance.

	LOW INFLUENCE	HIGH INFLUENCE
HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	4 villages	13 villages
LOW SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	10 villages	7 villages

in general, and as better communications link out-lying villages more closely with administrative and commercial centres, schooling will become more and more common among the village children. Moreover, it will be increasingly considered as a natural right of all children and as a necessary part of their upbringing and socialization, and accepted as such by their parents. The belief of some of the older, more traditionally minded parents that " . . . even without schooling they [the children] will still be able to feed their families by working in the rice-fields and going fishing", as expressed to Sri Hardijah in Kadilangu¹ for example, seemed to the students who made the surveys to be the view of a small and decreasing minority, mainly made up of the older members of the village community.

Several writers have given actual instances of outside influence and contact resulting in a mounting desire of parents to have their children attend school. Sruadji Surjadi, for example, discusses the effect on Bapangsari village of contact during the revolution with refugees from cities and towns, as well as the social upheaval the revolution brought

¹ Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29) survey, p.49

in its wake:

Up until 1946 the interest of the population [of the village] in sending their children to school was not so very great, so that the total of [sekolah rakjat] pupils in 1946 was only approximately 50 . . . After the Second Police Action a great interest in education arose. This may possibly have been the result of their contact during the Second Police Action with all the refugees . . . Now there are six years of schooling given in the sekolah rakjat with a total of 395 pupils¹.

Other surveys point to the stimulus to schooling resulting from the great spread of government activities, and from the influence of its departments and agencies (Health, Agriculture, Information and so on) in the villages, following the revolution. Once a proportion of villagers become eager to send their children to school, this apparently encourages a positive attitude towards schooling among the other villagers. Sometimes the rapid growth of interest in schooling outstrips the capacity of the village school to accommodate the children. Sjahidin, who studied the community of Negla Podjok village, mentions that 172 children applied for entrance to first grade sekolah rakjat in 1960/61, and only 30 could be accepted².

¹ Bapangsari (M/L R - M/H S; No.28) survey, p.34.

² Negla Podjok (M/L R - M S; No.36) survey, p.60.

As we have seen, by far the greatest barrier to many parents who wish to send their children to school, is the cost involved¹. There is the direct expense of providing the child with all the materials he needs at school and of contributing towards the upkeep of the village school building (the responsibility of the villagers²), and the indirect cost of forgoing the help the child could give in supplementing the household income.

Parents of schoolchildren in the post-independence era have, at least, had the direct cost lessened by the abolition of the school fees that were payable during the colonial period³. As Sri Sujati points out in her survey on Manishardjo :

¹ see p.112.

² Unfortunately the students have not calculated what this "direct cost" may amount to in rupiah.

³ The writer has not been able to find any official reference of the extent to which the school fees at the village level were compulsory during the colonial era. Some of the surveys mention that fees were paid (see the quotation by Sri Sujati next page). Also Mohamad Radjab in his autobiography, set in a village in Sumatra during the period 1913-1928, mentions that parents had to pay a government school fee (Semasa Ketjil di Kampung (My Youth in the Village, Djakarta (Balai Pustaka), 1950, p.17). Selo Soemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta, op.cit, p.360, also implies that fees were paid for public elementary education during the colonial period, but he makes no statement regarding the specific amount.

. . . the parents have begun to become aware of the need to send their children to school and this is especially so every time they are told about the "Compulsory Education" scheme. Besides that, the parents have had their burden lightened by the abolition of school fees, so that parents need only provide writing materials and ensure the cleanliness of their children's clothing.

However, she goes on to say:

Despite this, often the children do not attend school because they are needed to help their parents in the rice fields, carrying produce to the markets, or helping at the markets.

Similarly, Mariam writes of Lolohan:

. . . parents often cannot afford to pay for the school materials. At school, money is often requested for various contributions and subscriptions as well as for buying books. Although the amount of money does not add up to a great sum, for the parents it does represent a heavy burden, because for them money is very difficult to obtain. In their daily activities, they rarely make use of money because generally² they can fulfil all their needs themselves.

For the reasons given here by Mariam, the hardship of paying the costs of a child's schooling is felt particularly by those villagers wholly engaged in agriculture, and especially by those producing

¹ Manisherdjo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30) survey, p.17.

² Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.67.

subsistence, rather than cash crops. Many of them, in particular those in more remote villages, had been so far only slightly affected by a cash economy and often neither earned nor handled cash as such. Thus even the small amounts needed to maintain a child at school - even if relatively less than the fees charged in the colonial period - could cause difficulty to some parents. However, as Mariam then points out, cash was already increasingly used in the villages for buying such commodities as salt, sugar, kerosene, coconut oil and salted fish¹.

The indirect cost, mentioned above in connection with Manishardjo, seems to represent a far greater barrier to schooling among the poor than the lack of cash. The hardship involved in forgoing the children's labour also seems to occur particularly among villagers relying on subsistence farming for their living. Typical would be such villages as Radjawana Kidul (? R - M/L S; No.16), Kali Tengah (M R - M S; No.21), Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29) and Manishardjo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30), none of which had a high level of school attendance and which relied mainly on subsistence agriculture. The surveys of these villages

¹ ibid.

mention that the children there soon learnt at an early age to supplement the family's income. This usually involved collecting firewood, helping in the rice-fields, looking after livestock - especially the water buffaloes which often needed hand-feeding and bathing - , helping around the house and looking after younger brothers and sisters. The last two duties were especially important where they helped to relieve the mother of the family of many of her household duties and so enabled her to go out to work in order to earn extra income. This could often be vital in supplementing meagre or irregular income of the head of the household. Such household duties may have hindered a child's attendance at school, or even entirely prevented him from going. Siti Rochmi Illias, who studied conditions in Kali Tengah, points out that the children of the poorer sections of the village generally attend school

...but if they have a younger brother (or sister), they must take him along with them to school and if he cries in the classroom, they must take him outside to quieten him. There are also children who cannot go to school because their parents require them to look after the family's livestock¹.

¹ Kali Tengah (M R - M S; No.21) survey, p.11

Several surveys also mention the marked decrease in school attendance at harvest time among the children of the lower economic classes where farming is the main livelihood¹. For example, Mariam found in Lolohan that at harvest time children from eight to twelve years of age had to stay home to look after the household, because their parents were working in the fields all day long. The children had to look after their younger brothers and sisters, as well as help in drying and threshing the rice.

. . . thus children who are enrolled at school can rarely go to school /at harvest time/ for they cannot neglect to look after their younger brothers and sisters. The harvest continues for about one and a half months. At the end of the harvest when their mothers can stay at home again, the children are unwilling to go back to school because they have got behind in their studies and are embarrassed in front of their friends /who did not have to leave school during the harvest/ and in the end they stop going to school altogether.²

Several of the other students who surveyed villages where a proportion of the population was engaged in subsistence agriculture, also found that many pupils were expected to help around the house or in the fields after school and as that interfered with their

¹and ² Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.67; see also Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24) survey, p.25 and Dopleng (M/L R - ? S; No.27) survey, p.32.

homework, they often fall behind in their studies¹. Hence the schooling of many of the children in the surveyed villages frequently suffered because of the demands made on the children by their environment. Those children whose parents are peasants are particularly affected.

Examination of the surveys reveals that during the 1950's schooling was being increasingly regarded by many of the peasants as a means for their children to escape Java's generally overpopulated and involuted agricultural system. Particularly the landless peasants believed that with schooling, their children might enter what they saw as the more secure and better paid occupations available only to those with some school qualifications. Such employment would, in the rural sphere, be mainly with the government as a pegawai, that is an official such as an agricultural, health or mass education officer, or as a teacher². In non-urban areas, the scope for employment in private enterprise for those equipped with some schooling

¹ This is mentioned, for example, by Johartin Hadijat, Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8) survey, p.60.

² The elected village officials within the villages are not considered to be pegawai.

have a very high economic position, they are still extremely highly regarded and respected by the Kadilangu villagers¹.

This quotation seems to be already taking into consideration their diminishing economic position. Nevertheless, the attraction of the rice allowance and the social position for someone whose alternative would be, perhaps, employment as a landless labourer should not be underestimated.²

Apparently only the better-off peasants could afford to forgo their children's help and allow them to attend school conscientiously and regularly. The children of poorer parents, especially those who do not own land or are subsistence farmers on very small plots of land, had the greatest need to find employment in an occupation other than the increasingly difficult one their parents were engaged in. Paradoxically, their parents are least able to afford to send them to school so that they can receive sufficient education to give them the chance to enter pegawai-type employment. Such positions, where they

¹ Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29) survey, p.30.

² However, the villagers were increasingly realizing the difficulties children were having in entering employment as pegawai (see p.187ff)

would use - and be paid for using - the skills they learnt at school, would probably provide them with a better life and income than that they would have by joining the ranks of the landless in overpopulated villages. Also it would more likely enable them to support their parents in their old age. But again in this vicious circle it is mainly the children of the better-off peasants and villagers who are enabled to gain the schooling necessary for entering the pegawai-type occupations.

In certain villages, especially those where fishing and estate work (rubber tapping, tea picking and so on) are the main economic activities, schooling for the younger children was regarded as a means of freeing the parents - mainly the mother - from having to look after them. There the children did not have as much opportunity to supplement the household's income as in the farming communities. For example, Mohd. Muchtar, who studied the fishing village of Panggang Island, found that many parents looked upon schools mainly as "... a means of decreasing their children's chances of mischief-making"¹.

¹ Panggang Island (M/L R - H S; No.37) survey, p.44.

It was noted earlier that a marked discrimination between the sexes existed among children attending school during the colonial period¹. In villages such as Daren Kidul (M/L R + H S; No.34), where schooling existed before the revolution, nearly twice as many males as females had attended school at that time. Among the more traditionally-minded villagers was still found a greater willingness to send their sons rather than their daughters to school. One of the main objections raised stemmed from a fear for the moral safety of the girls, because schooling gave them the opportunity to mix freely with boys². Throughout Indonesia, this has long been an objection to girls attending Western-style schools, and many books discussing education during the colonial period mention this³. In particular, parents fear that literacy will allow girls to correspond in

¹ see Chapter I, p.80.

² this was mentioned, for example, to Ismail, who covered Warungmuntjang (L R - ? S; No.35), p.60.

³ see for example Muhammad Radjab, Sesama Ketjil di Kampung / (My) Youth in the Village/, Djakarta (Balai Pustaka), 1950, who, in Chapter 2, describes attitudes to education prevalent in the colonial period. He states that exactly the same objections as given above, namely fears for their moral safety, prevented girls in his village from having the same opportunities to attend school as the boys.

secret with their lovers. However, the students who discussed this objection to equal opportunities for boys and girls to attend school, believed this attitude is now held only by a minority of traditionally-minded elder villagers. Several of the students expressly point out that the majority of parents wanted boys and girls to have equal opportunity to enrol at school, and they contrast this attitude with that prevailing in the villages before Independence¹.

Five of the surveys provide the numbers of boys and girls enrolled in the first grade of the sekolah rakjat in each of the villages (see TABLE II/3). None of the five schools shows the significantly larger number of boys which one would expect if girls were being kept away from school. This corresponds with the findings of the 1961 Census that found less than 1% difference in school attendance in the rural areas of Indonesia, between girls and boys of the six to eight years age group which represents the general school starting age². This must indicate the considerable success of the government's program to urge

¹ see for example Nursaelan, Sindangkempeng (M R - H S; No.10) p.35 and p.43.

² Sensus Penduduk 1961 (Population Census 1961), Djakarta (Biro Pusat Statistik), 1963, p.62.

TABLE II/3: Number of boys and girls in Grade I
Sekolah Rakjat in 5 villages.

No.	V I L L A G E	YEAR	No. of boys	No. of girls	Total pupils in Grade I of Sekolah Rakjat
1	KARANGDADAP	1957-58	22	28	50
2	KALI TENGAH	1959	25	22	47
3	WINONG	1959	49	38	87 (2 classes)
4	BARU ADJAK	1959-60	26	40	66
5	PANGGANG IS.	1959	35	40	75
	T O T A L		157	168	225

SOURCES: 1. Karangdadap village survey(No.15)p.39
 2. Kali Tengah village survey(No.21)p.21
 3. Winong village survey(No.24)p.26
 4. R.T. Baru Adjak survey(No.14)p.69
 5. Panggang Is. village survey(No.37)p.53.

parents to allow both their sons and their daughters equal opportunity to attend school. Nevertheless, as will be seen later, there appears to be considerable variation between the length of time boys and girls remain at school¹. With regard to the lowest grades of the sekolah rakyat in the villages, however, a general situation seems to exist where, if a parent believed education to be good for his children and he could afford the cost, he would give equal opportunity to his sons and daughters to attend school. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that of the 34 villages giving details of school attendance, only half seem to have had universal schooling, while a proportion of the children, both male and female, in the other 17 villages were not gaining any schooling, mainly because of the economic difficulties of their parents².

Having investigated the incidence of school attendance in the villages surveyed and examined those factors found by the students to have influenced school attendance, we shall now look at the perhaps more significant aspect of the length of time the

¹ see p.145ff.

² see p.112ff.

children actually remained at school. This is followed by an account of the numbers who continued their schooling beyond sekolah rakjat level.

The Pattern of School Attendance. Only five of the village surveys provide actual statistics of the number of pupils in each class of the sekolah rakjat. These figures are set out in TABLE II/4. One of the schools, that in Kali Tengah (M R - M S; No.21), was a three-year sekolah rakjat, while the other four provided the full six-year course. These figures reveal a rather severe general drop-out of pupils during the course of the six years' schooling, as well as a different drop-out rate for girls and boys. The comments of the writers who surveyed other villages but did not furnish actual statistics are discussed later in this chapter¹.

The general drop-out rate of pupils, as disclosed in the four surveys with detailed class breakdowns of all six grades of sekolah rakjat is sharp, especially if the sum of each class in the four schools is reduced to a percentage of the total number of pupils (see TABLE II/5).

¹ see p.149ff

[illegible]

TABLE II/5: Total school enrolment by grade in 4 villages.

GRADE	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS IN FOUR VILLAGES	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PUPIL ENROLMENT
GRADE I	278	34%
GRADE II	162	20%
GRADE III	134	17%
GRADE IV	102	13%
GRADE V	65	8%
GRADE VI	66	8%
TOTAL	807	100%

SOURCE: The statistics of Karangdadap, Baru Adjak, Winong and Panggang Is. villages are taken from TABLE II/4.

This table shows that over half (54%) of the total number of pupils in these four schools were in the first and second grades. Indeed, a third of all the children were in Grade I. Thus it would seem that of those children who do enrol at school, many drop out after only one year; then there is a steady drop-out of pupils each year, until the last two grades of the sekolah rakjat. Apparently most pupils who succeed in reaching Grade V will continue to complete Grade VI¹.

Although the sekolah rakjat in Penggang Island village seems to have had an extraordinarily high drop-out rate after only the first grade - this is discussed later² - TABLE II/4 shows that the drop-out of pupils in all four villages with a six-year sekolah rakjat followed a fairly similar pattern: a rather large drop-out of pupils after one year, a slower rate of drop-out until fifth grade, after which the relatively few remaining pupils stay to complete sixth grade. However, the sekolah rakjat of Karangdadap seems to have had an above-average

¹ A six-year sekolah rakjat without drop-out of pupils would have an average of just over 16.5% of its total enrolment in each class.

² see p.148

number of pupils continuing their schooling until sixth grade. Possibly the school staff in Karangdadap was reducing the drop-out rate through a process of selection and restriction of pupils. According to Poedjastoeti, the teachers were avoiding overcrowding of classrooms by sending some of the children to schools in neighbouring villages¹; the schools in the other villages seem to have accepted all children who wished to enrol. For example, Winong school had to split its first grade of 27 into two classes².

The large number of both boys and girls who drop out after only one or two years seems mainly to comprise the children of subsistence farmers who, when forced to help their parents - often during harvest time - fell behind in their studies and therefore left school³. Children in the fishing village of Panggang Island were old enough to join their fathers in going out to sea after only one or two years of school, and therefore many left school at a particularly early stage.⁴

¹ Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) survey, p.39.

² Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24) survey, p.26.

³ see p.131.

⁴ Panggang Island (M/L R - H S; No.37) survey, p.45.

Returning to the study of the drop-out rates in the schools on which detailed statistics exist, attention is now focused on the difference in the drop-out rates between the sexes. From TABLE II/6 (the data for which were taken - as were the data for TABLE II/5 - from TABLE II/4), it can be seen that there is a marked difference between them. Whereas girls made up approximately half of all the first grades of the four schools, (which confirms the earlier observation on the equal opportunity being given to girls to enrol at school)¹ by the final years of sekolah rakjat, girls constituted approximately one third of the pupils. This seems to indicate that, by not continuing to the higher grades in the same numbers as the boys, girls contribute far more proportionately to the severity of the drop-out in the higher grades of primary school. Even in the one three-year sekolah rakjat of Kali Tengah (see TABLE II/4), a faster drop-out rate among the girls is noticeable. The impression is gained from the surveys that the main reason for girls not attending school as long as boys is that many parents want their daughters to acquire only a "basic" education, or at least be literate, and that they be

¹ see p.137

TABLE II/6: Enrolment of girls by grade and as a proportion of total enrolment in four villages.

GRADE	No. of Girls	Total Pupils	Percentage of Girls
GRADE I	146	278	52.5%
GRADE II	68	162	42%
GRADE III	60	134	44.5%
GRADE IV	42	102	41%
GRADE V	19	65	29%
GRADE VI	24	66	36%
TOTAL	359	807	44.5%

SOURCE: The statistics of the four villages (Karangdadap, Baru Adjak, Winong and Panggan) taken from TABLE II/4.

believe that such a stage has been reached after, at most, some three or four years at school.¹ To send a daughter to school for the full six years of sekolah rakjat was considered by many parents an unnecessary luxury, especially when they believed that their daughter would get married and not use the knowledge the extra years of schooling would give her. However, as is discussed later², many parents believed that their daughters would marry a much "better" husband, if she had been to school and was not just an illiterate peasant girl.

It is realized that the figures given in TABLE II/4 can be interpreted in a different way. The greater numbers in the lower grades may be seen as an indication of a greater awareness of the need for schooling. Hence the high percentage of pupils in the lower grades might be the result of an increasing interest in schooling rather than the result of a progressive drop-out of pupils during primary school.

This interpretation probably has some truth in it for Panggang Island village, for the Compulsory

¹ This is stated, for example, in Negla Podjak (M/L R - M S; No. 36) survey, p. 62ff.

² see Chapter V, p. 271

Education program had just commenced there. However, the student who made the survey found that the villagers, who were fishermen, " . . . take little interest in education, neither for themselves nor for their children", and that many parents looked upon school as a means of having someone else look after the children, so that they would be free to devote more time to their fishing. Furthermore, he found that many children were eager to leave school as soon as possible (generally in the lower grades of sekolah rakjat) so that they could join their fathers in going out to sea to fish¹.

Two main factors, however, seem to work against such an interpretation in the case of the other three villages with six-year sekolah rakjat in TABLE II/4. First, one of them (Baru Adjak (L R - H S; No.14)) had a school attendance ranked as HIGH, that is, virtually all the children were already entering school, while the other two (Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S:No.15 and Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24)) ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH, that is, approximately three-quarters of the

¹ Mohd. Muchtar, Panggang Island village (M/L R - H S; No.37) survey, p.44f. - This lack of interest in the fishing community of Panggang Island seems to be similar to that found in Tanggulasin (H R - L S; No.11); see Chapter I, p.29f.

children were already entering school. Thus there seems little likelihood of the figures recording a sudden upsurge of interest in schooling. Moreover, the writers of the surveys do not mention having found such a sudden increase in the interest in schooling in the particular years their statistics cover. Secondly, the existence of a sharp drop-out of pupils during the six-year course of the sekolah rakjat (and a more pronounced drop-out rate among girls) is commented on by those writers who have provided descriptions rather than statistics of the interest in schooling in the villages they surveyed. These descriptions will now be studied in some detail.

Rather than finding a growing interest by parents in having their children complete all six grades of the sekolah rakjat, some of the writers detected a decline of interest among some of the parents. This was because a number of children who had gained an above-average level of schooling, had difficulty in finding pegawai-type employment that would allow them to utilize the skills they had learnt at school. This does not mean that other parents did not wish their children to attend at all - such skills as reading, writing, arithmetic and a knowledge of

Bahasa Indonesia were valued, and schooling in the lower grades of sekolah rakyat was still desired. The growing disillusionment with schooling concerned the higher grades of sekolah rakyat and levels beyond it. Parental attitudes towards schooling in Leuwi Bungur showed such a pattern, therefore it may be of value to examine them in detail. Duda Abdullah, the student who surveyed this village, states:

It is very rare for a child to be able to finish his schooling up to the sixth grade of the primary school. The majority only continue up to third, fourth or fifth grade.

Generally the society's understanding of education is still very limited. People consider it already sufficient, if their children can read, write and do arithmetic. The children do not receive any encouragement to gain higher schooling. Sometimes the parents compare themselves with their children: formerly they [the parents] gained no schooling, and despite this they can still earn enough to feed themselves. Then they point out a few children who have gone on to post-primary schooling and who are now unemployed. Thus the children receive no encouragement within their own environment. Children who continue schooling after about fourth or fifth grade must bear the cost of their school materials themselves, as well as perform heavy duties for the household, such as helping their parents, looking after their younger brothers and sisters, looking after the goats, cutting grass, working in the rice-fields and looking after crops, and so on. In the late afternoon they must take part in Koranic studies at the local Islamic school.

¹ Leuwi Bungur (M/L R - H S; No.2) survey, p.82.

This description provides an explanation of the progressive drop-out of pupils from the *sekolah rak-kat*, especially after they had completed the basic two or three years that parents encouraged them to undertake in order to become literate. As with parents who prevented their children from going to school at all¹, the parents who hindered them from progressing past Grade III or IV did so mainly because of economic reasons. Some of them are reported by the students to have felt that they could not afford to maintain the child at school and pay for his school materials. This was especially so if younger brothers or sisters were also beginning school, or if he had reached an age where he could be very useful in the fields or around the house. Those parents who helped their children to continue up to, or beyond the final grade of *sekolah rakjat* were generally hopeful that the child would be able to obtain highly respected, secure employment as a *pegawai*. The motivation of those parents and their children who desire higher schooling is a subject for further examination later in the chapter².

¹ see p.112.

² see p.173f.

Many of the students found attitudes similar to those just quoted from Leuwi Bungur, that is, the majority of parents considered that once a child had become literate and was old enough to earn a fairly adequate wage, it was then either a waste of money or too great a financial burden to send him to school any longer. This was found not only in villages relying on agriculture but also in those on estates and those where the villagers work in small-scale industry. For example, Usman, who studied the rubber estate village of Pasir Waru, discovered a similar pattern of school attendance and parental attitudes to that in Leuwi Bungur. Usman reports:

Their [the villagers'] children attend school at the sekolah rakjat level. [Only] three children have so far passed the final examination, but none of their children have yet continued to higher schooling. Generally, sons of estate workers in the first and second [i.e. upper] economic levels of society can reach fourth, fifth and sixth grades of the sekolah rakjat. However, girls only reach third grade. Sons and daughters of estate workers in the third [i.e. lower] economic level of society usually only reach as far as third grade sekolah rakjat, and then they leave and henceforth work, helping their parents. At the time of the survey, the numbers of children of this rubber estate village, attending sekolah rakjat (by grades) were as follows:

GRADE	I	:	20
GRADE	II	:	15
GRADE	III	:	10
GRADE	IV	:	7
GRADE	V	:	6
GRADE	VI	:	4

TOTAL		62 ¹

The breakdown of numbers by grade given here for Pasir Waru indicates a similar drop-out rate to that found in the villages in TABLE II/4. Moreover, the writer also mentions that girls generally drop out earlier than boys.

Siti Djuwariah, who made the survey on Peuntas Wetan (M/H R - M/H S; No.13) remarks that some girls in the poorer strata of village society, and especially those who started school at an older age than was usual, had to leave school at twelve to fifteen years of age to get married². However, the writers of most of the other surveys in which marriage is discussed, have commented that what they term "under-age marriages" (mainly for economic reasons) were becoming increasingly rare in the villages, and that

¹ Pasir Waru (M/L R - H S; No.12) survey, p.102

² Peuntas Wetan survey, p.41ff.

girls now married at an age far above that at which they would finish sekolah rakjat, usually from about seventeen years of age onwards¹.

Before examining post-sekolah rakjat ~~examinations~~, it should be noted that several of the surveys indicate that a substantial percentage of pupils found it difficult to pass the external examination at the end of sixth grade sekolah rakjat. A pass in this examination is necessary before a child can proceed to any post-primary educational institution. As well as the external Sekolah Rakjat Certificate examination, each school also holds an internal Grade VI annual examination. The surveys on the whole discuss only the results obtained in the external examination, which, as mentioned above, the pupils generally seem to have found difficult to pass, let alone to gain a good pass. For example, the survey on Winong gives the pass rates in the external examination of Grade VI of the village sekolah rakjat as follows:

1957 : 57%
 1958 : 53%
 1959 : 72%²

¹ see for example Dempet (M/L R survey, p.13.

² Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24) survey, p.28.

Sri Sujati, in her survey on Tjepoko, gives even more detailed figures on the pass rate for the external examination in the two S.R.VI in the village. In the 1958/59 school year, a total of 51 pupils were in the sixth grades, which represents 14.75% of the total enrolment in both schools (346 pupils). Of these 51 pupils, only 33, or 65%, gained the Sekolah Rakjat Certificate (20 boys and 14 girls)¹. Because of the drop-out rate, the number who passed the final examination represents only a very small proportion of those who entered school in Grade I. It should also be noted that of those who were eligible to pass on to post-primary educational institutions, not all wanted to proceed and many could not afford to do so. In the village of Hargomuljo, also surveyed by Sri Sujati, only 13 pupils (10 boys and 3 girls) passed the examination in 1958/59². Although the total enrolment (332) at the Hargomuljo school consisted of almost equal numbers of boys and girls (169 boys and 163 girls), there was a considerable disparity of numbers between the sexes of those who finally graduated from the sekolah rakjat in 1959. This further

¹ Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32) survey, p.57.

² Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No.33) survey, p.43.

bears out the earlier conclusion that there was a general trend for girls to drop out at a faster rate than boys.

Eddy Karnady, in his survey on Babakan, states that there were 34 pupils in Grade VI of the sekolah rakjat in the kelurahan of Parigi, which the Babakan children attended. Many of the pupils knew that their parents would not be able to afford to send them away to a post-primary school, so only 12 planned to sit for the final examination¹. However, the reason given by the pupils may have been a rationalization of the fact that they were far below the standard they should have reached, and in actual fact they would have been certain to fail anyway.

Sri Sujati, the student who covered three of the villages - Manishardjo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30), Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32) and Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No.33) - also discussed the two sekolah rakjat in the town of Ngrambe, the local administrative centre for the three villages. In 1958/59 there were 67 pupils in the two Grade VI classes, out of a total school enrolment of 506. The fact that 67 pupils (or 13.2% of the total enrolment) were in their final year at

¹ Babakan (H R - H S; No.9) survey, p.43f.

the sekolah rakjat indicates a considerably lower drop-out rate in this town school than in most of the village schools. But this is of course only one example of a town sekolah rakjat and merely indicates a future line of enquiry that there may perhaps be a lower drop-out rate in the town schools - a situation which would not be altogether unexpected. It is further interesting to note that of these 67 pupils, the rather high number of 58, or 86.5%, passed and gained the Sekolah Rakjat Certificate.¹ If the pass rate of students at the final examination is taken as an indication of the standard of schooling received by the pupils, then just from the examples given by Sri Sujati one would say that the town sekolah rakjat seem to have had a higher standard of schooling than the Tjepoko village sekolah rakjat, while the latter in turn seems to have had a better standard of schooling than that found in the more remote village of Hargomuljo. Unfortunately not enough of the surveys provide details of pass rates to allow a full examination of the relationship between remoteness and the relative success of the pupils in the villages. Nevertheless, the pass rates

¹ Manishardjo survey, p.18ff.

of the town sekolah rakyat of Ngram were far ahead of any of the village S.R.VI for which pass rate statistics are given; it also seems to have had a pass rate far superior to those found in the villages where the surveys only discuss pass rates without giving actual statistics. This appears to support R.A. Ma'soem Prawira Subardjah's misgivings (quoted earlier) on the standard of teaching of the newly graduated, young, "green" teachers who were generally sent to village schools, as opposed to the better standard of the more experienced older teachers who could usually secure a posting to a town or city school¹. Furthermore, Mr. Ali Marsaban stated that:

at present it is still difficult to have a uniform standard of education in primary schools throughout the country. Usually schools in bigger towns have a good standard, while the standard² in smaller towns and villages is lower.

Be that as it may, a study of the differences between schooling in the village and in the town lies well beyond the scope of this thesis. The village surveys

¹ see Chapter I, p.51.

² in the original (unpublished) article contributed to World Book Encyclopedia, covering Education in Indonesia.

were not designed to allow such comparisons, and the tentative conclusions drawn above must wait for confirmation or contradiction by some later study.

Post-Primary Schooling. Despite the very large proportion of children who dropped out before the end of the sekolah rakjat course, there was nevertheless a small number (often under 20% of those who started) who finished the course. What was their motivation for doing so? What motivated their parents to urge them to complete the full six grades and to support them while they continued their schooling?¹

¹ Unfortunately, it is impossible to make a correlation between the value parents in the villages placed upon completion of the full sekolah rakjat course and the gaining of education beyond this level, and the differing characteristics of the villages (relative wealth, remoteness, occupational distribution etc.). There are two main reasons for this. First, parental attitudes towards having their children actually complete the primary stage or even progress beyond it, are discussed in only a small number of surveys. While it is of interest to investigate these attitudes and relate them to the particular characteristics of the village, the small number of villages for which the relevant information is provided do not constitute a sufficient sample on which significant correlations can be carried out. Secondly, the villagers who did let their children complete the sekolah rakjat course and progress to higher studies formed only a small proportion of the total village population; therefore, the attitudes of this small section were more than

In general, the writers of the surveys where the number of pupils gaining post-primary schooling are discussed, noted that it was more often the better-off villagers who could afford to support their children while they studied at post-primary schools, unless the child managed to gain some kind of scholarship. Thus the surveys indicate that, in general, only a small proportion of pupils who gained their Sekolah Rakjat Certificate actually continued their schooling at secondary school institutions, teachers' colleges and the like. For example, Dudu Abdullah, in the survey on Leuwi Bungur, found that of the ten children who had finished sekolah rakjat since 1950, only three had used their certificates to gain entrance into post-primary schools¹. Husen detected only one in twenty sekolah rakjat graduates who continued schooling to a higher level². Similar

likely not representative of the village as a whole. Nevertheless, certain other aspects of village schooling (such as whether or not a village had actually had children proceeding to post-primary schooling) are discussed by a sufficient number of the surveys to allow them to be correlated with such characteristics as relative wealth and remoteness; where possible, such correlations are made.

¹ Leuwi Bungur (M/L R - H S; No.2) survey, p.83.

² Lanzen (M R - M/H S; No.7) survey, p.46.

proportions were found or suggested in other surveys, while several villages had not as yet any of their children progressing to a post-primary school.

The villages have been placed in ranked categories according to the number of children who, since Independence, attended post-primary educational institutions. As was noted earlier, if a child attended a secondary school, teachers' college or any other post-primary institution, it was usually necessary for him to leave the village and live in a nearby town or city, often at considerable cost to his parents, unless he gained a scholarship. The villages were given rankings with respect to the number of children who had received post-primary schooling in the following manner: First, by considering the writers' comments; and secondly - where statistics were available by comparing the number of such children with the size of the village. Of the 37 villages, only 7 ^{not} could be ranked because of inadequate information. Of the remaining 30 villages, the high number of 27 (90%) had definitely at least one of their children who continued schooling beyond primary level. When this is compared with the colonial period (when it was extremely rare for a village child to attend a

post-primary school) and account is taken of the fairly high cost often involved in sending a child to post-primary school, there is no doubt that the government's campaign to raise the image of schooling in the eyes of children, their parents and the village as a whole had met with considerable success. This campaign had been made notably easier by social and economic conditions at village level which created a demand among many villagers themselves for post-primary education for their children.

In some of these 27 villages, however, only one or two children out of many hundreds had been to a post-primary institution. Hence the villages were placed in one of four categories with regard to the number who had attended post-primary schools. These are listed in Appendix 10, under their respective definitions. Of the 30 villages

3, or 10%, were ranked as NONE

1, or 33%, were ranked as LOW

9, or 30%, were ranked as MEDIUM

3, or 27%, were ranked as HIGH.

A fourfold contingency table was constructed (see TABLE II/7) by using the data from the 30 villages for which sufficient data were available on both the relative degree of influence (Appendix 2) and the number

TABLE II/7: Relationship between influence and level of post-primary schooling.

	LOW POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLING	HIGH POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLING
HIGH INFLUENCE	5 villages	12 villages
LOW INFLUENCE	8 villages	5 villages

of children who had received post-primary schooling (Appendix 10). This revealed a strong positive correlation between these two factors; hence it might be assumed that, among these 30 villages, there was a trend towards the attainment of a higher level of post-primary education by the children in those villages which had had more influence from and contact with the outside world. Moreover, the extremely strong negative correlation between influence and remoteness among the villages¹ indicates the trend towards a greater number of post-primary pupils in the less remote villages of this sample.

The relationship between the relative wealth of the villages and the number of children attending post-primary schools was then examined by constructing a fourfold contingency table (see TABLE II/8) from the data provided for the same 30 villages on their relative wealth (see Appendix 4) and the number of children who had attended post-primary schools (see Appendix 10). A positive correlation of similar strength to that found in TABLE II/7 resulted; hence it may be assumed that there was a trend towards post-primary qualifications having been more commonly

¹ see Appendix 2.

TABLE II/8: Relationship between wealth and level of post-primary schooling.

	LOW POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLING	HIGH POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLING
HIGH WEALTH	6 villages	13 villages
LOW WEALTH	7 villages	4 villages

gained in the wealthier rather than the poorer of the 30 villages. This brings to mind the paradox revealed earlier, that it was the poorer villagers who most needed, but could least afford, to send their children to school for as long as possible, so that the children could move out of the overcrowded agricultural sphere into more profitable and secure pegawai-type employment¹.

Finally, an examination of the relationship between the composition of the workforce in a village² and the relative level of post-primary schooling among its children since Independence, also reveals some interesting trends. There seems to have been a growing eagerness for post-primary schooling among the children (and their parents) in villages where pegawai were living. This probably means that villagers, aware of the often highly respected, secure positions held by pegawai (such as health officers, agricultural officers, teachers, clerks who work in the nearby town or city, etc.) in their village, were more likely to want their children to attain a similar position (through schooling) than were

¹ see p.134

² see Appendix 3.

villagers who had no contact with fellow villagers who had become pegawai. Moreover, the desire for post-primary schooling seems to have been somewhat stronger as villagers moved away from purely agricultural employment into small-scale industrial, factory, milling and similar occupations. The latter trend would of course be closely linked with the desire for post-primary schooling having been somewhat stronger in villages with more contact with the world beyond the immediate village. The villages which supplied labour for small-scale industry and factories seemed more receptive to outside influence than the purely agricultural villages. Then again, villagers in agricultural communities producing cash crops such as tobacco and pyrethrum appeared to have been more "open" and eager for post-primary schooling than those in agricultural villages producing the more traditional food crops, such as rice and cassava. Unfortunately, with only 37 villages, there are not enough villages in each of the different workforce-composition categories to allow a more detailed examination of the relationship between a village's occupational distribution and the proportion of children who had gained post-primary schooling. Still, the sample does permit the above tentative observations.

What type of post-primary schools were chosen by those children who managed to continue their education beyond the village sekolah rakjat level, and which are the most popular? TABLE II/9 lists the schools and institutions that had been attended by children from 14 villages, who had progressed beyond the primary level since Independence. These 14 surveys are the only ones to provide such statistical information. Of approximately 20,500 people who lived in the 14 villages at the time of the surveys (1959 - 1960), only 113 had actually continued their schooling past sekolah rakjat level since Independence. As can be seen, these children attended a great variety of schools. However, all these schools and institutions may be classified into:

a) those that merely involve three or four years extra schooling beyond the S.R.VI level, i.e. junior secondary studies; and b) those at the senior secondary school level and above.

The schools in the first category, that is, those similar to junior secondary school, comprise the SGB (Sekolah Guru "B") ["B"-Class Teachers' School], the four-year lower primary teacher training school; the PGA (Pendidikan Guru Agama) [Religious Teachers Education],

TABLE II/9: Post-primary schooling in 14 villages.

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VILLAGE (Survey No.)	POPULATION	SGB	PGA	SMP	SMP (Agama)	ST	SKP	SEK. DJURU- RAWAT	SMA	STM	SGA	SEK. BIDAN	P.T.	TOTAL
LEUWI BUNGUR(2)	300	2		1										
LOLOHAN(3)	204					2								3
NAGA(6)	343	2												2
BABAKAN(9)	52	2												2
SINDANG KEM PENG(10)	1,974	5							8					2
PEUNTAS WETAN(13)	150	1						1	1					13
BARU ADJAK(14)	1,550			2		1								3
PASARBATANG(19)	5,851	2		11							6			3
KALI TENGAH(21)	1,574				1				1					19
MANISHARDJO(30)	2,240			1										2
TJEPOKO(32)	3,275	7	2	15		2	1	2		1	1	1		1
HARGOMULJO(33)	2,678	3		10	2	2			1		1			32
DAREN KIDUL(34)	119	1		3									2	19
NEGLA PODJOK(36)	111	3		2		1								6
TOTAL (Percentage)	20,421	28 (25%)	2 (1.75%)	45 (40%)	3 (2.5%)	8 (7%)	1 (1%)	3 (2.5%)	11 (9.5%)	1 (1%)	8 (7%)	1 (1%)	2 (1.75%)	113 (100%)

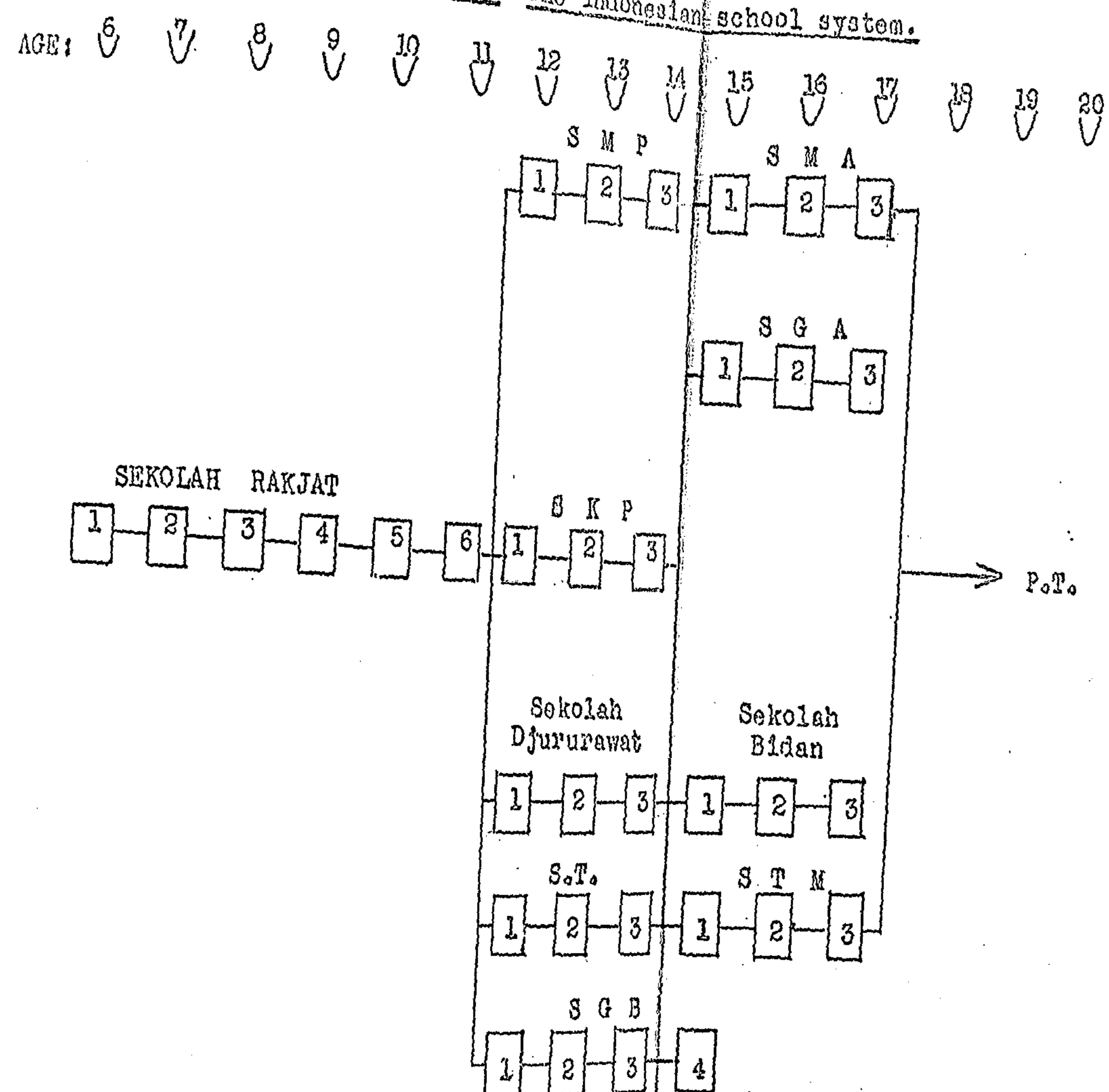
a religious teachers' school which trains to SGB level; the SMP (Sekolah Menengah Pertama) [Junior Secondary School] which provides its pupils with a general (junior) secondary education; the SMP Agama (Sekolah Menengah Pertama Agama) [Religious Junior Secondary School], an SMP conducted by (Islamic) religious organisations; the ST (Sekolah Teknik) [Technical School], a three-year vocational secondary school for technical studies; the SKP (Sekolah Kependidikan Putri) [Domestic Science School], a three-year vocational girls' secondary school for home economics; and the Sekolah Djururawat (Nursing School), a three-year training school for nurses.

The schools in the second category are those which correspond to senior secondary schools. These schools and institutions only accept students who have completed the equivalent of the junior secondary school. In this category are: the SMA (Sekolah Menengah Atas) [Senior Secondary School] which provides its pupils with advanced general secondary education; the STM (Sekolah Teknik Menengah) [Senior Technical School], three-year senior vocational secondary school for technical studies; the SGA (Sekolah Guru "A") [A-Class teachers' School], a three-year teachers' training

school (for SMP graduates); and the Sekolah Bidan [Midwives' School], a three-year midwifery course for Sekolah Djururawat graduates. Finally, there are those pupils who have finished the equivalent of senior secondary school and can now proceed to tertiary studies at P.T. (Perguruan Tinggi)/College or university⁷. A schema showing the relative position of all these schools and institutions is shown in TABLE II/10. The ages indicated in the table are the minimal ones. However, many of the surveys state that village children often had to start school at a slightly older age than town or city children, and that it was not uncommon for village children to repeat certain grades through failure at examinations.

A study of TABLE II/9 reveals that of the 113 post-primary pupils in the 14 village sample, 90, or 79.75%, reached only the junior secondary school stage, while 21, or 18.5%, continued on to the senior secondary stage. Only 2, or 1.75%, succeeded in entering tertiary institutions. Unfortunately, the writers of most of the surveys do not differentiate between those pupils who attended the various stages of secondary schooling and beyond, and those who

TABLE II/10: The Indonesian school system.



SOURCE: Adapted from World Survey of Education Vol. II, Switzerland (UNESCO) 1968, p. 552, to show those schools mentioned in the village surveys.

successfully completed each stage. Thus the discussion must concentrate mainly on attendance rather than actual completion of secondary courses.

If the figures are examined more closely, it can be seen that the 79.75% of pupils who attended junior secondary school only, was largely made up of the 40% who went to SMP and the 25% who attended SGB. That these two schools should have taken the great majority of the village sekolah rakjat graduates who continued their schooling, is to be expected, for in general both these schools figure most prominently in all those surveys that give details on the post-primary courses chosen by the pupils (and their parents). Many of the surveys found that the SMP was generally regarded by the villagers as the key to a general schooling that would qualify the students who attended it either to go on to senior secondary school (SMA) and then perhaps to college or university, or to enter the civil service, the latter having been especially highly respected. For example, Husen, writing about Langen, points out that:

Many parents assume that to send one's child to school means that he will definitely become a pegawai later, either with the government or with a private organization. They

are very proud if they have a child who can become a pegawai.

However, because of the great numbers of applicants for these prized positions, eventually some could not find employment. As is shown later, the stress on general, non-vocational education in the SMP and SMA schools was beginning to result in those students who had attended them being unable to find jobs². In turn, parents were starting to doubt the value of school attendance beyond sekolah rakjat level. The other schools chosen by the children in the 14 village sample of TABLE II/9 prepared their students for a particular profession (e.g. teacher, nurse, mechanic), and students from these schools were mostly able to find employment, especially in the rural areas. Nevertheless, the attraction of becoming a civil servant or pegawai rather than, for example, a qualified mechanic, still seems to have predominated. Many writers on education in newly developing countries have stressed the preference of students there for schooling which will later result in office employment, rather than for schooling and training laying

¹ Langen (M R - M/H S; No.7) survey, p.47.

² see p.187f.

a greater stress on manual skills.¹

A number of surveys stress the high social position of the teacher in village society. Therefore it is not surprising that most of the children who chose vocational post-primary training favoured those institutions which provided them with the necessary qualifications to become a teacher. Teaching qualifications could be obtained by either first completing the SMP and then continuing to higher standard teachers' colleges (such as the SGA), or by proceeding straight from the sekolah rakjat to the four-year SGB. The latter choice was of course the easiest and cheapest way of becoming a teacher and, as can be seen from TABLE II/9, was the second most popular choice in the 14 villages; 25% of the children chose to enter an SGB.

The SGB, which provided training and schooling equivalent to junior secondary school level, was mainly designed as an emergency measure during the 1950's to provide teachers for the lower grades of the rapidly

¹ see for example J.M. van der Kroef, "Asian Education and Unemployment: The Continuing Crisis", Comparative Education Review, Vol.7 No.2, October 1963, pp.173-180; and R.C. De Jongh, "Some Educational Problems in Indonesia", The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, Vol.4 No.1, June 1966, p.44.

expanding sekolah rakjat. Since about 1960, the SGB has been replaced by the SGA which trains better qualified sekolah rakjat teachers. The SGB had been especially popular among village sekolah rakjat graduates, because scholarships were offered to intending students. The SGB graduate was bonded to work for the government upon graduation, as he had been supported by the government for the four years of study. Sri Hardijah, in her survey on Kadilangu, found, as did several of the other writers in their surveys, that the majority of parents were too poor to support their children during their studies in a nearby town and that, unless the pupils could find someone to sponsor them for the duration of their post-primary schooling (on condition that they agree to work for their sponsor for several years after completion of their studies), then they could only "... continue their schooling at schools which give scholarships with bonds, such as the SGB and vocational schools¹". Sri Hardijah also found that:

... since the Ministry of Education and Culture discontinued the SGB, many students /of the SGB/ have had to return to their

¹ Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29) survey, p.46; see also the quotation by Abas on p.178 of this chapter.

village(s) because their parents could not afford to support them.¹

Those students who were enrolled in SGB courses at the time these courses were discontinued, would have had to continue in SGA courses to become fully qualified. To do so, many would have needed scholarship assistance, but not enough was available. None of the surveys mention that SGB students had had any difficulty in finding employment upon graduating and indeed, several had returned to their villages to teach in the sekolah rakjat there.²

Of the remaining pupils who attended schools similar in standard to junior secondary level, three went to SMP's that were run by religious organisations (the SMP Agama); and two went to PGA, the religious teachers' training school, the graduates of which teach in the religious primary schools. Eleven pupils attended schools giving vocational training in technical courses (the ST) or nursing (the Sekolah Djururawat). One student attended the junior secondary domestic science school. TABLE II/9 shows that the most popular form of education at the junior secondary level was first the general schooling of the SMP (and

¹ ibid.

² see Chapter I, p.50.

the SMP Agama), and secondly schooling which led to teaching qualifications (mainly the SGB. but also the PGA). Abas, in his survey on Pasarbatang, comments that:

In the main, only wealthier parents could afford to send their children to the SMP, and they did so in the hope that the children would become doctors. Poorer parents sent their children to the PGA and SGB and could do so only because the children had been awarded scholarships.

Although other students found that the main reason given for attending SMP or SMA schools was in order to secure positions as pegawai rather than to become doctors, Abas' quotation does indicate that teacher training was the most common and popular form of post-primary study for those who could not afford the prestige education that the SMP or SMA offered. TABLE II/9 also shows that teacher training was far more popular than such vocational schooling as nursing and technical training.

What of the small proportion of pupils (20.25% of all the post-primary students in the 14 village sample) who continued with their studies beyond the

¹ Pasarbatang (L R - H S; No.19) survey, p.25

junior secondary level? TABLE II/9 shows that of the twentythree students in this group, eleven attended SMA; eight attended SGA and one each attended the STM and the Midwifery School; the remaining two students went on to tertiary education.

As was the case at junior secondary level, the majority of the students chose the general secondary education provided by the SMA rather than schools which gave more specific vocational training. No doubt they were aiming at either the better pegawai a civil service positions, or, perhaps later, college or university study. Of the students who chose vocational training, most went into teacher training, probably as a result of scholarship opportunities and a desire to enter a highly respected occupation. That only two pupils chose other vocational training (one undertook technical training, the other midwifery) may indicate that such training was not as attractive to the vill children and their parents, perhaps because of the "nual" nature of later employment. In addition, the far greater number of general secondary schools than vocational secondary schools gave post-primary students a better chance of entry into the SMP - SMA schools.

Unfortunately, no further data are available concerning the institutions attended by the only two tertiary level students in TABLE II/9.

Thus a study of this 14 village sample shows that an extremely high proportion of the children who managed to attend post-primary schools entered institutions for general education or teacher training. Although the 113 pupils had attended a wide range of post-primary schools, it is remarkable that not one student had gone to the Sekolah Menengah Pertanian, the three-year agricultural senior secondary school. For children with such a strong rural background, it might be expected and, indeed, hoped that some students would be able to return to their villages and use the specialized agricultural knowledge they had gained, in order to help improve local methods and production. None of the other village surveys (outside the 14 village sample) mentions a child having attended the Sekolah Menengah Pertanian. This may further point to a predilection for schooling and training leading to an office job rather than to one considered as closer to manual labour or "traditional" employment.

The great reliance of village children on scholarships which usually involve bonded service to the government after graduation has been noted, and the majority of the pupils who attended SGB, SGA and PGA

(who made up one third (33.75%) of all the students enrolled in post-primary schools in the 14 village sample) would probably have had such a scholarship¹. Although it might be expected that estates would offer scholarships to the brighter children of the estate workers, Subardjah indicates that quite the opposite was happening on Baru Adjak estate: he found that the estate management would often take a good pupil out of the sekolah rakjat, even before he had reached Grade VI, and start him working immediately in the estate office².

From the surveys giving data on the sex of post-primary students, it was found that more boys than girls were attending secondary level institutions. This is probably partly because more boys than girls graduated from sekolah rakjat, and partly because it is also likely that parents still believed that it was more important for boys to receive higher schooling than it was for girls, as the boys would really put their knowledge to use by earning a wage to help maintain a family. However, this attitude seems to have been less prevalent than in previous years,

¹ see p.176f.

² Baru Adjak (L R - H S; No.14) survey, P.69.

especially in the period before the revolution. Many women were employed in the villages covered by the surveys, mainly as teachers and as trained midwives and nurses; most of them had gained their training since Independence.

Of the 113 post-primary students in the 14 village sample of TABLE II/9, the sex is given for 61, and of these 42, or 69%, were male. Although some of the schools are either specifically for boys (such as the Sekolah Teknik) or for girls (such as the Sekolah Kependidikan Puteri), girls and boys seem to have been equally interested in those schools which cater for both sexes. But the boys generally outnumber the girls because more boys continue their schooling beyond primary level. A few surveys mention that children from the village had gone on to university, but great stress was laid on the exceptional wealth of their parents, and it was always pointed out as a singular achievement. No clear indication is given as to which faculties these students entered.

Although the surveys provide no precise statistics, several claim that it was not uncommon for students who went on to secondary school after their graduation from the village sekolah rakyat, to have

difficulties with their studies, so that sometimes they had to return to the village before completing their course. There appear to be two main reasons for the difficulties they encountered. The first was economic. For example, Mariam mentions that:

. . . in Lolohan there have been two children who have continued their schooling up to the end of sekolah rakjat, gained their Sekolah Rakjat Certificate and gone on to Sekolah Teknik in Bandung. After their schooling there had continued for two years, they both had to return home to their village because their parents could not afford the cost of sending them to school any longer.¹

The second reason involves difficulties in study and failure at examinations. For example, Misbah found in Naga that there had also been only two children who were able to continue their studies beyond the sekolah rakjat. They " . . . were able to enter an SGB, however, they could not make progress in their studies and they had to leave the school"².

Those who failed to complete their schooling at the post-primary level had still reached a higher level of attainment than the majority of their fellow villagers, and sometimes they were able to obtain

¹ Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.67.

² Naga (H R - H S; No.6) survey, p.59.

employment within the village sphere because of the extra schooling they had received. In some villages, where trained personnel was still desperately short, the writers of the surveys found unsuccessful students employed in positions for which their post-primary schooling had not in any way equipped them. For example, Mohd. Muchtar describes how the local sub-district head [Tjamat] tried to create for Panggang Island village a core of qualified people by sending some of the children to Djakarta to undertake post-primary studies:

There were efforts by the Tjamat to have those who had completed the sekolah rakjat on the island, continue their schooling in Djakarta at the expense of the village society; however, life in Djakarta was very different to life in the village and the children were forced to discontinue their studies and return.

Only five children have succeeded in continuing their schooling, but none have graduated from the higher [I.e. secondary] schools. When they returned, three were assigned to help with the island's health service, one was seconded to the village head's office, and one, although he had gone to Sekolah Teknik, was assigned to the Mass Education Officer - a position that was perhaps not quite suitable.

These students represented the village's young trained workforce and acted as the first [trained] vanguard of the villagers of Panggang Island . . . The ex-Sekolah Teknik student was only 22 years of age, but he

was the only Mass Education Official for the people of Panggang Island. His efforts have included the holding of an anti-illiteracy campaign which 60 people attended in 1959/60 (of which 20 passed),¹ while in 1958 there was no such official.

However, as more and more village children attended post-primary school - often spurred on by the success the first village children with post-primary schooling had in gaining pegawai-type employment - the employment opportunities in the villages for only partly trained students became less and less. Some of the students who made the surveys reported that pupils who have returned to their villages after having been unable to complete their post-primary schooling, were encountering increasing difficulties in securing employment. They were often referred to as "anak tanggung", a term used to describe children who have been partly trained or schooled, but who did not gain sufficient training to qualify them for pegawai-type employment and to allow them to live in the "modern" manner for which they had hoped their schooling would prepare them. However, they had changed sufficiently to make them misfits in their parents' traditional village society. This sometimes

¹ Panggang Island village (M/L R - H S; No.37) survey, p ---

even happened with those children who had only gained the Sekolah Rakjat Certificate which qualified them for post-primary education, but who found it impossible to continue, often because of their parents' poverty. This happened especially in those villages where the gaining of the Sekolah Rakjat Certificate was a rare occurrence among the children. For example, Husen, after pointing out that very few of the Langen children could continue their schooling in the nearby town of Bandjar, because of the cost involved in doing so, reports that:

. . . at the most, only one out of twenty sekolah rakjat graduates can continue his schooling at the SMP at Bandjar. Those who cannot continue their schooling become anak tanggung because they have the feeling that /they are superior because/ they have the Sekolah Rakjat Certificate. They are unwilling to help their fathers, for example, to hoe the ground, and unemployment arises. They do not do any work and just enjoy themselves with their friends. They want to work /using the schooling they have received/ but they do not have the necessary connections. And usually their wishes remain unfulfilled. Not only those from the sekolah rakjat, but also those who have gone to SMP and SMA are finding difficulty in obtaining employment nowadays. This is especially so for those who finish sekolah rakjat and remain in the village. There are also many who want to go into the army or police but do not get the opportunity to do so.

¹ Langen (M R - M/H S; No.7), pp.46-47.

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¹ Langen (M R - M/H S; No.7), pp.46-47.

remembered that employment in the army, the police and the civil service in general, brought with it both prestige and security and was therefore much sought after. However, with the introduction of widespread schooling after Independence, there were increasingly many more applicants with the minimal educational requirements than the vacancies available. Moreover, (as Husen points out in the above quotation) it was often necessary to have "connections" before one could gain entrance into the police, the army, the civil service or a business. In this regard, the village people were often at a serious disadvantage compared to those living in towns and cities where parents often knew the right person to secure a child's entrance into suitable employment.

Thus, not only was it increasingly difficult to find employment for those who did not complete their studies, but there were also often problems in absorbing those students who successfully graduated from post-primary schools into the village work force. Finding these students employment in a nearby town was usually just as difficult. This was especially so for graduates of the "general education" SMP and SMA¹.

¹ Indeed, it has been a feature of post-independence Indonesian society that there has been a surplus of

As mentioned before, students with vocational training, such as qualified nurses and teachers, did not seem to face unemployment, even if they returned to their own village. The SMA and SMP graduate has been equipped with training suitable mainly for office jobs, and such employment was more to be found in the towns and cities. In the villages, there were at most one or two positions suitable for an SMP or an SMA graduate, so only the first one or two could be easily absorbed into the village's work force. If the SMP or SMA graduate succeeded in finding employment in a local town, then he and his parents seem, according to the surveys that discuss this, to have been well satisfied, for an office job could bring high prestige.

Several of the surveys point out that when unemployable SMP and SMA graduates returned to their villages, there arose both disillusionment with, and resentment of, schooling beyond the sekolah rakjat level. As Johartin Hadijat, who examined conditions in Batulawang, points out:

people with such generalised schooling, and that many of them have found it difficult to find employment appropriate to their qualifications. See J.M. van der Kroef, "Asian Education and Unemployment: The Continuing Crisis", op.cit., p.174.

To send a child to school involved much monetary expense, and this expense forms a very heavy burden for the rubber tapper community of this village. Apart from that, they have already seen that in the town of Bandjar there are many SMP graduates who are unemployed: "So there is no need to have one's child attend school to a high level, for this will certainly mean that one is just wasting one's money" (the parents declare). In the face of such social conditions doubts begin to arise as to the advantage of higher education.

Nevertheless, the prestige and the relative financial security awaiting those few who managed to obtain a job as a pegawai, still seems to have acted as an incentive to the striving for higher qualifications. However, increasing disillusionment with those forms of higher education which lead to unemployment, may indicate that a rationalization of the aspirations of some village parents for their children was imminent. It might be hoped that the success in finding employment for those children who had specific vocational training, may lead to more students entering such courses, rather than seeking the prestige of the SMP and SMA education. This thought seems to underlie Eddy Karnady's desire to see more post-primary schooling facilities made available to village children, and his hope that these schools

¹ Batulawang (M/L R - H S; No.8) survey, p.60.

will be adapted to the village scene " . . . that is, by being vocational in nature"¹.

From the above discussion, it must not be assumed that all children (and their parents) were intent on gaining schooling beyond the primary level in order to forsake traditional village life and occupations. Several surveys point out that some children desired to follow in their fathers' footsteps with regard to the occupation they will choose. This seems especially so for children of better-off parents, for these children could often expect to inherit arable land upon the death of their father; it should be borne in mind that the possession of land was still a source of prestige in village society. This seems to underlie the statement of Sudibjo Setyobroto who surveyed the fairly well-off village of Dieng², that:

. . . the life aspirations of nearly all children in Dieng is to become good farmers. After finishing at sekolah rakjat they then join in helping their fathers in the fields while preparing themselves to establish their own households, and then they look for a marriage partner.³

¹ Babakan (H R - H S; No.9) survey, p.42.

² see Appendix 4 (Wealth of the Villages).

³ Dieng (M/H R - H S; No.18) survey, p.37.

The example of this village might further strengthen the argument for making post-primary schooling of a vocational nature readily available to the children of the villages. For example, in the quoted case of the farming village of Dieng, it would not be surprising to find that children of the fairly well-off farmers would be willing to attend a Sekolah Menengah Pertanian (Agricultural Secondary School) in order to fulfil their "life aspirations . . . to become good farmers"¹.

In summary, with regard to the attitudes towards, and interest in, schooling - especially post-primary education - the surveys indicate that during the 1950's the desire for schooling seems to have been stimulated by outside influence and contact. However, it was shown that the wealth of the villagers played a decisive role in determining which of the children would be able to receive schooling which had become increasingly highly esteemed. The first children who

¹ Then again, the graduates of such a school may feel that ordinary farming would be now "below them" and might seek employment as Government Agricultural Officers. However, as this matter is not discussed by the surveys, the topic leads beyond the scope of this study.

attended post-primary courses after the attainment of national Independence, easily found employment during the early 1950's when there was a dearth of trained personnel. This in turn stimulated many other parents to send their children to post-primary school, to enable them to find positions of security and prestige similar to those gained by the first children to graduate. While many children were restricted to teacher training schools because these institutions were the main ones to offer scholarships, the majority of parents and children chose the schools that gave generalized education, such as the SMP and SMA, because of the prestige that surrounds the civil servant and also because the SMP and the SMA were by far the most common forms of secondary schooling available in Java. Many of the children who attended SMP and SMA schools had difficulty in finding suitable employment, and by the end of the 1950's, when these surveys were made, the beginning of a reaction seems to have appeared in some of the villages, against the indiscriminate post-sekolah rakjat schooling of all those children qualifying to continue their education and could afford to do so. It is to be hoped that a later village study will show that the above

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trend has resulted in a greater proportion of post-primary pupils being given vocational training, and in particular, schooling, suited to conditions in the villages in which they have grown up.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Having examined the growth and pattern of secular schooling in the 37 villages, attention is now turned to the pattern of religious (Islamic)¹ education in these villages, and especially towards its relationship with the secular schooling system. Unfortunately, the writers of the surveys make only scattered references to the villages' orthodox Muslim education system, and so this chapter will be more a composite description of conditions and changes as noticed by the writers, rather than a correlated and detailed analysis of all of the 37 villages. Indeed, only twenty of the surveys actually give any description at all of the religious education that was being given in the villages; besides, the writers of these surveys have not concentrated on

¹ Although there are Christian villages in Java, there were none among the 37 villages covered by the surveys.

exactly the same aspects of the religious education they found to exist. This makes comparisons particularly difficult.

Village society in Java has been divided by the students who made the surveys, and by others¹, into two religious groupings: the orthodox Muslims, referred to as santri, and those villagers who have come to be called abangan. The latter, while still professing to be Muslim, hold a syncretic complex of beliefs which draw not only from Islam, but also from the animistic and spirit beliefs of their ancestors. Geertz states:

. . . today the village religious system commonly consists of a balanced integration of animistic, Hinduistic and Islamic elements, a basic Javanese syncretism which is the island's true folk tradition, the basic substratum of its civilization; . . . The abangan religious tradition, made up primarily of the ritual feast called the selamatan, of an extensive and intricate complex of spirit beliefs, and of a whole set of theories and practices of curing, sorcery and magic, is the first subvariant within the general Javanese religious system . . . The purer Islam is the subtradition . . .

¹ see for example, C. Geertz, The Religion of Java, Glencoe (Free Press), 1960; and R.R. Jay, Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java, New Haven (Yale University), 1963.

called santri. Although in a broad and general way the santri subvariant is associated with the Javanese trading element, it is not confined to it, nor are all traders, by far, adherents of it. There is a very strong santri element in the villages, often finding its leadership in the richer peasants who have been able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and set up religious schools upon their return . . . The santri religious tradition, consisting not only of a careful and regular execution of the basic rituals of Islam - the prayers, the Fast, the Pilgrimage - but also of a whole complex of social, charitable, and political Islamic organizations, is the second subvariant of the general Javanese religious system . . .

From the data contained in the 37 village surveys it was possible to distinguish the proportion of villagers who could be classed as santri in all but two of the villages². The writers generally ascertained what proportion of the villagers were orthodox Muslims, or santri, by noting how many attended mosque regularly, fasted during the month of Ramadan (when the majority of the surveys were made) and carried out the daily prayer ritual.

Of the 35 villages for which data were available:

¹ C. Geertz, The Religion of Java, op.cit., p.5f.

² see Appendix 5.

- 4, or 11.5%, were totally santri
- 3, or 9 %, were over three-quarters santri
- 4, or 11.5%, were half to three-quarters santri
- 5, or 14 %, were approximately half santri
- 2, or 5.5%, were a quarter to half santri
- 15, or 43 %, were under a quarter santri; and in
- 2, or 5.5%, only the modin¹ was santri².

The abangan child learns the syncretic religious beliefs of his parents through example rather than through formal instruction. The abangan villager finds no need to learn to read the Koran or to say the Arabic prayers of Islam, for these are said for him by the modin on those special occasions, such as at a marriage or a death, when formal Islam plays a part in his religious life.

Santri parents, on the other hand, generally require their children to have a sound grounding in the tenets and practices of Islam, and this, since former times, has been carried out within a traditional

¹ the village religious official.

² The names of the individual villages are given in Appendix 5. As can be seen, in many of the 35 villages, the orthodox Muslim santri constitute only a minority, which has meant that the writers of many of the surveys have paid little attention to their attitudes. Hence the surveys' treatment of the orthodox Muslim standpoint on education, while being of value, is rather uneven in depth.

religious education system, maintained and organized by the santri community themselves.

Traditionally, orthodox Muslim villagers have required their children to begin learning the orthodox Islamic beliefs and their concomitant way of life at a fairly early age. Mohammad Busron found that in Daren Kidul:

Between the time when a child can walk and play with friends, and the age of six, the child is made to study Koran reading¹ and Islam in the mosque at special times, usually on Friday night. The lessons are organized by the Head of the village's Social Affairs Department² and by the village elders who teach the orthodox Islamic beliefs.³

¹ "reading"/mengadji the Koran in general refers to the children learning to read the Arabic script in which the Koran is written and to chant its passages in the traditional manner. It is rare for a child to gain sufficient knowledge of Arabic grammar and language to actually understand the passages he learns to chant, and he must rely on the religious teacher for their translation and meaning.

² the Kepala Djawatan Sosial is, in the Special Territory of Jogjakarta, one of the members of the elected village government and, in Daren Kidul village, this functionary was also the local head of the rather conservative Nahdatul Ulama Islamic political party.

³ Daren Kidul (M/L R - H S; No.34) survey, p.33.

Similarly, Entoh, who surveyed the village of Burudjul which is situated on a tea estate and which had a high proportion of santri in the village, states that:

The children learn to read the Koran after the prayers at sunset. Their teacher is the person who is usually imam (the leader of worship in a mosque). This person is a 25 years old estate worker and his fellow villagers have entrusted him with the running of the mosque and the Islamic education of the village children. Both boys and girls are taught in these classes. The children begin their religious education at an earlier age than they do their sekolah rakjat education.

With regard to the pay for the religious teacher, all he asks is that the villagers all contribute towards the purchase of Korans and that each family gives him 25 sen (cents) a month to buy kerosene for lamps by which to study.

The children learn both to chant the Koran and to carry out the prayer rituals. In addition, respect for their teachers and parents is also implanted in them.

The classes are held from 7 pm until 8 pm and then the children pray with their fathers before going home.

The surveys do not provide sufficient data on the attitudes of the santri villagers to determine with certainty whether they were more, or less, eager for their children to attend sekolah rakjat, than were abangan villagers. However, the few surveys

¹ one suspects this refers to the boys only.

² Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.66.

that do discuss santri attitudes, suggest that the santri villagers, like villagers in general,¹ value secular schooling more highly the more contact they had with the world beyond the village. Only two students actually recorded the reason santri parents gave for wanting their children to have some secular schooling². These parents' main reason - they wanted their children to be able to read and write in Latin script (as well as being able to read the Arabic script of the Koran) - corresponded with the main reason given by most of the parents in the 37 villages in general³. However, while the children of santri villagers were attending sekolah rakyat (or even when they did not) they were still required by their parents to continue their religious education at classes held in the late afternoon or evening.

These religious classes, usually held in the village prayer house (surau or langgar) or in the mosque, are mentioned by the majority of writers who discussed the orthodox Muslim education "system".

¹ see Chapter II, p.123.

² Maman Suherman, Kalawagar Tebak (M/L R - M/H S; No.4) survey, p.73; and Dudu Abdullah, Leuwi Bungur (M/L R - H S; No.2) survey, p.82.

³ see Chapter II, p.116ff.

For example, Eddy Karnady states that the village children:

. . . receive religious instruction in the surau. It is taught by an Islamic scholar called a Kiai¹ or Adjengan who has attended a pesantren². . . . They are taught to recite the Koran, to carry out the prayer ritual, and about Islam. They are also told Islamic stories and history. Some adults also attend, and teaching is at night on a voluntary basis. Women usually attend Friday morning classes.³

In Dempet village, there were separate religious classes for girls aged six to fifteen years. Classes were held on Monday evenings and the children were only asked to help pay for the cost of the kerosene which was used in the lamps by which they study.⁴

As can be imagined, attendance at these classes was an extra burden on those children who were going to the sekolah rakjat, for as well as doing their school homework and helping their parents, they also had to pursue their religious studies. As Dudu Abdullah found in Leuwi Bungur, the children, especially those in the higher grades of the sekolah rakjat,

¹ also spelt Kijai or Kijaji.

² the traditional Islamic place of learning (see p.202).

³ Babakan, H R - H S; No.9) survey, p.42.

⁴ Dempet (M/L R - M/L S; No.20) survey, p.52.

have a particularly heavy load:

. . . they must help their parents, look after their younger brothers and sisters, herd the goat, cut the grass, go to the rice fields to watch over the crops and so on, while in the evening they must study the Koran . . .

Traditionally, such evening religious study in the mosque or prayer house continues until a child is old enough, perhaps around the age of ten or twelve years, to leave his family to live and study in a pesantren (also called a pondok), the main institution in the traditional santri education. Abas provides the following description of a pesantren or pondok:

A pondok is a religious institution where youths study religion. They live in a dormitory near the kiai's house. Every day the kiai gives religious instruction and the students are free to attend, that is, they can choose whether they want to attend or not. The students at a pondok are called santri . . . the length of time the santri stay at the pondok is not fixed . . . sometimes it is only three or four months . . .²

Sri Hardijah mentions that the pondok in Kadilangu had about 50 students staying there, some coming

¹ Lewati Bungur (M/L R - H S; No.2) survey, p.82.

² Pasarbatang (L R - H S; No.19) survey, p.23f.

from far distant villages. They paid the *kijai* in raw materials and kind, for many were the children of peasants. She also points out that in the colonial era, virtually the only education available to the majority of the villagers, especially the poorer one, was religious education¹. Then, children - that is the sons of orthodox Muslim villagers - went for perhaps three years to pondok conducted by well known *kijai* and then returned home. This represented their entire formal schooling.²

Thus the *pesantren* or pondok is a place where a highly respected religious teacher gives instruction on the tenets of Islam, the Koran and Islamic life to boys and young men³. The number of pupils in a *pesantren* can vary greatly. The instruction is generally very formal, depending largely on rote learning. The pupils either earn their own living, often by helping the *kijai* in his fields, or they are supported by their parents. As Abas stated in the above

¹ Kadilangu did not have a *sekolah rakyat* established there until after Independence (see Appendix 7).

² Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29) survey, p.48

³ The religious teacher - or more properly the *ulama* (religious scholar) - is called a *kijai* in Central and East Java, and more commonly *adjengan* in West Java.

quotation, the pupils stay an indefinite period. They may stay only a few months, they may stay for years. Often pupils move around from pesantren to pesantren to study under different scholars. There are no fixed curricula, daily timetables, entrance qualifications or examinations¹.

The growth of the secular schooling system since the beginning of the century and its widespread popularity since Independence, as well as the growing need for literacy in the villages, have played a part in bringing modification and change into the orthodox Muslim education. Some pondok have become fairly modern in their outlook and either provide a certain amount of secular instruction apart from the religious teaching which is their main concern, or make provision for the pupils to attend a sekolah rakyat in

¹ For further discussion of pesantren and the traditional religious education system in general, see C. Geertz, The Religion of Java, op.cit., especially Chapter 14; Selo Soemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta, op.cit., Chapter 10; and H. Aboesbakar, Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim / The Life of K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim, Djakarta (Panitya Buku Peringatan Alm. K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim), 1957, esp. Chapters 12 and 13. Descriptions of pesantren, the life led in them and traditional Islamic education are given in such works as M. Radjab, Sesama Ketjil di Kampung / (My) Youth in the Village, Djakarta (Balai Pustaka), 1950, esp. Ch. 13; and Nur St. Iskandar, Pengalaman Masa Ketjil / (My) Childhood Experience, Djakarta (Wolters), 1949.

the morning¹.

However, it is in the madrasah, or Islamic school, rather than in the pesantren, that more modern ideas on education and schooling have generally had most influence. The madrasah is far more like a Western-style "school" than is the pesantren with its dormitory arrangement and traditional, unregulated way of study. Over the last few decades there has been an increasing development of madrasah, founded and maintained by local or national Islamic organisations. Some madrasah are merely evening religious classes, while others are schools comparable to the secular sekolah rakjat, but whose curriculum allows for a considerable amount of religious instruction in addition to the secular subjects. The evening madrasah usually give religious training to children who attend sekolah rakjat by day. The daytime madrasah are often an attempt to provide the orthodox Muslim community with a school that will give their children a sound religious education as well as the secular knowledge that is being increasingly desired among villagers.

¹ This latter innovation is mentioned in the survey on Leuwí Bungur (M/L R - H S, No.2), p.82; and also by Selo Soemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta op.cit., p.343.

A good example of a madrasah which supplements the sekolah rakjat schooling, that is, one providing only religious training, is given by Abas in his survey on Pasarbatang:

Children enter sekolah rakjat and religious school (madrasah) at the same time. The madrasah at Pasarbatang is called Madrasah Islamijah and has classes in the morning and in the afternoon because the sekolah rakjat also runs morning and afternoon classes - this is to enable children to attend both. The teachers (called "ustad") are not paid wages. They are usually bachelors just out of a pondok. There are three teachers at present and they receive financial help ¹ from the village community ² out of the zakat. The religious classes teach the children:

1. to read and write Arabic script;
2. to understand Arabic;
3. about the pillars of the Islamic faith;
4. about actions which are permitted and actions which are forbidden by Islam. ²

The impression is gained from some of the surveys that youths who desired to make a living from religious teaching, especially those who had studied at a pesantren, were finding a fairly good income from setting up classes similar to those described above. This appears to have been a development in villages

¹ the zakat is the religious tax which orthodox Muslims pay annually as a contribution towards the religious and social welfare of their community.

² Pasarbatang (L R - H S; No.19) survey, p.231.

where orthodox Muslim parents who wished their children to attend sekolah rakjat, wanted at the same time to ensure that their children's religious education would not be neglected. Some of these youths could also find employment by giving the two periods of religious instruction per week, provided for the upper grades of sekolah rakjat. Pupils attend these classes only if they had the approval of their parents. The teachers who came to the schools to give these periods of religious instruction were paid by the Ministry of Religion¹.

A situation similar to that in Pasarbatang is described by Mariam in the santri village of Lolohan:

From about 1.30 to 4 pm. all children over the age of five years in the village of Lolohan go to religious school in Pasir Teureup village. In this school, they learn to read and write in Arabic script as well² as studying various religious topics . . .

The writer of the survey on Dieng also mentions that the sekolah rakjat pupils were given religious

¹ Both Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5), p.66, and Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No.33) surveys mention these classes. They are also discussed by C. Geertz, The Religion of Java, op.cit., p.197f.

² Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.68f.

instruction in special classes on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays from 4 pm. until 6 pm; children from seven to twelve years of age attended these classes¹.

Sri Sujati tells of a madrasah in Tjepoko, designed to give the children supplementary instruction in religion. It was called Madrasah Dimijah and was held at night from 6.30 pm until 8.30 pm. There were four teachers at the school which had classes I to IV with 30 boys and 23 girls. It was started in 1956 and there were neither fees to pay (for the teachers were volunteers) nor conditions for entry². Unfortunately the writer gives no further information on the curriculum of the different classes.

All of the type that gives only religious instruction and leaves the teaching of secular subjects to the sekolah rakjat. They were generally attended by the children of orthodox Muslims who appreciated the secular schooling of the sekolah rakjat, but felt that the two periods a week of religious instruction available to sekolah rakjat pupils were insufficient, if the children were

¹ Dieng (M/H R - H S; No.18) survey, p.36.

² Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32) survey, p.57.

to acquire the sound knowledge of Islam and Islamic life that santri want their children to have. In this way such madrasah were designed, not to compete with the sekolah rakjat, but rather to supplement the secular teaching with spiritual instruction.

The other type of madrasah found in the villages covered by the surveys were those that attempted to give orthodox Muslim children both religious instruction, and schooling in the secular subjects of the sekolah rakjat (literacy in Latin script, geography, mathematics, Indonesian and so on). Such schools aimed to provide santri parents with a "religious sekolah rakjat" for their children, that is, they provided an alternative to the secular sekolah rakjat rather than supplementing it, as did the first-mentioned type of madrasah. The madrasah which provide both secular and religious instruction were generally, though not always, held at the same time as the sekolah rakjat, that is, usually in the morning. Different madrasah allowed differing proportions of time to the teaching of secular subjects. It was noted in the preceding chapter that many village children could not attend the sekolah rakjat because they had to help their parents in the fields and in the home, especially in the morning.¹ This

see p.129ff.

problem generally did not arise with the madrasah, for it could easily hold its classes in the afternoon or in the evening, thus adapting to the village environment in a way that was impossible for the government sekolah rakjat. Madrasah which give instruction in secular subjects in addition to the religious teaching that all madrasah provide, are often granted subsidies by the government, and in those areas where Compulsory Education has been introduced, attendance at these schools is considered as an acceptable alternative to attendance at a sekolah rakjat. There were two such madrasah in Kebonhardjo. Sudomo, who surveyed this village, states that the children studied in the evenings from 7.30 pm until 9.30 pm, receiving instruction on Islam, as well as on secular subjects, agriculture and health. One madrasah had 194 pupils (78 boys and 116 girls) with 6 teachers, the other had 120 pupils (60 boys and 60 girls) with 10 teachers. The government gave each school an annual subsidy to help pay the teachers who received Rp.400 a year. The two madrasah were run by the Muslim Muhammadijah organisation¹. However,

¹ Kebonhardjo (M/L R - H S; No.23) survey, p.20.

the writer unfortunately gives no further details on the qualifications of the staff, the exact subjects taught, nor any comment on the standard of teaching.

Mohd. Muchtar mentions that in Panggang Island village some santri villagers preferred to send their daughters to madrasah rather than to sekola¹ but he gives no reason for this attitude¹.

While some madrasah were extremely conservative in their teaching methods, their curriculum and in their whole approach to education, being little more than day-school pesantren, others were very progressive and willing to accept any measure that they felt would help in preparing their students to live as modern Muslims in a changing society. The madrasah in Pasarbatang even had " . . . a diesel motor to provide electricity, a tape recorder, a gramophone and a radio. All this equipment is used in the school's religious teaching²."

From the limited data available in those surveys which discuss the attitudes of the orthodox Muslim community, it appears that the santri in the more remote villages preferred their children to be educated,

¹ Panggang Island village (M/L R - H S; No.37) p.52.

² Pasarbatang (L R - H S; No.19), p.22.

at least partly, within the traditional Muslim education system, and preferred the children to proceed from some sekolah rakjat schooling to receive religious education at pesantren. Siti Djuwariah, in her survey of the fairly remote village of Peuntas Wetan, states that the santri parents there:

" . . . are not so attracted by the scientific [secular] education [of the sekolah rakjat] and place greater stress on religious experience and learning"¹.

In Lolohan, another fairly remote village, where all the villagers were santri, Mariam found a similar situation:

. . . the attitude of parents towards those of their children who do not continue their schooling beyond sekolah rakjat, is not one of disapproval. This means that they never take strong steps against children who do not want to go to school, and they never give encouragement [to those who do]; it is even as if they approve of it if their children do not want to go to school.

This can be understood, because, indeed, they have never been able to see any evidence of reward from schooling. All they can see is that schooling only wastes money. Thus they cannot, as yet, appreciate activities which do not directly give concrete reward. And this forms a proof of their, as yet, narrow outlook on life. They never think about the future; what is important to them is that they can eat from day to day. They are of the opinion that in the future

¹ Peuntas Wetan (M/H R - M/H S; No.13) survey, p.39.

God will always shelter them . . . Because they are very devout in their religion, thus all the inhabitants greatly value religious education.

These two quotations describe two santri communities in villages which are rather remote and which had had little contact with the outside world. In such communities, as is to be expected, the value of secular schooling, especially beyond the primary level, was not yet always appreciated. This attitude is not surprising, for it reflects the general outlook of most parents, not only santri, who lived in the more remote of the 37 villages². The prestige attached to a "Western"-educated person had generally not yet altered these parents' social values and they did not yet show any inclination to encourage their children to enter those occupations open to people with a higher level of schooling. Naturally enough, they often preferred the traditional religious education for their children.

However, the surveys providing data on orthodox Muslims living in less remote villages, point out that these communities often seem to have been as

¹ Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.67f.

² see Chapter II, pp. 123ff and 163ff.

eager as their fellow villagers for their children to progress in the governmental school system, provided that the children could continue their religious education after school hours. For example, Abas, who closely examined the attitudes of the santri villagers in Pasarbatang, implies that post-primary schooling was often preferred to the traditional pesantren education which usually lasted through the teen-age years of a youth's life.¹

The children of orthodox Muslim villagers, who continued their schooling beyond sekolah rakjat, could choose either from government secondary schools giving the normal, purely secular instruction, or from a wide range of secondary schools catering for the orthodox Muslim community. The abangan child proceeding beyond sekolah rakjat level could really only choose from the government schools - and was reliant on gaining entrance to one of them - for he and his parents were not interested in his gaining a deep knowledge of orthodox Islam.

The schools that cater for the orthodox Muslim community are either wholly maintained by Islamic organisations, or run by them with the help of government

subsidies. Some of these "modern" Islamic secondary schools have already been mentioned in Chapter II.¹ There are Junior Secondary Schools run by religious organisations (SMP Agama) and the Religious Teachers' Schools (Pendidikan Guru Agama). Graduates from such schools teach general (secular) subjects in madrasah and other Islamic schools, as well as giving the twice weekly religious classes for those *sekolah rakyat* pupils who had their parents' approval to attend.²

It is possible that as the better-off members of a village community are frequently orthodox Muslims³, they may often be in a better financial position than many of their *abangan* fellow villagers to send their children to post-primary schools. Not all *santri* villagers are well off however, and it was noted earlier that the direct and indirect cost of sending a child to a government school often results in the child having to discontinue his schooling.⁴ For an *abangan* child, this would mean the end of his education. The *santri* child, on the other hand, can fall back on the cheaper traditional

¹ see p.170ff.

² H. Aboebakar, Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim, op. cit., p.632.

³ see C. Geertz's quotation on p.196; this is also mentioned by a few of the writers of the surveys.

⁴ see Chapter II, p.127ff.

(Islamic) education system provided by his religious community which, as was mentioned earlier, is often better suited to the village environment than is the governmental one.¹ Dudu Abdullah says the following of the totally santri village of Leuwi Bungur:

Their [the poorer villagers'] children are now sent to school and are given religious instruction by the adjengan in Leuwi Bungur. The children rarely finish the six years of sekolah rakjat, but usually only reach Grade III to V, because they have to help their parents earn a living and they cannot afford to buy school materials. However, they can study ngadjil [Koran reading] in the pesantren right up until they are adult, as this is held in the evening and they do not have to buy the materials because they are lent to them. The adjengan is paid by their helping him at his home and in his fields for two days a month . . .²

The writer implies that the students of the pesantren do not live in, because their parents needed them to work in the fields. Hence they attended when they could, usually in the evening, and received their

¹ see p.209f. As far as possible, Islamic instruction is held at times which do not clash with other village activities. Payment for religious schooling of a child can be met by goods or services rather than by the cash contributions that are expected if a child attends a government school.

² Leuwi Bungur (M/L R - H S; No.2) survey, p.32.

religious education in this way. Hence this pesantren may have been little more than a surau or langgar, that is, a village prayer house where youths and men could continue their religious education under the supervision of a kijai or adjengan, while still carrying out their normal duties in the fields for their families. A similar situation is described by Mariam. In Lolohan two Koranic teachers held such classes for both the boys and the girls of the village. These children, in return for the instruction given, carried out odd jobs and worked around their teachers' homes.¹

The following conclusions can be drawn from the limited data provided by the surveys. The orthodox Muslims in the surveyed villages - like villagers in general² - seemed to value at least some secular schooling. How much secular schooling they wished their children to receive appears to have been a function of the relative remoteness of the village. However, santri parents preferred their children to continue with their religious instruction while they

¹ Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.57.

² see Chapter II, p.115ff.

were receiving secular schooling; this meant that the children were made to attend either a madrasah which gave both religious and secular instruction, or religious classes outside of sekolah rakjat hours. The santri villagers in the more remote communities seemed to prefer traditional religious education in the pesantren for their children, rather than let them continue to post-primary secular schooling.

Many of the orthodox Muslims living in less remote villages seem - like the parents in the less remote of the 37 villages in general¹ - to have begun to desire post-sekolah rakjat schooling for their children. Some even preferred this to sending them to the traditional pesantren. The orthodox Muslim children who continued schooling beyond sekolah rakjat level, had the choice of government secondary schools or those run by Islamic organisations. Those orthodox Muslim children who - either for financial reasons or scholastic inability - were unable to continue their schooling beyond the sekolah rakjat, had an alternative source of education they could turn to, that is, the pesantren, and one for which

¹ see Chapter II, p.164ff.

there were virtually no entrance requirements.

The abangan villager can choose whether to send, or not to send, his child to sekolah rakjat, and in the latter case the child will receive no formal education whatsoever. If the abangan child does attend sekolah rakjat and is among the small proportion who finish the six years successfully, then his parents must decide whether they want to send the child to a school for post-primary education (assuming that they can afford it and he is intelligent enough).

The santri villager, however, has a much wider series of choices he can make regarding the education of his child. He can choose between the secular sekolah rakjat, the madrasah which provides religious as well as secular instruction, or a combination of both sekolah rakjat and religious classes. Later the choice arises between post-primary secular schooling (for the few who qualify and can afford it), and a traditional religious education in the pesantren. Thus the santri child has an alternative "system" of education to which he can turn if he does not succeed in the secular one, whereas the abangan child who drops out of the secular school system has

finished his formal education. As schooling in general (whether religious or secular) is a source of prestige within the village community, the santri child thus has more chance of gaining such prestige.

One might suspect that the children of santri villagers would succeed in gaining post-sekolah rakyat schooling in greater numbers than abangan village children. Such a conclusion could be based on two reasons. First, because of the greater proportion of santri often found among the better-off villagers¹ who can afford to send their children to secondary school; and secondly, because the santri child has been brought up within a community which has great respect for learning - albeit religious learning, - and from a fairly early age has been expected to acquire formal knowledge. However, one must also take into consideration the extremely conservative nature of the santri community. This is one of the many questions that must await a more detailed study than the data provided by these 37 village surveys allow.

In conclusion, it might be noted that the establishment of madrasah and Islamic secondary schools has meant that the santri child is not restricted to

¹ see the quotation by C. Geertz on p.196.

either purely religious education or secular schooling. In effect, the santri child can choose the particular combination of secular and religious schooling which will best suit him in later life. The abangan child, however, has been left with the single choice of whether to attend, or not to attend, the schooling offered by the secular education system. This is a question that is further pursued in the final chapter.

CHAPTER IV

ADULT EDUCATION

The progress made in extending primary schooling in the 37 villages covered by the surveys has been rapid. The government has attempted to ensure that the parents of village children have access to the skills and knowledge their children are acquiring at the sekolah rakjat, through an extensive adult education program. The advantages in having adult villagers participate in schemes of community education need not be stressed.¹ The individual as well as the community as a whole benefit, in terms of better health, a broader outlook and so on. There is also a lessening of the traditional reluctance of

¹ At the UNESCO Seminar on Rural Adult Education for Community Action held at Mysore, India, in 1949, Dr. Julian Huxley stated that literacy is a prerequisite for scientific and technical advance and for better health, more efficient agriculture and productive industry, for democracy and national progress and for international awareness and knowledge of other nations (p.3).

the villager (especially the peasant¹) to change. Furthermore, the success of the children's schooling, and of later village social cohesion, are dependent on the parents also being introduced into the wider culture that their children are being encouraged to embrace. This chapter is concerned with examining the various government programs of adult education with which the 37 villages had come into contact, and with investigating, as far as the data provided by the surveys will allow, the effect this was having on various aspects of village life.

The surveys noted that the three main types of adult education programs operating in the villages were: the anti-illiteracy campaign; agricultural extension services; and various efforts and schemes aimed at educating village communities to raise their standards of health and improve their social conditions. The village surveys do not indicate whether there was, or was not, any co-ordination between the various government departments engaged in rural adult

¹ See R. Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture (University of Chicago Press), Chicago, 1956, p.137

education.¹ The main departments concerned were those of Mass Education (Pendidikan Masyarakat), Labour (Perburuhan) Agriculture (Pertanian) and Health (Kesehatan).

The anti-illiteracy campaign seems to be one of the first programs of adult education begun in the villages surveyed, and it is now by far the most widespread form of adult education. As established in Chapter I, anti-illiteracy courses had been held in at least half of the 37 villages.² The program is generally organized by the Department of Mass Education. Many of the surveys report that the first courses were held in the early 1950's, the earliest reported course having been held in Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) in 1952. Several of the surveys, such as Leuwl Bungur (M/L R - H S; No.2) and Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) mention that the first anti-illiteracy courses were held in 1954.³ In general, the Department,

¹ However, it was established in Chapter I that villages less remote from administrative centres had had more intensive contact with the adult education programs (see p.69).

² see p.65ff.

³ An article entitled "A Survey of the Social Task of the Mass Education Department", published in "Indonesian Affairs (Ministry of Information, Republic

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(often working through village heads who had requested that courses be held in their village) contributed finance, materials and manpower to set up the courses, which are usually referred to as Kursus Pemberantasan Buta Huruf (Illiteracy Eradication Course), or abbreviated to "PBH courses". The village head usually worked in close co-operation with the staff of the village sekolah rakyat, who often also taught in the PBH courses. Entoh found that the course in Burudjul was originally established through the efforts of the head of the village and that the village only later received government assistance.¹ This was apparently

of Indonesia), Vol.III No.9-10, September-October 1953, pp.3-13, states that the anti-illiteracy scheme had a fairly unsuccessful start in 1946 and was discontinued because of the revolution. The scheme was re-established in 1950 by the Ministry of Education, Instruction and Culture's Mass Education Department, which aimed to establish at least one Anti-Illiteracy Course in every village. "The Anti-Illiteracy Courses are divided into two parts, each lasting three months. In the first half the elements of reading and writing are taught, while the second half is devoted to the teaching of simple arithmetic and popular lessons in general knowledge. Certificates are given to those who pass the examinations which are mostly held shortly after the end of the term." (p.6). The courses are primarily aimed at people aged 15 to 45 years.

¹ Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.62ff.

quite usual in the early 1950's¹ and indicated the eagerness for literacy and schooling that was found in some villages, especially those beginning to have increasing contact with the world beyond the village. By the time the surveys were made, the program had set up teams of trained teachers who were rotated from village to village throughout a particular region. Sri Sujati found that the PBH courses in the area in which she was working were organised at the district (kewedanan) level, with the course moving from village to village and lasting about three months in each.² Sometimes a course in one village also served many of the surrounding villages.

The success and the lasting effect of these courses seem to vary, depending in many cases on how much the villagers appreciated the skills literacy brings. The courses, sometimes established through the eagerness of the village head to have his village declared "Free of Illiteracy" - a great honour - built up social pressures, often emanating from the leaders and from the youth of the village, to have all villagers enrol in the PBH courses. This has often meant that

¹ see "A Survey of the Social Task...." op.cit., p.4.

² Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32) survey, p.58.

many villagers who had neither the desire nor the use for literacy, had attended these courses. Many such villagers were living in more remote areas. For example, Mariam and Misbah, who both surveyed fairly remote villages, found that a large proportion of the people in the two villages who had attended PBH courses had, over the years, become illiterate again through lack of practice of their newly acquired skills.¹ Similarly, Maman Suherman reports that of six people he tested in Kalawagar Lebak, all of whom had attended the PBH course a few years previously, only two were still literate. These two people used reading and writing in their daily life; the other four used them neither at work nor at home and had become illiterate again through lack of practice.²

The students' discussion of the PBH campaign in the various villages gives the general impression that the campaign had not succeeded in totally eradicating illiteracy in the 37 villages. However, it succeeded in giving many villagers, who were unable to attend a school during the colonial period, a

¹ Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.65; and Naga (H R - H S; No6), p.59.

² Kalawagar Lebak (M/L R - M/H S; No.4) survey, p.71.

chance to become literate. Those who had attended a course and found literacy useful, either in their occupations or in their daily life, have generally retained it. Furthermore, the "general knowledge" part of the courses assisted in introducing to all villagers participating in them - whether they retained their literacy or not - new ideas about health and social improvement, ideas to which the majority of village children were being daily exposed in school.

In almost all cases where enrolment figures by sexes for the various PBH courses were given, they showed that more women than men had enrolled. For example, of the 400 people who attended PBH courses in Hargomuljo in 1959, 274, or 68.5% were women.¹ Similarly, in Karangdadap, 402, or just over 70% of the 569 villagers who had attended courses since 1952, were women.² The predominance of women was reflected in the numbers who passed the course examination and gained their Certificates of Literacy. In his study of Baru Adjak, Subardjah includes statistics relating to the numbers of men and women in

¹ Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No.33) survey, p.44.

² Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) survey, p.39.

the two sub-districts (kecamatan) of Lembang and Tjisarua, who received PBH certificates during the years 1957 to 1959. Of the 1,606 people who gained certificates during the three years, 991, or 62%, were women.¹ The reasons for the predominance of women are not given, but there could be several explanations. For instance, it has already been noted that, in general, the rate of illiteracy had been higher among women, for men had more opportunity for schooling during the colonial era. Therefore more women might be expected to enrol in the PBH courses. Moreover, in the villages, men were far tied down by their occupations as farmers, labourers and so on, than were women, who usually had more seasonal employment. Hence the women were often freer to devote time to courses such as these. Indeed, one of the criticisms levelled at the organisation of the PBH courses, by the villagers and by the writers of the surveys, was that frequently they were not arranged to fit in with village life. Maman Suherman says of Kalawagar Lebak:

¹ Baru Adjak (L R - H S; No. 14) survey, p. 73.

. . . in past years only seven people have attended the PBH courses; the rest have not gone, giving as their reasons that the venue for the course was too far away ^(or) that they were too shy or embarrassed to go; sometimes the course was held at a time when they were working.

He goes on to point out that the course could have been held in the village mosque, so that the villagers would not have had to travel so far; that it could have been held in the afternoon, when less work was done; and that incentives could have been given to induce illiterate villagers to attend.²

In several of the villages, such matters had been taken into consideration in the organisation of the PBH courses; but in general, effective arrangements seem to have depended on the ingenuity and enthusiasm of the Village head or the Mass Education official. For example, Rifai Asfari mentions that in Malangdjiwan separate courses were held for men and women, to correspond with the different times of the day when they were free. The women had instruction three times a week from 4 pm to 6 pm, while the

¹ Kalawagar Lebak (M/L R - M/H S; No.4) survey, p.73. Such objections may of course have been merely excuses for the villagers not to attend, because they did not want to become literate.

² *ibid.*

men attended the course only once a week from 7 pm to 9 pm.¹ Some surveys found that the men were too tired to study at night after having worked all day. In those villages where many of the men earn their living by trading or labouring, they often had to leave the village for weeks at a time, to travel to other districts, and when they returned they usually found that they had fallen behind in the course; so they dropped out. Soegiarti noted this as a particular problem in Radjawana Kidul.²

The PBH courses not only taught reading and writing, but also provided instruction and information on hygiene and other subjects designed to improve communal living standards and health. As well, those who attended were taught Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, although they were generally first taught to read and write in their regional language. Knowledge of the national language helps to draw these often very traditional villagers into the wider regional and national sphere. Literate villagers who also have a knowledge of Bahasa Indonesia, have access

¹ Malangjiwan (M/L R - M/H S; No.25) survey, p.54.

² Radjawana Kidul (? R - M/L S; No.16) survey, p.15.

to new ideas and attitudes through such media as newspapers, magazines, radio and government information material, virtually all of which now use only the national language. The broadening of attitudes and the weakening of tradition was already noticeable in many of the villages, and this is a vital and often necessary precursor to many programs of agriculture, health and general social improvement which call for the breaking with custom¹.

Although talks were given by officials of the Department of Mass Education, and by village officials, on the benefits to be derived from attendance at PBH courses, the growth of interest in the courses (and in schooling) seems to have been mainly stimulated by the villagers' increasing contact with the world beyond the village. This contact affected all aspects of village life: marriage and death certificates were issued by the village head's office (in Indonesian); notice-boards were erected outside the office; newspapers and magazines were brought into the village; and parents were beginning to receive letters from their literate children who had left to work in cities and town. Moreover, printed political

information and propaganda was being constantly distributed by the government and political parties. This was especially so during the elections of 1955 and 1957. Exposure to political influence is stressed in several of the surveys. For example, Entoh, contrasting the fact that, in the colonial era, almost no political or government influence reached down to the village level, mentions:

. . . the offices of the Department of Information and the Village Administration where there are displayed the party organisation in Indonesia, together with their respective emblems, the present cabinet organisation and pictures of its members, as well as very clearly printed posters and pictures . . .

Several of the surveys stress that it was by then generally compulsory that all candidates for positions in the elected village government be literate, so that they could read government directives and compile reports for the Sub-district, District and Regional offices. This had apparently acted as a strong incentive for many villagers to attend PBH courses, for membership of the village government (open to all villagers through election) not only brings great respect, but can also be very lucrative. Each

¹ Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.71f.

member of the village government receives payment in the form of produce from a certain amount of arable land set aside for this purpose. Thus, with such a goal before them, with social pressures from within and without the village for everyone to become literate, and with increasing contact with the written word, a growing number of villagers were wanting to attend PBH courses. As Sudibjo Setyobroto found in Dieng:

. . . it was also felt that reading and writing was not so very important for those whose daily work consisted of going into the forest to collect wood and who come home only to eat. But this kind of attitude is now beginning to decrease, and people are becoming aware of the advantages of being able to read and write.¹

In some villages, attendance at PBH courses was encouraged by awarding prizes to the better students. For example, Poedjastoeti mentions that on August 17, 1958 (Indonesia's National Day) the best women students were given prizes such as drinking glasses, towels, soap, fountain pens, pencils and notebooks. Some of the better students who had perfected their new skills of reading and writing, were

¹ Dieng (M/H R - H S; No.18) survey, p.37.

later employed in the courses to help those just beginning to learn.¹ This gave the newly literate practice and allowed the PBH courses to reach many more villages. As mentioned previously, in some of the villages there was great pressure to have a course started because of the villagers' eagerness to become literate. Entoh found three villagers in Burudjul who were taught by their children to read and write, and who had since gained jobs which required them to make use of their literacy.² One important function of the PBH course was to cater for children who did not (usually for economic reasons) attend primary school. Siti Djuwariah found that:

Those /children/ who do not receive any schooling whatsoever, are required, under the anti-illiteracy campaign program, to attend a PBH course run by the local official of the Mass Education Department, until they gain the certificate /of literacy/.

As well as ensuring a literate generation of village children, this also made certain that all of them were exposed to the new ideas which the schools and

¹ Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) survey.

² Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.66.

³ Peuntas Wetan (M/H R - M/H S; No.13) survey, p.32.

the anti-illiteracy campaign are helping to introduce.

One of the main difficulties in helping the newly literate villagers to maintain their literacy was the lack of reading and writing materials. For example, Siti Djuwariah points out that:

. . . generally the population of the village of Peuntas Wetan can already read, if what they are reading is written in clear simple script; however, they find it difficult to correspond ¹with relatives and friends because of the difficulty in obtaining writing materials.

On the matter of reading materials, Usman found in Pasir Waru that:

. . . in every household, one could find almost no reading material at all, except for the books owned by the children ²presumably from school and one or two books "Learning to Read" which were handed out by the PBH teachers . . .

The problem of scarcity of reading materials for the newly literate has been recognised by the government:

¹ *ibid.* In some districts, the government distributed free postcards to encourage villagers to begin corresponding with friends and relatives, thus practising their newly acquired skills of reading and writing (see "A Survey of the Social Task...*op.cit.*p.7). However, none of the surveys mention these postcards.

² Pasir Waru(M/L R - H S; No.12) survey, p.101.

All activities of the Mass Education Department do not end after people acquire the ability to read and write. The next step of the Department for those who have passed the examinations must be to prevent these people from falling back into the domain of illiteracy. There must be reading material available, especially popular books and constructive magazines. In this connection the Department issues four magazines in four provinces with a circulation of 15,000 - 30,000 copies a month and a news-magazine with a circulation of 250,000 copies. . . . Worth mentioning also is the establishment of simple village libraries, mostly furnished with books in the regional vernacular but with a small portion in the national Indonesian language . . .

However, only two surveys² mention these Taman Batjanan Rakjat [Peoples' Libraries]. Sri Hardijah gives no description of the library in Kadilangu, but Entoh, who surveyed the tea estate village of Burudjul, found that:

The retention of the abilities to read and write, and the broadening of knowledge of the workers in Burudjul/achieved/ by the government could be said to be non-existent. This is because a small library set up by the Department of Information in Taradju³ is totally unknown to the Burudjul people.

¹ "A Survey of the Special Task....op.cit., p7.

² those of Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) and Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29).

³ the nearest town, one km from Burudjul.

And if they had known about it and there were workers who wanted to borrow books, their hours of work would have prevented them from going to Taradju, for the library is only open at the times when the villagers have to work, that is, from 8 am until 2 pm. Moreover, the writer has examined the books in the library, and these books could not possibly be read by workers with such a very low education, because the majority of the books are written in fairly small print and in very difficult Indonesian.¹

While the growth of the People's Libraries system seems to have been severely hampered by lack of funds, it should be remembered that any printed material - newspapers, magazines, an occasional book - that comes to a village, circulates widely among the villagers. It is regrettable, however, that the period of great activity in the anti-illiteracy field has been accompanied and followed by a period of rising costs for publishing, due mainly to the increasing cost of paper. This, no doubt, has contributed to the incidence of people "falling back into the domain of illiteracy".

Apart from the libraries as a means of aiding retention, and improving standards, of literacy among the villagers, Siti Djuwariah also mentions an advanced PBH course having been held in Pemas Wetan

¹ Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, p.63.

by the Department of Mass Education. However, no details are given and it is reported in only this one survey.¹

Thus, despite the anti-illiteracy program having only partial success in realising its professed aim of eradicating illiteracy entirely, it was effective in making literacy courses available to the majority of the villagers. Furthermore, those villagers who wanted to become literate seem to have made full use of the opportunity the PBH courses gave them to do so.

The minority of children who could not attend school were able to attend the PBH courses, so that they too could become literate and not be set apart from playmates who could go to school. More important, these children were given the opportunity to acquire skills which will in future be regarded by most of the villagers as necessary for effective participation in their community life. Preserving newly established literacy skills still remains a problem, however. Its solution is receiving attention, but it depends mainly on materials, the provision of which is hampered

¹ This course may be either one of the Adult Community Courses or the General Knowledge Courses, intended to be the main follow-up to the PBH courses (see "A Survey of the Social Task...op.cit., p.8ff. where they are extensively described). However, none of the surveys make specific mention of either of these courses.

by limited finance.

The second major field of adult education is in the occupational sphere. In the villages where farming is the main economic activity, this principally takes the form of agricultural extension services, usually run by the Department of Agriculture. In villages where a large proportion of the villagers work on estates, in small-scale industry or factories and mills, there are vocational courses, usually run by the Department of Labour.¹ As most of the villages are agricultural, the surveys provide far more information on the nature of agricultural extension services, which are examined first.

Of the 30 villages which gain most of their income from agriculture, 14, or 47%, had come into some contact with rural improvement or information schemes. The surveys on the remaining 16 villages do not mention whether there had been any contact.² While this

¹ Neither of the surveys on the villages engaged in fishing (Tanggulasin (No. 11) and Panggang Island (No. 37)) mention vocational courses, though there was a co-operative on Panggang Island.

² One might assume that the majority of the surveys which do not mention such contact, would be on villages where none had been made. One gathers from the surveys that the students were instructed to mention whether

form of adult education appears to have been fairly widespread, it has not, as will be shown, always met with success.

The main contact with the village farmers appears to have come through the local Agricultural Department's officer, who was usually stationed at the District (kewedanan) or Subdistrict (ketjamatan) office. He either came to the villages to give information and advice on agricultural matters to individual farmers, lectured to the whole village at one of its monthly meetings, or assisted in the establishment and running of various courses.

Several of the surveys give examples of the kind of information and advice offered by Agricultural Department officers. Marian tells of a more efficient grass knife suggested for use in Lolohan¹; the survey on Peuntas Wetan reports on advice given on rice-planting²; several surveys, such as the one on Dempet³,

there had been agricultural extension services in the villages they were investigating. In general, only those students who have found evidence of such contact, mentioned and discussed it.

¹ Lolohan (M/H R - M S; No.3) survey, p.17.

² Peuntas Wetan (M/H R - M/H S; No.13) survey, p.25.

³ Dempet (M/L R - M/L S; No.20) survey, p.30.

mention that the use of artificial fertilizers was promoted by such an official; in Kebonhardjo, advice was given about seeds and artificial fertilizers¹; Rifai Asfari mentions the Department of Agriculture's assistance in providing information in Malangdjiwan about pesticides and how to procure them²; and in his survey on Pasir Waru, Uaman comments on advice given by the Central Rubber Department in Bogor, on fertilizer and seed³.

However, many of the writers stress the extreme conservatism which these suggestions and schemes for rural improvement had encountered. Such conservatism and traditionalism were often linked closely with folklore and semi-religious beliefs and hence could not be changed by a "frontal attack" of scientific and rational argument. For example, Husen describes how in Langen no concentrated effort could be made to eradicate the rats that destroyed the crops, because of the belief in the village that the rats were supernatural beings which could take revenge upon those who sought to harm them⁴. Several of the surveys

¹ Kebonhardjo (M/L R - H S; No.23) survey, p.34.

² Malangdjiwan (M/L R - M/H S; No.25) survey, p.16.

³ Pasir Waru (M/L R - H S; No.12) survey, p.24

⁴ Langen (M R - M/H S; No.7), p.18.

mention that orthodox Muslim villagers often refused to disturb wild pigs that ravaged their crops, because pigs are considered "forbidden" animals in Islam and the villagers feared any sort of contact with them. In other villages, where the Agricultural Department officers had suggested that it might be more profitable to grow some crops other than rice, maybe tobacco or corn, they met with resistance from the farmers because of the dominant part the rice cultivation tradition played in their daily and religious life. Sjahidin gives such an instance from Negla Podjok where, despite the fact that it was shown that vegetable-growing was far more suited to the climate and soil, and hence would have been more profitable than the traditional rice crop:

. . . those farmers who still strongly adhered to traditional customs and beliefs of their forefathers . . . believed rice to be a sacred crop, bequeathed to them by their ancestors from generation to generation, and its cultivation must be preserved and, if possible, extended.

Various methods were employed to persuade farmers to try new methods, new ideas and new crops, and, where tradition and custom were hindering the

¹ Negla Podjok (M/L R - M S; No. 36) survey, p. 34.

economic progress of a village, to make them leave the ways of their forefathers. This, as can be imagined, was not an easy task, and many of the surveys report that quite a few programs had failed to overcome conservatism and tradition. Success was generally achieved where the village head and the members of the village government (who were often the people with the highest level of schooling and the most contact with the outside world) co-operated with the local Agricultural officer in attempting to raise the standard and level of local agriculture. This had mainly taken the form of "educating" the farmers to try new methods and adopt new attitudes.

There seemed to be considerable variety in the ways the village heads and the local Agricultural officers attempted to change tradition and custom. The greatest success had apparently come from demonstration and example, rather than from merely giving advice and information. This was especially so when the demonstration and example came from the village head, generally the most respected person in the community. Soeprijo tells how the village head and the Agricultural Department brought new methods to Doplang by means of a well-planned experiment:

. . . in order to learn the output/produce from each hectare, the village set aside sawah /paddy-field/ for that purpose. This was called the "test sawah". The cultivation of the land in this test sawah was carried out by villagers appointed by the village head and with advice from the Department of Agriculture; for example, planting was organised in the larikan /in rows/ manner, hoeing had to be carried out in both ¹ the rainy and the dry season, and so on . . .

In this way the whole village was shown how new methods could result in increased production. Poedjastoeti found that the head of Karangdadap had promoted similar agricultural improvements.²

Often the efforts of the members of the village government, and especially of the village head, were given official recognition. For example, Mhh. Busron tells of the efforts of the lurah (head of a kelurahan) of kelurahan Danakerta, in which Daren Kidul is situated, to improve agricultural and social conditions and adds :

. . . on the 12th anniversary of National Independence, the lurah of Danakerta received a certificate of merit for his efforts in promoting the development and improvement of the village and its territory.³

¹ Doplang (M/L R - ? S; No.27) survey, p.37.

² Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) survey, p.5.

³ Daren Kidul (M/L R - H S; No.34) survey, p.2.

In other regions, development within the village, especially in the agricultural sphere, was promoted through inter-village competition. Siti Rochmi Illias found that Kali Tengah had taken part in such a competition in 1959.¹ These activities were devised - mainly through government departments and with the co-operation of the elected village heads - to make villagers aware of developments in other communities and to encourage them to adopt methods previously proved successful. The impression is gained from the surveys that government departments such as Agriculture educated the youth of the village in new methods and ideas in schools and special courses, while the older farmers could generally only be "taught" through example and demonstration.

Several of the surveys mention that information and instruction on the use of fertilizers and other means of improving agricultural production had been given by the local Agricultural officer, but that often his advice was not followed, either by the whole village or by part of it. For example, in Pentas Wetan advice on rice planting, given by the local Agricultural Department officer was not heeded, because the new methods he suggested required tools

¹Kali Tengah (M R - M S; No.21) survey, p.23.

they did not have.¹ In other villages, the seeds or fertilizers suggested were either too difficult to obtain, or were much too expensive for the farmers.²

The writers found that the majority of objections to suggested improvements appeared to have been based upon economic considerations, that is, that the improvements either did not warrant the expense involved, or were too expensive for the village farmers. However, these excuses may often have been a rationalization of conservatism and tradition, although there could have been a combination of the two elements: a farmer could be unwilling to "risk" his meagre resources in new methods which he had never before encountered and hence whose advantages, for him, had still to be proved. But, once one section of the village adopted new methods and achieved results that proved their value, the new methods usually found increasing favour and acceptance. The writers' discussions of the introduction of agricultural improvements suggest that there were two groups in the village who were most likely to try new ideas first - the members of

¹ Peuntas Wetan (M/H R - M/H S; No.13) survey, p.25

² see for example Tjepoko (M/L R - H S; No.32) survey, p.52.

the village government, and the younger farmers. Village government members often had opportunity to travel to other villages and to the ketjamatan and kewedanan capitals, where they could see new methods for themselves and determine their suitability for their own village. Generally they had had more formal schooling than most of the other villagers and were sometimes less influenced by the more conservative and traditional Javan peasant attitudes. For example, Suwarno found in Sigaluh that, although the farmers were in general extremely conservative and unwilling to follow the advice of the Pertanian Rakjat [People's Agriculture] official, the tjarik [village secretary] had started to adopt the new methods.¹

The second group mentioned, the younger farmers - and especially those who had gained some schooling since Independence - appeared in general to be eager to test new methods and, if necessary, discard tradition. They had often, already at sekolah rakjat level, had lessons on farming improvements and on the advantages of the use of fertilizers and selected seed, and they were quite willing to put these ideas into practice. Hence, in a village such as Negla

¹ Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.17) survey, p.47.

Podjok, where, as already noted, there was a strong tradition that rice should not be replaced by other crops, no matter how much more profitable they might be. Sjahidin also found that this conservatism and tradition was breaking down among those who had made some contact, and had been more exposed to, the world beyond the village. With the advent of more widespread schooling, it was mainly the young who made up this modern-minded sector of the village population, and the farmers among them:

. . . who no longer heed the traditions and beliefs of their ancestors . . . are of the opinion that it is more economic if their land, which is indeed not extensive, is planted with vegetables which are a more productive crop than rice. "Can't we buy rice with the money we get from selling the vegetables?" - this is the way they look at the situation.

Those who did make the change from rice cultivation to cash crops, such as vegetables, tobacco and pyrethrum, were then also eager to adopt the newest ideas and most modern practices, whereas those who were still cultivating rice were often unwilling to use any but the traditional methods. Sjahidin stresses that those Negla Podjok villagers who had begun

¹ Negla Podjok (M/L R - M S; No. 36) survey, p. 7.

to grow vegetables rather than rice, had started to use fertilizers and DDT and were eager to learn of any way of increasing production.¹

Although one would expect adherence to tradition and custom to be much stronger in the more remote villages, there are not enough surveys discussing agriculture and change in depth, to allow a detailed examination of the relationship between these two factors. While proximity to a fairly large centre did appear to promote the influx of new ideas and methods, the exposure of the village youth - in school and elsewhere - to influences outside the village and to progressive suggestions, seems to have been a more important factor. Indeed, Negla Podjok, where there was still strong opposition from some of the community to the replacement of traditional rice cultivation by cash crops, is a village situated not far from the large city of Bandung, provincial capital of West Java. Thus, conservatism and tradition were not only to be found in the more remote villages. Still, the surveys suggest that the youth in villages less remote from an administrative centre were more likely to come into contact with modern trends. The

¹ibid., p.35

agricultural courses, mainly given by officers of the Department of Agriculture, were generally organised from the administrative centres - the ketjamat, kewedanan and kabupaten - and were often expressly designed for the youth and younger farmers of the villages. Such courses as Kursus Tani [Farmers Courses]¹ either supplemented the instruction the younger farmers received at school, or for those who did not attend school, gave the basic agricultural instruction and advice that the pupils of village sekolah rakyat received.

The main courses mentioned in the surveys were the Balai Pendidikan Masyarakat Desa [Village Society Educational Institute]⁷ and the Kursus Tani Desa [Village Farmers' Course]⁷. Both of these were run with the assistance of the Department of Agriculture, the former at an administrative centre and the latter within the village. Sartini Sumomartono discusses these two courses in some detail and points out that, since 1951, the BPMD had been held in the sub-district capital of Dempet, in which Dempet village lies. The BPMD seems generally similar in content to, but far more

¹ mentioned in Burudjul (M/L R - M/L S; No.5) survey, but no details as to its duration and organisation were given.

intensive than the KTD. She reports that mainly the younger farmers attended these courses, and that instruction is given by the BPMD on:

1. Economics
2. Irrigation
3. Agricultural Science
4. Fisheries
5. Agrarian Affairs.¹

Other government departments also supplied information to the village farmers. The survey on Dieng, which is situated in a more remote area, mentions the help and advice given by the Forestry Department, especially with regard to the cultivation of pyrethrum.² Soekarno reports that the Djawatan Kehewanan [Department of Livestock] treated the cattle of Winong villagers and also gave instruction on the best methods for keeping their cattle healthy.³ The Ministry of Labour also had an active adult education program, mainly for those villagers who worked on rubber and sugar estates, and for those engaged in semi-industrial occupations, for instance in milling and small-scale processing industries. A good example of the

¹ Dempet (M/L R - M/L S; No.20) survey, p.51f.

² Dieng (M/H R - H S; No.18) survey, p.32.

³ Winong (M/H R - M/H S; No.24) survey, p.18.

work being done in this field is given by Subardjah in his survey on Baru Adjak, where most of the villagers were employed in the nearby dairy factory which supplied Bandung with milk. Subardjah points out that much of the Labour Ministry's educational activities were carried out by its Pusat Latihan Kerdja [Occupational Training Centres], and states that:

the efforts of the PIK of the Ministry of Labour to raise the standard of efficiency of the workers of Baru Adjak have been to send some of them, to attend courses at the PIK in Lembang.

The training they received included theoretical and practical knowledge, intended to:

1. upgrade and refresh their knowledge and efficiency;
2. give them knowledge and efficiency in a new vocation.

The courses include instruction on agriculture (including livestock) and the running of estates, as well as book-keeping and clerical training.²

Similar vocational courses were run by the Department of Mass Education; one of the better known is the Kursus Ketrampilan Orang Dewasa [Adult Manual Work Course] which is mentioned in a few of the surveys,

¹ the capital of the kewedanan in which Baru Adjak is situated.

² Baru Adjak (L R - H S; No.14) survey, p.76.

mostly those on villages where the occupational composition was less dominated by agriculture.

Although several of the government departments distribute printed material on various ways of improving village life, such as booklets designed to be read by adults who have attended the anti-illiteracy courses, none of the students who made the surveys mention having come across such material.¹

Apart from the several agricultural and vocational programs organised on governmental level, there were also some self-help schemes started in some of the villages. For example, in Hargomuljo, Sri Sujati found a "tani kring" (circle of farmers), numbering about 30, who met regularly to discuss ways of improving their farming methods.² Many of the surveys also mention that the local Agricultural officer was often invited to lecture on some agricultural problem or topic to the selapanan desa, a meeting held every 35 days and attended by all village members.

¹ One of the difficulties inherent in using the surveys is that in a case like this, one cannot know definitely whether the students did, or did not, come across such material.

² Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No. 33) survey, p.44.

The third type of adult education found in the villages was that associated with the government departments concerned with raising standards of health and improving social conditions. Whereas the two fields of adult education discussed so far - agricultural and vocational training and advice - were mainly directed at the men of the villages, this one is primarily directed towards their wives. The work is mostly carried out by officials of the Djawatan Kesehatan [Health Department] and the Djawatan Sosial [Department of Social Affairs], generally in the form of talks and courses.

Much of the work in this sphere is aimed at educating the wives and mothers in the village towards a better understanding of the principles of hygiene, particularly with regard to childbirth and child care. It was usually organised through the local polyclinic or through the Balai Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak [Mother and Child Health Institute], which not only conducts medical examinations of mothers and children, but also runs special courses for mothers. Several of the surveys mention that these courses had been held, while other surveys report that often talks had been given to the women of the village, by officials of the

Health Department or by nurses from the local polyclinic.

Formal courses were given to the untrained traditional village midwives (dukun Baji) by one of the staff of the local polyclinic, usually by the trained midwife stationed there. The dukun baji is generally an old woman who has gained her knowledge largely through experience and who receives remuneration for assisting at births. Of the 37 surveys, 11,¹ or 30%, specifically mention that the dukun baji had received some type of formal training as outlined above. Again, there seems to be a negative correlation between the incidence of governmental activities - in this case the provision of formal training for Dukun Baji - and the relative remoteness of the villages. Of the 11 villages, only one (Radjawana Kidul) was not given a ranking with regard to remoteness in Appendix 2. Of the other 10, six were ranked as MEDIUM/LOW, one as MEDIUM and only three were ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH. Thus, compared with the more remote villages, twice as many of the less remote villages had had this form

¹Leuwi Bungur(2) Radjawana Kidul(16) Manishardjo(30)
 Lolohan (3) Kali Tengah(21) Tjepoko(32)
 Burudjul (5) Winong(24) Daren Kidul(34)
 Karangdaday (15) Malangdjiwan (25)

of adult education. However, the fact that three of the somewhat remote villages had also had contact with the program indicates that it was not restricted to those villages close to an administrative centre.

Two surveys - Kali Tengah and Malangdjiwan - mention that when the dukun baji in these two villages had passed their course, they were given instruments to aid them in delivering babies.

The aim of health education, begun in the sekolah rakjat, and continued in the courses and talks at village meetings and PBH courses by Health Department officials (particularly those from the local polyclinic), is to bring about a gradual lessening of superstition and ignorance and a growing awareness of the principles of hygiene¹, nutrition and child care. Such health education tries:

... to make people understand that the increase of education requires a change in the pattern of living of everybody. A man who previously used to sleep together with his sheep and buffaloes will definitely not do the same again after he possesses some elementary knowledge of hygiene - he will look for another place to sleep. If infectious diseases are around, he will be able to take

¹ note that among the prizes given at the PBH courses was soap (see p.234 this chapter).

the necessary steps to prevent their spreading, so that he will not suffer from considerable material losses . . .¹

Other adult education courses for women include the fairly widespread Kursus Rumah Tangga /Household Courses/² which provide instruction in child care, hygiene, sewing, nutrition and related topics. These are run by the Department of Mass Education.

The impression is gained from the students' discussions of adult education in the 37 villages, that the various schemes and programs of the government departments had had a varied reception. On the one hand, many writers found that some of the villagers, particularly the older ones, often did not want to accept the new ideas and advice offered them by the various government department officers. On the other hand, they found that the adult education programs were often considerably successful among the younger generation, many of whom had attended sekolah rakyat where they had been introduced to ideas and ways of life other than those practised by their parents.

¹ "A Survey of the Special Task . . . op.cit., p.8.

² mentioned specifically in the surveys on:
 Baru Adjak (14), p.73 Malangdjiwan (25), p.54
 Sigaluh (17), p.59 Kadilangu (29), p.47
 Dempot (20), p.51 Panggang Island (37), p.53.

For children who were unable to go to school, the anti-illiteracy courses provided a similar opportunity to be exposed to new ideas and attitudes. Moreover, the anti-illiteracy courses were also designed to stimulate attendance at other courses, both vocational and social, with a view to bettering their life even further. Those of the older generation who were willing to discard traditional practices and learn new ways of improving their standard of living, had equal opportunity to take part in the various adult education courses. But many of the writers have found that older people, if at all, would only adopt new ideas after they had seen younger, more progressive villagers put these ideas into practice and achieve worthwhile results.

In summary, it could be noted that the 37 villages covered by the surveys had had experience with a great variety of government schemes and programs, and certainly the great majority of the villages had had some contact with at least one or two of them.

¹ Indeed, the majority had come in contact with two or three different schemes. Some idea of the incidence of contact the different villages had had with governmental agencies can be gained from the data listed in Appendix 2, where the villages were

Unfortunately the uneven nature of reporting in the surveys makes it impossible to ascertain the number of villages which had had contact with any particular scheme or program. In the first chapter¹ it was established that the relative remoteness of a village appeared to play some part in determining whether a village would be included in the various government adult education schemes. In addition, it might be mentioned here that the diverse schemes and courses run by different government departments cover a wide variety of approach and organisation. Selosoemardjan has stated:

If a government wants to establish a program of community development, it should determine what attitude its executive agencies ought to assume towards the communities to which the program is to be applied. It may take the position of a government, with all its legal authority; it may also decide to have its agencies act as educators;

ranked according to the amount of outside influence they had experienced. The main data used in ranking the villages referred to contact with governmental agencies. Of the 37 villages, 2 were ranked as LOW, 9 were ranked as MEDIUM/LOW, 4 were ranked as MEDIUM, 17 were ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH and 5 were ranked as HIGH. Thus in the 37 village sample that form the basis of this study, there was evidence of widespread and often fairly intensive contact with governmental agencies, particularly those connected with adult education.

¹ see Chapter I, p.68.

or it may issue instructions that they take the roles of passive consultants.

The schemes and programs discussed in the surveys appear to have included attempts at all three above-mentioned "attitudes". Selosoemardjan also found that this was so in the villages which form the basis of his study². What is lacking in the students' descriptions of the various schemes and programs is mention of some over-all plan and co-ordination. In general, there seems to have been a concentration on an individual aim - to improve hygiene or to introduce a new farming method - rather than attention to the broader implications of how village life would change, in what direction should village life change, and which programs could be best used to reinforce each other in order to improve particular aspects of village life with the minimum of unwanted social upheaval. However, the data contained in the surveys are insufficient to establish a definite absence of an over-all plan to the "new life" that government departments were introducing into many of the 37

¹ The Dynamics of Community Development in Rural Central and West Java, op.cit., p.31.

² ibid., p.36.

villages. Questions that can be pursued regarding the 37 villages surveyed are: had the individual programs, courses and schemes achieved any tangible results in the various fields in which they were each operating? And, how was the life of the villagers being changed by the introduction of widespread schooling and adult education? Such questions are the concern of the final chapter, in which the effects of the introduction of schooling and adult education are examined, and in which "modern" education is looked at as an agent of social change.

CHAPTER V

SCHOOLING AND ADULT EDUCATION AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

One of the most striking features of the pattern of schooling in the 37 villages is the evidence of the fast and widespread growth of the primary school system throughout these villages since Independence, and the growing acceptance by parents of their children's need for at least some schooling.¹ The fact that such progress had been made in extending primary schooling into the villages without the government having to resort to coercion, indicates that the introduction of widespread primary schooling met with considerable approval, and was accepted by the villagers themselves. Indeed, this spread of primary

¹ The children of only two of the 37 villages - Tjurug (H R - L S; No.1) and Tanggulasin (H R - L S; No.11) - were found to lack access to a sekolah rakyat (see p.29). In 50% of the 34 villages for which data are available, all children of school age were attending school, and in a further 24% only a small proportion of the school-age children were not attending school (see p.98).

schooling was actively assisted by many of the villagers and their leaders.¹ This perhaps suggests that the villagers saw in the schooling of their children a means of dealing with the social, economic and political forces that had increasingly - in the colonial, Japanese, revolutionary and post-independence periods - been impinging upon, and changing the pattern of traditional village life. In many ways, the Javan village had been "ripe" for change. The colonial government had attempted, as far as was possible, to preserve the village from undue social and political change, while at the same time altering its economy to serve the needs of the colonial government. However, the artificially changed and dislocated economic basis of the village and increasing over-population, brought social tensions that were exacerbated, first in some areas by the hardship of the depression, and later in most areas by the oppressive Japanese military occupation. Traditional village life, attitudes and values were no longer adequate to cope with the problems the villagers had to face, problems which were emanating from a world beyond the village and which demanded new attitudes and values of the villagers, if they were to be solved.

¹ see Chapter I, p.79.

Selosoemardjan, in discussing this, has stated:

The conviction that any change would bring relief from the tensions and frustrations of the people and thus would bring improvement in the conditions of life grew stronger and diffused over all parts of the society . . . the stimulus for change arrived by way of the proclamation of Indonesia's independence . . .

While this statement, in ascribing to all the people a conscious desire for change, probably draws on urban rather than rural experience, it does illustrate that the society of Java was in many ways ready for change.

In many rural areas the "stimulus for change" came only after the revolution and with the subsequent greater contact with government bodies. Changes took place in all aspects of village life, which assisted the village communities to cope with developments in social, economic and political conditions, from which the village was no longer even partially sheltered. Indeed, the government of the newly independent Indonesia had the expressed purpose of introducing change and development into the village sphere. One of the principal methods of doing this

¹ Selosoemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta, op.cit., p.413.

was through the introduction of widespread schooling and adult education which, it was hoped, would help in transforming the whole culture of the village society into a closer approximation of the national culture. R.C. de Jongh has stated:

In Western society education means the transfer of culture from one generation to another, including the transfer of technical abilities, rules of conduct and morals, as well as the acceptance of traditional values and techniques. This transfer of culture is done by a school system which is supported by both society and the family, while aiming at one target and having a common starting point.

In the non-western societies, however, education is not only a matter of the transfer of culture from one generation to another, but it is also meant for the transfer of a culture - or certain parts of it - to another culture. In other words, education is the most important factor in such acculturation. The task of the educators in non-western societies in general, and in the underdeveloped areas in particular is, as a matter of fact, more complicated, as they are not generally supported by the family and the community to such an extent as in Western society.

The Indonesian government has attempted to overcome part of the latter problem by promoting the adult education program; one of the objectives of this program is to minimize the cultural gap between the

R.C. de Jongh, "Some Educational Problems in Indonesia" op.cit., p.35.

older and younger generations of villagers. In this task the Indonesian government was greatly assisted by the villagers' - in general - wide acceptance of schooling and education as a means of dealing with the changes that faced them. Even many of the traditionally conservative, orthodox Muslim community felt that their own, long-established education system was no longer providing their children with a preparation adequate for coping with a changing society.

Modern schooling and adult education, however, brought a great influx of new ideas, attitudes and values into the villages. These were often the ideas and attitudes that formed the foundation of the national (urban) culture and on which the aims and objectives of the school curriculum and the adult education programs were based. Before examining the wider implications of such acculturation, it is of value to study some of the more important immediate effects of the introduction of schooling and adult education, in order to see how they are changing and modifying the pattern of Javan village life. As so many of the examples given in the surveys indicate, schooling and adult education are directly assisting social and

economic change within the villages. Such change is not an easy or uniform process. Often, the more remote and isolated villages, such as Tanggulasin (H R - I S; No.11) remain virtually untouched by formal education or by any other social development. In contrast, other villages have populations eager for schooling and adult education, and which are caught up in a complex process of social change.

How does schooling, literacy and adult education bring about social and economic change? What is the evidence in the surveys, which provides a basis for drawing conclusions concerning the relationship between schooling, literacy and adult education on the one hand, and social and economic changes on the other? In answering these questions, attention is first focussed on the social life of the village and its value system.

Through the efforts of both the national and the local village government, schooling has increasingly come to be regarded as a necessary part of the socialisation of the young, and an essential part of their training for later life. The writers of the surveys found that this view was already a component of the

value system of the population in the majority of the villages.

Literacy and a knowledge of Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, were becoming more and more important in the villagers' daily life, especially among the younger generation. This was resulting in the villagers being increasingly drawn, beyond the confines of the village, into contact with national life and culture. The surveys mention that newspapers and magazines (in Bahasa Indonesia) were being read in some of the villages, and that the Indonesian-language radio was being listened to in others. The command of Bahasa Indonesia facilitated finding employment in the large towns and cities; literacy allowed those who travelled to keep in touch with their relatives by letter.

The system of values in the villages was being gradually, but distinctly, altered. Children no longer only learnt the traditional customs and beliefs from their parents, but were being introduced to new attitudes and values - those of the national culture - by their teachers. Thus, the writers of many of the surveys talk of a weakening of traditional beliefs and custom among the young, coupled with a growing

awareness of wider horizons.¹

The desire for schooling had also tended to modify the social structure within the village. The barriers between distinct social groups are being broken down or changed. Many writers tell of the upward social mobility and the considerable esteem within the village social structure, that schooling could bring².

The customs and traditions surrounding such institutions as marriage were also being modified, as schooling became increasingly accepted as a desirable part of a child's socialisation. Formerly, girls who did not marry immediately upon reaching puberty were regarded as "social failures".³ This attitude militated against girls finishing sekolah rakjat and strongly discouraged them from continuing to secondary school. In the more remote villages covered by the surveys, where universal schooling was only

¹ see for example the quotations by Sjahidin, Negla Podjok survey, Chapter IV, pp.243, 249f.

² The writers of Kadilangu (H R - M S; No.29), p.30ff and Manishardjo (M/H R - M/H S; No.30), p.24ff particularly stress this.

³ This is discussed by several surveys; see for example Peuntas Wetan (M/H R - M/H S; No.13), p.41.

beginning to be introduced, the writers found that the school program was still hampered by this attitude. However, as schooling became more common for both boys and girls, this way of thinking was considerably modified, or disappeared entirely. Often new attitudes arose. Dudu Abdullah noticed a trend in Leuwi Bungur, that a man would not marry a girl who was better educated than he. However, if he were hoping to enter a pegawai-type occupation, he may want to marry a girl who has had some schooling.¹ This meant that parents who sent their daughter to school as long as possible, could often be assured of gaining a son-in-law with better educational qualifications than their daughter's, and who therefore would perhaps be eligible for a respected and secure position.²

¹ Leuwi Bungur (M/L R - H S; No.2) survey, p.63

² It is interesting to note that P. Pospoa records the existence of this attitude towards the schooling of girls, in his book Aku dan Toba [I and Toba], Jakarta (Balai Pustaka), 1950. While making certain observations on the introduction of Western schooling in Sumatra, based on his own experiences, he observes that: "A girl who has gone to MULO/Advanced Elementary School will certainly expect at the very least to get a boy who has been to training college . . . as a husband. We would rarely see a girl who has been to high school have a husband who also went to high school, or a MULO girl marry a MULO boy. Often too, parents would send their daughter to school just with

Perhaps of more importance for social change than the modification of particular social customs was the growing tendency to question tradition and village mores in general. This was the result of the atmosphere of enquiry and individual thinking which schooling encouraged among the village children. For example, referring again to the question of marriage, it is noted in many of the surveys that more and more village youth who had attended school were choosing their own marriage partners, rather than bowing to the traditional custom of following the dictates of their parents.¹ The marriages arranged between fairly young girls and boys by their parents - which frequently ended in divorce - were giving way to more stable marriages between young men and women who had been educated, had experienced far more social freedom than their parents, and had also chosen each other.

Schooling was not only affecting the traditions and mores of village life, but was also helping to modify the whole social environment. The majority the expectation that the daughter would get a husband in an important position" (p.60).

¹ This is mentioned for example in Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) survey, p.49.

of surveys, for instance, report that good progress in schooling was accompanied by good progress in the field of health. Children were often given intensive health and hygiene instruction in the schools, particularly in villages with special health problems.¹ School children were generally immunised and the value of such measures explained to them. The necessity for hygiene was impressed upon them, and the old village beliefs regarding sickness and disease were progressively being replaced by modern knowledge. For example, Misbah reports in his survey that the older people of Naga, whenever they became sick, consulted the dukun (untrained healer and mystic), and would only go to the nearest hospital or polyclinic as a last resort. He points out that the dukun mainly relied on spells to cure sickness, but continues: "Among the younger generation, such beliefs have somewhat declined as a result of the education they receive at school."² Similarly Suwarno mentions that in Sigaluh:

Belief in the dukun still exists, but generally only among those villagers

¹ *ibid.*, p.40.

² Naga (H R - H S; No.6) survey, p.41.

ho have had no formal education whatsoever. Those who have had some schooling will no longer go to the dukun if they are sick, but will go to a village clinic.

Poadjastoeti mentions that the children of Karangdadap were taught in school which foods are the most nutritious,² while Sri Sujati makes the observation that:

From the progress in schooling of the children in the village, we can expect a more ordered life with greater understanding of the conditions for good health. We can be sure of this, because of the existence of the present difference between more educated villagers and those who have had no schooling; the former are leading a healthier life and live in cleaner houses and yards.

In addition, many of the adult education courses specifically aimed at the women in the villages, provided instruction on nutrition, hygiene and child care.⁴

Village organisation and government is another field which will be increasingly affected, as schooling and literacy become more and more appreciated, desired and widespread. Javan villages have, since earliest times, had their own indigenous government system. The village head, or lurah, and the members

¹ Sigaluh (M/L R - H S; No.17) survey, p. 31.

² Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) survey, p.12.

³ Hargomuljo (M R - H S; No.33) survey, p.44.

⁴ see p.258.

of his village government have always held a position of high esteem and, since Independence, their appointment has been through election in the majority of villages. The villagers' growing regard for education is reflected in the fact that villages such as Karangdadap have stipulated that any candidate for election as a member of the village government must be literate.¹ This is partly the result of reading and writing having become a normal part of village activities - a member of the village government must write reports relating to his functions as an official; he must be able to read government directives concerning the duties he is expected to perform. As Usman points out, the growth of literacy among the population of some villages had resulted in people acquiring the qualifications and skills to set up various organizations - quite independent of the village government - such as co-operatives, sport and cultural associations.²

As noted earlier, the increasing provision of schooling, and the growing respect for those who had managed to attend school, had led to changes in the

¹ Karangdadap (M/L R - M/H S; No.15) survey, p.44.

² Pasir Waru (M/L R - H S; No.12) survey, p.100.

occupational structure in many villages.¹ Occupations which required certain educational qualifications and were therefore generally positions of prestige and security, had become greatly desired by children and their parents. Such employment may have been seen by them as an undefined "pegawai" (civil servant or official), or otherwise in more specific terms: as a teacher, a soldier, a policeman, or even a doctor. All these occupations are part of the world beyond the village, a new world for the Javan villager, who is learning about it by becoming literate, through adult education courses, and through personal contact with people from outside the village. It is this world of the nation rather than of the village or ethnic group which, more and more, serves as a source of values in the changing village culture.

However, not all the village children will become pegawai; indeed, only a small proportion would be able to do so. Those who have attended school and remain on the land will - according to the surveys - generally be far more willing than were their parents, to try out new ideas and break with tradition.²

¹ Note for instance the percentage of villagers who earned their income as pegawai (see Appendix 3).

² see for example Chapter IV, p.249f.

Having in many cases received some agricultural training while at school, they will often have become acquainted with the use of fertilizers and pesticides, and will most likely be far more receptive to advice on new methods from the agricultural extension services, than were their fathers. Villagers engaged in other occupations can gain advice from various vocational services of the government. Thus schooling and adult education were having far-reaching effects on many aspects of life in the villages where they were becoming increasingly widespread.¹

From the above examples concerning social, political and economic spheres of village life, it can be seen how schooling had begun to introduce new ideas and had given rise to new attitudes. Other examples have already been mentioned in previous chapters. All of them indicate the increasing influence of the national culture - as opposed to the traditional village culture - on the life in the village and especially on the life of the village youth. The national culture involves a wider, more "modern" and

¹ In Chapter I, p.67, it was established that just under 50% of the 37 villages had definitely had contact with either an agricultural or a vocational course run by the government.

often more individual outlook on life: citizenship rather than village membership; the polyclinic rather than the dukun; cash-crops rather than rice; the political struggles and contests in Djakarta as related in newspapers rather than the wajang shadow-puppet play; and so on.

As schooling and contact with the world outside the village become more and more widespread, the enquiring and critical minds of the young will modify or discard more and more of the customs and beliefs that are woven together to form the traditional fabric of Javan village life. Many of the adult education programs - such as the literacy and health courses - aim to bridge this ever-widening gap between the more "modern" life of the young villager and the traditional life of his parents. However, in the main the national culture is not so much being imposed from above, but is progressively undermining the traditional life from below, through the changed and changing attitudes of the younger villager; and in this process of cultural change, the *sekolah rakyat* has played, and will play, a central role.

A.K.C. Ottoway, in his study on social forces and cultural change, states that:

The culture of a society during a given period is influenced by the interaction of two classes of factors, (a) the stage of technical invention and scientific discovery it has reached, and (b) the dominant aims and values of the society. This statement can be shortened into: the interaction of culture can be described in terms of techniques and values. The relationship can be represented diagrammatically as in Fig. I

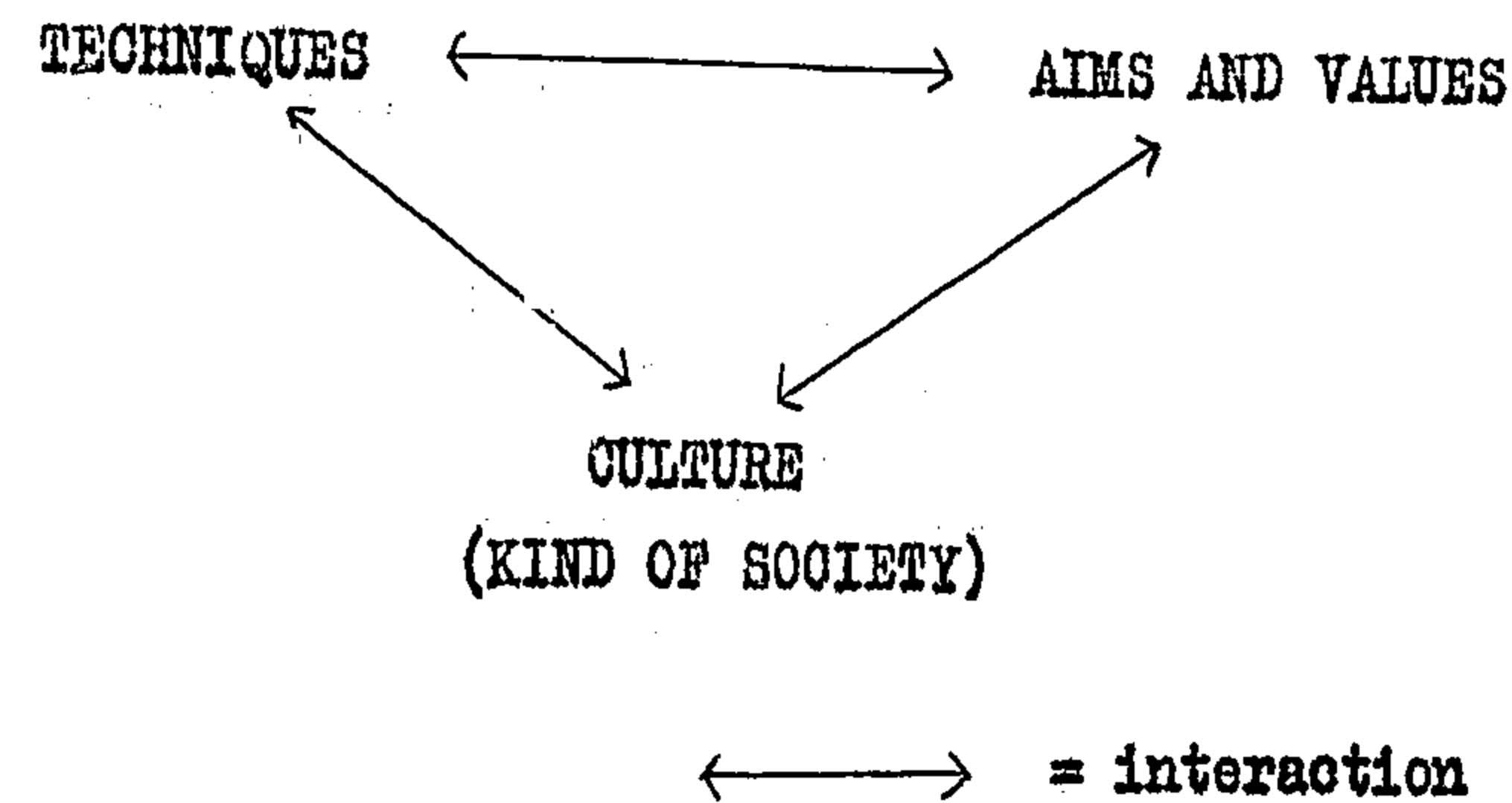


FIGURE I

where the double arrows represent a dynamic interaction, or a two-way process.

In this study, the effect of a new "technique" (i.e. schooling, literacy and Western-type education in general) on the "aims and values" and "culture" of the societies of the 37 Javan villages has been examined. For example, it has been noted how Western-type education has brought new occupations into the village sphere, hence changing the culture (or "kind

¹ A.K.C. Ottoway, Education and Society, London, (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1964, Chapter III, p.41.

of society") of the Javan village. This in turn has influenced village aims and values, for parents are increasingly eager that their children should gain enough schooling to allow them to be part educated elite of the village.

However, the Javan village society differs from Ottoway's model. Ottoway says:

It was in response to human needs that techniques were developed at all, and the whole process of civilization undertaken. People have needs, ideas, attitudes and interests, and call upon techniques to help solve their problems.¹

The Javan villager has - as is shown by the widespread and growing acceptance of schooling - short-circuited the inventive process and accepted from outside his own society the "technique" of the national schooling system. He has accepted it as one means of coping with the cultural changes and problems that he has increasingly faced over the last quarter of a century, and as a means for his children to cope with the problems and changes he foresees will face them. However, the national schooling system is a product not of his own village culture, but of the wider national

¹ *ibid.*, p.48.

culture: the curriculum of the sekolah rakjat has been devised, not in a village for village children, but in Djakarta for all children in Indonesia, be they in the city, town or village and be their societies dependent on farming, fishing, estate work or office work.

Thus, in many ways, the technique the villagers have been given is, in its present form, unsuited to their needs. This study has been examining the Javan villager in the process of discriminating between those aspects of the national education system which he feels are relevant to his life and the life of his children, and those which he feels are not. As the Javan villager has no direct and immediate way of changing the school curriculum, he can only accept or reject certain features of it. Thus, those parents who are unable to support their children through secondary school, seem to have accepted the lower grades of sekolah rakjat as relevant to village life and its problems, but have generally rejected the higher grades as irrelevant. However, as was shown in Chapter III, the members of the orthodox Muslim community have been able to modify the "technique" of Western-type schooling by incorporating only those

features they desire, into their own education system.

Nevertheless, as can be seen by Ottoway's model, there exists a dynamic interaction between the technique on the one hand, and the aims and values and whole culture of the society on the other. Although the government education system was regarded in certain respects as unsuited to the present needs of the villager, its introduction will cause change and modification within the village culture, for this is a process of acculturation.

Because of the unsuitability of much of the technique, its total acceptance by the villagers can lead to dislocations. For example, the secondary school system is, to a great extent, the product of the "national" culture of Djakarta, rather than that of the village, and tends to concentrate to a large degree on the training of office workers and officials. The present over-production of secondary graduates whose training is unsuited to village conditions, is a symptom of the incongruity of parts of the national education system to the village culture.

While the villager has no direct means of changing or modifying the school curriculum and other aspects of the national education system, his rejection

of certain features of it may lead the national government to realize which aspects are unsuited to village needs. In addition, as more and more villagers become teachers¹ they may be able to change the system from within to better serve the village situation.

What were some of the aspects of the national education system which had been rejected in these 37 villages? What reform do they indicate as being necessary?

The most striking rejection of part of the system in the 37 villages was that the majority of the children left school around third grade of sekolah rakjat.² There seemed to be two reasons for this: First, the irrelevance of the curriculum; secondly, economic considerations. The first objection is easy to comprehend. The curriculum, which was designed for all the areas of Indonesia - rural and urban - contains³ much that is irrelevant to village

¹ see Chapter I, p.50.

² see Chapter II, p.140ff.

³ Although there have been changes in the sekolah rakjat curriculum since the period when the surveys were made, the changes have been minor ones, determined more by considerations of ideological indoctrination than by considerations of an educational nature.

life and - just as importantly - the curriculum for the upper grades has much in it that is preparing the pupil to enter secondary school. As it has been established that only a small proportion of village children did continue with schooling beyond primary level, it appears that the school curriculum is thus geared for only a small minority of them. If the national government wants all village children to attend for the full six years of sekolah rakjat, then it must design a curriculum relevant to the village sphere and which makes such subjects as agricultural training not just a part of one subject and an extra-curricular activity¹, but a central part of the children's schooling. If many children cannot attend in the morning or at certain times of the year, because they must help their parents in the fields, the government education system must, as the madrasah in some of the villages were found to have done, adapt to village conditions, rather than expect the opposite to occur.

With the far greater number of general (SMP - SMA) secondary schools than vocational ones available to the villagers, children wanting to continue their

¹ see Chapter I, pp.54-57.

education beyond sekolah rakjat level have mainly done so at these general secondary schools. This of course has resulted in dislocations, as these children have become unemployable in their villages, and often also in the towns. An increasing number of parents in the 37 villages were found to have rejected the national secondary education system because of its bias towards such generalized education.¹ What is obviously needed is greater provision of vocational schools, and a campaign by the government to raise the prestige of vocational - and especially agricultural - secondary schooling. For those who cannot continue their schooling beyond sekolah rakjat level, there should be post-sekolah rakjat adult education courses regularly available in the villages, to reinforce and supplement what is taught in the village sekolah rakjat.

The experience of these 37 villages indicates that great progress has been made by the Indonesian government in introducing schooling and adult education into the rural areas. The fact that the provision of school facilities and the attendance of school-age children in the lower grades were both generally high,

¹ see Chapter II, p.186ff.

indicates that the foundations for universal village schooling have been laid. It is now necessary for the government to examine the needs and wants of the villagers of Indonesia, so as to ensure that those parts of the national schooling system that are directed towards village children are relevant to village life. This would be quite feasible and need not, and indeed should not, interfere with the national education system transmitting the wider aims and values of the nation, through developing in the youth of Indonesia an awareness of the nation beyond their own village society, and encouraging in them an outlook receptive to change.

APPENDIX 1

DESCRIPTIVE DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN
FEATURES OF THE 37 VILLAGES

The University of Sydney

PHOTOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT
REQUEST FOR PHOTOCOPYING

PUBLICATION THESIS WORK NO. E.74 DATE 24/10/69
VOLUME _____ YEAR _____ PAGES whole
AUTHOR WITTON, R. A.
TITLE OF ARTICLE SCHOOLING AND ADULT EDUCATION IN RURAL JAVA (M.A. 1964)

REDUCTION : 12

TIME : 11 am

DATE : 27/10/69.

Frances

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N. GLENNILL, R/S. Fisher

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APPENDIX 1

A COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN
FEATURES OF THE 37 VILLAGES

This appendix provides a comparative partial description of the 37 villages. The surveys of these villages furnish the basic data for this study. The features described have been chosen to allow the most meaningful direct comparisons between villages, and because they are basic to the procedure in those chapters where their correlation with schooling and adult education are examined.

Each village is described according to the following features:

- a) its location with regard to the administrative divisions of Java;
- b) population;
- c) the amount of government aid and/or influence the village has had, as well as the village's relative remoteness;
- d) the major fields of employment in which the villagers were engaged, as well as the approximate percentage of people in official or administrative positions;

- e) the relative wealth of the village, as far as can be ascertained;
- f) the proportion of villagers who were strict (orthodox) Muslims;
- g) any other special feature of the village.

The definitions and data used in categories (c), (d), (e) and (f) are discussed in Appendices 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively.

Features (c), (d), (e) and (f) were selected for two main reasons. Firstly, these were the features dealt with most extensively in the surveys and which could be most effectively compared. Secondly, these features seemed most likely to have some influence on the spread of schooling and adult education. A knowledge of these features is essential to an examination of questions such as the following:

- With regard to feature (c): Would schooling and adult education have more appeal in a village community less remote from urban centres and which had more contact with governmental, political and commercial bodies?
- With regard to feature (d): Would a more "traditional" peasant village community be less easily motivated to have their children attend school than would be, for example, a community whose members gain their income mainly from employment in mills and factories? And,

would the proportion of villagers employed in official or administrative positions (as pegawai) be a determining factor in a village community's interest in their children's education?¹

- With regard to feature (e): Would parents in a relatively better-off community be in a more favourable position to finance the construction of school buildings? And, would they be in a better position to support their children to continue their schooling beyond the basic elementary level?

- With regard to feature (f): What relationship exists between the traditional (Islamic) education system and the more modern government secular one?

It was with questions such as these in mind that the above features were selected to provide a partial descriptions of the villages.

The writer must admit that the data on these features provided by some of the students who wrote the village surveys was not extensive and was often based on subjective observation. Moreover, the material was often presented in a disorganized fashion. In examining

¹ In relation to this, one must keep in mind that entrance to pegawai positions are to a large extent dependent on the level of schooling reached by an applicant.

some of the questions listed above, the writer felt, however, that to ignore some of the data that were available would be a greater fault than not to attempt to use whatever information was at hand. The writer realizes the tenuous nature of conclusions resulting from correlations based on such data, and in the study has tended to concentrate on those correlations which seem to indicate strongly future profitable lines of enquiry. Where correlations have been made, the writer saw little value in giving the chi-square, for the sample used was not a random one. Rather, it was felt that a four-fold contingency table would be of greater value, for it would allow the reader to observe easily whether a trend worthy of consideration was apparent.

As mentioned earlier, Appendices 2 to 5 provide the data from which the writer ranked the villages with regard to certain features. These rankings are expressed in the terms: HIGH; MEDIUM/HIGH; MEDIUM; MEDIUM/LOW; LOW. In addition to the data set out in those appendices, the writer has also occasionally been influenced (in determining the ranking of a village with regard to a certain feature) by the general impression of conditions in the village he has gained from reading the actual survey. However, the writer has had to rely

mainly on the data as set out and repeats that he is fully aware of the dangers inherent on that reliance. This is one of the main reasons that the findings based on correlations do not play a central part in the writer's examination. Rather, in the study the writer has preferred to rely on drawing conclusions on schooling and adult education from actual observations made by the students who wrote the surveys. As not all students have commented about exactly the same aspects of schooling and adult education, the correlations as well as the partial descriptions given in this appendix will help to place such observations in perspective.

The villages and their descriptions summarised from the data provided in the following appendices, are listed below in the arbitrary numerical order in which they have been placed and which corresponds to the numerals of the Map in the Introduction.

(1) TJURUG village, by Shahminan Obos, (1960), 108 pp.¹:

- a) situated in the kelurahan² of Tjurug, the ketjamatan (sub-district) of Klari, the kewedanan (district) of Krawang, the kabupaten (regency) of Krawang and the province of West Java;
- b) population: 1,021;
- c) ranked as LOW in regard to the amount of government and/or other outside influence and contact the village has had, and ranked as HIGH in regard to relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers' economic activity was devoted to estate work - 7.5% pegawai;
- e) ranked as MEDIUM/LOW in regard to wealth;
- f) ranked as LOW in regard to the proportion of orthodox Muslims (santri) in the village;
- g) the village lies in a rubber estate nationalised from the Dutch in 1957.

¹ the year the survey was carried out and the number of pages.

² the term kelurahan is explained in the Introduction which precedes Chapter I.

(2) LEUWI BUNGUR village, by Dudu Abdullah, (1960), 90pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Sukagalih, the ketjamatan of Tjikalong Kulon, the kewedanan of Patjet, the kabupaten of Tjiandjur and the province of West Java;
- b) population: approximately¹ 300;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but devoted some time to trade, skilled craft work, estate labour and work in small-scale industry and mills - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
- f) ALL villagers were orthodox Muslims.

(3) LOLOHAN village, by Mariam, (1960), 82pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Tjangkuang, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Leles, the kabupaten of Garut and the province of West Java;
- b) population: 204;
- c) MEDIUM outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/HIGH relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
- e) LOW wealth;
- f) ALL villagers were orthodox Muslims.

¹ Where the exact population figure has not been given in the survey, the writer has, where possible, estimated it from other data given, such as the number of household heads.

- (4) KALAWAGAR LEBAR village, by Maman Suherman,
(1960), 91pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Singaparna, the kabupaten of Tasikmalaja and the province of West Java;
 - b) population: 93;
 - c) HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
 - d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
 - f) MEDIUM/HIGH proportion of orthodox Muslims.
- (5) BURUDJUL village, by Entoh, (1960), 87pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Taradju, the kabupaten of Tasikmalaja and the province of West Java;
 - b) population: 154;
 - c) MEDIUM outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
 - d) the villagers were mainly engaged in estate work, but devoted some time to private agricultural production - 5% pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
 - f) HIGH proportion of orthodox Muslims;
 - g) the village is situated on a private tea estate.

(6) NAGA village, by Misbah, (1960), 63pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Neglasari, the ketjamatan of Salawu, the kewedanan of Taradju, the kabupaten of Tasikmalaja and the province of West Java;
- b) population: 343;
- c) MEDIUM/LOW outside influence and contact, and HIGH relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
- e) LOW wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(7) LANGEN village, by Husen, (1960), 52pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Pataruman, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Bandjar, the kabupaten of Tjiamis and the province of West Java;
- b) population: 5,441;
- c) MEDIUM/LOW outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

- (8) BATULAWANG village, by Johartin Hadijat, (1960),
68pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Padaringan, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Bandjar, the kabupaten of Tjiamis and the province of West Java;
- b) population: approximately 365;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers' economic activity was devoted to estate work - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) MEDIUM proportion of orthodox Muslims;
- g) the village is situated on a recently nationalised rubber estate.

- (9) BABAKAN village, by Eddy Karnady, (1960), 67pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Parigi, the ketjamatan of Tjisaga, the kewedanan of Rantjah, the kabupaten of Tjiamis and the province of West Java;
- b) population: 52;
- c) MEDIUM/LOW outside influence and contact, and HIGH relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) ALL villagers were Muslims.

- (10) SINDANGKEMPENG village, by Nurseelan, (1960), 45pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan of Sindangkempeng, the ketjamatan of Mandirantjan, the kewedanan of Tjilimus, the kabupaten of Kuningan and the province of West Java;
 - b) population: 1,974;
 - c) MEDIUM outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM relative remoteness;
 - d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - no pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
 - f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.
- (11) TANGGULASIN village, by Muljono Bratusudirdja, (1960), 58pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan of Babadan, the ketjamatan of Sindang, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Indramaju and the province of West Java;
 - b) population: 42;
 - c) LOW outside influence and contact, and HIGH relative remoteness;
 - d) virtually all the villagers' economic activity was devoted to fishing - no pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
 - f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims;
 - g) the village is rather inaccessible, as it lies in the middle of marshlands near the coast and can only be reached by boat.

- (12) PASIR WARU village, by Usman, (1960), 105pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan of Tjinangai, the ketjamatan of Tjikalong Kulon, the kewedanan of Patjet, the kabupaten of Tjiandjur and the province of West Java;
 - b) population: 149;
 - c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
 - d) the villagers were mainly engaged in estate work, but devoted some time to private agricultural production - 1% pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
 - f) ALL villagers were orthodox Muslims;
 - g) the village is situated on a People's Rubber Estate¹.
- (13) PEUNTAS WETAN village, by Siti Djuwariah, (1960), 47pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan of Tjimeuhmal, the ketjamatan of Tjisalak, the kewedanan of Saga-laherang, the kabupaten of Subang and the province of West Java;
 - b) population: 150;
 - c) MEDIUM/LOW outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/HIGH relative remoteness;
 - d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - 2% pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
 - f) HIGH proportion of orthodox Muslims.

¹ "Perusahaan Karet Rakjat".

- (14) BARU ADJAK village, by R.A. Ma'soem Prawira
Subardjah, (1960) 87pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Lembang, the kabupaten of Bandung and the province of West Java;
- b) population: approximately 1,550;
- c) HIGH outside influence and contact, and LOW relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers' economic activity was devoted to estate work - 1.5% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) no data available;
- g) the village is situated on a dairy estate.

- (15) KARANGDADAP village, by Poedjastoeti, (1959), 46pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Karangdadap, the ketjamatan of Kalibagor, the kewedanan of Sokaradja, the kabupaten of Banjumas and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 2,260;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to trade, skilled craft work, estate labour and work in small-scale industry and mills - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) MEDIUM/LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(15) RADJAWANA KIDUL village, by Soegiarti, (1959), 29pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Radjawana Kidul, the ketjamatan of Kanrangmontjol, the kewedanan of Bukatedja, the kabupaten of Purbalingga and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: not given;
- c) MEDIUM/LOW outside influence and contact, but no data available on relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
- f) no data available.

(17) SIGALUH village, by Suwarno, (1959), 65pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan and the ketjamatan of Sigaluh, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Bandjarnegara and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 698;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - 1% pegawai¹;
- e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

¹ These pegawai have been stationed there; they are not Sigaluh villagers.

(18) DIENG village, by Sudibjo Setyobroto, (1959), 44pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Dieng, the ketjamatan and the kapanewon¹ of Batur, the kabupaten of Bandjarnegara and the province of Central Java;²
- b) population: 2,187;
- c) MEDIUM outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/HIGH relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(19) PASARBATANG village, by Abas, (1959), 30pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Pasarbatang, the ketjamatan, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Brebes and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 5,851;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and LOW relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - no pegawai;
- e) HIGH wealth;
- f) MEDIUM/LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

¹ equivalent to a kewedanan.

² although the village is divided into Dieng Wetan (East Dieng) and Dieng Kulon (West Dieng), the writer of the survey treated it as a single village, and this has also been done in this study.

(20) DEMPET village, by Sartini Sumomartono, (1959),
58pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan and the ketjamatan of Dempet, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Demak and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 3,138;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - 2% pegawai¹;
- e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
- f) MEDIUM proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(21) KALI TENGAH village, by Siti Roohmi Illias, (1959),
82pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Kali Tengah, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Mranggen, the kabupaten of Demak and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 1,574;
- c) MEDIUM outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - 0.5% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) MEDIUM proportion of orthodox Muslims.

¹ these pegawai have been stationed there; they are not Dempet villagers.

- (22) SUKODONO village, by Soejatno Gondowidjojo, (1959)
66pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Sukodono, the ketjamatan, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Djepara and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 3,568;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) NONE of the villagers were orthodox Muslims.

- (23) KEBONHARDJO village, by Sudomo, (1959), 31pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Kebonhardjo, the ketjamatan of Polanhardjo, the kewedanan of Djatinom, the kabupaten of Klaten and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 1,112;
- c) HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to trade, skilled craft work, estate labour and work in small-scale industry and mills - 1% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) MEDIUM/HIGH proportion of orthodox Muslims.

- (24) WINONG village, by Soekarno, (1959), 38pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan of Winong, the ketjamatan, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Bojolali and the province of Central Java;
 - b) population: 3,783;
 - c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/HIGH relative remoteness;
 - d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - no pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
 - f) MEDIUM proportion of orthodox Muslims.
- (25) MALANGDJIWAN village, by Rifai Asfari, (1959), 59pp:
- a) situated in the kelurahan of Malangdjiwan, the ketjamatan of Tjolomadu, the kewedanan of Wonohardjo, the kabupaten of Karanganyar and the province of Central Java;
 - b) population: 4,616;
 - c) HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
 - d) the villagers spent approximately half their economic activity on labouring and skilled craft work, and the rest was divided between a limited amount of private agricultural production, and trading - 11.5% pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
 - f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(26) WANARATA village, by Saprawi S. Kaffrawi, (1959),
19pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Wanarata, the ketjamatan of Bantarbolang, the kewedanan of Randudongkal, the kabupaten of Pemalang and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 6,590;
- c) MEDIUM/LOW outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/HIGH relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) MEDIUM proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(27) DOPLANG village, by Soeprijo, (1959), 40pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Doplang, the ketjamatan of Adipala, the kewedanan of Kroja, the kabupaten of Tjilatjap and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: 3,080;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) NONE of the villagers were orthodox Muslims.

(28) BAPANGSARI village, by Sruadji Surjadi, (1959)

44pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Bapangsari, the ketjamatan of Bagelan, the kewedanan of Purwadadi, the kabupaten of Pwaredja and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: approximately 1,660;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(29) KADILANGU village, by Sri Hardijah, (1959), 67pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Kadilangu, the ketjamatan, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Demak and the province of Central Java;
- b) population: approximately 870;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - 1% pegawai;
- d) MEDIUM/LOW outside influence and contact, and HIGH relative remoteness;
- e) HIGH wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(30) MANISHARDJO village, by Sri Sujati, (1959), 20pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Manishardjo, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Ngrambe, the kabupaten of Ngawi and the province of East Java;
- b) population: 2,240;
- c) MEDIUM outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/HIGH relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants - no pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(31) SETONOBETEK village, by Soekarman, (1959), 23pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Setonopande, the ketjamatan, the kewedanan and the kabupaten of Kediri and the province of East Java;
- b) population: not given;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers spent approximately half their economic activity on labouring and skilled craft work, and the rest was divided between a limited amount of private agricultural production, and trading - 1% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(32) TJEPOKO village, by Sri Sujati, (1959), 20pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Tjepoko, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Ngrambe, the kabupaten of Ngawi and the province of East Java;
- b) population: 3,275;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to trade, skilled craft work, estate labour and work in small-scale industry and mills - 2% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(33) HARGOMULJO village, by Sri Sujati, (1959), 20pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Hargomuljo, the ketjamatan and the kewedanan of Ngrambe, the kabupaten of Ngawi and the province of East Java;
- b) population: 2,678;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading - 1% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/HIGH wealth;
- f) MEDIUM proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(34) DAREN KIDUL village, by Moh. Busron, (1959), 47pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Donokerto, the kapanewon¹ of Turi, the kabupaten of Sleman and the Special Territory of Jogjakarta;
- b) population: 119;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers were peasants, although a relatively large number of villagers have become pegawai - 16% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM wealth;
- f) MEDIUM/HIGH proportion of orthodox Muslims.

¹ equivalent to a kewedanan. There are no ketjamatan subdivisions in the Special Territory of Jogjakarta.

- (35) WARUNG MUNTJANG village, by Ismail, (1960), 64pp.
- a) situated in the kelurahan of Andir, the kewedanaan of Bodjonegoro, the kotapradja /municipality/ of Bandung and the province of West Java;
 - b) population: 609;
 - c) HIGH outside influence and contact, and LOW relative remoteness;
 - d) the economic activity of the villagers was divided approximately equally between town labouring jobs, employment in small-scale industrial enterprises, skilled craft work and trading - 8% pegawai;
 - e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
 - f) MEDIUM/HIGH proportion of orthodox Muslims;
 - g) this village lies within the limits of the city of Bandung. However, the majority of the people who are living there have moved from villages in the countryside to the city of Bandung. Thus this community is a very good example of the half-way stage between village life and town life. As was explained in the introduction, it is for this reason that this community, as well as that of the semi-rural Negla Podjok village, have been included with the other surveys in this study. The so-called "kampung-dwellers" that now live on the fringe of virtually every major Javan city represent a growing proportion of Java's population, and while they are not really villagers in the traditional sense of the word, they are certainly not yet true urban dwellers.

(36) NEGLA PODJOK village, by Sjahidin, (1960), 70pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Tjidadap, the kewedanan of Tjibeunjing, the kotapradja of Bandung and the province of West Java;
- b) population: 111;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) the villagers spent approximately half their economic activity on labouring and skilled craft work, and the rest was divided between a limited amount of private agricultural production, and trading - 7% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
- f) LOW proportion of orthodox Muslims.

(37) PANGGANG ISLAND village, by Mohd. Muchtar, (1960), 54pp:

- a) situated in the kelurahan of Panggang, the ketjamatan of Pulau Seribu, the kotapradja of Greater Djakarta and the province of West Java;
- b) population: 1,635;
- c) MEDIUM/HIGH outside influence and contact, and MEDIUM/LOW relative remoteness;
- d) virtually all the villagers' economic activity was devoted to fishing - 1% pegawai;
- e) MEDIUM/LOW wealth;
- f) HIGH proportion of orthodox Muslims;
- g) this village is situated on one of the islands lying north of Djakarta, not far from Java's north-western coast.

APPENDIX 2

THE AMOUNT OF GOVERNMENT AND/OR OTHER OUTSIDE
INFLUENCE AND CONTACT THE VILLAGES HAVE
HAD, AND THEIR RELATIVE REMOTENESS

This appendix gives the definitions and data used in ranking the 37 villages in category (c) of the comparative description of the villages given in Appendix 1. The villages have been examined first with regard to their relative remoteness, and then with regard to the relative amount of government and/or other outside influence and contact they have had.

The ranking of the villages according to their relative remoteness was determined after the writer had examined the data provided in the surveys with regard to the availability of communication and transport to the nearest administrative centre or town, and the relative importance or size of that centre. An administrative centre was taken to mean a ketjamatan (sub-district) capital, a kewedanan (district) capital, a kabupaten (regency) capital or a provincial capital city. As with all the rankings, these were determined according to a a priori criteria set down by the writer.

The following criteria were used in determining the various rankings of relative remoteness:

LOW: A village fairly close to a provincial or kabupaten capital, with good transport to that centre; (3 villages were ranked in this way);

MEDIUM/LOW: A village fairly close to a kewedanan or ketjamatan capital, with good transport to that centre; or a village with a fairly large market situated in the village itself and which makes the village a commercial centre for the surrounding district; (18 villages were ranked in this way);

MEDIUM: A village on a main road, or with very good transport to a fairly large administrative centre; (4 villages were ranked in this way);

MEDIUM/HIGH: A village off the main roads and with slight difficulty of transport to the nearest administrative centre; (6 villages were ranked in this way);

HIGH: A village with difficult transport to the nearest administrative centre; (5 villages were ranked in this way).

Only one village survey, that of Radjawana Kidul (No.16), did not provide enough data to enable it to be ranked according to relative remoteness.¹ The remaining 36 villages were ranked as follows and for the following reasons:

- (1) TJURUG village: Lies some ... from the nearest town, at the end of a seldom-travelled road, which is in very bad condition. There is no market at the village. Ranked as:

HIGH

- (2) LEUWI BUNGUR village: The village¹ lies only 1 km from ketjamatan (capital) and on a very busy road linking two kabupaten (capitals). Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

¹ It has not escaped the writer's attention that there is a particularly large number of villages within the MEDIUM/LOW category. However, he is unsure whether to ascribe this to the students having chosen more accessible villages, or that this is, to a certain extent, the result of Java having such an extensive network of administrative sub-divisions, whereby the great majority of villages are never very far from a ketjamatan or kedanan centre. The high number of villages in this category may well be a result of both these factors, and it will be kept in mind that the majority of the villages in the sample has a bias towards being less, rather than more, remote.

- (3) LOLOHAN village: The villagers must travel the 3 km to the nearest centre, the kewedanan, by foot, and the village has been somewhat isolated because of rebel activity. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (4) KALAWAGAR LEBAK village: Lies only 1/2 km from the kewedanan. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (5) BURUDJUL village: Lies on a main road only 1 km from a kewedanan. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (6) NAGA village: Rather remote from any major centre and lies nearly 1 km from the main road, which is reached by means of a steep path. Ranked as:
HIGH
- (7) LANGEN village: Lies on the main road with good transport connections (by bicycle, bus or train) to the kewedanan which however lies 15 km away. There is a market held in the village three times a week. Ranked as:
MEDIUM

- (8) BATULAWANG village: Although reached by a fairly steep road, the village has quite good communications and transport connections with the kewedanan, which lies 6 km distant. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (9) BABAKAN village: The village lies in hilly country at the end of a little path that does not allow vehicular traffic to reach the village. The ketjamatan lies 17 km away. Ranked as:
HIGH
- (10) SINDANGKAMPENG village: Although there are roads leading to the village, it is rare for vehicular traffic to use them. Therefore the village generally must walk 7 km across country to the nearest town, or to the nearest main road from where it is easy to get transport to the kabupaten. Ranked as:
MEDIUM
- (11) TANGGULASIN village: The village is very isolated, for it lies in marshes near the coast and can only be reached by little boats. Ranked as:
HIGH

- (12) PASIR WARU village: Lying on the main road from the kabupaten, the village is only 1 km from the ketjamatan, which the villagers visit regularly. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- ~~(13)~~ PNUNTAS WETAN village: Lies off the main road which can only be reached by foot, but the villagers often go to the main road and thence to the kabupaten markets, although it lies at some distance from the village. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (14) BARU ADJAK village: Lies only 1 km from the kewedanan and only 15 km from the provincial capital, Bandung. Transport facilities to and from the village are very good. Ranked as:

LOW

- (15) KARANGDADAP village: Lies on a very busy main road and is only 2 1/2 km from the kewedanan, which the villagers often visit, as it is their nearest market. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (16) RADJAWANA KIDUL village: No indication of the relative remoteness of the village is given in the survey.

- (17) BIGALUH village: Lies at the ketjamatan capital, on the main road and rail line to the kabupaten, which lies only 8 km distant. Ranked as: MEDIUM/LOW
- (18) DIENG village: Lies in the mountains on a small road; however the nearest administrative centre, which is both the ketjamatan and kewedanan is 7 km distant. Ranked as: MEDIUM/HIGH
- (19) PASARBATANG village: Lies only 1/2 km from the kabupaten. Ranked as: LOW
- (20) DEMPET village: Lies at the ketjamatan, on the main provincial road and near the railway line. Moreover, it is only 8 km from the kabupaten. Ranked as: MEDIUM/LOW
- (21) KALI TENGAH village: Although it lies only 4 km from the kewedanan to which it is connected by road, the road is in bad condition, hence the villagers usually have to walk there. Ranked as: MEDIUM

- (22) SUKODONO village: Lies only 5 1/2 km from the regency, and some of the villagers travel there regularly for work. The ketjamatan and kewedanan offices are at the kabupaten.
Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (23) KEBONHARDJO village: Lies 1 km from small town and 3 1/2 km from the kewedanan. The village lies partly on a road which connects it to the kewedanan. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (24) WINONG village: Lies 7 km from the kabupaten, where the ketjamatan and kewedanan offices are also situated. The nearest smaller markets are 2 and 5 km away, and the villagers must usually walk to these centres. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (25) MALANGDJIWAN village: Lies near the ketjamatan and is on the main provincial road. There is also a fairly large market situated at the village. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (26) WANARATA village: Although there is a market in the village, it lies 7 km from the ketjamatan.
Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (27) DOPLANG village: There is a fairly large market in the village, through which runs a busy main road. The ketjamatan lies 3 km away along the main road. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (28) BAPANGSARI village: There are several towns fairly close to the village, and it lies near the busy main road and the railway. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (29) KADILANGU village: Although only 5 km from the kabupaten, where the ketjamatan and kewedanan offices are also situated, communication and transport facilities are very bad; there is no market in the village. Ranked as:
HIGH
- (30) MANISHARDJO village: Lies on a small road which is in a bad state of repair. As there is no transport, the villagers usually have to walk the 6 km to the ketjamatan and kewedanan offices, which are situated in the same town. There is no market in the village. Ranked as:-
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (31) SETONOBETEK village: Lies not very distant from the kabupaten, where the ketjamatan and kewedanan offices are also situated. The village lies on the road and near the railway line.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (32) TJEPOKO village: Lies on a highway with very good communications to the town, where the ketjamatan and kewedanan offices are situated, 6 km away. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (33) HARGOMULJO village: Although it lies only 4 km from the town, where the ketjamatan and kewedanan offices are situated, the villagers must travel along a small, winding road with very little traffic along it. Hence they generally must walk. There is no market in the village.

RANKED as:

MEDIUM

- (34) DAREN KIDUL village: Lies only 1 km from the kapanewon¹ to which it is connected by road.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

¹ equal to a kewedanan.

- (35) WARUNG MUNTJANG village: Lies 3km west of the centre of the provincial capital, Bandung, and still within the city limits. There are three markets within 1/2 km of it. Ranked as:

LOW

- (36) NEGLA PODJOK village: Lies just off the main road between the provincial capital, Bandung, and a major centre, Lembang. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (37) PANGGANG ISLAND village: Lies on the island on which the ketjamatan offices are also situated.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

The villages were then examined and ranked according to the relative amount of government and/or other outside influence and contact they have had. This was determined by closely reading the writers' descriptions of the villages, especially with regard to health, educational and agricultural services and, sometimes, by taking into consideration

the subjective comments of the writers of the surveys¹. Of the 37 villages, 2 were ranked as LOW, 7 were ranked as MEDIUM/LOW, 6 were ranked as MEDIUM, 17 were ranked as MEDIUM/HIGH, and 5 were ranked as HIGH.

The basic reasons for giving the villages these rankings are as follows:

- (1) TJURUG village: No polyclinic or school was provided. Trade unionism among the estate workers was very weak. Apparently no anti-illiteracy campaign had been held. Ranked as:
LOW
- (2) LEUWI BUNGUR village: There was an agricultural information office nearby. The local midwife was being medically trained. The anti-illiteracy campaign had been held. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

¹ An examination of the data set out on the following pages indicates the difficulties the writer encountered in dealing with the material in the surveys. If, for example, the student who carried out the survey makes no mention of the anti-illiteracy campaign, should it be assumed that it has not been held in that village? The writer has tried as far as possible in this section (as in the other appendices) to use every piece of information provided by the student in order to arrive at an as accurate assessment of this feature of the village as the survey permits.

- (3) LOLOHAN villages Although the government had tried to help in the fields of education (anti-illiteracy campaign), health (training of local midwife) and agriculture (giving advice), the writer of the survey reports that little lasting effect was noticeable. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (4) KALAWAGAR LEBAK village: The writer reports that the anti-illiteracy campaign had been held by the government, and there was a polyclinic in the vicinity. Moreover, he mentions that there was much and continued influence from the nearby town. Ranked as:

HIGH

- (5) BURUDJUL village: The writer reports that the anti-illiteracy campaign and agricultural courses held by the government met with little response on the part of the villagers, and that trade unionism among the estate workers was weak. Moreover, the village was little influenced by the nearby town. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (6) NAGAVillage: Although a polyclinic was provided and the anti-illiteracy course was held, the writer reports little outside influence on the village and that such influence and contact was somewhat resisted. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (7) BANGEN village: Although the anti-illiteracy campaign had been held, the villagers rarely received agricultural and medical help and advice. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (8) BATULAWANG village: The estate workers were provided with a polyclinic and the anti-illiteracy^{campaign} had been held. Moreover, the workers were all fairly politically conscious, in that they were at the time of the survey, all members of the Indonesian Communist Party. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (9) BABAKAN village: Although there is no mention of the anti-illiteracy campaign having been held, nor of provision for giving medical and agricultural advice, the writer of this survey reports the beginning of some influence and contact with the nearest town. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW

- (10) SINDANGREMPENG village: Although there is no mention of either the anti-illiteracy campaign or of provision for agricultural advice, there had been some influence from political parties, and a proportion of the villagers are refugees who fled from the cities during the revolution and remained in the village. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (11) TANGGULASIN village: Rarely any contact with the nearest town, because of the difficulty of transport, for the village is situated in the middle of marshes. The anti-illiteracy campaign had not been held and medical assistance was rare. Ranked as:

LOW

- (12) PASIR WARU village: The estate provided a clinic, the anti-illiteracy campaign had been held and there had also been contact with political parties. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (13) PEUNTAS WETAN village: Although there was a polyclinic nearby, the villagers rarely used it. The anti-illiteracy campaign had been held. The villagers rarely accepted the agricultural advice offered to them by government agencies. Also, outside contact had been hindered by the threat of rebels and bandits in the area. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (14) BARU ADJAK village: Strong trade-unionism among the workers. A few anti-illiteracy courses had been held. The villagers attended the polyclinic situated on the estate. The writer mentions that the villagers had a lot of outside contact. Ranked as:
HIGH
- (15) KARANGDADAP village: There was a well-attended clinic nearby and the village midwife was also being trained. Agricultural development had been promoted. The anti-illiteracy campaign had been held. Considerable outside influence entered the village during the Japanese occupation. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (16) RADJAWANA KIDUL village: Although the anti-illiteracy campaign had been held it met with little interest. The village midwives had received training, but the writer reports little contact with, nor interest in, the world beyond the village. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW

- (17) SIGALUH village: Although a general advertisement had been given, it was not very well received by the villagers. Quite a few visited the local clinic and had attended various adult education courses. Also there were a number of officials, not Sigaluh villagers themselves, living there. The writer of the survey reports a fair amount of outside contact, for the village is situated in the ketjamatan centre. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (18) DIENG village: Although it lies off the main roads, considerable numbers of tourists visited the village, for it lies at a place of historical interest. The government had held various courses, including the anti-illiteracy campaign. However, the village is rather spread out and some people live well away from the village centre. Ranked as:
MEDIUM

- (19) PASARBATANG village: Although there is no mention of anti-illiteracy courses having been held, nor of whether agricultural extension services had reached the village, it lies very close to the large Kabupaten capital and had regular contact with this administrative and commercial centre. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (20) DEMPET village: The villagers used the local polyclinic regularly. The anti-illiteracy campaign as well as other adult education courses had been held. Moreover, there were officials, not themselves Dempet villagers, stationed there, so there was a fair amount of outside contact. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (21) KALI TENGAH village: Although there is no mention that the anti-illiteracy^{campaign} had been held, nor whether agricultural advice and information had been available to them, the villagers have had courses on health and since then, often preferred to call the trained rather than the untrained village midwife to attend births, Ranked:
MEDIUM

- (22) SUKODONO village: There is no mention that the anti-illiteracy campaign had been held, nor whether agricultural advice was given. The villagers regularly attended a doctor in the local town, when they were sick. The area had received considerable attention by the government, for it lies within one of the test areas for "compulsory education" of all children.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (23) KEBONHARDJO village: Although there is no mention that the anti-illiteracy campaign had been held, advice was given on agricultural matters by a government agency. Moreover, the writer mentions that the village has had considerable outside influence since the war, especially during the revolution. Many of the villagers owned bicycles with which they travelled to nearby towns. There also had been considerable political activity within the village.

Ranked as:

HIGH

- 24) WINONG village: Although the anti-illiteracy campaign had not reached the villagers, they have had considerable contact with the Department of Agriculture and Livestock. The village midwives had been trained, and the mothers in the village had attended training courses on child health. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (25) MALANGDJIWAN village: The writer mentions that this village had had considerable outside contact and influence because of the factory and and air force detachment located there. Certainly it had more contact and influence than the villages nearby. The anti-illiteracy campaign had been held and agricultural advice had been given. The village midwives had been trained. Ranked as:
HIGH

- (26) WANARATA village: Although there is no mention of either the ^{anti-}illiteracy program or of agricultural advice having been given, the market there attracts people from outside, and a small police detachment was stationed there. During the revolution it was made a ketjamatan centre, with many office workers and government civil servants stationed there. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (27) DOPLANG village: Although there is no mention of the anti-illiteracy campaign, the villagers did receive instruction on agricultural matters from the Department of Agriculture. The villagers had regular contact with people from outside the village, for there are several bus routes using the main road that runs through the village.. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (28) BAPANGSARI village: The anti-illiteracy program had reached the village, but there is no mention of agricultural advice having been given. Those villagers who lived near the main road had a lot of contact with the world beyond the village. There had been a fair penetration of the village by political parties. Many of the villagers own bicycles and often travel to nearby towns. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (29) KADILANGU village: Although the anti-illiteracy campaign had reached the village, it had not been very successful. No agricultural advice was given. When they were sick, the villagers preferred the local village healer to the doctor in a nearby town. The writer points out that not very much outside influence or contact was found within the village.
Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW

- (30) MANISHARDJO village: Although the anti-illite-
racy campaign had been held, it was not very
successful. No mention of agricultural infor-
mation having been given. There had been much
political party activity. The village midwife
had been trained. The writer mentions that
the village has had some, though not a great
deal, of outside contact. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (31) SETONOBETEK village: Much contact with the out-
side world during the revolution. Factories
and enterprises were situated in and near the
village, which meant that the villagers were in
constant contact with people from outside the
village. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (32) TJEPOKO village: Although the anti-illiteracy
campaign had not yet reached there, the writer
reports a considerable amount of outside con-
tact. Political parties were notably active.
The village midwife had been trained. Many
civil servants lived there, and many villagers
had bicycles and travelled to nearby towns
and centres. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (33) HARGOMULJO village: The anti-illiteracy campaign had been held. The villagers attended the local polyclinic for medical treatment. There was much political activity, and the villagers occasionally go to the local town.
RANKED AS:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (34) DAREN KIDUL village: Although the anti-illiteracy campaign had not yet been held, the villagers attended the local polyclinic in case of sickness. The village head had introduced many new ideas with the help of government agencies. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (35) WARUNG MUNTJANG village: There is no mention of the anti-illiteracy campaign, but the village lies within the city of Bandung. Ranked as:

HIGH

- (36) NEGLA PODJOK village: Lies on the outskirts of the city of Bandung. Increasing use of new agricultural methods were made. Lately, health improvements were achieved through government action. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (37) PANGGANG ISLAND village: The anti-illiteracy campaign had been held. A fishermen's co-operative had been established, but was not very successful. Various government courses were held for the villagers. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

An examination was then made of the 36 villages that could be ranked with regard to the two aspects of "remoteness" and "amount of government and/or other outside influence and contact". It was found that a fourfold contingency table shows an extremely strong negative correlation between these two aspects (see TABLE 2/1)¹. Indeed, there were only three villages (Burudjul - No.5, Hargomuljo - No.33, and Winong - No.24) that deviated strongly from the trend that, the more remote the village, the less outside influence and contact are to be found in it. The respective writers of the surveys covering these three villages remark on the fact that, although Burudjul was not at all remote, its villagers had rather inexplicably

¹ TABLE 2/1 was constructed by dividing the distribution on each variable as near as possible to the median. This procedure was followed in constructing all contingency tables in this study.

TABLE 2/1: Relationship between remoteness
and outside influence.

	LOW INFLUENCE	HIGH INFLUENCE
HIGH REMOTENESS	13 villages	2 villages
LOW REMOTENESS	1 village	20 villages

tended to resist any outside influence or contact, but that in the cases of Hargomuljo and Winong, these villages' relative remoteness had not hampered them in making more contact with the world beyond their villages than one would expect. Here of course we are relying on the subjective opinions of the students who made the surveys as to the amount of contact one would "expect", given a village's relative remoteness, and one cannot pursue this further. What should be noted here is that the amount of outside influence - and especially government influence - has been found to be in inverse proportion to the relative remoteness of a village from an administrative centre. This is not unexpected and indicates that governmental agencies, stationed in these administrative centres, seem to begin their activities in those villages which are most accessible to the centres, or concentrate their activities in those villages most accessible to the administrative centres.

APPENDIX 3

THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORKFORCE IN THE VILLAGES

This appendix gives the definitions and data used in category (d) of the comparative description of the villages, given in Appendix 1. The data used in determining the respective compositions of the workforce in the 37 villages has been taken from the descriptions given by the writers of the surveys. Although much of the income of many Javanese rural workers comes from seasonal occupations and from part-time or side-line work (e.g. handicrafts), the writers of the surveys generally appeared able to determine those sectors of economic activity from which the villagers derived the greater part of their income. For example, it was a fairly simple matter to see whether trading played an important role in income earning, or whether the villagers relied almost totally on the income from their agricultural crops.

The term "peasants" used below refers to those villagers who are engaged mainly in private agricultural production. In this context, private agricultural

production refers both to wet-field cultivation, usually rice, and to dry-field cultivation, such as cassava, corn and tobacco. Estate work refers mainly to rubber tapping and tea-picking. Home industries involve such activities as roof-tile making, while handicraft production includes the weaving of baskets, mats and the like. Trading either involves the small-scale peddling of village agricultural produce and the goods produced by those villagers engaged in home industries and handicrafts, or the selling to the villagers of goods bought in the nearest town (such as clothes, tools, kerosene and such foodstuffs as sugar, salt and tobacco). Skilled craft work includes the making of agricultural implements, smithing, carpentry and the like, while work in small-scale industry may mean employment in a cigarette or jute factory. Milling includes sugar and rubber processing.

After the name of the village, the percentage of the village's work force employed as pegawai, that is, people in official and administrative positions, is given in brackets. Pegawai are often employed in offices and their work is generally of a non-manual kind (e.g. teachers and government agricultural officers). The members of the village government, that is, those

villagers who have been elected to hold positions in the village's internal administration, are not considered as pegawai for the purposes of this study.

The villages were divided into eight "types", according to the occupational pattern found within them. These are listed below, together with the approximate percentage of pegawai.

TYPE A: Virtually all the villagers' economic activity was devoted to fishing (2 villages):

- (11) Tanggulasin village (no pegawai)
- (37) Panggang Island (1% pegawai)

TYPE B: Virtually all the villagers' economic activity was devoted to estate work (3 villages):

- (1) Tjurug (7.5% pegawai)
- (8) Batulawang (no pegawai)
- (14) Baru Adjak (1.5% pegawai)

TYPE C: The villagers were mainly engaged in estate work, but devoted some time to private agricultural production (2 villages)

- (5) Burudjul (5% pegawai)
- (12) Pasir Waru (1% pegawai)

TYPE D: Virtually all the villagers ^{were} ~~are~~ peasants (12vill.)

- (7) Langen (no pegawai)
- (9) Babakan (no pegawai)
- (10) Sindangkempeng (no pegawai)
- (13) Peuntas Wetan (2% pegawai)
- (19) Pasarbatang (no pegawai)
- (20) Dempet (2% pegawai)¹
- (21) Kali Tengah (0.5% pegawai)
- (24) Winong (no pegawai)
- (26) Wanarata (no pegawai)
- (29) Kadilangu (1% pegawai)
- (30) Manishardjo (no pegawai)
- (34) Daren Kidul (16% pegawai)

TYPE E: The villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to home industries, handicraft production and trading (10 villages):

- (4) Kalawagar Lebak (no pegawai)
- (3) Lolohan (no pegawai)
- (6) Naga (no pegawai)
- (16) Radjawana Kidul (no pegawai)
- (17) Sigaluh (1% pegawai)²
- (18) Dieng (no pegawai)
- (22) Sukodono (no pegawai)
- (28) Bapangsari (no pegawai)
- (27) Doplang (no pegawai)
- (33) Hargomuljo (1% pegawai)

¹ These pegawai have been stationed there; they are not Dempet villagers.

² These pegawai have been stationed there; they are not Sigaluh villagers.

TYPE F: The villagers were mainly peasants, but also devoted some time to trade, skilled craft work, estate labour and work in small-scale industry and mills (4 villages):

- (15) Karangdadap (no pegawai)
- (23) Kebonhardjo (1% pegawai)
- (32) Tjepoko (2% pegawai)
- (2) Leuwi Bungur (no pegawai)

TYPE G: The villagers spent approximately half their economic activity on labouring and skilled craft work, and the rest was divided between a limited amount of private agricultural production, and trading (3 villages):

- (25) Malangdjiwan (11.5% pegawai)
- (31) Setonobetek (1% pegawai)
- (36) Negla Podjok (7% pegawai)

TYPE H: The economic activity of the villagers was divided approximately equally between town labouring jobs, employment in small-scale industrial enterprises, skilled craft work and trading (1 village):

- (35) Warungmuntjang (8% pegawai)

APPENDIX 4

THE RELATIVE WEALTH OF THE VILLAGES

This appendix gives the definitions and data used in determining the rankings according to wealth of category (e) in the comparative description of the 37 villages given in Appendix 1. Ranking the villages according to their levels of wealth proved to be rather more difficult than ranking them according to their other characteristics. The ranking was arrived at by considering a village as a whole, rather than concentrating on the various groups within a village. However, some attention was paid to any evidence indicating the existence of either a relatively better-off or a poorer sector within a village. The main guidelines in ranking were the subjective comments of the writers, and the data they had collected on such economic factors as the land/person ratio, the house/family ratio and wage-levels. In addition, note was taken whether there was a tendency for people to leave their village to seek a better living elsewhere, because of economic hardship due to such factors as population pressure on the land and subsequent lack of employment, or whether the area tended to attract

workers from poorer areas. The writer realizes that such factors as the land/person ratio can be misleading and also that he had to rely mainly on the students' comments as to the economic condition of the villagers and on the general picture of the village as given in the surveys.

The following categories were arrived at:

HIGH: A village where the villagers were all generally well-off in comparison to those of the other surveyed villages, often with one stratum that was rather better-off. The village was usually in an area that still attracted labour from poorer areas; (2 villages were ranked in this way).

MEDIUM/HIGH: A village which provided an income to many of its inhabitants, allowing them to live somewhat comfortably (in comparison to the other villages surveyed), and in which often a better-off stratum employed the poorer, often landless villagers; (9 villages were ranked in this way).

MEDIUM: A village that provided an income to its inhabitants, allowing them to make ends meet, but which rarely allowed them to buy more than the basic necessities for day-to-day living. Such an income was generally an "average" for the villages surveyed; (13 villages were ranked in this way).

MEDIUM/LOW: Although most villagers could just make ends meet, there was often a stratum living in relative poverty; (11 villages were ranked in this way).

LOW: The majority of villagers were living in relative poverty, and there was a tendency for them to leave the village or area to live in better-off places; (2 villages were ranked in this way).

The villages are now listed, with the main data¹ used in giving them their respective rankings:

¹ The data, as mentioned earlier, rely on both the recorded facts and the subjective evaluations of the students who made the surveys. The writer fully realizes the danger of using these subjective evaluations and has attempted, as far as possible, to ensure that such evaluations were based on measurable factors.

- (1) TJURUG village: Wages from the estate were only just enough to cover daily needs (clothing, kerosene, tobacco etc.) and to buy rice, for their rice allowance was insufficient.

25.7% had excess income

45% just made ends meet

29.3% were badly off. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (2) LEUWI BUNGUR village: The village had very rich land - an excellent rubber, tea and rice area, but the village was becoming overcrowded.

8% earned over Rp.2,460 a month - a very high income

10% earned Rp.1,230 - 2,460 a month - a relatively high income

32% earned Rp.615 - 1,230 a month - just adequate

50% earned under Rp.615 a month - only enough for essentials. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (3) LOLOHAN village: A poor area with fairly high pressure on the land, for there were approximately 45 people per hectare (ha.) of total village land.

1.9% earned Rp.750 a month

11.5% earned Rp.500 a month

86.6% earned Rp.400 a month. Ranked as:

LOW

¹ These estimates of the relative level of the different incomes are those of the survey writer (Leuwi Bungur survey, pp.30, 52ff) and seem to correspond with those of students working in other villages.

- (4) KALAWAGAR LEBAK village: Although the original villagers were fairly well-off, the many people who came during the revolution as refugees and settled there, were usually less well-off. There were approximately 57 people per ha. of total village land, and 114 people per ha. of wet-rice land (sawah).

12% earned over Rp.1,000 a month

28% earned Rp.500 - 1,000 a month

60% earned under Rp.500 a month. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (5) BURUDJUL village: Although situated in fertile land, which some of the villagers could cultivate, the majority relied on their wages from the tea estate. These wages were insufficient, and many villagers were in debt.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (6) NAGA village: Although there were only 5.95 people per ha. of total village land and 15.5 people per ha. of sawah, the land was not very fertile. During the period just before harvest (patjeklik) all rice supplies were usually finished, and great hardship ensued.

10% earned over Rp.500 a month

10% earned Rp. 300 - 500 a month

43% earned Rp.200 - 300 a month

37% earned under Rp.200 a month.

Ranked as:

LOW

- (7) LANGEN village: The land was very fertile. 50% of the villagers owned their land, although it was usually only a small plot. The landless villagers were very poor. There was an average of 11 people per ha. of total village land. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (8) BATULAWANG village: The estate workers earned Rp.563 a month (including their rice allowance), and this was considered just sufficient to live on. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (9) BABAKAN village: There was no great difference in standard of wealth among the villagers. Although there was no real pressure on the land, it was fairly poor. However, the people could usually make ends meet. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (10) SINDANGKEMPENG village: Although there were, on an average, only 8 people per ha. of total village land and 11 people per ha. of sawah, the land was badly distributed, and 38% of the villagers were landless. A minority was very well-off - especially the members of the village government - and the landless usually worked for the better-off villagers. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (11) TANGGULASIN village: The village had very little land, for it was surrounded by marshes. Hence the very high ratio of 112 people per ha. of total village land. The villagers sold their fish to wholesalers at very low prices. A few villagers owned sawah in other villages, but only in small amounts. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (12) PASIR WARU village: Many villagers relied mainly on employment on the rubber estate; they earned an average of Rp.610 a month (including their rice allowance). This wage was considered just adequate. Some villagers did labouring work for the estate for only Rp.350 a month, while others had difficulty in finding any work.

42.5% earned Rp.550 - 700 a month

15 % earned Rp.350 - 500 a month

42.5% earned Rp.150 - 300 a month and were constantly in debt. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (13) PEUNTAS WETAN village: Although the land was fairly intensively cultivated, there was still some less fertile land being opened up. Income was fairly evenly distributed, 66% of the villagers owned fishponds. Sufficient rice was grown, and other crops could be sold for cash. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (14) BARU ADJAK village: Although wages and rice allowance from the dairy on which it was situated, were rather low, villagers supplemented their income by produce they grew themselves. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (15) KARANGDADAP village: The sawah was of very good quality, but, with an average of 11.3 people per ha. of total village land and 32 people per ha. of sawah, the pressure on the land was considerable. Some villagers found work in local industries and enterprises, or had begun to grow cash crops on the nearby hills.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (16) RADJAWANA KIDUL village: Not much description about the wealth of this village was given by the writer of this survey. However, he describes the village as being in a "minus area, although not too minus¹".

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (17) SIGALUH village: The land was not very fertile, for it was very dry and fairly hilly. There was an average of 16.1 people per ha. of total village land and 25.8 people per ha. of sawah. 58% owned just enough land to support them 13.5% received a little land from the village for their services to it 28.5% had no land and suffered severe hardship.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

¹ A "daerah minus"/"minus area" is a term used to designate a region that is unable to produce sufficient food for its population.

- (18) DIENG village: Although it was not in a "minus area" this village had no sawah. However, the villagers earned a fair income from tobacco and other dry-filed cash crops. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (19) PASARBATANG village: It had 12.2 people per ha. of total village land and 16 people per ha. of sawah. However, the sawah was extremely fertile and the area often short of labour during harvest. Some of the villagers had become relatively very rich. Ranked as:
HIGH
- (20) DIMPET village: It had rather extensive sawah and was often labour-deficient during the wet-season rice harvest. However, it was very dry during the dry season. There were 8.2 people per ha. of total land and 12.2 people per ha. of sawah. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (21) KALI TENGAH village: The land was fertile, but often too dry for sawah. The villagers grew cash crops such as tobacco. There were 5.9 people per ha. of total village land and 16 people per ha. of sawah. Quite a few villagers had gone to the city of Semarang to earn a better living. Ranked as:
MEDIUM

- (22) SUKODONO village: The villagers mainly relied on selling the produce from their dry-field crops, for there was very little sawah and that was cultivated only by the members of the village government. There were 19.3 people per ha. of total village land. Ranked as:
MEDIUM
- (23) KEBONHARDJO village: It had a little sawah and also tobacco cultivation. Many of the land-owning families owned bicycles. A small proportion of villagers were relatively less well-off. There was an average of 15 people per ha. of total village land. Ranked as:
MEDIUM
- (24) WINONG village: It has no sawah. Many of the villagers took over land from a former estate after the revolution. Hence there was the relatively low ratio of 7.8 people per ha. of total village land. The villagers grew mainly tobacco and raised livestock on the very fertile land. No great differences in wealth existed among the villagers. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (25) MALANGDJIWAN village: The writer of this survey states that the standard of living in this village was higher than in the others in this area. Although there was only very little land - only 16% of the villagers were land-owners, with plots of land ranging in size between only .2 and .5 ha. - many villagers earned a reasonable income from the nearby sugar factories. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

WANARATA village: Although there was a fairly low ratio of 6.3 people of total village land and 11.9 people per ha. of sawah, the writer of the survey reports that approximately half the villagers were rather poor and landless, earning their living by labouring for the better-off villagers. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (27) DOPLANG village: Although there was a fairly low estimated ratio of 6.3 people per ha. of total village land and 8.5 people per ha. of sawah, a great proportion of the villagers were landless and had to work as agricultural labourers on the land of the richer, land-owning villagers. However, the arable land was frequently flooded and caused severe hardship among the landless village families. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (28) BAPANGSARI village: There was very little sawah and a relatively low ratio of 4 people per ha. of total village land. The villagers cultivated a great diversity of cash crops in the dry-land fields, including tobacco. There were quite a few bicycles and a fair amount of livestock in the village. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (29) KADILANGU village: Although the land became rather dry during the dry season, the village usually produced a surplus of food. Moreover, the village still had quite an extensive area of land with the very low estimated ratios of 3.7 people per ha. of total village land and 4.4 people per ha. of sawah. Ranked as:

HIGH

- (30) MANISHARDJO village: The writer of this survey reports that it "... is not a minus area but an average area as regards food". The villagers could usually buy their daily needs (clothes, kerosene, tobacco etc.) by selling rice. There was an average of 7.1 people per ha. of total village land and 10.5 people per ha. of sawah. The villagers had a fair number of livestock but, on an average, could produce only enough food for day-to-day living. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- 31) SETONOBETEK village: Although the writer does not give many data on the wealth of the village, he reports that there were strata of fairly well-off and less well-off villagers.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (32) TJEPOKO village: Although not all the villagers earned their income from the land, there was a fairly high ratio of 13.8 people per ha. of total village land and 19.1 people per ha. of sawan. They had a substantial number of livestock (water buffalo and cattle) and also many bicycles.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (33) HARGOMULJO village: It had a ratio of 5.9 people per ha. of total village land and 12.4 people per ha. of sawah, which was very fertile and had excellent irrigation. In addition, there was a large number of cattle and water buffalo.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (34) DAREN KIDUL village: It had a ratio of 11.5 people per ha. of total village land and 12.4 people per ha. of sawah. Although half of the families owned some livestock and a bicycle, the other half were landless and had to labour on the land of the other villagers.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (35) WAKUNG MUNTJANG village: Although there were great variations in wages earned by the people living in this village, the writer states that many of them had difficulty in finding jobs. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (36) NEGLA PODJOK village: Only one third of the people in this village were landowners. Another third worked as labourers for those villagers who owned land; they had a relatively low income. The last third had left the land and earned a low income as pedlars. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (37) PANGGANG ISLAND village: Although each family owned a boat - necessary to their livelihood of fishing - the island was fairly overcrowded and the houses in poor condition. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

APPENDIX 5

THE PROPORTION OF ORTHODOX
MUSLIMS IN THE VILLAGES

This appendix data used in ranking the 37 villages in category (f) of the comparative description given in Appendix 1. The writers of the surveys ascertained the proportion of villagers who were strict (orthodox) Muslims by noting how many villagers prayed regularly (the usual five times a day) and fasted during the fasting month of Ramadan. The orthodox Muslims are usually termed santri, whereas the rest of the villagers were generally found to be of the abangan religious variant.¹

Only two of the village surveys, those of Baru Adjak (No. 14) and Radjawana Kidul (No. 16), did not provide enough data on religion to make it possible to rank them. The remaining 35 villages were ranked in the following manner:

¹These terms are fully discussed in the chapter on Religious Education. There were no Christians in any of the villages surveyed.

NONE: No villagers were orthodox Muslims, that is, they were usually all of the abangan variant. This meant that the only family following the strict practices of Islam was that of the modin, the religious/social official attached to the village government¹ who, in mainly abangan villages, often came from a nearby santri village. The following villages belonged in this group:

(22) Sukodono

(27) Doplang

LOW: Less than a quarter of the villagers could be classed as orthodox Muslims. The following villages belonged in this group:

(1) Tjurug

(6) Naga

(7) Langen

(10) Sindangkempeng

(11) Tanggulasin

(17) Sigaluh

(18) Dieng

(25) Malangdjiwan

¹ See O. Geertz, The Religion of Java, Illinois (Free Press of Glencoe) 1960, p.206; also R.R. Jay, op.cit. p.47ff.

(LOW cont.)

- (28) Bapangsari
- (29) Kadilangu
- (30) Manishardjo
- (31) Setonobetek
- (32) Tjepoko
- (36) Negla Podjok

MEDIUM/LOW: Between one quarter and one half of the villagers were orthodox Muslims. The following villages belonged in this group:

- (15) Karangdadap
- (19) Pasarbatang

MEDIUM: Approximately half of the villagers were orthodox Muslims. The following villages belonged in this group:

- (8) Batulawang
- (20) Dempet
- (21) Kali Tengah
- (24) Winong
- (26) Wenarata
- (33) Hargomuljo

MEDIUM/HIGH: Between one half and three-quarters of the villagers were orthodox Muslims. The following villages belonged in this group:

- (4) Kalawagar Lebak
- (23) Kebonhardjo
- (34) Daren Kidul
- (35) Warungmuntjang

HIGH: More than three-quarters, but not all, of the villagers were orthodox Muslims. The following villages belonged in this group:

- (5) Burudjul
- (13) Peuntas Wetan
- (37) Panggang Island

ALL: Virtually all the villagers were orthodox Muslims. The following villages belonged in this group:

- (2) Leuwi Bungur
- (3) Lolohan
- (9) Babakan
- (12) Pasir Waru

APPENDIX 6

THE PROVISION OF SCHOOLING FACILITIES
IN THE 37 VILLAGES

The villages were ranked according to the provision of schooling facilities for the children by taking into consideration the features discussed in chapter I, mainly:

- a) whether there was a primary school in the village, or one close by;
- b) how great a population the school had to serve;
- c) whether the school was a full six-year sekolah rakjat (S.R.VI);
- d) whether it was adequately staffed and what qualifications the staff held.

In addition, any special characteristics of the village or its school(s) not covered above and which affected the provision of school facilities, were taken into account. The villages, their rankings and the reasons for them are listed below¹:

¹ Much of the statistical material used in ranking the villages has come from TABLE I/1, especially Column D.

- (1) TJURUG village: It is situated on an estate, quite far from the nearest sekolah rakjat, therefore only older children could walk the distance. Many of the villagers who wanted their children to go to school, had been forced to send them away to live with relatives in other villages with school facilities nearby.

Ranked as:

LOW

- (2) LEUWI BUNGUR village: There were three S.R.VI at the ketjamatan (sub-district) capital which is only 1 km from the village. Although it is not stated how great a population these schools had to serve, the writer of the survey does not mention any difficulty encountered by those parents who wished their children to go to school.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (3) LOLOHAN village: There was a basic S.R.VI at the kelurahan, which had to serve the rather large population of 3,796¹.

Ranked as:

LOW

¹ The average population served by a basic S.R.VI was found to be 1,905 (see TABLE I/1). The term "basic" refers to there being only one class per grade in the school.

- (4) KALAWAGAR LEBAK village: There were six basic S.R.VI at its kelurahan, giving a ratio of one S.R.VI per 1,648 villagers, which was slightly better than average. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (5) BURUDJUL village: There were four S.R.VI in and around the kewedanan of Taradju, which lies only 1 km from the village. An unofficial Junior Secondary School was also situated there. As Taradju is a rather large centre, four S.R.VI for it and the surrounding villages does not seem a large number and probably indicated that each school had to serve a fairly large population. Ranked as:
MEDIUM
- (6) NAGA village: There were two basic S.R.VI at the kelurahan. School/population ratio was 1 : 2,036, which was fairly close to the average ratio. Ranked as:
MEDIUM
- (7) LANGEN village: The four S.R.VI in the village served an ~~average~~ population of 5,441, giving a considerably less than average school/population ratio of 1:1,360. Ranked as:
HIGH

- (8) BATULAWANG village: There were two S.R.VI using the same building, each with seven classes, in the kelurahan of the village. This meant that the basic S.R.VI/population ratio was 1,930, near the average. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (9) BABAKAN village: There was only one S.R.VI at the kelurahan of this village, at some distance from it, with nine teachers, probably indicating multiple lower classes, although it is not known what population the school had to serve. However, the writer does not mention any difficulty encountered by the parents in having their children attend the school.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (10) SINDANGKEMPENG village: There were two S.R.VI, each serving a population of only 987, indicating a very favourable school population.

Ranked as:

HIGH

- (11) TANGGULASIN village: Although there was a school in the kelurahan, this coastal fishing village lies too far from the school for the children to attend.

Ranked as:

LOW

- (12) PASIR WARU village: There was an S.R.VI not far from the village, although the writer does not mention how great a population it had to serve. However, he writes that it was in a well-constructed building, and that the staff included some who had been trained at the six-year teacher training school (S.G.A.). Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (13) PEUNTAS WETAN village: Although there was a sekolah rakyat not too far from the village, the writer does not state how large a population it had to serve. However there is no mention of overcrowding. Ranked as:
MEDIUM

- (14) BARU ADJAK village: There were two S.R.VI available to the children. They could attend either the school at the kewedanan 1 km away, or the school established by the estate on which the village lies. The estimated population on the estate was 1,550, which would give the village school a fairly good basic S.R.VI/population ratio, except that there were only five teachers for the six classes, and the majority had had no teacher training. Ranked as:
MEDIUM

- (15) KARANGDADAP village: There was one S.R.VI for the population of 2,260. This slightly above-average school/population ratio was reflected in the rather high number of 40 pupils per class. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW

- (16) RADJAWANA KIDUL village: Although this is one of the worst surveys with regard to statistical information, the writer does mention the existence of an S.R.VI in the village. The population figure is however not given. Overcrowding is not mentioned. Ranked as:

MEDIUM

- (17) SIGALUH village: There was one S.R.VI for a population of only 698. Ranked as:

HIGH

- (18) DIENG village: There was one S.R.VI for a population of 2,187, which was slightly more than average for a basic S.R.VI to serve. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (19) PASARBATANG village: There were two S.R.VI for a population of 5,851, giving a ratio of 1 : 2,926. This was rather high, and moreover the two schools used the one building by having morning and afternoon sessions. Ranked as:

LOW

- (20) DEMPEL village: There was only one basic S.R.VI for a population of 3,138, and the overcrowding in the school is reflected in the fairly high average class size of 39. Ranked as:

LOW

- (21) KALI TENGAH village: There was only one S.R.III in a makeshift building, rented to the government by the village. This had to serve a population of 1,574, which is quite a high school/population ratio, as there were only three classes. Children who wished to attend upper primary school (grades IV to VI) had to travel 4 km to the town of Mranggen. Ranked as:
LOW

- (22) SUKODONO village: It had one S.R.VI as well as another, temporary school which had been started to cater for children coming to school under a test Compulsory Education scheme¹. Hence there were two S.R.VI for a population of 3,568, or one basic S.R.VI to 1,784, a slightly better than average ratio. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

- (23) KEBONHARDJO village: There is a small away which, the writer states, served the village well with schools. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH

¹ This survey was one of the four which mention this test scheme which was tried out in a few regions of Indonesia, in order to assess the feasibility of introducing compulsory education on a large scale throughout Indonesia. The scheme is discussed in chapter II.

- (24) WINONG village: Although there was an S.R.VI with nine classes, the population it served was 3,783. This meant a basic S.R.VI/population ratio of 1:2,520, which is rather high. However, the school had a rather good average class size of 30 pupils (probably because not all the parents sent their children to school).

MEDIUM/LOW

Ranked as:

- (25) MALANGDIWAN village: There were two S.R.VI, each with eight classes, for a population of 4,616. Hence the village had the better than average ratio of one basic S.R.VI for 1,731. Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (26) WANARATA village: There were two S.R.VI for the very large population of 6,590, or 1:3,295.

LOW

Ranked as:

- (27) DOPLANG village: There was one S.R.III and one S.R.VI for a population of 3,038, or one basic S.R.VI to 2,026 - slightly more than average.

MEDIUM

Ranked as:

- (28) BAPANGSARI village: There was one S.R.VI for a population of 1,660 - a fairly good ratio. However, the school was somewhat overcrowded.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (29) KADILANGU village: Although the S.R.VI in the village had to serve a rather small population of approximately 870, the school was held in the house of a villager and seemed to have been rather badly equipped. Ranked as:
MEDIUM
- (30) MANISHARDJO village: There was one S.R.VI for a population of 2,240 - a slightly above-average ratio. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/LOW
- (31) SETONOBETEK village: There was one S.R.VI, but no mention of the population it had to serve. However, the survey states that nearly all the children attended school, so the facilities to cater for them must have been available. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (32) TJEPKO village: There were two S.R.VI for the population of 3,275 - a fairly good ratio of 1:1,638. Ranked as:
MEDIUM/HIGH
- (33) HARGOMULJO village: There was one S.R.VI with eight classes, for a population of 2,678. Hence the basic S.R.VI/population ratio of 1:2,000 was slightly above-average. Ranked as:
MEDIUM

- (34) DAREN KIDUL village: Although the writer of the survey does not mention which school the children attended, he states that nearly all the children went to school, so the facilities to cater for them must have been available.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/HIGH

- (35) WARUNG MUNTJANG village: There was a school building with seven classrooms, used by three different sekolah rakyat in three sessions. The village had a population of only 609, but it is situated in the densely populated kelurahan of Andir and had to serve a considerable proportion of its children. Hence the pressure on school facilities was severe in the three schools.

Ranked as:

MEDIUM/LOW

- (36) NEGLA PODJOK village: There were two S.R.VI at the kelurahan, which had to serve its entire population of 9,249, giving a far above-average ratio of 1:4,625.

Ranked as:

LOW

- (37) PANGGUNG ISLAND village: There were two S.R.VI for a population of only 1,635, giving a surprisingly low ratio of 1:818.

Ranked as:

HIGH

APPENDIX 7

THE PERIOD WHEN THE FIRST PRIMARY SCHOOL IN EACH
OF THE 37 VILLAGES WAS ESTABLISHED

Of the 37 village surveys, 5 give no indication when the first school in the village was established. Of the remaining 32 villages:

- a) 9, or 28%, each had a three-year primary school in the village during the Dutch colonial period.

(6) Naga

(9) Babakan

(10) Sindangkempeng

(17) Sigaluh

(18) Dieng

(21) Kali Tengah

(28) Bapangsari

(30) Manishardjo

(33) Hargomuljo

- b) 10, or 31%, had some contact with a primary school (usually in a neighbouring village), during the Dutch colonial period. This meant that only some children of these villages had access to elementary schooling.

- (2) Leuwi Bungur
- (4) Kalawagar Lebak
- (5) Burudjul
- (7) Langen
- (8) Batulawang
- (20) Dempet
- (25) Malangdjiwan
- (34) Daren Kidul
- (35) Warungmuntjang
- (36) Negla Podjok

- c) 11, or 34%, have had access to primary schooling only since Independence.

- (3) Lolohan
- (12) Pasir Waru
- (13) Peuntas Wetan
- (15) Karangdadap
- (16) Radjawana Kidul
- (23) Kebonhardjo
- (24) Winong
- (26) Wanarata
- (29) Madilangu
- (32) Tjepoko
- (37) Panggang Island

- d) 2, or 7%, still did not have access to a school at the time of the surveys.

(1) Tjurug

(11) Tanggulasin

The five villages for which no relevant data were given are:

(14) Baru Adjak

(19) Pasarbatang

(22) Sukodono

(27) Doplang

(31) Setenobetek

APPENDIX 8

THE PROPORTION OF LITERATE ADULT VILLAGERS
IN EACH OF THE 37 VILLAGES

HIGH: Over 80% of the adult population are literate:

(7) Lengen

MEDIUM/HIGH: Between 60% and 80% of the adult
population are literate:

(6) Naga

(9) Babakan

(13) Peuntas Wetan

(17) Sigaluh

(18) Dieng

(20) Dempet

(23) Kebonhardjo

(25) Malangdjiwan

(30) Manishardjo

(31) Setonobetek

(32) Tjepoko

(33) Hargomuljo

MEDIUM: Between 40% and 60% of the adult population are literate:

- (4) Kalawagar Lebak
- (5) Burudjul
- (8) Lawulawang
- (10) Sindangkempeng
- (26) Wamarata
- (34) Daren Kidul
- (35) Warungmuntjung
- (36) Negla Podjok

MEDIUM/LOW: Between 20% and 40% of the adult population are literate:

- (2) Leuwi Bungur
- (15) Karangdadap
- (16) Radjawana Kidul
- (37) Panggang Island

LOW: Under 20% of the adult population are literate:

- (1) Tjurug
- (3) Lolohan
- (11) Tanggulasin
- (12) Pasir Waru
- (21) Kali Tengah
- (29) Kadilangu

The following villages provide insufficient data for classification:

(14) Baru Adjak	(24) Winong
(19) Pasarbatang	(27) Doplang
(22) Sukodono	(28) Bapangsari

APPENDIX 9

THE PROPORTION OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN
ATTENDING SCHOOL

The villages have been ranked according to the proportion of school-age children who were actually attending school at the time of the surveys. Five categories were used. The villages are listed below under their respective categories.

HIGH: Virtually all the children of the village were attending, or had attended, school, although perhaps not for the full six years of the sekolah rakjat.

(2) Leuwi Bungur	(18) Diang
(6) Naga	(19) Pasarbatang
(8) Batulawang	(22) Sukodono
(9) Babakan	(23) Kebonhardjo
(10) Sindangkempeng	(31) Setonobetek
(12) Pasir Waru	(32) Tjepoko
(14) Baru Adjak	(33) Hargomuljo
(17) Sigaluh	(34) Daren Kidul
	(37) Panggang Island

MEDIUM/HIGH: Only a small proportion of the
school-age children did not
attend school:

(4) Kalawagar Lebak

(7) Langer

(13) Peuntas Wetan

(15) Karangdadap

(24) Winong

(25) Malangjiwan

(28) Bapangsari

(30) Manishardjo

EDIUM: Approximately half of the school-age
children did not attend school:

(3) Lolohan

(21) Kali Tengan

(29) Kadilangu

(36) Negla Podjok

MEDIUM/LOW: Only a small proportion of the school-age children were attending school:

(5) Burudjul

(16) Radjawana Kidul

(20) Dempet

LOW: Virtually none of the school-age children were attending school:

(1) Tjurug

(11) Tanggulasin

Of the 37 villages, three - Wanarata (No.26), Doplang (No.27) and Warungmuntjang (No.35) - could not be ranked, because their surveys did not provide sufficient data on school attendance.

APPENDIX 10

THE SCHOOLING OF VILLAGE CHILDREN
BEYOND SEKOLAH RAKJAT LEVEL

Of the 37 village surveys, only 30 provided sufficient data to allow a ranking of the villages according to the relative proportion of the children who had, since Independence, proceeded beyond sekolah rakjat to some kind of post-primary school. Four categories were used. The 30 villages are listed below under their respective categories.

NONE: No children have proceeded to post-primary schooling; 3 villages were ranked this way:

(4) Kalawagar Lebak

(11) Tanggulasin

(12) Pasir Waru

LOW: Only one or two children have proceeded to post-primary schooling; 10 villages were ranked this way:

- (3) Lolohan
- (6) Naga
- (8) Batulawang
- (16) Radjawana Kidul
- (18) Dieng
- (19) Pasarbatang
- (21) Kali Tengah
- (29) Kadilangu
- (30) Manishardjo
- (37) Panggang Island village

MEDIUM: Post-primary schooling was becoming more common. 9 villages were ranked in this way:

- (2) Leuwi Bungur
- (5) Burudjul
- (9) Babakan
- (13) Peuntas Wetan
- (14) Baru Adjak
- (20) Dempet
- (24) Winong
- (28) Bapangsari
- (31) Setonobetek

HIGH: Post-primary schooling had become fairly usual and widespread among the village children; 8 villages were ranked in this way:

- (7) Langen
- (10) Sindangkempeng
- (15) Karangdadap
- (17) Sigaluh
- (32) Tjepoko
- (33) Hargomuljo
- (34) Daren Kidul
- (36) Negla Podjok

It must of course be remembered that such terms as "usual", "common" and "widespread" are being applied to only a small proportion of children, for - as was shown, very few of the children even qualified to continue their schooling by gaining the Sekolah Rakyat Certificate.

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