Anthropology in Indonesia

I. ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDONESIA BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Records on Indonesian Peoples and Cultures

The development of anthropology in Indonesia is based on a vast accumulation of records on Indonesian peoples and cultures left by foreign visitors who had come to the islands from time immemorial. Compared to the records left by the Chinese, Indians, and Arab merchants who had visited the islands centuries ago, those left by the earliest Western Europeans (travellers, sailors, missionaries, translators of the Bible, explorers, and the Dutch colonial civil servants) are the most important.

On the vast amount of records mentioned above there are over 40 bibliographies, of which a list is included in *Gids van de Nederland Aanwezige Bronnen Betreffende de Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië/Indonesië 1816–1942* compiled by F.G.P. Jacquet, and also in a textbook on social research methodology by Koentjaraningrat. Another list of those bibliographies is therefore unnecessary in this paper. It should, however, be noted that the earliest writings are not very useful for scientific studies because of their dubious qualities. The Dutch scientific interest in Indonesia indeed did not start until the second half of the 19th century. Beginning from that period the Dutch government required an extensive knowledge of the main languages and cultures of the peoples in Indonesia, from the civil servants and military officers who intended to make a career in the colonial service. Their interest in the Indonesian languages, peoples, and cultures had stimulated an intensive collection of data on those matters, and consequently the development of a complex of social sciences called *Indologie*. Although in a subsequent stage of her development the various specializations of *Indologie* could not be kept concentrated in one hand, the discipline was characterized by a minimum of differentiation. Only three branches of specializations have developed, i.e. the studies with a dominant literary-historical orientation, those with a dominant socio-political orientation, and those which are dominantly oriented on socio-economic problems.

In the period before the war, anthropology or ethnology in the restricted sense did exist, and it is usually considered to belong to the first group of studies. However, many

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1Or "Guide to the Sources in the Netherlands Concerning the History of the Netherlands Indies/Indonesia, 1816–1942".
of the studies that can today be considered anthropology, such as the study of adat law, or the study of rural economics, was at the time considered to belong to the second and third categories of studies, respectively.

The Dutch specialists in Indologie have tried to achieve an understanding of the peoples and cultures in Indonesia mainly through the normative approach, i.e. by looking for basic principles and established norms of the cultural system, and thereby using speculative and deductive comparative methods of investigation. As a consequence they often had to consider and take a look into the older phases of the culture, and their interest in the problem of socio-cultural change was therefore relatively small.

Before World War II, the centers of Indonesian studies were mainly the universities, and scientific institutes and associations in Holland. In Indonesia, they were also mainly in the hands of Dutch scholars, as hardly any Indonesian with a university degree had then taken up an academic career. They generally went into the civil service, but the outstanding roles of several Indonesian academics in the development of Indonesian studies could not be overlooked. A more detailed presentation of the development of Indologie is considered unnecessary, because a number of books and articles have been written on the development of various branches of Indonesian studies, e.g. the development of adat law studies by C. van Vollenhoven\(^4\) and by J. Prins;\(^5\) on the development of Indonesian anthropology by R. Kennedy,\(^6\) G.J. Held,\(^7\) A.G. Gerbrands,\(^8\) P.E. de Josselin de Jong,\(^9\) and Koentjaraningrat;\(^10\) on the development of sociology by H.J. Heeren;\(^11\) whereas a review of government surveys on agrarian problems, household budget studies and population studies are included in a book on the development of statistics in Indonesia by E.A. van de Graaf.\(^12\)

II. INDONESIAN ANTHROPOLOGY AFTER WORLD WAR II

Research Activities by Dutchmen

After Indonesia gained its independence after World War II, Dutch Indologie never resumed its previously glorious position. Before the war the Dutch indologists were sent to Indonesia as civil servants where they were placed in up to the smallest sub-district towns throughout the country. The close and continuous contacts which they developed with the population enabled them to observe and study them from nearby. Moreover, the high quality of their academic training made them qualified to carry out adequate social research. However, this opportunity ceased when Indonesia became independent.

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\(^{12}\)E. A. van de Graaf, *De Statistiek in Indonesia* (Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955).
A number of studies in adat law and anthropology, published by the Dutch civil servants after World War II, can be considered to be continuations of their studies which they had already started before the war broke out. Some of the best examples of such studies are those done by G.J. Held on the social structure of the Waropen Papuans of the Cenderawasih (formerly Geelvink) Bay in West Irian,13 by H. Bouman on the development of Indonesian nationalism in West Sumatra,14 by H.Th. Chabot on the kinship and social system of the Makassarese of the Borongloë adat area in South Sulawesi,15 and by H.J. Burger on structural changes in Javanese society.

During 1957–58 most of the Dutch scholars left Indonesia, due to the strained relations between both countries following the West Irian issue. Indonesia then became closed territory for the Dutch scholars, and Indologie was since then only able to study her subject from a distance. Indologie therefore became only part of Niet-Westersche Sociologie (Sociology of Non-Western Societies). As the younger generations of Dutchmen lost their interest in Indonesia, Indonesian studies was carried out only by a small group of an older generation of indologists who had in general been in civil service or had an academic career in Indonesia before the war broke out.

Whereas their interest in Indonesia decreased rapidly after 1958, the Dutch interest in West Irian increased rapidly compared to the situation before the war, when West Irian was also part of their colonial empire. After 1950, many of the research activities — especially in the field of anthropology — were organized or sponsored by Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken in Kotabaru (now called Jayapura). This research station was established by the first governor after the war had ended, J. van Baal, who is also a renowned anthropologist.16

In 1963, the West Irian issue was solved, and relations between Indonesia and Holland improved. Although very slowly, interest in Indonesia was resumed in the academic circles in Holland. Until about 1968, this interest was still a continuation of that which prevailed before the war. Currently, however, Dutch interest in Indonesia has also grown among the younger generation of scholars.

Research Activities by American and Other Foreign Scholars

After the war American anthropologists became especially interested in Indonesia than they ever did before. It was part of their general interest in postwar Southeast Asia, and there were at least three important centers in the United States which organized anthropological research in Indonesia: i.e. Cornell University, Massachussetts Institute of Technology, and Yale University.17

The Department of Far Eastern Studies of Cornell University had a Southeast Asia Programme that carried out research and trained specialists through a Ph.D. programme on that area. An important part of the programme was the Modern Indonesia Project

directed by G. McT. Kahin, a political scientist and author of *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia.*18 Although political science and history seemed to have dominated the programme, there was sufficient input from the side of anthropologists, such as R. Textor’s study on community development,19 and D. E. Willmott’s study on the Chinese of Semarang.20 There were also a number of Indonesian anthropologists who studied under the programme for the M.A. or Ph.D. degrees.

Another important center for Indonesian studies was the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose objective was the study of postwar international problems, including the cultural, economic, and political aspects. Within the framework, three countries had become the special focus of attention: Italy, India and Indonesia. The coordinator for the programme on Indonesia was the economist B. Higgins. Although its main focus was economic and political development, the trend of thinking that emerged in the late 1950’s concerning the non-economic obstacles of economic development, which Higgins was one of its early proponents, had stimulated intensive study on the socio-cultural aspects of the Indonesian society. The most important anthropological and sociological research project sponsored by MIT in Indonesia is the one known as the Modjokuto Study. A team consisting of anthropologists and sociologists studied a small town called Pare in East Java under the leadership of a linguist, R. Handon. Pare is the town which the team have given the assumed name Modjokuto. All the members of the team wrote their Ph.D. theses on data obtained in “Modjokuto”: C. Geertz on the religion in Modjokuto;21 Hildred Geertz on the kinship system;22 E. J. Ryan on the cultural value orientation of the Chinese of Modjokuto;23 A. C. Dewey on the small market economy;24 and R. R. Jay on local small town politics.25 Although most of them have also written a number of other articles in addition to their dissertations,26 the one who produced the longest list of books and articles on various aspects of the Modjokuto data, with special reference to the socio-cultural and religious aspects of economic development was C. Geertz.27 He has also

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18 G. McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia.*
written on the results of his second Indonesian field work in Bali.28 Most of his works have been extensively discussed, not only in America but also in Dutch and Indonesian social science journals, whereas a critical appraisal of the main theme of his work is included in H. J. Heeren’s review article on Indonesian sociology, and in Koentjaraningrat’s book, *Anthropology in Indonesia.*29

Yale’s interest in Indonesia dated back from the period when R. Kennedy of the Department of Anthropology compiled the *Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures* before the war.30 After the war Yale also had a Southeast Asian Programme, of which the geographer K. J. Pelzer became its director. Before the war this scholar had done work on resettlement programmes in Indonesia and the Philippines, and has written a book on the subject, called *Pioneer Settlements in the Asiatic Tropics.*31 Later Pelzer did another economic-geographic study in East Sumatra.32 More information on the works of scholars connected with Yale University, e.g. C. Cunningham, L. Pospisil, E. M. Bruner, and F. L. Cooley, but also of other American anthropologists, is included in Koentjaraningrat’s aforementioned book.33

The Human Relations Area Files is naturally also interested in Southeast Asia and Indonesia. In a series of publications called *Survey of World Cultures*, a large volume on various aspects of contemporary Indonesia, has appeared under the editorship of R. T. McVey,34 with Hildred Geertz writing the anthropological chapter. A more strictly informative ethnographic volume on most Indonesian ethnic groups is volume I of *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*, edited by F. M. Lebar.35

Besides the Dutch and American scholars, there were also Australian, British, German, French, Canadian and Japanese anthropologists who conducted research in various parts of Indonesia. Especially since 1967, their number has increased. After 1974, an increase of the number of administrative requirements and restrictions has caused a drawback of extensive research done by foreign scholars.36 There are now Dutch, American and Australian anthropologists who are doing research in the frame


36Before 1974, it was possible for scholars to apply for a long-term research visa on a personal basis, by submitting an application to the Indonesian Institute for Sciences (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia or LIPI), including a detailed research proposal, a curriculum vitae, and the usual letters of recommendation. Today, after the initial approval of the project by LIPI, the application has to be checked by other government agencies.
of established programmes of cooperation between Indonesian academic or government institutes and similar institutes in their respective countries. The increased control on research activities by non-Indonesians was initially caused by the behaviour of certain foreign research workers, but also because among the Indonesian social scientists themselves the feeling of self competence to do social science research was also rising.

Research Activities by Indonesians

The anthropologist G.J. Held wrote in 1953 that: “... all scientific research in Indonesia is done by Europeans”.37 This is understandable as the teaching staff of the University of Indonesia was at that time still predominantly Dutch. However, at The Gadjah Mada University anthropology and sociology were taught by an Indonesian professor, M.M. Djojodigono, who belonged to the first generation of Indonesian professors, whose occupations were before the war generally in the civil service. Djojodigono has compiled data on adat private law of Central Java in cooperation with another adat law scholar, Tirtawinata.38 He was therefore able to stimulate an atmosphere of research among the staff members and students of the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Political Science of Gadjah Mada University.

The committee Panitiya Social Research (subsequently transferred into Lembaga Sosiografi dan Hukum Adat, or Institute for Sociography and Adat Law), organized the research activities, with the results being published (mimeographed) as papers or included in the journal Sosiografi Indonesia. Some of the most important articles on their research findings (around 30 articles) are: those written by Soedjito Sosrodihardjo, who has paid special attention to Javanese rural religion and leadership;39 articles by Pandam Guritno, who studied social pathology and child health in rural Java;40 and by Masri Singarimbun, who had done research in the Karo Batak area of North Sumatra.41 In 1962, Singarimbun obtained the opportunity to study anthropology at the Australian National University, where he completed his dissertation, “Kinship and Affinal Relations Among the Karo of North Sumatra”.42

III. THE TEACHING OF ANTHROPOLOGY AT INDONESIAN UNIVERSITIES

The Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia

In the early 1950’s, the years immediately after independence, Introductory Anthropology was taught at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta as a complementary

39Soedjito Sosrodihardjo, Kedudukan pemimpin Dalam Masarakat Desa (Jogjakarta: Lembaga Sosiografi dan Hukum Adat, 1956).
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subject at the Law School and at the Faculty of Letters. The persons who taught this subject were all Dutchmen/women: two lecturers and a professor in anthropology. Among the Indonesian academics there was a divided opinion: one group was more in favour of sociology, and the other group favoured anthropology. The ones who belonged to the first group considered anthropology inappropriate for a growing country, which they thought should look into the future instead of pay attention to its backward, primitive, and static aspects. The earlier mentioned first postwar Indonesian professor in sociology at the University of Indonesia, T.S.G. Moelia, for example, expressed this very feeling in an article.43 He also regarded anthropology to be based on colonial interest. The group of academics who favoured anthropology, however, recognized the importance of anthropology as a means of acquiring knowledge of and insight into an area with a large diversity of ethnic groups, while they also recognized the advantages of the anthropological method of qualitative inquiry and observation in socio-cultural research in a country with a large portion of illiterates and peasants among its population.

The second group has been able to demonstrate the significance of anthropology for the study of national integration, which was a problem of first priority during the first decade after Indonesia's independence. Therefore, in 1956, two Indonesians who had received anthropological training abroad (one in Holland and one in the United States) became available, a plan to establish a Department of Anthropology at the University of Indonesia was being considered. This was soon afterwards materialized as a division of the Faculty of Literature.

This structural arrangement goes back to the early Dutch academic tradition, when anthropology was considered to be part of the more literary-historical orientation of Indonesian studies mentioned above; therefore it is more closely related to the study of Indonesian languages, literature and cultural history. The more American orientation that subsequently developed in Indonesian anthropology favoured a more socio-cultural orientation. Beginning with the academic year 1983–84, the Department of Anthropology was moved into the Faculty of Social Sciences.

Today, in 1983, the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia has reached a stage that it can offer a five-year undergraduate training program in general cultural anthropology to over 200 students, an additional two-year graduate programme in five anthropological specializations to 30 graduate students, and a doctoral programme to 11 candidates. The teaching staff consists of 23 lecturers, seven of them holding a Ph.D. degree, and among them there are three full professors.

Anthropology Departments in Other Universities

Because the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia has already in the early 1960's been assigned the task to establish and develop anthropology departments in other provincial universities throughout the country, the pace of its own development has naturally been retarded. It had to share its staff as well as its resources, as lecturers of the Department were to teach at the affiliated provincial universities on a rotating basis, or had to teach there at regular intervals during the academic years. This system prevailed until the affiliated departments obtained the capacity to offer an undergraduate programme of its own.

In 1962, an affiliated Department of Anthropology was established at the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, and another one at Cendrawasih University in Jayapura

(West Irian). In 1964 a Department of Anthropology was established in the same way at Sam Ratulangi University in Manado (North Sulawesi) and in 1969 at Udayana University in Denpasar.\textsuperscript{44}

Up to now, the Department of Anthropology of Cendrawasih University is still being nurtured, and in the meantime the burden of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia has been added by taking up the responsibility of two more affiliated departments, i.e. at the Hasanuddin University in Ujung Pandang (South Sulawesi) and the University of North Sumatra in Medan. Also with those embryonic departments the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia has to share its staff and resources.

\textit{The Nature of Anthropology Courses at Indonesian Universities}

There are two kinds of training in anthropology at Indonesian universities. The first one consists of a 72-hour, two semester course in introductory anthropology, and another 72-hour, two semester course on anthropology of Indonesia. This kind of training is offered at law schools, at the Academy for Military Law, at most of the departments of Faculties of Social Science (Department of Political Science, Department of Public Administration, Department of Publicity, Department of Communication, Department of Social Work, Department of Criminology, and Department of Sociology); at three Departments of Faculties of Letters (Department of Indonesian Languages and Literature, Department of Linguistics, Department of History); at Faculties of Psychology; at Faculties of Public Health; at teachers colleges; at institutes for Islamic theology; at divinity schools; and at Catholic seminaries.

The courses are meant to give lawyers, social scientists, linguists, historians, psychologists, public health officers, teachers and theologians some insight in the diversity of the ethnic cultures in Indonesia, and to provide them with a basis to understand the ethnic culture of the area where they will be employed. In particular to law students, anthropology is to help them understand the ways of thinking that form the basis of many norms in Indonesian \textit{adat} law in the rural areas.

The other kind of training programme in anthropology offers a full training in the discipline at the Department of Anthropology, which until 1983 has been part of the Faculty of Letters. As mentioned earlier this programme offers a five-year undergraduate training in general cultural anthropology, which leads to a \textit{Sarjana 1} (\textit{S}\textsubscript{1}) degree.\textsuperscript{45} An additional two-year graduate programme offers training in anthropological specialization that leads to a \textit{Sarjana 2} (\textit{S}\textsubscript{2}) degree. The Graduate Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia, for example, offers five anthropological specializations, i.e.: (1) Anthropology of Indonesia;\textsuperscript{46} (2) Medical Anthropology; (3) Anthropological Ecology; (4) Economic and Population Anthropology; and (5) Anthropology of Law.

Finally, the most advanced training programme focuses on intensive field work for a doctoral dissertation, which leads to a degree called \textit{Sarjana 3} (\textit{S}\textsubscript{3}).\textsuperscript{47}


\textsuperscript{45}The term \textit{Sarjana} means “learned person”.

\textsuperscript{46}This programme is offered in cooperation with the University of Leiden, requiring an additional four years training in the Dutch Language (two years at the University of Indonesia, and two years at the University of Leiden), and in the use of Dutch ethnographic sources (published, unpublished, as well as archival materials).

\textsuperscript{47}Most of the \textit{S}\textsubscript{1} graduates still use the universal academic title of Doctor (Dr).
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The courses of the undergraduate programme in general cultural anthropology may be classified into four categories, as follows:

1. **Courses in main subjects**, which include: Introductory Anthropology, Kinship Systems, Social Organization, Peasant Communities, Religious Systems; Ethnography of Indonesia and Irian, Ethnolinguistics, Introductory Sociology, Pre-history of Indonesia, Introductory Physical Anthropology, Research Methodology, and Basic Statistics. The student has to take all these courses during the four years of his undergraduate study.

   The main subjects to be taken during the fifth year include: Theoretical Anthropology, Ethnography of Southeast Asia, Anthropology and Development (Applied Anthropology), and Sociology of Indonesia: all of which to be completed during seven semesters of class work.

2. **Courses in subsidiary subjects**, including: ethnographies of other parts of the world, e.g. Africa, Oceania, America; folklore of Indonesia; Islam in Indonesia; and ten semesters of these are required in the undergraduate level.

3. **Introductory courses in related subjects**, including: introduction to economics, law, psychology, demography, political science, archaeology, linguistics etc., to be taken during four years of class work in the undergraduate level.

4. **Courses in other subjects**. The student may select a total of ten semesters of subjects offered at other faculties or schools, e.g. arts, literature, geography, political science, or languages. Of those subjects, six should be language courses, which could be any of the Indonesian ethnic languages other than the student’s own, or any Asian or European language other than English.48

If we consider the main features of the curriculum explained above, we notice that the main focus is on social anthropology of the geographic area of Indonesia (although another focus on Southeast Asia as a whole and another one on East Asia, is being planned), including detailed factual knowledge of the most important ethnic cultures, qualitative as well as quantitative research methodology, introductory knowledge of related disciplines, some knowledge of other disciplines, and introductory knowledge of other cultures of the principal areas of the globe. Other Indonesian or foreign languages, especially Asian languages, and anthropological theory and concepts are taught at the graduate level.

The curriculum discussed above is currently only followed by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia. Those of the other six universities are still unable to follow this curriculum. Those departments have their own regional character, and train people to become experts in their respective regional ethnic culture and society, its features and problems, but have little capacity to study other Indonesian cultures.49 Because of their weaknesses in anthropological theory and concepts, they are also only capable of doing data collecting.

*The Teaching Staff*

As mentioned earlier, the courses in introductory anthropology given during two semesters at Law Schools, Faculties of Social Sciences, Faculties of Letters etc., are taught

48In 1970, only a limited number of foreign languages were offered at the University of Indonesia, i.e. Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Russian, Dutch, German, French, Tagalog and Thai.

49Only occasionally, when they have students from other regions who are native speakers and participants of the languages and cultures of the regions concerned, can they assign papers or theses on those other regions.
at all the state universities (there are more than 42 of them), at a number of schools for theology, and at the private universities all over the country, which number over the 200. These courses are given by lecturers who are generally not anthropologists. These lecturers are usually graduates of the respective schools and departments, who had obtained good grades for the compulsory courses in introductory anthropology when they were students. After they had graduated, they were appointed as assistants to the lecturers who taught the course. Eventually the older generation of lecturers would be succeeded by their assistants when they retired or left the academic profession. The continuous repetition of some of the lecture notes explains the striking uniformity of those lectures throughout the country, which I observed when I conducted a survey on the state of anthropology and sociology throughout Indonesia.

Many of the lecturers have naturally improved their knowledge in anthropology through their own efforts and occasional reading, but their comprehension of the discipline remains limited. Those who have had the opportunity to study anthropology abroad or who have had their training at one of the Departments of Anthropology in Indonesia are, of course, an exception. Table 1 presents the number of anthropologists in Indonesia in 1985. The category "Other" under national training refers to those who did not have a full training in anthropology mentioned above, and had only taken a course in introductory anthropology.

### Table 1
THE NUMBER OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN INDONESIA
1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training</th>
<th>Number of Anthropologists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic: Sarjana 1</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarjana 2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas: MA</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr., Ph.D.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusively overseas: MA, Drs.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Some of the anthropologists classified under "Overseas" may have had a domestic $S_1$ degree. On the other hand, there are $S_2$ degree lecturers who have had some additional non-degree training abroad. These are classified under "Domestic".

**Anthropological Textbooks, Teaching Materials and Libraries**

The lack of adequate textbooks, readings, and other teaching materials is a principal weakness in Indonesian universities in general, and in the training in anthropology in particular. The only place where for reasons of library facilities an anthropology department can actually set up a doctoral programme is Jakarta. The undergraduate student usually finds the needed material for his study in the libraries of their respective faculties.
Because their number is still limited, graduate students are still able to make use of the libraries which include specialized anthropological journals, owned by their lecturers and professors. The national library in Jakarta has the best prewar collection on Indonesian cultures, societies and languages, and so do the national archives and the National Center for Documentation, which are all located in Jakarta.

Departments of Anthropology in other cities, however, do not have access to adequate libraries, whereas their own university library is usually below any minimal standard.

**Occupation of Anthropologists in Indonesia**

Since the past decade there is an increasing demand for anthropologists. In general their main occupation is at the various universities and the schools for higher learning mentioned above; but since the establishment of various government universities as well as private institutes for socio-cultural or economic research in the 1970's, to many becoming a research worker is another important occupation. I have also noticed that in the national planning bureau as well as in a number of provincial ones, anthropologists are employed as consultants on the socio-cultural aspects of development. There are a number of anthropologists who have become consultants in the Bureau for the Coordination of Family Planning, whereas many have only become civil servants. An important occupation, not only in Jakarta but particularly in the provinces is work in museums. Last but not least, Indonesian anthropologists also proved to be excellent journalists.

**IV. ANTHROPOLOGY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**Applied Anthropology**

Before the war, anthropology in the broader sense did not only include ethnography and ethnoLOGY but also the study of *adat* law and the study of agricultural and peasant economics of the various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The results of these studies were utilized by the colonial administration to administer the country.

However, after the Second World war, working closely together with sociology, anthropology has studied problems of nation building, which, in a developing country like Indonesia, is considered "urgent anthropology". Therefore, the meaning of this term differs significantly from that perceived in developed countries, where "urgent anthropology" is considered to be the study of vanishing cultures due to culture change. When Indonesia became fully committed to economic and national development after 1965, anthropological research activities were also oriented towards a number of important problems, such as those in the areas of: (1) community development, (2) population dynamics, (3) ecology and environmental problems, (4) national integration, (5) education, (6) socio-cultural change, and (7) administrative reform. These research activities were relevant for anthropological research projects, and were best approached and analyzed by anthropological or sociological concepts and methodology.

**Problems of Community Development**

The problems of community development are basically anthropological or sociological ones. Although on the surface they concern illiteracy campaigns, the introduction of new techniques of agricultural production, peasant labour, marketing, agricultural services, 80In Indonesia it is customary that university lecturers and professors lend the books and articles to their students to read. Those books and articles are then photocopied by the students.
The Study of Population Problems

These problems concern resettlement programmes (transmigrasi), control of urbanization, unemployment and disguised unemployment; and are areas where anthropological research has contributed much to reach an understanding. Also in research that concerned the socio-cultural aspects of family planning, always a main project in all three National Development programmes (PELITA I, II and III) managed by the government agency called the Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional (BKKBN) since 1979, anthropologists have played a dominant role. The head of the Center for Population Studies of Gadjah Mada University, for example, is the anthropologist Masri Singarimbun; whereas the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia offers the graduate training programme in economic and population anthropology.

Indonesian sociologists have also made some contribution to family planning research, although mainly on the knowledge, attitudes and practice (KAP studies) of family planning among the population, for which they work together with public health officers. The anthropologists, however, have mainly studied indigenous midwives, the status of women in family and kinship systems, the household composition at various places in Java whereas excellent studies on the problems mentioned above and other studies relating to the socio-cultural aspects of fertility, have been conducted by anthropologists who had participated in the so-called Serpong Project. This joint project between the University of Indonesia and the University of Leiden, to study and evaluate traditional as well as contemporary contraceptive methods, the significance of the rural public health clinics for the follow-up of acceptors, and the total complex of socio-cultural factors which interfere with or stimulate family planning, was carried out in a district to the west of Jakarta, called Serpong. A series of over 20 reports have been published, among which the most outstanding are those on the role of traditional midwives in rural Jakarta communities. There is a remarkable study which focuses on the role of women in family cooperatives, crops in the subsistence, cash crops, as well as estate sectors, public health, and ecology, the core of the problems, however, concern the change of traditional value orientations. Many routine surveys on illiteracy, illiteracy campaigns, and the results and consequences of these activities, have been carried out by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Indonesia. Numerous studies that relate to the other rural problems have been carried out by the rural sociologists of the Center of Research in Rural Sociology; those at village level have been done by the Ministry of Interior, and other programmes for the study of rural problems, such as the Agro-Economic Survey have been carried out by many of the students of various faculties of social sciences as well as Departments of Anthropology who need the data for their sarjana examination papers (Skripsi Sarjana).


52The name of the agency means: National Agency for the Coordination of Family Planning Programmes.


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planning in Indonesia, carried out in seven areas in Sumatra, Java and Bali, by a team of women anthropologists and sociologists. Other remarkable studies on the value of children in peasant households, the participation of women in the labour force, the postponement of the marriageable age among peasants, were conducted in joint projects under the auspices of the Center for Population Studies of Gadjah Mada University.55

Ecology

The rapid increase of population growth and the necessary increasing of the utilization of contemporary technology for rapid economic development in Indonesia, have had a negative effect on the ecosystems, and the need for an immediate economic gain has lately led to an unbalanced exploitation of easily available natural resources.56 The Indonesian government, however, has already in its Second Five Year National Development Plan (initiated in 1974) recognized the necessity of better resource management policies for environmental protection and preservation. One of the recent implementations of that policy is the establishment of centers for environmental studies in many of the state universities throughout the country, jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The most important constraint for the real implementation of those ecological studies and the development of proper nationwide programmes for environmental management and protection, however, is the serious shortage of well-trained manpower who are capable of carrying out the required research on environmental problems and of formulating the appropriate programmes for environmental protection and modern resource management and development.

Along with the conventionally trained biologists who study the natural resource aspects of environmental problems, other specialists are urgently needed, i.e. the human ecologists and anthropological ecologists, to study the interactions or mutual influences between people and their environments. In this connection the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia has in 1980 offered the two-year graduate programme in anthropological ecology. With a visiting expatriate staff, the programme started its first generation of students who were recruited from interested staff members of provincial universities of various parts of the country. This year a number of very interesting studies in human ecology have been carried out for their M.A. theses.

National Integration

Interethnic relations and relations between religious collectivities are problems of great interest to anthropologists, and can be studied in rural as well as in urban situations,


using qualitative as well as quantitative methods. In this respect, anthropologists can also be of particular importance in the promotion of a better understanding between the ethnic groups and between the religious collectivities in Indonesia, by writing contemporary ethnographies. These can become source books for popular literature, novels, children books etc., where themes on ethnic customs and beliefs may promote a better understanding among the peoples of different ethnic groups and different religious communities in Indonesia. There is of course a vast ethnographic literature on many of the ethnic groups of the Indonesian Archipelago; however, most of that literature has now become obsolete, and due to the fact that it is for the greatest part written in Dutch, it has become virtually useless to most Indonesian intellectuals under the age of 50. Moreover, certain areas of Indonesia have never been adequately described. There are quite a number of gaps in the ethnographic literature of Indonesia, e.g. on the Priangan Highlands of West Java, i.e. the area of 20 million Sundanese; on the population of the smaller East Indonesian islands, such as Flores and South Maluku; most of North Sulawesi; Central and East Kalimantan; the coastal population of Kalimantan; the Lampung area in South Sumatra; and most of the Malay population of East Sumatra.

Studies to compile ethnographic data can best be carried out within the framework of Ph.D. study programmes. The dissertation serves as a goal and a stimulant to motivate graduate students to do the required anthropological field work during which they are to do intensive observation and do qualitative study of one particular ethnic culture for one year. From the University of Indonesia two anthropologists have done this kind of field work, i.e. Junus Melalatoa, whose dissertation is on the Gayo of North Sumatra and J. Danandjaja on the non-Hindu Balinese of Trunyan. An anthropologist from Satyawacana University in Salatiga, N. L. Kana, has written his dissertation on a structural ethnography of the people of Sawu.

The best way to study inter-ethnic relations is in urban environments, where people of different ethnic backgrounds meet and compete for limited economic, educational, and political opportunities, or where processes of cultural adjustment, accommodations, assimilation or amalgamation occur. Such studies have been carried out in Bandung by a team of anthropologists directed by E. M. Bruner from the University of Illinois, who has earlier worked on similar problems in the city of Medan. Some interesting reports have appeared from this study, e.g. by Bruner, by Parsudi Suparlan, by Hirokoshi, and by Djuwariah Utja.

The study of relations between religious categories and groups has not yet been done on the basis of anthropological or sociological approaches. After Geertz’s book, The

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57Melalatoa, “Paroh Masyarakat Dalam Kebudayaan Gayo” (Dissertation, University of Indonesia, 1983).
60E. W. Bruner, “The Expression of Ethnicity in Indonesia” (Champaign: University of Illinois, 1971) (mimeographed manuscript).
63Djuwariah Utja, “Sundanese Organization in Pasundan” (Bandung, 1971) (mimeographed manuscript).
Religion of Java, no major study on the anthropology or sociology of religion has ever been carried out in Indonesia, although some excellent studies have appeared on Islamic religious education and schools as well as a number of specific studies for doctoral dissertations in theology,64 such as the one by Schreiner on missionary activities among the Batak,65 the same by Ukur among the Ngaju of Central Kalimantan,66 or some data collection on social facts about Christianity as done by F. L. Cooley67 and Widyapranata.68 It is hoped that more intensive anthropological studies on the interaction between religious groups in Indonesia will follow.

The Socio-Cultural Problems of Education

Not much anthropological work has been done on these problems in Indonesia, although there is an urgent need for information on problems of anthropology of education, e.g. the great number of different local perceptions of the national educational system at the local level; discrepancies between national ideals and the actual practice of education in different ethnic cultures and local situations; the socio-political function of the school as a non-traditional institution in the local community; political, economic, social and ideological impediments to equality of educational access; the teaching and learning processes in formal as well as in informal educational systems; the nature of the interpersonal relationship between teacher and student, teacher and parents, teacher and government administrators, teacher as informal leader in peasant communities. On the latter problem, a study has already been done by a Dutch anthropologist, J. Tieken.69

Culture Change

Problems of national integration and education are very closely related to those of culture change. There are in the first place the problems of adjustment of the great number of Indonesian ethnic cultures to a national metropolitan culture, which develops mainly in the provincial capitals, the national capital, and in the recently developing industrial centers. More specifically, those that have to be studied are the changes in the various traditional customary adat law systems, in the process of the adjustment of these systems to the newly developing modern national law. Other examples are the changes in traditional ethnic systems of social stratification based on primordial principles, into the contemporary stratification based on educational advancement, professional status and income level. Several studies on this topic have been done for Ph.D. dissertations, such as the one by Hasan Walinono on changes in the social stratification of the Buginese of

South Sulawesi,70 and by Pajung Bangun on changes in social stratification of the Batak Karo of North Sumatra.71

Studies that should be done, which are closely related to those of changes in social stratification, are the studies on changes in the concept of power and patterns of leadership in the various areas of Indonesia. These studies should be carried out in an interdisciplinary cooperation between anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists.72

A great deal of attention has on the other hand been paid to problems of changes and variations in cultural value orientation among various ethnic groups in Indonesia, for instance by teams of various provincial universities in Indonesia, coordinated by Koentjaraningrat.73 Recently studies are being done on variations in value orientation of Indonesians of specific occupations, e.g. teachers, managers, or other occupations, for Ph.D. dissertations.

Research on problems relating to the reorganization of administration also need the help of anthropologists, especially where it concerns the human element, the value systems behind the administrative structures,74 principles, perceptions and conceptions about cooperation, competition and leadership, corruption etc. However, despite the numerous studies made in the field of public administration, of which many are doctoral dissertations, only few focused on the human element from a particular anthropological point of view. However, a dissertation by H. A. Abdulrachman75 of Padjadjaran University has utilized certain sociological concepts on leadership and management, and so is a dissertation by S. P. Siagian.76

National and regional planners in Indonesia frequently make use of anthropologists as consultants, where the latter are invited to participate in meetings of special committees of government departments or bureaus or of the armed forces. A special committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for example, has been assigned to draw up a new law on village committees, to which an anthropologist was consulted on the problem of diversity and typology of Indonesian villages.

V. BASIC RESEARCH IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The question has often been asked whether there is still an opportunity for basic research in Indonesia. If we take a look at the basic policy for budget allocation at the

73Koentjaraningrat, Rintangan Mental Dalam Pembangunan Ekonomi di Indonesia, Occasional Papers, LIPI Nr. 1/2 (Djakarta: Bhrrata, 1969); Kebudayaan, Mentaliti dan Pembangunan (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1974).
74Such as the study on variations in value orientation of Indonesian managers mentioned above.
various national research agencies in Indonesia, e.g. the National Institute for Sciences, the various research departments of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the various study centers of the main universities, it appears that indeed little attention is being paid to basic research. In anthropology, however, the collection of ethnographic data is essentially a part of basic research in culture, and although there is little sense of urgency among people in the government as well as in academic circles to describe vanishing cultures, a national cultural policy to study the Indonesian cultural heritage and to describe and collect elements of Indonesian traditional cultures is felt as a general need to strengthen the Indonesian national identity.

Besides collecting ethnographic data, many studies on culture change and problems of development are carried out for examination papers, for S2 papers, or for S3 doctoral dissertations. A great deal of theoretical analysis is therefore required from those who carry out those applied anthropological studies, and theoretical analyses quite often touches on basic issues and basic problems of the discipline.

VI. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND PREHISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical Anthropology

As the site of more than 60 Pithecanthropine fossils of over two million years old, Indonesia in general and the island of Java in particular is, next to China and East Africa, a very important country for research on the problems of the early evolution of man. However, still following the continental European academic tradition, physical anthropology in the Indonesian universities is part of the Department of Anatomy of the Medical Faculty. This is also the case at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, with the renown Indonesian physical anthropologist, Professor Teuku Jacob, on its staff.77

Contrary to the continental European tradition, however, the Institute of Technology of Bandung also has some interest in physical anthropology, although it is only a part of palaeontology. The palaeontologist, Professor Sartono, head of the laboratory, has done some research in human evolution.78

The Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia, although focusing on cultural anthropology as mentioned earlier, also offers a course in introductory physical anthropology, and a course in human evolution, whereas a course in palaeoecology is offered at the S2 programme. Recently the Department is also planning to develop physical anthropology as a subdiscipline of anthropology, and in this connection one staff member is being sent to Berkeley for a Ph.D. study in physical anthropology. This person is a medical doctor and anatomist who developed an interest in physical anthropology, and has studied biological anthropology at Sorbonne, for which he obtained the degree Docteur en Troisième Cycle. In another three or four years, physical anthropology will be a part of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Indonesia.

77He became known because of his study and analysis of the 12 skulls of the Javanese Pithecanthropines which have been excavated in the early 1930's by H. R. von Koningwald, and which have already been returned to Indonesia as the country's cultural property. See Jacob, Teuku, Some Problems Pertaining to the Racial History of the Indonesian Region (Utrecht: Drukkerij Neerlandische, 1967).

In Indonesian universities, prehistoric archaeology is part of the Department of Archaeology. This department includes the socio-cultural history of the period in Indonesian history prior to the existence of written sources, and also of the period prior to the colonial domination, before Indonesian history could be studied from European archival and written sources. This in fact includes the period of the domination of Hindu-Indonesian empires, the history of which can be studied from an abundance of indigenous as well as Chinese written sources (the 4th–15th centuries) and the period of transition during the decline of the Hindu-Indonesian empires and the arrival of Islam, which can be studied from indigenous Arabic but also European written sources (the 15th–17th centuries).

Because of the aforementioned division, Indonesian prehistoric archaeologists have until quite recently very little contact with Indonesian anthropologists, although students in anthropology do have to take a course in Introductory Indonesian Prehistory. This lack of contact in turn explains why the works of renown Indonesian prehistoric archaeologists, e.g. R. P. Soejono, head of the Indonesian Institute for Prehistoric Archaeology (not connected with the University) have mainly focused on excavation and classification, but very little on interpretation and explanation.

The weakness has however been observed by the younger generation of Indonesian prehistoric archaeologists, but they are also aware of the fact that interpretation and explanation of pre-historical materials can only be fruitful if a closer cooperation be established between prehistoric archaeologists and anthropologists. Plans are now under way to develop a graduate interdisciplinary training programme where pre-historic archaeologists can study anthropology more intensively and also the other way around. Structurally, however, pre-history will remain part of the Department of Indonesian Archaeology.