

First of all, I thank the organizers, especially Prof Etsuko Matsuoka, for inviting me to this symposium. Thank you also to Ibu Wiwik and Bapak Made (this is the way we address to each other in polite way in Indonesia), for your very informative and thought-provoking papers. I am pleased to be able to comment upon these works, because both of the themes are strongly related to my own research interests.

Before getting started with my comments to the presentations, let me share with you briefly my research background.

As an anthropologist, I have carried out a long-term field research in the island of Bali, Indonesia. I lived in the village in Eastern Bali for two years in the beginning of the 1990s. Since then, I have continued research in both rural and urban parts of Bali.

My primary research interest lied in the conditions and perceptions of women's labour contributions in the changing socio-economic circumstances. So this theme perfectly fits Pak Made's concerns, I believe.

In the village where I have done most part of my research, one of the major local industries has been the production of traditional Balinese textiles called endek and songket. Both types of textiles are woven by hand, although the looms to be used and the systems of production are quite different from each other. Women of different age groups are the major participants of this industry, though men have also contributed their labour to different phases of production.

These locally produced textiles were part of the Balinese ceremonial clothing, which was worn in different occasions, ranging from temple ceremonies, life cycle rituals such as weddings, coming-of-age rituals, funerals, and graduation ceremonies.

I cannot go into further details, because my time is limited, but I just want to point out that I have been interested in the influence of market trends, religious norms and the concept of fashion on traditional costumes, which incorporate the textiles

produced in my research area.

This line of interest is related to Ibu Wiwik's presentation. At the same time, from the view point of women's labour and remuneration, it was important for me to investigate the ways in which women allocate their time and energy to different spheres of activity; namely, cloth production as a source of cash income, household activities and child care, and the fulfilment of religious obligations. Women were literally juggling their time in order to achieve the right balance between these different types of obligations. I will come back to this point later.

Now, let me turn to Ibu Wiwik's presentation. Since I conduct research only in Bali so far, especially in the rural Bali, I do not come across many Indonesian Muslim women except for academics like you, although I am aware that there is a growing number of Muslim population in Bali too. But personally I have been very much interested in the motivation of women in Java or elsewhere in Indonesia, who consciously choose to wear head scarf, *makerudung*, at a certain stage of their lives.

I have never done research on this topic myself, but have read the case studies from different parts of the world and also take up this issue in my class when I discuss the issues surrounding gender and tradition. It's also closely related to the framework that Hayami san took up earlier: namely an antithesis between universal values versus local or cultural practice.

For that matter, I completely agree with you when you point out the fact that the customs of wearing head scarves can be found everywhere in the world and Muslim veils should not be singled out as the sign of women's submission.

We may have to look into this issue more extensively especially if we want to understand why the veils worn by Muslim women have become "the problem" in many Western countries. But for now, rather than exploring this issue further, I will concentrate on the case of Indonesia.

You have argued quite clearly and persuasively that Indonesian women are not forced to wear head scarves, and their choice of doing so does not restrict their possibilities of various actions in their lives. Many years ago, I once came across a group of female students in Borobudur who wear scarf around their heads, I think it was *kerudung*, and jeans. For me, at that time, it looked like a bit strange combination; modern jeans and a head scarf. But as you said, if head scarves have become part of Indonesian popular culture, young women can also choose the combination of universal, modern clothing such as jeans and head scarves.

Yet this point makes me wonder : How about *busana* Muslim? This is my first question. Will you make the same argument for *busana* Muslim? I am asking this because wearing *busana* Muslim seems to be directing women towards more explicit modesty than just head scarves. This question might be just out of my ignorance of Islam, but I am interested to know the relationships between the Javanese traditional clothing, which is *kain kebaya*, and Muslim clothing.

As Suzanne Brenner pointed out, Javanese young, well-educated women might have wanted to get away from Javanese “old-fashioned” tradition and adopt universal modernity represented by Islam. But she drew that analysis from her observations in the late 1980s and early 1990s. How about now? Is there a new wave of combining Javanese tradition with Muslim clothing, or do most women choose more or less universal Muslim style of clothing? Especially after the listing of Indonesian batik as an intangible cultural heritage for humanity by UNESCO, how do you situate the position of batik in the general trend of head scarves as part of popular culture? So far, I have not seen head scarves made with batik, but do they exist? This is the matter of tradition, religion and fashion in this globalizing world. Even traditional or religious clothing can be fashionalized as Ibu Wiwik showed us, and it is also happening in Bali. But there can also be forces to restrain the excessive fashionalization especially in the

case of religious clothing. [wedding costumes]

Lastly, I would like to ask you to share some concrete stories, as appear in the book you mentioned in your presentation, about the ways in which they become aware of their aspirations to wear hijab. These are my main questions to Ibu Wiwik.

About Pak Made's presentation, I found your topic fascinating because of both similarities and differences with the case of Bali. Pak Made will perfectly understand my point, because he is originally from Bali himself, but for the sake of other participants, I shall explain a little bit about the situation in Bali as a contrast to the case of Java as presented by Pak Made.

In Bali, the vast majority of the population believe in Hinduism, and the Balinese daily life is closely connected with religious duties. In addition to presenting small offerings every day, women get together to produce a large number of complicated offerings for various ceremonies, especially life cycle rituals, like Pak Made described in his paper on Javanese village.

There is a division of labour between men and women, and it is very important for the organizers of the ceremony to attract a large number of participants, because the more people come and help, the higher is the prestige the organizers can earn.

So, reciprocal relationships are maintained between relatives and neighbours through the mutual assistance of each other's ceremony. Such assistance is given both in kind and labour. When there is a wedding, for example, the invited households bring uncooked rice and some gifts. But most importantly, both men and women come and help the preparation before the day of the ceremony. During the preparatory sessions, especially women must come every day to make offerings and prepare sweets to be served to the guests. These life cycle ceremonies are also the occasions in which the cooked food, especially meat dishes, is distributed to many people in the village. As Pak Made described for the Javanese village in the past, labour

contributions were reciprocated by material reward, not in cash but in kind. Furthermore, such mutual help has been very important to consolidate the long-standing relationships between the households.

As in Java, there have been many changes in Bali, too. In the past, most of the offerings were made by themselves, the host of the ceremony and the guests, but more recently, the complete sets of offerings for each ceremony can be bought from the offering specialists. Especially in the urban areas, food catering services are commonly used. However, in the Balinese villages, the spirit of mutual assistance is still highly valued. Although the guests from outside village, such as friends and colleagues of the bride and groom in the case of weddings, just come to the day of the ceremony and give money in the envelopes, the fellow villagers, who are tied to the host of the ceremony by reciprocal obligations, still have to come and help with the preparation. Failure to turn up will cut off the relationships between the households in question. If this happens, you will receive less number of guests for your next ceremony.

On the basis of such observations in the context of Bali, my first question to Pak Made is: Are there any other factor behind the change of venues and forms of preparations for ceremonies in Javanese villages apart from the increase in car ownership, and the further penetration of cash economy?

My second question is concerned with the cultural consequences of the changes you described very well. If the sense of community and mutual help which was maintained by reciprocal contributions of labour has been replaced simply by the exchange of cash donations, there is no such thing as sense of community any longer? No one pities or feels sympathy with the impoverished fellow villagers who barely make ends meet and struggle to provide the cash donations during the ceremonial season? Apart from the visible changes that have taken place in the sphere of

ceremonial practices, what are the things that you see different in term of social relationships in the contemporary Javanese village?

My last question is that why women seem to be more responsible for securing income in order to give cash donations to the hosts of the ceremonies during the ceremonial season; why it does not become the joint responsibility for the couple? There seems to be a gender issue at work, so would you give us a little bit more information about this?

That's all from me. Thank you.