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Can you work for Honda and remain yourself ?

THE CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF INDONESIAN MANAGEMENT

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INSEAD

Can you work for Honda and remain yourself ?

The Cultural Dimensions of Indonesian Management:

A description of the impact of traditional values on business and management practices and their consequences

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Summary

I - Introduction to Indonesian management mentalities

II - Education and religion in 20th century Indonesia

III - An Indonesian management model

IV - Traditional Javanese analyses of motivation

V - The grid and group of Indonesian cultural drift

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SUMMARY

By the cultural dimensions of management in Indonesia, we understand the description of the impact of traditional values on business and management practices, and their consequences in the "dynamic" perspective of trans-cultural change.

The first prejudice that one must discard is the old equation of management with Western business. For if the Indonesians readily admit that they need to learn more about management techniques as they are practiced in the West, it is only in order to better transform them to "fit" Indonesia's needs.

The second prejudice one must overcome is due to the equating of traditional superstitions with religion. In fact it will be shown that the Indonesia's religious organizations, both Christian and Islamic, are responsible for the best education that is currently dispensed on the secondary level.

To identify traditional values as they penetrate the management milieu, we have, in the third section, translated a text of Dr. Nimpoeno giving an Indonesian model for individual and group interaction. From this text we have drawn mainly upon the notion of location of power in the total environment and the effects of cosmology on the motivations guiding the individual through the forest of Javanese socialized behaviour.

To generalize from the behavioral analysis of Nimpoeno's model to Javanese society at large in section IV , we have drawn on Weiss's description of folk psychology in South Central Java and have completed it with several models of motivation taken from modern Javanese religious sects called kabatinan which are the most common vectors of these culturally-tied values in Indonesia's urban milieu's today.

It is suggested that foreign managers make the effort to know the conceptual spectrum on which these traditional values are situated. It is useful to follow Mary Douglas's model in order to situate the Javanese in terms of their ability to change speech grid, that is to say to recognize the variety of grid classifications to which a given Indoensian has access and the relation of this to the greater or lesser extent the traditional community has control over his behavior.

SECTION I - INTRODUCTION

One of the most crucial and unfortunately most elusive topics concerning the expansion of the international commercial networks to include the third world countries is the appearance of new managerial mentalities. In a symposium on the Practice of Management in Indoensia held in Bandung, May 8-13th, 1978, by the Management Division of the Economics Faculty of the University Pajajaran, it is revealing to note that almost half the papers delivered stressed the uniqueness of Indonesian management. Here is a list of some of their titles:

1) A management style that fits Indonesia (Djumadi Hadisumarto)
2) Where does the difference between Indonesian and universal management lie ? (Arifin Wirakasumah)
3) The basis for a cooperative life style and a participatory management style (Srihono)
4) Indigenous thought patterns that derive from religion, logic, and intuition. An aspect of the exploration of management science in Indoensia to which attention must be paid (Ir. Ustara Wiradinata)

Many Western writers have rejected such acculturated versions of Western management techniques as adulterated. J.H. Boeke writing on the "Dualism" inherent in the colonial economy of Indonesia, stated that capitalism is rational and that in a pre-capitalist society such as Indonesia's, rationality is definitely subordinate to other modes of thought. The fundamental orientation of such a peasant third world society for Boeke's school of thought, is religion and magic. It is surprising to see contemporary authors like Brian May (the Indonesian Tragedy, 1978) or Allen N. Sievers (the Mystical World of Indonesia: Culture and Economic Development in Conflict, 1974) subscribe to these views. Surprising for two reasons: first because for anyone aware of the cultural dimensions of managerial ideologies in Europe, it is not irrational, nor backward, to admit being influenced by one's own country and culture, even when you are working in a multinational setting (1). Secondly because the culturally and religiously determined psychology of Indonesians is clearly idiosyncratic and definable cause andeffect can even be invoked to explain its effects.

The struggle to maintain an Indonesian identity is not restricted to the field of management; it is a leitmotif of Indonesian culture, especially that of Java which represents the immense majority of Indonesia's population.

SECTION II - EDUCATION AND RELIGION IN 20TH CENTURY INDONESIA

Religion can, in another way, be related to rationality. In Indonesia, education is often a function of religion and religion is often a function of ethnic group. This is the inverse of the correlation of religion to superstition denied above. The Christians who were 1 % of the population in 1900 and are now 8 %, have always been the best educated statistically speaking. This is because,for the missions and the Christian churches:

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(1) See André Laurent "Cultural Dimensions of Managerial Ideologies..." 1979

> *"The school surrounded as it was by an aura of modernity and the power and the success of the colonial order, and, as it was promised, opening doors into desirable civil service employment, was a powerful tool for spreading the influence of Christianity".* (2)

Here one must carefully distinguish between education and culture. To give an example, the Balinese have preserved and developed a very rich culture and yet are still only about 50 % literate. On the other hand, the Javanese have a better educational level, even though they have lost much of their native culture. This cultural loss is fairly recent as Appell has pointed out (1978, 68-69):

> *"As man adapted to the various ecological niches of the world, he accumulated important knowledge about his eco-system and devised critical cultural inventions to deal with his environment. However, as indigenous societies were overwhelmed with the spread of the technology of the Western world, much of their unique knowledge was lost, even though until the twentieth century vast amounts of this knowledge and the concomitant cultural inventions were incorporated into the developing worldwide industrial society. They were facilitated by the narrower gap in socio-cultural level between the Western societies and the indigenous ones than that which exists today, and by the slower speed of destruction of the local societies. When a society undergoes change today, its destruction is more extensive and more precipitous".*

Appell's last remark raises the question and role of social stress. The adjustment to social and cultural change caused by development may be functional or dysfunctional. If the adaptation is dysfunctional following an impairment of psychological and physiological health, there occurs a reduction in efficiency and productive capacities. Thus we can see that the social stress caused by "inorganic" social change has a very dramatic effect on behavior. This should be remembered below when we discuss the rapid introduction of foreign management rationalities to Indonesia.

Having reversed the formula strong religions affiliation means superstitions traditional mentality, the form of religiously sponsored education can be sketched. This development of education cannot be credited to the Dutch who in Java in 1900 had only opened one school per 50,000 inhabitants. The modernization of education was a by-product of religion. In the 1920's the modernist Muslim movement, Muhammadiyah, established modern schools called Madrasah to replace the traditional Muslim pesantrèn which only thought religious chanting in Arabic accompanied by translations and commentaries by the teacher. In 1952 there were 1 1/2 million students in the Muhammadiyah schools to 2 million in the pesantrèn.(2) Clearly, Islam as well as Christianity is responsible for modernizing education.

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(2) Gavin W. Jones, "Religion and Education in Indonesia", Indonesia n° 22, Cornell, 1976 - Oct. , p. 36.

Having denied that Indonesia's population has remained backward because of religion, it remains to be seen what elements of the indigenous mentality are manifesting themselves in its autochtenous managerial styles. The elite trained abroad and integrated into the state apparatus are, to all appearances, very acculturated and secularized. Even if we try to scratch the surface, we might never discover exactly where their cultural roots lie, or even if they have any. The middle level managers however, for all their posturing, will admit quite readily to belonging to a kebatinan ("interiority") group which is one of the strongest vectors of traditional folk psychology in 20th century Indonesia. These sects are indeed havens of Javanese culture in an industrial society. Belonging to a cultural group even if one has only tenous connections with its most traditional and unaccomodating factions, insures the claims of that community on much of your behavior and analyses of others' behavior.

Having briefly presented below the problem of Indonesian management mentality and its relation to education, we will concentrate on the psychological analyses of motivations and behavior patterns that the Javanese use and which condition management attitudes. These are the cultural biases which seem to always elude our explanations remaining as it were in the shadows. The appearance of so-called traditional values in the "development" ideology (pembangunan) or modernization can be the vector for the preservation of Indonesian identity. Javanese culture does re-expresses itself in an albeit diminished form in these efforts to Indonesia-zed Western management techniques.

SECTION III -THE INDONESIAN MODEL OF BEHAVIOR BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

As mentioned in the introduction, the majority of the papers delivered at the 1978 Symposium on the "Practice of Management in Indonesia" held in Bandung West Java, stressed the "Indonesianization" of Western management theories to fit the South-East Asian cultural mix. One of the most "objective" was done by a psychologist John S. Nimpoeno. He presented three models of interpersonal behavior: one Anglo-saxon, one European and one Indonesian. We have translated his "Indonesian" model which despite a certain awkwardness of expression due to problems of translation, is indeed quite specific in its concepts. Our commentary follows Nimpoeno's text (4) which is given here in its entirity.

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(3) See Supra p. 6

(4) "Several Types of Behavior of Indonesians Cooperating with Individuals and Groups", by John S. Nimpoeno, Dipl. Psy.

(p.12) "Indonesian" model of behavior (for interaction) between individuals and groups:

A- Social perception

(1) Partner

Takes the form of a "genuine" part of the environment.
With any partner it is necessary to try to adapt in order to achieve harmony.
A partner as a part of the total environment may possess a source of external power which he can borrow from wherever /he wants to/.
When the above partner clearly takes the form of one's own source of power, then he ceases to be a partner and he is positioned as a source of external power.
Cooperation can take place when the sources of power of each partner respectively are not in conflict.

(2) Power

It is not an abstract diea, but rather a concrete and mysterious notion.
The sources of power is supranatural and can be possessed by all mankind.
As part of the total environment, the quantity of power is a constant.
Power functions in order to try re-establish harmony in the relations between individuals and the environment.

(p.13) B- Social attitudes

(1) General

One generally encounters social attitudes oriented towards survival rather than development.
Survival is esteemed to be equal to and harmonious with the total environment, any fact of which can be mirrorred in a life attitude.
The manipulation of the physical and social world as a spiritual one takes the form of an endeavour to harmonize with the total environment.
The fight to win takes the form of a struggle to defend or to raise one's social status.
One's relation with the environment is above all an emotional one.
Therefore, one's functioning in this environment is a consequence of the above "emotions".

(2) Modernization

Modernization means an increase of the individuals'position in the total environment, and therefore modernization is not only related to the physical-material world, but also to the social and spiritual aspects of the environment.

Modernization is only possible when one can "tap" an external power from the environment, that is to say a physical-material. social or spiritual power.
To lead or guide means: become a source of external power for others or, at the very least, become a mediator for the obtaining the desired power.

C- Social interaction

(p.14) (1) General

The pattern of social interaction for many coincides with the effort to safeguard social harmony, so that social interaction often takes the form of a compromise.
The desirability of social interaction is predicated on the attraction towards social harmony, which is to be preserved.
The individual's behavior in the successful fulfillment of his needs is connected to his capacity for total sacrifice. In social interaction, one relies heavily upon "inspiration", that is to say, the guiding of one's attitude by the supranatural.

(2) Competition

Competition is not characterized as functional but rather as emotional. The position of the individual in the total environment, often becomes the object of competition.
It is also common that results are stressed more than effort because "results" (output, success) are a by-product of the dynamics of the total environment.

(3) Understanding decisions

When an important general problem arises, it is considered as a problem of the total environment. Each individual who is significant is also part of this environment, so that the solution of the problem is the right and the responsability of all those who are implicated in it.
The search for a restored harmony in the above environment takes the form of arranging a consensus of opinions concerning how to overcome the problem; this is called musyawarah.
The fruits of the consensus are called mufakat.
The above agreement or consensus can become operational when it is legitimized by the leader; whereas the leader is invited to take the position of mediator in order to relate and benefit from the external powers mentioned above.

(p.15) ..... [an extract from tne conclusion of Nimpoeno follows below]

To radically wipe out the irrationality of a given nation in a given time means to wipe out the identity of that nation. Moreover, to try to use rational management amongst an irrational people is really to become irrational oneself. Apparently other steps are required to get out of this amorphous and formless situation. It is a mistaken possibility to try to take the path of conversion to a feigned "modern" management as if it were more appropriate and feasable in the socio-cultural situation of Indonesia.
This effort of conversion will only be possible, when further cultural research has been carried out focusing on the concept of management against the background of differing cultures.

The first thing that strikes one in reading this text is perhaps that it "seems" to say very little. The second, the apparently pointless repitition of expressions like "total environment". If ones gives the writer the benefit of the doubt, however, one is forced to admit that he is not simply "mindless", but that he is refering to concepts like total environment which, while they are meaningful to him, are meaningless to us. Sticking with this example, we are forced to admit that when Nimpoeno writes in Indonesian and uses an expression like total environment (lingkangan) he is staying something meaningful in terms of the Indonesian world view or cosmology that doesn't translate into plain English.

Since everything Nimpoeno says turns around harmonization with this "total environment" through some external power, let us be the devils advocate of cultural shock and interview, as it were, the Javanese. Let us ask them what they understand "motivation" to be all about, and see if we can get back to some common cultural ground.

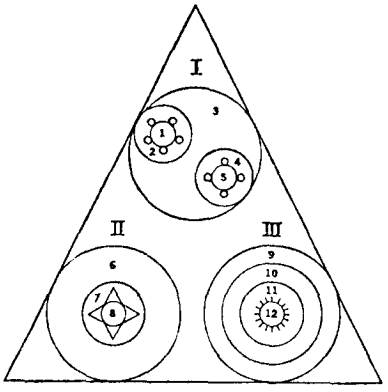
Perhaps in the traditional Indonesian understanding of psychology, we can find the key to this quest for harmony with the environment or cosmos.

SECTION IV - TRADITIONAL JAVANESE ANALYSES OF MOTIVATION

Perhaps the first trend we must recall is that of kabatiman, the modern Javanese religious sects of interiority. They have been studied frequently (Mulder 1978, De Jong 1973, Hadiwijono 1967), and rightly so since with the invasion of Western-oriented culture and economics, the "interiority sects" have become a haven for Javanese culture. Much of the traditional rural psychology and cosmology in the urban commercial centers is transmitted by these sects.

Soerono, the founder in 1960 of the Society of Selfsurrenders (Pagujaban Sumarah), has diagrammed man's relationships with the phenomenal world, the mind, the soul and spiritual world as follows :

.../...

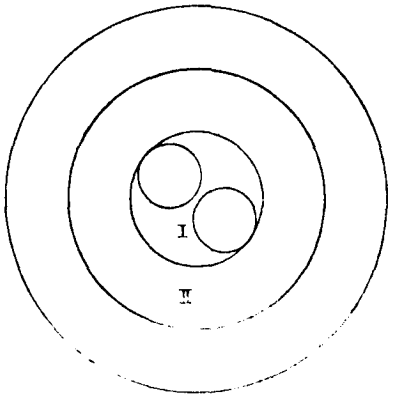


I. The phenomeal world
1. Memory with 5 sense-organs
2. Faculty of thinking
3. Njawa (psychological soul)
4. Napsu (Passions)
5. Suksma

II. Invisible world in Sanubari
6. Sanubari (inwardness)
7. Rasa (deeper feeling)
8. Djiwa (unsubstantial soul)

III. More extensive invisible world.
9. Qolbu
10. Masjid-al-haram
11. Baitullah
12. Budi, Nur, Urip.

The three worlds can also be pictured as concentric circles:



(H. Hadiwijono, 1967: 155, citant Paguyuban Sumarah de Dr. Soerono Prodjohoesodo, Jogjakarta 1965: p. 62)

Soerono explains that the memory has two functions to retain what has been thought about and to be the means for communion with God. In the psychological terms, the source of motivation for the faculties of thinking, memory, passions and the so-called nucleus of passions (suksma) is the psychological soul (njawa). The invisible soul or djawa (II.8) is separate. The third domain which I call the spiritual world is located mystically in the heart (III.9 = Qolbu), in the Holy Mosque (III.10), in the House of God (III.11) and in mind light and life (III.12). To show how all these 12 parts operate, let us quote a government analogy which Soerono uses, which, in spite of a certain seeming naïveté, does in fact show clearly how different parts dominate more or less one's behavior at different moments. It is also a good example of the way Javanese use modern institutions to illustrate or incarnate older culturally-determined modes of thinking.

> In daily life the activities of the body and its organs can be compared to a State with complete administration-organs. The unsubstantial soul (*djiwa*) acts as the Chief of State, while the passions serve as the Cabinet. The House of Parliament consists of the loyal followers of the angel Gabriel and those of the Devil.[22]) The anatomical heart (*djantung*) forms the centre or the main office of the Government. Through the artery the centre has traffic relations with the whole State. The brain serves as the main office for telecommunications, while the heart (*ati*) serves as the distribution office. The stomach serves as the factory for all kinds of food and the like. In the artery and in the small vessels there is very busy traffic. There are found cells of red blood which serve as government employees and cells of white blood which serve as the armed forces, police, etc.[23])
>
> The soul (*djiwa*), although it is the Chief of State, does not hold the power in the government, as it merely serves as a symbol.
>
> The Prime Minister is the one who holds the power, viz. one of the four passions or Ministers. When, for instance, *Ammârah,* the driving force of anger, becomes the Prime Minister then one is cruel, harsh and angry. On the contrary, when *Mutmâ'innah,* the masterspring of doing good deeds and for seeking God, becomes the Prime Minister, then one is of good character, and so on. For the ordinary man, the state structure is therefore a Parliamentary Cabinet.[24])
>
> It can therefore be said that in daily life, man is at the mercy of his passions. He is in misery.

(cited by H. Hadiwijono, p. 156, from Paguyuban, op. cit., p. 33-34)

To show that such notions are not restricted to the "interiority (kebatinan) sects", we will cite below a "base-line" psychology such as can be found amongst the Javanese in general. From the point of view of heredity, it is believed that from the mothers' seed come skin, bone and the internal organs (red dominant), from the fathers' muscle, bone and marrow and the brain (white dominant), and from God, the five senses, the mind, life and energy (Weiss 1978: 126-127). The Javanese are especially interested in analysing what constitutes innate behavior determined by one's basic personality, called dasar and discovering how to gain control of these otherwise autonomous traits. This innate behavior we can translate as instinct (naluri in Javanese) provided that we enlarge the Western scientific meaning to include the biological and social inherited behavioral traits transmitted by one's ancestors. For instance, if Chinese and Westerners can learn the Javanese language and be socialized as Javanese by prolonged residence in the island, the Javanese point out that they never have that instinctive in-born penchant for Javanese social and cultural life that Javanese are naturally born with.

Next to the theme of instinct, the notion of drives is much more developed in Javanese folk psychology (*). The term for drive, napsus, is taken over from Islamic philosophy and given a different series of classifications. Each of the four Javanese drives is moreover associated with one of the body's internal organs, a colour, one of the four elements (fire, earth, air and water), and four curious "spiritual"relatives, egobeing the fifth member in the center. Here is Weiss's description of their functions (Weiss 1978, p. 190-191) :

1. Amarah - the aggression drive, characterized by arousal of anger and hard feeling, or the desire to do harm or injuring.

2. Aluwamah - the hunger/thirst drive, characterized by the desire to consume food or drink.

3. Supiyah - the acquisition/sex drive, characterized by the desire to possess things attractive to the eye.

4. Nutmainah - the compassion drive, characterized by the desire to sympathize, to regret one's actions.

The main difference between the Islamic classification of Al-Ghazzali and the Javanese one is that certain drives which have a superego function in the Arabic scheme have an id-function in the Javanese one. One can see straight away that out of the four drives, only the compassion drive is a positive one. The drives can incite one to excess in what is otherwise normal activity, but basically they are needed to mobilize the energy and vitality of the human body. As Weiss has pointed out it (1978: 213-214 & 262-66), the fundamental difference in Javanese and say, Western European psychology lies in the Javanese attitude towards these drives. For if they can be seen, they can be closed off leaving the body lethargic, devoid of emotion or feeling propicious for communion with God. Then, and only then,

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(*) See Appendix I for a complete list of factors influencing the personality according to Javanese psychology.

does one gain control over one's free will. That is to say that the man who possesses this science (*) is therefore spiritually strong. The relation between knowledge (of oneself and God), science (mastering over one inner behavior) and power (external as well as internal) is very close for the Javanese. One 'obtains" science. His search is one of the most recurring themes of Javanese culture. This is both true on the level of a spiritual quest, but also on the level of practical endeavors (**) . As Weiss says (1978: 268-269) :

> *"Even Javanese theoretical science is practice-oriented in as much as knowledge for the sake of knowledge has no place in the Javanese value system. 'Javanese science' contains a surprising large number of principles and procedures, as well as a large body of knowledge and beliefs, that are expressly for the purpose of determining how to insure the success of almost any possible venture, how to overt almost any conceivable unpending disaster, and how to explain and predict on the basis of natural signs...The application of science of this kind differs from njelmu (science) in that practice does not require spiritual preparation or special or unusual conditions. Unlike the knowledge involved in 'spiritual' science, which is sometimes esoteric or semi-secret, knowledge of kaperjanggan (divination) is unrestricted and pertinent information is readily available in Javanese almanacs. Anyone can use it without risk."*

Without going into the horoscopes provided by the Javanese divination, suffice it to say that the same cosmology of macrocosm (God) and microcosm (man) is involved in both (Nulder 1978: 13-18). The harmony arising out of order creates unity between the creator (God) and the created. Life becomes calm, goodness reigns in these golden periods. The prosperity of the country is assured. If, on the contrary people, especially those in seats of authority, are dominated by their passionate motivations, and by self-interest, they bring into action the chaotic forces in the cosmos. During such "crazy" periods, injustice, insecurity, poverty and suffering will be the lot of all. It is clear from this brief examination of Javanese psychology, that it is only by examining their depth psychology that the fundamental differences appear.

SECTION V - THE GRID AND GROUP OF INDONESIAN CULTURAL DRIFT

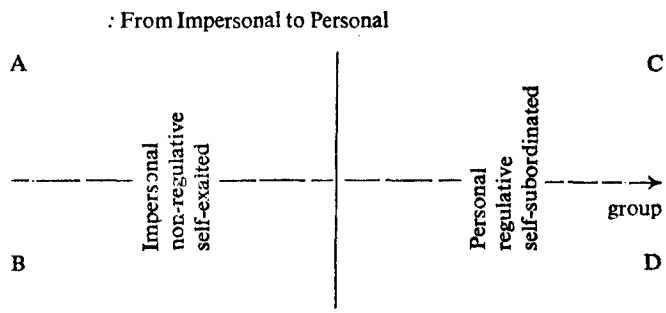
Without trying to penetrate further into the Javanese world view, for that is a difficult and lengthy task, a foreign manager working in Indonesia might do well at least to grasp the mechanism behind the transformation of Javanese values and psychology. To this end, let use the diagrams for group affiliation and conceptual latitude that Mary Douglas (1970) has developed on the basis of Basil Bernstein's research.

(*) The word science 'ilmu', the same that is used for the natural science of biology (ilmu hayat), or psychology (ilmu jiwa).

(**) See Appendix II for a Javanese teachers explanation of the difference between Western and Eastern science.

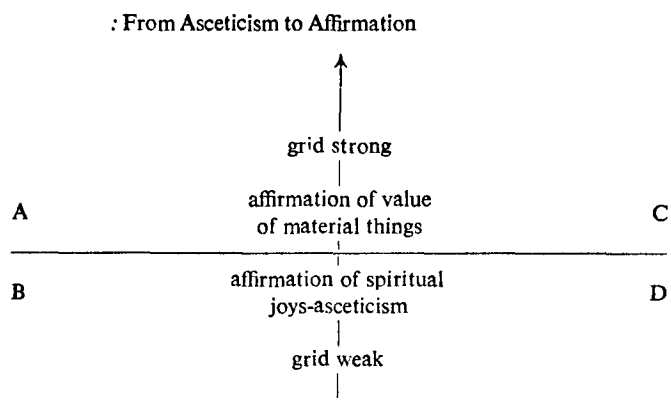
Without trying to adopt Weber's thesis on Protestantism and and the use of the capitalist ethic to South-East Asia Douglas (1970; 1974) starts out by affirming that each social configuration restricts, by its way of thinking about itself, the self-knowledge of the members who populate it. The group axis presented in fig. 1 below shows the variation that can occur in the attitudes that are reflected in the cosmologies of different kinds of group-bindings or social constraints: i.e. the variations in self's relation to society.

Fig. 1: (Douglas 1970: 177)



On the left you have the socially-constructed reality with weak anthropomorphism, since religious and cosmological power do not regulate morals, only failure and success. On the other hand lacking any notion of offence, there are no mechanisms for reintegrating one into society. The self is quite free from social constraint, but also undervalued as a contributor to the society as a whole. On the right, power in the universe is personified as the dead fathers, creator god or culture hero, who are alive and free to act on our behalf. Purity and anger are morally relevant in almost all of the individual's actions. So much for social control.

Fig. 2: (Douglas 1970: 175)



If we follow Douglas's (1970-1977) vertical axis tracing conceptual versatility, the greater the conceptual fixedness (i.e. the less agility in switching from one relational code to another) the weaker the grid and the greater the pleasure taken in accetism. The opposite end of the vertical grid axis stresses the external physical expressions of material wealth. Closer to zero, on either axis necessitates combining the horizontal axis with the vertical to get a proper reading.

Fig 3: (Douglas 1970: 84)

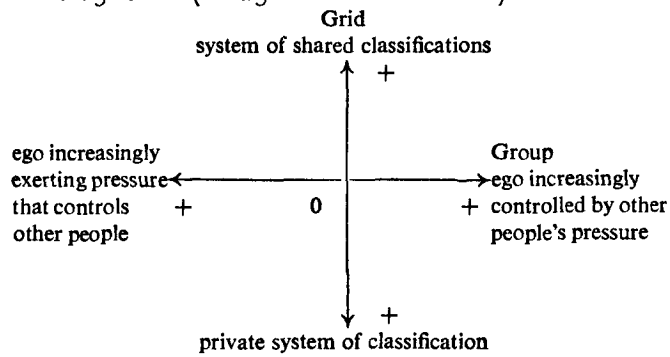


Figure 3 presents Douglas's vertical and horizontal axis as they are married to give a more subtle variation of possibilities. Figure 4 brings us finally to the position where we can contrast the Javanese personality as a component of management and the Western European grid and group.

Fig 4 & 5: (Douglas 1970: 49 & 50)

Diagram : Family Control

The other line studies the effect of the same industrial pressures upon speech. Verbal communication is progressively detached from its service to the immediate social context and elaborated for its use in the widest social structures of all.

Diagram : Speech Codes

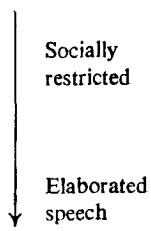


Diagram : General Cosmological Ideas

(i) cardinal virtues
(ii) cardinal sins
(iii) the idea of the self
(iv) art form

Speech
Socially restricted

A	C
(i) piety, honour (respect for roles)	(i) sincerity, authenticity
(ii) formal transgressions against social structure	(ii) sins against the self, hypocrisy, cruelty, acceptance of frustration
(iii) self, passive, undifferentiated element in a structured environment	(iii) internally differentiated agent, attempting to control unstructured environment
(iv) primitive: structural elaborations upon social categories, humans as cardboard allegorical figures	(iv) romantic: triumph of individual over structure (escape, brief happiness, etc.)

Family Control System

Positional — *Personal*

B	D
(i) truth, duty	(i) personal success, doing good to humanity
(ii) cardinal sin is failure to respond to demands of social structure	(ii) generalized guilt, individual and collective
(iii) active agent, internally differentiated, responding to roles	(iii) subject alone
(iv) classical: triumph of structure over individual	(iv) professionalism: overriding concern with techniques and materials of creative process

Speech elaborated

From what was said above one can roughly situate the transformation of the Javanese psychology and value system successively under the Dutch colonial economy and more recently under the free enterprise system inaugurated by Suharto. Java today figures in square C, which is by its very nature unstable. The transition doesn't date from yesterday. Bilateral or cognatic kinship systems abound in Indonesia, not only in Java, but throughout Borneo.

The current Indonesian economic and demographic pressures being what they are, it is highly unlikely that many people will make the move from square C to D. This is all the more true because Indonesia's military and government elite is occupying square B i.e. positional families with elaborated defenses of their clearly defined role in society and who have every chance of maintaining their rank. There are major changes which can be accounted for by this movement along the horizontal axis, such as the increasing adoption of strict Islam. Peacock (1978: 43) found for instance that only 4·8% of Javanese Muslim reformists believed in the Javanese divination (pētungan), mentioned above. They would seem to replace it with a more progressive, less "pulsating", sense of time such that it no longer contains auspicious moments interspersed with empty ones, but linear and cumulitative time on the model of the progression of history from Adam to Mohammed.

One cannot program this kind of change on the level of management practices be they dynamic and ever so carefully geared to produce given consequences. There are total patterns of self's relation to society which can only be described in relation to the total emersion of the individual into his social "mesh". This description is already quite an achievement. One can imagine that the credibility of astrologically-oriented divination could continue to decline, but that basic psychological categories and analysis with which it operates could continue to function unassailed. For a Javanese to work for Honda or Unilever and remain Javanese will not be difficult, but it will be difficult for personnel managers to understand where to situate the Jav nese in South-East Asia's cultural drift.

APPENDIX I

Factors influencing personality in the Javanese world view

(Weiss 1978: 556-559)

I. Factors influencing usual behavior

A. Biological base (dasar) (60)

1. Components

a) External physical traits (106)

b) Internal physical traits (internal organs, faculties, physiological processes, etc.) (107)

c) Ancestral traits (naluri) (107)

(1) Animal

(2) Human

(3) Ethnic/racial

(4) Personal ancestry

d) Special abilities

(1) Innate power (perbawa) (108)

(2) Talents (109)

(3) Intelligence (kalantipan) (110)

e) Innate personality (watak gawané) (111)

2. Formative influences

a) Prior to conception

(1) God's will/ destiny (takdir) (90)/ "law"of karma (121)

(2) Previous incarnations (114)

(3) Heredity (125)

(4) Modification of sex cells (138)

b) During and immediately before intercourse leading to conception.

(1) Emotional atmosphere (128)

(2) Day and time of day (132)

(3) Place (135)

(4) Cleanliness and health (135)

(5) Looking at partner's sexual organs (136)

c) Prenatal period

(1) Behavior of expectant parents (ajaran 'lessons') (138)

(2) Injury or mockery of some living thing (141)

(3) Addressing the foetus (142)

(4) Decorations, ornamentations, objects having power (146)

(5) Restrictions and prohibitions, particularly pertaining to food (140)

(6) Light from sun, moon, and stars (147)

(7) Balance/imbalance of vital substances in diet of expectant mother (151)

(8) Length of pregnancy (156)

(9) Foetal transfer (159)

d) Calendrical circumstances at birth (162)

B. Usual personality

1. Structures

a) Outer personality (lahir) (65)

(1) Manifest personality (tabiyat, etc.) (66)

(2) Budi pekerti/ etiquette, rules of social interaction (67)

b) Inner personality (batin) (71)

(1) Isi ati or atèn-atèn/ attitudes, feelings, aspirations, motives (72)

(2) Budi/ ethical and moral principles

2. Formative influences (same as II, A. through J.)

II. Factors influencing unusual behavior

A. God's will/ destiny (90)

B. Dasar, especially watak gawané (60)

C. Socialization (ajar) (90)

D. Friendships, social contacts (91)

E. Foodstuffs, balance, imbalance of vital substances (91)

F. Supernatural beings (92)

G. Black magic (92)

(1) Love magic (567)

(2) Sorcery (440)

H. Unusual mental states, altered states of consciousness (94)

I. Drives (napsus) out of control (murka) (95).

J. Objects/places having power (93)

K. Accident/error (97)

L. Coercion (98)

M. Weather (96)

III. Enabling factors (99)

A. God's will/ destiny (100)

B. Spiritual weakness (including ignorance of èlmu 'science') (312)

C. Mental weaknesses (312)

1. Lack of intelligence

2. Small wadah wahyu 'container for wahyu' or none at all (313)

3. Mental illness, mental retardation, damage to cognitive organs (313)

D. Physical weaknesses

APPENDIX II

A Javanese school teacher explains the difference between Western and Eastern science

Jerome Weiss (1978: 266-267) collected from an elderly retired school teacher the following explanation of Javanese as opposed to European science

> Javanese science is based upon that which cannot be seen. In the case of Western knowledge, science is practiced in accordance with the ingenuity of Western scholars in controlling nature. They construct all sorts of amazing machines. In the case of Javanese, science is practiced through spirituality. That is, Javanese believe that if someone can explore and experience the spiritual world, it can be equated with Western knowledge, even though the respective viewpoints are different. If I had already thoroughly mastered Javanese science to the extent of its permeating down deep within, I could read your intentions. The way to study the spiritual world is through exercise consisting of semadi ['meditation']. A person who practices semadi can rid himself of the influence of his napsus and pancadriya ['five senses']. For instance, one may begin by practicing every night for one hour in the middle of the night. Then it may be increased--two hours, three hours, etc. Eventually one will be able to communicate with the spiritual world. Certainly from the very beginning the Javanese have emphasized only the realm of the spiritual. What Westerners emphasize is the worldly, the material. Therein lies the difference. Thus, Javanese science aims for spirituality. In my opinion it is best to take a middle road between the two. Many years ago, I took an examination for teachers. At that time the government needed only eleven, but there were six hundred applicants. I had less than forty days to prepare. I brought my books to a cemetery, and I locked myself into a little building there while cramming for the subjects upon which I would be tested. I didn't even eat or sleep while I was studying. During the examination everything that I had studied appeared clear to me. I succeeded--I got the second highest score. Javanese usually seek èlmu by being prihatin,[2] or decreasing their food and sleep and other pleasures. This is the dasar of the Javanese when he is looking for science or intellectual enlightenment. Thus, whatever one wishes to retain in the learning process (if one holds to the advice of the old people) must be accompanied by decrease in eating, sleeping, and other pleasures whenever studying something difficult. Then one will succeed in learning. Formerly a person who meditated every day would be able to receive lessons from God. Nowadays if people engage in ascetic practices for the purpose of seeking knowledge, they do so by studying diligently along with a "heart" that always strives to approach God. Maybe the results are swifter. As evidence from my own experience, whenever my son had to be tested for promotion to a higher grade in school, my wife and I would light a lamp and we would sit and look straight at the light from the time that the examination began until it ended. We would not eat or sleep. We would only stare at the lamp until the examination was over. What we did had an influence upon our son. His mind opened up and became clear so that he was able to answer the questions on the examination correctly and with great ease.