PARJI

Socio-Cultural Values of Nyadran Traditional Ceremony in Tawun, Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia

ABSTRACT: The progress of science, technology, and information carries serious implications for the existence of regional culture in Indonesia. The process of globalization has also promoted culture in the world becomes one-dimensional and monolithic, which in turn will reduce the national identity and also negates the local culture. In this context, “Nyadran” is one form of traditional ceremonies and local culture to be preserved, because it contains the values of social, cultural, and local knowledge; and serves as a social capital that can unite people from the process of social disintegration. This research aims to inventory the important aspects of one of the regional culture, the traditional ceremony of “Nyadran”. In addition, this study also aims to analyze the values of socio-cultural of traditional ceremonies of “Nyadran”. This study used qualitative methods, with data collection techniques are observation, documentation, and in-depth interviews. The analysis technique used is descriptive qualitative with ethnographic approach. The results showed that the traditional ceremony of “Nyadran” is a heritage of the indigenous Javanese culture, which is influenced by Hindu culture and Islamic religion. The traditional ceremony of “Nyadran” has had the values of socio-cultural, inter alia: religious values, values of mutual assistance, tolerance, unity value, the value of struggle, the value of respect for the environment, and the value of cooperation. Because of that, traditional ceremony of “Nyadran” should be preserved and developed.

KEY WORD: Globalization; Socio and Cultural Values; Ceremony of Nyadran; Local Wisdom; Social Integration.


KATA KUNCI: Globalisasi; Nilai Sosial dan Kultural; Upacara Adat Nyadran; Kearifan Lokal; Integrasi Sosial.
INTRODUCTION

The development of science, information, and technology in the globalization era has brought about a very serious impact on the existence of local culture. There are so many cultural heritages which missing or left as memories. Globalization has given rise to a new culture completely different from the customs, the early society members’ way of thought early society and the symbols of traditional society. Globalization has taken away even destroid local cultural values, which are socio-culturally embedded in society.

As stated by Mudji Sutrisno & Hendar Putranto (2005) that globalization is the process by which the world we live in is becoming more and more connected to each other; and the world in which the political, cultural, and economical boundaries, which had been, is now becoming increasingly fragile, blurred, and even considered less relevant (Sutrisno & Putranto, 2005:232).

According to Samuel P. Huntington (1993), as cited also by Sri Edi Swasono (2014), in an increasingly globalized world, this condition will be seriously damaging to the self-awareness at the level of civilization, social, and ethnic (Huntington, 1993; and Swasono, 2014:5). It is asserted also by Ayu Sutarto (2004) and Y.A. Piliang (2010) that the global cultural products are full of various kinds of destructive viruses that can affect anyone (Sutarto, 2004:134; and Piliang, 2010).

These viruses are very worrying, because it can make a man weak and blind of cultural value. These viruses can also build a community called by Howard Rheingold (2000) as “virtual community”, where all things are being mixed up as constructive and destructive, right and wrong, falsehood truth, presented simultaneously (Rheingold, 2000). In the global transparency, everything stuck in its network and is difficult to break away from these viruses.

For Indonesian people, the presence of globalization is a separately serious problem, as they have so many cultures scattered throughout their archipelago. Each of these tribes and the area has a wide variety customs and beliefs as their heritage. Ayu Sutarto (2004) again says that the nation is facing two very serious cultural problems come from the outside and within itself: firstly, the threat from the outside in the form of homogenous culture that due to globalization; and, secondly, the threat of the erosion in the form of appreciation and the meaningless cultural crisis of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or Unity in Diversity (Sutarto, 2004:163). If we want to exist as a sovereign and prestigious nation, we must find a formula or an alternative used for facing and overcoming the threats as well.

In this modern and global life, the attention to the local culture becomes very important so that the identity, the national identity, and local wisdoms remain as the characteristic of Indonesian society. According to Dwi Sulistyorini (2013), Indonesia is rich of its traditions and cultures, those examples are folklore, folk art, and folk ceremonies (Sulistyorini, 2013:256).

Nowadays, the ethics of youth generation has begun to decline and it will bring the destruction for the nation. Indonesian national identity, which refers to the Oriental custom, will be shifted away. Therefore, the growth of ethics among the youth generation needs to be done. Fostering of ethics as early as possible is very important as its better understanding make them careful and wise.

In the 32nd sentence of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution states that the government has to promote the national culture, which is also stated in the explanation that the culture of the nation is the custom that arise as a result of the Indonesian people farming entirely (cf Department of Information RI, 1989; and Chirayath, Sage & Woolcock, 2006).

The native and original culture, as the tops of the culture in areas across Indonesia, are reputed as the national culture. Cultural efforts must progress toward manners, civilization, and the nation unity by not rejecting new materials from foreign cultures that fostering and enriching the nation culture itself, as well as enhancing the Indonesia on degree of humanity.

The regional culture, including Nyadran traditional ceremonies, contain values
needed to strengthen the character of the community and the nation. According to A.B. Takko Bandung (2013), these values are very useful for cultural capital in an effort to establish the identity and character of the people, especially the youth generation, and especially also in relation to fortifying the efforts of local and national culture of the increasingly-appear waves of globalization (Bandung, 2013:170).

Zakiyuddin Baidhawy & Mutohharun Jinan eds. (2002), as cited also in Ayu Sutarto (2004), assert that the local culture is also believed to be completed with philosophical, moral and social values (Baidhawy & Jinan eds., 2002; and Sutarto, 2004:196). Traditional art is an expression of life and livelihood of its community, as well as a source of inspiration of spiritual, moral, and social movement. In its small circles, traditional art has proved as a significant role in social tension melt. Behind the limitations of local institutions, traditional art also implies the universality side by side with religion bringing the glorious message of human virtue (Endraswara, 2013).

In this context, A. Daliman (2012) suggests that culture and tradition are the manifestation of societal paradigms, symbols, and values in the forms of behavioral and mental expressions (Daliman, 2012:1). Human beings are actually creatures of symbols (homo simbolicum). In many extents, religious conscience is expressed in the forms of symbols, traditions, and ceremonial events, which have been commonly internalized as custom and culture. In reality, the traditional events have also covered rituals and ceremonies, which are difficultly separated to one another.

According to A.L. Kroeber & C. Kluckhohn (1952), culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action; and on the other as conditioning elements of further action (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952).

While Robert Sibarani (2012, 2013 and 2014) adds that folklore covers cultural values, which can be utilized as the resource of teaching materials (Sibarani, 2012, 2013 and 2014). The cultural values, which are available in folklore, have functioned their roles as teaching and learning resources for the further generation. Folklore genres are then the expressions of culture, which covers values pertaining to the behavioral model internalized by the further generations (Endraswara, 2013).

There are 7 elements of culture: (1) Social organization is the family patterns and social classes of a culture; (2) Customs and traditions are the way people act, eat, and their laws; (3) Language is communication by word of mouth; (4) Religion is a system of beliefs that answers questions about the meaning of life; (5) Art and literature are ways the people entertain themselves, there stories they tell and how they dance, its also the music they listen to and there artwork; (6) Forms of government is the people or groups that control the people and provide/enforce the laws; and (7) Economic systems is the method used by a society to produce and distribute goods and services (Long-Crowell, 2016).

Nyadran traditional ceremonies are very common in East Java, Indonesia. According to Dad Murniah (2013), Nyadran traditional ceremonies can be categorized as folklore orally. This folklore is also known as a social fact. Dad Murniah, further, regardless of the mystical elements in it; folklore has values and norms that are relevant to the supporting of people’s lives collectively, and become a filter against negative influences due to the advancement of science and technology or globalization (Murniah, 2013:228).

Based on the problems above, research on various forms of regional culture is very relevant and very important. Research

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1See also https://quizlet.com/32562637-elements-of-culture-flash-cards/original [accessed in Madiun, Indonesia: July 21, 2016].
on regional culture, including Nyadran traditional ceremonies, in addition to the cultural inventory is also intended to analyze and apply its good values.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

This study is a qualitative ethnographic research (cf. Spradley, 1979; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; and Reeves, Kuper & Hodges, 2008). Referring to Sugiyono (2012), in the context of Indonesian community, ethnography is one type of qualitative research, where researchers conduct a study of the cultural groups in its natural conditions through observation and interviews (Sugiyono, 2012:14). Data collection technique used is in-depth interviews, participation observation, and documentation (Spradley, 1979; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; and Reeves, Kuper & Hodges, 2008).

As pointed by Sugiyono (2012) that in qualitative research, data collection is done in natural settings (natural conditions), the primary data source, and data collection techniques are more on participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation (Sugiyono, 2012:309). In-depth interviews are used to obtain primary data from the community and the offender of Nyadran traditional ceremonies, so that the accurate data can be obtained.

Participatory observation is necessary for researchers to understand, appreciate, as well as analyze and interprete related to the natural thought or faith or belief of the Tawun society, in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia more specifically associated with Nyadran traditional ceremonies; while the documentation is very helpful in recording any physical events associated with the implementation of Nyadran traditional ceremonies (Moller, 2005; and Supriatna, 2014). The observation and interview are conducted from 1 May up to 3 September 2015. Then, in integrating the data comprehensively, triangulation is required. The analysis of the data used in this study is an interactive analysis model of M.B. Miles & A.M. Huberman (1994).

**DATA FINDING AND DISCUSSION**

Nyadran traditional ceremony is religious-magical ceremony conducted as tradition (cf. Bell, 1997; Moller, 2005; Laffan, 2011; Al-Qurtuby, 2013; and Supriatna, 2014). The ceremony is held once a year and involves the whole villagers of Tawun in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia. Nyadran traditional ceremony is actually a series of events that began on Legi Friday (Javanese counting of day) and climax on Pon Tuesday, so it takes about five days. There are Nyadran ritual ceremony components, such as: place of ceremony, ritual time, tools and ceremonial objects, as well as those who perform and lead the ceremony (interview with Respondent A, 1/5/2015).

Moreover, the objectives of Nyadran ceremony are as follows: (1) as an expression of gratitude and thanks of Tawun society to the Almighty God, who has provided protection and blessing so that people can live in peace and Tawun peacefully and get a good harvest; (2) as an expression of gratitude to the ancestors or Tawun ancestral as village inventor and founder, Tawun society called it a cikal-bakal or forerunner of Tawun village, and as the forerunner of Tawun village communities has been mythologized as Dhanyang ingkang mbareuke makes the village so safe, peaceful, and tranquillity; (3) in cleaning the spring of Tawun or water springs of any kind of dirt sediment of mud and leaves that fall, cleaning source once a year is considered important as spring of Tawun provides water for the shower and the needs of other dailies, beside for irrigation; and (4) in increasing the sense of unity and solidarity among Tawun fellow villagers, because in this Nyadran ceremony, people all gathered to hold a series of events both for safety, Beji scoop, watching Gambyong dance, and so on. Even this solidarity has been seen starting from the preparation of the ceremony called Kerjabakti, cooperated costs, and so on (interviewed with Respondent B, 8/5/2015).

As it has been reviewed by David Efendi (2014) that the Javanese have variable types of rituals, which figure out life cycle in relation to the course of human life from
birth to death (Efendi, 2014:2). The Javanese have also celebrated each steps of the life cycle as the manifestation of reminder and carefulness in building the relationship between human and the world (Muhaimin, 2000; Laffan, 2011; and Al-Qurtuby, 2013).

Nyadran ceremony is a series of fairly long procession divided into preparation and implementation stages. The stages include the diver preparation, private preparation, and community preparation for Tawun community together. The heaviest preparation is for the diver as he is given the very heavy duty. He had to dive into the water source for a long time as cleaning the water source and replacing the old offerings with new ones that not just anyone can do it. The task is implemented as a diver for generations of Tawun relatives (relatives founder of Tawun village). Before carrying out his duties, he has to do fasting, should not sleep in the afternoon, and prepares the offerings based on the traditions (interview with Respondent C, 15/5/2015).

Preparation for the community members are associated with the preparation of the terms of fasting, the need for offerings, food to be placed in the mountains, Ambeng for salvation, and the very important Badek (water of sticky) poured together by the Tawun community in Nyadran traditional ceremonies. Community arrangements are coordinated by the Tawun Village Head through activity; village meetings, kerja bakti over twice, the time of cleaning the cemetery, and their environment as well as in the Tawun spring (interview with Respondent D, 22/5/2015).

Especially for kerja bakti in spring of Tawun, there is no special officer who made the food mountains (where to put the food) is performed by Kuli Mbarep. This Kuli Mbarep makes the applicable mountains for generations by giving pekulen as the legacy of his parents. The mountains are made of banana frond stems and stalks cut into three pieces. As for how to make the mound was originally created as a hill and then covered with the stems, then established three banana stem in about one meter away with the other as a symbol of Gunungan (interview with Respondent E, 29/5/2015).

The place of the mountains making from the beginning is not moveable. Mound was used as a place to put snacks, such as: Rengginang, chips made from cassava, Jadah, Tape, Pisangan, and the underneath of them placed rice packs. While the other people (not included of Kuli Mbarep) are cleaning pasture, ponds, and channels that drain water from the source to the shower and decorate the three halls or building houses with young coconut leaves (Muhaimin, 2000; Laffan, 2011; and Al-Qurtuby, 2013).

The three halls or building houses have different functions, namely: the first hall is housed in the east for guests, from the district, from the smaller district, community leaders, and other regulations; the second hall in the north is as a shelter for village head, village secretary, and the diver and to place offerings; and the third hall located on the west is the place for Gamelan musicians, Niyaga, and Teledhek, who will entertain Tawun villagers who cleans the pool particularly and the society generally (interview with Respondent A, 1/5/2015).

Determination of the D day is very important in Javanese tradition (Muhaimin, 2000). Similarly, in Nyadran traditional ceremony, this day determination has to be properly addressed. When the calculations are wrong, according to their belief, it would be able to lead to a disaster or other things that are not desirable (interviewed with Respondent B, 8/5/2015).

Nyadran traditional ceremony lasts for several days, beginning on Legi Friday to the top of the Nyadran traditional ceremony on Kliwon Tuesday. Pon Tuesday is chosen according to public confidence, which is coincidence to the day of birth Tawun village Dhanyang Desa (Ruler of Village) that preserve and protect the Tawun rural communities (interview with Respondent C, 15/5/2015). While the month (Javanese calendar) is between Besar and Syuro, and are based on the Ringkel (Javaness), where each cycle of Ringkel shows the good and bad luck of person or people who will do an activity and more for ritualistic ones. The Ringkel has six kinds of symbols, namely:
Godhong or leaves and plants; Jalma or dead man; Sato or animals; Mito or fish; Paksi or birds; and Wulu or feather (interview with Respondent D, 22/5/2015).

Among the well-regarded Ringkel for the implementation of the Nyadran traditional ceremony is Ringkel Wulu, Godhong, and Sato. The other Ringkels are considered unfavorable and will cause bad things. Besides, the implementation of Nyadran traditional ceremonies are at the same time, when Rentek Godhong Jati (small branch of teak), meaning that when the leaves of teak in the surrounding of Tawun spring are already fall all, as around Tawun spring there are many teak trees and other trees. It is usually in August-September (interview with Respondent E, 29/5/2015).

Place of Ceremony. In a communal ceremony, where the ceremony held, will be an important component (Muhaimin, 2000; and Endraswara, 2013). For the Tawun people, the implementation of Nyadran traditional ceremony held in the Tawun spring. The placing is chosen, because it is according to their beliefs that Dhanyang Desa resides in the Tawun spring. For the Tawun people in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia, Tawun spring is regarded as a sacred place and a center of magic power (interview with Respondent A, 1/5/2015; and interviewed with Respondent B, 8/5/2015). Therefore, no one dared disturbs this place like cutting down trees, catching fish, or catching a turtle. According to their belief, who ever disturbing Dhanyang Desa, including trees and animals around him, will get hurt (interview with Respondent C, 15/5/2015; and interview with Respondent D, 22/5/2015).

Indigenous of Nyadran Ceremonial Procession or Execution. Nyadran traditional ceremony in the Tawun village is the greatest Nyadran traditional ceremony in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia.2 The series of ceremonies held for five days from Legi Friday to Kliwon Tuesday in Besar or Syuro Javanese month. When arranged in chronological sequence, Nyadran traditional ceremony in the village Tawun are as follows (cf Beatty, 1999; Muhaimin, 2000; Laffan, 2011; and Al-Qurtuby, 2013):

One, held a salvation ceremony in Legi Friday on ancestral graves or in Sentono (Tawun people call in Brang Wetan) in Punjer and in Nambangan (crossing somewhere near Ancient of Ngawi).

Two, held final preparations in Paing Saturday, especially with regard as equipment ceremony. All equipment, including gamelan, coned rice, sacrificed goats, and others are checked carefully.

Three, Pon Sunday is a quiet day for Tawun villagers. Tawun Villagers prepare all around. Society also will prepare everything in the next morning as Badhek (sweet water of fermented rice or tubers), various snacks, things for Sajen, and unforgettable Ambeng for salvation.

Four, Wage Monday morning, the manufacture of mountains is carried Kuli Mbarep.

Five, Wage Monday afternoon around 17.30, it is held the opening of diving in the Tawun Spring, which is implemented by the Village Head and divers followed by Tawun relatives. After it passed by the mass public (both community and society Tawun outside Tawun) overnight.

Six, Wage Monday afternoon and Pon Tuesday evening in the home of village head held Gambyong dance, and Tirakatan to welcome and entertain guests who come from outside Tawun.

Seven, Pon Tuesday early morning at around 04.00 AM (Ante Meridiem), it is held small procession carrying a serving-dish (including goat Kendit) and Gamelan from the village head toward the ceremony, that is the Tawun Spring.

Eigh, approximately an hour, at 05.00 AM in the morning, ceremony is held sacrificed goat are washed, slaughtered, skinned, seasoned, and baked.

Nine, at around 10.00 AM in the morning, it is held the depletion of Beji Tawun Spring by the whole of society.

Ten, in the midst of dewatering Beji
activities (half clean), ceremony is held highly thrilling, where the incoming to the source by diving to the spring and taking the last offerings, then replacing them with new offerings.

Eleven, approximately at 12.00 PM (Post Meridiem) during a ceremony held to bring offerings by Tawun Beji relatives through the middle of the East to the West.

Twelve, after draining it once again held, approximately at 13:30 PM draining terminated and continued with Badhek watering (sweet water of fermented rice or tubers) and mob-snack of the mountains.

Thirteen, then, the Kecetan dance is done by the community, both from the parents and young people.

Finally, fourteen, Nyadran traditional ceremony closed with a ceremony in the East Tawun Spring salvation, evening (Legi Wednesday night), it is held Gambyong dance held at village head’s home.

Socio-cultural values in Nyadran ceremony here are as follows (cf Beatty, 1999; Muhaimin, 2000; Laffan, 2011; and Al-Qurtuby, 2013):

First, the religious value, it can be seen from Nyadran ceremonial processes which have to be completed with prayers, means, and tools that all lead to the beliefs in forces beyond the human beings. In this context, Eko Santoso (2013) names it as a symbolic ritual that its function associated with the symbol of rite procedures in religious ceremonies (Santoso, 2013:672-673).

Second, the values of arts and culture can be seen from the dances used as an accompaniment and basic part of the ceremony itself as Gambyong dance, Kecetan dance, and others. The value of arts and culture can also be seen from the well-decorated coned rice.

Third, the value of harmonious relationship with the natural both plants and animals. This is proved that the tree-cutting, animal-killing, and fishing ban around the Tawun spring.

Fourth, the value of responsible and discipline senses, those can be seen from the sequence used in the ceremony hereditarily obeyed.

Fifth, the value of mutual aid or gotong-royong is a very nobled original Indonesian value. In Indonesian society, especially in rural areas, mutual aid is accustomed in many activities of the community. Most of all, in Tawun society is still held firmly.

In the implementation of Nyadran traditional ceremonies, it has been implemented already from the preparation time. In financial side, it is a non-governmental funding, so it is the society members’ affordably-supported funding. Every physical ceremonial preparation is done cooperatively, for example surrounding-cleaning up, Gamelan-carrying, and Balai/Hall-making duties as the ceremonial center (interview with Respondent E, 29/5/2015).

At the ceremony, gotong-royong or mutual aid is also seen implemented in the pond-deepening event, where people joint and are involved cohesively. Similarly said by Eko Santoso (2013), it is stated that Nyadran traditional ceremony has a special and strongly-believed value that shows harmonious relationship, mutual aid, good manners, and tolerance among people people (Santoso, 2013:679).

The spirit of togetherness, mutual aid, tolerance, and prioritised good manners are existing in Nyadran traditional ceremony, as Javanese’s character, an inspiring nationalism to brotherhood, the national unity, and a plural ethnic’s tolerance, by so doing harmony is shaped among the members of the multicultural Indonesian identity (Beatty, 1999; and Muhaimin, 2000).

About the value of social harmony, this value is very visible in the implementation and also in the processes of Nyadran traditional ceremonies. All people, including government officer, regent, subdistrict head, the leader of villages, community leaders, and politicians are involved in the activities of Nyadran traditional ceremony. This kind of occasions are important for nowadays society, which has disharmony, political conflict, horizontal conflict, and even religious conflict (Beatty, 1999; Muhaimin, 2000; Laffan, 2011; and Al-Qurtuby, 2013).

Kabul Santoso & Hendro Sumartono
(2004) said that Bersih Desa or Selamatan Desa is actually a powerful medium in decreasing tensions among particular agricultural doers and general villagers (Santoso & Sumartono, 2004:106). Sense of togetherness or guyub and care keep the social and cultural harmony arisen in the rituals done every year in Syuro or Muharam month. Bersih Desa (Cleaning Village) is intended to clean up their village from the hostility among villagers and expect salvation for them in the coming year (interview with Respondent A, 1/5/2015).

Furthermore, the sacred places in the village, the tombs of the village founder, and the springs are also the central of this ritual integrated as one with human resource. All parts are supporting the integrity and tranquility of the village. It is worthedly noted that Bersih Desa as a local wisdom of agrarian communities, which is actually as a good example of how they act among themselves so far in various social and cultural situations (interviewed with Respondent B, 8/5/2015).

Another one is the value of unity and integrity. In Nyadran traditional ceremony, it shows these values. In discussing the preparation and implementation, Tawun villagers is promoting deliberation. On ceremonial process, the value of unity and oneness is visibly seen as all villagers gathering in one place without friction, conflict, and hostility (interview with Respondent C, 15/5/2015).

The last one is economic value. Nyadran traditional ceremony has become an interesting tourism destination as the income of the community and Ngawi local government in East Java, Indonesia (interview with Respondent D, 22/5/2015).

CONCLUSION

Nyadran traditional ceremony is one of the traditional ceremony organized by all Tawun citizens in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia. It is an effort in keeping and preserving the ancestors’ traditions in which its goal is as an expression of the Almighty God and the village founder gratitude, known as Dhanyang Desa (Ruler of Village).

From the place chosen here, it shows that Nyadran traditional ceremonies is one of the heritage of a belief that certain places considered sacred or keramat ones. This belief is called animism and dynamism. These ancestors’ beliefs have existed since the very past before Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam entered to Indonesia.

Beside the original belief, Nyadran traditional ceremony is also influenced by Hinduism and Islam. Hinduism influence is clearly seen in the use of incense or dupa, flowers, and water. While the influence of Islam is clearly seen in Qunut prayer and salvation taken in the ceremonies as well as the calling of Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad as the Prophet in the beginning of the process.

From the process, the matters, and the aims of Nyadran traditional ceremony, it is clearly supporting socio-cultural values; religious values; the value of art and culture; the value of harmonious relationship with the nature; the value of mutual aid; the value of unity; the value of responsible and discipline sense; the value of social harmony; the value of sacrifice; and the economic value as well.3

References


3 Statement: I, hereby, declare that this paper is not product of plagiarism, not to be submitted, reviewed as well as published by other journals; and if my paper has been received, I will not also withdrawal it from the SOSIOHUMANIKA journal.


Interview with Respondent A, one of the villagers of Tawun in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia, on May 1, 2015.

Interview with Respondent B, one of the villagers of Tawun in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia, on May 8, 2015.

Interview with Respondent C, one of the villagers of Tawun in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia, on May 15, 2015.

Interview with Respondent D, one of the villagers of Tawun in Ngawi, East Java, Indonesia, on May 22, 2015.


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