

Booklet To The Film: »Save Pede«

A last public beach, and people's attempt, to keep it theirs



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Content

Introduction	2
Literature	2
Motivation and Research focus:.....	3
Methods	3
Entry to field	3
Current Transfor-mations in Labuan Bajo.....	4
Who is Bolo Lobo?.....	5
Role of music and art.....	5
Dimana tanah air	6
Bolo Lobo's activities	7
Beach clean-up.....	7
Festival Pantai Pedes 2015 – “Dimana Tanah Air Beta”	8
Reflexion	11
Acknowledgements	12
References	12

Introduction

“Current transformations in Indonesia” was the main topic of the excursion we attended in the summer of 2015. This excursion to Indonesia was organized by the institute of social anthropology of The University of Bern. As preparation, we frequented two semesters of language course in Bahasa Indonesia and one semester of preparation-course with inputs to the historical, political and geographical circumstances of Indonesia. This course helped us to find our personal field of interest, generate specific questions and create a research-design for our research-practice in Indonesia.

After spending one initial week in Bandung (Java) we travelled to Labuan Bajo, a small coastal town which is located in the district *Manggarai Barat*, the western end of the island Flores. Flores belongs to the Nusa Tenggara region of east Indonesia. We spent one month in Labuan Bajo. It was occupied with research training on our main field of interest, how current Manggaraian music is lived and used. As one of our research methods we chose observational cinema, which resulted in a twelve minute film called “SAVE PEDE – A last public beach, and people’s attempt to keep it theirs”, which is available on Vimeo.

This booklet provides additional information to certain aspects showed in the film. It is organized into small sections with individual titles in order to facilitate quick orientation. In the introduction section we cover general information about literature, our personal motivation and the methods we applied. In the main section, we delineate our access to the field. Further, we provide more background information about current transformations in Labuan Bajo. We introduce the community called Bolo Lobo and how they resist to those transformations through various activities. Moreover, we discuss the role of music within the Bolo Lobo Community. In the conclusion we reflect on our role as researchers and participants, and on our use of methods. As a closing point we summarize our experience with Bolo Lobo and elaborate topics for further research.

Literature

Prior to entering the field we read existing literature of scholars who have done research on music in its political context, or the political context itself. Whereas Jeremy Wallach, Bart Barendregt and Max Richter have done their researches in Java and Sumatra, Maribeth Erb has conducted several field studies in the Manggarai area, which we visited.

The anthropologist and ethnomusicologist **Jeremy Wallach** has done research on popular music in Indonesia within the years 1997 to 2001. He points out how contemporary popular culture, especially music, shows different aspects of cultural struggle in the context of unequal power relations in society. He investigates music in an everyday context and shows how its meaning is created and negotiated, thereby focusing on artists and audiences from a street level perspective. Similar work was done by the Dutch cultural anthropologist **Bart Barendregt**. On the one hand, his expertise is situated in digital anthropology, and on the other hand he is an expert for Indonesian popular culture. He has done several researches in South East Asia, especially in the Minangkabau area in the Central Sumatran Highlands. In the first place, he analyzes the impact of new technologies such as CDs, MP3-files and the Internet in reference of the dissemination of music (Barendregt 2002: 412-414). Roughly thirty percent of the Minangkabau people migrated to other regions, allowing music to serve as a vehicle for Minang culture that connects the homeland and the diaspora (2002: 416). Thus the new technologies provide the possibilities to share culture over far distances. In the second place, he scrutinizes the constituents of the local popular music, the Pop Minang. He continues by assessing which idea of identity is presented in the lyrics; if it is rather a national identity, an idea of the *Bangsa Indonesia* as it was proclaimed during the *Reformasi* period, or rather a local, traditional identity (2002: 413). Further, Barendregt denotes popular music in Indonesia as a mirror for societal transformations that gives insights in the contemporary political and ideological mainstream (2002: 415). With the Minang proverb “after each flood, the bathing place changes” he underscores that every big incident in the society will effect a shift in the popular music as well (2002: 445). For instance, popular music became a common vehicle of protest during the monetary crisis in the late 90s (Barendregt and van Zanten 2002: 72).

Max M. Richter has explored musical worlds in Yogyakarta (Java). He gives an account on how music influences social relations and discusses the promotion of peace, coping with power struggles and maintaining cooperative social relations through music in the context of the

Motivation and Research focus:

reformasi (Richter 2012: 3). In his book, *Musical Worlds in Yogyakarta*, Richter pays attention to different actors involved in musical practice. Some examples include normal street workers, the bands themselves and the regional parliament. He analyses a great range of music genres and public performances with their different themes, physical settings, social contexts and behaviors. He argues that these settings, functions and contents reveal a great deal about social and political factors that underpin these events (Richter 2012: 10). He pays attention to the various styles of music performed in the setting of Yogyakarta such as Dangdut, Kroncong, Campursari and *Musik Jalanan* (Richter 2012: 12f). Thereby different actors with various occupations, for example becak drivers who like Campursari, prefer different music styles. Richter notes that in the situation of economic disparities at that time, this preference of music did reinforce the boundaries of these different groups but did not lead to open conflict (2012: 77). Further, Richter discusses gender relations and performances on musical events and the sexualisation, mainly of the female part, that occurs. He also dedicates part of the book to the relation of music to state and power. He gives a very detailed account concerning music and its direct environment.

In her article, *Shaping a 'New Manggarai'* (2005), **Maribeth Erb** points out how the historically evolved situation in post-Suharto Manggarai led to a struggle and negotiation over culture, which caused major tensions and eventually resulted in the division of the Manggarai regency. Thereby she highlights how culture is used as a political resource. During the period of the *Orde Baru* (New Order), the focus lay on a shared national and exclusively material culture, whereas during the post-Suharto era there has been a revival of local cultural institutions (Erb 2005: 324f).

Since we like consuming and creating music in many different ways and both of us have gained some experience in the Swiss music scene, we chose music as our main topic. Having read the outlined accounts, the following questions for our research-project appeared: What role does music play in the community of the Manggarai Barat? How is music used and understood by the musicians? How is music negotiated and lived in the setting of Manggarai Barat? By raising these questions, we agreed to set our focus on the musicians.

Prior to our trip, we came into contact with one member of the Bolo Lobo community which is based in Labuan Bajo. This community is occupied with artistic, cultural and environmental activities and uses music as a main mean of expression, to which we refer later. We chose this community as an entry-point to the field.

After getting to know this group and their main concerns – which we will also outline later – we adjusted our focus from musicians in general to that community as a whole and all activities they organized. This shift of focus occurred because, prior to our arrival in the field, we lacked detailed information about the current situation in Labuan Bajo.

Methods

We both attended the excursion after two semesters of studying anthropology. We did not yet have any specific education in anthropological field methods. For this reason we chose a rather intuitive approach. We got an impression of what it means to be a participant observer by conducting mostly informal conversations together with a few formal interviews. In addition, we recorded one specific interview for the film. We chose an observational cinema approach (see Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009). A vital part of this approach is to build a close relationship with the people we filmed and use the camera to explore the field. In addition, we translated manggaraian lyrics in collaboration with members of Bolo Lobo.

Entry to field

We arrived in Labuan Bajo on the 1st of August 2015. As planned, we met Edward Angimoy, the member of the Bolo Lobo community with whom we'd already been in contact with through Facebook. We discussed with him our intentions and aims for the following three weeks. The day after our first meeting, he introduced us to his fellow members of Bolo Lobo. We were invited to a big group meeting in front of the art and souvenir shop which belonged to a member called Rino. When we arrived, there were already a few people with guitars present. More members joined after a while and we all sat together in a circle on plastic chairs, wooden objects and other things that served as seating. The meeting started with a formal speech held by Edward, introducing us and our purpose of visit to his friends. Then Marta Tulis explained to us, in English, what the Bolo Lobo community is and what they do. We also introduced ourselves and our interest to learn about

Current Transformations in Labuan Bajo

Bolo Lobo and their music. Soon after, a jam session started. The guitar and the cajón – actually a Peruan percussion instrument – were handed over between different people and everyone was involved in enthusiastic singing. Indonesian, as well as western songs, were played and we gave up our observing role as soon as we knew a song. We were asked to play a song. Roger took the guitar and we sang some songs, including some that were Swiss. While playing music, a bottle of local arak was handed around and some snacks were placed in the middle of our circle. After a while, a more formal part of the meeting was on, to discuss an upcoming clean-up event at the beach. In this way we got a first impression of how the community plans and discusses activities. During the discussion, people not involved in the planning were plunking away on their guitars and as soon as the discussion ended, everyone joined in again in the collective music playing. The jam-session and informal conversations went on until past midnight. It was a very relaxed atmosphere and the community members made us feel very welcome. We exchanged phone numbers with a few people and were some of the last to leave. After departing we returned to our hotel which was situated in the neighborhood.

On the next day, we arranged a first formal interview with Marta Tulis, a Bolo Lobo founding member, to learn more about the Bolo Lobo Community and the current transformations in Labuan Bajo.

Labuan Bajo is a small costal town with approximately 5000 inhabitants. The cityscape is defined through various warungs, fish and vegetable markets, mosques, churches and local houses. Yet the growth of the tourism industry is fairly visible: Formerly unspoiled plots, hillsides and coastlines are firstly signposted as private area, later transformed into hotel complexes and then occupied by mostly non-Indonesian visitors. Besides various hotels, there are approximately 25 diving-centers, a few Italian restaurants, supermarkets and tourism offices. Just off the coast of Labuan Bajo there are numerous small islands. Among them is the famous Komodo Island, the habitat of the ancient komodo dragons which is one of the major tourist attractions of the region. Another tourist magnet is the dive area around those islands, which is among the world's finest.



The whole project of enlarging Labuan Bajo's tourism sector is part of the state program to expand Indonesia's tourism industry beyond Java and Bali, mainly in direction of Eastern Indonesia. Labuan Bajo with its large touristic potential attracts national and international investors. Dale writes in his forthcoming article that "under the neoliberal policy framework, the government plays a facilitating role for investments, privatization, and exploitation of natural resources" (forthcoming). Such neoliberal economic development "exposes local community, their nature and culture, to resource grabs, environmental degradation, and eviction in the name of development and investment". Those investments were executed overhastily and do not base on a sustainable fundament: This becomes evident in the example of Labuan Bajo's environmental problems. The rising amount of garbage wasn't calculated carefully which temporarily led to drastic rise of the ground and water pollution. However, those circumstances enabled some private actors to come up with their own waste disposal businesses.

Dale further concludes that the current investments – a new airport, roads broad enough for tour busses, new resorts – do not effect an improvement of the public service, referring to the fact that the local community lacks a public hospital and doctors in rural areas. The nearest hospital is situated in Ruteng, a three-hour curvy car ride from Labuan Bajo. The recently opened clinic in Labuan Bajo seems to be conceived mainly for tourists.

Those current transformations draw the image of an ongoing segregation within the local community. Whereas some became employed in the well paid tourism sector (the Dive Masters, however, are mainly non-indonesian), the majority of the local community is excluded from the wealth created through their land and water.

Who is Bolo Lobo?

Role of music and art

An apparent example of this exclusion is the loss of nearly all public spaces. The last remaining public space (*ruang public*) is called **Pede Beach** (*Pantai Pede*), a beach-space in the size of approximately five football fields, situated between two hotel complexes. This beach serves as a meeting point, a recreational space, and as an area of retreat from the busy streets of the expanding city. However, this beach has already been leased by the NTT Governor to PT SMI – a corporation owned by politicians and business persons from GOLKAR Party, including the Head of the National Parliament, Setya Novanto (Dale, forthcoming). The struggle of local communities, such as Bolo Lobo, against the abolition of the last public space is at the pivot of our film, and so it is in this booklet.



Bolo Lobo is a community of young people based in Labuan Bajo. The community was founded in August 2014 and its number of members has risen from an initial ten members to more than 20 active members, and an uncertain number of sympathizers. Bolo Lobo is concerned with topics regarding the fields of art, culture, politics and environment. Their main concern are processes of land and resource grabbing in Labuan Bajo, which we portrayed in the previous section. In particular, they are the main actor in attempting to preserve *Pantai Pede* as a public space. Therefore, they organize different events to raise the awareness within the local community. Their main means of expressing their messages is through art, which involves music, painting, murals, performances and much more. The community meets more or less frequently at different places, depending on the activities planned. These places are mostly in front of Rino's Shop, where we had our first encounter with the group, or at Marta's House. Their meetings are marked by vivid, serious discussions and lively musical sessions and joking. The members relate to each other in a very humorous and friendly way. They value the equality of each member very highly. This manifests itself in the way they stress the use of "we" instead of "I" when one member is proposing something in a discussion. The way they hold their discussions are quite disciplined. Discussions can go on for hours without break and they grant everyone time to speak without interruption. Every member has a specific talent, for example in music or painting and the group knows how to use these talents and creative power for their activities. For planned activities they frequently also work together with other communities in the area. Visitors, as we were, are given a friendly welcome and are encouraged to get directly involved in the activities. A very important part of Bolo Lobo's strategy and management involves social media. Especially Facebook, as well as other platforms, such as Youtube and Blackberry-messenger are used to reach its members, sympathizers and the broader community in Flores. As well as reaching followers throughout Indonesia and abroad. Meetings are organized through social media and the message of the activities spread all around. Among other things the members post very frequently news articles, related to the topics of concern and advertisement, pictures and video material of their own activities. Further, some of their songs are available online. Before getting to Labuan Bajo, we found some of their songs on ReverbNation, a platform to share music. New technologies of dissemination, such as Barendregt examined, made it possible for a local community to reach a global audience.

As we already mentioned in the introduction section we are very interested in music. Even though we widened our focus from covering just music to a more general portrait of Bolo Lobo, music plays an important role in the context of the community and their activities.

In our first meeting with Bolo Lobo, which has been described in the section of "access to field", we could already observe how music is a vital part of meetings of the community. Music serves as entertainment and is meant to keep a positive group spirit. Everyone can participate in playing music, either by playing guitar, or being involved in percussion or singing. Playing music is accompanied by laughing or dancing and creates a relaxed atmosphere. Music is a very welcome

distraction after or between hours of serious productive discussion about issues and events. Bolo Lobo's repertoire of music ranges from more traditional songs with lyrics in the local language Manggarai, to Indonesian songs and western songs, which are mostly in English, from different music styles and decades. Ivan Nestorman, a musician coming from the area of Manggarai, is considered to be a big idol and his songs are played very frequently. His most popular songs being *Mogi* and *Mataleso Ge*. Further they covered Indonesian artists, such as *Steven and the Coconut Tree* and many more, like Bob Marley songs and other evergreens as *Wish you were here* by Pink Floyd. But even more importantly, they create their own songs with lyrics either in Bahasa Indonesia or Bahasa Manggarai. The explicit use of local languages serves a means in the readjustment of a local identity, and to reach attention among the local community. Two of the songs they composed are *Dimana tanah air beta* and *Natas Labar*. Below, we discuss the lyrics of the song *Dimana tanah air beta*. The english translation of the Indonesian lyrics was elaborated with members of Bolo Lobo. The translation represents only the general sense of the Indonesian meaning.

Dimana Tanah Air Beta

Ketika tanah titipan leluhur
Dan mata air warisan turun temurun
Mulai dikuasai atas nama investasi
Oleh kepentingan penguasa berkompromi

When the land of our ancestors,
And the springs of our ancestors,
Are being privatized,
In the interest of the wealthy.

Dan di mana tanah air beta
Dan di mana tanah air kita
Dan di mana tanah air beta
Dan di mana tanah air kita

Where is my land ?
Where is our land ?
Where is my land ?
Where is our land ?

Di tanah air ini kita semua berdiri
Di tanah air ini tegakkan harga diri
Di tanah air ini kita pimpin diri sendiri
Di tanah air ini tentukan masa depan negri ini

In our homeland we all stand
In our homeland we uphold our right
In our homeland we lead ourselves
In our homeland we determine
our future of our country

Ketika pemimpin yang kita pilih
Yag mestinya menjaga tanah air kita ini
Memilih menjadi kakai tanga investasi
Oleh politik yang penuh dengan konspirasi

When the leader we elect
Who should take care of our homeland
Chose to be "a friend" of the investors
By the politics which is full of conspiracy

Dan di mana tanah air beta
Dan di mana tanah air kita
Dan di mana tanah air beta
Dan di mana tanah air kita

Where is my land ?
Where is our land ?
Where is my land ?
Where is our land ?

Di tanah air ini kita semua berdiri
Di tanah air ini tegakkan harga diri
Di tanah air ini kita pimpin diri sendiri
Di tanah air ini tentukan masa depan negri ini

In our homeland we all stand
In our homeland we uphold our right
In our homeland we lead ourselves
In our homeland we determine our future of
our country

Repeated 2x :

Dan di sini tanah air beta
Dan di sini tanah air kita
Dan di sini tanah air beta
Dan di sini tanah air kita

Here is my land
Here is our land
Here is my land
Here is our land

The song, raising the question "Where is our homeland?" represents an example of how Bolo Lobo use music to express their opinion and call for understanding and sympathy within the local

community. The expression “Tanah Air” provides various meanings. As one term “tanah air”, it means the Land of Water due to the fact that the Indonesian state embraces approximately 17’000 islands, which are – understandably – surrounded by the ocean. In the general sense, this term is translated as “homeland”. Further, as individual words, “tanah” means land, and “air” means water. Therefore, raising the question “dimana tanah air kita?” they simultaneously ask, “where is our homeland, where is our land, and where is our water?” hereby referring to the problematics of the ongoing land and resource grabs in Labuan Bajo. This song was inspired by the local circumstances, but at the same time, this song inspired Bolo Lobo to organize a festival, which aimed to raise awareness about these circumstances. This will be discussed later.

The song has been practiced during several meetings and has also been recorded with our sound recording equipment. In this example of how music is used to represent the opinion of Bolo Lobo in the struggle against privatisation, we can recognize similarities to some of the findings of the literature we read. Barendregt suggested in his account on popular music that it is a reaction to the predominant circumstances which the artists experience (Barendregt 2002). In our case of Bolo Lobo and the predominant relevance of privatisation in the setting of Labuan Bajo, this influence of outer circumstances on the music created, is also clearly visible. Further, the song *Dimana Tanah Air Beta* also shows some aspects of the cultural struggle in unequal power relations in society, which Jeremy Wallach has identified as being represented in popular music in Indonesia (Wallach 2008). Bolo Lobo as a group of young people facing opponents such as the local government and powerful investors are certainly confronted with such an unequal situation of power. Also, Max Richter who has done research on music in Yogyakarta supports this argument by stating that musical settings, such as Bolo Lobo, reveal a lot about the political situation (Richter 2012). Here in our case of Labuan Bajo, the government is acting in this perspective against the will of its population. Richter further stresses the importance music’s role to maintain cooperative social relations (Richter 2012). By observing and participating in many music-sessions with the Bolo Lobo community we are convinced that this function of music to maintain cooperative and positive social relations is a very important factor, besides the use of music as a means to express an opinion. Since the members of Bolo Lobo have very different backgrounds – some working in the tourism-industry, others for the government, and some as independent researchers – music is a very good way to feel connected, have fun together and raise motivation for activities.

Besides the meetings held exclusively for members and friends or allies, Bolo Lobo has also organized events for the public to broadcast their ideas to a wider audience. For example they have painted a public toilet with the aim to make it more attractive for the local community. They have also conducted demonstrations against the privatisation of Pede Beach and organized beach clean-ups to raise awareness for environmental contamination. They published literature covering issues concerning the community of Labuan Bajo, which also influenced their song-writing. Finally, they held art and music performances publicly and organized a festival at the beach. In the following section we will discuss the events in which we had the chance to participate, namely a beach clean-up and the 3-days-festival, in more detail.

Beach clean-up

Beach clean-ups on the *Pantai Pede* are and have to be organized frequently. The current degree of pollution contrasts with the actual beauty of the beach. Whereas private beaches are getting cleaned by the private actors themselves, the communal beach is cleaned by local communities. The clean-up we attended was mainly organized by Bolo Lobo members. It took place on a Sunday afternoon at the beach, where families and other people enjoyed their time while *Bakso* sellers and other merchants supplied the beach visitors with food and beverages.



The clean-up event was embedded in a broader strategy: On one side, the beach was ready to get a surface treatment, on the other side Bolo Lobo once more made a claim for this public beach. Therefore, a banner with letters saying *Ini Pantai kami* (this is our beach) was set up between two trees. The actual clean-up started with the distribution of garbage bags, which – thanks to the massive amount of available garbage – were filled quite quickly. Consequently, the filled bags were transported to the Waste Bank, a garbage recycle project which had been set up on different islands in Eastern Indonesia. Later on that day, approximately three hours later than the agreed time, the local scouts showed up, but at this point the small amount of organized garbage bags were already out of stock. It seemed that there was no intention to clean the beach entirely, which is understandable by the masses of trash that cover the sand. The clean-up went mostly unnoticed by the people present at the beach and represented only a symbolic gesture in the fight against land and water pollution. However the performance of music and art that took place subsequently, reached a wider audience, so it seems that Bolo Lobo's strategy to spread their messages through music and art, is effective.

Festival Pantai Pede 2015 – “Dimana Tanah Air Beta”

The idea of this festival was to manifest the peoples' claim for a public space. The festival was held on the *Pantai Pede*. Within ten days, a three-day festival was set up and followed Bolo Lobo's main strategy: Through the use of music and art, awareness for the structural exclusion of the local community should be raised. The Festival took place between the 15th and 17th of August, which means that the festival ended on Indonesia's Independence Day, a circumstance to which we will refer later.

Preparation: The initial point for this Festival was the creation of song *dimana tanah air beta*, which we discussed above. This song served as a headline for the whole festival. The planning of the festival involved setting up a programme, preparing infrastructure, collaborating with other communities and sponsors, getting permission from the government and much more. The preparation was discussed during very long meetings in the evenings within the ten days. The people were divided into groups which were responsible for a certain domain. The community was organized in small sections with different responsibilities: *tim acara* (responsible team for the rundown of the festival), *tim media dan publikasi* (responsible for attention in media), *tim konsumsi* (catering), *tim dokumentasi* (photographic / cinematic documentation). The meetings were held as group meeting, patiently discussing one domain after the other and in separate group meetings of the teams. After each serious discussion, there was always time and energy to play some music, either as practice for the concert on the festival or just for fun to cheer up the members. After seven evenings of discussions, the members could start to physically prepare the festival: This involved setting up a stage on the beach, preparing the sound system, setting up the tents which included other stands, preparing banners and signs with the message against privatisation, to name only a few.

Incidents: When the festival was about to start, representatives of the local authorities and the intelligence rushed in, with the intention to shut down the festival. After a seemingly endless discussion held in a circle on plastic chairs on the beach, Bolo Lobo's members decided that they weren't hindered to hold the festival nor had they gotten permission. This bizarre vacuum between legality and illegality mainly emerged because neither the agents of the intelligence, nor the District Head, nor the Sub district Head, nor the Mayor, nor the police wanted to be responsible for the cancelling of the event. Some of them didn't wish for involvement because they were trapped in a personal twist: They were officially in charge to prevent the start of the festival, but personally they were interested in maintaining a public space, and so in the festival. Some of them later returned in plain clothes to participate in the festival. With a delay of more than four hours, the festival finally started.

The Festival: The festival area was stretched out over the concrete part at the beach. At the outer end of this area, the stage had been built, the sea was at its back. The erected stage not only served as a platform for local music artist such as Bolo Lobo band, the local newcomer band Gallery of Stars, rappers or other musicians willing to proof their abilities, but also as a platform to read poems and hold speeches. In the middle of the place, the Indonesian flag was raised up. Around this

centre, several tents for the collaborating communities were arranged in a circle. Those tents served as showrooms for traditional weaving techniques, photography and art exhibitions, or public painting sessions. Those activities aimed at the integration of the visitor, either into the festival activities or into their community. Especially the painting of hands and printing handprints



on a white wooden wall inspired younger and older visitors to join in the activities.

But during the day it wasn't that surprising that not many visitors dared to stand and dance in front of the stage. It was simply too hot. But as soon as the sun started to set behind the stage, before it finally seemed to drop into the ocean, people started to flock together. They began to dance and take pleasure in the activities of the event.

The song *Dimana Tanah Air Kita*, which was the slogan for the festival, was played between the program and it served as melody for a few festival-video-clips which have been broadcast on social media.

Proklamasi: The festival reached its climax on its last day, on the 17th of August, when Indonesian's 70th Independence day was celebrated. Much to our surprise, this celebration began quite militaristically. While the national anthem was played, the people at the festival stood to attention around the Indonesian flag, and sung the Indonesian hymn vigorously. Shortly after, Kris de Somerpes, a Bolo Lobo member shouted:

"Proklamasi! Kami orang muda dan seniman Manggarai barat dengan ini menyatakan: Pantai Pede sebagai ruang umum terbuka, dan tidak di privatisasi! [...]
Pantai Pede batas labar dite ho'o, 17 agustus 2015, atas nama orang muda dan seniman Manggarai barat. [...]
Tertanda kami semua.
Salam merdeka! Merdeka! Merdeka! [...]"



Before delivering a translation, we'd like to refer to a speech that was held exactly seventy years earlier:

"Proklamasi! Kami bangsa Indonesia dengan ini menyatakan Kemerdekaan Indonesia. [...]
Djakarta, hari 17 agustus 1945.
Atas nama bangsa Indonesia.
Sukarno – Hatta."

The speaker of that revolutionary speech was none other than the Indonesian leader during the independence war against the Dutch, and later Indonesia's first president: Sukarno. This speech, held on the 17th of august in 1945 and signed by Sukarno and his future vice president Mohammad Hatta, means:

"Proclamation! We, the Indonesian nation, hereby declare the Independence of Indonesia. [...]
Jakarta, 17th of august 1945.
In the name of the Indonesian nation.
Signed by Sukarno and Hatta."

The speech by Kris de Somerpes, seventy years later, means:

"Proclamation! We, the youth and the artists of the Western Manggarai, hereby declare Pede Beach as a public space! [...]
Pede Beach, our playground which belongs to us, 17th of august 2015.

In the name of the youth and the artists of the Western Manggarai. [...] Signed by all of us.”

The strategy applied by Bolo Lobo is evident. By using the terminology and structure of Sukarno’s Independence speech and transforming it for their own purpose, and by proclaiming it on the 17th of August, they hit the very core of all the nationalistic feelings that emerged on that day. Bolo Lobo’s strategy is therefore expanded by one element: Not only local language, art and music, but also nationalist thinking serves as a resource for their own objects. In the film this *proklamasi*-scene serves as a very strong ending statement of Bolo Lobo.

This third festival day maintained the suspense until the very last minute. During the afternoon, everyone could sign the proclamation with his / her thumb while different bands performed on the stage. After sunset, a highly political theatre was performed. The play was performed by local youth and again, it took advantage of the ideology of the Independence Day: the actors, only scantily dressed performed an outbreak from bamboo cages which were arranged around the Indonesian flag in the center of the beach area. In a 1945 interpretation, it would symbolize the freeing of the old bonds which the Dutch had put on them during more than three centuries. In a contemporary interpretation, the play called out for the freeing of the bonds of privatization and exclusion policies which make life difficult for the local community.

At the very end of the festival, the entire Bolo Lobo community performed their song *Dimana Tanah Air Beta* on the stage (see front page image). Right after that, the festival was officially declared closed. The community’s members lay in each other’s arms, deeply touched by what they just had accomplished. Some were crying, others laughing, others just remained silent. They had invested a lot of time and energy to save Pede beach, as their public beach. We will see if their efforts will pay off.



Whether or not *Pantai Pede* will remain a public beach in the future is highly uncertain. Recently, in November 2015, the PT SMI investment group presented the plans for this beach: A five star resort should occupy the area. This announcement led to a wave of protests and to the appeal to solidarity. On the 8th of November, Bolo Lobo organized an event called *Malam Cahaya 1000 Lilin – Save Pede for Natas Labar* which means *Evening of the light of 1000 candles – save Pede Beach as our playground*.

During this research project we exclusively portrayed the view of a local community (Bolo Lobo) which faces large social transformations. We didn't examine the positive aspects of those transformations, such as the risen availability of well paid jobs in the tourism sector, the extension of the infrastructure such as roads or airports, which connect Labuan Bajo with other parts of Flores or other islands within Indonesia. Although Dale (forthcoming) pointed out that the local community is excluded from the positive aspects, we guess that there must be at least some positive points that provide the locals a new perspective. Further we didn't portray voices of actors outside the group of Bolo Lobo, such as normal residents, investors or government officials. Therefore, we do not attempt to provide a holistic outline of those current transformations in Labuan Bajo but we see there great potential for further research.

With the editorial decision to take Edward Angimoys statements in the interview as a guideline for the film, his opinion becomes very dominant and he seems to be the only leader figure. Here we want to stress that Bolo Lobo cultivates a very egalitarian structure. Further, Edward does not express his personal opinion in the interview but carefully represents the consensus of Bolo Lobo as a group. Because we needed to structure the film very densely with a clear message, we chose the interview with Edward as a guideline. And due to this condensing, much of our footage shot on the festival couldn't be included in the resulting film. This we learned only after spending many hours of editing a first attempt of a film. This had included all the festival scenes, which was not usable since it had no focus on particular actions or persons, and was not understandable for a wider audience. The filming and testing of anthropological methods and producing this film was for us a very valuable and instructive experience.

This excursion provided a great opportunity to experience the situation in an unknown field with its insecurities, problems and challenges but also very intense and happy moments. The confrontation with methods in the field, in such an early stage of our studies, helps us to better understand theoretical work and encourages critical thinking. By making mistakes in collecting and organizing data, as well as filming techniques and editing we learned a lot for further projects. Something that was very challenging for us was finding a balance between participation in the events (for example the festival) and observation. We tended to neglect the observation in favor of the participation, which meant attending events but forgetting critical thinking and even documenting or filming important aspects. This showed us how important it is to constantly reflect on his or her own role as researcher and what one wants to achieve.

In this short time of three weeks we were very lucky to be able to collaborate with such open minded and friendly people, as were the members of Bolo Lobo. They guaranteed us access to all of their activities and made us feel like part of the group. Many of them also spoke good English which improved the communication considerably. Also, after returning home to Switzerland we feel very connected to Bolo Lobo. We hope that the film "Save Pede" will be a support for their movement and their efforts. We aim to transmit Bolo Lobo's message beyond Labuan Bajo: The expansion of the tourism industry cannot be considered as a gift to the local community in this area. The availability of well paid jobs doesn't compensate the loss of public spaces and local identity.

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Our sincere thanks also go to the Bolo Lobo Community, which provided us the immense opportunity to get insights into social activism against social evils in Indonesia. The warm-hearted way they accepted us is unforgettable. They raised our consciousness to be aware of the social inequalities and environmental problematics the tourism industry can effect. Apart from that, we learned a lot about what it means to be a member of a community: The feeling to be a part of group, the feeling to be in good hands. Every time we were on the way to attend the community's meetings, it felt like visiting old friends. Their energy and creativity to organize events and confront the issues has deeply inspired us. We wish all the best to all our dear friends in Manggarai Barat, and that their inexhaustible effort to save Pede Beach will pay off.

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