THE CAPACITY OF COMMUNITY-BASED PLANNING TO REDUCE URBAN POVERTY: A CASE STUDY OF GONDOLAYU LOR IN YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA

by

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(School of Community and Regional Planning)

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October 1998

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Department of Community and Regional Planning

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date October 29, 1998
ABSTRACT

The rational comprehensive approach to planning has proven unable to reduce urban poverty due either to the exclusion or to the inappropriate inclusion of indigenous knowledge in planning practice. As an alternative, this dissertation analyzes (1) the capacity of local residents to apply their indigenous, contextual, experience-based knowledge towards the reduction of urban poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so.

The research was based on an ethnographic case study of a single, low-income, urban neighborhood, Gondolayu Lor, in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The primary research methods included: 22 months of field observation, 48 in-depth interviews, 44 oral histories, and a census of the 275 households in the case study community.

The dissertation found that local residents conceptualized poverty in terms of multifaceted deprivation, and for the purposes of community-based planning, three manifestations of poverty were identified for alleviation: (1) land tenure insecurity, (2) lack of preventive health care, and (3) the inaccessibility of information and reading materials. Through an analysis of community-based planning efforts in these areas, this study uncovered a diverse array of social spaces that provided windows of opportunity as well as obstacles to the community’s poverty alleviation efforts. It was concluded that the capacity of indigenous knowledge depends largely on the ability of local residents to navigate these spaces. At times, this required community activists to redefine existing spaces, create new spaces, and/or abandon those that were deemed ineffective. It was also found that local residents engaged in community-based planning in a way not previously accounted for in either the inclusion or social mobilization models of citizen participation. This alternative form of citizen participation, referred to as pragmatic empowerment, was incremental in nature, grassroots in origin, yet practical (as opposed to political) in its objectives. In conclusion, the three examples of community-based planning analyzed demonstrate that local residents hold valuable knowledge for alleviating community-level poverty; however, they were unable to address chronic household-level poverty. In terms of implications for practice, this finding led the author to conclude that, in addition to community-based planning, a reliable social safety net must be provided if household-level poverty is to be substantially reduced in the future.
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<th>English Translation</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group for women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APSARI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arisan</td>
<td>lottery where each participant takes turns winning the jackpot, also used as a rotating credit scheme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayu</td>
<td>beautiful (Javanese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badan Koordinasi Keluarga</td>
<td>National Family Planning Coordinating Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berencana Nasional (BKKBN)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badan Perancang</td>
<td>National Development Planning Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawah Lima Tahun (Balita)</td>
<td>meatball soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>becak</td>
<td>children under the age of five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bina Keluarga Balita (BKB)</td>
<td>three-wheel pedicab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biro Pusat Statistik (BPS)</td>
<td>Child Development Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bu</td>
<td>Central Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babar</td>
<td>title like Ms. Taken from Ibu, which means mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulgur</td>
<td>break up, disband, or fall apart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cukupan</td>
<td>grain eaten during the famines of the mid-1960s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dasa wisma</td>
<td>sufficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desa</td>
<td>smallest administrative territorial unit, consisting of 10 households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donatur tetap</td>
<td>rural village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapura</td>
<td>regular donator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golongan Karya (Golkar)</td>
<td>large gate at the community’s main entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gondo</td>
<td>reigning political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gondol</td>
<td>odor (Javanese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gotong royong</td>
<td>to carry something (Javanese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hajatan</td>
<td>mutual cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handar beni</td>
<td>celebration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HES</td>
<td>sense of pride or ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inpres Bantuan Desa</td>
<td>Household Expenditure Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inpres Desa Tertinggal (IDT)</td>
<td>program that provides funds to subdistrict offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jimpitan beres</td>
<td>Underdeveloped Village Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumat Kliwon</td>
<td>collecting a pinch of rice from individuals to raise money for the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.K.N.</td>
<td>Thursday night that occurs every 35 days according to the Javanese calendar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabupaten</td>
<td>university practical work experience program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampung</td>
<td>rural region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urban neighborhood or community, also commonly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kantor RW
Kawasan Kali Code
kecamatan
Kejar Paket A, B, C
Keluarga Sejahtera (KS)
kelurahan
kidul
kimiskinan
konblok
kotamadya
kraton
Lanjut Usia (Lansia)
layu
Lembaga Ketahanan
Masyarakat Desa (LKMD)
lor
mamak
masyarakat ban
Mbah
Mbak
mufakat
musyawarah
ngaji
orang pendatang
orang-orang ban
Pak
Pancasilla
penindung
peyek
PODES Inti Survey
Pos Lansia
propinsi
Propinsi Daerah Istimewah Yogyakarta
Puskesmas
rentenir
rujak
Rukun Kampung (RK)
Rukun Tetangga (RT)
Rukun Warga (RW)

used to denote an informal settlement
RW office
Code River Area
district
Adult Literacy Program
Family Welfare Program
subdistrict
south (Javanese)
poverty
cement bricks
municipality
palace
an elderly person
wilting or dying (Javanese)
subdistrict level decision-making body
north (Javanese)
mother
rubber tire society
title for an elderly person (Javanese)
title for a woman (Javanese)
decision reached through a consensus-building process
consensus-building process
to recite prayers from the Koran
newcomer to the community
rubber tire people
title like Mr. Taken from bapak, which means father
five governing principles of Indonesia
term referring to a land owner asking someone to occupy his/her land
snack food made from fried batter
Indonesia’s national village-level survey that accompanies SUSENAS and is implemented every three years
health care clinic for elderly people
province
Special Province of Yogyakarta
government health care clinic
private creditor
fruit salad with a sauce
neighborhood territorial unit that existed prior to the RW system
neighborhood territorial unit consisting of approximately 30 households
neighborhood territorial unit consisting of
selamat
serba kekurangan
simpan-pinjam
Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional
(SUSENAS)
tempe
Wanita Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga
(Wanita PKK)
warung
wayang kulit
wedi kengser

approximately 100 to 300 households
celebration (Javanese)
lack of everything
locally organized save and borrow program
National Socio-Economic Survey
food made from fermented soybeans
Women's Family Welfare Organization
small, "informal" restaurant or shop
Javanese shadow puppet theater
land that is part of the river bed and under the jurisdiction of the government
PREFACE: INDONESIAN CURRENCY AND THE ASIAN MONETARY CRISIS

The fieldwork for this dissertation, including the household census, was completed before the Asian monetary crisis began in 1997. As a result, during the field research the value of the rupiah, the Indonesian currency, was relatively stable, and throughout the dissertation the same exchange rate was used: 2,300 rupiah = $1.00 U.S.

After the field research was completed a series of critical events have occurred in Indonesia. These events were sparked in July 1997, when the Thai government decided to float its currency, the baht, at which point the value of the rupiah began to falter and warning signs regarding Asia's pending crisis started to become evident. In August 1997, the Indonesian government abandoned control of its exchange rate, at which point the rupiah started its decline, and by January 1998, when the government announced its new budget, the rupiah had plummeted to a record low of 17,000. In March 1998, President Suharto questioned the effectiveness of the IMF's economic reforms and the latter responded by withholding a $3 billion payment. In the meantime, student demonstrations increased and spread. In May 1998, in line with the IMF's demands, President Suharto suspended fuel subsidies, and the price of petrol, diesel, and kerosene increased drastically. This was the breaking point for Indonesia: thousands rioted in Medan, student demonstrations increased in size, and four student protesters were killed, thus inciting further riots. On May 20, 1998, President Suharto stepped down and was replaced by B.J. Habibie, who promised that a new election would be held as soon as possible. Since June 1998, Indonesia has experienced political reform that was impossible under Suharto's reign (e.g., increased freedom of the press, recognition of independent trade unions, and interrogation of top military generals regarding human rights violations). Some observers are skeptical and refer to Habibie's rule as the "New-New Order," implying that it represents more of the same. Despite these limited political reforms, Indonesia's economic woes are far from over. As of August 1998, the rupiah was still at 13,150, and it appears that most Indonesians have adopted a "wait and see" attitude.

These changes affect the dissertation in two ways. First, it appears that economic experts underestimated the magnitude to which Indonesia's economy was overextended, and, second, the political unrest that resulted from the IMF's instructions to remove fuel subsidies indicates that the number of poor and the severity of the conditions in which they live was greatly underestimated. In conclusion, as the problem of mass poverty becomes more prominent, so does the importance of the research findings.

---

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisory committee, Aprodico A. Laquian, Peter Boothroyd, and Terry McGee. Thank you for your wisdom, guidance, patience, and generous support. I am also grateful to the teachers that helped on the way to the University of British Columbia, in particular my M.A. and B.A. advisors John Friedmann and Keith Pezzoli, respectively.

I would like to thank the residents of Gondolayu Lor who allowed me into their homes. Their candor, sense of humor, and continual hospitality made the field research a delight and writing the case study a pleasure: *terima kasih banyak*. I would also like to thank my three research assistants, *Mbak* Ida in 1994 and *Mbak* Etik and *Mbak* Sita in 1997. Besides their data-gathering skills, they provided me with camaraderie and a series of motorcycle rides I will never forget. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Bobi and Dwita for allowing me to live in their home (*Istana Deresan*) during the field research period. I have accumulated an enormous moral debt (*hutang budi*) in Indonesia, and I have no idea how to repay it.

In addition, I would like to express my appreciation to the institutions and individuals that provided generous funding for this research and my graduate studies: University of British Columbia, Howard R. Webster, Centre for Human Settlements in cooperation with Canadian International Development Agency, Northwest Regional Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in conjunction with the Ford Foundation, U.S. – Indonesia Society, and Fulbright-Hays Foundation.

Finally, I am grateful for the love and support I received from my parents and sister. Thank you.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE CAPACITY OF COMMUNITY-BASED PLANNING TO REDUCE URBAN POVERTY

1.1 Introduction

The rational comprehensive approach to planning has proven unable to reduce urban poverty. As a panacea, over the last 30 years planners and academics alike have promoted including local people and their knowledge in the planning process. Yet this approach has resulted in a wide variety of outcomes, not all of which have been as successful as was originally hoped. This research is concerned with (1) the capacity of local residents to apply their indigenous knowledge to community-based planning for the purposes of reducing poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so. The research is based on an ethnographic case study of a low-income urban community in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. This introductory chapter presents the research design, the research strategy, the case study, the methods for gathering and analyzing empirical data, and the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Research Design

1.2.1 Research Background

In 1993, as I was traveling on a public bus from Jakarta’s urban center to its more rural periphery, I observed the city’s remarkable mass of informal settlements, or kampung. I
was mesmerized by the thousands of corrugated rooftops so closely positioned that the public footpaths were obscured from view, bamboo latrines dangling over polluted rivers allowing their patrons no privacy, and children flying kites adjacent to mounds of solid waste. These may appear to be familiar, maybe even cliché, images of a newly industrializing country, but this does not diminish their impact. Having personally resided in Indonesia’s rural countryside, I found people’s willingness to leave their villages and cope with these conditions counterintuitive. Almost immediately I was struck by the similarities between what I observed from my window and Engels’s description of Manchester in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844). These initial similarities were reconfirmed during the subsequent months, while I conducted field research in Jakarta’s poorest urban neighborhoods. Spending hours walking through informal settlements, sitting in people’s homes and asking questions about their household structure, access to services, income and employment, and residential history, I came to the conclusion that the phenomenon of mass urban poverty was created by the structure of industrial capitalism. It was this powerful force that drew these people to the city and created the conditions in which they lived.

Later experiences in Indonesia challenged the simplicity of these initial conclusions. In 1994, I was again conducting field research in a low-income *kampung*; however, during this period my research was in Yogyakarta and required a more in-depth analysis of a single urban community. It focused on local participation in the national Women’s Family Welfare Organization and the capacity of this organization to reduce household-level poverty. During this research I was impressed by the capacity of numerous
community-based organizations to plan for their own community, outside of formal planning and regulatory frameworks. It became apparent that the community possessed both the knowledge and the agency to relieve some aspects of poverty but not others. In this dissertation I use a case study to critically analyze the capacity of one urban community to engage in community-based planning in order to reduce poverty. Like these initial observations, in the process of writing this dissertation I unwittingly discovered a dialectic between structure and agency\(^2\) that allows for the creation of small spaces within which local people can maneuver and, incrementally, alleviate poverty.

1.2.2 Purpose of the Research

Global advances in poverty reduction during the twentieth century have been significant. The following table illustrates some of the improvements in human well-being that have occurred during the last 20 to 30 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic areas according to level of development</th>
<th>Life expectancy at birth (years)</th>
<th>Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)</th>
<th>Adult literacy rate (%)</th>
<th>Real GDP per capita (PPP$)(^3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Least developed countries</td>
<td>46.0 62.1</td>
<td>149 64</td>
<td>43 64</td>
<td>915 2,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Countries</td>
<td>39.1 50.6</td>
<td>170 103</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>561 974</td>
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<td>World</td>
<td>68.6 73.8</td>
<td>39 14</td>
<td>- -</td>
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Note: - Data not available

\(^2\) I use the term structure to refer to social structures that have the capability of determining aspects of social life, and I use the term agency to refer to the capacity of individual agents who construct and reconstruct their worlds (Jary 1995, 663).

\(^3\) PPP stands for "purchasing power parities," which is a measurement established by the World Bank to convert GDP to international dollars. This measurement is based on the results of surveys conducted by the International Comparison Programme (ICP).
Despite the advances in poverty reduction represented by these indicators, a quarter of the world's people still live in severe poverty (United Nations 1997, 2). In addition, most developing countries are presently experiencing accelerating rates of urbanization, and it is estimated that in the year 2000, for the first time in history, more than half (approximately 51 percent) of the world's population will be living in urban areas (Wratten 1995). Based on these two coinciding trends, it is concluded that the incidence of poverty in urban areas will heighten in coming years. As a result, in 1995 representatives from 185 governments met at the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen and committed themselves to the goal of eradicating poverty (United Nations 1997). At this summit countries not only committed themselves to the eradication of poverty "as an ethical, social, political and moral imperative of humankind," they also recognized "people-centered development" as the means to achieving their goal (United Nations 1997). It is precisely this proposition this dissertation explores, that local people have the capacity to alleviate poverty.

In many developing countries, low-income settlements are designed by community-based planning systems. For the purposes of this dissertation, community-based planning refers to groups or networks of voluntary community organizations, largely independent of formal planning and regulatory frameworks, transferring their indigenous knowledge into action in order to affect their immediate social and physical environments. Community-based planning is important in many developing countries because the state
does not provide low-income communities with the basic necessities. This concept includes aspects of the "enabling" and "self-help" approaches used to upgrade urban settlements, sites, and services. However, my research attempts to push beyond analyzing community-based planning as citizen participation in projects and plans either conceptualized, initiated, or motivated by actors outside the community and to analyze it from the perspective of residents relying on their own local knowledge and initiative. Furthermore, this dissertation analyzes two areas in which relatively little research has been conducted: (1) the capacity of local residents to plan for themselves, here referred to as community-based planning, in order to reduce urban poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so (Korten 1986; Moser 1995; Wegelin and Borgman 1995).

1.2.3 Problem Statement and Two Related Analytical Gaps in Our Knowledge

The planning and development literature demonstrates an inadequate understanding of (1) the capacity of local residents to engage in community-based planning in order to reduce urban poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so.

In response to the failings of the rational-comprehensive approach to planning to effectively reduce urban poverty, many governments and international development agencies have assumed that local residents have the capacity to alleviate poverty. However, we do not have an adequate understanding either of this capacity or of the processes by which local residents engage in community-based planning in order to

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4 The concept of community-based planning is further clarified in Chapter 2.
reduce poverty. This lack of understanding is the result of two analytical gaps in the planning literature.

First, the body of literature that criticizes the rational comprehensive approach to planning and that advocates applying indigenous knowledge to planning practice (Escobar 1992; Korten 1986; Sandercock 1998b) does not adequately address the capacity of local residents to use this knowledge to reduce urban poverty. In other words, we do not have a clear understanding of the point at which, and under what circumstances, the ability of local residents to plan for themselves using indigenous knowledge for the purpose of alleviating poverty is effectual.

Second, we do not have a sufficient understanding of the processes by which local residents participate in planning beyond the dichotomized view represented by the inclusion and social mobilization models hereto dominant in the planning literature. In human settlement upgrading and service delivery projects, community participation is conceptualized as the inclusion of local residents in externally motivated planning processes (United Nations Development Programme 1991; World Bank 1991). In this approach, regardless of the amount of control given to local residents over resources and other power levers, the fate of the planning process ultimately lies in the hands of actors outside the community. The counter-approach, commonly found in studies of Latin

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5 David Korten's *Community Management: Asian Experiences and Perspectives* (1986) is a notable exception to this dichotomized view of citizen participation in community planning literature. His concept of community management is very similar to the concept of community-based planning used in this
American communities, concerns overtly politicized social mobilization in opposition to the status quo (Castells 1983; Friedmann 1989; Foweraker 1995). This dichotomy does not adequately illuminate contexts within which communities engaged in planning are largely independent of formal planning and regulatory frameworks and where political insurgency is rare.\(^6\) This research seeks to go beyond this co-optation-versus-social mobilization dichotomy and to explain how local residents participate in community-based planning in an environment where, although the state maintains tight political control over the organizational efforts of local people, the situation is not static. Although primarily relevant to similar political contexts, research that directly addresses the capacity of community-based planning to reduce urban poverty and the processes by which this is done can provide valuable new insights into efforts to alleviate urban poverty in other developing countries where social mobilization either is not, or has not yet become, the norm.

1.2.4 Two Inter-Related Research Questions

Derived from the problem statement two overarching questions guided this research.

1. *What is the capacity of community-based planning (local residents planning for themselves, applying their indigenous knowledge to planning practice) to reduce urban poverty?*

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\(^6\) James C. Scott in his work *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985) provides an illuminating analysis of how rural peasants in Malaysia mobilize in extremely restrictive political environments. His study is different from this research both because it does not specifically evaluate the capacity of community-based planning to alleviate urban poverty and because of its focus on the rural peasantry.
2. What are the processes in which local residents engage in community-based planning in order to reduce urban poverty?

The first question explores the issue of capacity in the problem statement (sec. 1.2.3) and seeks to reveal to what extent and under what circumstances community-based planning is effective or ineffective at reducing urban poverty. The second question addresses the second part of the problems statement (sec. 1.2.3) in its examination of the processes by which local residents engage in community-based planning. The dissertation analyzes these two questions together in order to reveal why it is that community-based planning is capable of alleviating some manifestations of poverty but not others.

1.2.5 Conceptual Framework

In the research the term planning is understood to mean the transfer of knowledge into action in the public domain for the purpose of managing change in the social and physical environment (Friedmann 1987). This definition, drawn from John Friedmann’s knowledge-action paradigm, is intentionally broad so that it can encompass professional planning, community-level planning, and aspects of urban management. In the context of this research, the rational comprehensive approach to planning practice refers to the still dominant planning paradigm that elevates and technocratically applies positivistic knowledge over indigenous, contextual, personal, experience-based knowledge in order
to regulate the physical and social environment (Sandercock 1998b; Thomas 1982; Webber 1983).\(^7\)

For the purposes of this study the term *community* refers to both a fixed, bounded territorial unit and the network of interrelationships among the inhabitants of a locality. *Community-based planning* refers to groups or networks of voluntary community associations (such as citizen groups) using locally held knowledge in order to make a combination of social and physical planning decisions that directly affect their immediate environment. These voluntary citizen associations include semi-spontaneous groups, grassroots organizations, and more formal associations organized by the community. These associations also include temporary groups organized to deal with immediate needs and non-temporary groups organized to deal with long-term needs. What is essential to this conceptualization of community-based planning is its focus on *local residents planning for themselves.*

In this study the term *indigenous knowledge* denotes an understanding of reality held by local residents. Primarily, this knowledge is experiential, contextually relevant, and personal. However, indigenous knowledge also includes professional knowledge when it is possessed by local residents.

This research uses a poverty line, or income level, as a *starting point* in order to identify a poor urban community for the case study. However, the proposed research seeks to avoid

\(^7\) The rational comprehensive approach to planning practice is explained in detail in Chapter 2.
the overly simplistic, homogenizing view of poverty that has characterized the literature in the past and is now commonly criticized (Chambers 1995). In this study, poverty is defined by the local residents who participate in, and function as the recipients of, the planning directed at its alleviation. In other words, it would be counterproductive to begin with an inflexible preconceived notion of poverty that is unknown to the community and then proceed to evaluate the capacity of local residents to alleviate it.

1.3 Research Strategy

This research used an ethnographic case study of a single urban community in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. This strategy was selected because of its well documented contribution to urban planning and its compatibility with the focus of the research (Holston 1998; Mandelbaum 1991; Peattie 1989). In the following quote, Atkinson and Hammersley (1994, 248) describe ethnographic research as having some or all of the following characteristics:

- a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them.

- a tendency to work primarily with “unstructured” data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories.

- investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail.

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8 Chapter 3 analyzes the problems with conceptualizing poverty solely in terms of income.
9 Chapter 6 explains how local residents define poverty.
The ethnographic research strategy is appropriate for addressing the research questions because it overlaps with the aforementioned characteristics. For instance, the research emphasizes exploring the nature of community-based planning and its impact on the social phenomenon of urban poverty. It involves observing public interaction between multiple actors and analyzing how this affects the welfare of numerous households. It also relies on unstructured data and one case study. In addition, interpretative methods are of primary importance and quantification takes a subordinate role. Finally, my unique background, having lived with several Indonesian families and attended an Indonesian high school and university as well as being fluent in both written and spoken Indonesian, facilitated the use of an in-depth ethnographic research strategy.10

1.4 Other Relevant Case Studies

There are three case studies that address the issues of urban poverty and community organization in Indonesia (Guinness 1986; Jellinek 1991; Sullivan 1992). Interestingly, Jellinek’s case study, *The Wheel of Fortune: The History of a Poor Community in Jakarta*, and Guinness’s study of a low-income neighborhood in Yogyakarta, *Harmony and Hierarchy in a Javanese Kampung*, produced notably different findings. Jellinek, in her last chapter addresses these discrepancies. She hypothesizes that Guinness’s
description of a stable, harmonious, cooperative, and well-organized community did not manifest itself in her study of a low-income neighborhood in Jakarta because of the different development trajectories of the two cities. Jellinek primarily identifies the rate of urban population growth as an indicator of these different development experiences. Sullivan, in *Local Government and Community in Java: An Urban Case-Study*, analyzes the issue of governance in low-income urban neighborhoods in Yogyakarta. Some of Sullivan’s most relevant contributions are his analysis of low-income urban settlements, the role of the Indonesian state, the function of local level government administrative structures, and the ethics of mutual cooperation and consensus building.

The three studies noted above are relevant to the proposed research because they each contribute a systematic and detailed analysis of low-income urban communities in Java, Indonesia. However, none of these prior case studies has been written from a distinctly “urban planning perspective”; that is, one that focuses on the transfer of knowledge into action in the public domain. In addition, none of these earlier studies has attempted to identify specific community-based planning mechanisms and their capacity to reduce urban poverty and its related manifestations. This study attempts to build on these works by using an ethnographic case study in order to analyze the capacity of community-based planning to reduce urban poverty within a low-income community in Yogyakarta. I believe that this strategy, more than any other, allowed me the opportunity to observe, document, and analyze the community-based planning process and its affect on urban poverty.

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10 Since 1987, the researcher has spent approximately five years in Indonesia.
1.5 Selection of the Case Study Community

Indonesia was selected as the ideal location for a focused analysis of the capacity of community-based planning to reduce urban poverty because, like many developing countries, it has experienced high rates of urbanization combined with an increased incidence of urban poverty (Devas and Rakodi 1993, 6; World Bank 1990, xvi). In addition, the Indonesian “New Order” regime has explicitly expressed a desire to support community-based planning efforts to reduce urban poverty. As a result, many poor urban communities in Indonesia have a substantial track record in the development and utilization of community-based planning approaches. Furthermore, the role of two Indonesian cultural ethics, mutual cooperation (gotong royong) and consensus building (musyawarah), support the practice of community-based planning and make its examination particularly relevant (Guinness 1986; Jellinek 1991; Sullivan 1992; Y.B. Mangunwijaya 1994).

The case study focused on the urban community of Gondolayu Lor, in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, for the following reasons:

1. Socioeconomically, Gondolayu Lor is a “typical” low-income urban neighborhood, or kampung.

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11 The “New-New Order regime,” since President Suharto’s resignation, has continued these policies and increased its efforts to reduce poverty in the wake of the Asian monetary crisis.
12 Use of the term “typical” here denotes a high density urban neighborhood where many households have low-incomes, the community is only accessible by small footpaths, and communal access to physical infrastructure and social services is the norm. Low-income urban neighborhoods of this nature are
2. Local residents in this community were engaging in a wide variety of community-based planning activities. For example, the planning, implementation, and maintenance of health care clinics, literacy programs, water and sanitation services, and public space.

3. The researcher had fifteen months previous field research experience in Gondolayu Lor during 1994-95. As a result, she anticipated relatively easy entry into, and a high level of acceptance by, the community. In addition, by focusing on the same community the researcher was able to analyze changes over time, thus contributing a longitudinal dimension to the case study.

The research focused on a single community in order to provide clear, empirical examples of the capacity of community-based planning to reduce urban poverty. Given the ethnographic case study used in this research, a large portion of the findings are, of course, specific to Indonesia's political, historical, socio-economic, and cultural context. However, the research also produced findings relevant to urban low-income communities outside of Indonesia, particularly those where a large proportion of the urban population reside in informal settlements and where the state exercises strict political control over local people.

1.6 Research Objectives

In an effort to address the problem statement and research questions, I used a number of smaller research objectives to analyze the case study community's efforts to alleviate poverty. The following are a list of the objectives that guided my field research.

commonly referred to in Indonesia as kampung. It is estimated that as many as 80 percent of Indonesia's urban inhabitants reside in kampung settlements. These estimates are difficult to verify because of the informal nature and illegality of these settlements.
1. How do residents of the case study community conceptualize poverty?

2. What community-based planning strategies have been, or are presently being, developed to reduce urban poverty?

3. What are the processes by which local residents implement the strategies they devise to alleviate poverty?

4. To what extent do these community-based planning strategies contribute to poverty reduction?

5. What are the socio-political conditions and characteristics of a poor community and its larger context that facilitate or impede the intervention of community-based planning as a means of reducing urban poverty?

The first objective was to establish how residents of the case study community conceptualized poverty because it was believed that this understanding was necessary in order to evaluate their efforts to alleviate it. The second objective in the analysis, sought to identify the specific strategies residents were using to reduce poverty. The third research objective directly relates to the second research question (sec. 1.2.4) which seeks to analyze the processes by which local residents engage in community-based planning. The fourth objective addresses the first research question (sec. 1.2.4) which attempts to determine the level of effectiveness of community-based planning strategies to alleviate poverty. The fifth objective sought to gather and analyze data regarding how socio-political factors both within and outside the community affected local residents’ efforts and capacity to reduce poverty.
1.7 Methods of Collecting Empirical Data

I spent 22 months conducting field research in the case study community. The fieldwork was conducted during two separate periods: 15 months during 1994-95 and 7 months in 1997. The methods used for this study were: interviews, oral histories, observation, a household census, mapping, and analysis of written text. This section reviews each of these methods.

1.7.1 Interviews

Interviews are one of the most effective qualitative methods available for obtaining data to address the research question and related objectives. In this research, interviews were used to obtain insight into the perspective of local residents regarding how they conceptualize poverty, how they develop community-based planning strategies to alleviate it, and how they interpret and cope with the effects of local as well as broader sociopolitical dynamics. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used because they provide an opportunity for respondents to answer open-ended questions. They also, as opposed to structured interviews or surveys, allow more opportunity for the interviewer and respondent to interact in order to produce new information, categories, and conceptualizations. In some cases the interview assumed the form of informal conversation. In total, 45 semi-structured interviews with members of the case study community and three interviews with prominent civil servants were conducted and transcribed. Respondents were approached for interviews (1) based on their high level of
knowledge regarding specific community-based planning efforts to reduce poverty and
(2) in order to represent the socio-economic diversity present in the case study
community.\textsuperscript{14} Transcripts were verified and corrected by the respondents, except in cases
where the latter were illiterate, had remedial reading skills, or did not have the time or
desire to re-read their interviews.

1.7.2 Oral Histories\textsuperscript{15}

In many social science disciplines, a precedent has been set for using oral histories as a
method for researching the lives of the poor, the working class, and ordinary members of
society.\textsuperscript{16} Significantly, the first uses of oral history in the United States were part of a
poverty alleviation effort during the New Deal period, when it was hoped that the
documentation of oral histories of the poor would better inform state policy (Dunaway
and Baum 1984, 7). In this study oral histories were used to construct a history of the
case study community, and they contributed a retrospective dimension to the research. A
oral history was obtained from each in-depth interview respondent to contextualize their
interview responses. As mentioned in the previous section, a diverse group of
respondents were used in order to represent different perspectives on the capacity of
community-based planning to reduce urban poverty and the different social classes,

\textsuperscript{12} See Appendix 2 for list of respondents and Appendix 3 for in-depth interview guidelines.
\textsuperscript{14} Every community member approached for an interview agreed to give an interview.
\textsuperscript{15} See Appendix 2 for a list of respondents and Appendix 4 for oral history guidelines.
\textsuperscript{16} Examples of oral histories not concerned with prominent people include: (1) Laurel Shackelford and Bill
Great Depression}, and Barry Broadfoot's \textit{Ten Lost Years 1929-1930: Memories of Canadians Who
Survived the Depression} (1973) (Dunaway and Baum 1984, 53).
ethnic backgrounds, gender, residential histories, and family structures present in the case study community. In total, 44 oral histories were conducted with local residents and then transcribed. When circumstances permitted, transcripts were reviewed by respondents to ensure accuracy.

1.7.3 Observation

In general, most urban planning research requires an evaluation of the interface between the physical and the social environment. Observation is a powerful research method for collecting the data needed to analyze this interface, and it was fundamental for addressing the research questions and sub-objectives outlined above. Observation was used to evaluate such physical aspects of the community as population density, housing conditions, and access to services. It was also used in neighborhood public forums to analyze the capacity of community-based planning as a strategy for reducing urban poverty. These latter observations yielded data regarding the age, gender, and socioeconomic status of participants and the dynamics of the public deliberation process. It was also useful to collect data regarding the degree of public access to these meetings. Observation ranged from minimal intervention to full participation, and data collected in this way was fundamental to testing the validity of other research methods based on self-reporting, such as interviews, oral histories, and census data. Observations were recorded daily in a field journal and included detailed descriptions of settings, interactions, illustrations, diagrams, and maps. These notes contained references to participants, interactions, routines, rituals, temporal elements, interpretations, and social organization.
In short, the researcher used observations to analyze patterns and relationships as well as to formulate new typologies.

1.7.4 Household Census

The use of questionnaires as a research method for gathering data about urban poverty has a history dating back to Charles J. Booth’s study of urban poverty in London (1886). The household census defined households as units that share economic resources, primarily food and other daily necessities. Using this definition, boarders were defined as individual, self-contained households. Each of the 275 households in the case study community were administered a questionnaire by a trained enumerator. The respondent was the head of the household. The questionnaire gathered information regarding: household structure, education, employment, income, expenditures, assets, access to services, and participation in the planning, implementation, or utilization of community-based planning activities. The household census data provided a basic quantitative backdrop against which the results of the qualitative data were interpreted.

1.7.5 Maps

In order to better understand the spatial layout of the case study community, the researcher constructed maps. These maps documented the location of each house, other physical structures, land use patterns, the location of meetings and public forums, infrastructure, and community leadership.
1.7.6 Written Texts

The analysis of written texts provided the researcher with a number of methodological advantages, including historical insights and access to perspectives not available in spoken form. Some written texts used in the research were: journal and newspaper articles, popular literature, research reports, and policy and project documents. Written text also provided access to more data than it was possible to collect directly from subjects through interviews, observation, oral histories and, other time-consuming and expensive research methods.

1.7.7 Validity

The two most prominent threats to the validity of the study are the researcher’s (1) personal biases and (2) influence on the subjects studied (Maxwell 1996, 90). It is in the nature of qualitative research methods that threats to validity cannot be completely eliminated. This section addresses these biases and the measures I used to minimize them.

I am aware of a number of personal biases that have the potential to influence the outcome of the study. These biases are documented here to allow the reader the opportunity to assess their influence on the research findings. Prior to beginning the fieldwork, I approached the study believing that community-based planning was a

17 See Appendix 1 for a copy of the questionnaire used to conduct the household census.
valuable alternative to formal planning mechanisms and initiatives (such as zoning, “top-down” community development programs, and public hearings) for poor communities. I believed that community-based planning was essential to the reduction of urban poverty because, unlike formal planning mechanisms, it relied on contextual knowledge held by local residents. In order to balance this bias, I made an effort to discover evidence, from within and outside the case study community, that would negate this assumption and demonstrate the limitations of community-based planning as a strategy for reducing urban poverty.

My influence on individuals and the community studied was unavoidable. Respondents were asked either to verify or to make changes to written transcripts of interviews and oral histories whenever possible. The use of interviews, oral histories, census data, and documents is susceptible to similar biases because it depends on self-reported information. A diverse group of respondents was solicited for interviews and oral histories in order to enable the cross-checking of self-reported data. These methods were triangulated with observations and mapping. Some academics have suggested that local residents, especially community leaders, will try to hide the degree to which poor households are marginalized and denied access to public community-based planning processes and social and physical services. It has been my experience that, for a variety of cultural and political reasons, some Indonesians are embarrassed by both poverty and social conflict in their community. I have found that this type of embarrassment usually decreases over time, as the level of trust between the researcher and respondent increases.
By returning to the same community previously studied, where relationships and trust had previously been established, I attempted to keep this problem to a minimum.

1.8 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 1, the introductory chapter, explains the research design and research strategy, describes the case study, and presents the methods used for gathering and analyzing empirical data.

Chapters 2 and 3 review contributions from four bodies of literature that inform the research. These bodies of literature are concerned with: (1) the application of indigenous knowledge to practice, (2) citizen participation in planning, (3) theorization of social and physical space, and (4) the interrelationship between how poverty is caused, conceptualized, and measured.

Chapters 4 and 5 analyze broader structural factors as well as the micro-context of the case study, including the results of the household census administered during the field research, and show how they affect the capacity of the community to effectively alleviate poverty.

Chapter 6, based on patterns taken from the in-depth interviews, identifies a community-based conceptualization of poverty.
Chapters 7, 8, and 9 present and analyze empirical data on the community. These three chapters each analyze a separate community-based planning effort to alleviate a locally defined manifestation of poverty. These are: (1) land tenure insecurity, (2) the lack of preventive health care for the elderly, and (3) the inaccessibility of information and reading materials. Through an analysis of these community-based planning efforts, I discover a diverse array of social spaces that provide both windows of opportunity for, and obstacles to, the community's poverty alleviation efforts. These chapters also found local residents engaged in community-based planning in a way not previously accounted for in either the inclusion or social mobilization models of citizen participation. This alternative form of citizen participation is referred to as pragmatic empowerment.

Chapter 10, the conclusion, reviews the empirical findings, cites contributions to planning theory, and suggests implications for planning practice.
2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for understanding the concept of community-based planning as it is analyzed in later chapters of this dissertation. In the previous chapter, community-based planning was conceptualized as a process by which single groups or networks of voluntary community organizations make a combination of physical and social planning decisions that directly affect their immediate social and physical urban environment. This conceptualization was primarily inspired by empirical field research conducted in low-income urban neighborhoods in Indonesia. However, it is also compatible with what is found in other developing countries where urban squatter communities are not adequately serviced by formal planning and regulatory frameworks. Community-based planning describes circumstances where local citizens, through voluntary community organizations, play an integral role in planning their own communities. These types of communities in developing countries are commonly referred to in the international planning and development literature as informal, popular, or squatter settlements. In the case of Indonesia, these settlements are referred to as kampung. In this conceptualization of community-based planning the most important characteristic is the focus on citizens planning for their own community, transferring their local, indigenous knowledge into
action at the urban neighborhood level. This chapter develops a detailed theoretical framework within which to connect this conceptualization to contributions from the planning, philosophy, development studies, and geography literature.

2.2 A Theoretical Anchor

The problem of a theoretical anchor in planning theory was resolved by John Friedmann's knowledge-action paradigm, which located planning theory in those philosophical traditions that were concerned with the transfer of knowledge into action in the public domain (Friedmann 1987; Friedmann 1995, 157). The knowledge-action paradigm emancipated planning theory from the circular debates regarding whether its proper focus was on procedural or substantive issues (Breheny 1983, Faludi 1973). With planning's theoretical underpinnings secure, other problems moved to the forefront, such as what type of and whose knowledge is valid and should be transferred into action. Community-based planning assumes that indigenous, contextual knowledge has the capacity to contribute to local level planning. Until recently this idea was largely marginalized from mainstream planning literature and practice. Despite this, there is a substantial lineage of philosophers and social theorists that has recognized the value of indigenous knowledge applied to practice as an alternative to "scientifically" derived knowledge. This chapter analyzes the contributions of these theorists in order to provide a theoretical framework for assessing the capacity of indigenous knowledge to reduce urban poverty. Towards this end, this chapter provides: (1) a critique of the rational comprehensive approach to planning, (2) an analysis of the roots of a theoretical alternative to this approach based on
indigenous knowledge, (3) an examination of the social and physical spaces of community-based planning, and (4) an explanation of how indigenous knowledge is transferred into action in the Javanese cultural context.

2.3 A Critique of the Rational Comprehensive Approach to Planning Practice

Arturo Escobar, in his essay entitled “Planning,” provides a provocative starting point for a conceptualization of community-based planning rooted in indigenous knowledge. Escobar provides strong criticism of planning’s application of “scientific,” or professional, knowledge and its subsequent subordination of local knowledge:

Perhaps no other concept has been so insidious, no other idea gone so unchallenged. This blind acceptance of planning is all the more striking given the pervasive effects it has had historically, not only in the Third World, but in the West where it has been linked to a fundamental process of domination and social control. ... The planning concepts and routines introduced in the Third World during the post-World War II period are the result of accumulated scholarly, economic and political action; they are not neutral frameworks through which “reality” innocently shows itself. They thus bear the marks of the history and culture that produced them. When deployed in the Third World, planning not only carried with it this historical baggage, but also contributed greatly to the production of the socio-economic and cultural configuration that we describe today as underdevelopment. (Escobar 1992, 133)

The idea that scientifically derived knowledge should be used to improve society first emerged during the Enlightenment. Friedmann traces the first major Enlightenment contributions to planning theory to the works of Jeremy Bentham, Henri de Saint-Simon,
and his protégé Auguste Comte (Friedmann 1987, 21).\textsuperscript{18} According to Friedmann, Saint-Simon's theories were based on the idea that industrialism and scientific planning would liberate humanity from its "feudal past," and these theories were seized upon by the bourgeoisie as an "ideological weapon in their struggle for domination" (Friedmann 1987, 52).\textsuperscript{19} It is from the work of these Enlightenment social theorists that the positivist tradition in planning thought was born.

The contemporary manifestation of this legacy is the rational comprehensive approach to planning practice. In its heyday, this approach was advocated by Andreas Faludi, who argued that this model would maximize the human capacity for prosperity by facilitating control over the physical and social environment (Faludi 1973, 15). He sought to develop a positivistic model of planning practice, based on cybernetics, that would utilize deductive logic to accomplish planning decisions (Faludi 1973). Advocates of the rational comprehensive approach believed it was a superior form of planning because of its value-neutral framework, its reliance on quantitative methods, and the conceptual and mathematical models used to evaluate ends, means, and tradeoffs in decision-making (Hudson 1979, 389). The subsequent crises that plagued the approach are not dissimilar to those that have affected the broader social sciences, and they are largely the result of using a positivist method to solve social problems. In short, these crises were born out of the realization that social problems exist in environments of uncertainty, insufficient

\textsuperscript{18} For a comprehensive overview of the philosophical roots of planning theory see "Two Centuries of Planning Theory: An Overview" in John Friedmann's Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action (Friedmann 1987, 51).
knowledge, political conflict, and competing and incompatible objectives, thus making positivistic principles of analysis very difficult, if not impossible, to justify. Furthermore, the positivistic principles upon which this approach is based elevate scientifically derived knowledge while subordinating other forms of knowledge, and this has become politically unacceptable.

Arturo Escobar, enlarging upon these problems with the rational comprehensive approach to planning, criticizes how professional planners have conventionally utilized their knowledge, a synoptic professional knowledge, to usurp local indigenous forms of knowledge and authority in developing countries.

As a system of representation, planning thus depends on making people forget the origins of its historical mediation. This invisibility of history and mediation is accomplished through a series of particular practices. Planning relies upon, and proceeds through, various practices regarded as rational or objective, but which are in fact highly ideological and political. (Escobar 1992, 140)

This statement goes directly to the heart of the problem with the rational comprehensive approach to planning practice, and it is from this critique that community-based planning takes its starting point.

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10 Both Friedmann and Escobar make the connection between Saint-Simon's conservative tradition in planning thought and economic development doctrines applied to the newly independent nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America during the 1950s and 1960s.
2.4 An Alternative Proposition: Application of Indigenous Knowledge in Planning Practice

From this critique emerged an alternative to the rational comprehensive approach: the application of indigenous knowledge in planning practice. In the context of this dissertation, the term *indigenous knowledge* is used to denote *knowledge held by local people*; it is usually based on experience, physical closeness to the relevant environment, and intuition, although it may also include knowledge derived from formal education and professional experience. The term is meant to stand in opposition to purely scientific knowledge which is usually held by professionals from outside the community and based on notions of objectivity, distance from the subject, and data derived from the formal application of the scientific method of inquiry. Although largely marginalized in planning practice, the application of indigenous knowledge to practice has its roots in a long line of philosophers as well as in the work of social theorists who advocate increased citizen participation in development. This section will analyze these contributions to community-based planning.

2.4.1 Aristotle’s *Phronesis*

In philosophy, the value of applying indigenous knowledge to practice can be traced back to Aristotle’s *Ethics* (Flybjerg 1992). In this work, Aristotle distinguishes between three types of knowledge: *episteme, techne*, and *phronesis* (Aristotle 1963). *Episteme* refers to physical or scientific knowledge, those things that are unchanged regardless of our understanding of them (e.g., gravity). *Techne* refers to the knowledge needed to create or
bring something into being, such as in art or construction. Finally, *phronesis*, which is sometimes translated as "prudence," refers to the knowledge held by people concerning matters that are either good or bad for them. Aristotle’s example of *phronesis* concerns the knowledge necessary for managing a household or state. He argues that it is this form of knowledge that is the most appropriate to apply to action, or *praxis* (Flybjerg 1992, 68). It is the concept of *phronesis* that most closely parallels the premise that indigenous knowledge has the capacity to contribute to planning practice at the community-level.

2.4.2 Dewey’s Reflexive Intelligence

The work of John Dewey also supports the application of indigenous knowledge to community-based planning practice. Dewey was critical of philosophy’s “spectator view” of knowledge, and he felt that philosophy must either concern itself with contemporary problems or risk becoming irrelevant (Bernstein 1986, 263). He believed philosophy should focus on vision, imagination, and meaning, rather than transcendental truth. One of Dewey’s central concerns was the division between science and *praxis*. He believed that humans possessed reflexive intelligence based on situational experiences and that they were constantly shaping and being shaped by their experiences, histories, and traditions. In Dewey’s opinion, this type of knowledge (what I refer to as indigenous knowledge) could only be developed through continuous participation in communal life, which involves open public discussion and deliberation (Bernstein 1986, 270; Dewey 1927; Dewey 1929, 109). Dewey viewed the community and the types of interaction it facilitated, such as debate and discussion, as necessary to link knowledge and action at
the local level for the purpose of finding concrete, imaginative solutions to contemporary problems. This argument directly supports the application of indigenous knowledge in community-based planning in order to find imaginative and contextually relevant solutions to a community’s problems.

2.4.3 Friedmann’s Transactive Planning

In *Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning* (1973), John Friedmann builds on these theories of applying indigenous knowledge to practice and directly relates them to planning practice. He argues for the application of a new form of knowledge in planning practice, one based on the fusion of personal and professional knowledge. Friedmann’s theory of transactive planning attempts to direct professional planners away from the practice of planning in isolation from society. To Friedmann, planning has gone awry because professional planners make their decisions based on “processed knowledge,” which is inappropriate to the environments in which these decisions or plans are implemented. Friedmann argues that the primarily experiential “personal knowledge” of citizens and/or prospective clients should also be incorporated into the planning process.

Friedmann’s concept of transactive planning depends on a process of mutual learning through a dialogue between the professional and the prospective client. In the following quote, he succinctly summarizes the purpose of transactive planning:
If the communication gap between planner and client is to be closed, a continuing series of personal and primarily verbal transactions between them is needed, through which processed knowledge is fused with personal knowledge and both are fused with action. (Friedmann 1973, 177)

Ideally, in transactive planning dialogue and mutual learning would lead to a synthesis of the professional's "processed scientific knowledge" and the client's "personal experiential knowledge," resulting in new forms of knowledge that would be more appropriate to guiding action in the planning process. Friedmann's transactive planning contributes greatly to the concept of community-based planning because it promotes the importance of the role of personal knowledge and because it provides a radical challenge to the rational comprehensive approach to planning. However, transactive planning differs from community-based planning in that it begins from the premise that professional planners plan for people, although it acknowledges that the knowledge held by local people would also benefit the planning process.

2.4.4 Social Learning and Planning Practice

In Friedmann’s analysis of social learning, he moves away from viewing the professional as the primary planner and places local people at the center of the planning process. Social learning contributes to the concept of community-based planning because it argues that the specific knowledge that results from acting is the appropriate knowledge to apply to future action (Friedmann 1987, 182). Friedmann argues that the central assumption of social learning is that “all effective learning comes from the experience of changing
reality." The action in social learning can be conducted either by an individual or by a collective group of people. What is key in the social learning tradition is that the actor is the learner. "Action," as it is used here in reference to social learning, refers to action for the sake of a "purposeful activity," or what Friedmann refers to as "historical practice" (Friedmann 1987, 183). "Historical practice," according to Friedmann, is always unprecedented and unique, unlike "working practice," which is repetitive and codified (e.g., conducting a daily chore) (Friedmann 1987, 183). The use of the term "action" also assumes that the individual actor (or collective group) is acting autonomously and has chosen to act as opposed to having been coerced into it. Friedmann argues that social learning is usually an informal process embedded in social practice and, therefore, is rarely articulated in formal language or scientific discourse (Friedmann 1987, 185).

Social learning may also involve what Friedmann refers to as "change agents," either professionals or paraprofessionals (such as facilitators, trainers, or organizers), who bring formal knowledge to the continuing practice required by the social learning process. In both social learning and community-based planning, local residents acquire new knowledge as a result of action, which can then be applied to future action.

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2.4.5 Areas of Commonality with Feminist Theory\textsuperscript{21}

Feminist theory, in its criticisms of positivist epistemology and definitions of knowledge, contributes to the concept of community-based planning developed in this dissertation. Much of feminist theory deals with alternative, or what might be considered unconventional, ways of knowing. Although they acknowledge the controversy regarding a (i.e., one) “distinctly feminist epistemology,” Leonie Sandercock and Ann Forsyth (1992), in “Feminist Theory and Planning Theory: The Epistemological Linkages,” suggest multiple means of tapping into “feminine” ways of knowing. Compatible with the concept of community-based planning developed here, Sandercock and Forsyth argue that more attention should be paid to “talking” and “listening.” For example, the importance of oral traditions, storytelling, and gossip should receive greater recognition. As in community-based planning, they argue in favor of considering “tacit or intuitive knowing” as valid knowledge and giving greater attention to symbolic forms of communication (e.g., painting, music, and acting). Sandercock and Forsyth conclude that all these alternative ways of knowing are “subject related” and, as a result, encompass an “autobiographical” element and a “gendered” view of knowledge. The criticisms of a single feminist theory leveled by women of color, non-Western women, and postmodernists further emphasizes the contribution from feminist theory to community-based planning in that they recognize the diversity of “other ways of knowing” (Blunt and Rose 1994; Collins 1990; Hooks 1990; Narayan 1989). The

\textsuperscript{21} An exhaustive review of the areas of commonality between feminist theory and community-based planning is beyond the scope of this dissertation. This section only attempts to show that feminist theory, similar to community-based planning, argues in support of the value of alternative forms of knowledge other than those derived by positivistic means.
emphasis of feminist theory on the need to acknowledge and value “other,” traditionally less recognized, ways of knowing further substantiates the premise underlying community-based planning; that is, indigenous knowledge, in this case the knowledge held by local residents, has value.

2.4.6 Contributions from the Literature on Citizen Participation in Development

The citizen participation literature, although a separate discourse from the philosophical writings concerned with the application of indigenous knowledge to action, argues in support of applying local, contextual knowledge to planning practice. As early as the 1950s, social activists and field workers began to conclude that the failures of development projects were due to the exclusion of local people from planning processes (Rahnema 1992a, 116). These social activists and field workers began to criticize “top-down” strategies and to advocate citizen participation as an essential ingredient in planning. In the 1960s and early 1970s, it was conceded that billions of dollars had already been spent on failed development efforts; acknowledgment of these failures by international development agencies and governments triggered an important shift in development policy. Rahnema describes the new citizen participation paradigm that emerged:

A word which had been systematically discarded earlier by economists, planners and politicians suddenly lost its earlier subversive connotation. ECOSOC itself recommended to member states “to adopt participation as a basic policy measure in national development strategies.” As it stands now participation is a most accepted concept which even very repressive regimes in the “Third World,” such
as the ones led by Pinochet and Mobutu, have tried to promote as one of their objectives. (Rahnema 1992a, 117)

Presently, governments and donor agencies are endorsing the perspective that planning activities with a high level of local participation are more likely to reach and provide enduring benefits to the poor (United Nations Development Programme 1991; World Bank 1991). Increased citizen participation in the development process is supported by a number of interest groups, albeit for different reasons. One reason is the state's desire to increase citizen participation in order to relieve itself of the responsibility of providing expensive basic services. Another is the desire of many communities and non-governmental organizations to gain greater control over scarce resources and decision-making power. However, all agree that development efforts stand to benefit from access to indigenous knowledge regarding field realities, social networks, and local institutions and organizations.

2.4.7 People-Centered Development and Community-Based Management

David Korten, a contributor to the literature on citizen participation in development, advocates two forms of community-based planning that apply indigenous knowledge in rural areas of developing countries: (1) people-centered development and (2) community management (Korten and Klauss 1984, Korten 1986). This section of the chapter will explain these two forms of community-based planning.

22 Friedmann also acknowledges David Korten as one of the most important examples of a practitioner attempting to implement the social learning model in planning practice (Friedmann 1987, 221).
People-centered development is based on the assumption that the “creative initiative of people is the primary development resource” and that the material and spiritual well-being of people is the ultimate goal of any development process (Korten and Carner 1984, 201). The emergence of the people-centered approach to development and planning was a response to failed international development efforts and an attempt to create an alternative planning framework that would focus more on the potentials of people than on human need. The people-centered approach also seeks to analyze those factors that constrain people from achieving their capacity in the planning and development process (Korten and Carner 1984, 202). Korten and Carner believed that this shift in focus would make planning programs more responsive to the needs of the poor. People-centered development and community-based planning both emphasize the capacity of local citizens to plan for their own immediate environment.

Based on his experience working in Asia as a professional planner, Korten devised the concept of community-based resource management, or community management (Korten 1986, xix). Community management is the process by which local citizens plan for self-defined needs by using self-defined resources and opportunities. Korten’s later work on community management specifically focused on the need of rural communities to have increased control over the management of local resources. This is in opposition to systems where local resources are managed by outsiders or by a local elite. The term “community,” in reference to community management, refers to a group of people living in a common location who are dependent on shared natural resources. According to
Korten, community management is often at odds with programs promoted by the state because government programs are usually "control oriented" and strive to ensure that decision-making power remains centralized. In addition, he contends that most government structures, because of their top-down nature, usually work through already existing local power structures, thus reinforcing the position of local elites. He maintains that there are three primary reasons why the state should promote the community management of local resources. First, he suggests that community management systems, because of their broad decision-making base, have the ability to adapt to local circumstances, unlike bureaucracies, which function according to standardized procedures. Second, when local populations are committed to community management, an impressive amount of local resources can be mobilized, and, therefore, community management efforts are usually more cost effective. Third, community management is compatible with the basic principles of democratic society because it supports the principle that "control over action should rest with the people who will bear the major force of its consequences" (Korten 1986, 5).

Korten states that the concept of community management is largely a response to the failings of community development, popular participation movements during the 1960s and 1970s, and decentralization efforts. He argues that these efforts failed for numerous reasons, such as: (1) not challenging stratified village social structures and existing control over assets, and (2) giving only limited support to member-controlled local organizations and to the improvement of broader institutional linkages (Korten 1986, 9).
Korten explains how his concept of community management differs substantially from mainstream development paradigms:

None of these [previous] approaches to stimulating local initiative provided a fundamental challenge to the idea that the government does development for the people, who are expected to respond with grateful acceptance of whatever guidance and assistance government chooses to offer. (Korten 1986, 10)

Korten explains that local indigenous knowledge and people's ability to plan for themselves is often underestimated:

All too often however, in its enthusiasm for modernizing and rationalizing resource management, the state has underestimated the extent and capacity of the systems by which people have learned through long and often difficult experience to manage locally available resources to meet their own self-defined needs. At the same time the state has often seriously overestimated its own ability to manage locally available resources to meet their own self-defined needs. (Korten 1986, 1)

As Korten also points out, the state has often experienced limited success in managing the local resources necessary for meeting the community's self-defined needs. Community management is based on the needs of rural communities, where access to natural resources is essential for survival. In contrast, the concept of community-based planning in the dissertation focuses on poverty alleviation in urban areas and so places minimal emphasis on control of "natural resources." What community management and community-based planning have in common is their focus on the capacity of local residents to plan for themselves and for local residents to have control over those decisions and actions that have the greatest impact on their immediate social and physical
environment. The dissertation differs from these philosophers and social theorists that advocate the application of indigenous knowledge in community-based planning, in that it critically analyzes (1) the capacity of local residents to engage in community-based planning in order to reduce urban poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so.

2.5 A Place for Space in Community-Based Planning

Noticeably absent in Friedmann's knowledge-action paradigm, the philosophical work concerned with applying indigenous knowledge to practice, and the literature on citizen participation in development is an emphasis on social and physical space.\(^{24}\) The problematic nature of incorporating space in social theory is also seen in the gap between urban planning and urban studies (Douglass 1998). In other words, space has been central to our understanding of the urban form and its function but not to our understanding of how actual planning processes work. Geography has provided planning with three classifications of space: (1) physical or objective space; (2) mental, cognitive, or imagined space; and (3) social space (Harvey 1973; Said 1979; Soja 1989). As acknowledged by Soja (1989), for theoretical purposes these three forms of space, to a limited degree, can be discussed separately. This section of the chapter establishes a vocabulary for discussing different types of space and analyzes theoretical contributions to our understanding of space.

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\(^{23}\) Emphasis mine.

\(^{24}\) Both Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Anthony Giddens (1979) make strong arguments for the need to give greater attention to the role of space in social theory.
Although it has its own complex and controversial history, from the three aforementioned forms of space, physical or objective space is the type most commonly associated with the use of the word (Soja 1989). Physical space refers to the natural and built environment as well as to distance. In planning, physical space has always been central because traditionally planners have concerned themselves with the interaction between humans and the physical environment, hence the rise of land use planning as a means of regulation. However, as the work of Castells (1979) and Soja (1989) have demonstrated, physical space and social spaces are in a constant dialectical relationship, reformulating each other and the distinction between the two is not as simple as it first appears.

Simply put, cognitive or imagined spaces are those spaces that exist in our minds. Drawing on the work of the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard, Edward Said (1979) provides an eloquent description of cognitive spaces:

The inside of a house, he said, acquires a sense of intimacy, secrecy, security, real or imagined because of the experiences that come to seem appropriate for it. The objective space of a house—its corners, corridors, cellar, rooms—is far less important than what poetically it is endowed with, which is usually a quality with an imaginative or figurative value we can name and feel: thus a house may be haunted, or homelike, or prisonlike, or magical. So space acquires emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here. (Said 1979, 54-55)

It is significant that Said makes the distinction between physical space and cognitive (or imagined) space, and it is even more interesting that the cognitive space remains
encapsulated in a specific physical space — the house. Again, this demonstrates the interconnectedness between cognitive and physical spaces.

David Harvey (1973), in *Social Justice and the City*, offers a starting point for conceptualizing social space:

The problem of proper conceptualization of space is resolved through human practice with respect to it. In other words, there are no philosophical answers to philosophical questions that arise over the nature of space—the answers lie in human practice. The question “what is space?” is therefore replaced by the question “how is it that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualizations of space?” (Harvey 1973, 13-14)

Compatible with Harvey’s conceptualization of social space as produced by human practice, Soja (1989) also defines social spaces as those that “arises from purposeful social practice.” This study focuses on those social spaces created by “human practice,” or “purposeful social practice.”

Friedmann (1981), in *Life Space and Economic Space: A Contradiction in Regional Development*, distinguishes between economic and life spaces. According to Friedmann, economic spaces are abstract spaces that consist of nodes and linkages, whereas life spaces are bound, territorial units. Friedmann comes closest to discussing social spaces relevant to planning at the community-level in the following statement:

In talking about development in the language of life spaces, I have in mind an integral development which seeks to achieve particular individual and collective
needs of a community. It is a development defined from within, and its specific meaning will vary among places. (Friedmann 1981, 5)

The community-based planning processes described in the subsequent chapters are compatible with Friedmann’s concept of life spaces. However, this research attempts to push beyond this concept and further differentiate between distinct types of spaces and spatial processes.

Feminist geographers have contributed to our understanding of physical, cognitive, and social spaces by challenging the transparency and neutrality by which these spaces have been represented in social discourse (Massey 1994; Rose 1993). This has resulted in opening our analysis of space to a more complex set of social relations wherein gender is only one aspect of space among many others, including homosexuality and ethnicity (Hooks 1990; Kenney 1998; Massey 1994; Rose 1993). Similarly, this study also attempts to engage in a sophisticated analysis of space that extends beyond conceptualizing it as either physical, cognitive, or social.

2.6 Community-Based Planning in the Javanese Cultural Context

This section of the chapter explains the cultural basis for the application of the indigenous knowledge-action paradigm in the Indonesian urban context. There are two well-established ethics in Indonesia that support the transfer of indigenous knowledge into planning practice: the ethic of consensus building (musyawarah), which produces
indigenous knowledge in the public domain, and the ethic of mutual cooperation (gotong royong), which is associated with action.

2.6.1 The Ethic of Musyawarah

Many community-based planning activities in Indonesia depend on the ethic of community consensus-building, or musyawarah. In contemporary usage the term musyawarah can be understood to mean the practice of publicly discussing issues of community importance in order to reach a decision about them. The actual decision, or “unanimous agreement arising out of the decision,” is referred to as mufakat (Logsdon 1978, 95). On the local level, most community-based planning priorities and strategies for implementation are determined through musyawarah. If community-based planning is understood to mean the transfer of indigenous knowledge into action in the public domain for the purpose of managing changes to the social and physical environment, then process of musyawarah can be considered the process that brings local knowledge into the public domain so that it can guide whatever action must be taken.

Musyawarah differs from majority rule-decision making procedures in its emphasis on all parties reaching unanimous agreement (Logsdon 1978, 95). This process usually requires a great deal of discussion, deliberation, and compromise. The most significant assumption underlying musyawarah is that a village or community has a common interest and that this common interest can be realized through discussion and public deliberation (Logsdon 1978, 96). This common interest means that the musyawarah process does not
produce losers because it results in the greatest good for the entire community as opposed
to the greatest good for the greatest number of community members. This assumption of
a common community good is in contrast to majority rule decision-making, where society
is viewed as an aggregate of competing interests and the greatest number of single
interests automatically defeats minority interests. Many Indonesians believe that
*musyawarah* is an indigenous, local decision-making system. However, the concept also
has a substantial history of political institutionalization in Indonesia. For example, the
Republic of Indonesia's constitution (1945) identifies "unanimous consent," or
*musyawarah*, as the national parliamentary method of decision-making (Logsdon 1978, 96).

Despite the official political support for the *musyawarah* process in Indonesia's
contemporary urban setting, Western scholars have questioned the presence and
authenticity of this ethic in contemporary Indonesian communities (Bowen 1986;
Logsdon 1978; Sullivan 1992). Western scholars are at the very least skeptical of
*musyawarah* decision-making because it claims to place the interests of the larger
community above the interests of the individual. For example, Logsdon (1978)
conducted quantitative research in Jakarta neighborhoods, comparing the number of
decisions that were based on a *musyawarah* to majority rules criteria. However, the
*musyawarah* and majority rule decision-making procedures are not necessarily mutually
exclusive. In other words, it is possible for *musyawarah* to conclude that some decisions,
depending on the type of issues in question, are best determined by a majority rule
procedure. There are two possible explanations for Western scholars' skepticism
concerning the *musyawarah* process. The first is their *liberal-democratic bias* and their inability to accept that human nature is capable of placing a larger community interest or good above individual self-interest. The second is the trend in anthropology to avoid adopting a “romantic” view of “exotic,” “rural,” or “underdeveloped” culture as being more cooperative and communal than its “Western,” “urban,” or “modern” counterpart. In my field research experiences in Yogyakarta I observed that the *musyawarah* process, here defined simply as a process of consensual decision-making that employs public discussion and deliberation, exists in many urban neighborhoods and was employed in most community decisions. This is not to say that this process always eliminated conflict and automatically produced consensus; instead, I would simply argue that in many cases there appears to be a level of commitment to this process and the decisions it produced. What is most important about the *musyawarah* process in terms of community-based planning is not the types of decisions it produces (e.g., consensual versus majority rule) but the deliberation it promotes. I argue that it is this process of public decision-making and deliberation that provides the social spaces essential to transferring indigenous knowledge into action in the form of community-based planning.

2.6.2 The Ethic of *Gotong Royong*

The second part of the indigenous knowledge-action paradigm is the use of mutual cooperation, or *gotong royong*, to transfer indigenous knowledge into planning practice. It is generally believed that many forms of communal cooperation presently found in Southeast Asia are products of conditions that were necessitated by indigenous
agricultural production systems, particularly wet rice production. Many Javanese believe that the term *gotong royong* comes from the rural practice of working together and that it literally evolved from the Javanese term *ngotong*, which means several people carrying something together (Bowen 1986, 546). John Bowen (1986, 545-561), in his article "On the Political Construction of Tradition: *Gotong Royong* in Indonesia," traces conflicting uses of the term *gotong royong*. For example, he argues that Muhammad Hatta's speeches between 1942 and 1945 used the term *gotong royong* to represent village level autonomy and that, conversely, Sukarno's speeches used the term to symbolize a mutual struggle for independence. Presently, in academic circles there remains substantial debate regarding the contemporary use of the term *gotong royong* to represent a national characteristic of "Indonesian culture" (Bowen 1986, 546).

Bowen describes three generalizable types of *gotong royong* that are applicable to either the rural or urban context. The first type of *gotong royong* is "labor mobilized for direct exchange," which means that the amount of work required of each participant is calculated before the work commences and that the amount of labor exchanged is balanced in a more or less precise manner (Bowen 1986, 547). The second type of *gotong royong* is referred to as "generalized reciprocity," which is based on a feeling of obligation to help one's fellow community members and the expectation that eventually this help will be reciprocated. The third type of *gotong royong* is "labor mobilized on the basis of subordinate political status" (Bowen 1986, 548). Examples of this usually consist of government officials using uncompensated labor for public work projects (Bowen 1986, 548). Although he acknowledges the usefulness of Bowen's *gotong*
**royong** typology, John Sullivan (1992) generally divides *gotong royong* in two categories: those activities based on feelings of “neighborliness” and those activities spurred by the political ideology of the state. Despite the varying motivational forces behind this ethic, many community initiated planning projects at the urban neighborhood level, such as local infrastructure improvements and the delivery of social assistance, rely on the wide acceptance of *gotong royong* for their implementation. As a result, in the Javanese context, the ethic of *gotong royong* is considered to be the action component of the indigenous knowledge-action paradigm. *Musyawarah* and *gotong royong* are significant to this study because they demonstrate two underlying Javanese socio-cultural ethics that support community-based planning at the local urban neighborhood level.

### 2.7 Conclusion

This chapter first clarifies the theoretical anchor on which the analysis of community-based planning in subsequent chapters hinges — the indigenous knowledge-action paradigm. It then illustrates some problems in applying the rational comprehensive approach to planning practice. Thereupon, I establish that there exists substantial philosophical work supporting the value of transferring indigenous knowledge into practice when addressing social problems. Next, I analyze how the development paradigm came to place greater emphasis on citizen participation and the value of incorporating indigenous knowledge into planning practice. I then examine theoretical contributions from geography and planning that are useful in distinguishing and understanding the relationship between social and physical space. I bring the theoretical...
discussion of how to link indigenous knowledge to planning practice back to the case study and then analyze the two cultural ethics, consensus building (musyawarah) and mutual cooperation (gotong royong), that underlie community-based planning in the Javanese urban context. In conclusion, I establish that there is a substantial amount of previously marginalized literature that argues for the importance of applying indigenous knowledge to community-based planning practice. However, I differentiate the dissertation from these earlier works in terms of its critical analysis of (1) the capacity of local residents to engage in community-based planning (transfer their indigenous knowledge into action) to reduce urban poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so.

For this type of theoretical analysis of community-based planning, it is necessary to address two questions that have been under-emphasized in planning and development literature. First, in a very real and concrete sense, what are the processes by which indigenous knowledge is transferred into action in community planning situations? This question refers to the specific methods and mechanisms used as well as to the avenues, institutions, spaces, and social structures that local residents appropriate in order to transfer their indigenous knowledge into action in the form of community-based planning. This requires going beyond the dichotomized view of citizen participation that has so far dominated the planning literature; where citizen participation is largely defined as including local residents in externally motivated planning processes or as entailing overtly politicized social mobilization. Second, what can indigenous knowledge accomplish in terms of community-based planning, given the physical as well as the
social spatial constraints of specific contexts? In Chapters 7, 8, and 9 these questions are analyzed in the context of the case study. The case study findings demonstrate that community-based planning actors create new alternative space within which to transfer their indigenous knowledge into action in order to reduce urban poverty and that this requires a dialectical process of constantly negotiating and renegotiating both the spaces they presently occupy and those they seek to obtain.

Chapter 3 analyzes contributions to this research that derive from the social sciences literature on poverty.
CHAPTER 3

POVERTY: CAUSES, CONCEPTUALIZATIONS, AND MEASUREMENTS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter argues that the ways in which poverty is caused, conceptualized, and measured are inextricably linked. Therefore, in order to analyze (1) the capacity of local residents to apply their indigenous knowledge to reduce poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so, we must know how poverty is conceptualized at the local level. This chapter also provides a broader context for evaluating the community-identified manifestations of poverty presented in Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 and for understanding how poverty has been conceptualized at the national-level in Indonesia, specifically, in its national poverty alleviation policies.

The impressive amount of literature and political attention given to the subject of poverty attests to its importance as a socioeconomic condition in both rich and poor countries. In English-speaking countries, the issue of poverty has received political attention since the enactment of the English Poor Laws in the sixteenth century (Townsend 1993, 5). In the twentieth century, mass anti-poverty programs were initiated in both the United States and Europe. The problem of poverty in developing countries has gained increased attention since the advent of the post-Second World War period, which has been marked by the emergence of international organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, UNESCO, CIDA, SIDA, and USAID. These agencies, with their modernization agendas, sought to aid in the economic development of many countries.
that were previously under colonial rule. The failure of these development efforts to curb
the growth of poverty are numerous and well documented.

In the early 1970s, development experts began to acknowledge that their efforts to
alleviate poverty had failed because the benefits of growth had not reached the poor and
that in many developing countries their policies had actually contributed to widening the
gap between rich and poor (Rahnema 1992a, 117). During the 1980s, often referred to as
the “lost decade” in terms of poverty reduction efforts, poverty worsened in many
developing countries due to the negative impacts of global recession (World Bank 1990,
2). While some indicators of human well-being improved throughout the 1980s and
1990s, the number of people living in absolute poverty\(^{25}\) continued to increase (Chambers
1995; World Bank 1990). In this same period, poverty became increasingly concentrated
in urban areas due to the combined trends of economic restructuring and rapid
urbanization (Wratten 1995, 11). As was noted in Chapter 1, it is estimated that the year
2000 will see the majority of the world’s population living in urban areas, and more than
half of these people, will be living in absolute poverty. Southeast Asia, with its low level
of urbanization, will experience a particularly dramatic rural to urban transition and
subsequent increase in urban poverty.

Twenty years ago, Indonesia was one of the poorest countries in the world (World Bank
1990, xv). In the late 1960s, the Indonesian government began to implement a national

\(^{25}\)In the poverty literature, the term absolute poverty refers to the point at which a human being is
considered poor. Absolute poverty is usually based on a human physiological standard such as a minimum
number of calories. The absolute and relative conceptualizations of poverty are analyzed in greater detail
later in this chapter.
development strategy through a series of five-year plans. These plans focused on broad-based economic growth and rural development as a strategy for poverty alleviation because most of Indonesia’s population, and the poor in particular, reside in rural areas. The focus was on agriculture, education, and transportation infrastructure. As a result of these development efforts, from 1970 until the present Indonesia has experienced a dramatic reduction in the total population living in absolute poverty. However, despite this progress the number of poor in Indonesia remains high. In 1990, there were approximately 30 million Indonesians living in absolute poverty, with a significant proportion of the population living just above this threshold (World Bank 1990, xvii). As a result, Indonesia implemented two national poverty alleviation programs, each of which uses notably different conceptualizations and approaches. The Under-Developed Village Program (Inpres Desa Tertinggal), implemented by the National Development Planning Board, aims to alleviate poverty at the village level and evaluates poverty based on the physical characteristics of the village. Alternatively, the Family Welfare Program (Keluarga Sejahtera), implemented by the National Family Planning Board, approaches poverty alleviation from the household-level and identifies poverty through socioeconomic and cultural indicators of social welfare.

These competing conceptualizations of poverty reflect the difficulty of understanding poverty in the academic and policy context. One problem is that international concern regarding poverty has not led to an internationally accepted definition of poverty.

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26 For political reasons the Indonesian government has pressured international development agencies and the Central Bureau of Statistics to keep poverty lines artificially low. As a result of this, there is a large percentage of the population living just above this threshold (Rigg 1997, 78; World Bank 1990). This group of people is sometimes referred to as the “near poor” (World Bank 1990).
The history of efforts to understand poverty has been influenced by sociocultural factors as well as by political ideologies. According to Peter Townsend (1993, 28-9) and other poverty experts, different interpretations of poverty have resulted in "divergencies in the methodologies of measurement, modes of explanation and strategies of amelioration." Similarly, this chapter argues how poverty is conceptualized determines the appropriate methods for analyzing its nature. This argument is the basis for anchoring the dissertation research, which evaluates the potential of local residents to reduce poverty, on a conceptualization of poverty that is defined by local residents.

This chapter assess four areas of the poverty literature: (1) theories that address the causes of poverty, (2) competing conceptualizations of poverty and their related methods of measurement, (3) arguments for and against treating urban and rural poverty as distinct phenomena, and (4) poverty as conceptualized in two Indonesian national poverty alleviation programs. Based on contributions from the literature, this chapter develops a framework for identifying, discussing, and analyzing the local understanding of poverty derived from the case study discussed in Chapter 6.

3.2 Theories about the Causes of Poverty

This section outlines two bodies of theory concerned with household-level poverty. The first body of theory is structural and argues that the market is responsible for poverty. This encompasses neoclassical and Marxist economic perspectives both of which, although in opposition, depend on market-based explanations of poverty; in short, either
the market is too free or not free enough to alleviate poverty. The second body of theory explains poverty as a product of specific individual cultural traits. The originator of this perspective is Oscar Lewis, who proposed that poverty was a subculture. Although these theories are explanatory, they also influence how poverty is conceptualized and, as a result, determine the appropriate means of measuring it. For instance, if a competitive, free market is theorized to cause poverty, then an attempt to change an individual’s attitude towards work is not considered an appropriate poverty alleviation strategy.

3.2.1 Structural Explanations of Poverty

Structural theories of poverty are divided into two broad perspectives concerning the nature of the market: neoclassical and Marxist. These theoretical perspectives represent a series of assumptions about which economic system is most appropriate for achieving the “good society,” based on both economic and philosophical arguments (Arnold 1994, 15). Neoclassical and Marxist perspectives date back to the Industrial Revolution and, for the purposes of this chapter, are reviewed in contexts ranging from newly industrializing to complex industrial societies. The tremendous impact these grand theories have had on contemporary conceptualization, measurement, and poverty alleviation strategies ensure that they remain significant today. This section explains the fundamental differences between neoclassical and Marxist views of the market and poverty.

27 This chapter does not analyze poverty from a global or national level.
3.2.2 Neoclassical Economic Perspective

The neoclassical perspective argues that a "free" market will eventually eliminate poverty. Prior to neoclassical economic theory, a more general economic theory was put forward by Adam Smith (1776) in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, and was further developed by David Ricardo (1817) in *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. The theory advanced by Smith and Ricardo came under the rubric of "classical political economy," or "political economy" (Wolff and Resnick 1987, 23). During the 1870s, the classical school of economics shifted its focus from macroeconomic to microeconomic issues, making the decision-making processes of individuals and specific enterprises the center of analysis (Wolff and Resnick 1987, 28). This shift in emphasis warranted a new name, and classical economics became known as neoclassical economics (ibid.).

In neoclassical economics, society is understood as an aggregate of individual "wants, thoughts, and deeds" (Wolff and Resnick 1987, 15). Neoclassical economic theory assumes that all individuals utilize their resources, technology, and market transactions in order to maximize their self-interest (ibid.). Wolff and Resnick (1987, 39) summarize the neoclassical view of human nature and its relationship to the capitalist mode of production as follows:

The originality of neoclassical theory lies in its notion that innate human nature determines economic outcomes. According to this notion, human beings possess within their own given natures the inherent rational and productive abilities to produce the maximum wealth possible in a society. What is required is a set of societal institutions that will permit this inner human essence to work itself out to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Capitalism is thought to be the one
type of society which provides these institutions. It best conforms to human nature; it is the proper societal reflection of private rationality and technology.

Neoclassical economic theory assumes that capitalism will reach its full potential if economic barriers are removed (Wolff and Resnick 1987, 40). If the market is unencumbered, then it will allow humans to realize their natural instinct and to maximize wealth by acting through self-interest. According to the neoclassical economic perspective, two institutions are necessary if human instinct is to flourish: (1) competitive, open markets; and (2) private property. Given these two institutions, neoclassical economic theory argues that individuals will act rationally, consumers maximizing utility and producers maximizing profits, and that this will result in the greatest wealth for the greatest number. A market free of barriers and permitting ownership of private property allows the capitalist system to reach its full potential and to minimize poverty. In other words, the neoclassical economic perspective assumes that a "free" capitalist market holds the greatest promise for the alleviation of poverty.
3.2.3 Marxist Economic Perspective

Karl Marx, like the neoclassical economists, gained much from the writings of Smith and Ricardo. In contrast to neoclassical economists, Marx was fully aware of the human cost of capitalism (Wolff and Resnick 1987, 30). His work was driven by his observation of massive human suffering and by his conviction that this was a result of the Industrial Revolution. Marx spent his life documenting the changes brought about by the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Most of his economic analysis was produced while in political exile in England, where he focused his energy on studying, documenting, and theorizing the effects of capitalism (Wolff and Resnick 1987, 31). Although the Marxist economists that succeeded him expanded his theories and approaches to a wide range of new topics, Marx's critique of the capitalist mode of production remained integral.

In the Marxist perspective, the market or, more specifically, the capitalist mode of production is responsible for poverty. Two dominant characteristics of the capitalist mode of production account for poverty: the concept of private property and the subordination of labor. In the Marxist perspective, the capitalist mode of production is a socioeconomic system driven by profit derived from production (Heilbroner 1980, 100). A necessary condition for the survival of the system is that production costs be reduced to a minimum. In order to reduce production costs, there emerges a market for labor (Heilbroner 1980, 100). Marx criticized the ownership of property, or the means of production, as being responsible for the alienation of labor. Ownership of the means of production forced workers to sell their labor to capitalists, thus resulting in the separation
of the worker from his/her product and the condition of alienation. In this system, workers sell their labor like any other commodity, and this creates a specific set of social relationships that are characteristic of the capitalist mode of production. Labor is different from other capitalist commodities because it creates a “surplus” of wealth. Simply put, when workers sell their labor to the capitalist, they surrender their claim to the product of their labor and the capitalist reaps the latter’s profit, or “surplus value.” According to Marx, even in relationships of “relative fairness” between laborers and capitalists, the nature of capitalism “systematically” places the value of labor disproportionately lower than the value the capitalist receives from selling the finished product (Heilbroner 1980, 108). In the Marxist theoretical perspective, the capitalist system benefits the owners of the means of production, thus maintaining and increasing their advantage over workers. In other words, the capitalist system favors the wealthy while systematically subordinating the poor. In this perspective, the nature of the capitalist mode of production is responsible for the creation and maintenance of poverty.

3.2.4 Poverty As a Cultural Construct

In contrast to the structural explanations discussed above, this body of theory explains poverty as a result of individual cultural traits. That poverty is a cultural construct was first suggested in Oscar Lewis’s (1970, 67) Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty. Michael Harrington (1962) also used the phrase “culture of poverty” in The Other America, which was instrumental in inspiring the War on Poverty, a series of anti-poverty policies in the United States, although he used the concept in a “broader

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28 A comprehensive review of the Marxist economic perspective is beyond the scope of this dissertation.
and less technical" sense than did Lewis (Lewis 1970, 67). Lewis, an anthropologist, tried to understand poverty as a culture or, more accurately, as a subculture. This meant understanding poverty in terms of "its own structure and rationale, as a way of life which is passed down from generation to generation along family lines" (Lewis 1970, 68).

Lewis felt poverty was not yet properly understood because there was a lack of "intensive anthropological studies of poor families from a wide variety of national cultural contexts" (Lewis 1970, 67). According to Lewis, poverty was often mistakenly interpreted as a result of the particular cultural characteristics of those groups experiencing it. Reacting to an explanation of poverty as inherent to traits belonging to groups like African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and rural peasants, Lewis posited that poverty was a culture capable of transcending specific ethnic, national, and regional groups (Lewis 1966, 19).

For example, Lewis sought to disprove explanations of poverty that argued that the high incidence of common-law marriage and female-headed households among African Americans was a distinctive cultural trait based on their history as slaves (Lewis 1966, 20). Instead, Lewis argued that characteristics such as a high incidence of female-headed households were common to poor people in many cultures, countries, and regions.

Lewis (1970, 68) believed that the misinterpretation of the concept of a culture of poverty was due not distinguishing between the conditions of poverty and the culture of poverty, and, he argued that the latter was characterized by four traits. The first trait is the marginalization of the poor. Marginalization occurs due to a number of factors, including lack of economic resources, fear, discrimination, and apathy. The poor are unable to effectively participate in the larger economic system due to a combination of such barriers as unemployment, low wages, lack of property ownership, and absence of
savings. The second trait of the culture of poverty is low-quality crowded housing conditions and an extremely high level of disorganization beyond the nuclear and extended family. The third trait is the absence of a conventional childhood, the prevalence of common-law marriages, and a disproportionately large number of female-headed households. The fourth trait is that the individual is plagued by feelings of marginality, dependence, helplessness, and inferiority. He/she is also provincial, has a limited sense of history, and is primarily focused on local problems. These four traits broadly identify the culture of poverty.

Lewis (1970, 69) believed that the culture of poverty and its related traits would, in most cases, emerge in societies characterized by:

(1) cash economy, wage labor, and production for profit; (2) a persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment for unskilled labor; (3) low wages; (4) the failure to provide social political and economic organization, either on a voluntary basis or by government imposition, for the low income population; (5) the existence of a bilateral kinship system rather than a unilateral one; and finally, (6) the existence of a set of values in the dominant class which stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility and thrift, and explains low economic status as the result of personal inadequacy or inferiority.

The culture of poverty is both an adaptation and a reaction to these conditions and, according to Lewis (1970, 69) “represents an effort to cope with the feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society.” I believe some of the confusion regarding Lewis’s (1970, 68) position is due to his reference to the culture of poverty as “something positive and provides some rewards without which the poor could hardly carry on.” Lewis’s use of the word “positive” perhaps misleads his
readers; he may simply have meant to imply that the culture of poverty appears rational in
the face of poverty. In other words, the characteristics and decisions of the poor make
sense in terms of their limited options. Lewis takes this line of reasoning a step further
and argues that the culture of poverty begins to take on a life of its own and is passed
down from generation to generation; even when the conditions of poverty are alleviated,
the culture of poverty may remain (Lewis 1970, 69).

Lewis sought to move away from blaming poverty on the cultural characteristics of
specific groups. Even though he believed that poor people had common characteristics,
he did not believe that all poor people were the same: “the causes, the meaning, and the
consequences of poverty vary considerably in different socio-cultural contexts” (Lewis
1970, 79). Contrary to what many of his critics say, Lewis did not believe poverty
resulted from individual character deficiencies.

There is nothing in the concept that puts the onus of poverty on the character of
the poor. Nor does the concept in any way play down the exploitation of the poor.
The subculture of poverty is part of the larger culture of capitalism, whose social
and economic system channels wealth into the hands of a relatively small group
and thereby makes for the growth of sharp class distinctions. (Lewis 1970, 79)

Indeed, Lewis’s version of the culture of poverty is not altogether separate from the
Marxist view of poverty presented earlier. Lewis clearly viewed the subculture of
poverty as a product of the capitalist mode of production. For countries in which the
majority of the population is poor, as is the case in many developing countries, Lewis
argued that revolutionary measures offered the greatest opportunity for eliminating the
culture of poverty:
By creating basic structural changes in society, by redistributing wealth, by organizing the poor and giving them a sense of belonging, of power, and of leadership, revolutions frequently succeed in abolishing some of the basic characteristics of the culture of poverty even when they do not succeed in abolishing poverty itself. (Lewis 1970, 79)

Again, Lewis believed the culture of poverty was a self-perpetuating mental state created by larger societal structures. Unique to Lewis's concept of a culture of poverty is its acknowledgment that structural explanations of poverty do not account for all relevant factors.  

3.3 Conceptualizations and Measurements of Poverty

There is a great deal of debate regarding the conceptualization and measurement of poverty, partially due to the lack of a universally accepted definition of poverty in the social sciences. This section of the chapter analyzes primarily Western, European, and North American conceptualizations of poverty and their implied modes of measurement. Indonesian scholarly conceptualizations of poverty are analyzed in Section 3.5 of this chapter. Western conceptualizations are discussed first because many of the Indonesian conceptualizations are a direct response to Western paradigms. All of these

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29 Because of his interdisciplinary and diverse methodological approaches, Lewis was capable of going beyond market-based conceptualizations of poverty and documenting poverty on the individual, household, and community-level as well as across regions and cultures. Most notably, Lewis combined methods from sociology, anthropology, and psychology. He conducted field research in Mexico, Cuba, Spain, India, Puerto Rico, Canada, and the United States (Rigdon 1988, 1). Lewis referred to his approach as cautious, eclectic, and empirical. He was eclectic in the sense that he borrowed approaches and conceptual frameworks from a variety of disciplines. He was empirical in the sense that he was most accepting of evidence that could be confirmed through his own observations and experiences.
conceptualizations provide a backdrop for evaluating the community-identified manifestations of poverty discussed in Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9.

Much of the Western understanding of poverty has its origins in Elizabethan English Poor Law, or what is often referred to as the Old Poor Law system. Prior to 1834, the Poor Law required all parishes in England and Wales to support their disabled and elderly poor, based on the expectation that all able-bodied persons should and could work (Scott 1994, 3). This distinction between disabled and able-bodied persons was the foundation of the Old Poor Law system, which was based on the belief that the disabled poor had a "right" to support from the parish, whereas the able-bodied poor were only entitled to support from a House of Correction. At Houses of Correction, the able-bodied poor were expected to work and to be paid a minimal rate as compensation. By providing welfare in exchange for work, Houses of Correction were seen as establishing a work ethic in individuals whose current attitudes towards work were inadequate. This system was based on the assumption that there was sufficient work available for all and that if an able-bodied person was not working it was because he/she lacked proper motivation.

During the eighteenth century, the problems created by the Old Poor Law system were viewed as intolerable. Many Houses of Correction became detention centers for the elderly, sick, and insane. This situation was further exacerbated by an increase in the numbers of poor from the 1780s onward due to Britain's industrial revolution and agricultural restructuring (Scott 1994, 4). During this period, the income of many employed persons could not keep pace with the rising price of food. In 1832, a Royal Commission was created to investigate the problem of increased poverty to establish a
sustainable welfare system and to formulate social policy in the areas of education, health, housing, and working conditions. The work of the Royal Commission was based on the writings of Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo and their analyses of the classical political economy. Some academics have argued that the work and writings of the Royal Commission contributed to the conceptualization or “invention of poverty in the modern sense,” a form of poverty significantly different from earlier forms, which were based on notions of age, infirmity, and a lack of motivation to work. This new poverty arose from a lack of employment opportunities which was the result of a large proportion of the population having become dependent on income employment because they no longer owned any subsistence-generating property. This brought about a significant shift in how the relationship between poverty and the state was conceptualized.

Under the Old Poor Law system, the state was believed to have a paternalistic responsibility for the poor; in contrast, industrial capitalism produced conditions in which unemployment reflected normal market fluctuations due to changes in supply and demand. Poverty of able-bodied persons was viewed as inevitable, and individuals needed an opportunity to adjust. Liberal individualism also played a role in reforming the relationship between poverty and the state, as it held that if the state ensured the social conditions necessary for the efficient operation of the market, then resources would be distributed efficiently. The central question became: What should be the extent of the state's involvement in the provision of welfare (Scott 1994, 6)? According to the Benthamite liberal doctrine, which influenced the work of the Royal Commission, the state should only handle matters that could not be appropriately dealt with by the private sector.
The Royal Commission utilized questionnaires and observed parishes in order to gather information on how to restructure the Old Poor Law system. Its findings were reported in 1834, and its recommendations were enacted in the Poor Law Amendment Act (Scott 1994, 6). This new system, known as the New Poor Law, grouped parishes into unions headed by a board of guardians and a national board of commissioners that was responsible for the entire system. In this system, poverty was understood to be caused by personal flaws rather than by the structural characteristics of the market, and individuals were held accountable for their impoverished state. The old Houses of Correction were replaced by workhouses for the able-bodied poor, and an “indoor” and “outdoor” system was established, in which assistance without work was only given to “indoor” inmates. This system was based on the assumption that individuals needed incentives to work. The incentive here was that indoor relief was given only at a loss of personal freedom — a loss that was expected to motivate people to move out of the workhouse and become independent. Another important element of the New Poor Laws was the view that it was possible to inherit poverty culturally. It was believed that without proper motivation, the poor would not return to work and would pass welfare dependency on to their children. Moral training for poor children was an important function of the workhouses as this was expected to ensure that they received attitudes that would prevent them from reverting to a culture of poverty.

In conclusion, although some unemployment was attributed to market fluctuations, prolonged able-bodied unemployment was viewed as a personal, rather than as a structural, problem. What emerged was the concept of the deserving and undeserving
poor. Under the New Poor Laws the workhouses became institutions for the undeserving poor as well as the elderly and the sick. The workhouses, in many cases through coercion, attempted to reform the attitudes and motivation levels of the undeserving poor.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century systematic sociological research was conducted on poverty. Charles Booth looked at the extent of poverty in London in 1886. Booth wanted to document, in detail, the living conditions of every family in London, but, realizing that this approach was too ambitious, he decided to estimate poverty by documenting the general living conditions on every street (Fried and Elman 1968). He used a color classification scheme to document the extent of poverty on each street and grouped households according to employment classification (ibid.). According to Booth, “class” was primarily represented by an individual’s occupation and income (ibid.). The social class of each household was coded with a letter ranging from A to H and signifying various descriptive qualities, with income being the most influential variable in the analysis (ibid.). Booth distinguished between ordinary and extreme poverty; most poor Londoners, often artisans or laborers, were living in what he referred to as ordinary poverty, defined as having a regular low income (ibid.). Most of the very poor, according to Booth, were people who worked either irregularly or as criminals (ibid.). Booth found that a single street contained households from many different social classes, and his entire analysis was based on a relative definition of poverty that was derived from an estimation of a modest family’s needs relative to a nationally accepted living standard (ibid.).

Around the time that Booth’s study was published, Benjamin S. Rowntree began his research in York. Seeking to determine the proportion of the population living in poverty
as well as the characteristics of poverty, Rowntree devised two categories: (1) primary poverty, which describes families with income insufficient to maintaining physiological efficiency; and (2) secondary poverty, which describes families whose income is totally absorbed by expenditures (Rowntree 1971). In order to measure primary poverty, Rowntree needed to know how much it would cost a family to maintain minimum physiological efficiency, using nutritional intake and the cost of food as primary determinants (ibid.). He obtained data by examining the quality, character, quantity, and cost of food consumed by 18 families (ibid.). Rowntree examined family budgets for periods ranging from one week to two years, and he developed a subsistence primary poverty “cut-off point” both maintaining a minimum level of food, shelter, and clothing (ibid.). Predicting future criticism of his research, Rowntree acknowledged that he did not consider the social side of human nature; however, he believed that his commitment to the measurement of physical efficiency brought his work as close as possible to achieving scientific objectivity (Stitt and Grant 1993, 3). Rowntree’s work contrasted with Booth’s use of a relative measure of poverty and was a precursor of the concept of absolute poverty.

3.3.1 Absolute versus Relative Poverty

Many social scientists, in attempting to conceptualize poverty, have found the distinction between absolute and relative poverty useful. Absolute poverty assumes that poverty has an essential, irreducible core (Sen 1983; Townsend 1993, 45). The debate between absolute and relative poverty is characterized by the fact that the former focuses upon physiological requirements, while the latter focuses upon both social and physiological
needs (Townsend 1993, 45). Chapter 6 demonstrates how residents’ understandings of poverty relate to these conceptualizations of absolute and relative poverty. In the academic literature, the distinction between absolute and relative poverty is controversial. Absolute poverty is criticized as a “static” and “minimalist” concept, while definitions of relative poverty are criticized for their elusive nature and the difficulty of applying them to comparisons and social policy. This section of the chapter clarifies the debate between absolute and relative interpretations of poverty and discusses alternative conceptualizations and measurements.

The debate in the poverty literature between Peter Townsend and Amartya Sen demonstrates the merits of absolute versus relative conceptualizations of poverty. Before this debate can be understood, some background is necessary regarding the historical shift in the poverty literature from an absolute to a relative understanding of poverty. Poverty experts argue that the concept of absolute poverty became popular in the post-Second World War period because it painted an overly optimistic picture of the possibility of eradicating poverty completely in rich countries (Sen 1983, 154). Originally, the concept of absolute poverty was largely based on Seebohm Rowntree’s study of poverty in York. Absolute poverty was based on the idea that there was an absolute, irreducible core to poverty based on nutritional requirements and other human necessities. Usually this absolute core was converted to poverty lines. The problem with applying an absolute poverty standard in rich countries is that many social scientists believed it would promote a minimalist view and not account for the change in the necessities required by the poor over time. It is in this atmosphere that the notion of relative poverty emerged in the academic literature and largely debunked the notion of absolute poverty.
Sen (1983, 153), an advocate of maintaining absolute standards of poverty for the purposes of identification, argues that the debate between an absolute and relative standard is concerned with the question: "Should poverty be estimated with a cut-off line that reflects a level below which people are—in some sense—'absolutely' impoverished?" Sen argues that, ultimately, poverty must depend on an absolute notion of needs, although these needs are dependent on their context and will change over time. Following this line of reasoning, needs are not fixed but are open to interpretation. However, regardless of the specific needs identified, there is still an absolute point beyond which they are either fulfilled or unfulfilled. According to Sen, needs are understood to include both the physical and the social. He argues that "poverty is an absolute notion in the space of capabilities but very often it will take a relative form in the space of commodities or characteristics" (Sen 1983, 161). Individuals have fixed capabilities and, given different commodities, they either fulfill their needs and live above, or fail to fulfill their needs and live below, the poverty cut-off. Sen does not concede that there is a serious incompatibility between the concepts of absolute and relative poverty, and he criticizes the extreme relativist view of poverty. A consequence of the relativist interpretation of poverty is that it leads to judging poverty in relation to whatever contemporary standard of living a given society feels should be guaranteed (Sen 1983, 156). The problem is that as these standards continually change, and in many cases improve, it becomes increasingly difficult if not impossible to eliminate poverty.

Townsend, representing the relativist view of poverty, does not accept Sen's argument that capabilities are fixed. Instead, he argues that an individual’s capabilities are
ultimately dependent upon one’s role in society, position in history, and cultural context (Townsend 1985, 667). Townsend supports this argument by stating that necessary caloric intake depends on an individual’s work and the level of activity required by local custom. Providing another stark example of how difficult it is to operationalize Sen’s absolutist notion of poverty, Townsend argues that an individual’s ability to avoid disease largely depends on the medical technology and services available in a particular country or setting. His main point is that both needs and capabilities are social constructs and “have to be identified and measured in that spirit” (Townsend 1985, 667).

Sen also argues that an absolute conceptualization of poverty is important because it distinguishes poverty from inequality. Therefore, absolute definitions of poverty reject poverty as a function of an individual’s wealth compared to other individuals; instead, these definitions are based on the assumption that there is an absolute core and that lacking this core an individual is poor. One of the most common examples of the absolute core of poverty is the existence of starvation or hunger. According to Sen, if starvation or hunger exist, then, despite the relative condition of other members of society, poverty exists (Townsend 1993, 125). Sen (1983, 159) clarifies this position:

There is, I would argue, an irreducible absolutist core in the idea of poverty. One element of that absolutist core is obvious enough, though the modern literature on the subject often does its best to ignore it. If there is starvation and hunger, then—no matter what the relative picture looks like—there clearly is poverty. In this sense the relative picture—if relevant, has to take a back seat behind the possibility dominating absolutist consideration.

Sen does not believe that the “irreducible absolutist core in the idea of poverty” is limited to nutrition and issues revolving around hunger alone, arguing instead that an absolutist
core applies to social as well as to physical needs, although the former are more difficult
to analyze (Sen 1985, 673). He concedes that the variables for achieving basic human
needs change over time; however, he maintains that there is an absolute point at which
people are poor regardless of their relationship to society.

As does the notion of absolute poverty, the notion of relative poverty holds that poverty
and inequality are different issues. Relative poverty, in its attempt to consider social
needs, analyzes an individual’s ability to fulfill “social obligations, expectations and
customs” (Townsend 1993, 129). In so doing, relative poverty emphasizes the resources
available to the society, the local community, the family, and the individual (Townsend
1993, 129). These resources are considered important because they allow individuals,
who lack personal resources, to meet their social obligations. According to Townsend
(1993, 129), an advocate of relative poverty: “There seems to be not just a continuum of
deprivation in accordance with ranked income (or total resources). Below an
approximate threshold of income, deprivation seems to intensify, accelerate or multiply
disproportionately.” Townsend explains that individuals with a low income begin to
“economize,” or live more modestly, in an attempt to meet basic social obligations, and,
in order to accomplish this, they draw on resources other than their own (e.g., those
belonging to their neighbors or relatives). However, there is a point below this threshold
at which individuals begin to withdraw from social obligations: “They no longer meet
with friends, children are occasionally absent from school, heating is turned off,
conventional diets are no longer regularly observed, visitors are no longer invited into the
home, ill health and disability become more common” (Townsend 1993, 129-30).
Townsend concludes that this type of threshold has not yet been “systematically
demonstrated.” Again, the important distinction between relative and absolute poverty is that the former includes participation in society as an essential human need.

Townsend promotes a relative notion of poverty in opposition to what he perceives as a conventional understanding of absolute poverty as an unchanging, minimalist core of basic human needs (Townsend 1985, 662). Townsend implies that Sen’s absolute core is largely derived by emphasizing physiological needs at the expense of social needs. Townsend argues that it is not enough for the absolutist definition of poverty to acknowledge the importance of social as well as physical needs; absolute poverty is not a useful concept because it is simply too restrictive (Townsend 1985, 665).

In conclusion, Townsend and Sen agree that both absolutist and relativist conceptualizations of poverty should incorporate physical as well as social needs and that poverty should not be confused with inequality. Despite these areas of agreement, Townsend is correct when he says Sen’s use of absolute poverty is unconventional in its relative concessions and its inclusion of social needs. Most poverty literature does not use the concept of absolute poverty in the way Sen argues it should be interpreted. However, Sen has an undeniable point: the “threshold” Townsend uses to describe a continuum of poverty does have an element of absolutism. In Chapter 6, the case study community demonstrates how various respondents unconsciously incorporate relative and absolute concepts of poverty into their own understandings. In conclusion, I agree with both Sen and Townsend. Even if Townsend’s conceptualization of poverty as socially constructed and context dependent is correct, there is a point beyond which an individual
is poor even if there is variation between other individuals over time and in different contexts.

3.3.2 Poverty Lines

Poverty lines are a conventional measurement of absolute poverty, and they are based on the assumption that there is an absolute minimal level of consumption below which an individual or household is poor (Ravallion 1992, 25). This assumption is based on the belief that the consumption of specific goods, such as food, clothing, and shelter, are necessary for human survival. The following section reviews different approaches to developing poverty lines.

Conventionally, poverty lines are used to measure absolute poverty and require selecting a fixed level of consumption that remains constant, independent of the individual’s life context. Martin Ravallion (1992, 25-6) of the World Bank explains absolute poverty lines:

An absolute poverty line is one fixed in terms of the living standards indicator being used, and fixed over the entire domain of the poverty comparison. Thus absolute poverty comparisons will deem two persons at the same real consumption level to both be either “poor” or “not poor” irrespective of the time or place being considered, or with or without some policy change, within the relevant domain.

Ravallion emphasizes that, in order to develop an absolute poverty line, first one must determine the domain of the poverty comparison (e.g. is it global, national, or regional?). A conventional way of determining a poverty line is to calculate the minimal
consumption needs and the bundle of goods necessary to satisfy them (Ravallion 1992, 26). In most cases, especially if the domain includes developing countries, the most important component of a bundle of goods is the food expenditures necessary to meet recommended energy intake. Also included in the bundle of goods are essential non-food expenditures, such as shelter, health care, and clothing.

One method of determining a poverty line is the “food energy method” (Ravallion 1992, 27). This method requires first determining a caloric cut-off point to represent a food energy intake standard and then determining the necessary income level to achieve this standard. Here, food expenditures are separated from non-food expenditures. The food energy poverty line is useful because it accounts for local tastes and prices. A limitation of an absolute poverty line is that it assumes individual needs are identical; however, energy requirements depend on an individual’s activity level. In turn, an individual’s activity level depends on his/her role in society, and, therefore, an activity level is an “exogenous” socioeconomic variable as opposed to an “endogenous” physiological variable (Ravallion 1992, 26-27). In addition, the method of determining a poverty line is not constant in terms of consumption and income; it depends on location, changes in tastes, activity levels, prices, and publicly provided goods (Ravallion 1992, 28). These considerations make a strong case for setting different poverty lines when comparing different subgroups of the population (Ravallion 1992, 28). An alternative to the food energy method of determining an absolute poverty line is to select a certain percentage of the population as constituting the poor and then setting their income level as the poverty line (Ravallion 1992, 29). As may been seen, even absolute poverty lines are based on
arbitrary assumptions, concerning the appropriate level of food energy intake and the 
items essential to satisfying basic human needs (Ravallion 1992, 29).

An alternative to absolute poverty lines are relative lines. An example of a relative 
poverty line is one that is set at fifty percent of the national mean income (Ravallion 
1992, 30). In general, absolute poverty lines dominate poor countries, while relative 
poverty lines are more widely used in rich countries (Ravallion 1992, 29). Absolute 
poverty lines are commonly used in developing countries because a large proportion of 
the population has not had its basic needs met, and the emphasis is on the need to provide 
an absolute minimum standard of living. Relative poverty lines are more widely used in 
rich countries, where a larger proportion of the population has its basic physiological 
needs satisfied and income distribution is a higher priority. Ravallion (1992, 32), in 
Poverty Comparisons: A Guide to Concepts and Methods, plots the elasticity of poverty 
lines against mean consumption for 36 rich and poor countries. The results show that 
poverty lines in poor countries are not greatly affected by growth or increased 
consumption, while poverty lines in rich countries are highly elastic compared to mean 
consumption. The point here is that an absolute measure of poverty is a more consistent 
measure in poor countries, and relative poverty is a more appropriate measure in rich 
countries.

30 Similar to relative poverty lines, subjective poverty lines are another alternative to absolute poverty lines. Subjective poverty lines are based on subjective judgments regarding a "socially acceptable minimum standard of living in a particular society" and are often determined by asking people what they consider is an absolute minimum income level (Ravallion 1992, 33).
In conclusion, both of the poverty lines discussed — absolute and relative — are at some level measurements of both absolute and relative poverty. Poverty lines are measures of absolute poverty because they are based on the assumption that there is an absolute cut-off point below which individuals are poor. However, each poverty line is based on a series of relative assumptions about what is a minimum level of human consumption. The assumption underlying relative poverty lines is that they are dependent on their social, economic, geographic, and cultural context.

3.3.3 Poverty As a Function of Basic Needs

For at least the past 30 years, the field of development has conceptualized poverty in terms of basic human material needs. This definition of poverty has many areas of commonality with the responses of local residents in the case study community. Many post-Second World War development efforts were based on the arguments of Sir Arthur Lewis and the assumption that increased economic growth would eradicate poverty (Streeten 1981, 9). The idea of equating poverty with basic needs emerged from the realization that economic growth had failed to result in an anticipated reduction of world poverty. Basic needs was first made a primary development objective at the International Labor Office’s (ILO) World Employment Conference in 1976 (Leipziger and Streeten 1981; Streeten 1981). The essential components of the basic human needs approach to development put forward by the ILO were: “(1) minimum consumption of food, shelter and clothing; (2) access to services such as water, sanitation, health, family planning, and public transportation; and (3) participation of people in decisions that affect them” (Leipziger and Streeten 1981, 31). The concept of basic needs was then further
developed by the World Bank, the OECD, and other development organizations and
governments. In short, the concept of basic needs focused on meeting elementary human
needs, especially in the areas of education and health (Streeten 1981, 3). The adoption of
basic needs as a development objective was supposed to inspire policies in investment,
production, and employment in order to address the needs of the poor.

Prior to the basic needs approach to poverty reduction, much of the economic literature
focused on reorganizing production patterns and income distribution in order to benefit
the poor (Streeten 1981, vii). In contrast, the basic needs approach attempted to shift
attention away from production and toward consumption arguing that a logical
precondition to increasing the productivity of the poor was meeting their basic human
needs in the areas of health, education, and shelter. This approach to poverty alleviation
emphasized improvements in education and health opportunities. These improvements
were not seen as a form of welfare relief, but as investments that would increase the
productivity of the poor (Streeten 1981, 3). In addition, the basic needs conceptualization
of poverty attempted to add depth to earlier understandings of poverty that were based
strictly on income. The basic needs conceptualization of poverty took into account
estimates of specific goods and services, that were believed necessary to achieving a
minimum standard of nutrition, health, education, and other areas deemed essential for a
productive existence.

Since 1976, when the ILO drew attention to basic human needs as an organizing concept
in development, a series of diverse interpretations have emerged. One of the most
common interpretations of the concept is that the consumption of a minimum quantity of
necessary material items and services is necessary in order to maintain a minimum standard of health, nutrition, and general physiological well-being. This interpretation of basic needs assumes a substantial amount of moral persuasion and is very similar to the conceptualization of absolute poverty discussed earlier. However, this interpretation leaves many unanswered questions, such as: What is the relationship between nutrition and food intake? Who should determine what needs should be considered basic (Streeten 1981, 25)? Yet others have argued that basic needs should be interpreted subjectively rather than according to a predetermined standard constructed by development experts and doctors (Streeten 1981, 25).

Other interpretations of the basic needs approach to development focus on who should be responsible for providing basic needs. Some interpretations suggest that basic needs are the responsibility of the public sector or the government, while others argue that it is the right of the individual to participate in the provision of his/her own basic needs (Streeten 1981, 26). Indeed, the basic needs approach to conceptualizing, measuring, and alleviating poverty is not as straightforward as its name implies. Within the basic needs approach, various problems emerge. For example, in terms of the basic needs approach, at what absolute point do people become poor? Who is responsible for providing for needs? Nonetheless the basic needs approach is innovative in that it moves away from conceptualizing poverty in overly simplistic one-dimensional terms (such as income or caloric intake) and in its effort to conceptualize poverty in pragmatic development terms. In addition, the basic needs approach, compared to more abstract conceptualizations of poverty, is relatively easy to recognize by measuring the provision of basic physical infrastructure and social services.
3.3.4 Poverty As an Absence of Sustainable Livelihoods

As does the basic needs approach and does my dissertation research, Robert Chambers critiques a narrow economic understanding of poverty. He begins his argument by critiquing poverty as economic deprivation and as lack of consumption. He claims that the narrow technical conceptualization of income-poverty “colonizes the common usage” of poverty (Chambers 1995, 1980). According to Chambers, income-poverty is only a proxy, or correlate, for other types of deprivation.

Many academics and professionals acknowledge that poverty is much more than income and consumption; however, Chambers argues that the way poverty was measured in the past still dominates our current understanding of it. Low consumption is conventionally measured as an indicator of poverty, and, in most cases, other unmeasured aspects of poverty are not treated as real (Chambers 1995, 1980). The problem is that the analysis of poverty stays narrow because it always has been narrow. In other words, those who analyze poverty feel compelled to continue to use a narrow understanding of it because they want to refer to works that do the same. The following quote summarizes the problem:

What is recorded as having been measured, usually low consumption as a proxy for low income, then easily comes to masquerade in speech and prose as the much larger reality, a trap into which almost all fall, including the writer, from time to time. It is then but a short step to treating what has not been measured as not really real. Patterns of dominance are then reinforced: of the material over the experiential; of the physical over the social; of the measured and measurable over the unmeasured and unmeasurable; of physical over social values; of economists over disciplines concerned with people as people. It then becomes the
reductionism of normal economics, not the experience of the poor, that defines poverty. (Chambers 1995, 180)

Chambers explains why income-poverty has experienced widespread acceptance as a concept and measure (Chambers 1995, 180). First, economists dominate development discourse by their sheer numbers as employees of development agencies and ministries of planning. Income-based poverty is a more appropriate concept in the developed countries of the North, where it is primarily an urban phenomenon that takes place in an industrial setting and within a cash economy. In developed countries, economic status is generally calculated using cash income or cash-based consumption. Second, the measurability of income-poverty keeps it in vogue with development professionals and academics. Third, it is believed that the poorer the individual or household, the greater the importance of income and consumption required to enable it to subsist. When poverty is conceptualized as income, it is income that becomes the end result of poverty reduction efforts.

Chambers (1995, 182) explains this as follows:

In this thinking, income is the end; improved access to education, health care, and other social services are justified as means to that economic end. They are not presented here as justified ends in themselves or as a means to enhance capabilities or reduce suffering, or to increase self-respect, fulfillment or other human values (all hard to measure). Social development is a means not an end; the end is economic development.

The above explanation of income-based poverty demonstrates how conceptualization, measurement, and prescribed policy are all closely related. If poverty is defined as income, then income becomes the yardstick for measuring poverty as well as the main objective of poverty reduction policies and it ceases to function as a proxy (Chambers
Chambers maintains that income has a role in the evaluation of poverty; however, it is only one dimension of poverty.

Chambers argues that the poor are extremely heterogeneous and that their responses to deprivation take many forms. He describes eight dimensions of deprivation, based on field work, case studies, and the work of social anthropologists. The first dimension is poverty, or a lack of physical necessities, assets, and income. The second dimension is social inferiority, based on an individual’s age and position within the life cycle. Social inferiority can also be related to gender, age, ethnic group, caste, class, occupation, or kinship relations. The third dimension is isolation, which occurs when an individual is cut off from other members of society. Physical weakness is the fourth dimension of poverty and is related to sickness and disability. The fifth dimension is vulnerability, which is defined as exposure and defenselessness. The sixth dimension is seasonality, which adversely affects health, infant mortality, availability of food, and agricultural responsibilities. Powerlessness is the seventh dimension of deprivation. It results from a combination of factors such as physical weakness, economic vulnerability, and anxiety regarding access to resources — all of which make it difficult for the poor to organize and become an influential force. Humiliation is the eighth dimension and refers to a lack of self-respect or a lack of freedom from dependence on others. According to Chambers, this dimension of deprivation is commonly overlooked. Chambers argues that although these eight dimensions of deprivation are not experienced by all poor people, rather, they represent some of the most common aspects of poor people’s reality.
Chamber’s believes that the conceptualization, measurement, and analysis of poverty are inextricably linked, and he states that there is a gap between the conceptualization of poverty and the reality experienced by poor people:

There remain deep dilemmas over “our” knowledge and values and “theirs.” Our knowledge has an advantage with the physical universe and with whatever is microscopic, macroscopic, large-scale or distant from where poor people live. In these domains we are empowered by our linked communications, instruments and science. But their knowledge has an advantage with the local, the social, whatever is continuously observed and experienced, and whatever close to them touches their lives and livelihoods; and they are the only experts on their life experiences and priorities. But our power in the past has overwhelmed their knowledge, hidden their analytical abilities and allowed us to assume that we know what they experience and want. (Chambers 1995, 191)

According to Chambers, the concept of sustainable livelihoods will overcome some problems associated with a one-dimensional view of poverty based solely on income; however, ultimately the poor hold the knowledge most appropriate to conceptualizing poverty. My research agrees with this argument, extending it beyond the issue of conceptualization, and assumes that the poor also have appropriate knowledge for community-based planning practices that seek to alleviate poverty. Chambers argues that, like an income-based understanding of poverty, the concept of livelihoods is falsely identified with a concept of employment that is relevant primarily to developed countries. However, this narrow conceptualization only represents one aspect of a combination of strategies the poor use to survive (Chambers 1995, 194). Some examples of these strategies include: performing contract outwork, engaging in casual labor, migrating for work, participating in mutual help networks with neighbors and relatives, and begging or stealing (Chambers 1995, 194). These livelihood strategies are often adaptive, flexible,
and innovative responses to adverse conditions. In Chambers's opinion, the concept of sustainable livelihood accurately describes the activities poor households use to survive.

If poverty is conceptualized as multidimensional deprivation rather than as income-poverty, then conventional measurements, data gathering methods, and policy responses are turned on their heads. Chambers argues that this new conceptualization of poverty requires a paradigmatic and profound shift in logic. Rather than starting from the perspective of the Northern professional, it starts from the perspective of the poor person. The conceptualization of poverty presented in Chapter 6 and applied to the case study community, is based on the argument that the most valuable understanding of poverty must begin with the perceptions, experiences, and knowledge of the poor themselves.

3.3.5 Poverty As Social and Political (Dis)Empowerment

John Friedmann developed a model of "poverty as (dis)empowerment" based on the lessons learned from the poverty debates of the 1970s and 1980s. In Empowerment: the Politics of Alternative Development, Friedmann assumes that mass poverty exists because the modernist development paradigm has failed to deal with it effectively and, as a result, an alternative development paradigm is necessary to eradicate poverty. According to Friedmann, seven "lessons" from the poverty debates contribute to his reconceptualization of poverty. As both the basis of Friedmann's model and as a summary of the pre-1990s poverty debates, the seven lessons are worth quoting at length:
basic needs are essentially political claims for entitlements;
growth-maximizing strategies are not in themselves sufficient to satisfy these
claims, even though rapid growth, as in the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, and
Singapore, is compatible with relatively low indices of income inequality;
poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon and does not signify merely a
relative lack of income;
greatly improved statistical systems are needed to assess people’s quality of
life and to contribute toward defining appropriate standards of living;
the poor must take part in the provisioning of their own needs rather than rely
on the state to solve their problems;
to become more self-reliant in the provisioning of their own needs, the poor
must first acquire the means to do so; and
effective antipoverty programs cannot be devised at the top for
implementation downward through a compliant bureaucracy but must emerge
from the hurly-burly of politics in which the poor continuously press for the
support, at the macro level, of their own initiatives. (Friedmann 1992, 66)

From these lessons, the clearest message is the need to replace bureaucratic planning with
bottom-up political action. Based on these lessons, Friedmann concludes poverty centers
around politics (as opposed to planning) as the primary means of identifying and
satisfying needs (Friedmann 1992, 66). As a result, the (dis)empowerment model of
poverty is based on the assumption that “poor households lack the social power to
improve their members’ lives” (Friedmann 1992, 66). Social power is defined as access
to certain resources, and Friedmann argues that the poor increase their access to social
power, at least partially through bottom-up political action. Friedmann offers as
examples of social power the state’s access to the legitimate use of violence, corporate
access to financial resources, and the ability of political organizations to enact
demonstrations (Friedmann 1992, 67). Access to all these different resources are the
basis of social power. In short, Friedmann’s (dis)empowerment model of poverty centers
on the issues of the household economy and the concept that poverty denotes a lack of
access to social power (Friedmann 1992). This conceptualization of poverty in terms of
social and political power did not emerge in my case study largely because of Indonesia’s restrictive political environment; rather, residents demonstrated an ability to alleviate manifestations of poverty without either overtly increasing their political power or threatening the status quo. Later the case study data provides empirical evidence to support this alternative form of participation referred to as pragmatic empowerment, which is distinct from both inclusion and social mobilization models.

In Friedmann’s model of poverty as a dis(empowerment), the eight bases of social power illustrate two significant advancements in the study of poverty: (1) concrete documentation of the multidimensional nature of poverty; and (2) the shift away from conceptualizing poverty in either physiological (caloric) or economic terms (Friedmann 1992, 67-69). The first base of social power identified by Friedmann is defensible life space — the territorial base of the household, which includes both the physical home and the surrounding community necessary for “life-supporting activities.” The second is surplus time, time beyond what is required to subsist. According to Friedmann, the following activities reduce surplus time: commuting to and from work, waiting in line for water or fuel, conducting domestic chores, and/or coping with illness. Third is knowledge and skills, which refer to formal education and specific skills. Fourth is the appropriate information required for household subsistence, such as information regarding health, sanitation, politics, availability of public services, and employment opportunities. Fifth is social organizations, both formal and informal, which are considered valuable for their contribution to “relevant information, mutual support, and
collective action” (Friedmann 1992, 69). Six is social networks which are distinct from social organizations as they are both horizontal (as in the case of extended family) and vertical (as in patron-client relationships). Social networks are also valued for their reciprocity. Seventh is access to instruments of work and livelihood, including “vigorous and healthy bodies (physical strength) and, for rural producers, access to water and productive land” (Friedmann 1992, 69). The eighth is financial resources and these encompass both monetary income and access to formal and informal credit. Friedmann explains that all eight of these components are distinct and interdependent and, most important, that they demonstrate that poverty should not be “collapsed into a single dimension such as money” (Friedmann 1992, 69). Like Chambers’s model, Friedmann’s model contributes much to my understanding of poverty. Although local residents did not conceptualize poverty specifically in terms of access to social and political power, there are areas of overlap between Friedmann’s model of poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon and the conceptualization held by local residents of the case study community, such as the lack of defensible life space, the lack of appropriate information, and the lack of financial resources.

Friedmann introduces the term “relative access” in order to describe the extent of a household’s command of the eight bases of power (Friedmann 1992, 69). Relative access is a continuum; households can either increase or decrease their access to the bases of power. In his analysis of poverty, Friedmann does not address the issue of measurement; he only states that “no single yardstick can be used to measure access to these several bases of power.”

For a diagram and a more detailed explanation of the model, including the eight bases of social power,
bases of social power" (Friedmann 1992, 69). He provides no indication of what combination of indicators or variables might be appropriate for measuring access to the individual bases of social power, maintaining that an increase of any of the power bases is desirable because it constitutes "a measure of genuine development" (Friedmann 1992, 70). Similar to what was found in the debate between relative and absolute poverty, Friedmann believes that the concept of relative access is capable of providing a picture of absolute poverty. Below a particular point on the continuum of social power, a household is absolutely poor. According to Friedmann, this distinction is significant because when members of a household fall below a point of absolute poverty, they are usually unable to escape poverty on their own (Friedmann 1992, 69).

Initially, this model seems to place much of the onus of poverty on the poor household. Friedmann argues that his model is only a heuristic device to teach about poverty from the viewpoint of a poor household, and he acknowledges the limitations of its prescriptive use. He states that there are also structural causes of poverty that systematically prevent the poor from gaining access to social power. Friedmann blames many of these structural causes of poverty on the capitalist mode of production, which provides a partial explanation of why mainstream economic growth will not solve the problem of poverty. Some examples of how the capitalist mode of production keeps people poor include: exclusion of people from the formal economy, exploitive patterns of land ownership, and exclusion of the underclass from political participation (Friedmann 1992, 70). Friedmann recognizes that if the poor want "to move beyond survival, then, [this] means that the

dominant relations of power in society will have to change" (Friedmann 1992, 70-71).

Friedmann's model conceptualizes poverty as multidimensional; however, his explanation of its causes fall back on a quasi-Marxist view of the nature of capitalist production.

3.3.6 Poverty As a Multidimensional Phenomenon

As a starting point for identifying a poor community for my case study, I initially defined poverty in terms of economic deprivation. However after this incipient identification was complete, I then immediately moved beyond this one-dimensional view of poverty in order to determine how local residents conceptualized poverty. Both Friedmann and Chambers extend the basic needs approach and argue that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon — an argument that has been largely accepted by the mainstream poverty literature. The United Nations, in its annual Human Development Report (1997), stated:

Poverty has many faces. It is much more than low income. It also reflects poor health and education, deprivation in knowledge and communication, inability to exercise human and political rights and the absence of dignity, confidence and self-respect. (United Nations 1997, iii)

This critique of a one-dimensional conceptualization of poverty in only economic, or as simple income deprivation is the basis for the development in the dissertation of a locally derived conceptualization of poverty and that can be used in the analysis of community-based planning efforts focused on its alleviation. The dissertation assumes that poverty is multidimensional and that local residents are the most appropriate people to identify its
various dimensions in their relevant social, cultural, political, historical and
environmental context.

3.4 The Difference between Rural and Urban Poverty

The theories and arguments presented in this chapter thus far have not distinguished
between urban and rural poverty. Recently, the international literature on poverty has
paid increased attention to urban poverty in developing countries.\textsuperscript{32} From this literature a
number of questions have emerged: What is meant by urban as opposed to rural? What
is the difference between urban versus rural poverty? Is this distinction useful? This
dissertation exclusively examines urban poverty. This section explores the advantages
and disadvantages of conceptualizing poverty differently in rural and urban areas.

In the 1970s and 1980s, it was concluded that many development strategies had an "urban
bias" (Wratten 1995, 19). It was argued that taxation and government expenditures
benefited urban elites more than rural residents because urban areas had disproportional
access to infrastructure and resources, thus harming the development trajectories of their
rural counterparts (Wratten 1995, 19). As a result, development agencies began to aim
their sectoral development strategies towards rural areas, specifically with regard to the
 provision of primary health care, water, and sanitation, and educational services (Wratten
1995, 19). This trend shifted in the 1980s and 1990s, when international planning and

\textsuperscript{32} For example, see the special double issue in \textit{Environment and Urbanization} 7 (1/2) (1995), which
dedicates two issues to analyzing the underestimated, misunderstood, and misrepresented nature of urban
poverty in developing countries.
development literature began to question the assumption that rural poverty was more serious than urban poverty. Urban poverty has recently received a higher priority on development agendas, partially due to the negative impact of economic structural adjustment policies, a growing urban population, and disaggregated data on urban poverty (Wratten 1995, 19).

It is widely accepted that the economic structural adjustment policies of the 1980s disproportionately hurt urban areas, particularly in Africa and Latin America (Stewart 1995, 1). Structural adjustment policies were a response to a combination of events that began in the 1970s, when many oil-importing countries experienced large trade imbalances (Stewart 1995, 2). In 1973-74, when the price of oil increased significantly, many oil-importing countries began to borrow in order to maintain investment and consumption patterns. The situation was exacerbated in 1979, when oil prices increased again, and in the 1980s when the Reagan and Thatcher administrations ended the low interest loans to developing countries (Stewart 1995, 2). Many developing countries suffered due to large debts combined with high interest rates. When commercial lenders cut off loans to developing countries, many of these countries turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. During the 1980s, the international development agencies loaned money to many developing countries, but these loans were contingent upon the implementation of specific national development policies and reforms. This was the beginning of the period of economic structural adjustment and of policies that emphasized real wage and public expenditure control, currency devaluation, trade liberalization, and faith in market mechanisms. These policies disproportionately hurt urban populations because of their dependence on public services, wages, and the
market. The stabilization and structural adjustment policies had the dual effect of
intensifying urban poverty and bringing attention to this issue as it affected developing
countries.

In the developed West, where large sectors of the population have lived in urban areas for
a long period, urban poverty is accepted as conceptually distinct from its rural
counterpart. For example, urban poverty is usually associated with inner cities, ethnic
minorities, and social marginalization (Wratten 1995, 20). Research regarding poverty in
developing countries has not established this same rural-urban distinction — a distinction
that has positive and negative consequences. For instance, in developing countries it is
often difficult to differentiate between urban and rural areas, and definitions of urban and
rural are frequently arbitrary and based on population density. Indonesia is a case in
point; the criteria for distinguishing between urban and rural areas has changed numerous
times over the last 30 years. It is also difficult to determine if urban fringe areas, or peri-
urban regions, should be considered rural or urban. In addition, both between and within
countries, urban areas have a significant amount of heterogeneity.

In contrast, there is ample evidence in the literature on poverty that supports the need to
differentiate between urban and rural poverty. In developing countries, especially those
in Southeast Asia, urban poverty is a relatively new phenomenon due to the fairly recent
increase in the growth of urban populations. Carole Rakodi (1995, 418) identifies three
phenomena as necessary to understanding how urban households cope with poverty:
(a) the external economy of the household, its relations with wider economic, political and social systems at community, city and national levels and its access to resources, including land and services;

(b) the social relations of production and power within the household with respect to the distribution of material resources among household members, the gender division of labour within the household, the household as a system of resource management and the intra-household distribution of welfare outcomes, and

(c) changes over time attributable both to the life cycle, which may cause changes in the way in which the household is embedded into a wider set of social relations, and to changes in the external context, which may propel households to reorganise, thus changing intra-household social relations and distributions of resources.

The first phenomena offers one of the most compelling reasons to analyze urban and rural poverty separately: in most developing countries, urban households are in a different economic environment than rural households because they have more exposure to market and wage labor. In addition, urban households have less access to land and greater access to physical infrastructure and social services than do rural households. Finally, international research has shown that household structures in developing countries are different in rural and urban areas; for example, there is a higher proportion of female-headed households in urban areas. The household structure is significant when considering the effects of poverty because individuals primarily experience poverty through the filter of the household. Individuals, in the context of the household, pool their resources in order to increase their survival opportunities. Different household structures (e.g. such as closer proximity to extended family members in rural areas) mean different intra-household dynamics, strategies for survival, and welfare outcomes. Social networks also function differently in rural and urban areas and, as a result, affect inter-household relations and welfare outcomes. I find the evidence for analyzing urban and rural poverty as different phenomena compelling and, as a result, believe that my findings
are generally applicable to other urban environments, specifically those in developing countries.

3.5 Poverty in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the conceptualization of poverty has a different socio-political history than it does in the West. Indonesia’s history as a colony has influenced both the physical manifestation of poverty and people’s perception of it. Partially due to Indonesia’s colonial history and the subsequent era of Western development, many Western conceptualizations and methods of measuring poverty were imported to Indonesia. This section reviews: (1) Indonesian conceptualizations of poverty, (2) methods used to identify and measure poverty in Indonesia, and (3) national poverty alleviation policies in Indonesia.

3.5.1 Indonesian Academic and State Conceptualizations of Poverty

In 1979, the Indonesian Association for Development of Social Sciences held its third conference, Distribution and Structural Poverty, which represented a national commitment by Indonesian social scientists and policy-makers to clarify and resolve the problem of poverty (Mubyarto 1995, 8). The congress criticized the use of Western models and the failure of Indonesian social scientists to develop a methodology specific to the national context. Regardless of this criticism, the Western influence on the Indonesian poverty discourse remains evident in academia, public policy, and the media.
Like Western theories, Indonesian theories of the causes of poverty, fall into three broad categories: structuralist, neo-classical, and cultural. Structural arguments dominate academic and leftist political discourse and are conventionally supported by non-governmental organizations, political groups, and social activists (Y.B. Mangunwijaya 1994). Neo-classical explanations of the causes of poverty in Indonesia are the most widely accepted and dominate the planning, development, and pro-growth business discourse. Cultural theories of poverty are found in academic, planning, and development circles. Indonesia's development trajectory, over the past thirty years, demonstrates that most Indonesians in power have adopted a neo-classical explanation of poverty. As discussed earlier, this explanation assumes that growth, access to a larger unencumbered market, and increased production and consumption are the most efficient methods of alleviating poverty.

Western influence on how Indonesians conceptualize poverty is also evident in the academic literature and in how the concepts of relative, subjective, and absolute poverty are translated, converted, and operationalized in the form of poverty lines. In addition, the idea of poverty as a function of basic needs, livelihoods, and empowerment are also familiar concepts in Indonesia; for example, the work of Robert Chambers and John Friedmann are discussed in the Indonesian poverty literature. There are two obvious explanations for this influence. First, many Indonesian academics and development policy-makers were educated in the West. Second, as a prerequisite to obtaining foreign aid, post-Second World War economic development efforts forced Indonesian

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33 Anything remotely related to Marxism or communism, even in name, is unacceptable in Indonesian
intellectuals to adopt definitions of poverty that were understood and accepted by international development agencies.

In my review of the literature on poverty, I had difficulty determining where the Indonesian conceptualization of poverty begins and Western influence ends. I hypothesize that poverty, *kemiskinan*, is not a newly imported concept from the West because, if it were, the word would likely resemble its English counterpart. When a concept is introduced by the West, it is not uncommon to have an Indonesian version of its English name. Some examples of Western development concepts and their Indonesian adapted names include: project (*proyek*), capitalism (*kapitalisme*), modern (*modern*), bus (*bis*), industry (*industri*), machine (*masin*), and stress (*stres*). Although I was unable to determine the original meaning and usage of *kemiskinan*, I suspect that the word is not new to Indonesian.

### 3.5.2 Methods of Identifying and Measuring Poverty in Indonesia

As in the West, notions of absolute and relative poverty are central to Indonesia’s use of poverty lines. Although alternative measures have begun to replace them, poverty lines are historically the most common means of identifying and measuring poverty in Indonesia. Moreover, even though poverty lines were widely accepted in Indonesia, there was significant disagreement about the proper method of constructing them in order to separate the poor from the non-poor.

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public discourse. In order to remain consistent with the Indonesian terminology, in this section I broadly refer to any arguments related to this perspective as structuralist.
Almost all the poverty lines in Indonesia are either directly or indirectly based on data
gathered from the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (BPS). Since 1963-64, BPS has
conducted a Household Expenditure Survey (HES) at irregular intervals as part of its
National Socio-Economic Survey, known by its Indonesian acronym, SUSENAS. The
first HESs were conducted during 1963, 1964, and 1965 and did not have national
coverage (Booth 1993, 54). Between 1969 and 1970, two HESs were carried out. In the
first survey, numerous provinces outside of Java were excluded; in the second, the only
Indonesian provinces excluded were Malukus and Irian Jaya. National HESs were
national Bureau of Statistics plan to conduct a HES every three years. Recently, HESs
have gathered data regarding both household income and expenditures, although only the
latter is available to the public. The household expenditure data is available on a per
capita basis, and all poverty estimates and lines are either compiled by the Central Bureau
of Statistics or other researchers using this data.

The main advantage of HES data is that it was collected on a national level over the past
20 years and used a uniform and relatively detailed module for household consumption
expenditures. The HES data received criticism for not corresponding to national
aggregated records of expenditures, a disparity that has increased over time (Booth 1993,
55). For example, in 1969 HES data accounted for approximately 80 percent of the
national consumption level, whereas in 1980 coverage dropped to 57 percent (Booth
1993, 55). One explanation for this disparity between the two data sets is under-reporting
of consumption expenditures by the wealthier households in the HES sample (Booth
Other smaller household surveys in Indonesia also gather household consumption expenditure data; however, none of these surveys has the extensive geographic coverage of HES. This is one explanation for the continued use of HES data for national planning in Indonesia.

One of the oldest and most well-known measures of poverty in Indonesia is the Sajogyo poverty line, which was conceptualized and promoted by Professor Dr. Ir. Sajogyo of the Bogor Agricultural Institute. In his essay “Poverty Lines and Minimum Food Necessities,” or “Garis Kemiskinan dan Kebutuhan Minimum Pangan,” he explains the politically sensitive context in which his work was produced (Sajogyo 1996). Up until the mid-1970s, partially due to the murder of alleged communist sympathizers eight years earlier, many social scientists “had a problem” with the word “poverty,” or kemiskinan (Sajogyo 1996). The tension described by Sajogyo is exemplified by the Indonesian government’s ban on D.H. Penny and Masri Singarimbun’s “Population and Poverty in Rural Java: Some Economic Arithmetic from Sriharjo” in 1972. Their research was an economic and anthropological study of three poor villages: Srihardjo, Imogiri, and Yogyakarta in Central Java (Sajogyo 1996). The Indonesian central government decided the research results were inappropriate (kurang pas), and the study was published by the University of Cornell (Penny and Singarimbun 1973; Sajogyo 1996). In this environment, Professor Sajogyo developed his poverty line based on household consumption data gathered by SUSENAS between 1969 and 1976 (Sajogyo 1996). His method for determining rural and urban poverty lines was first published in the Indonesian national newspaper, Kompas, on November 17, 1977, and his work is now considered seminal.
The central point of Sajoyo’s argument was that a family in rural Java was poor if its annual per capita expenditures were less than the equivalent of 240 kilograms of rice (Booth 1993, 55). Later this standard was revised to identify both very poor households and poor households whose annual expenditures were the equivalent of 240 and 320 kilograms of rice (Booth 1993, 55). For urban areas, the rice equivalent was between 360 and 480 kilograms of rice per year. Sajoyo’s poverty line is not a measure of rice consumed; rather, it is a means of measuring a family’s well-being via its rice purchasing power (Booth 1993, 55). This means of assessment is particularly relevant in rural Indonesia, where use of rice as an equivalent measure of basic needs began during the Dutch colonial period. Penny and Singarimbun’s study of rural poverty on Java also found that villagers had a concept of “sufficiency” (cukupan) based on a rice standard (Booth 1993, 56). This association between rice and sufficiency, or basic needs, is evident in the practice of paying civil servants, agricultural laborers and other workers a proportion of their salary in rice.

The problem with using this measurement in the present is that over the past 15 years the proportion of household expenditures spent on rice has diminished, and the price of non-rice items has increased disproportionately (Booth 1993, 56). A potential problem with the use of Sajogyo’s measurement is that it may overstate improvements in the living standard of the poor (Booth 1993, 56). Again, the problem is a common one in the poverty literature; that is, a population’s notion of “sufficiency” is dynamic and changes over time, and Sajogyo’s measure of annual rice purchasing power is static. From its introduction, Sajogyo’s poverty line was more appropriate for rural areas, and, with
increased urbanization throughout Indonesia, it has largely become an anachronism (Booth 1993, 58).

Since 1976, the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) has had its own measures of poverty based on SUSENAS household expenditure data (Booth 1993, 64). BPS also conceptualizes poverty in absolute terms. The measurement requires compiling the cost of 2,100 calories, which, after being adjusted for an under-reporting of food consumed outside the home, is considered a poverty line for the very poor (Booth 1993, 64). The average expenditures by a “poverty threshold group” on non-food, basic needs items (e.g., rent, fuel, school, medical expenditures, transportation, and clothing) are then calculated (Booth 1993, 64). This amount is then added to the “very poor” poverty line in order to create a general poverty line. The criticisms of this approach are standard for poverty lines based on calculations of calories. For example, it does not consider the quality of calories consumed and underestimates the amount of money spent on non-food expenditures (Booth 1993, 65). Recently the BPS has utilized a more diversified method of analyzing poverty — one that takes into consideration the amount below the poverty line that the poor population lives, poverty is analyzed by province, and common characteristics of poor households are considered (Booth 1993, 67). One problem with the BPS poverty lines is there is such a large number “near poor” that small changes in the poverty line drastically change the number of people classified as poor (Rigg 1997, 78). For instance, raising the 1987 poverty line only 10 percent raises the number of poor from 30 million to 41 million (Rigg 1997, 78). In BPS’s 1992 analysis of poverty, it was found that many poor households were characterized by: (1) a greater number of household members, (2) a majority of household heads who had not completed primary
school (the exceptions had very low levels of education compared to non-poor households), and (3) a large proportion of households that were associated with agriculture and trading (Booth 1993, 67).

Significantly different than Sajogyo and SUSENAS’s absolute measure of poverty, the poverty line of Professor Hendra Esmara, another well-known Indonesian economist, is based on a “package of basic needs” (Booth 1993, 58). His approach represents a shift in the conceptualization of poverty and moves beyond basic physiological or caloric needs. Esmara’s package includes: a variety of cereals, nuts, tubers, fruit, vegetables, nuts, meat, and fish as well as expenditures for clothing, housing, education, and health (Booth 1993, 58). Perceived needs are reflected in the broader package areas. Separate yet similar packages were created for rural and urban areas; the primary difference between them is that rural packages accounted for a broader array of food items (Booth 1993, 58). The Esmara approach calculates an average per capita expenditure on basic commodities, unlike other commonly used approaches that are based on a strictly defined basket of goods, and it is both flexible and dynamic because it reflects people’s changing social attitudes. One result of this approach is that urban poverty lines are substantially higher than their rural counterparts. Despite this, researchers using the Esmara approach found that the percentage of the rural population living below the poverty line was consistently greater than the percentage of the urban population living below the poverty line (Booth 1993, 59). Even so, according to the Esmara poverty line, the percentage of the rural population living below the poverty line has declined more rapidly than has its urban counterpart. This means that in terms of absolute numbers urban poverty has grown faster than rural poverty in Indonesia (Booth 1993, 60). One problem with the Esmara
approach is that as a proportion of the Indonesian population becomes better off and new
poverty lines are drawn, the proportion of the population below this new line could
conceivably remain the same (Booth 1993, 60).

Since the 1980s, the World Bank has constructed a number of diverse poverty
measurements for Indonesia. The first poverty line constructed by the World Bank
simply used a certain number of rupiah per month and adjusted it for regional price
differences, in accordance with an absolute conceptualization of poverty (Booth 1993, 61;
World Bank 1980, 84). Next, the World Bank used a relative approach that required
ranking the poor according to their per capita consumption expenditure and defining the
lowest 20 percent as poor (Booth 1993, 61; Chernichovsky and Meesok 1984, 2). This
was an attempt to move away from the apparent arbitrariness of the 3,000 rupiah cutoff,
although it was criticized as equally arbitrary. The third approach developed by the
World Bank required the following series of steps:

1. An estimate of "basic food expenditure" in rupiah in 1980 was made by
   valuing 16 kg of rice at the implicit SUSENAS price.
2. This "basic food expenditure" was multiplied by 1.25 to allow for other food
   expenditures.
3. The result of step 2 was then divided by the share of food expenditures in total
   expenditures of the expenditure group whose total food expenditure was
   closest to step 2. (Booth 1993, 61)

To account for non-rice items in this calculation, the 16 kg price of rice was marked up
by 25 percent. This approach was used to calculate poverty lines for urban and rural
areas throughout Indonesia, and a weighted average was used to produce a national
Indonesian poverty line (Booth 1993, 61). Poverty lines were constructed for the years
before and after 1980 by deflating and adjusting for 1980 inflation rates. As in Sajogyo’s approach, the price of rice is central in this calculation.

An exploration of the extensive literature concerned with poverty in Indonesia over the past 20 years leads to the conclusion that, regardless of the type of poverty line used or how it is adjusted for inflation over time, on a national level in both rural and urban areas poverty has decreased (Booth 1993, 69; BPS 1992; Islam and Khan 1986; World Bank 1990). That all of these studies came to the same conclusion is not surprising because, regardless of the different measures of poverty applied, they are all ultimately based on the same SUSENAS household expenditure for consumption data. The extent to which poverty decreased remains a matter of dispute. There is less consensus regarding the spatial distribution of poverty in Indonesia, both in terms of the different regions as well as between urban and rural areas (Booth 1993, 71). For example, the World Bank Study of SUSENAS data from 1976 found that 8 percent of the poor were located in urban areas (Booth 1993, 73). Using the same data, however, Esmara arrived at 18 percent of the poor were in urban areas and the Central Bureau of Statistics determined 19 percent (Booth 1993, 73).

This pattern of discrepancies actually continues and becomes more acute when the same approaches are used to analyze more recent data. Using 1987 SUSENAS data, the World Bank found that 16 percent of the poor were living in urban areas, while Esmara found 25 percent and the Central Bureau of Statistics found 32 percent (Booth 1993, 73). It is concluded that even though these poverty measures disagree on the actual percentage increase in the proportion of the poor population living in urban areas, poverty in urban
areas has increased over the past 20 years. More disappointing than the lack of agreement between these different measures — different methods of analyzing the same data might produce different outcomes — is that all the data and calculations reveal nothing about the nature, causes, conditions, dynamics, or profiles of poor households and communities. There is also nothing in the data to explain household mobility or why some households move above or below a particular poverty threshold. Anne Booth (1993), as well as others who have studied these conceptualizations and measurements of poverty both within and outside the Indonesian context, also acknowledges analytical shortcomings and the need for further study in these areas (Chambers 1995; Rigg 1997). In light of the monetary crisis in Indonesia and the subsequent political unrest that resulted from the IMF’s recommendation to remove fuel subsidies, all of these methods appear to have underestimated the size of the poor population and the severity of the conditions in which they live.

3.5.3 Current Indonesian Poverty Alleviation Policies

Despite the history and widespread use of poverty lines as a way of conceptualizing and measuring poverty in Indonesia, in the last three to five years alternative methods have become widely used by planners and policy-makers. The purpose of this section is to review two national poverty alleviation programs implemented in Indonesia: (1) the Family Welfare Program (Keluarga Sejahtera) and (2) the Underdeveloped Village Program (Inpres Desa Tertinggal). The distinctly different approaches these two programs take in order to identify poverty offer insights into how poverty is presently conceptualized in Indonesia.
The Indonesian Women’s Family Welfare Organization (*Wanita Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*) is sponsored by the National Family Planning Board (BKKBN), which was established in 1970. The purpose of this program is broader than simply reducing population growth; it has always sought to improve the general health and standard of living of Indonesian families. In 1992, however, the enactment of a national law (*Undang-Undang Nomor 10*) established the Family Welfare Program (*Keluarga Sejahtera - KS*) as a separate program underneath the National Family Planning Board. The purpose of the national Family Welfare Program is to alleviate poverty, and it takes the view that welfare is antithetical to poverty. The starting point of the program is household evaluation. The Family Welfare Program identifies poverty according to the following thirteen criteria:

Table 3.1: Family Welfare Program Criteria for Identifying Poverty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Food</th>
<th>1. <em>Pangan</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Clothing</td>
<td>2. <em>Sandang</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Shelter</td>
<td>3. <em>Papan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Education</td>
<td>5. <em>Pendidikan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Family Planning</td>
<td>7. <em>Keluarga Berencana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Interaction within the Family</td>
<td>8. <em>Interaksi dalam Keluarga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Interaction within the Environment</td>
<td>9. <em>Interaksi dalam Lingkungan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Transportation</td>
<td>10. <em>Transportasi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Savings</td>
<td>11. <em>Tabungan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Information</td>
<td>12. <em>Informasi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Role within the community</td>
<td>13. <em>Peranan dalam Masyarakat</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional 1993, 4

These thirteen areas of family welfare are interesting because they encompass both basic needs and cultural values. The areas obviously reflecting Indonesian cultural values are:
religion, role within the community, and interaction within the family. This way of conceptualizing poverty moves beyond simple economic or material deprivation. Most notably, it acknowledges the importance of spiritual welfare as well as the individual’s role within the family and the community.

The 13 areas of family welfare are further divided into twenty-two indicators of household welfare. Again, the direct link between how poverty is conceptualized and how it is measured is obvious. Data necessary for evaluating these indicators are gathered by local women participating in the Women’s Family Welfare Organization. Based on the Family Welfare Program’s concept of poverty, the following table lists the indicators used to differentiate between poverty and different levels of welfare.
Table 3.2: Family Welfare Program Indicators of Household Welfare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage I:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Usually all members of the family eat at least twice a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. All members of the family have separate clothes to wear inside the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house and outside the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The largest portion of the floor in the house is not made of earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. If a child in the household is sick he/she is brought to a health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facility to receive modern medicine.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage II:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. At least once a week the household has meat/fish/egg for a meal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. In the last year each member of the family purchased at least one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new clothing outfit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The floor area provides at least 8 square meters per household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>member.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Each mature member of the family below the age of sixty can read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and write the Latin alphabet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Each child between six and fifteen is presently in school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. At least one member of the family older than fifteen years of age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has a regular income.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. In the last month each member of the family was healthy and could</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry out their own activities/functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Each member of the family practices their religious obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in an organized manner.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage III:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. Two is the maximum number of living children or if there are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than two children and the couple is still considered fertile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they are presently using contraception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. A proportion of the household income is used for savings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The family eats together at least once a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. The family usually participates in local community activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. The family partakes in recreation together outside the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at least once every three months.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. The family has access to news from either a newspaper, radio,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>television or magazine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Members of the family are capable of utilizing transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appropriate to the conditions of their local area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. The family is capable of making a contribution to a religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage IV:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21. The family is capable of making a material contribution to a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community social organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Either the head or a member of the household is active as a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizer or leader of community organization, group or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>institution.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional 1993, 142
Based on the above indicators, each household is evaluated and designated to a particular stage along a continuum ranging from poverty (Stage I) to different levels of welfare, (Stages II to IV). To advance to a higher stage, the family must satisfy all the criteria from the lower stages. Like to the 13 areas of family welfare documented in Table 3.1, these 22 indicators are ranked in order of priority. Consistent with the basic needs view of poverty, clothing, shelter, and access to “modern” medical treatment have the highest priority. In this conceptualization of poverty, the inability to engage in activities expected by society (such as religious, educational, and community activities) is also viewed as an important criterion for evaluating poverty; albeit clearly secondary to basic human physiological needs.

The Family Welfare Program is limited due to its source of data for measuring poverty and it has received criticism both for its uncritical method of data collection and for the criteria it used to evaluate poor families. Unlike most national-level data collection methods, the Family Welfare Program’s methods analyzes “families” as opposed to households. A family in this context is limited to a nuclear family, and non-resident children are considered to be family members. Beyond the issue of whether or not the Family Welfare Program criteria are appropriate measures of poverty, the questions used to identify a poor family were criticized for: (1) not producing well-defined answers and (2) not facilitating replicability. In addition, the integrity of the data used to evaluate a family’s welfare is questionable because they were collected by local Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers. These women are not trained enumerators; therefore, their “objectivity” is problematic. The counter argument to this criticism is that these women may elicit a high degree of the trust necessary for collecting sensitive data.
The second national poverty alleviation program in Indonesia, the Underdeveloped Village Program (*Inpres Desa Tertinggal- IDT*), was launched in 1993 as a component of Indonesia’s sixth five-year development plan. The program is a national poverty alleviation effort that was conceptualized, and is presently administered, by the National Development Planning Agency (*Bappenas*). How the program conceptualizes and measures poverty, and the strategies it employs to alleviate it, differs significantly from how the aforementioned Family Welfare Program does so. The starting point of the Underdeveloped Village Program is the rural or urban village. Here, both the term for rural village (*desa*) and urban village (*kelurahan*) denote the lowest political-administrative unit. The following is a combined list of the criteria used in rural and urban areas to determine whether a village is underdeveloped:
Table 3.3: Underdeveloped Village Program (IDT) Criteria for Identifying Poverty

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Type of Village Mediation Institution (LKMD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Field of work for the majority of the population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Health facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Communications infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Population density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Potable water source for drinking and cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fuel source for cooking and heating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Type of toilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Percentage of households that have a TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Percentage of households that have a phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Number of health workers that live in the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Percentage of households that have electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Percentage of families that are capable of sending their children or another family member to a post-secondary institution or university.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Percentage of households that own a four-wheel transportation vehicle or boat with a motor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Percentage of households that own a transportation vehicle with either two or three wheels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Percentage of households that use less than .5 hectares for business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Percentage of households that use less than .25 hectares for business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Percentage of households that do not have a certificate of ownership for their home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Social-economic condition of the population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Distance to the closest hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Distance to the closest health clinic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Proximity to a household that subscribes to a newspaper or magazine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik 1994, 25-26

The Underdeveloped Village Program focuses on two areas: (1) household-level consumption and (2) the general physical development of the surrounding geographic area measured in terms of the availability of services. The program identified poor villages in 1993, 1994, and 1995 but, currently, has stopped identifying new villages and is waiting to evaluate the results. Of the 65,000 villages in Indonesia, in 1995 28,000 qualified for the Underdeveloped Village Program. In order to receive financial assistance from the program, a qualified village must submit a formal proposal and then form a special body, consisting of a village leader and local residents, to administer the
assistance. According to the Indonesian planners administering the program, many villages in the outer provinces, such as Maluku and Irian Jaya, have not successfully obtained assistance because they have not prepared an acceptable proposal. The data used to evaluate the aforementioned criteria are obtained from the results of the PODES Inti Survey, Indonesia’s national village level survey. The PODES Inti accompanies SUSENAS and is implemented nationally every three years.

Like the Family Welfare Program, the Underdeveloped Village Program is limited by the data it uses to evaluate villages. Utilizing the IDT identification method, approximately 30 percent of Indonesia’s villages were identified as poor, and it is estimated that these villages only represent an estimated 50 percent of the poorest residents. One possible reason for this discrepancy is that the main method used for collecting the PODES Inti data is interviews with villages leaders. The reliability of these leaders as proxy respondents for an entire village is questionable. In urban areas these leaders are appointed civil servants, whereas in rural areas they are locally elected residents. In either case, there is a clear threat of politically motivated answers contaminating data. Some critics argue that if the Underdeveloped Village Program is going to successfully target the poor, then an improved data-gathering mechanism is necessary. This would involve a long process, and the same argument is valid for any poverty alleviation effort informed by national level databases. The Indonesian Family Planning Program has been very successful training field workers to identify women who are not using contraception; it appears that this method of using trained fieldworkers, although expensive, could also

\[34\] Based on discussions with Jack Molyneaux, RAND economist, in July 1996.
be used to identify poor households. This brings into question whether the state sincerely
wants to identify the poor and what can an impoverished state do for its poor should it be
able to identify them.

Both the Family Welfare Program and the Underdeveloped Village Program assume that
the community possesses the potential to reduce poverty. The Family Welfare Program
relies on community activists and leaders from the Women’s Family Welfare
Organization to identify and administer assistance to poor households. The
Underdeveloped Village Program also requires a community committee to be formed for
the administration of poverty alleviation assistance. These two national poverty
alleviation programs assume that the community has the potential to assist in the
alleviation of poverty. All communities (or RW) have the sociopolitical infrastructure to
select leaders and to conduct meetings to improve their local welfare. A high priority of
these community meetings is the reduction of poverty and/or the provision of assistance
to the poorest households. I think that assisting the poor is considered a high priority
partially due to the cultural ethic of gotong royong — of placing the welfare of the
community (or another individual) above the welfare of oneself.\textsuperscript{35} The existence of this
long-standing cultural ethic on Java creates a supportive environment for community-
based planning efforts directed at the reduction of poverty.

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{35} For a more in-depth explanation of the Indonesian cultural ethic of mutual cooperation, gotong royong, see Chapter 2.
\end{footnotes}
3.6 Conclusion

This chapter analyzes the broader contributions from the literature regarding how poverty is caused, conceptualized, and measured, and then it focuses on the Indonesian national context. A number of foundational theories concerning the causes of poverty are examined and divided into: (1) market-based explanations of poverty (e.g., Marxist and neoclassical economic perspectives) and (2) poverty as a cultural construct. The causes of poverty are discussed first because they set the stage for how poverty is conceptualized. For instance, if it is believed that poverty is caused by the market, then it is usually conceptualized in economic terms. In contrast, if poverty is believed to be a product of culture then it usually conceptualized in terms of sociocultural traits and indicators.

I then examine competing conceptualizations of poverty (absolute, relative, basic needs, sustainable livelihoods, and (dis)empowerment). I argue that how poverty was conceptualized is inextricably linked to its measurement. For example, if poverty is defined as low income, then an income-based poverty line is an appropriate method of measurement. However, if poverty is defined as a heterogeneous, multidimensional phenomenon, then its measurement and evaluation is more complicated. This was the case with Chambers's conceptualizing poverty as sustainable livelihoods and with Friedmann conceptualizing it as (dis)empowerment. In the international literature, poverty is presently understood as more than simple economic deprivation. In order to provide a starting point for my dissertation research, I looked at urban poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon that is antithetical to human welfare. Poverty can be identified and evaluated through an examination of its numerous manifestations, one of
which is usually income. I conclude that poverty should be evaluated through criteria relevant to the social and physical context in which it exists, here the case study community, Gondolayu Lor. These criteria are developed in Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9.

Next, I examine the differences between rural and urban poverty. I conclude that urban poverty is separate and unique from rural poverty because it is characterized by greater exposure to market forces, less access to land and natural resources, dependence on the provision of physical infrastructure and social services, and different intra-household and community dynamics. Despite these characteristics, urban poverty, until recently, has typically received less attention from governments, NGOs, and development agencies than has rural poverty. Research on the topic of urban poverty is necessary because it is underestimated, there is an analytical void regarding its nature, and there is an increasing number of urban poor in developing countries.

Finally, I examine how Indonesia conceptualizes poverty and find it to be parallel to how Westerners conceptualize it. I then discuss methods used to identify and measure poverty in Indonesia and find them to depend largely on poverty lines and quantitative measurements; however, they revealed nothing about the conditions and characteristics of poor households. Next, I analyze two Indonesian national poverty alleviation policies: the Family Welfare Program and the Underdeveloped Village Program. The Family Welfare Program conceptualizes poverty in terms of the sociocultural and physical characteristics of the household. The Underdeveloped Village Program conceptualizes poverty in terms of unmet basic needs, access to physical infrastructure, and provision of
social services. In the end, I found that how Indonesia conceptualizes poverty is directly related to how it measures it and how it attempts to alleviate it.

In conclusion, the debates regarding how poverty is caused, conceptualized, and measured are largely unresolved. This chapter outlines some strengths and weakness of competing approaches to understanding poverty in the Indonesian context. Based on support from the literature, particularly the work of Robert Chambers (1995), I will develop an understanding of poverty that is relevant to the residents of the case study community. This way of conceptualizing poverty, developed in Chapter 6, serves as a basis for evaluating the efforts of local residents to apply their indigenous knowledge, in the form of community-based planning, to the alleviation of poverty. First, however, Chapters 4 and 5 describe the larger cultural-historical context, social structures, and smaller micro-community milieu in which the case study is embedded.
CHAPTER 4

A PLACE CALLED GONDOLAYU LOR

List of Characters in Order of Appearance

- Pak Juwari, subdistrict leader
- Pak Subardi, M.C. for Jumat Kliwon
- Ibu Bandi, community activist
- Ibu Ajum, leader of RT 55
- Ibu Sri Ajum, leader of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization for RT 55
- Pak Abdul Manan, leader of RT 59
- Ibu Yayuk, informal leader of Women’s Family Welfare Organization for RT 59
- Ibu Kirom, leader of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization for RT 61
- Mas Yanto, substitute leader of RT 61

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broader context for understanding the case study findings. Why is a description of the broader context or area outside the specific case study community important? Doreen Massey (1994) persuasively argues that any serious understanding of place necessitates stepping back and taking a broader view. According to Massey, places are nexuses of social interaction and processes that are constantly being reproduced. In addition, Massey argues against viewing places as having strict boundaries with fixed identities. In the following statement, she makes a convincing argument for understanding places in their broader contexts:

In this interpretation, what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus. . . . It is indeed a meeting place. Instead then, of thinking of places as areas
with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent. This in turn allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local. (Massey 1994, 154-55)

Massey's statement helps us understand that places are actually “meeting places” of broader, dynamic social relations. Clearly, both the broader external social relations and the community’s internal history and milieu contribute to its sense of place.

To establish a sense of place for the case study community, I first describe the geographic location and development of the Special Province and city of Yogyakarta. I then delineate the problems associated with residential settlement along the Code River. Next, I analyze the urban political-administrative structure and its simultaneous provision and limitation of social spaces available for community-based planning. Finally, I explain the case study community’s formal leadership structure and its interaction with state. In short, this chapter demonstrates how history, the physical environment, and the social structure interact to create the unique set of social and physical spaces in which the case study community exists.

4.2 Location of the Case Study

The case study community is a small urban neighborhood in the city of Yogyakarta on the island of Java in the Republic of Indonesia. The following map illustrates the central
location of the island of Java in the Indonesian Archipelago and the location of the study area.

Figure 4.1: Map of Java, Indonesia, and Location of the Study Area
The city of Yogyakarta is surrounded by four rural regions, referred to as kabupaten: Kulon Progo, Sleman, Bantul, and Gunung Kidul. Only the regions of Sleman and Bantul physically share a border with the city. These four regions and the city of Yogyakarta are collectively referred to as the Special Province of Yogyakarta (Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta). In 1995, this province had a total population of 2,919,041 persons (Kantor Statistik Provinsi D.I. Yogyakarta 1996). The city of Yogyakarta is the capital of this Special Province.

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36 The total population for the province is based on the findings of the Indonesian National Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS) conducted in 1995.
Figure 4.2: Map of the Special Province and City of Yogyakarta
4.3 A Historical Development Trajectory of the City of Yogyakarta

From a social historical perspective, Yogyakarta is one of Indonesia's most colorful cities. Historians date the birth of Yogyakarta back to 1755 Treaty of Giyanti which divided the Mataram Empire into two kingdoms, Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The treaty established Prince Mangkubumi, who held the title Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, as the first Sultan of Yogyakarta (Koentjaraningrat 1985; Smithies 1987). The first Sultan strategically built the royal palace — *Kraton* — to maximize the metaphysical powers of Mount Merapi to the north and the Indian Ocean to the south. This north-south axis influenced much of the city’s future urban development, including its most popular commercial area, Malioboro Street and Beringharjo marketplace.

The construction of the palace also influenced the form of the city’s first residential development. The first residents of the city were the laborers and artisans who constructed the palace. Immediately following the construction of the palace, these residents occupied the palace complex, *Benteng Kraton*. Approximately 10 years after the palace was complete, the area between the Code and Winongo Rivers began to develop as a residential community. John Sullivan (1992) links the subsequent period of residential development to the sultan’s heightened political power and the increased number of functionaries, courtiers, foreigners, and servants needed to service the palace. Eventually, increased numbers of poor peasants began to move to the city in search of economic opportunity, and the residential areas outside the palace lost their cachet (Sullivan 1992). Sullivan refers to this process as the “vulgarization of the *kampung*.” He links this process to the changing usage of the term *kampung*. In Malay, *kampung* originally referred to a rural village. In Yogyakarta, the term was first used to describe
the residential compounds of the palace (Sullivan 1992). Later, due to the increased numbers of the poor *kampung* dwellers outside the palace complex, the term began to refer to an urban squatter settlement (Sullivan 1992). 37

In 1790, the Dutch built a fort in the city’s center, Benteng Vredenburg, to control both the growing urban population and the political power of the palace. 38 At this point, Dutch society began to exert a visible influence on the city. For example, the governor’s residence, post office, churches, schools, Dutch military complex, and Chinese community were all built during this period (Muneta 1995, 172). As a reaction to the Dutch and Chinese settlement patterns, particularly to their occupation of the city’s northern areas, the Javanese adopted a new development pattern that expanded south, east, and west of the palace. During this period, the city’s population continued to grow, and an increasing number of people began to reside along the Code River. In 1810, the Dutch forced Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono II to resign, and he was replaced by his son Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono III (Smithies 1987, 9). Following this change in leadership in 1812, the Dutch attacked the palace. As an outcome of this successful attack, the Dutch established an independent inheritable domain (Pakualaman palace) on the east banks of the Code River with a sultan holding the title of Pangeran Paku Alam I (Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 1985, 11; Smithies 1987, 9). The construction of this new palace marked the beginning of residential development along

37 Currently, many Javanese use *kampung* synonymously with neighborhood or community.
38 A comprehensive review of Indonesia’s colonial history is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Indonesia’s colonial period dates back to the 15th century when the port of Jayakarta (modern Jakarta) was seized by the United East India Company (VOC), continued into the 19th century when the Dutch created the modern state of Indonesia, and ended in 1945 when Indonesia proclaimed its independence.
the east banks of the Code River (Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 1985, 11).

In a contemporary administrative sense, the city of Yogyakarta was first established in 1936. At that time, the city’s official land area was 16.7 square kilometers, with a total population of 136,649 persons (PT. Kerta Gana 1996, II-2). During Indonesia’s struggle for independence from Dutch colonial rule, Yogyakarta served as the capital of the Republic of Indonesia from January 1946 to December 1949. President Sukarno occupied the Dutch governor’s residence, Gedung Agung; the palace was used as a headquarters for the Indonesian army, and the importance of the north-south axis was renewed. During this same period, Lieutenant Colonel Suharto, later to become President Suharto, and Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX agreed to join forces against Dutch colonial rule (Muneta 1995, 171). The Javanese returned to Malioboro, and the fighters for Indonesian independence gave the city its reputation as a place of revolution and idealism (Muneta 1995, 173). In 1961, the city’s administrative boundaries were expanded to their present size, 32.5 square kilometers, with a total population of 312,696 persons (PT. Kerta Gana, 1996, II-2). Although the city’s land area has remained the same since 1961, its population has increased. The following table shows the city’s total population and the average population density per square kilometer between 1993 and 1996.
Table 4.1: Total and Average Population Density for Yogyakarta 1993-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Average Population Density Per km²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>456,132</td>
<td>14,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>461,800</td>
<td>14,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>466,313</td>
<td>14,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>471,335</td>
<td>14,503</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.4 Socio-Cultural Influences

The presence of the sultan influenced the city beyond its built environment, as the monarchy contributed to a political environment that is still felt in the present. Moertono (1963) characterizes Javanese kingship in the late Mataram Period (from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century) as a master and servant relationship. He explains that sultans were viewed as the sole intermediary between the "micro-cosmos of man and the macro-cosmos of the gods," and during this period their absolute authority was rarely challenged. In the following statement, Moertono (1963, 5) describes the conditions in which insurgency would occur:

Rebellion occurs only when the king’s reign becomes so oppressive or so weak and careless that the people cannot fulfill their simple needs of life. The stability of state-life is more likely to be menaced by the many internal disturbances of wars, feuds, and dynastic conflicts.

In short, traditional Javanese society is governed by a strict social hierarchy that is controlled by such mechanisms as language, etiquette, dress, and homage. In order to understand how communities mobilize to engage in community-based planning on Java, one must realize that for many Javanese, on both ends of the social spectrum, transgression of the established hierarchy is considered undesirable. As a result,
community-based planning usually concentrates on pragmatic ends, such as obtaining social and physical services, rather than on larger social transformations, which would require upsetting the class system or restructuring the state apparatus and/or monarchy. In conclusion, this tradition of the monarchy and its present socio-cultural sway substantially influenced the community-based planning processes in the case study community.

Presently, Yogyakarta has diverse images in Indonesian popular culture, and its nicknames reflect this. The presence of the Javanese sultan and the royal palace led to the nickname Kota Budaya (The City of Culture). Sometimes the city is called Kota Belajar (A City for Studying) because of its numerous academic institutions and large student population. Throughout Indonesia, Yogyakarta is famous for its low cost of living and is thus referred to as Kota Murah (The Inexpensive City). Yogyakarta is also known as Kota Rakyat (The City of the People), probably due to a combination of these characteristics.
Figure 4.3: Map of the City of Yogyakarta

City of Yogyakarta boundary
Local points of interest
Railway
River

Scale: 1 : 35 000

Source: Periplus Editions, Yogyakarta City Map
4.5 The Code River Area

In addition to the aforementioned socio-cultural and historic factors, three rivers have also influenced the city’s urban development. The case study is based on an urban residential community located along the Code River. Generations of poor migrants have built their housing along this river because the area was inexpensive and the river provided convenient access to the city’s economic center. Sources estimate that residential development began along the Code River in the early 1800s (Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 1985, 11). The subsequent unregulated development of high density residential housing along the river has been a constant source of problems due to periodic flooding. The dangers posed by floods have shaped the social and organizational history of these river communities. The unique physical spaces specific to the river communities have been an important factor in influencing the position from which the community must challenge existing relations of power in order to reduce poverty.

The Code River originates on Mount Merapi, and, due to a combination of natural and human factors, high flood tides threaten the safety of residential communities along its banks. Studies of the Code River Area (*Kawasan Kali Code*) indicate that residents expect to experience periodic flooding and consider this “normal” (Moch. Santosa 1993). According to municipal planners that work with these communities, residents use a number of indicators, such as observed rainfall and the surfacing of worms in the soil, to predict the timing and extent of flooding. In anticipation of a flood, residents store their valuables in specially designed cubbyholes and temporarily occupy neighbors’ houses at
higher elevations. Despite these mechanisms for coping, in 1969 more destructive, unpredictable floods began to occur, and local residents began to view these floods as "dangerous" (Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 1985, 48). The following table indicates the level of destruction caused by these floods.

Table 4.2: Damages Incurred as a Result of Floods in the Code River Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of the Flood</th>
<th>Flood Victims</th>
<th>Number of Damages:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 13, 1979</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 14, 1980</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 4, 1981</td>
<td>6041</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 4-5, 1984</td>
<td>9581</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After the 1984 flood, a series of socio-economic and attitudinal studies were conducted among river residents. The most well known of these studies was conducted by the city’s Municipal Planning Department, with the assistance of a private consulting firm. Based on the recommendation of these studies, a participatory planning process was begun with several river communities. The study concluded that despite the dangers posed by the possibility of future floods, residents were not willing to relocate and to sacrifice their access to inexpensive housing and economic opportunities for the sake of safer housing.

At this point, the Municipal Planning Department began to implement a series of community development programs that focused on improving the physical, socio-economic, and natural environment of river communities.

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39 Based on interviews with local residents and government officials, other large floods occurred in 1969 and 1991. There is no data available on the damages incurred as a result of these floods.
One of the largest infrastructure investments of this program was the construction of a dike that extends the length of the river. In 1991, construction began along the southern portion of the river, where flooding was the most serious. It is estimated that the project will take 10 years to complete. Construction of the dike is a combined effort between the municipal government, the military, and local communities (Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Yogyakarta 1995, 5). At the time of the field research, construction had reached the area just south of the case study community, where it was anticipated to begin sometime during the next two years. In communities where construction was complete, the dike had provided an appealing public walkway along the river, and for the first time houses began to face the river rather than away from it. Not only does the dike protect communities from flooding, it also serves as a tacit state acknowledgment of the permanence of these communities and their right to a safe and affordable living environment. Despite this, much of the housing along the river remains officially unauthorized by the state. However, to a limited extent the construction of the dike has diminished residents’ constant fear of eviction and provided communities with a greater sense of physical security and social justice. This small measure of security, although further complicated by the state’s treatment of river communities less affluent than the case study community, provides a small social space for residents to engage in community-based planning.

Figure 4.4: Photographs of the Dike along Code River, South

Top to bottom: (1) right side of the Code River with newly constructed dike, and (2) houses newly renovated to face the river after construction of the dike.
4.6 The Urban Political-Administrative Structure

To understand how community-based planning works, it is first necessary to understand the state-mandated political-administrative structure that operates in urban areas throughout Indonesia.\(^41\) The municipality of Yogyakarta is governed by a mayor. Every five years a mayor is elected by a municipal House of Representatives, which consists of elected representatives from Indonesia’s three political parties and the military. This body creates a list of mutually acceptable candidates that must meet the approval of the governor of the province. After approval is obtained, the House of Representatives votes to select the mayor.

The city of Yogyakarta is subdivided into 14 geographic districts and 45 subdistricts.\(^42\) District and subdistrict leaders are civil servants appointed by the mayor. These civil servants are periodically relocated to different jurisdictions.\(^43\) Each subdistrict is further subdivided into smaller geographic units referred to as RWs (Rukun Warga) and these are subdivided into smaller groups of households referred to as RTs (Rukun Tetangga).\(^44\) RW and RT leaders are local residents selected through a community consensus-building

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\(^41\) The political-administrative structure is slightly different in rural areas. In these areas the subdistrict is referred to as a desa and the leader is a local resident elected by the community.

\(^42\) Throughout this dissertation use of the term “district” refers to a kecamatan and the term “subdistrict” refers to a kelurahan.

\(^43\) The population density figures are higher than indicated here because the total land area of .66 square kilometers includes roads, a market place, stores, government offices, a cemetery, hotels, and other non-residential land uses.

\(^44\) Although these leaders are popularly elected, if a politically controversial person were to be selected it is possible the state would reject him/her and demand a new leader. This has never happened in the case study community.
process conducted every three years. Unlike district and subdistrict leaders, RW and RT leaders are unpaid volunteers.

A dual leadership structure segregated by gender pervades the entire aforementioned political-administrative structure from the highest national levels to the smallest household units. At every level, men are usually selected as leaders and their wives are expected to lead the Women's Family Welfare Organization45 for the corresponding political-administrative level.46 For example, the wife of the subdistrict leader is expected to lead the subdistrict level Women’s Family Welfare Organization. Frequently, when a wife is either unable or does not desire to fulfill her leadership duties she is replaced by a substitute. At the subdistrict level and below, the substitute is often a local female resident who has an interest in community development issues — a “community activist.” As a result of the segregation of men and women, each political administrative level has a separate organization for each gender. The case study community was one RW with seven smaller RT. The following diagram illustrates the urban political-administrative structure in the context of the case study community.

45 This national program is referred to in Indonesian as Wanita Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, or Wanita PKK. This program is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.
46 This gender division of leadership is a generalization. During my field research in 1994 and 1997, there was one female subdistrict leader in the municipality of Yogyakarta. In addition, one male respondent in the case study community, Pak Subardi, told me he nominated Ibu Bandi, a woman, as leader of the RW. Pak Subardi is the M.C. of the Jumat Kliwon community group and Ibu Bandi is a Family Welfare community activist. Pak Subardi claimed, and Ibu Bandi confirmed, that she had declined the nomination because she was worried she would be unable to handle the security issues that are the responsibility of the RW leader. Examples of possible security issues include: robberies, fights, and questioning strangers in the community.
This structure is extremely important to the dissertation research because (1) it provides the social spaces used by local residents to form organizations and to engage in community-based planning to reduce urban poverty and (2) it dictates how the community interacts with the Indonesian state.

This political-administrative structure has an interesting developmental history in Indonesia. The structure was first implemented by the Japanese while they were occupying Indonesia during the Second World War, and it enabled them to control Indonesia’s relatively large population with a comparatively small military presence. After Indonesian independence, this structure was maintained by both the old and new order regimes. During Suharto’s presidency, this apparatus was converted into a national
development mechanism through which numerous development projects and programs were implemented. In his book, *Local Government and Community in Java: An Urban Case-Study*, John Sullivan (1992, 6) concludes that Javanese urban communities view the political-administrative structure and its "key administrative organs as non-political community possessions." This view of the political-administrative structure highlights the dilemma over its role in Indonesian society. As stated earlier, at the most local household-levels, where the leaders are popularly elected, the structure provides local residents with the social spaces, based on system of physical territorial spaces, to come together through civil society and engage in community-based planning. This structure facilitates pragmatic benefits for the community, such as greater access to social and physical services, thus reducing some manifestations of community-level poverty.

However, this same structure also serves to function as a form of social control, limiting the very social spaces it provides. For example, the lack of horizontal linkages prevents communities from working with one another and pursuing larger social transformation. All mobilization either occurs from the top of the hierarchy downward or from the bottom up. In later chapters, the case study research shows how the community creates alternative planning spaces when the social spaces provided by the state-sanctioned political-administrative structure are deemed ineffective or inadequate.

Another area of confusion created by this structure is that it blurs the distinction between the community and the state. As indicated above, the political-administrative structure is a mechanism of state control and organization; however, the empirical evidence from the case study shows that the community used the structure to elect local leaders via popular vote and to take control of their social and physical environment. Later chapters
demonstrate that the community also successfully used this structure to levy demands on the state for increased resources. It difficult to determine where, in this structure, the state stops and the community begins, and who benefits more from the social spaces it creates.

4.7 The Case Study Community Within the Political-Administrative Structure

The case study community is located in Jetis District, which encompasses 1.7 square kilometers (Kantor Statistik Kodya Yogyakarta 1997, 5). At the end of 1996, the total population of Jetis District was 36,563 persons, and the average population density was 21,508 persons per square kilometer, substantially higher than the city’s average population density (Kantor Statistik Kodya Yogyakarta 1997, 27). Jetis District is further divided into three smaller subdistricts: (1) Gowongan, (2) Cokrodiningratan, and (3) Bumijo. Each of these subdistricts is equivalent to a village, or desa, in rural areas. The case study community is located in Cokrodiningratan Subdistrict. Over the past six years, the population of Cokrodiningratan Subdistrict has been relatively stable. The following table illustrates the total population between 1993 and 1997.
Table 4.3: Total Population in Subdistrict Cokrodingratan 1993-97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>12,636</td>
<td>2,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>12,736</td>
<td>2,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>12,803</td>
<td>2,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>12,878</td>
<td>2,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997*</td>
<td>12,899</td>
<td>2,645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Subdistrict Cokrodingratan Records. *Figures are for the end of March 1997.

The total land area of Cokrodingratan Subdistrict is .66 square kilometers (or 65.9 hectares). In 1997, the population density was 19,544 persons per square kilometer (or 198 persons per hectare). The Cokrodingratan Subdistrict is further subdivided into 11 smaller RWs. The case study is based on one RW, RW XI, and the 7 smaller RTs (55-61) it encompasses (see figure 4.5). During the 1997 field research period, RW XI consisted of 275 households, or 799 persons.

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47 The figures in the table are based on the total number of residents and households that register with the subdistrict. The subdistrict office maintains a card, Kartu Keluarga, on each household. Each card includes the following information on each household member: name, sex, relationship to the household head, date and place of birth, marital status, religion, citizenship, and educational attainment. The number of households in the case study community, 275, is based on the results of a household census I administered during the field research. The household census used a different method of distinguishing households than is used by the subdistrict. The household census defined households as economic units that share food and other daily necessities. Using this definition, a single person renting a room, (i.e. a boarder) constitutes a self-contained household. In contrast, the subdistrict defines boarders as members of the households they occupy. In addition, while conducting the household census, many households admitted they had not registered either all the members of their households or boarders with the subdistrict office. As a result of these two factors, the number of residents and households recorded in the household census I administered is higher than the number recorded by the subdistrict office.

48 According to the 1980 census, the population density of this area was approximately 15,126 persons per square kilometer.

49 The population density figures are higher than indicated here because the total land area of .66 square kilometers includes roads, a market place, stores, government offices, a cemetery, hotels, and other non-residential land uses.

50 For the purposes of this dissertation, a household is defined as an economic unit. In most cases it is a group of persons that cooks and makes most of their daily economic decisions together.
4.8 Subdistrict Cokrodiningratan

Subdistrict Cokrodiningratan has two separate budgets, each of which has a different purpose. The first budget is between 8,500,000 and 10,000,000 rupiah per year. This amount is determined by a number of indicators, including: the amount of physical improvements undertaken by the subdistrict office each year, the population size and density, and the ability of the subdistrict to effectively collect property and building taxes. In rural areas, the subdistrict office is allowed to raise its own funds from the local population. Forty percent of this money is used for routine expenses, such as office materials and meetings. The remaining 60 percent is used for building expenses, including maintenance of the subdistrict office. This money does not include the salary of the subdistrict employees, which they receive directly from the government. The second budget is a grant of 6,500,000 rupiah from a program referred to as Inpres Bantuan Desa.

From this grant, 1,500,000 rupiah are used to support the Women’s Family Welfare Organization activities, and the remaining 5,000,000 rupiah are used for local construction.

A civil servant named Pak Juwari has been the subdistrict leader of Cokrodiningratan since 1993. Pak Juwari is a small-framed, slender man who looks very young for his 42 years of age. He has a shy, quiet way about him, but he is always smiling, which seems an incongruous demeanor for the “face of the state.” His thick Javanese accent sometimes makes it difficult to understand his Indonesian. This accent was much more pronounced than were those of most of the residents in Gondolayu Lor, which led me to ask about his background. Pak Juwari completed high school in the rural region of Kulon.

51 In rural areas, the subdistrict office is allowed to raise its own funds from the local population.
Progo, which is located in the Special Province of Yogyakarta. At the time of the field research, he resided in Sleman, a rural region bordering the city of Yogyakarta to the north. He commutes to work each day on a motorcycle. He has never resided in an urban area; however, he has worked in various urban subdistricts since 1975. According to Pak Juwari, a subdistrict leader has three main responsibilities: (1) governance, (2) physical construction, and (3) community development. In his opinion, RW leaders are an extension of the subdistrict leader’s influence, although RW leaders, unlike civil servants, are unsalaried volunteers. As a result, according to Pak Juwari, RW leaders share the same three areas of responsibility as do subdistrict leaders. He describes the role of RW leaders as that of being bridges between the government and local residents.

The subdistrict office also supervises a decision-making body comprised primarily of local residents, referred to as Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (LKMD). Members of this body are selected through a consensus-building process with 30 community figures at the subdistrict level. The members of the LKMD are selected for a five-year period. Among the 59 members of the LKMD are 9 employees of the subdistrict and their respective wives, thus resulting in a total of 18 LKMD members being representatives of the state. All employees of the subdistrict, regardless of whether or not they reside there, are automatically members of the LKMD. This includes the subdistrict leader, in this case Pak Juwari. According to Pak Juwari, the purpose of the LKMD is:

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52 Documentation provided by Subdistrict Cokrodiningratan served as the basis for the summary of the procedures used to select LKMD members.
The LKMD specializes in assisting either the village head or the subdistrict leader in creating a forum to facilitate the participation of local residents in order to make the development process successful, beginning with planning through implementation.\textsuperscript{53}

The members of the LKMD are organized into groups based on specific responsibilities. These groups focus on: dissemination of the principles of the Indonesian constitution, security and safety, education, the local environment, economics, health and family planning, concerns relating to the community’s youth, social welfare, and implementation of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization.\textsuperscript{54} The members of this body are also responsible for making planning decisions regarding the use of subdistrict funds. The LKMD usually conducts three to four meetings a year. At the time of the field research in 1997, no residents from the case study community, Gondolayu Lor RW XI, were members of the LKMD. This exclusion is significant because it prevented residents of the case study community from obtaining direct access to subdistrict level decision-making processes. As a result, the residents of the case study community only have access to decisions that affect their immediate physical and social environment through community organizations at the RT and RW political-administrative levels.

\textsuperscript{53} LKMD itu boleh dikata khusus dalam rangka membantu Kepala Desa ataupun Lurah dalam rangka mewadahi partisipasi masyarakat dalam rangka mensukseskan pembangunan, baik mulai dari perencanaan sampai dengan pelaksanaanya, gitu.

\textsuperscript{54} These groups are referred to in Indonesian as: Seksi P4, Seksi Keamanan/Ketentraman dan Ketertiban, Seksi Pendidikan Penerangan, Seksi Lingkungan Hidup, Seksi Perekonomian/Pembangunan, Seksi Kesehatan, Seksi Pemuda/Olah Raga/Kesenian, Seksi Sosial/Kesejahteraan Masyarakat, Seksi P.K.K.
Figure 4.6: Map and Aerial Photograph, Gondolayu Lor RW XI
4.9 RW XI

Although the subdistrict is presently divided into 11 individual RWs, prior to the existence of the RW system of governance, it was comprised of three older communities. These communities were organized into political-administrative units referred to as RKs (*Rukun Kampung*). Due to increased population density, a national decision was made to replace the RK system with smaller, more manageable, units, and, in 1989, the RW system was implemented throughout the municipality of Yogyakarta. The three older communities were reconfigured as follows: both RK Cokrodiningratan and RK Cokrokusuman were divided into four RWs each, and Jetis Harjo was divided into three RWs. Prior to this administrative restructuring, the case study community belonged to RK Cokrokusuman. It was during this transition from RKs to RWs that Gondolayu Lor RW XI, the case study community, first became an “official” community, with all the attached political organizations, public meetings, and welfare organizations. The establishment of RW XI is significant because, since 1989, all community-based organizations have been based on these organizational units.

The leadership of RW XI does not have frequent contact with the district leadership. It is standard protocol that most issues are dealt with at the subdistrict-level first and only brought to the district-level at the discretion of the subdistrict leader. Each month the Women’s Family Welfare Organization representatives from RW XI are invited to attend informational meetings at the district office. A few representative women from RW XI regularly attend these meetings. Some civil servants from the district-level also work with the RW-level Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers to identify
households in need of public welfare assistance. A larger number of women from RW XI regularly attend meetings at the more local subdistrict-level. The information conveyed at these meetings is relayed to local residents at the monthly RW-level Women’s Family Welfare Organization meetings. As a result of the community’s non-participation in the subdistrict LKMD body, its primary means of communication with the state is through the Women’s Family Welfare Organization because it is only this group that meets on a regular basis with representation of the higher political-administrative levels. In addition, information obtained from meetings at the district- and subdistrict-levels is relayed back to the community through the Women’s Family Welfare Organization.

As in all urban communities throughout Indonesia, male RW and RT leaders and their wives are expected to conduct separate, gender-segregated community meetings. For example, in RT 55, Pak Ajum conducted meetings with each of the male heads of households, and his wife Ibu Sri Ajum led Women’s Family Welfare Organization meetings with the female heads of households. In addition, RTs 56, 57, 58, and 60 conducted separate male and female meetings. In practice, this system of leadership is sometimes modified to suit local circumstances. For example, the leader of RT 59, Pak Abdul Manan, is separated from his wife; although they both lived in Gondolayu Lor RW XI, his wife lived in a different RT with her mother. In this case, Ibu Yayuk, an unrelated female resident, assumed the leadership of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization’s meetings for RT 59. This arrangement did not create a conflict because Ibu Yayuk is divorced from her husband, who resides in another city. Ibu Kirom and her husband

55 Ibu Sri Ajum is Ibu Sumiyatun’s younger sister.
functioned as leaders of RT 61 until her employer, the local Health Department, relocated her family to a rural village on the city’s outskirts. Throughout the field research, she continued to return to Gondolayu Lor to function as leader of RT 61, even though her husband had relinquished his responsibilities to a younger unmarried male resident of RT 61, Mas Yanto. When interviewed, Ibu Kirom expressed ambivalence about continuing her responsibilities as leader of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization. She was busy at her new job and the commute back to Gondolayu Lor a couple times each month was draining (although she enjoyed the opportunity to visit with her old neighbors and friends).

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter provides a broad historical and environmental context for understanding the urban area in which the case study community is located. Particularly important is the strict social hierarchy that has resulted from the presence of the Javanese royal monarchy in Yogyakarta. Periodic flooding of the Code River has also afflicted the case study community. As a result of this environmental problem, the state has begun constructing expensive flood-prevention infrastructure, which many residents view as an implicit admission of their right to a safe and affordable living environment. This chapter also explains the problematic nature of the Indonesian political-administrative structure: a structure that creates spaces within which local residents can engage in community-based planning, yet, through its vertical hierarchy, simultaneously limits the degree of social transformation residents can achieve in these spaces. Finally, by establishing Gondolayu Lor as a “place” connected to a network of social relations extending beyond its physical
locality, this chapter provides a basis for understanding the findings of later chapters in a broader context.
CHAPTER 5

THE SMELL OF CORPSES OR OF A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN?

List of Characters in Order of Appearance

Mbah Wongso, local midwife and community elder
Pak Tris, oldest living native of Gondolayu Lor
Pak Muryanto, the first resident from Boyolali to settle in Gondolayu Lor (over 30 years ago, when he started a rubber tire business)
Ibu Sumiyatun, community activist and a native of Gondolayu Lor
Pak Nanang, owns cottage industry that produces leather products
Ibu Yayuk, informal leader of Women's Family Welfare Organization for RT 59

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the case study community’s spatial layout as well as its social organization and physical development. First, the etymology of Gondolayu Lor is explained, and then the reader is given a walking tour through the community. Second, based on the results of a household census administered by myself, the chapter analyzes the community’s socio-economic profile, physical infrastructure development, land tenure status, and participation in and contributions to community-based planning efforts. Analysis of these statistics illustrates two important points. First, the community has a number of distinct subpopulations, with distinct socio-economic characteristics. Later in the dissertation these subpopulations demonstrate different patterns of mobilizing local residents for community-based planning purposes. Second, the issue of the community’s land tenure status is ambiguous in that many residents do
not have official state permission to occupy their land, yet the state and the community continue to invest in developing the community’s physical and social environment. Here, I argue that the case study community uses community-based planning to improve its physical environment in order to appear like a middle-class permanent settlement rather than like an illegal “squatter” settlement, and this is an important means by which the community subtly challenges its current insecure land tenure status.

5.2 Gondolayu Lor: A Shared History

There are numerous variations on the history of the community’s name, which together illustrate the local residents’ sense of a shared communal history.\textsuperscript{56} In Javanese, \textit{lor} means north, hence Northern Gondolayu; \textit{kidul} means south, and across Jenderal Sudirman Boulevard there is a community known as Gondolayu Kidul. One version of the etymology is that the area was named after its first resident, Sri Gondolayu. \textit{Mbah} Wongso, the oldest member of the community and the local midwife, offers an alternative explanation, claiming that the community was given its name when the corpse of a beautiful woman was found adrift in the Code River. Here, \textit{gondol} meaning to carry and \textit{ayu} referring to the corpse of the beautiful woman. \textit{Pak} Tris, the oldest native of Gondolayu Lor, offers yet another explanation of the community’s name. According to him, if the last letter of the first word is shifted and becomes the first letter of the second word, then the name changes to \textit{gondo}, meaning a smell, and \textit{layu}, meaning a corpse. This interpretation of the community’s name is supported by a number of different

\textsuperscript{56} The names Gondolayu Lor, Gondolayu, and RW XI are used interchangeably to refer to the case study community.
stories. The community was once the location of a Chinese cemetery, hence the name *Gondo* (smell of the) *layu* (corpses). Other residents think this name refers to the numerous suicides committed from Sudirman Bridge. The most intricate story dates back to the 1920s, when it is believed that travelers were robbed and murdered while crossing Sudirman Bridge at night and then buried in Gondolayu. According to this story, the corpses were discovered years later when the area underwent construction, and the community was named for its smell. These histories of the community’s name give residents a sense of belonging to a “community,” and this “sense of community” explains some part of the willingness on the behalf of local activists to make personal sacrifices for the sake of reducing poverty. In addition to this shared history, there are physical features, both built and natural, that add to Gondolayu Lor’s sense of community.
Figure 5.1: Photographs of the Community History Narrators

Mbah Wongso

Pak Tris
Figure 5.2: Map of the Case Study Community, Gondolayu Lor RW XI

Source: Hand-drawn map from personal survey
5.3 Community As Locality

The case study community has a number of physical features that distinguish it from its surrounding neighborhoods. It is bordered on the west by a retaining wall, and the houses belonging to the neighboring RW are located at a slightly higher elevation. Further west is a post office and one of the most luxurious hotels in the city, the Hotel Santika. To the east, the community is bordered by the bank of the Code River; to the south, it is bordered by Sudirman Boulevard. Beyond the most northern houses, the community tapers off into brush along the river. Physical boundaries on all sides separate Gondolayu Lor from other communities.

The main entrance to the community is a gapura, an Indonesian gate, that bears the community’s name and faces Jenderal Sudirman Boulevard. It also serves as an entrance to the main road which runs the length of the Gondolayu Lor community. At the beginning of this road, there are a number of warung (small shops) mostly owned and operated by local residents, although they do not own the land upon which they stand. These shops sell prepared food, dried food stuffs, a limited selection of fruits and vegetables, cooking oil, fuel, soap, and other daily necessities. These shops provide the community with a sense of self-sufficiency and self-containment.

The community is built on a number of different physical elevations. The houses nearest the river occupy the lowest elevations, while the houses closest to Jenderal Sudirman Boulevard are located on the highest. The main road to the community is wide enough to accommodate four-wheel vehicles, although they are rarely used because most residents
do not own cars and the narrowness of the road makes this type of traffic disruptive to pedestrians and vendors. Just beyond the shops on the main road is the community office. This office is the monthly meeting place for the cooperative, mother and child health care clinic, and it also contains the community library. This small one-room structure also houses the community’s trophies, photo albums, and a large chalk board delineating Gondolayu Lor’s demographic statistics. The main road in the community forms one large circle starting and ending at the community office. Beyond the shops, this road weaves through a residential area where the houses are quite diverse in terms of their size and the materials used in their construction. Most are built from either brick or wood and have tile roofs, but some are built from woven bamboo mats. This road leads on to a badminton court located in the center of the community. The open area is a communal public space, and it is used for meetings and such events as the annual Independence Day celebration.57

Beyond the badminton court, the road narrows into stairs that lead to the lower portion of the community, where the houses are located along the river. This lower portion consists of two RTs: RT 56 and RT 57. In 1969, the Code River flooded, destroying many of these homes. At that time, RT 56 and RT 57 were a single RT, and they began conducting meetings every 35 days, according to the Javanese calendar. These meetings were originally meant to overcome the effects of the flood. The particular day upon which the meetings were conducted is called Jumat Kliwon and, so, this community group was named Jumat Kliwon. At the time, some houses contained a meter of mud, 57

57 Approximately 15 years ago, the local youth group requested the Office of Agrarian Affairs zone the
and hunger was a concern. Even when this RT was split into two smaller RTs, these households continued to conduct meetings every Jumat Kliwon in addition to conducting individual monthly RT meetings. In the absence of a natural disaster, these meetings remain a forum for organizing both short- and longer-term community improvement plans. Here, it is decided which issues are community-based planning priorities, how much money is needed to undertake projects, and how to organize their implementation. The work of the Jumat Kliwon group is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

In the lower RTs, the main road narrows and the houses are closer together. Located along the southern edge of the community, near the Sudirman Bridge, is an unpaved open area used for playing volleyball and soccer. There is also a public well and an area for washing clothes. The houses in the lower RTs are newer and smaller, and the residents usually do not own their land. The status of the land in this area is wedi kengser, literally “the land belongs to the river.” Many of the residents of the lower RTs are migrants from a single village, Boyolali, near the city of Solo in Central Java. A resident named Pak Muryanto moved from this village to Gondolayu Lor over three decades ago and opened a stall along Jenderal Sudirman Boulevard for selling and repairing rubber tires. His business was successful, and he has brought at least 30 members of his village to reside permanently in Gondolayu Lor. Most of these people also operate tire stalls — all of which are located in a row directly across Jenderal Sudirman Boulevard from the community. Many residents view the villagers from Boyolali as a separate homogenous subcommunity, and during the in-depth interviews they were affectionately referred to as badminton court as a public open space. This request was granted, thus preventing the building of new
the tire children (anak-anak ban) or tire society (masyarakat ban or orang-orang ban).
In some interviews, this group was less affectionately referred to as newcomers (orang pendatang). Pak Muryanto still operates a rubber tire stall and his family also manages other commercial ventures along Jenderal Sudirman Boulevard. Like many of the villagers from Boyolali, he remains active in both Gondolayu Lor and his native village. Although he has lived in Gondolayu Lor for 31 years, he continues to send remittances back to Boyolali.

At the northern end of the lower RT 56 there is another set of stairs that bridges the lower and upper portions of the community. Ibu Sumiyatun and her husband Pak Nanang live in the upper portion of the community, RT 55. They own and operate a cottage industry that produces leather purses, backpacks, jackets, and other accessories. This industry employs approximately 20 local residents and is run out of their home, although they also rent neighboring residential units for additional work and storage space. A native of Gondolayu Lor, Ibu Sumiyatun, is a community activist involved in many of the local Family Welfare Organization's efforts. Her household contributes relatively large sums of money to a variety of community development efforts. The house of Ibu Sumiyatun and Pak Nanang is a hub of activity, partly due to their amicable personalities and partly due to the large number of local residents they employ.

In the upper portion of the community, along the main road that runs north from the gate, is a small mosque. The mosque is a meeting place for the Muslim members of the

housing on this land.
community, and it stands on Ibu Yayuk's property. Ibu Yayuk's predecessors built this mosque as an alternative to traveling to Mecca. Ibu Yayuk is divorced and employed full-time as a professional personal assistant to a medical doctor outside the community. She is also a native of Gondolayu Lor and a community activist, although her level of involvement in community development activities has varied during the different periods of field research.

Throughout the community, residents rent rooms to boarders in order to supplement their incomes. Usually, the boarders are young and unmarried: some are students, others are employed. A small minority of boarders are day laborers who are only temporarily residing in the community, but most are permanent street sellers. Others are employees in businesses owned by community members. In general, these boarders do not play a significant role in the community organizations. Although they account for a substantial proportion of the population, they are viewed as temporary residents rather than as full-fledged community members. These different subcommunities (especially those comprised of residents from the lower versus the upper RTs, those comprised of people who came from Boyolali, and those comprised of temporary boarders) play very different roles in the community-based planning process. Later chapters will show how place of origin, occupation, tenure in the community, and the spatial location of one's home as well as factors like experience, education, occupation, and income, determine how local residents conceptualize poverty and participate in the community-based planning process.
Figure 5.3: Photographs of the Case Study Community as Locality

Clockwise: (1) main road leading into the Gondolayu Lor, (2) Code River and northern boarder of the community, (3) small shop at the entrance of main road, and (4) community gate and main entrance
Figure 5.4: Photographs of Community Office and Housing

Clockwise: (1) bamboo mat house, (2) view from Sudirman Bridge with Hotel Santika in the background, and (3) more affluent house, and (4) community office.
Clockwise: (1) stairs leading down to lower RTs 56/57 and newly repaved footpath, and (2 and 3) narrow footpaths characteristic of RTs 56 and 57 (compared to those in the upper RTs).
Figure 5.6: Photographs of Pak Nanang's Leather Industry

Top: Pak Nanang at home with his leather products. Below: residents who work in his cottage industry.
5.4 Socio-Economic Profile of Gondolayu Lor

A census was conducted of each of the 275 households in the case study community. From each household, one member, usually the adult female or male head of household, responded on behalf of the entire household. If this respondent did not know information regarding another household member, then the later was approached individually. Each census was administered by a trained enumerator. For the purposes of the census, a household was defined as a group of economically interdependent people. For example, often in one dwelling subgroups would shop, prepare meals, and make certain economic decisions as a unit; in these cases, each subgroup was considered to be a separate household. It was necessary to define households in economic terms in order to collect accurate income and expenditure data.

Based on the findings from the household census, the following two tables provide the socio-economic characteristics of the community. The data are presented in categories representing smaller sub-populations in the community. The first category — community-wide — includes every household in the case community; the second category — boarders — is made up of respondents who lived alone and rented rooms. Each boarder was considered an independent household and was administered his/her own questionnaire because he/she purchased his/her daily necessities independently and did not share resources with the households from which he/she rented rooms. The amount of rent the boarders paid their landlords was considered part of the latter's income. The third category — families — is made up of all the households that are not
boarders. The family data were divided into upper and lower RTs. The upper RTs include 55, 58, 59, 60, and 61. The lower RTs were 56 and 57. The upper and lower RT findings were analyzed separately because respondents frequently referred to these two subpopulations as being distinctly different in terms of their socioeconomic profiles, residential histories, and methods of mobilizing to practice community-based planning.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{58} The questionnaire used to collect the census data is available in Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{59} The differences in how these two subpopulations mobilized local residents is discussed in Chapter 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Economic Characteristics*</th>
<th>Community-Wide</th>
<th>Boarders</th>
<th>Families in Upper RTs</th>
<th>Families in Lower RTs</th>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>66</td>
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<td>Male (%)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Education level attended by household head (%)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Never attended school</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>Self-reported household expenditures/month (Rp)</td>
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<td>193</td>
<td>114</td>
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</table>

Source: Household census conducted by the researcher during the 1997 field research period.
* Note: only the mean is provided for continuous variables because, based on the mode, median, and standard deviation, the data were symmetrically distributed.

Table 5.1: Socio-Economic Characteristics as Reported in the Household Census, Part I
In all categories, except that of boarders, women were more often the household respondents than were men. There are a number of explanations for this pattern. First, many women, especially those with young children, were more likely to be at home during the day when many of the censuses were conducted. In addition, male respondents were usually unable to provide data about household expenditures and this required returning to the respondent’s house for a second time to meet with his wife. It is common knowledge in Indonesia that women usually control the household economy, and in most large national surveys, women are selected to provide data about household expenditures. In addition, because I had conducted research in the case study community on the Women’s Family Welfare Organization in 1994, I was aquatinted with many women in the community, and when I arrived at a respondent’s home to ask questions, the men usually summoned their wives without asking the purpose of my visit.

Overall, the census data confirmed the in-depth interview respondents’ perceived differences between the higher and lower RTs. For example, many of the in-depth interview respondents believed the households in the lower RTs were larger than those in the higher RTs, and according to the census, households in the higher RTs, on average, had only 3.5 members whereas those in the lower RTs, on an average, had 4.0 members. The census data also confirmed that members of households in the lower RTs, on average, had lower monthly incomes and expenditures and less education than did to those in the higher RTs. Without access to quantitative data, many in-depth interview respondents mentioned these socio-economic differences. Later chapters will show that the lower RTs, despite their larger household size, smaller homes, lower incomes, and less formal education, were extremely successful, if not more successful, than were the
higher RTs, in implementing community-based planning strategies to alleviate urban poverty. The different community-based planning dynamics in the lower and higher RTs are analyzed in detail in Chapter 7.

A finding from the census that did not emerge from the in-depth interviews was the potential contribution by the 82 boarders to community-based planning efforts. Throughout the examination of community-based planning, the boarders were a non-entity. They were not encouraged, nor did they express a desire, to participate in the community-based planning practices in Gondolayu Lor. Based on the results of the census, the boarders have the highest average disposable income and educational attainment. As a result, it appears that they have both untapped economic and educational resources that could contribute to the community-based planning process. However, from the in-depth interviews, according to non-boarders as well as boarders, boarders were not viewed as full-fledged community members. They were viewed as transitory and, therefore, as inappropriate contributors to the community-based planning process. In addition, many boarders were either students or unmarried young people who rented rooms in Gondolayu Lor because of its convenient access to the city’s economic center. These residents’ youth and single marital status also made it awkward for them to participate in formal community-based planning forums like the RW and Women’s Family Welfare Organization, as these groups target married heads of households.

The household income and expenditure data are provided in four forms. The self-reported data are based on the respondent providing an estimation of his/her total household’s income and expenditures for an average month. The estimated household
data are calculated using a series of 29 routine monthly expenditures. Some categories of expenditures are: food, fuel, transportation, housing, education, service fees, religious and community contributions, and routine medical expenses. The relatively small differences between the self-reported income and estimated expenditure findings are striking. In Indonesia, expenditure data are usually considered a more reliable measure of a household's disposable income because many households have irregular incomes. For example, many respondents are vendors, and the amount of profit they make each month depends on their sales.

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60 See questionnaire in Appendix 1 for a list of the expenditures used.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Economic Characteristics*</th>
<th>Community-Wide</th>
<th>Boarders</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Families in Upper RTs</th>
<th>Families in Lower RTs</th>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent:</td>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>Unemployed (%)</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Number of households</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household census conducted by the researcher during the 1997 field research period.

* Note: only the mean is provided for continuous variables because, based on the mode, median, and standard deviation, the data were symmetrically distributed.

Table 5.2: Socio-Economic Characteristics as Reported in the Household Census, Part II
The second socio-economic characteristics table provides data on the respondent's occupation. Many, 39 percent, of the unemployed boarders are students renting a room while attending a post-secondary institution. On average these respondents were around, 24 years old, and approximately 26 percent of them came to Yogyakarta to work in the city's growing service sector. In addition, none of these respondents classified him or herself as working at home (translated as unpaid domestic labor), because they all lived alone and were not responsible for other family members. It is interesting that unemployment was approximately the same in the upper and lower RTs; however, a larger number (9 percent) of the respondents in the lower RTs, where the average family size was larger, worked at home taking care of family members.

5.5 Physical Infrastructure Development in the Community

This section analyzes the physical development of the case study community based on the results of the household census. Data on boarders are not provided in a separate column in the following table because boarders usually share the same access to infrastructure as the families from which they rent their rooms.
Table 5.3: Access to Physical Infrastructure as Reported in the Household Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators of Physical Development</th>
<th>Entire Community (%)</th>
<th>Families in Upper RT (%)</th>
<th>Families in Lower RT (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House has piped water</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House has a bathroom</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use neighbor’s bathroom</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use public bathroom</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use river</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid Waste Collection</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burned</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disposed of in the river</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House has a telephone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household census conducted by the researcher during the 1997 field research period.

Table 5.3 shows that a relatively high percentage of households, 56 percent, have access to piped water. Most houses in the lower RTs obtain their water from wells, although the contamination of this water supply, as a result of pollution from the Code River is likely.

Most households in the community, again a larger percentage of these being in the upper RTs, have private toilets in their homes. Almost all households in the case study community have access to solid waste collection, a system managed by the RW and RT community leadership forum, which is virtually compulsory in the case study community. The municipal government has implemented numerous environmental awareness campaigns to prevent households from using the river for solid waste disposal and, as a result, most households realize that “they are not supposed” to throw their waste in the river. In addition to the obvious reasons of health and sanitation, the community provides its own solid waste disposal system because it does not want to give the state an excuse to demand its relocation. Finally, only seven households in the case study community have a telephone. Households without a private telephone can use public or
private telephone offices, one of which is located just south of the community on
Sudirman Boulevard. As with the socio-economic findings, residents in the higher RTs
consistently had better access to physical infrastructure and the fruits of development than
did their counterparts in the lower RTs. The relatively high level of physical
infrastructure development, especially that sponsored by the state (such as water
infrastructure and telecommunications connections), provides a tacit measure of
government acceptance of the community’s permanence, despite the fact that many
residents do not have legal permission to occupy their land and are considered
"squatters."

5.6 Land Tenure Status

As mentioned in Chapter 4, all the communities along the river have a history of land
tenure insecurity. In the early 1980s, the state deemed the river communities an
unacceptable area for residential development due to the problem of dangerous floods and
it considered relocating a proportion of these communities. However, local resistance at
the time was considered too great and, for the present, this idea appears to have been
abandoned. In the early 1990s, the state began investing in flood prevention
infrastructure for the river communities. For many residents, this serves as an informal
acknowledgment of their permanence and has thus reduced the constant fear of eviction.

In the case study community, land tenure status is an extremely sensitive issue because
most residents do not have legal permission to occupy their land, which leads to the fear
that, at an undetermined point in the future, the state could decide to eradicate the
community. This feeling is partially based on the knowledge that in previous years, the government has attempted to displace a similar, although less affluent, river community located across the street from the case study — Kampung Romo Mangun. The pictures in fig. 5.7 of this kampung illustrate it appears less permanent and less affluent than Gondolayu Lor and, as a result, has had a more turbulent relationship with the state.

Kampung Romo Mangun, which looks like a semi-permanent “squatter” settlement, was only saved from demolition by the heroic acts of a local Roman Catholic priest and social activist, Father Mangun. This priest and professionally trained architect adopted this community as his personal project. Father Mangun helped residents build innovative homes from inexpensive materials and start community organizations where none had previously existed. When the state tried to relocate the community’s residents, he acted as a high-profile savior. Although the acts of this priest were valiant and inspirational, the residents of Gondolayu Lor knew that they did not have a relationship with a powerful social activist and that if their community came under attack chances were that no guardian angel would emerge on their behalf. Legality and its related element of security were important motivating forces behind much of Gondolayu Lor’s efforts to reduce urban poverty. The residents of Gondolayu Lor realized that because of their proximity to the city’s economic center it was in their interest to appear more like a middle-class, permanent, residential housing settlement and less like a low-income, squatter settlement. The following table provides the breakdown of land ownership by household.
Figure 5.7: Photographs of *Kampung* Romo Mangun

Clockwise: (1) a view of *Kampung* Romo Mangun from the Sudirman bridge, (2) typical bamboo thatched house and dilapidated stairs leading to the river, and (3) Romo Mangun’s innovative architectural style.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Tenure</th>
<th>Community-Wide (%)</th>
<th>Families (%)</th>
<th>Families in Upper RTs (%)</th>
<th>Families in Lower RTs (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own house and land</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own house, land is owned by someone else (pengindung)</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own house, land is owned by the government (wedi kengser)</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House is owned by family</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent house</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent room</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House is owned by employer</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household census conducted by the researcher during the 1997 field research period.

*Table 5.4: Land Tenure Status As Reported in the Household Census*
The practice of building a house on someone else’s land — *pengindung* — is common in Yogyakarta. Often the land owners feared their property would be squatted on if it remained vacant, and they would ask either a relative or a friend to occupy their property as a form of protection. In many circumstances, these arrangements have become a problem, as occupants have invested in their homes and do not want to move or begin paying rent on the land because this was not part of the original agreement. Many of these earlier agreements are now in dispute because they were made a number of generations ago. As a result, it is unclear what percentage of *penindung* are “squatters.” This relationship becomes even more complicated because the land owners’ right to the land might also be unclear in terms of official state permission. Those residents who occupy the land closest to the river’s edge, without the state’s permission, are referred to as *wedi kengser*. According to the government, this land is part of the river bed and is unsuitable for occupation. As a result, only 2.7 percent of families in the upper RTs, compared to 49.4 percent of families in the lower RTs, have *wedi kengser* land status.

Some respondents with this status have successfully applied to the state for official land ownership status while others have had their applications denied. From the data in the table, the reader cannot determine the official land tenure status of those respondents who answered “house is owned by family,” “rent house,” or “house is owned by employer” because, in these cases, respondents did not have first-hand knowledge of the land tenure status of the area on which their house was built. In conclusion, the relationship between official state permission, illegality, and community security is complicated. In many cases, the government will deny a resident official permission to occupy his/her land but will provide a grant for this same household to replace its dirt floor with a cement floor or to invest in the community’s physical infrastructure. In the case study community, there
is both the hope that state investments equal state acknowledgment of the community’s right to permanence and the belief that the way to ensure the community’s land tenure security is for local residents to improve the physical appearance of the community.

5.7 Participation of Local Residents in Community-Based Planning Efforts

In order to reduce the community’s appearance as a “squatter” settlement, residents have mobilized in support of a number of community-based planning activities. Table 5.5 shows the number of families in the community that use or participate in various community-based planning activities and their contributions to these activities.

Table 5.5: Users of and Contributions to Community-Based Planning Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community-Based Planning Activities and Characteristics</th>
<th>Users and Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families with at least 1 woman attending RT meetings</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families with at least 1 man attending RT-level</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers to improve the local environment <em>(gotong royong)</em></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average financial contribution/month (Rp)</td>
<td>2,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average time contribution/month (hours)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total financial contribution from the community/month (Rp)</td>
<td>226,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total time contribution from the community/month (hours)</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total users health care clinic for children &lt; 5 <em>(Posyandu)</em></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children between ages 0-5</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average financial contribution/month (Rp)</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total financial contribution from the community/month (Rp)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of users of senior citizens’ health clinic</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of elderly age 60 and over</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average financial contribution/month (Rp)</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total financial contribution from the community/month (Rp)</td>
<td>7,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of users community operated-library</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children between ages 6-18</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average financial contribution/month (Rp)</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total financial contribution from the community/month</td>
<td>15,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of families</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household census conducted by the researcher during the 1997 field research period.
This dissertation argues that the high level of participation in the above community-based planning activities is one means used by the community to alleviate the characteristics of poverty. The first category is the number of families with at least one woman who participates in the Women's Family Welfare Organization RT-level monthly meetings. The second category is the number of families with a least one man who participates in the male RT-level monthly meetings. The next section of the table gives information on the number or households with at least one respondent, usually an adult male, who volunteers his labor on a regular basis to improve the community's local environment. This community-based planning activity is discussed in Chapter 7. The next two sections of the table provide data on use of and contributions to the health care clinic for children and the clinic for the elderly. The health care clinic for children under five was designed by the state and is implemented by the Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers, whereas the health care clinic for the elderly is an indigenous community-based planning effort created by two women, a local midwife and a nurse, and implemented by the Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers. The background and administration of these two health care clinics is discussed in Chapter 8. The last section of the table describes the use of and contributions to a local library that was planned by the community's youth group. Establishment of the library is the result of an indigenous community-based planning effort that has been in operation for three years, and this is analyzed in Chapter 9. In short, the above table demonstrates the massive amount of local community-based planning efforts directed towards alleviating manifestations of poverty.
5.8 Conclusion

The first portion of this chapter describes how Gondolayu Lor has established a “sense of community” both through its shared history and the physical barriers that delineate it from surrounding neighborhoods. The community is also self-contained in the sense that it has its own commercial uses, community-based planning office, recreational areas, public facilities, cottage industries, and mosque. However, the community is not a homogenous mass. Within its boundaries it has a number of sub-populations, each distinctive in socio-economic status, access to infrastructure, land tenure status, and community-based planning efforts. Gondolayu Lor is also divided into higher and lower RT planning units.

This chapter also shows that a substantial number of local residents do not have legal permission to occupy their land and, thus feel vulnerable to the whims of the state. The community is eager to engage in community-based planning in order to decrease an important manifestation of poverty: land tenure insecurity. Community-based planning increases the community’s security in two ways. First, it makes the community look less like a transient “squatter” settlement, and this reduces the likelihood that the state would attempt to move the community away from the city’s economic center. Second, as the community began to appear more like a middle-class, legitimate residential settlement, the government, in lieu of granting official permission to occupy the area, began to invest in the community’s infrastructure, thus providing an informal acknowledgment of its right to a safe, healthy, secure, and economically advantageous living environment. In
later chapters, the specific community-based planning activities employed to reduce manifestations of poverty (such as repaving the community’s network of footpaths, providing health care for its elderly residents, and establishing a community-operated library) are analyzed in greater detail. The next chapter analyzes how local residents of the case study community conceptualize and understand poverty.
CHAPTER 6

“A LACK OF EVERYTHING”

List of Characters in Order of Appearance

*Ibu Bandi*, community activist and substitute leader for the Women’s Family Welfare Organization. She describes poverty in terms of food insecurity.

*Ibu Korni*, poor member of the community who describes poverty as related to employment and income.

*Ibu Marsono*, one of the poorest members of the community, she illustrates poverty with examples from her life. She is a widow and is responsible for her two grandchildren.

*Pak Slemat*, first RW leader and is considered a community elder. He employs Ibu Marsono as a domestic servant. Her house occupies a small piece of land behind his house and separates his house from the river.

*Ibu Nurdalina*, views poverty in comparison to her neighbors.

*Pak Mustarimmasno*, community activist who views poverty as a concept that changes with the level of modernization and development.

*Ibu Sri Yuniarti*, community activist and Ibu Bandi’s daughter. She views poverty as related to the ability to participate in social activities.

*Ibu Siswoatmodjo*, works with the poor at a local mosque. She views poverty as “a lack of everything.”

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how the residents of Gondolayu Lor conceptualize urban poverty. In Chapter 2, I argued that many planning efforts have failed to reach their stated goals because planners do not adequately understand local conditions and what residents perceive to be important problems (Narayan 1996;
Rahnema 1992a). The community development literature asserts that it is desirable for local residents, as opposed to professional planners from outside the community, to conceptualize and identify problems in their communities (Holcombe 1995; Korten 1986; Shubert 1996). Therefore, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of community-based planning as a strategy to reduce poverty, it is assumed that a clear understanding of how residents conceptualize or perceive poverty is necessary. In this research, these conceptualizations are documented through the use of in-depth interviews. A total of 44 residents of Gondolayu Lor were interviewed and asked to describe how they perceive poverty in their community. This chapter analyzes the dominant themes that emerged from these interviews.

I found that local residents had numerous ways of conceptualizing household-level poverty, and no single or universally accepted definition of poverty emerged from the interviews. This finding is in direct opposition to those of Penny and Singarimbun (1973), who maintain that a single definition of poverty was broadly accepted by their research respondents. According to Penny and Singarimbun, this definition equated poverty with the Indonesian concept of cukupan, which is understood as an absolute point below which basic human needs are not met. However, I found that individual respondents’ respective life experiences influenced their perceptions of poverty. When

61 These interviews were all recorded and transcribed. All the quotations from respondents were taken from the interview transcripts.
62 For a list of the in-depth interview respondents, see Appendix 2; for the interview guidelines, see Appendix 3.
63 There are other studies of single low-income urban residents, and there are case studies of low-income urban and rural communities (Guinness 1986, Jellinek 1991, Penny and Singarimbun 1973, Sullivan 1992). However, there are no studies that document how poverty is conceptualized by urban residents.
discussing poverty, respondents would make reference to their class, education, gender, exposure to the media, place of birth, past and present economic situation, and other life experiences as factors that shaped their perceptions. Whereas a single shared concept did not emerge, patterns of how poverty is conceptualized are discernible from the in-depth interviews. Although all 44 respondents were asked questions about poverty, this chapter uses only eight of them. These eight respondents were selected according to their ability to articulate clearly and succinctly an understanding of poverty that was also expressed by numerous other interview respondents. The decision to use a small number of interviews was also based on the desire to couple each response with a description of the respondent. I believe that these descriptions provide a useful context in which to understand and interpret excerpts from the interviews.

An important concern with this type of research is how to be tactful when asking residents in a low-income community about poverty. One can imagine this topic has the potential to embarrass both the researcher and the respondent. Prior to beginning the fieldwork, I was not sure how respondents would react to the research topic. Fortunately, the field research was conducted during a political period in Indonesia that made the topic both relevant and relatively easy to discuss. In 1992-93, the Indonesian government began to implement a series of highly visible national, anti-poverty programs. These programs and the attention they have received in the media have made poverty —

64 Patterns from interview responses were determined by making a list of all responses and categorizing them according to how the respondent conceptualized poverty. For example, respondents that equated poverty with a lack of food were one group, and respondents that equated poverty with a lack of employment opportunities were another group. However, most respondents emphasized the multifaceted
kemiskinan — a household word and convinced the population that there is a great need to address this sensitive problem. The public discussion of poverty reached an apex during the beginning of the field research period, which coincided with the national presidential election. Poverty alleviation was the dominant political party's — Golkar — main campaign platform. During the first few months of the field research, poverty was constantly discussed in public campaign forums, on television, and in the newspaper. When I arrived in Gondolayu Lor in April 1997, two months prior to the presidential election, residents did not appear surprised or offended by the focus of my research. Most residents stated that poverty was an important and a timely topic and were willing to share their opinions and to assist with my research effort. Local residents were also forthcoming, despite the sensitive nature of the research, because I was a familiar face in the case study community. In 1994, I conducted field research on the Women's Family Welfare Organization for a 15-month period. In light of the new, national anti-poverty programs and the political climate, the shift from an analysis of the capacity of the women's organization to improve welfare to an analysis of the ability of community-based organizations to alleviate poverty appeared a logical refocusing of the research.

6.2 Food Insecurity

There is an ongoing debate in the social sciences regarding how to define poverty and how to define at what point a person is poor (Chambers 1995; Sen 1983; Townsend 1985;
One of the clearest themes to emerge from the in-depth interviews was the parallel between poverty not having enough food. Many respondents equated a lack of food with poverty. These respondents were usually old enough to have lived through the political transition that occurred as a result of the 1965 coup d’etat, an era they described as one of runaway inflation and widespread food shortages. For these respondents this dramatic historical period and their subsequent personal experiences served as a reference point from which to evaluate poverty. For many this was the period in their lives during which they felt the most impoverished and, as a result, this unshakable experience became their definitive measure of poverty.

*Ibu* Bandi was born in 1940 in a village in Magelang, Central Java. When her father died, she moved to Yogyakarta to live with her uncle and to continue her education. She attended junior high for three years; however, she did not graduate and, after leaving school, she remained in Yogyakarta and enrolled in a typing course. When she was 18, *Ibu* Bandi returned to her village, where she applied for and received employment as a cashier in a pharmacy in Yogyakarta. She returned to Yogyakarta and rented a room until she met her husband, whom she married at the age of 22. At that time her husband was employed as a driver. After their marriage, they built a house in a Chinese cemetery located directly east of Gondolayu Lor, across the Code River. They occupied this house until 1970 when the government evicted the residents from the cemetery houses because these dwellings did not have building permits. Residents were given two months to find alternative housing. After unsuccessful efforts to find alternative affordable shelter, *Ibu*

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65 See Chapter 3 for an analysis of this debate.
Bandi and her husband resigned themselves to temporarily moving back to her village. In a last effort to avoid returning to the village, three days before the eviction, *Ibu* Bandi played the local numbers game and won. With this money she was able to purchase a small piece of land in Gondolayu Lor, and the residents from the cemetery community picked up her house and moved it across the river in one day. She has lived there ever since. Despite the length of time her family has lived in the community, they still do not have official government permission to occupy the land on which their house is built. It is ironic that *Ibu* Bandi and her husband were able to remain in the city thanks to a lucky gambling incident because *Ibu* Bandi, a Women’s Family Welfare Organization activist, now preaches against the impoverishing effects of gambling.

*Ibu* Bandi has five children, four of whom live in her house. She lives with her two married children and their families, her two single adult children, and her husband. Although *Ibu* Bandi’s two married children and their families live in her house, for the purposes of this research they are considered separate households because they purchase their own food and make the majority of their economic decisions independently. *Ibu* Bandi’s household consists of herself, her husband, and their single son and daughter. *Ibu* Bandi’s single son works as a cook in a large hotel and her single daughter is an attendant in a store. Her husband receives a monthly pension and she makes cloth flowers at home that are sold as traditional Javanese wedding accessories. The combined

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66 It is not uncommon for residents to purchase either a house or land from a previous occupant and not to have official government-recognized land tenure status. This is usually because the previous occupant did not have official land tenure status. For example, many residents in RTs 56 and 57 purchased their land from *Mbah* Wongso, the local midwife; however, *Mbah* Wongso never had official land tenure status. Residents paid her compensation to occupy the land she had squatted on and declared her own.
monthly household income of the four members of Ibu Bandi’s household is 635,000 rupiah. She estimates that her household’s monthly expenditures are approximately 400,000 rupiah.

Ibu Bandi’s two married children and their individual households maintain separate cooking facilities, which enables each household to cook meals simultaneously and to keep their food separate. Ibu Bandi and her daughters each have their own independent savings in gold, and each of the individual households has its own cash savings. However, these three distinct households share a number of physical assets, including: one television, one refrigerator, two radios, two bicycles, and the eggs from seven chickens. Despite the independent household economies, all three households benefit from the opportunity to share assets.

Ibu Bandi has been a community activist in Gondolayu Lor for 20 years and has acted as a leader in the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, the Adult Literacy Program, and the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group. She also helped found a local credit union. Although Ibu Bandi considers herself a community activist, she claims that she is tired of this responsibility and would like the younger generation to become more active and to take a stronger leadership role.

67 Utilizing the exchange rate at the time of the fieldwork (2,300 rupiah equals $1 U.S.), 635,000 rupiah is approximately equal to $276 U.S. per month.
68 Gold, usually saved in the form of jewelry, is an important form of savings for Javanese women. Many Javanese women prefer to save money in the form of gold because, either worn or hidden, it is considered a safer investment than cash. Many women state that they feel a sense of ownership over their gold, as opposed to cash, because they decide when it is appropriate to spend it.
Like many older residents in Gondolayu Lor, *Ibu* Bandi measures poverty in terms of food. For her, poverty is equated with an unreliable food supply, and she describes poverty as a cycle of having food one day and not the next:

In a *kampung* like this one, I think poverty first refers to not having a steady food supply. For example, now we can eat, but tomorrow we have to look for more food, then we have food, [and] tomorrow, up and down.69

*Ibu* Bandi proceeds to describe what she considers less important dimensions of poverty, such as not having proper clothing and a healthy living environment, yet it is clear to her that a lack of a steady food supply is the primary indicator of poverty. According to *Ibu* Bandi, there is no poverty in Yogyakarta (as she has known it in her lifetime) because people are not hungry. She explains that true poverty does not exist in the case study community because at least once a week residents can afford to eat foods other than rice:

In this city there is none [true poverty]. Poverty has been replaced with a lack of welfare and level one welfare. Therefore, I think in this *kampung* poverty does not exist because in terms of food, even if it is only once a week or once every two weeks, we eat foods other than rice.70

69 Di daerah serperti di kampung ini saya kira yang namanya orang miskin it yang pertama, makan tidak bisa teratur ya. Misalnya, sekarang bisa makan mungkin besok baru mencari ya, jadi sekarang bisa makan, besok kembang kempislah.

70 Di kotamadya di sini kan tidak ada, kemiskinan ya sudah, sudah diganti degan prasejahtera atau sejahtera satu. Jadi, kalau untuk di kampung ini saya kira yang namanya miskin itu sudah tidak ada, karena untuk makan juga entah seminggu dua kali itu sudah pakai lauk-pauk. The expression lauk-pauk refers to a variety of side dishes other than rice. This expression is significant because it refers to a belief that the lower classes, manual laborers in particular, only need to eat rice to get enough carbohydrates to work, while the middle and higher classes eat a variety of dishes other than rice for enjoyment. This expression makes reference to the fact that dishes other than rice are still considered a luxury by the respondent.
Although *Ibu* Bandi explains that the concept of poverty in urban areas has been replaced with an alternative concept of welfare, both concepts are based on access to food. In addition, the idea that poverty is now thought of as degrees of welfare is a direct reference to the national anti-poverty program, the Family Welfare Program — *Keluarga Sejahtera*. This program ranks households according to their different levels of welfare. As a Women’s Family Welfare Organization activist, *Ibu* Bandi has received training on how to measure poverty according to the national anti-poverty program’s criteria. This training in the standards and terminology established by this program, such as “level one welfare,” have contributed to how *Ibu* Bandi conceptualizes poverty. In her opinion, all of these government-established levels of welfare are above poverty.

Like many older respondents, *Ibu* Bandi said that she experienced the most extreme poverty of her life during the political transition of the mid-1960s, when Indonesia experienced widespread food shortages. These respondents vividly remember both being forced to substitute rice with a grain referred to as *bulgur* and their confusion in attempting to cook this unfamiliar food. In the in-depth interviews, respondents described the rough texture of *bulgur* and referred to it as a food fit only for animals to consume. *Ibu* Bandi describes this period and her strategy for survival:

> Indonesian people, all the civil servants, experienced difficult times because their salaries were not like they are now. I also experienced this before in '63. If you only wanted to eat rice you could not. . . . We ate *bulgur*, yes *bulgur*, because our

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71 This program should not be confused with the national Women’s Family Welfare Organization. The Family Welfare Program, sometimes referred to as KS, is a new national program for measuring and alleviating household poverty. This program was designed by the national Family Planning Program and is explained in Chapter 3.
ration of rice was only 6 kilos plus 2 kilos of bulgur or really hard corn. Because our salary was not enough I had to use my own initiative and I sold the rice so I could buy larger quantities of corn... after the years '65, '66, the level of prosperity of civil servants improved because salaries were raised.\textsuperscript{72}

Like many Gondolayu Lor residents old enough to remember the early to mid-1960s, Ibu Bandi uses memories of food shortages as a cogent reference point for gauging poverty. For these residents, poverty is not having enough food. Although poverty can be caused by a combination of circumstances, most older residents refer to not having enough food as the decisive point for determining when a person is poor.

\section*{6.3 Inadequate Income and Employment}

Another strong pattern to emerge from the in-depth interviews was that respondents conceptualized poverty as a lack of employment opportunities and disposable income. Prior to the monetary crisis and subsequent political unrest in 1997 and 1998, the political transition of the 1960s and the devaluation of the rupiah were an exceptional period in Indonesian history. However, except for this unusual period when the rupiah lost its buying power,\textsuperscript{73} many respondents equated cash with the ability to purchase food, at least in urban areas. In rural areas, the connection between food and cash is not as acute because residents still barter or grow a portion of their foodstuff. In urban areas like

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{72} namanya orang-orang Indonesia ini kalau pegawai negeri itu kan semua susah, karena gajinya nggak seperti sekarang. Seperti saya dulu juga mengalami ya, tahun 1963, itu yang namanya mau makan nasi saja nggak bisa... Kita makan bulgur, ya makan bulgur, karena jatah beras itu hanya enam kilo di tambah dua kilo kalau nggak bulgur ya jagung yang sudah keras itu. Karena gaji tidak cukup saya sendiri punya inisiatif ya beras saya juat saja, saya belikan jagung supaya tambah banyak... nah sesudah itu tahun enam puluh lima, enam puluh enam ini, baru ada, dari pegawai negeri itu ada tambahan kesejahteraan dengan adanya kenaikan gaji.
\item \textsuperscript{73} namanya orang-orang Indonesia ini kalau pegawai negeri itu kan semua susah, karena gajinya nggak seperti sekarang. Seperti saya dulu juga mengalami ya, tahun 1963, itu yang namanya mau makan nasi saja nggak bisa... Kita makan bulgur, ya makan bulgur, karena jatah beras itu hanya enam kilo di tambah dua kilo kalau nggak bulgur ya jagung yang sudah keras itu. Karena gaji tidak cukup saya sendiri punya inisiatif ya beras saya juat saja, saya belikan jagung supaya tambah banyak... nah sesudah itu tahun enam puluh lima, enam puluh enam ini, baru ada, dari pegawai negeri itu ada tambahan kesejahteraan dengan adanya kenaikan gaji.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Yogyakarta however, a lack of food, employment opportunities, and cash are all fundamentally related.

*Ibu* Kami is 27, and she was married at the age of 15. She and her husband both completed elementary school and are originally from the rural village of Boyolali, 90 kilometers northeast of Yogyakarta. *Ibu* Kami’s husband moved to Yogyakarta first, while she remained in the village. Her first child was born in Boyolali before she followed her husband to Gondolayu Lor. At the time of the interview, she had lived in Gondolayu Lor for 7 years with her husband, 10-year-old daughter, and 7-year-old son, and she was three months pregnant with a third child. *Ibu* Kami claims that after the birth of this child, she does not want more children. Her husband earns 75,000 rupiah per month as a *becak* — pedicab — driver and she does not work outside the home. She estimates that their monthly household expenses are 100,000 rupiah. They rent a single room without running water or a toilet, but they own a television, radio, and bicycle. For water, *Ibu* Kami depends on her neighbor’s well, and her family uses the river for a toilet. During the interview, a man came to her house for payment, and she explained that she had bought her daughter shoes on credit and that the interest on her loan is collected daily.74

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73 As stated earlier, the field research was concluded just prior to the 1997-98 monetary crisis and subsequent political unrest.

74 These private creditors are referred to as *rentenir*. The micro-credit programs seek to put these creditors out of business because it is believed their daily interest rates impoverish the community.
Ibu Kami illustrated how she conceptualized poverty with examples from her life. The first characteristic she used to describe poverty was the fact that her family rented its house while most of her neighbors owned theirs (although most of her neighbors’ land tenure status is unclear). She stated:

I have clothing. [However,] I still rent my house, I do not yet have my own house. My friends already own their houses. . . . The poor still rent their houses, like me.  

For Ibu Kami, poverty is clearly linked to a lack of disposable income. She describes this connection:

If you want to buy something and you do not have money, you will not make the purchase, right? But those who have [money] and want something, they can buy it. They want this and they can buy it.

She links her lack of disposable income directly to her husband’s employment as a low-paid pedicab driver:

Many people here are merchants, buying and selling tires. The have-nots are laborers [or] pedicab drivers; they cannot buy this or that. These are the poor I mentioned earlier.

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76 Kalau mau beli apa gitu kalau ndak punya uang yang nggak jadi beli itu, kan? Tapi kalau orang mampu kan kepingin itu bisa beli, kepingin ini bisa beli, itu.
77 Kebanyakan kan sini dagang, jual beli ban itu lho. Yang ndak punya kan cuma kuli becakaja kan nggak bisa beli ini beli itu gitu kan, yang miskin tadi.
According to *Ibu* Karni, the traders in the community are more affluent than the manual laborers, who are the "have-nots." For her, the indicators of poverty, like rental housing, lack of cash, and low-paid employment, are all interdependent, and this interdependency is intensified in urban areas.

Despite this, *Ibu* Karni prefers to live with her husband in the city because it eliminates the need to spend money on transportation to visit her in the village. Regardless of this benefit, she acknowledges that living in the city requires more money than does living in the village:

> It is expensive here. In the village, shopping with 2,000 rupiah is enough. Here [in the city] children snacking, shopping, everything is purchased. It is not like that in the village. We have our own rice in the village. Here we have to buy everything.\(^78\)

As *Ibu* Karni realizes, in urban areas it is impossible to overlook the relationship between employment and the cash needed to purchase daily necessities, especially food.

### 6.4 Single-Income Households

It is not uncommon for the residents of Gondolayu Lor to equate single-income households with poverty, particularly single-income households with children. In Gondolayu Lor, these households are often headed by women, usually widows. Many

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interview respondents referred to the need for both the husband and wife to work in order to reduce urban poverty. Frequently, respondents referred to single women with dependent children as examples of the poorest households in the community. Both the interview respondents and the poverty literature recognize single-income households as being vulnerable to loss of employment or illness because they households have no internal safety net. Respondents believed households that had more than one working adult were in a stronger economic position because they had an opportunity to combine resources as a strategy for survival. The following is a description of a household headed by a single woman; interview respondents regularly referred to this household as the poorest in the community.

*Ibu* Marsono lives with her daughter, 10-year-old granddaughter, and 8-year-old grandson. Her daughter is 25 and has two children, although she has never been married. *Ibu* Marsono rarely sees her son; he is married and lives in another community in Yogyakarta. Her daughter attended junior high school for two years, and her son completed junior high school. Although both *Ibu* Marsono and her daughter work, they do not combine their resources, and *Ibu* Marsono is the primary provider for her daughter’s two young children.

*Ibu* Marsono has been a widow for four years and is one of the poorest members of the Gondolayu Lor community. Born in the rural village of Wonosari, *Ibu* Marsono moved to Yogyakarta with her aunt when she was too young to remember having done so, and she has never attended school. As a child, she helped her aunt serve customers in a
warung — small food stall — and when she was older, she worked as a domestic servant in a dentist’s house in Yogyakarta. It was here she met her husband. He was working as a servant for the police station, and when he would travel to and from work each day, he would see Ibu Marsono gardening in the front yard. They married when she was 27.

After Ibu Marsono married, she left her job as a domestic servant, and the couple moved to Gondolayu Lor. In one day they built their wood and bamboo house on a parcel of land that borders the Code River. Ibu Marsono worked as an assistant selling bakso — a meatball soup sold from a pushcart. Her husband owned his own pushcart and sold rujak — a fruit dish. She believed her husband was healthy prior to his death. He died suddenly one afternoon, while praying. Ibu Marsono says he simply collapsed, was carried home by neighbors, and died a few hours later.

There are a number of reasons why local residents consider Ibu Marsono to be one of the poorest members of the community. One of the primary reasons is that her house is a small, dark, semi-permanent structure located directly on the edge of the Code River. It is one of the few houses in the community that is neither directly accessible nor visible from a public footpath and can be reached only by walking through the courtyard of another house. This courtyard is primarily used for washing clothes and dishes, and it is partially occupied by an outhouse. As a result, Ibu Marsono’s house is spatially isolated from the community in both a physical and a social sense.
*Ibu* Marsono only earns 30,000 rupiah a month, as a domestic servant for one of the most elite households in the community. This is an almost unbelievably low income with which to support herself and her two grandchildren. If *Ibu* Marsono were to combine her household income with her daughter's salary, it would total 130,000 rupiah a month.

While she owns her home, *Ibu* Marsono does not own the land it occupies. Unlike most households in Gondolayu Lor, she owns few material assets, possessing no television, bicycle, refrigerator, or gold. However, she does contribute 2,500 rupiah per month to *arisan* — a local rotating credit scheme.

Even though her daughter works in a retail store, *Ibu* Marsono claims she provides neither money nor food to help feed her own children. *Ibu* Marsono describes the difficulty she has feeding her two grandchildren:

> If there is not enough, then there is not enough, if there is none, then there is none, if we use it, then there is not enough; if we do not use it, then there is [enough]. The bottom line is we only have what we have. We have to make it enough, the point is to eat. . . . We make one kilo of rice last for three days. . . . For side dishes later we buy *peyek* or shrimp chips or fried *tempe* from the [vendors] up above. If we buy a package of noodles we boil them. The point is just to eat, whatever there is. One package of noodles is eaten by three people. Their mother, the mother of my grandchildren, she comes home after 10:00 p.m. When she comes home, she rarely brings food. Well that is their mother, the children have already gone to sleep. The children have already bought shrimp chips, or bought *peyek*, or they buy whatever . . . "*Bu*, buy something!" my grandchildren call me "*Ibu*," and they call their mother "mamak". . . . They call to me "*Bu*, buy noodles!" [I answer] "Okay buy the noodles over there and split them with me."

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79 Utilizing the exchange rate at the time of the fieldwork (2,300 rupiah = $1 U.S.), 30,000 rupiah is approximately equivalent to $13 U.S. per month.  
80 This is approximately $57 U.S. per month.  
81 This is approximately $1.09 U.S.
"Yes." [they answer] They boil them alone. The girl already knows how to boil the noodles, then we split them three ways and we have eaten.82

Peyek is batter mixed with either vegetables, fish, or nuts and fried into a thin pancake; tempe is fermented soybeans fried in the form of a bar or thin crispy chip. These foods are sold by vendors in the community as snacks, and they are not considered adequate to form the substance of a meal. The brand of noodles Ibu Marsono is referring to is Supermi, and one package is usually considered to be a portion for one person.

Ibu Marsono’s family has periodically received various forms of welfare from the state and local church. Her daughter was referred to social services by a local member of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, and she left Gondolayu Lor for a number of months to live in a dormitory provided by social services and to receive training as a seamstress. Her daughter worked as a seamstress for a while, but she was not successful; at the time of my research, she was working as a clerk in a store. Two years ago, Ibu Marsono was nominated by the local Women’s Family Welfare Organization to receive assistance from the local government in order to replace the dirt floor in her home with a cement floor. The local subdistrict office provided most of the cement — five bags. She purchased one additional bag of cement, and the community volunteered its labor to pave

her floor. *Ibu* Marsono, a Christian, also described how every year around Christmas she receives food and clothing from a local church. She describes poverty as a condition in which a person will accept whatever assistance he or she is offered and feel thankful for it.

Like many of the lowest income respondents, *Ibu* Marsono refused to talk about poverty in abstract terms, instead explaining it by describing the conditions of her daily life. She is considered one of the poorest members of the community for numerous reasons; the main one being that she is the sole provider for her two grandchildren. Clearly, *Ibu* Marsono’s situation would be improved if she could pool her resources with another income earner in order to help support her two young grandchildren.

6.5 Inequality

Both the interview respondents and the poverty literature discuss the connection between poverty and economic inequality. In developing countries, where a large percentage of the poor population does not have access to an adequate food supply, economic inequality is not usually used as a measure of poverty; however, in developed countries, where most people have adequate food supplies and their basic needs are satisfied, economic inequality becomes a significant component in measuring poverty. A similar pattern was apparent in the interviews. Respondents first referred to a lack of food as the most important determinant of poverty; however, when this need was satisfied, they became
increasingly concerned with how their standard of living compared with that of their neighbors.

*Ibu* Nurdalina is 38 and has three sons. Her oldest son is 18 and lives with his grandparents because, as she explains, when he was born, she was too poor to take care of him. She lives with her husband and their other two sons, who are 12 and 10, in Gondolayu Lor. *Ibu* Nurdalina was born in the city of Yogyakarta, and she met her husband in high school. After their marriage, her husband immediately moved to Jakarta to work and *Ibu* Nurdalina remained in Yogyakarta. When her husband got a job in Bogor, she moved and worked briefly in a photocopy store. She subsequently moved with her husband to Jakarta and Cilacap before returning to Yogyakarta. After *Ibu* Nurdalina returned to Yogyakarta, her husband moved to Semarang to find work. Presently, her husband is a construction worker in Yogyakarta and *Ibu* Nurdalina does not work outside the home. She estimates that her husband earns approximately 200,000 rupiah a month and that the household monthly expenses are approximately 240,000 rupiah a month. They own their house, but they do not own the land it occupies.

First and foremost, *Ibu* Nurdalina defines poverty as not having enough food. Then she further explains how poverty relates to having less than her neighbors:

*merebus supermi, nanti dibagi tiga, sudah makan.*
Well maybe I want something that is the same as my neighbors. I want to buy something, so I will have the same standard as my neighbors. Maybe I cannot yet have this or that, or I cannot have the same things [as my neighbors].

*Ibu* Nurdlina represents many in-depth interview respondents when she relates poverty to economic inequality, or having less than one’s neighbors (although this was not usually the first definition provided). *Ibu* Nurdlina felt that her poverty level depended on how her disposable income, material possessions, home ownership, and other physical measures of wealth compared with those of neighbors. This pattern of relating poverty to economic inequality normally emerged in interviews with respondents whose access to food was adequate and whose other basic needs were fulfilled.

### 6.6 Inability to Keep Pace with Modernization

Poverty as a measure of modernization was another theme that emerged from the in-depth interviews. Many respondents associated poverty with underdevelopment and backwardness. Some respondents associated poverty with practices like bathing, washing clothes, and drinking water from the river. The national government reinforces this dichotomy between backwardness and modernization through the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, among other mechanisms, which teaches “modern” behavior to low-income women as part of its poverty alleviation program; for example, one lesson in this program teaches women that it is proper to wear dark colors to funerals. The National Family Planning Program also reinforces this association between “modern”

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83 Ya mungkin ya, mau apa nggak biar sama tetangga, mau beli ini biar setaraf sama tetangga. Punya ini punya ini, mungkin belum bisa membeli atau belum bisa, apa, menyamakan gitu lho.
behavior and a lack of poverty through advocating such indicators of human welfare as: practicing a state recognized religion on a regular basis, wearing different clothes at home and in public, and using excess income for recreational purposes. These are not the main focuses of these programs, which do contribute significantly to Indonesia’s poverty alleviation effort; however, they also define what is characteristic of developed (non-poor) as opposed to underdeveloped (poor) behavior. Most respondents’ standard of living has improved over their lifetimes and they associate this improvement with Indonesia’s national development programs and modernization. As a result, some respondents associate poverty with an inability to keep pace with these changes.

_Pak_ Mustarimasno is 55. Originally from the village of Kebumen, located 107 kilometers west of Yogyakarta, he moved to Yogyakarta when he was 8 and to Gondolayu Lor when he was 26. His wife is from Pacitan, a southern coastal area located on the border separating east and west Java. _Pak_ Mustarimasno attended, although he did not complete, junior high school. Prior to his retirement in August of 1997, he worked at a hospital in Yogyakarta. Over the years his responsibilities at the hospital alternated between those of a janitor, a telephone operator, a technician, and a mechanic, depending on the needs of the hospital and the availability of other employees. His wife continues to work at the hospital, managing her own _warung_ — food stall. When he was working _Pak_ Mustarimasno’s salary was 285,000 rupiah per month, and his wife earned 300,000 rupiah per month. In terms of assets, his household has one television worth 200,000 rupiah; cash savings of 50,000 rupiah; savings in gold worth 787,000 rupiah; and another
plot of land and house worth 25,000,000 rupiah. He owns the house his family occupies, but they do not have official permission to occupy the land.

Pak Mustarimasno lives with his wife and two adult daughters, 20 and 25 years of age, respectively. His youngest daughter completed three semesters at a private university and decided not to continue. His oldest daughter is a university graduate and is unemployed. In Gondolayu Lor, Pak Mustarimasno is a community activist whose area of specialization is construction. He was the leader of a two-year project that was responsible for repaving all the public footpaths in RTs 56 and 57. He is also active in the lower RTs' local credit union. During the in-depth interview, he stated that he felt poor. He discussed how he had to borrow large sums of money to pay his daughters' university tuition and how these debts worry him.

According to Pak Mustarimasno, the concept of poverty has changed over time, he equates poverty with a lack of modernization. Like Ibu Nurdlina, he describes how between 1945 and 1970 poverty meant not having enough food but now is means keeping pace with an improved living standard:

According to me, poverty is different now than poverty before, I mean before 1970, and after Indonesian independence [1945]. Before, to eat each day for a poor person was difficult... Now I see that poor people can eat, but they cannot keep up with development.\(^{84}\)

\(^{84}\) Saya sendiri kalau miskin itu soalnya kalau miskinnya sekarang dengan dulu itu lain lho. Kalau kemiskinan jaman dahulu ya waktu ’70 ke bawah artinya setelah kemerdekaan RI. Kalau dulu orang miskin dulu itu kan mungkin untuk makan sehari-hari aja sudah sulit... Tapi kalau kemiskinan yang jaman sekarang yang saya lihat ya, orang miskin tapi untuk makan bisa, tapi tidak bisa mengikuti perkembangan-perkembangan.
He goes on to describe owning a television as an indicator that a household is keeping pace with the development process and modernization. Pak Mustarimasno believes that poverty can also be identified a person’s work, amount of income, living conditions, and the condition of his/her home. According to Pak Mustarimasno, the meaning of poverty will continue to change as Indonesia develops and material expectations increase.

6.7 Insufficient Resources to Engage in Social Interaction

The ability to participate in established customs or activities is a well documented characteristic of relative poverty (Townsend 1993, 129). Many respondents stated that the inability to participate in local social obligations is a characteristic of poverty, yet this indicator was usually mentioned after a lack of access to food and an inability to fulfill other basic needs. Common social activities (or customs) usually included: the ability to purchase a wedding present or give money in an envelope to a family that had experienced a tragedy (approximately 5,000 rupiah), to make a contribution to the Independence Day festivities or a community improvement project (1,000 rupiah), to participate in meetings of local community organizations that require monthly dues (between 100 and 250 rupiah), and to participate in the local credit programs.85

Ibu Sri Yuniarti is Ibu Bandi’s daughter. Ibu Sri Yuniarti grew up in Gondolayu Lor, and she has been active in community activities since she was young. As a teenager, she was
active in the Gondolayu Lor Youth Group, which organized local outings. Her husband also grew up in Gondolayu Lor, and they met through mutual participation in the Youth Group. She graduated from high school, and her husband completed junior high school. *Ibu* Sri Yuniarti married when she was 21. After her husband finished junior high school, he worked as a minibus driver’s assistant. This job required spotting potential passengers, helping them load their possessions on the bus, and collecting their fares. After this job, he sold bread and then worked as a server for large wedding parties. *Ibu* Sri Yuniarti is proud that her husband now works for a large hotel, the Hotel Santika, located to the west of Gondolayu Lor. She says that usually hotel employees must be at least high school graduates. The first time her husband worked for the hotel he was hired as a substitute driver because the regular driver was absent and a neighbor who worked as a security guard for the hotel recommended him. His first shift was from 4:00 a.m. to 12:00 a.m., after which he was offered a permanent position. Before she had children, *Ibu* Sri Yuniarti worked in a batik textile factory; however, since the birth of her first child, she has not worked outside the home.

*Ibu* Sri Yuniarti is 34 and her husband is 37. She has two children, one 13 and the other 11. Like her mother, *Ibu* Sri Yuniarti makes small cloth flowers and weaves women’s purses at home in order to supplement her husband’s income. Each month she earns approximately 82,000 rupiah, and her husband’s salary is 100,000 rupiah as well as another 100,000 rupiah in tips and bonuses. She estimates that her household’s monthly

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85 Based on the exchange rate at the time of the field research, 5,000 rupiah equals approximately $2.17 U.S., 1,000 rupiah equals $.43 U.S., and 100 to 250 rupiah equals $.04 to $.11 U.S.
income is approximately 300,000 rupiah. Like her mother, she is a community activist, volunteering her time as a planner for and implementor of, the programs of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, Mother and Child Health Care Clinic, and Health Care Clinic for the Elderly.

When asked about how she conceptualizes poverty, she first replied that a family of four earning less than 50,000 rupiah per month is poor, and she linked this figure to the cost of food, specifically rice:

In my opinion, a poor family, for example, has less than 50,000 rupiah per month to meet their needs. That is a poor family because here a family of four needs at least that much to purchase a half kilogram of rice [per day]. The cost [of a half kilogram of rice] is 500 rupiah. To cook [for a family] costs at least 1,500 rupiah, and this does not include a variety of food. It could cost as much as 2,000 rupiah. Two thousand rupiah [per day] equals 60,000 rupiah per month. Therefore, below 50,000 rupiah is a poor family.\(^\text{86}\)

This calculation is primarily based on a minimum amount of food. When she was asked to describe a poor household in further detail, she referred to its inability to participate in normal social functions. She describes how participation in social functions is an impossibility for families that cannot afford food:

For example, if that family [a poor family] has a celebration (hajatan) to attend, they will want to contribute, but if they feel that it is too much of a burden, they

\(^{86}\) Menurut pendapat saya, keluarga miskin itu ya misalnya ada sebulan, untuk kebutuhan satu bulan penghasilan kurang dari lima puluh ribu. Itu, kami menganggap, apa itu, keluarga miskin, karena untuk daerah ini ya misalnya keluarga empat, paling nggak itu untuk beras aja udah setengah kilo. Ya, udah lima ratus. Untuk masaknya paling nggak seribu lima ratus itu nggak bisa pakai macam-macam lauk, ya udah dua ribu. Dua ribu itu kalau satu bulan itu kan sudah enam puluh ribu. Jadi kalau di bawah dari lima puluh ribu itu kan sudah termasuk keluarga miskin.
will think “even for ourselves sometimes we do not have enough, barely enough.” A daily income of 2,000 rupiah characterizes a poor family.\textsuperscript{87}

Cumulatively, the responses from the interviews reveal the respondents’ perception that the diverse facets of poverty are interrelated. In urban areas, not having food is a manifestation of not having money to buy it, and if a household does not have money to buy food, then it is obviously unable to spend money on social obligations. This social exclusion compounds the problems of the poor, isolating families from social contacts who might be able to help. For example, Ibu Sri Yuniarti’s husband was able to learn about his job through a friend.

6.8 A Lack of Everything: Aspects of Poverty and Their Inter-Relatedness

Many respondents described poverty as \textit{serba kekurangan} — not having enough of everything. At first this response was frustrating because it appeared to offer little insight into how respondents understood poverty. During further discussions, it became one of the most enlightening responses. “A lack of everything” is true poverty. I interpret this response to mean that it is unlikely that one characteristic of poverty will occur in isolation. For example, rarely does a household have proper shelter but not enough food, or the ability to contribute money to a celebration but not a sufficient disposable income. There were cases where a household had adequate food and clothing but not proper shelter, but these were exceptional. Those households deemed poor by the community or

\textsuperscript{87} Keluarga itu mau, apa, keperluan hajatan itu ya, mau nyumbang itu rasanya kok terlalu berat, untuk sendiri aja kadang kurang, kok nyumbang, ya . . . Jadi ciri-cirinya itu. Ya pas-pasan gitu, untuk ciri-ciri, satu hari pendapatan dua ribu, itu sudah masuk ciri-ciri keluarga miskin.
that were nominated for public welfare assistance were usually considered poor for a combination of reasons.

*Ibu* Siswoatmodjo is a 69-year-old widow originally from Magelang in Central Java; however, she has lived in Gondolayu Lor for 45 years. The man she married was a relative whom she had known since her childhood in Magelang. After marrying, they had three children together. Her husband was in the army first in Magelang and then was assigned to Yogyakarta. At this time, the entire family moved into a rented room south of Gondolayu Lor (*Gondolayu Kidul*). In 1952, a masseuse told *Ibu* Siswoatmodjo about a house for sale in Gondolayu Lor. She and her husband decided that it was better to buy a house than to continue to spend the family’s income for rent. At that time the house cost 3,500 rupiah, and, in order to pay for it, *Ibu* Siswoatmodjo sold her gold jewelry and rice fields in the village. However, this money was not enough to cover the entire cost of the house, which took a few years to pay off, and *Ibu* Siswoatmodjo still does not own the land it occupies. After moving to Gondolayu Lor, she had five more children. Her husband completed his military service and worked as a barber until he retired. *Ibu* Siswoatmodjo worked as a trader in the market until this work became too tiring, and then she worked as a seamstress at home. Presently, she does not have her own income and lives on her husband’s 82,000 rupiah army pension.

*Ibu* Siswoatmodjo’s husband died in 1989, shortly after receiving his pension from the military. She lives with her widowed daughter who is 43, a granddaughter who is 18, and a grandson who is 12. The daughter with whom *Ibu* Siswoatmodjo lives earns 30,000
rupiah per month selling clothes in the market. The household does not own a television, radio, or refrigerator, but it does own two bicycles, and Ibu Siswoatmodjo has five grams of savings in gold worth 120,000 rupiah. She is a community activist and organizes assistance for poor families through the mosque. Sometimes this assistance takes the form of food, and other times it takes the form of money for medical or school expenses.

When asked to describe what poverty means to her, she immediately responded: “Being poor, that is not having enough of everything.”

“everything,” she replied:

Well anything, for example not having enough food to fill oneself on a daily basis, not having proper clothing. That is what I call not having enough. . . . If a person does not have enough [and they] want to socialize they are embarrassed they have no self-esteem. . . . Poverty means all sorts of shortages. . . . Also their thoughts are not happy, that is what I mean by a “poor person.” Whatever they want is not fulfilled.

Ibu Siswoatmodjo, like many respondents, emphasizes the inter-relatedness of different aspects of poverty. Her statements also show how poverty makes people ashamed to interact with their neighbors and marginalizes them from the community. She describes how a lack of food and proper clothing can cause a person’s self-esteem and mental health to deteriorate. According to Ibu Siswoatmodjo, the physical and psychological manifestations of poverty are interdependent. This broader view of poverty was

88 Yang miskin itu, serba kekuranganlah, ya.
89 Semuanya, ya misalnya untuk makan sehari-hari kurang kenyang, pakaian ya kurang baik. Itu namanya kekurangan tho . . . . Terus kalau orang kekurangan itu mau kumpul-kumpulkan malu ya, jadi minder gitulah . . . . Yang dimaksudkan keluarga miskin segala macam itu kekurangan. . . . Terus pikiran mungkin
frequently expressed by both the households with the lowest-incomes and the older respondents, and, over time, I found that it captured the complexity of the problem. Figure 6.1 illustrates how the various characteristics of poverty are inter-related and mutually reinforcing.

6.9 Conclusion

Most residents of Gondolayu Lor, especially lower-income residents, could not separate themselves from their understanding of poverty. When asked to describe what poverty was or how they would characterize a poor household, respondents always returned to their personal life experiences. In this chapter, I juxtapose a description of the respondent with his/her understanding of poverty in order to provide context. Just as the respondents did not feel they could discuss poverty in abstract terms, so I do not feel that their responses make sense outside the context from which they originate.

From my interviews, I can derive no single definition of poverty; however, I can derive specific patterns. I have outlined these patterns in this chapter. Respondents were selected because they best articulated the most dominate themes in various interviews. In many cases, a respondent would refer to a number of themes in a single interview. For example, almost all respondents viewed a lack of food as an indicator of absolute poverty. However, in the urban environment, under normal political and economic conditions, this

poverty is associated with lack of income and unemployment. Single-income households are particularly vulnerable to these conditions because they do not have a safety net; if the sole income earner either loses his/her job or becomes unable to work due to illness, these households have no alternative sources of income. In Gondolayu Lor, households unable to purchase enough food are in the minority. For households with adequate food, poverty is often understood by way of comparison with more affluent members of the community. For example, houses constructed from bamboo mats, having dirt floors, and being without toilets, television, radios, or other material assets, are usually considered to be poor. This visually obvious gap between the poorest and more affluent households prevents the former from participating in basic social obligations. These individuals avoid such participation not only because they cannot afford to contribute their time or money, but also because their poverty is humiliating. However, there were a number of respondents who had very few assets and lived in extremely simple conditions but were not considered poor because local residents knew their employment was relatively lucrative.

In the end, not having enough of anything — *serba kekurangan* — was the most comprehensive conceptualization of poverty to emerge from the in-depth interviews. It captured the essence of poverty, which is that it is constituted by the interaction of numerous characteristics. The following figure illustrates this interaction.
This figure is based on the themes of the in-depth interviews and the concept of *serba kekurangan*; however, the idea for the visual representation comes from the *United Nations Human Development Report, 1997*. The theme of this report is "human development to eradicate poverty," and its cover uses a number of different spheres to illustrate how the many dimensions of poverty overlap. The view of poverty presented in this report confirms the view of it held by the residents of Gondolayu Lor. However, in contrast to this static U.N. illustration, the local residents of Gondolayu Lor...
conceptualized poverty as a multidimensional, dynamic process, during which different dimensions take precedence at different times. For example, a depiction of poverty as conceptualized by local residents of Gondolayu Lor would show the different circles as fluid, constantly changing size and content.

Significant to the overall research findings is that some of the manifestations of poverty identified by respondents in the in-depth interviews were distinct from, although related to, those aspects of poverty that were identified by local residents as what should be the focus of community-based planning efforts. Later the dissertation demonstrates the difficulty community-based planning faces trying to cope with personal, household-level manifestations of poverty like those that were often the focus of the in-depth interview responses. Chapters, 7, 8, and 9, discuss (1) the capacity of local residents to use community-based planning efforts to alleviate locally identified characteristics of poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so.
CHAPTER 7

TWO ROADS DIVERGED IN A KAMPUNG

List of Characters in Order of Appearance

Pak Slamet, RW leader 1989-92
Pak Adi, RW leader 1992-95
Ibu Marsono, poor member of the community, works as a domestic servant for Pak Slamet
Pak Nanang, co-owner of leather cottage industry
Mbak Sumi/Ibu Sumiyatun, co-owner of leather cottage industry
Pak Subardi, M.C. for the Jumat Kliwon group
Pak Suryanto, RW leader 1995-to the present
Ibu Bandi, Women's Family Welfare Organization activist
Mbah Wongso, local midwife and community elder
Mas Hemi, community activist, resides in RT 56
Pak Heru, RW secretary
Pak Suparmuji, RT 57 leader

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze (1) the capacity of residents, through two community-based planning organizations — the RW/RT and Jumat Kliwon groups — to reduce community-identified manifestations of poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so. Membership in these groups is primarily made up of married men. In analyzing these organizations, I found two distinct sets of spaces having both social and physical components, in which residents engaged in community-based planning to reduce poverty. The RW/RT groups are organized by the state and represent formal community-
based planning spaces, whereas the Jumat Kliwon group was an indigenous space created by local residents and having an alternative form of leadership. These two groups are the main forums in which men in the case study community engage in community-based planning. As mentioned earlier, each household in the community belongs to one of the seven RTs and each RT is under the umbrella organization of the RW. Membership in the Jumat Kliwon group is specifically limited to households along the river's edge and, as a result is located in RTs 56/57. This chapter analyzes the leadership, organizational structure, and distinctive approaches these two groups take to community-based planning directed at alleviating urban poverty. In this case, poverty alleviation focused on improving the community’s land tenure status through repaving its network of footpaths.

7.2 The Problem and the Plan

There are a number of explanations for why the men’s organizations identified the improvement of the community’s land tenure status as a worthwhile poverty reduction effort and why they decided to repave the footpaths as a means to achieving their objective. The most powerful reason is that only 20 percent of families (this is excluding households comprised of boarders) in the community have relatively clear legal title or own the land on which their house is located. In the household census, over 21 percent of families admitted to occupying their land illegally, or squatting. The issue of land tenure and security is extremely sensitive in all the communities located along the Code River. Thus, repaving the community’s dilapidated footpaths is more than an issue of aesthetics; it is a matter creating a neighborhood environment that appears more permanent, middle
class, and legitimate in the eyes of the state and the city's economic elite. The case study community is located on the edge of the city's central business district. To the west of the community is one of the city's most luxurious four star hotels, and Yogyakarta is the second most visited tourist destination in Indonesia. As a result of all these factors, it is in the community's best interest not to be viewed by the state and the city's business elite as an eyesore (the reader will remember the case of Kampung Romo Mangun, discussed in Chapter 5). Almost everyone in Gondolayu Lor is aware of Kampung Romo Mangun's land tenure problems. As a result, embedded in the community's decision to improve the network of footpaths is a subtle attempt to challenge its current legal land tenure status. However, its decision to disguise this challenge as a benign community development effort compatible with the state's development agenda shows its unwillingness to engage in overt political challenges. This type of incremental, subtle maneuvering is a distinct way of participating in the community-based planning process and I refer to it as pragmatic empowerment.

Although secondary to the issue of security, repaving the footpaths also provided a more aesthetically appealing living environment and easier access for residents and cottage industries. For the lower RTs, 56 and 57, there were pressing health reasons for the dilapidated footpaths to be considered a characteristic of poverty. The community is built on a slope, and during the rainy season, which lasts approximately four to six months each year, rainwater from the higher RTs would flood the homes of the lower RTs. In addition, the majority of households, 81 percent, in the lower RTs depended on wells for drinking and cooking water. Two factors led the residents of the lower RTs to conclude
that the water table would soon be depleted: (1) the community’s increased population
density and the subsequent increase in demand on the current ground water supply and
(2) the problem of runoff created by the current cement surface of the footpaths, which
meant that none of the rainwater was presently being reabsorbed into the water table.
This combination of factors led to the community deciding that: the dilapidated footpaths
were a characteristic of poverty worthy of becoming a community-based planning
priority.

7.3 Spaces for Formal Leadership: The RW and RT Forums

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the RW/RT structure is organized by the Indonesian state.
Local residents popularly elect an RW and RT leader every three years. It is an unwritten
rule that the leader must be a married man, as his wife is automatically appointed as
leader of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization. Both RT and RW leaders are
unsalaried volunteers. Essentially, the RW leader is the ultimate leader of all community
organizations, including the RW, RT, and Women’s Family Welfare Organization, as
well as informal groups such as Jumat Kliwon, and he must give his consent to final
community decisions. Clearly, the RW leader affects the community’s ability to
organize, plan, and implement projects. RW leaders are expected to interpret laws and
regulations as well as to maintain records of local households and community activities.
These skills are also desirable in RT leaders, although the demands of this position are
substantially less rigorous. Since its administrative establishment in 1989, Gondolayu
Lor RW XI has had three formal RW leaders, each of whom served for a three-year
period. The RW leaders were: Pak Slamet, Pak Adi, and Pak Suryanto. Field research was conducted during Pak Adi and Pak Suryanto’s leadership. This section provides a formal history of the community’s leadership, including each leader’s economic status, social standing, and approach to poverty reduction.

The first leader of Gondolayu Lor RW XI was Pak Slamet. He served as RW leader from March 1989 to August 1992 and is a resident of RT 56. Pak Slamet is 64 years old. Originally, he is from the Waleri region in Central Java, although he has resided in Gondolayu Lor since 1962. He remains a well respected community leader for a variety of reasons. First, he is a retired civil servant; second, he fought in Indonesia’s struggle for independence; and third, he completed high school, which is unusual for someone of his generation.

Pak Slamet occupies one of the most luxurious and well maintained homes in the lower RT 56/57.\(^9\) He also employs Ibu Marsono, one of the poorest members of the community, as a servant. Her house is located behind his house, next to the river. Pak Slamet has six children, and he lives with his wife, two children, and three grandchildren. He is retired and his wife does not work. His two children living at home are employed; the son works for the post office and the daughter is a store clerk in Malioboro Mall. Pak Slamet receives a pension of 471,000 rupiah per month from the post office. The household also receives 150,000 rupiah each month from one child who does not live at

\(^9\) For example, since I last conducted fieldwork in Gondolayu Lor in 1993, Pak Slamet had replaced his cement floor with a new tile floor and repainted his house.
home, and this covers expenses of a grandchild that is a member of their household. The household owns a number of shared assets, including: a color television, three radios, three bicycles, three motorcycles, and a refrigerator. It also has savings in the form of 50 grams of gold worth 1,250,000 rupiah and 5,000,000 rupiah in cash. The members of the household own their home, although they do not own the land it occupies; the land is owned by the government. Pak Slamet has applied once to the government for ownership, but his request was rejected. In his interview, he stated that he plans to apply again.

Although he is no longer a formal RW leader, Pak Slamet is still active in the indigenous Jumat Kliwon meetings. Most respondents agree that Pak Slamet is a sesepuh — a community elder. To have this status, Pak Slamet must be considered wise and/or a valuable advisor to the community. Pak Slamet is considered a sesepuh because he participated in Indonesia’s struggle for independence and is considered fair when dealing with matters of community importance.

Pak Adi was the second RW leader of Gondolayu Lor. He served from August 1992 to August 1995 and declined a nomination for re-election. He is 37 years old and when he was the leader of Gondolayu Lor, he was the youngest RW leader in the city. Pak Adi lives in RT 58. His house is strategically situated in the middle of the community, and his front door faces the badminton court that is used for community meetings. Pak Adi is originally from Pengok, another kampung in Yogyakarta. He moved to Gondolayu Lor
12 years ago when he married his wife, a native of the community. Pak Adi lives with his wife, four children, mother in-law, and sister in-law. He and his wife completed high school and both attended university, although they did not complete their degrees.

Both Pak Adi and his wife are civil servants. Each month the household’s combined income includes: his wife’s salary of 450,000 rupiah, his salary of 290,000 rupiah, and his mother in-law’s deceased husband’s pension of 300,000 rupiah. Like that of Pak Slamet, Pak Adi’s household also belongs to the community’s economic elite. Pak Adi’s household owns a television, a refrigerator, four radios, four bicycles, and a motorcycle; moreover, it is one of the only households in the community to own an automobile. Pak Adi’s mother in-law owns their house and the land it occupies.

The most memorable feature of Pak Adi’s leadership was his attempt to alleviate characteristics of poverty in the community’s younger generation. His own age might have been a factor in his ability to successfully communicate with this generation. Pak Adi is particularly proud of his accomplishments with the community’s young unemployed men, and he is the only formal male community leader who directly addressed poverty from a personal, or individual, level. Prior to his leadership, groups of young men from the community were spending their evenings drinking and fighting. As RW leader, he tried two different approaches to reducing household-level poverty in the community. First, he encouraged the Hotel Santika to hire unemployed local residents. He describes how, before the hotel’s construction was complete, he approached the management in an effort to secure employment for local residents:
Well, actually the first thing I did concerned the development of the Hotel Santika. Concerning the construction of the Hotel Santika, as leader of the community I had a moral responsibility to local residents. Well, I met with the director. I said to him, “My point is after the Hotel Santika is complete, I sincerely request your assistance, so residents can be guaranteed a proportion of the hotel’s employment.” I am not saying everyone should be employed in the same capacity. If they can sweep, employ them as a sweeper, but if they have potential, try to develop that potential.91

Gondolayu Lor borders the east side of the four-star hotel which, when built, was the nicest in the city. It is in the hotel’s interest to employ local residents, as this would decrease the number of unemployed men loitering in the surrounding communities and encourage feelings of loyalty among local residents.

*Pak* Adi’s second effort to reduce household-level poverty occurred when he encouraged a community member, *Pak* Nanang, to shift the focus of his cottage industry from the production of batik to the production of leather goods. He believed this shift would lead to the expansion of the business and increase the number of local residents it could employ. *Pak* Adi suggested the production of leather goods because he had experience in this sector. Below, he describes his involvement.

Then as a second effort, as leader of the RW. . . . Now this moment is very, very, what is the expression? According to me, it is very useful and I will never forget

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At that time *Mbak, Mbak* Sumi’s [Ibu Sumiyatun’s] husband had a cottage industry. That cottage industry experienced a change... He switched from the production of batik to leather goods. Coincidentally, I work in the leather industry; there was a connection. The workers asked me to help look for leather. I went around contacting directors of leather factories. I tried to find materials that were not going to be used by the factory, but if they still had a use I would buy them. Eventually it got going and went along well, in the sense that it was making a profit. And if a business grows, automatically income grows. Besides the automatic increase in income, a large amount of labor was necessary. . . . Those who were still unemployed, who enjoyed drinking, I asked a favor of the business. “Essentially, I want to, I want to work together, but I need your help. Help our neighbors who do not yet have an opportunity to work, those who are unemployed, please include them, even if at first this is not everyone. Slowly.” Well, eventually the level of activity increased. Automatically, unemployment decreased and the men began to think less about drinking. Therefore you can say it was realized. What was realized . . . were the aspirations of local residents.

*Pak Adi* made his expertise available to *Pak Nanang* in exchange for his assistance in reducing local unemployment. After *Pak Nanang* switched his business to leather production, his profits increased, and, as a result, his family’s financial contribution to community development efforts also increased. Many of the community’s construction projects and social programs depend on *Pak Nanang* and his wife, *Ibu Sumiyatun*, as regular donors — *donatur tetap*. Partially as a result of *Pak Adi’s* advice, *Pak Nanang*’s

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business was able to benefit the community in two ways. First, it decreased local unemployment; second, it allowed Pak Nanang to increase his financial support of community-funded projects.

To reduce household-level poverty successfully, Pak Adi felt that residents must be literate. In the following quote, he speaks of this, specifically with regard to those residents that are in the business of repairing and selling rubber tires.

*Mbak,* many of the people that sell tires . . . have a low level of education, they have not completed elementary school. I was very concerned because once I saw someone who wanted to read a newspaper so badly they were reading it upside down, *Mbak.* They were only doing this, so people would think they knew how to read, but they were illiterate. The newspaper was upside down, but they were pretending to read it. This is what I mean. I use diplomacy to approach and speak with the tire people. They are ashamed because they are not capable, but I am not, I actually pursue them. The lower people must become the higher people, this is my goal.\(^{93}\)

In the above quote, Pak Adi’s statement, “the lower people must become the higher people” is both a literal and a figurative reference to the residents employed in the tire business. All of these residents come from the same village, Boyolali, and they are the new members of the community. These residents are considered “lower” because their houses physically occupy the lower elevations along the river banks, RTs 56/57, and

\(^{93}\) Masyarakat ban banyak mbak . . . taraf pendidikanya rendah SD nggak tamat. Pernah saya lihat sampai-sampai saya prihatin sekali ya karena orang penginnya baca koran, koran itu ke balik, kok Mbak! Ya cuma karena biar dia itu bisa dikira orang itu bisa membaca, tapi dia sebetulnya nggak bisa membaca, koran itu ke balik, tapi gayanya dibaca, ha ini kan. Kalau anak ban-ban itu kalau saya dekati dengan diplomasi, omong ya. Malu, malu karena apa ya dia nggak mampu atau gimana, padahal saya nggak, justru saya dekati. Jadi masyarakat di bawah, tapi harus jadi masyarkat yang di atasnya tujuan saya begitu.
because their educational status is usually lower than that of the residents who occupy the RTs at higher elevations.

Throughout the field research, respondents complimented Pak Adi’s leadership abilities. During his tenure, he consciously attempted to change the local community-based planning dynamic. He did not want information to travel in one direction only; rather, he sought to create a community-based planning environment that encouraged multidirectional interaction and dialogue. Pak Adi describes the strategy he used to achieve this public dialogue in the community-based planning process. In the following quote he describes how he tried to promote the development of social spaces in which residents could engage in public deliberation.

I want democracy in this sense. If you agree, say you agree, if not say you do not. That is what I want. But because of barriers, it is sometimes what? Sometimes my speech is too elevated for them, they do not understand what I am saying, or maybe they feel embarrassed, this is also possible. This happens often Mbak, there is no interaction. Information is only traveling in one direction. I am not happy when information is only traveling in one direction, there should be interaction. If we are conducting development, true development, it should not be where we are forcing people, because this will only result in them talking behind your back. This also happens often, Mbak. This is why I always participate, because of incidences like this. After a long time, interaction began to occur in meetings. 94

Pak Adi explains that it took a long time for residents to feel comfortable expressing their opinions in public forums. According to him, it is important to hear residents’ opinions because if their disagreements are not voiced publicly, then they are expressed privately, and this creates an atmosphere of dissent. He describes “true development” in terms of achieving public dialogue and, in the case study community, this took a long time to achieve.

Pak Adi was RW leader during my first period of field research, which took place from January 1994 to March 1995 in Gondolayu Lor. During his leadership, the youth group and Women’s Family Welfare Organization conducted meetings on a regular basis. At this time, Pak Adi attended the youth group’s monthly meetings in order to support its community-based planning efforts. He tried to impress upon the Youth Group his view that it was necessary to cultivate a sense of consensus and ownership among participants prior to carrying out a community development project. In the following quote, he describes the role these feelings play in community-based planning.

When I was leader, I wanted to create something. A monumental activity. Monumental in the sense that if we develop something, we also feel a sense of pride. On Java we refer to this as handar beni. We feel a sense of ownership, if we feel true ownership; without being ordered we will conduct the activity, this is the principle. In order to reach this point, I needed to build a consensus. I called

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95 During this period, the local male RT leaders would meet every month to discuss how the community should be improved. These men were also responsible for organizing collection and removal of the community’s solid waste. Unemployed men in the community were hired to remove the waste from each household that paid a monthly fee. This monthly fee paid the men’s salary and the remainder was deposited in the RW treasury to subsidize community projects.
the community elders, the young role models, and members from all sectors of the community. I also included the formal leaders from each RT and their respective committees. The non-formal leaders, like community elders, are invited for balance. It is here that I am able to reach a consensus, consensus in the sense of feeling *handar beni* — ownership. If residents feel a sense of ownership, this ensures the activity will be more sustainable.\(^96\)

To achieve a sense of ownership, Pak Adi found it necessary to gain the support of both formal and informal community leaders. While Pak Adi was leader of the RW, he would invite each RT leader to a monthly meeting for the purpose of coordinating planning efforts between the seven leaders of the individual RTs. This practice ceased after Pak Adi’s leadership term and during the subsequent RW leader’s (Pak Suryanto) term. The youth group also stopped having regular planning meetings when Pak Suryanto became RW leader. Even though Pak Adi no longer holds a formal leadership position, various community groups still regularly request his advice.

*Pak Suryanto*, who became leader of RW XI in August 1995 and will serve until August 1998, was the RW leader during my second period of field research. *Pak Suryanto* is 44, and he and his wife are natives of Gondolayu Lor. They both completed high school. *Pak Suryanto* lives with his wife and their two children, ages 11 and 6. He works in the

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construction industry on an irregular basis, earning approximately 300,000 rupiah per month, and his wife does not work. Pak Suryanto’s family also belongs to the community’s economic elite and the household owns a television, radio, bicycle, motorcycle, and refrigerator and is one of only a few households in the community to have a telephone. Furthermore, this household also owns its home and the land it occupies, unlike the majority of Gondolayu Lor’s population.

Many residents complained about Pak Suryanto’s leadership. Since he became the RW leader, the RT leaders have stopped having their monthly meetings at the RW-level and the Youth Group has stopped conducting monthly meetings. The Women’s Family Welfare Organization has remained active under the leadership of Ibu Bandi, a local community activist, rather than under Pak Suryanto’s wife. Pak Suryanto complained that he did not enjoy his position as leader of the RW, and his wife, although she attends regularly, dreads speaking publicly at the Women’s Family Welfare Organization meetings. Some residents claimed Pak Suryanto was selected as the RW leader to punish him for being outspoken in his complaints about previous leaders. According to Pak Suryanto, he is not respected as a leader because he is a Christian. Most of Pak Suryanto’s neighbors appeared to enjoy his company, but he and his wife were visibly uncomfortable with their roles at community meetings. One possible explanation for his being selected as leader is his construction expertise and his relatively high level of

97 This is an unlikely explanation because he was selected by local residents who knew his religion, and there have been other Christian community leaders in Gondolayu Lor. The issue of religious conflict is very sensitive in Indonesia; as a result, I did not feel it was appropriate to ask other respondents’ opinion
education. All RW leaders must have completed a substantial amount of formal education because they are responsible for interpreting laws and regulations as well as for maintaining records for the community and local government. In addition, at the time Pak Suryanto was appointed leader, the community was beginning a two-year project to repave all the public footpaths, and his construction experience was considered to be beneficial.

The RW and RT structure creates formal social spaces for community-based planning. From the history of this structure in Gondolayu Lor, it is evident that these formal spaces hold the potential to reduce poverty. For example, Pak Adi used his position to approach the Hotel Santika and Pak Nanang in an effort to create more economic opportunities for Gondolayu Lor residents. However, the achievements of these formal spaces with regard to community-based planning are largely dependent on the capacity of the RW and RT leaders. These leaders are selected by a formal protocol and if they are ineffective, then it is difficult for other residents to preempt them or to intervene because of the strict social hierarchy governing Javanese communities. In the case of ineffective leadership, informal spaces offer greater opportunity for residents to engage in community-based planning to reduce poverty than do formal spaces.

regarding this explanation. Pak Suryanto was the only respondent that offered this explanation without prompting.
7.4 Spaces for Informal Community Activism: The Jumat Kliwon Forum

In addition to the monthly RT meetings, RTs 56/57 have their own indigenous meetings which are referred to as Jumat Kliwon. These are informal community-based planning spaces that exist outside the formal RT and RW leadership structure, and they do not adhere to the same hierarchical constraints as do formal leadership spaces. As explained in Chapter 5, the Jumat Kliwon group was initiated in February 1969 after the houses in RTs 56/57 were damaged by a flood. The group met sporadically until 1983, when its members decided to conduct meetings every 35 days according to the Javanese calendar.

The group is named after the day these meetings are held. There is no formal leader at the Jumat Kliwon meetings, which are conducted by Pak Subardi, a charismatic public speaker. He is simply referred to as the “M.C.” — master of ceremonies. In the following quote, Pak Subardi describes how the residents of RTs 56/57 feel that they share the same fate.

Since '69, it has been like this. We feel like we share the same fate, because we shared the disaster. As a result, this is why it was easy [to plan together] at first. And second, it was easy because we were all at the same level. If the standard of living is the same, it is easy. Usually this is more difficult if there are people with a high level and others with a low level.⁹⁸

Pak Subardi also feels that residents of RTs 56/57 have a sense of sharing the same fate because of the physical space they occupy within the community and the dangers

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⁹⁸ Yah karena memang semenjak tahun '69 itu memang begitu, memang dari kita senasib ya itu senasib sepenanggungan pada saat itu kita bersama-sama mendapatkan musibah itu, sehingga itu kita mudah, pertama. Dan kedua, mudah itu karen di dalam level yang sama begitu lho. Dalam taraf hidup yang sama itu yang mudah. Namun biasanya kalau kita itu ya ada tingkat yang lebih tinggi yang rendah itu memang angel.
associated with living on the river’s edge. He claims that the second reason it is easy for residents to plan together is that they share a similar economic status, and he notes that if there were a large gap in residents’ economic status, then it would be more difficult to reach a consensus.

The Jumat Kliwon meetings are conducted in Javanese, whereas the RW, RT, Family Welfare Organization, and Youth Group meetings are conducted in Indonesian. The Jumat Kliwon meetings are conducted at 7:00 p.m. and traditionally are only attended by married men. Typically, women only attend the meetings if they are widows or if their husbands are unable to attend. Pak Subardi describes the evolution of the Jumat Kliwon meetings and why women’s roles in them have increased in recent years.

At that time [when the meetings were started], the night meetings were only attended by men. Then we added a rotating credit scheme (arisan) to Jumat Kliwon meetings. In meetings, we discussed how the community could be improved and other topics that need discussion or we delivered announcements from the local government to the Jumat Kliwon community. We did not only discuss the environment, we also discussed basic needs. After a period, the group evolved and we incorporated a save and borrow program and we began to collect dues from members. Well, after the save and borrow program the membership increased and now not only ... men but also many women participate in Jumat

99 Use of the Javanese language at the Jumat Kliwon meetings indicates a high degree of ethnic homogeneity among RTs 56 and 57. In the kampung, Indonesian is the language of the state and of those who are formally educated. Even for many formally educated Javanese people, Javanese is their first language and remains the language used at home. Some Javanese respondents claim that it is easier to use Indonesian for planning because Javanese uses many levels based on the social status of both the speaker and the listener. During a community meeting, I overheard two women disagreeing about how money had been calculated and recorded. The argument switched from Javanese to Indonesian. When I asked about this, it was explained that this was to prevent insulting any participants as the argument escalated.
Kliwon... Women became involved because of the money. After a few years both men and women participated in Jumat Kliwon.100

Interestingly, the informal social space of the Jumat Kliwon group has been more progressive than has the formal space of the RT/RW in allowing women to partake in the meetings and slowly breaking down the segregation of men and women in the planning process. The location of the meeting rotates throughout the RT 56/57 territory, and at every meeting a lottery is conducted to raise money and a snack is served to create an atmosphere of conviviality. The Jumat Kliwon meetings are partially conducted outside in open public areas, thus demonstrating the dialectic between social and physical spaces. Conducting the meetings outside in an open space has contributed to the flexibility of the social spaces these meetings have created for community-based planning. The wives of men in attendance are seen listening from the periphery and often young children are present. After the lottery, collection of monthly dues, and financial reports, the meeting has an open forum and members are encouraged to speak. These two continuous RTs, 56/57, also have their own credit union, which provides households with an opportunity to save and borrow money. The credit union conducts its business on a separate evening each month.

100 Terus Malam Jumat Kliwon waktu itu dihadiri yang datang hanyalah para lak-laki itu. Lalu dengan adanya Jumat Kliwon diberikan juga ditambahi dengan arisan. Nah di dalam Jumat Kliwon itu juga diadakan pembicaraan-pembicaraan bagaimana kemajuan-kemajuan atau hal-hal yang perlu dibicarakan atau mungkin kalau ada pengumuman-pengumuman dari pemerintah setempat itu kita bisa mengetahui dan disampaikan kepada jemaah Jumat Kliwon. Dan Jumat Kliwon juga membahas tentang kebutuhan kebutuhan daripada lingkungan. Lama-lama perkembangan Jumat Kliwon itu diadakan begitu simpan pinjam dan ada iuran. ... Nah setelah adanya simpan pinjam uangnya makin banyak pengikutnya itu malah bukan hanya ... laki-laki semua, tapi sekarang banyak ibu-ibu itu yang ikut ke Jumat Kliwon.... Sebabnya wanita itu yang berhubungan dengan uang itu, akhirnya apa Jumat Kliwon sampai beberapa tahun itu terus diikuti oleh pria dan wanita.
During my first period of field research in 1994, the Jumat Kliwon group raised money to purchase utensils for large functions, such as weddings, funerals, community meetings, and *selamatan* — a Javanese celebration. It was decided that this project was a useful investment because all the residents of RTs 56/57 would benefit from not having to spend money to rent utensils when they hosted ceremonies. After this project was completed in 1995, the Jumat Kliwon forum decided that the next project would be to repave the footpaths in RTs 56/57 with cement bricks known as *konblok*. As was mentioned earlier, this project sought to alleviate a number of characteristics of poverty, the most dominant of which was the community's insecure land tenure. Repaving would also serve to provide better access for local residents, solve the problem of seasonal flooding, and replenish the groundwater supply. There was some discussion about the following project being to purchase awnings to create a covered seating area for large community functions. All of these projects were viewed as providing community-wide benefits and none addressed poverty from an individual household perspective.

Jumat Kliwon creates informal spaces for community-based planning, although these spaces have become increasingly formalized since 1983, when participants started meeting on a regular basis. In contrast to formal community-based planning spaces, Jumat Kliwon does not have a strict social hierarchy, nor does it have a formal leader; rather its meetings and deliberation process are guided by an M.C. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the Jumat Kliwon group has a substantial community-based
planning record. The absence of a strict social hierarchy makes Jumat Kliwon more flexible and receptive to the efforts of local community activists who emerge spontaneously to assist with particular projects when they feel motivated or because they possess an appropriate expertise. The Jumat Kliwon group occupies an informal physical and social space in the case study community, and this facilitated a flexible approach towards the capacities and needs of local residents as well as it facilitated the infusion of a broad-based of knowledge in the community-based planning process. The remainder of this chapter describes how two community-based planning efforts — one through formal and the other through informal spaces — sought to reduce the same manifestation of poverty.

7.5 The First Road

Two community groups undertook the project of repaving the networks of footpaths in Gondolayu Lor: (1) the Jumat Kliwon group and (2) the RW group, whose members included leaders from each RT. Although these groups essentially undertook the same project, they occupied different social and physical spaces, used distinct approaches to planning and implementation, and experienced unique project outcomes.

There are various versions of how the Jumat Kliwon group initially decided to undertake the project of repaving the community’s footpaths. Pak Slamet, the first RW leader, claims he first suggested the idea. Other respondents claim that Mbah Wongso, the oldest member of the community and local midwife, initially had the idea. The repaving
of the footpaths was to consist of replacing the smooth cement paths with cement brickwork. RTs 56/57, represented by the Jumat Kliwon, wanted to repave the paths with a material that would help absorb rainwater during the wet season. The community is built on a steep slope and, as a result, rainfall drains down into the lower RTs of the Jumat Kliwon group, accumulates, floods, and stagnates. It was hoped that a more absorbent surface would solve this problem and simultaneously help to restore ground water supplies. Many residents depend on wells for their water supply, and members of the community were concerned about the eventual depletion of the water table that would result from increased population density.\textsuperscript{101} Pak Slamet and Mbah Wongso’s houses are very close together, and they were the first residents to purchase \textit{konblok} — cement bricks — and pave a small area as an experiment. The experiment was considered successful because the bricks were more absorbent than was the smooth cement surface that covered most of the community. As an attempt to rally support for their idea before suggesting it at the Jumat Kliwon meeting, Pak Slamet and Mbah Wongso invited their neighbors to observe how the \textit{konblok} absorbed water. Behind-the-scenes lobbying, both to gauge and to obtain support for an idea, is a common community-based planning strategy in Gondolayu Lor.

In 1995, Pak Slamet suggested repaving the footpaths in RTs 56/57 at the Jumat Kliwon meeting. The Jumat Kliwon group had just completed purchasing a set of communal utensils for hosting ceremonies and was looking for a new project. At the meeting, it was suggested that the group could purchase the tools necessary to mold their own bricks and

\textsuperscript{101} Water from the Code River is polluted and not suitable for consumption.
that over time, this would be less expensive than purchasing bricks. If the community made their own bricks, then they would only have to purchase cement and sand (some of which could be obtained from the river), and the men of the community would provide the labor necessary for molding and laying them. It was decided through a consensus-building process that each household would contribute 1,000 rupiah per month until the project was complete. This money would be used to purchase the necessary materials and food for the volunteers. Pak Subardi, the group’s M.C., describes how the members of the Jumat Kliwon group decided on the 1,000 rupiah figure:

At that time residents, myself included, made suggestions. . . . What if we collect dues. At that time, there was agreement and each household head was required to pay 1,000 rupiah. . . . If we buy konblok [cement bricks] it will be too expensive. To heighten the sense of mutual cooperation (kegotong-royongan), or family, it is better to order the brick molds. . . . Then every Sunday we had a voluntary effort to mold the bricks. That is the history.102

Pak Subardi states that the Jumat Kliwon group also decided to make their own bricks in order to create feelings of mutual cooperation — gotong royong — and a sense of family. This sense of the community working together, cooperating, and caring for its members like a family often surfaced during the field research as an important cultural value that was necessary to maintain for the continual well-being of the community. The cultural ethic of mutual cooperation was an important social structure that facilitated the social

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space necessary for the community to mobilize to address a community-identified manifestations of poverty, here its insecure land tenure status and depleted water supply.

_Mas_ Hemi, a young community activist, was selected to organize the men into teams and devise a work schedule. _Mas_ Hemi divided the eligible men into eight teams of approximately 14 members each. Beginning in 1995, these teams took turns working every Sunday, collecting sand from the river, mixing it with cement, and molding the bricks. When a substantial number of bricks were ready and the money for materials depleted, the men would stop molding and begin working on replacing the footpaths.

In 1997, the Jumat Kliwon group was still implementing this system, and 80 percent of the footpaths in RTs 56/57 had been replaced. _Mas_ Hemi describes how everyone was enthusiastic about volunteering when the project first started but how, after a while, fewer and fewer men volunteered. In response to this he consciously tried to create work teams that would promote the project’s success. Here, _Mas_ Hemi showed himself to be a savvy navigator of local spaces for community-based planning, and he implemented two strategies to mobilize the community: (1) he developed teams that did not have more than one member who would have to work at the Hotel Santika on Sundays, and (2) he selected team captains who were laborers in the construction industry. _Mas_ Hemi believed that these men would be flattered by this responsibility and that this would ensure the project’s continued success. _Mas_ Hemi also recognized that some men, whom he called “motors,” inspired other men to consistently volunteer. In the following quote he describes this phenomenon.
In the beginning when we made work teams, everything went according to the plan. Eventually some people were bored. Those who were bored would not come. Each team has 14 people, one or two would not come, then three or four would not come, finally only four or five would come. If there was ... a motor then it [the bricks] would get made. People do not want ... to be burnt.  

This last sentence refers to the fact that residents do not want to feel like they are the only ones working. During the interview, Mas Hemi continues to describe how the “motors” do not look around to see who is working; they just arrive and get to work, regardless of how many other men are present. Conversely, he explains that if these “motors” miss a Sunday, the team just falls apart — bubar.

Mas Hemi explains that it is difficult to get men to volunteer if they are street sellers because they do not earn a regular income. These men prefer to earn money rather than volunteer.

Now it is difficult to get people together. The problem is many residents have different jobs, there are some that are civil servants.... Civil servants are usually willing to volunteer. If they take a vacation, they still get their salary. But if they work in the private sector and they take a day off, they do not make money. These people prefer to work for money. They just say, “Here, take this, I must go” and contribute two packages of cigarettes.

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103 Ya pada mulanyakan waktu pertama kali dibuat regu seperti itu semuanya jalan sesuai dengan rencana. Tapikan lama-lama ada yang bosan jugakan. Jadi yang bosan itu nggak datang. Satu regukan ada 14 orang itu akhirnya satu dua nggak datang, tiga nggak datang akhirnya tinggal yang datang cuma emapt orang lima orang. Tapi asal ... itu pasti membuat itu karena ada motomya. Jadi orang itu tidak mau ... mutungan ya.
104 Tapi sekarang itu untuk saat-saat ini ya untuk apa untuk berkumpul itu sudah kesulitan. Masalahnya penduduk sinikan penghasilannya lain-lain, ada yang sebagai pegawai negeri. ... Nah itu biasanya yang pegawai negeri itu mau-mau saja kerja bakti. Soalnya toh kalau dia libur kan tetap mendapat uang. Tapi kalau swasta kan nggak, kalau dia libur kan nggak dapat uang. Jadi dia lebih banyak memilih mencari uang. Asal sudah memberi ‘ini saya tinggal,’ memberi rokok dua bungkus.
The point is that men who are in business for themselves find volunteering a great burden. It is common for residents to give the volunteers cigarettes to show their appreciation; however, the men Mas Hemi is describing are giving cigarettes in lieu of volunteering their time.

Pak Subardi also notes that the main problem with the repaving project is that the volunteer laborers are not always reliable. Like Mas Hemi, Pak Subardi does not feel that this is an insurmountable obstacle. He summarizes how the Jumat Kliwon group handles these obstacles.

Through our community awareness, during each Jumat Kliwon meeting we only remind them. If we adopt a policy or a decision to give fines, no one has the heart. We only try to get close to people so they will become enthusiastic again. This will enable us to fulfill the target we have set.105

This statement, like the earlier one, reveals that Pak Subardi views volunteer labor as truly voluntary. He does not believe that residents can be forced to volunteer for the community; instead, they need to be approached carefully and there must emerge a sense of enthusiasm about improving the community. Pak Subardi was aware that if the Jumat Kliwon group began to enforce punitive measures and that, as a result, men began to

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105 Ya karena itu merupakan kesadaran kita bermasyarakat, itu hanya setiap ada pertemuan malam Jumat Kliwon kita ingatkan saja hanya gitu. Namun kalau kita akan mengambil suatu kebijaksanaan atau keputusan diberi sanksi itu ya nggak sampai hati. Ya itu hanya pendekatan saja supaya ya kembali giat gitu. Sehingga target yang kita tentukan itu bisa terpenuhi itu.
resent the project, then the small community-based planning space available for subtly asserting the community’s land tenure claim might disappear as quickly as it was created. Based on interviews with respondents and the attitude of residents at the Jumat Kliwon meetings it appears that, the system used to collect money and the pace of the project was appropriate for the members of the community. Local residents had sympathy for the volunteers who had pressing financial responsibilities and for those tired of spending Sundays working on the project. After two years, the Jumat Kliwon group had paved approximately 80 percent of lower RTs and the project continued to move forward, albeit slowly at times, without having to institute punitive measures, thus attesting to the ability of the Jumat Kliwon activists to create and maintain a small space for alleviating a manifestation of poverty.

7.6 The Second Road

The second road consists of the main footpaths in the community. These footpaths are wider and are located in the upper RTs (55, 58, 59, 60, and 61). They are used by all the residents and, therefore, are considered the responsibility of the RW leadership. The leadership consisted of the RW leader, a secretary, the leader of the construction section, and the leaders of the individual RTs. This group undertook the responsibility of planning the project, which began in December 1996 and was completed in August 1997. Again, the motivation for the repaving project was the community’s desire to increase land tenure security and the belief that if it looked like a more legitimate residential area, then it would continue to be treated like one. However, two events led to the RW
leaders' final decision to undertake the project. First, the local government, the subdistrict office, repaved the main road, starting from the community side of the gate on Sudirman Boulevard extending North. Second, thanks to an annual program — K.K.N. — at Gadjah Mada University, the community received a group of students that, as part of a required course, needed to complete a community development project. These students were given limited funds to spend on the project, 200,000 rupiah. In consultation with the RW leader, Pak Suryanto, they decided to extend the area paved by the government. When the students had completed their project, the RW leaders decided that they would continue it and finish repaving all of the community's main arteries.

Unlike the grassroots approach taken by the Jumat Kliwon group, the RW leaders chose to purchase the cement bricks and to pay day laborers to lay the brickwork. To raise the necessary funds for the project, the group determined that residents would pay 1,000 rupiah for each member of their household and an additional amount if they owned motor vehicles. This method was considered fair because each household was paying according to how much it used the footpaths. It was believed that this method would produce enough money to complete the entire project. According to this plan, the residents of RTs 56 and 57, who were already paving their own local footpaths, still contributed to the paving of the community's main footpaths. The argument was made that everyone in the community benefited from having the main footpaths paved with cement bricks, whereas only the residents in RTs 56/57 regularly used the narrower footpaths located in their
portion of the community. In the following quote, *Pak* Heru, the RW secretary, discusses the context in which this plan was devised.

The *konblok* [cement brick] program had a committee. This small committee came up with these criteria for collecting funds. At that time each family would pay 1,000 rupiah per person. If my family had four members I would pay 4,000 rupiah; if I had a motorcycle I would pay more; and if I had a car I would pay even more. This was decided in a forum. In my opinion, this was a final decision because an official letter was circulated. It had the signature of the RW leader and secretary.\footnote{Konblok itu sudah ada kepanitiaannya. Kepanitiaan kecil mereka sudah bikin konsep dengan kriteria begini untuk penopang dana. Waktu itu satu keluarga dibebankan satu orang ribu. Jadi kalau saya empat keluarga empat ribu, kalau yang punya motor tambah sekian ribu, punya mobil tambah sekian ribu. Itu sudah dalam forum sudah sepakat. Saya anggap sepakat karena secara resmi edaran sudah turun ya. Ada tanda tangan RW ada tanda tangan sekretaris.}

*Pak* Heru, like the other RW leaders, believed that this decision was final because each RT leader, thought to represent the community’s residents, was present and agreed upon the criteria and because the RW leader had circulated an official notice to all the residents.

As it turned out, the residents did not accept this plan. Part of the problem was that the RW leaders, although they officially represent local residents, finalized their plan without first soliciting input at the RT-level meetings. In other words, the RW and RT leadership bypassed an important social space, the RT-level meetings, for mobilizing local residents in support of the plan. As *Pak* Heru states below, the RW leadership was not even aware of the residents’ dissatisfaction until after they had held a number of meetings to further
their plan. He explains how the leaders became aware that they did not have the support of local residents.

Many residents complained about this system. We did not know about this until the subsequent meetings. Out of all the RTs, only my RT, RT 60, followed the first set of rules, the others did not whatsoever. . . . They felt this system was imposing too heavy a burden. But actually, this was a 1,000 [per household member] fee paid only once. Now they are burdened every month until the project is finished. Until the project is finished!107

Pak Heru was disheartened that only his RT adhered to the plan and paid the fee the group of leaders had agreed upon. Other residents, many of them with large households, thought paying a one-time fee of 6,000 or even 12,000 rupiah was too much.108 Many of the households did not have this amount of disposable income available and preferred to pay a smaller fee over a longer period of time or, alternatively, they might have preferred a plan that was less expensive.

Pak Heru acknowledges that the RT leaders did not adequately consult with their constituents before establishing the plan. Below, he describes how eventually after residents refused to pay the fee an alternative plan emerged.


108 It is easiest to understand how much money this is to local residents if one assesses it in the context of their spending patterns. A family of five would spend 3,000 rupiah a day on food. Most houses in the community rent for between 75,000 and 110,000 rupiah a year. A resident in the community bought her daughter shoes for school on credit that cost 12,000 rupiah.
I think this was a miscommunication. I think there was no communication between RT leaders and the households they represent. They were not representing all the households because when they [the RT leaders] went home and they offered this plan to the households, the households were not prepared to accept it. This means there was no preparation. . . . In the end an alternative emerged. Every month 1,000 rupiah per household instead of per person.\[^{109}\]

It was agreed upon that residents would pay 1,000 rupiah per household each month. This meant that large and small households as well as households that could afford a vehicle would all pay the same amount each month — 1,000 rupiah.

As a community-based planner, Pak Heru did not approve of the alternative plan proposed by local residents. He felt it was disorganized because the pace of the project depended on the willingness of local residents to contribute money each month. He preferred the plan in which the total costs were estimated in the beginning, money was collected from residents once, and the project could progress independent of residents’ continual willingness to pay. In the following quote, he indicates that he has relinquished his responsibility for the second plan.

Honestly, before I would always monitor this and that, but now I am not like that. . . . I feel like . . . we do not have a target. . . . It depends on how much each RT collects in a month. If there is this much, then we continue; if next month this much is collected, then we continue. This is how it works now. Before, the first proposal was not like this. We knew the total cost was this amount. . . . Now the committee does not have a moral obligation. By this I mean if the process breaks down, it is because people are not paying. But before, if we had collected a large

\[^{109}\] Saya pikir itu miscomunision, ya. Jadi antara RT yang mewakili warga itu tidak ada komunikasi saya pikir. Karena ternyata tidak mewakili semua warga setelah dia pulang rapat ditawarkan ke warga, warganya enggak siap kok dengan itu, berarti kan tiada persiapan. . . . Ya itu akhirnya muncul ini tadi alternatif tadi tiap bulan seribu per keluarga bukan per orang.
sum of money all at once and the project was not completed, there would have been a big question mark. We would have had a moral obligation.\textsuperscript{110}

\textit{Pak} Heru consoles himself with the knowledge that if the project fails he will not feel responsible and in his opinion, the project \textit{will} fail because local residents will not contribute money each month. He states that the responsibility of the leaders to produce results would have been greater if they had implemented their plan and initially collected a large sum of money from local residents. It is also likely that \textit{Pak} Heru was offended by residents’ insubordination and transgression of the social hierarchy and formal leadership structure in not accepting the initial plan.

In the end, the effort to repave the community’s main arteries completely broke down. After spending the community’s money to purchase cement bricks, the RW leaders did not have enough left to hire the labor needed to finish laying the brickwork. For approximately four months, no progress was made on the repaving effort. Eventually, a special night meeting was called by community elders and community activists, with the express goal of finding a solution. The RW leaders and community elders were invited to attend the meeting; however, neither RW leader \textit{Pak} Suryanto nor RW secretary \textit{Pak} Heru attended.

\textsuperscript{110} Jadi saya terus terang sebetulnya dulu banyak memonitor gini gini tapi sekarang saya sendiri malah nggak begitu... saya merasa di sini... kita nggak punya target... Jadi setiap bulan tiap RT masuk berapa, ada sekian kita laksanakan. Bulan depan masuk sekian kita laksanakan. Yang terjadi sekarang begitu. Kalau dulu proposal pertama tidak begitu. Jadi total biaya sekian juta begitu... Secara moral memang kita panitia tidak mempunyai beban, artinya dalam arti kalau ini sampai macet yang memang itu karena warganya sendiri tidak nyetor yang dimaksudkan. Tapi kalau dulu sekaligus kita kumpul uang banyak kalau tidak selesai kan tanda tanya besar toh. Kita punya beban moral.
In the alternative social space created by the special night meeting, many of the RT leaders openly criticized how the project had been managed. The repaving committee was chastised because not one written report documenting the financial status of the project had been made available to local residents since the beginning of the project. The leaders from RTs, 56/57, refused to ask their constituents to contribute more money for the project. At the meeting, these men made the point that their constituents had been paying double and providing their own labor to improve the lower footpaths. One of the leaders from the lower RTs, Pak Suparmuji, suggested that the community should return to “traditional values” and use mutual cooperation (gotong royong) to finish laying the remaining brickwork. This suggestion was heartily accepted by all of those attending the meeting. Besides being unable to hire labor, the RW leadership had not purchased enough materials to finish the project and the scope of the original plan was scaled back. Pak Adi contributed money from his own pocket, as did a number of RT leaders who also donated from the RT treasuries they represented. Even after these contributions, the project was still short an estimated 175,000 rupiah. At that exact moment, a fashionably dressed young man walked by and all the men called out to him, at which point he asked about the purpose of the meeting. The problem was explained to him, and he sat down in the doorway and wrote a voucher for exactly 175,000 rupiah. All the men started yelling and joking, one man grabbed the voucher and pressed it to his forehead in a praying position, and a tremendous sense of relief filled the room. This benefactor had grown up in Gondolayu Lor, but after his economic success he had married and moved away to a higher-income community.\footnote{He still spends many of his evenings in Gondolayu Lor. Residents claim the neighbors in his new...} This meeting was held on August 9, only eight days before
Indonesia's Independence Day. Over the next week, volunteers from all the RTs worked together and completed the brickwork.
Figure 7.1: Photographs of the Repaving Project

Clockwise: (1 and 2) Jumat Kliwon group laying cement brickwork, and men molding the bricks on a Sunday afternoon; (3) a night Jumat Kliwon meeting involving the rotating credit scheme; and (4) the RW leader, Pak Suryanto, in the checkered shirt at a night meeting regarding the repaving project.
7.7 Conclusion

This chapter analyzes two community-based planning groups. The first group is formally organized by the state, the second is an indigenous group organized by local residents. The descriptions of the three RW leaders attests to their relatively high economic status. Pak Slamet's social status is based on the fact that he was a civil servant, fought in Indonesia's struggle for independence, and handles community matters with diplomacy. Pak Adi is respected because he is a civil servant; has an above average education; is able to work with the community's younger generation; and, most important, is an adroit navigator of social spaces with regard to the alleviation of household-level poverty. Pak Suryanto was also of superior economic status and was a native of Gondolayu Lor. It is possible that Pak Suryanto was selected as RW leader primarily for his construction expertise; however, he was not able to mobilize the community with regard to the planning process. Under the formal Indonesian political-administrative hierarchy, the ability of the RW leader to unite the community is a significant factor in determining the success of community-based planning efforts. If the RW leader is unable to mobilize residents, then community members who do not have a formal leadership role are usually reluctant to break protocol and transgress the formal leadership structure.

The Jumat Kliwon group, unlike the RW group, did not have a formal leader. During meetings the same men would organize the lottery, collect the dues, and prepare the
snacks. The Jumat Kliwon group represents a smaller number of residents than does the RW group, and, based on the results of the household census and the use of Javanese during its meetings, it seems that these two RTs (56/57) are relatively homogenous. As Pak Subardi (the M.C. for the meetings) stated, the Jumat Kliwon group tries to maintain a family sentiment. There are several men in this group, such as Mas Hemi, who work hard to ensure that its plans are achieved. The group’s flexible structure allows unmarried activist like Mas Hemi to play a substantial role, whereas this is not possible in the formal RT/RW groups due to their focus on heads of households. Like a large family, the relationships between members in the group are complex and dynamic. Although, a single “leader” does not exist, informal leadership and the activism are essential elements in the community-based planning process.

The first road was built by the Jumat Kliwon group. This effort was financed by local households and used the labor of local residents. For more than two years the men of these two RTs spent their Sundays improving the local network of footpaths. Sometimes enthusiasm waned. Despite this, however, the group’s commitment to its plan and the use of mutual cooperation (gotong royong) for its implementation held up. In two years over 80 percent of the footpaths were repaved, and the men continued to work every Sunday. The second road was built by the RW leadership. The financing agreed upon by the RW leaders outside of the community-based planning spaces provided by the RT meetings was rejected by residents. An alternative financing scheme was suggested by

112 The first RW leader, Pak Slamet, was leader before I began field research in the community; therefore, my understanding of his leadership is entirely based on interviews with local residents.
local residents and accepted by all parties. However, a problem emerged, due to a lack of proper communication the financing was scaled back but the scope of the project was not. Eventually, when the money ran out, the project was completed through mutual cooperation.

Pak Heru captures the difference in the approaches used by the Jumat Kliwon group ("lower RTs") and the RW group ("higher RTs").

Maybe the upper [RTs] consider . . . it is not optimal to depend on labor based on a system of mutual cooperation (gotong royong). . . . Maybe the first reason is that people think: “If tomorrow I must work again better that I pay someone else.” In terms of quality the work of a professional is also more guaranteed. Here people are amateurs. . . . What has happened here is that there are different ways of thinking. The lower [RTs] think more in terms of mutual cooperation; however, here [in the higher RTs] it is not like that. Here we think in terms of efficiency.113

There are a number of lessons that community-based planners can draw from this experience. First, the plan that was decided outside of consultation with local residents was deemed unacceptable, was rejected, and failed. Second, the cultural ethic of mutual cooperation (gotong royong) is not a Javanese urban myth: it is a powerful social structure that can support the implementation of community-based plans. In addition, community-based planning depends, to a large extent, on the physical and social spaces in which it occurs. Furthermore, temporality is a decisive factor. The emergence of the

benefactor at precisely that moment, his willingness to contribute the exact amount of money needed, the community's renewed willingness to cooperate and finish the project—all possibly spurred by the upcoming Independence Day celebrations—all are factors that have a temporal element that is difficult, if not impossible, either to predict or duplicate.

With regard to repaving the road, a community-identified manifestation of poverty, two sets of spaces were used by local residents to transfer their indigenous knowledge into action. The first set of spaces were those created by the Jumat Kliwon forum to respond to a set of problems not addressed by the state or the larger community. The second set of spaces were those of the RW and RT political-administrative structure. In the end those spaces created by the Jumat Kliwon forum were more effective in terms of communicating, motivating, and mobilizing constituents than were those spaces sanctified by the state, with their rigid leadership structure and strict social hierarchy. The space of the Jumat Kliwon forum was more flexible, and as a result, proved more responsive to the needs, desires, and pace of its constituents. When the formal RT/RW spaces became completely ineffective, residents had to go outside them to create a more flexible community-based planning space, which took the form of the special night meeting.

The means by which residents navigated these spaces in order to transfer their indigenous knowledge into an effort to alleviate a community-identified manifestation of poverty
also alludes to an alternative form of participation, *pragmatic empowerment*, which has not yet been given substantial attention in the planning literature. In the case of the first and second roads, local residents were the principal planners and both these plans originated from within the community. Participants were not co-opted by the state, nor were they included in a planning process that was designed outside the community. In short, both were purely grassroots efforts yet were intentionally designed to appear compatible with the state’s development agenda and not overtly political. Residents viewed the repaving effort as a means of establishing a legitimate land tenure claim. However, this political maneuver was never made public; rather, it was only discussed outside of the public forums. This form of participation emerges because it is compatible with the community’s needs. Indonesia’s restrictive political environment rewards “development efforts” but discourages more radical forms of social mobilization.

In this instance indigenous knowledge, knowledge held by community members, led to the success of the repaving project. Here knowledge entailed understanding what type of plan, in terms of its scope, cost, and pace, would be acceptable to community members; how to keep community members; motivated and working together; and how to revive a planning effort that had fallen apart. Indigenous knowledge is that knowledge held by local residents, activists, and elders regarding the most effective means of navigating local social spaces for the purposes of community-based planning. In terms of successfully alleviating a community-identified characteristic of poverty, the improvement of the community’s dilapidated network of footpaths in an attempt to articulate a subtle land tenure claim, indigenous knowledge got the job done.
CHAPTER 8

A WOMAN'S WORK IS NEVER DONE

List of Characters in Order of Appearance

Ibu Purwanti, joined the first women's organization when she was nine, Women's Family Welfare Organization leader for RT 60
Pak Heru, active in repaving the community's footpaths, and his mother started the first community organization for women
Pak Adi, second RW leader
Ibu Bandi, community activist and substitute leader of the Women's Family Welfare Organization
Ibu Suryanto, RW leader of the Women's Family Welfare Organization during the 1997 field research period
Ibu Sumiyatun, Women's Family Welfare Organization activist and co-owner of the leather cottage industry
Ibu Kirom, Women's Family Welfare Organization activist, professional nurse, and co-founder of the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly
Mbah Wongso, community elder, midwife, and co-founder of the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly
Pak Slemat, first RW leader and a community elder
Pak Subardi, long-term resident and client of the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly
Ibu Marsono, occasional client of the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly and one of the poorest members of the community
Bu (Ibu) Wati, became very sick and could not afford medical treatment
Ibu Sukinah, alerted Ibu Kirom to Ibu Wati's illness

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze: (1) the capacity of local women to create and implement plans to reduce poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so. In the case

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114 To protect the identity of this individual, I use a pseudonym.
study community, women plan through community-based organizations, most of which are segregated by gender. I found that these organizations, in particular the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, provide women with social spaces in which to work as poverty alleviation planners. Consistent with the in-depth interview findings, women in the case study community interpret efforts to improve access to health care, information, credit, and social security as attempts to alleviate poverty. While examining the relationship between community-based planning and poverty reduction, I found that local women used three distinct types of community-based planning spaces in order to reduce poverty: state sanctioned, indigenous, and spontaneous. Using empirical data, this chapter examines these distinct spaces. First, I analyze an indigenous community-based planning space, independent of the state, created by a group of women in Gondolayu Lor. Second, I examine state-sanctioned community-based planning spaces created by the national poverty alleviation programs. All of these programs are organized under the umbrella of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, and include: the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic, the Child Development Program, the Adult Literacy Program, and the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group. Third, I examine an indigenous space created for the purpose of planning and implementing a health care clinic for the elderly. Finally, I look at spontaneous community-based planning spaces organized for short-term efforts in times of crisis (such as the death of a community member, injury, or illness). In analyzing the processes through which community members participate in community-based planning, I find local residents redefining, creating, and navigating from one space to another in order to reduce poverty. In all of these processes local

115 See Chapter 6: “A Lack of Everything” 249
residents engage in an alternative form of citizen participation, *pragmatic empowerment*,
which is grassroots in nature, pragmatic in objective, and never overtly challenges
existing relations of power.

8.2 The First Women’s Organization: An Indigenous Poverty Alleviation Effort

The exact year women first began to meet and organize in Gondolayu Lor is unknown.
According to *Ibu* Purwanti, her mother was active in the first women’s group, which *Ibu*
Purwanti herself started attending when she was nine, after her mother died. During the
field research in 1997, *Ibu* Purwanti was 40. This first women’s organization was started
by *Pak* Heru’s mother, who is one of the original residents of Gondolayu Lor. At that
time, women studied how to write and *ngaji* — to recite prayers in Arabic from the
Koran. This group, initiated by local women independent of government intervention,
sought to reduce such manifestations of poverty, as the inability to read and a lack of
access to information. According to *Ibu* Purwanti, the group allowed women to exchange
information and to gain skills that were either not available to women or the cost of
which was prohibitive, (e.g., like enrolling in a formal course). *Ibu* Purwanti describes
how the women in the community were organized before the government began
promoting similar types of organizations:

> In the olden days, we were not ordered by the government, the women already
knew to teach each other to read and write. The women who already knew how
would teach those who did not know. Those who could not recite prayers were

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116 Please refer to Figure 8.1: Diagram of the Women’s Organizational Structure, Gondolayu Lor RW XI
for a comprehensive illustration of all the women’s organizations in the case study community.
taught to recite prayers. This was before there was anyone to force us, this was before the government programs, but it went smoothly, even to the present.117

Over the years, the focus of the group has changed, and it now emphasizes information related to health. At the earliest meetings, each woman would bring an egg for the arisan—a lottery in which participants alternate with each other in winning the jackpot. The jackpot later evolved into gold and then money. Currently, arisan functions as a rotating credit scheme, and participants consider it a useful mechanism for saving small sums of money. Arisan binds the members of a group because they must contribute every meeting in order to keep the jackpot the same. For example, at age nine Ibu Purwanti, after her mother’s death, began to attend the group in her mother’s place so that the arisan would retain the same number of eggs. Almost every routine meeting in Gondolayu Lor uses arisan to bind its members. This method has been successful in ensuring consistent attendance because most residents appreciate the access to credit that arisan provides. Later, the government, as part of its national development efforts, introduced a series of state-designed organizations for women that were similar in content and purpose to the first women’s organization. Both the state and indigenous organizations sought to improve women’s standard of living.

117 Jaman dulu itu tidak disuruh pemerintah sudah tahu ibu-ibu, anu ayo ajar moco, ajar tulis jadi ibu-ibu yang bisa ngajari yang nggak bisa, ha terus yang nggak bisa ngaji ya diajari ngaji, itu belum ada yang maksa belum ada program pemerintah tapi ya berjalan lancar, sampai sekarang.
8.3 The Women’s Family Welfare Organization: Bottom-Up, Top-Down, Bottom-Up

The Women’s Family Welfare Organization started as an indigenous women’s movement in the rural villages of Central Java in 1964 and, throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, spread to other provinces (Office of the State Minister of the Role of Women 1991). In 1972, the state, recognizing the potential contribution of a women’s organization to the national development process, adopted the movement, standardized its agenda, and implemented it nationally throughout Indonesia. As a result, the program has a bottom-up, top-down, bottom-up history. This last bottom-up period refers to the present replanning and implementation of the program at the local level.

Officially, throughout Indonesia this program has a standardized agenda that seeks to improve family welfare. The 10 points of the agenda are well known nationally because they are painted on signs throughout the country wherever the program exists:

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118 This organization is not the same as Dharma Wanita, which is the mandatory organization for the wives of civil servants. It is also different from Dharma Pertiwi, a women’s organization for the wives of military personnel.
Table 8.1: 10 Programs of the Women's Family Welfare Organization

| 1. Comprehensive and practical application of the state ideology, *Pancasila* |
| 2. Fostering mutual self-help |
| 3. Food |
| 4. Clothing |
| 5. Housing and housing arrangements |
| 6. Education and skills |
| 7. Health |
| 8. Promotion of cooperatives |
| 9. Preserving the environment |
| 10. Sound domestic planning |

Source: Office of the State Minister of the Role of Women, 1991

The practical application of this formal agenda is quite different on the local level, where volunteers create their own contextually relevant priorities, plans, and strategies for implementation. Officially, the Women’s Family Welfare Organization is administered nation-wide from the highest national levels of government to the lowest political-administrative units. Although the organization is a national development program, it focuses only on poor urban areas and rural villages. The primary reason for this focus on poor areas is that the services provided by the organization, such as micro-credit, literacy tutoring, and family planning support programs, are not needed by middle- and high-income families that can purchase these services on an individual basis.

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119 The Women’s Family Welfare Organization has been criticized by feminist scholars in the West because it views women as wives and as responsible for the welfare of the family. This is a common misconception; the Women’s Family Welfare Organization does not limit its membership to wives, as do the *Dharma Wanita* and the *Dharama Pertivi* organizations. An Indonesian male professor jokingly told me that the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, abbreviated as PKK, actually stood for *Erempuan Kurang Kerjaan*, which translates as Women With Not Enough Work. In Gondolayu Lor, not one person ever criticized the Women’s Family Welfare Organization.
In the case study community, the Women’s Family Welfare Organization leaders’ group offers a forum for managing and implementing community-based planning efforts directed towards the alleviation of poverty, including those designed by the state, indigenous activities, and spontaneous practices. The Women’s Family Welfare Organization creates a broad, formal, legitimate, state-sanctioned space within which local women can transfer their indigenous knowledge into action for the purpose of alleviating poverty. Within this broad space for community mobilization there is a series of smaller spaces. Some of these spaces are formal, informal or locally created and others are short-lived and temporal, or what I refer to later in this chapter as spontaneous spaces. These community-based planning spaces have different characteristics, but they are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, they overlap and are sometimes mutually reinforcing. Different spaces close while others open, and new spaces fill old spaces that have been deemed ineffective at reducing poverty. This chapter describes three types of spaces in which community-based planning operates to alleviate poverty: state-sanctioned, indigenous, and spontaneous.

In Gondolayu Lor, the Women’s Family Welfare Organization meetings are conducted monthly in each RT and at the RW-level. In each RT the meetings are conducted in different women’s homes. The meetings include an opportunity to participate in a rotating credit scheme and *simpan-pinjam* — a program through which women save and borrow small sums of money. The RT forum also provides women with information and an opportunity to communicate with other households and their RT leaders. Community-level information is conveyed in this forum, and women communicate their concerns.
about community issues. If warranted, these issues are then discussed at the Women’s Family Welfare Organization’s RW-level meetings.

The Women’s Family Welfare Organization is a general forum within which women are able to address community and household-level problems. The RW-level Women’s Family Welfare Organization meeting is held once a month at the badminton court, (unless it is raining and then it is moved indoors). This meeting has a large attendance because, in theory, every woman in the community is a member of the organization. The meeting also offers a number of rotating credit schemes, and women pay their dues in rice, which is sold to poor families below the market price. This practice raises money for the organization and subsidizes the cost of purchasing rice for poor families.120

The female leaders from each RT conducted a special monthly leaders’ meeting to discuss community-level problems and to coordinate efforts between individual RTs. During field research in 1994-95, the Women’s Family Welfare Organization had regular monthly meetings at the RT- and RW-levels. This leaders’ group was equally active during the field research in 1997, despite the fact that the male leaders of each RT had stopped meeting on a regular basis due to a series of conflicts (discussed earlier in Chapter 7). In 1997, the Women’s Family Welfare Organization was the only RT leaders’ forum that met on a regular basis.

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120 This practice of contributing rice is referred to as jimpitan beras.
8.4 Formal Leadership and Social Activism

In Gondolayu Lor, the leadership of the women's community-based planning organizations does not adhere as strictly to the social hierarchy created by the formal RT and RW structure as does the leadership of its male counter-organizations. Although the wives of the RT and RW leaders are automatically leaders of the corresponding women's organizations, there is a group of women that function as Women's Family Welfare Organization activists regardless of their husbands' level of community involvement. In 1994, Pak Adi's wife was the formal Women's Family Welfare Organization leader for the community; however, she became pregnant and was advised by a doctor to reduce her level of activity. As a result, she relinquished many of her responsibilities to Ibu Bandi, an experienced community activist. In 1997, Pak Suryanto's wife automatically became the formal Women's Family Welfare Organization leader at the RW-level because her husband was selected as leader of the RW. She claimed she disliked this role because she dreaded public speaking. Throughout the field research, Ibu Suryanto would attend most of the Women's Family Welfare Organization meetings, but more experienced activists, like Ibu Bandi, asserted a stronger influence on the proceedings. In terms of the Women's Family Welfare Organization, the work of self-appointed activists was often more visible than was that of the formal leaders. With the women's organizations, when a vacuum is created in the formal leadership structure, it is easy for a community activist to step in and fill it. This is in contrast to the men's organizations, where activists and elders went outside the formal political-administrative structure to create such alternative space as the Jumat Kliwon group or the special night meeting.
During the field research in 1994 and 1997, Ibu Bandi, Ibu Sumiyatun, and Ibu Kirom functioned as Family Welfare activists. The husbands of all three of these women were not formal community leaders. Ibu Bandi organized the Women’s Family Welfare Organization activities and was the leader of the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group, APSARI, and was responsible for the micro-credit available through this group. Ibu Sumiyatun was responsible for the Child Development Program, and she assisted with the micro-credit available through the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group and the RW Credit Union. She also financially supported a number of community activities, such as repaving the footpaths and setting up the community’s Health Care Clinic for the Elderly. Ibu Kirom, a professional nurse, was the leader of both the health care clinic for children and the elderly. These women, because they are dedicated community activists and were willing to fill formal spaces when the community’s leadership failed to function effectively, provided the continuity to these poverty alleviation activities that other local organizations in Gondolayu Lor could not. The next section analyzes a series of poverty alleviation efforts organized and implemented by the Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers.
I. The highest box represents the women's first organization in Gondolayu Lor, which existed before the introduction of the state-designed programs for women. The broken boarder indicates that it is an indigenous organization. The members of this organization continue to meet once a month; they are all long-time residents of Gondolayu Lor.

II. The Women's Family Welfare Organization's Leaders' Group consists of representatives from RTs 55-61. This leaders' group meets once a month to coordinate all the organizations in levels III and IV.

III. Membership in these organizations is open to women throughout RW XI. All of these organizations are implemented by volunteers from the Family Welfare Organization. The Child Development Program and the Adult Literacy Program are shaded because they were not active in 1997. The broken boarder around the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly indicates that it is an indigenous organization. It is implemented by teh Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers and both elderly men and women use it.

IV. Only women are members of the Women's Family Welfare Organization (W.F.W.O.) at the RT level (level IV). Membership is based on the geographic location of a resident's house. Each RT has individual meetings and selects its own local leader.

Figure 8.1: Diagram of the Women's Organizational Structure, Gondolayu Lor RW XI
8.5 State-Sanctioned Spaces for Poverty Alleviation

The Women's Family Welfare Organization is responsible for implementing state-designed strategies of poverty alleviation. The next section will discuss four poverty alleviation programs promoted by the Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers: the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic, the Child Development Program, the Adult Literacy Program, and the Family Planning Acceptors' Support Group. These programs, like the Women's Family Welfare Organization, are not implemented in upper-income neighborhoods in Indonesia. All of these programs are part of Indonesia's national development effort. Their principal planner is the state and they are designed to be implemented nationally in a standardized manner. However, at the local level the Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers modify these programs to match their abilities and the needs of the community. The question of whether or not these are "state" poverty alleviation programs becomes blurred because many of them, like the Women's Family Welfare Organization, began as local indigenous planning efforts but were adopted, standardized, and implemented nationally by the state. These programs are now organized locally by volunteers and are inevitably replanned, modified, or completely rejected according to the specific needs of the community.
8.5.1 Mother and Child Health Care Clinic

In Gondolayu Lor, the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic was implemented by the Women's Family Welfare Organization in the early 1970s. The purpose of the program is to provide health care to children under the age of five and health information to their mothers. The clinic is part of a standardized program that is implemented throughout Indonesia as part of the National Family Planning Program's agenda to reduce infant mortality rates and to improve reproductive health. The clinic is conducted once a month, and the Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers from each RT take turns preparing the snacks for the children who attend. These volunteers have received instruction in program implementation. In Gondolayu Lor, the clinic is held on the first day of every month, and the voluntary fee is 100 rupiah per child. Each month the children who participate have their height and weight recorded on a card and receive a snack. The clinic also provides formulas for rehydration, contraceptive information, and immunizations and vitamin supplements. During both periods of field research, this program was consistently implemented one afternoon each month. One explanation for the program's success is that residents recognized its value. Most residents do not have access to a scale, and they appreciate the opportunity to monitor their children's weight and height. Children attend the clinic in their best clothes and appear to enjoy receiving the snack that is provided.

121 The Indonesian name for the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic is Pos Pelayanan Terpadu, or Posyandu.
8.5.2 Child Development Program

The Child Development Program is another program implemented nationally by local volunteers from the Women's Family Welfare Organization. It focuses on educating mothers who have children under the age of five. It provides information about child development and what skills should be emphasized with children at specific ages. Although the program focuses on educating mothers and was designed at the national level for mothers to attend without their children, the Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers in Gondolayu Lor realized that most mothers had to bring their children with them. In this situation, state and indigenous planning were combined when local volunteers decided to redesign the program along the lines of a play group, involving both mothers and children. This program was new and was implemented regularly during 1994-95; however, it was inactive in 1997. There are a number of explanations for the discontinuance of this program. In some volunteers’ opinion, younger mothers were embarrassed about their inability to read and did not attend because the program required them to read instructional packages out loud. Volunteers believed that this practice was humiliating and resulted in low attendance. Based on field observations, the program provided participants with new information for the first few meetings, but, in subsequent meetings, the government failed to provide new informational packages. Consequently, some women described the program as boring and “monotone.” Although the Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers attempted to use their indigenous knowledge to redefine the space created by the Child Development Program, they either did not have the appropriate knowledge or, more

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122 The Indonesian name for the Child Development Program is Bina Keluarga Balita, or BKB.
likely, did not believe in the usefulness of this effort and decided to invest their scarce resources in creating alternate spaces for poverty alleviation. In the end, the space for poverty alleviation created by this program disappeared.

8.5.3 Adult Literacy Program

During the 1980s, the Women's Family Welfare Organization implemented a literacy program for adults. This program is no longer active, although some respondents mentioned it is still needed. According to these respondents, there are still members of the community, in particular younger residents, who are not able to read, but these people are too embarrassed to ask for help through the program. Most of the younger illiterate members of the community just recently moved to Gondolayu Lor. *Ibu* Bandi was a teacher in the literacy program, and she defines literacy as the ability to recognize letters and to write one's name and address. This loose definition of literacy indicates there actually might be an even greater number of functionally illiterate residents in the community than is recognized by community activists. When this program was still active, illiterate adults were organized into study groups according to their reading ability, and the government provided three different levels of reading materials: levels A, B, and C. According to *Ibu* Bandi, it was difficult to maintain attendance in the program, and, eventually, in an effort to decrease drop out rates, loans were made available to program participants. *Ibu* Bandi claimed that this was an effective mechanism for improving attendance. However, it was not enough. Unfortunately, no indigenous knowledge from
residents emerged that was capable of salvaging or redefining this needed social space to reduce this manifestation of poverty, illiteracy, and eventually this space disappeared. Although the program has been inactive for almost 10 years, the community still owns the instructional reading materials, and they are available to local residents through the community-operated library.

8.5.4 Family Planning Acceptors' Support Group

The Women's Family Welfare Organization also implements a Family Planning Acceptors' Support Group. This organization has been active throughout Central Java since the 1970s. While conducting field observations in 1994, I noted that this program had a steady attendance. It included an arisan and a micro-credit program for contraceptives. As a prerequisite for borrowing money, a woman had to be a contraceptive acceptor and agree to invest the money in a business venture. Based on field observations in 1994, little health or family planning information was conveyed during the program's monthly meetings; based on interviews with program organizers, these volunteers had little new information to offer women who were long-standing contraceptive acceptors.

123 The Indonesian name for the Adult Literacy Program is Kejar Paket A, B, or C, depending on the reading level of the participant.
124 The Indonesian name for the Family Planning Acceptors' Support Group is Akseptor Satuh Lestari, or APSARI.
125 The Indonesian name for the micro-credit program is Usaha Pengingkatan Pendapatan Keluarga Akseptor, or UPPKA.

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During my 1997 field research, this program had more than doubled its active membership. The program was still referred to as the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group and was held on the same day of each month; however, the content revolved around a new micro-credit program. Based on the proceedings of the meetings, the primary focus was no longer contraceptive use, although some general health information was still conveyed; instead the new micro-credit program was redefined to improve the socioeconomic welfare of local families. To participate in the program, women no longer had to agree to invest the borrowed money in a business or to utilize contraception. In Gondolayu Lor RW XI, the new micro-credit program began with a two-million rupiah loan from Exim Bank. This substantial loan enabled the program to circulate relatively substantial sums of money to numerous members simultaneously. All the borrowers were required to start with small loans of approximately 20,000 rupiah. After a timely return, they were allowed to increase the amount they borrowed to 40,000 and, eventually, to 60,000 rupiah. The interest rate of the new micro-credit program was 6 percent, which is below the 10 percent interest rate of the RW micro-credit program.

Throughout the in-depth interviews, respondents referred to these programs as successful examples of community-based planning that reduces poverty. The Mother and Child Health Care Clinic has been in operation since the early 1970s; it is always well attended, and participants expressed their gratitude for the services it provided. I believe that most

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126 The Indonesian name for the new micro-credit program is *Usaha Peningkatan Pendapatan Keluarga Sejahtera*, or *UPPKS*. 

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residents view this program as a successful, long-standing community institution because it was "planned" almost 30 years ago and has experienced few changes. The Child Development Program was very popular during my 1994 field research period; however, it was inactive during my 1997 field research, as was the Adult Literacy Program. I believe the community did not view the Child Development Program as a worthy investment of its time and they did not have the appropriate knowledge to redefine the Adult Literacy Program so that it would succeed. In the end, both of these spaces for community-based planning disappeared. Of the "state-designed" poverty alleviation programs, the Family Planning Acceptors' Support Group was "the program of the month" during my 1997 field research. Local activists had redesigned this program, and it offered the lowest interest rate loans in the community. There was concern over whether or not the it would succeed, and local women activists were concerned about how to best use this social space more effectively to alleviate poverty.

The Women's Family Welfare Organization volunteers selected which programs to implement; there are other national programs that the volunteers intentionally decided not to implement. These women have limited time, financial resources, and expertise, and they make strategic decisions about how to invest these resources. They select programs that fit the needs and conditions of the community, and they do not waste their limited resources implementing programs that they suspect will not succeed. Many of the state poverty alleviation programs are perceived by respondents as long-standing and

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127 Approximately equaling $8.70 U.S.
128 Approximately equaling $17.39 and $26.09 U.S., respectively.
unremarkable community institutions. For example, the Mother and Child Health Care
Clinic has been operating in the community since the early 1970s. Most respondents who
use this program appreciate the service it provides, but they do not ponder its planning
and implementation. Criticizing any of the state programs would require criticizing both
the state’s development agenda and the efforts of local volunteers. Although the local
women were not the principal planners of the state-designed poverty alleviation
programs, they selected, modified, and in some cases replanned these programs. Clearly,
indigenous knowledge played a decisive role in those spaces sanctified by the state to
work towards the reduction of poverty.

8.6 Spaces for Indigenous Poverty Alleviation Efforts

In 1997, the Women’ Family Welfare Organization volunteers started a Health Care
Clinic for the Elderly (Lansia—Lanjut Usia) in Gondolayu Lor. The clinic measures and
records the blood pressure and weight of each participant. It also provides a hot meal,
vitamins, and referrals when outside medical care is necessary. The participants pay 300
rupiah per month for these services. This health care clinic is not a government program;
rather, it is an indigenous poverty alleviation effort. Two local women were instrumental
in creating the social space within which this community-based planning effort to
alleviate poverty, the clinic, could emerge: Mbah Wongso, the oldest member of the
community and the local midwife, and Ibu Kirom, a Women’s Family Welfare
Organization activist and professional nurse. Mbah Wongso originally wanted to focus

129 An example of a program the volunteers decided not to implement is the Adolescent Development
on addressing the problem of inaccessible health care for the elderly. *Ibu* Kirom suggested a health care clinic, and she had the professional background, knowledge of the municipal bureaucracy, and respect within the community to make it a reality. The story of the health care clinic illustrates a community-based planning space within which the traditional knowledge of a midwife was fused with the professional and political knowledge of a nurse in order to alleviate a particular manifestation of poverty — the inaccessibility of health care for the elderly. The story of *Ibu* Kirom and how community-based planning was used to establish the health care clinic are intertwined, and for that reason, their two stories are told together.

*Ibu* Kirom is 43 years old and is originally from the region of Sleman. She attended nursing school for three years, and, after graduation, she was employed by a private hospital for 15 years. She became a civil servant and began working at a *Puskesmas* — government health care clinic — six years ago. She met her husband while working at the hospital, and they moved to Gondolayu Lor in 1984. During my 1994 and 1997 field research periods, *Ibu* Kirom was a Women’s Family Welfare Organization activist. However, just prior to the 1997 period, she was reassigned to a health care clinic located in the rural community of Godean, just outside the city. She accepted this job because her family had previously rented a small house in Gondolayu Lor, and the new job provided her with roomier housing. During the beginning of the 1997 field research period, on a Sunday afternoon, all the volunteers took a one-hour bus ride to *Ibu* Kirom’s new house and ate lunch. Although official business, like the rotating credit scheme, was

Program (*Bina Keluarga Remaja, BKR*).
conducted, everyone was dressed up and the meeting was like a house-warming party.

Throughout the duration of the field research, *Ibu* Kirom lived with her family in Godean; however, she continued to return to Gondolayu Lor to conduct her duties as an organizer of the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic and the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group and most important, to carry on her responsibilities as leader of the new Health Care Clinic for the Elderly.

In 1997, *Mbah* Wongso approached *Ibu* Kirom with the observation that there were no activities in the community for the elderly. *Mbah* Wongso is 84 years old and is considered to be one of the only female elders in the community. During the 1994 field research period, she would regularly attend Women’s Family Welfare Organization meetings. If there was a special organizers’ meeting to which she was not invited, she would frequently stick her head in the door and ask which issues the women were discussing. She seemed to want to be more involved in the community activities that were dominated by younger women. Although the clinic was *Ibu* Kirom’s idea, it was conducted every month in *Mbah* Wongso’s house. *Ibu* Kirom describes both how she arrived at the idea for a health care clinic and the subsequent planning process:

The first reason is that the government is creating pressure around issues related to the elderly. The second reason is that I still feel like a member of the RW XI community and I feel that I personally had this idea because I am a health care professional. [I thought to myself] “What if RW XI creates an activity for the elderly?” Even though the district has not . . . instructed us how to do it yet. At that time I spoke with a family planning field worker and she agreed. . . . This is because the PKK [Women’s Family Welfare Organization] is below the jurisdiction of the family planning field workers (*PLKB*). When I asked if I could conduct an activity for the elderly, [I was told to] “first ask the permission of the Puskesmas — government health care clinic.” I asked the woman in charge of the
Puskesmas directly. . . . I was given permission . . . because the Puskesmas could not come to Gondolayu.\textsuperscript{130}

The planning for the health care clinic started as the idea of two women, Mbah Wongso and Ibu Kirom, at the local neighborhood level; then Ibu Kirom sought the approval of the family planning field workers at the district office because, at that time, she was working as a nurse at the Puskesmas (government health care clinic) which was also located there, and she did not want to appear insubordinate. She was given permission to organize the clinic because the Puskesmas was not capable of providing a comparable service. The state approved the clinic because it was not in competition with its own poverty alleviation efforts, instead it created a new space where nothing had previously existed.

After Ibu Kirom received approval from the district, she sought community support for the health care clinic. It may appear strange that Ibu Kirom sought permission from the district office prior to approaching the elderly residents of the community; however, as a Women’s Family Welfare Organization activist and one of the only health care professionals in the community, Ibu Kirom is in constant communication with community members about their health care needs and the services they require.

Consequently, based on the popularity of the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic, Ibu

\textsuperscript{130} Ha itu karena lansia baru digalakkan oleh pemerintah, pertama itu. Kedua karena saya masih merasa warga RW XI dan saya sendiri merasa karena seorang tenaga kesehatan timbulah suatu gagasan. "Gimana kalau RW XI itu kita adakan suatu lansia?" Walaupun dari Kecamatan itu belum . . . mengadakan suatu pelatihan. Waktu itu saya katakan kepada pihak PLKB, ternyata disetujui. . . . Karena kita kegiatan PKK itu di bawah naungan dari PLKB. Ha saya tanyakan boleh diadakan kegiatan lansia “tapi tanya dulu pada Puskesmas.” Ha saya waktu itu nembusi kepada ibu pimpinan Puskesmas. . . . Dipersilahkan . . . karena pihak Puskesmas tidak bisa datang ke Gondolayu.
Kirom felt confident that community members would embrace a clinic that focused on the needs of the elderly. Within the community, *Ibu* Kirom first sought approval of the RW leader’s wife, the official leader of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization. She describes the protocol she followed in seeking community support:

First, because the family planning field workers agreed, I checked with the wife of the RW leader. She also okayed the idea and because she okayed the idea, the idea was brought to the [Women’s Family Welfare Organization] organizers’ meeting and accepted. After it was accepted we brought the idea to the members of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization and the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group.131

A savvy navigator of social spaces for community-based planning, *Ibu* Kirom sought the support of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers because these are the women who represent each RT and who would be giving their time to implement the clinic. Finally, *Ibu* Kirom rallied support from the members of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization and the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group.

After the Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers had agreed to implement the program, the idea was promoted to community members. *Ibu* Kirom describes how the Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers promoted the clinic to residents with elderly family members prior to approaching the elderly themselves:

131 Pertama saya waktu itu kan karena dari PLKB disetujui ya, kemudian dari bu RW gimana. Ternyata bu RW juga oke oke oke karena sudah oke dalam pertemuan pengurus kita utarakan, diterima. Ha setelah diterima ya itu kita sampaikan kepada warga melalui forum pertemuan PKK, pertemuan Apsari.
In the Women’s Family Welfare Organization meeting, we brought the idea forward . . . We also emphasized it [the clinic for the elderly] at the RW-level of the Family Planning Acceptors’ Support Group because many of the members have elderly relatives. Actually, our primary concern is educating the families of elderly people, not the elderly, but educating their families . . . After we have educated the families with elderly members, then we gather up the elderly and collect their data. We invited all the elderly community members in RW XI. We used written invitations that said on such and such a date there will be an activity for the elderly. They came, many came — more than 60.\textsuperscript{132}

In the above statement, \textit{Ibu} Kirom emphasizes the importance of educating the families with elderly members because these families are the caregivers for the elderly. The clinic primarily considers community members who are age 60 and older to be “elderly.” In her interview, \textit{Ibu} Kirom estimated that when the program began there were 70 elderly community members, 60 of whom attended the first meeting. At the time of the 1997 field research, between 75 and 85 elderly community members attended the monthly health care clinic.\textsuperscript{133}

\textit{Ibu} Kirom tries to encourage the Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers from each RT to participate in implementing the clinic. She describes why she views support from each RT as necessary:

\textit{It is up to the field workers if they want to be active or not. But whether they want to or not, I prefer that each RT has someone participate because this activity is for the entire RW. If each RT does not participate then it will not understand}

\textsuperscript{132} Waktu pertemuan PKK kita sampaikan . . . kemudian pertemuan Apsari tingkat RW juga ditekankan di situ karena kebanyakan mereka kan mempunyai keluarga lansia. Ha terutama itu kalau lansia itu yang kita bina itu keluarga lansia sebetulnya bukan lansianya tapi bina keluarga lansia . . . Setelah keluarga lansia kita bina, ha nanti kita kumpulkan lansia kita data. Berapa yang ada lansia di RW 11 kita undang. Pakai undangan bahwa nanti tanggal sekian bulan ini akan diadakan tindakan lansia umpamanya. Ha mereka datang, ternyata banyak datang, lebih dari 60.

\textsuperscript{133} The number of elderly that attended the clinic was based on a count of the number of meals served.
the problems faced by the elderly. Therefore, each RT must send [at least] one field worker.  

According to Ibu Kirom, the health care clinic is for the benefit of the whole community because every RT has elderly residents. She also recognizes the value of RT volunteers who have knowledge of the specific needs of individual elderly participants. In her interview, Ibu Kirom stated that she wants volunteers from every RT so that the clinic will know when someone is too sick to utilize it. This enables the clinic to provide alternative services or, if necessary, to refer someone to the government health care clinic. In Gondolayu Lor, it is not unusual for the community-based planning process to try to include residents from every RT, thus creating an atmosphere within which social and physical spaces are two sides of the same coin, each representing the other. This practice facilitates communication between the residents and the RW-level leadership.

As mentioned earlier, during my 1997 field research Ibu Kirom had already moved from Gondolayu Lor to Godean, a rural community. She described how she was trying to prepare other community members to take over her role as leader of the clinic:

I try to attract [volunteers]. Each time there is an activity for the elderly, they help measure blood pressure — primarily that. Later, after a while, if they really can, I — well there is no way that I can always be here. At some point, I will definitely have to leave, but I do not know when that will happen.
Ibu Kirom had begun to teach other Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers how to measure and record blood pressure and body weight. She realizes that if the space for community-based planning she has created is to survive her withdrawal, then others will have to take her place.

The majority of the funding for the clinic is provided by community donations and the treasuries of the individual RTs. Ibu Kirom describes how the program is funded:

At first no one asked about funding. Actually, up until now, I have never heard anyone [i.e., participants] ask about where the funding for the clinic comes from. But we have announced at the clinic that the funding is from donators. Each RT contributes. [There was a contribution from] the mayor’s wife when she officially recognized the program. . . . From the subdistrict leader we received 50,000 [rupiah].

Ibu Kirom’s statement indicates that the elderly are not directly involved in the planning or management of the health care clinic. The “donators” are the wealthier members of the community. Ibu Sumiyatun is a donator, and Pak Slamet makes a 5,000-rupiah donation each time he attends the clinic. The wife of the mayor and the subdistrict office made contributions as well. In the interview, Ibu Kirom said that the elderly who were members of the community’s economic elite would approach her and make 10,000-rupiah

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136 Kalau pertama kali itu mereka tidak ada yang menanyakan mengenai dana. Sampai sekarangpun kok saya belum pernah mendengar dana kegiatan lansia itu dari mana itu kok belum ada. Tapi kita sudah pernah menyampaikan kalau kegiatan lansia dananya dari ada yang donatur tetap, kemudian ada iuran dari tiap RT, kemudian waktu itu pas ada peresmian dair Ibu Walikota . . . dari pihak Pak Lurah itu memberi rangsangan lima puluh ribu.
donations to show their support for the clinic. She describes how the program targets both rich and poor elderly people:

Well, when we say the elderly we do not look to see if they are poor or rich. All the elderly must participate in activities for the elderly. Then those elderly who are [financially] able, these are the people who later make donations.\(^{137}\)

Prior to the clinic, the affluent elderly, like Pak Slemat, already used alternative health services. However, these people are encouraged to use the clinic because, as Ibu Kirom knows, if they participate in it, then they will financially support it.

*Ibu* Kirom explains that the poor value the services the clinic provides because they realize that illness is expensive. The clinic also provides psychological benefits: many participants enjoy the clinic because it offers them a rare opportunity to leave their homes or visit with their friends:

Many are interested, maybe because first their health is the most important thing. Because illness is more expensive than eating in order to live from day to day; it costs more to be sick. . . . For those who are very old, maybe it has been a long time since they left their house. When the elderly gather, they are happy to meet with their old friends. They like to talk . . . it is like a reunion, they like to tell their stories. Maybe otherwise they never have an opportunity to meet. . . . There [at the health care clinic] they feel happy. If their hearts are happy, this reduces their suffering. For those who are usually stressed at home, maybe it will be reduced. It is very good for those who are stressed at home, bored at home. If they are still active, for example working as traders, they see what is going on.

\(^{137}\) Karena yang namanya lansia itu tidak pandang itu miskin atau kaya. Semua harus mengikuti kegiatan lansia yang sudah lansia, itu. Jadi nanti dari yang mampu, ha itu dia nanti akan memberikan suatu donatur.
outside. But for those [elderly] who are only stressed at home, maybe this forum can reduce their suffering.\(^{138}\)

*Ibu* Kirom has designed the clinic so that it offers a pleasant monthly reunion for the elderly who attend it. Most of the elderly females sit inside the house on the floor, while the elderly males sit outside on woven mats, either on the footpath or on a neighboring verandah. Each month a meal is provided for the participants, which contributes to the social atmosphere of the clinic. *Ibu* Kirom realizes that if the clinic has a pleasant atmosphere, then the affluent elderly are more likely to participate and to provide financial support.

Most respondents appreciated the health care clinic. *Pak* Subardi, who was born in Gondolayu Lor and, at 72, is one of the oldest members of the community, attends the clinic and exemplifies many respondents. He receives a pension from his career in the army and lives in a well maintained home in the middle of the community along a main footpath near the badminton court. Immediately after entering his house, one notices his art work — decorative wood carvings and framed paintings. Near the door, there is a self-portrait of *Pak* Subardi in his army uniform and a painting of his wife when she was in her 20s (she died 12 years ago). On the opposite wall are characters he painted from

the Javanese wayang kulit — puppet theater. In his interview, Pak Subardi stated that he does not work; he only plays at home with his grandchildren or tends to his art. When asked if there were any activities in the community that had the capacity to reduce poverty, he immediately spoke of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization and the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly.

The Women’s Family Welfare Organization it has, well I see that it has elevated. . . I mean it has elevated women, mothers. . . But women are different, more disciplined than men. This development is a result of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, that is why the Women’s Family Welfare Organization is active. . . . Even the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly is handled by the Women’s Family Welfare Organization volunteers. . . . Yes I enjoy it. Indeed, I enjoy it very much, I am thankful . . . to those that manage it.

In the above quote, Pak Subardi states that he believes the Women’s Family Welfare Organization has elevated the position of women in the community. He was impressed that the women’s organizations remained active while many of the men organizations had not. He was particularly grateful for the women’s ability to manage the health care clinic.

Unfortunately, for extremely poor households, the cost of participating in the clinic is daunting. These households are a minority in the community. Each participant in the clinic pays 300 rupiah per month, which helps to subsidize the cost of the meal that is

139 Ha kalau PKK itu ada anunya, saya lihat ada tingkatannya. . . . Artinya meningkatkan dalam taraf kemajuan seorang wanita, seorang ibu. . . . Tapi kalau ibu-ibu itu lain, lebih taat daripada laki-laki. Ha ini perkembangan dari PKK, maka PKK itu digiatkan. . . . Lansia saja kebanyakan yang menangani itu ibu-ibu PKK. . . . Ya saya menikmati. Memang saya senang sekali, saya berterima kasih kepada. . . mengelola lansia itu.

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served. As was mentioned earlier, the remainder of the money comes from the treasuries of each RT and from the donations of affluent community members — *donator tetap*. In the following statement, *Ibu* Marsono explains that, in her opinion, the health care clinic does not reduce poverty because its participants pay for it:

But for the cooking they take the money from the treasury. That is everyone’s money. The money from the treasury is used for the cooking. Therefore, those women eating at the health care clinic for the elderly are using their own money, *Mbak*. The elderly are eating like that because they are using their own money.  

*Ibu* Marsono is one of the poorest members of the community; however, her statement represents the feelings of a small proportion of the interview respondents. *Ibu* Marsono feels like she is eating her own money at the health care clinic. During her in-depth interview, *Ibu* Marsono stated that a common meal for her and her two grandchildren is a package of instant noodles, split three ways, with *grupuk* — shrimp chips. These packages of noodles cost approximately 150 rupiah. In her eyes, the 300 rupiah it costs to attend the clinic when she is not sick is a luxury she cannot afford. For *Ibu* Marsono, even her participation in poverty alleviation efforts is an extravagance.

The health care clinic provides the elderly with services that were previously inaccessible due to a lack of awareness, prohibitive costs, and (for some elderly) an inability to travel. Although the program is an indigenous poverty alleviation effort, the women in the

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140 Using the exchange rate of 2,300 rupiah per $1 U.S., 300 rupiah equals approximately $.13 U.S.  
community have imitated the government’s successful Mother and Child Health Care Clinic (Posyandu). Some residents even refer to the health care clinic for the elderly as Posyandu Lansia — which means it is the Posyandu for the elderly. The planning and execution of the clinic for the elderly depends on a number of factors. Some of these include: Ibu Kirom’s knowledge of health care and bureaucratic protocol, support from all segments of the community’s population, and support from local government institutions. For many poor residents, the clinic alleviates such symptoms of poverty as a lack of information concerning basic preventive health care. It costs residents less to get these services from the clinic than it would from similar services offered outside the community; the clinic is implemented by volunteers and its activities are subsidized by the community’s economic elite. However, even in this “ideal environment” with all of these supportive ingredients, this social space created by the clinic still cannot reach the chronically poor like Ibu Marsono.

8.7 Spaces for Spontaneous Poverty Alleviation Practices

In times of crisis, the women of Gondolayu Lor seek out spaces within which to organize spontaneous, short-term community-based planning practices to help poor community members. These spontaneous poverty alleviation practices also depend on indigenous knowledge; however, they occupy different spaces than the health care clinic for the elderly. These spaces emerge quickly, without prolonged periods of planning, and they disappear when the crisis that prompted them has passed. Spontaneous poverty alleviation practices are usually a response to a sudden illness, injury, or death. Such
crises are devastating to the poor because they have no margin of reserved resources to deal with them. To combat this resource deficit of the poor, the women in Gondolayu Lor pool their resources in terms of spontaneous poverty alleviation practices. *Ibu* Kirom describes the role of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization in helping poor families in crisis:

Maybe to eat each day they have just enough, but later add on school [expenses], then later illness, ahh, people need to think twice about [how they can afford illness]. If we know it is serious, we take action. First we have a discussion in the Women’s Family Welfare Organization. What are the best steps we can take for those that are poor? We cannot wait for their family [to ask for help]. Maybe the family is ashamed, too ashamed to say something, but we know how they live from day to day. We approach them and ask if it is okay to take up a collection from the community.142

According to *Ibu* Kirom, community members, because they are ashamed, will wait too long before asking for help. She believes it is the responsibility of the Women’s Family Welfare Organization to detect when residents are in need and to approach them. Here *Ibu* Kirom implies the need for community-based planners to use intuitive knowledge to gauge the welfare of other residents in order to alleviate poverty effectively.

*Ibu* Kirom, because of her medical training, realizes it is dangerous when residents wait too long before seeking medical treatment. In the following quote, she tells of a woman

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who did not have enough money to go to the doctor and of how the community pooled its money to pay her medical expenses:

In my opinion, it is because they don’t have any other family, there is no husband, no children. Someone who exactly fits this description is Bu Wati. She was not seen for one week. Then Ibu Sukinah mentioned that Ibu Wati was quite sick. So I went to check on her and she could not get up because she had lost so much blood. Her nose was bleeding. So much blood was coming from her nose. I asked her, “Do you want medical attention?” She replied, “No, I do not want any.” “Why do you not want any?” “Because I have no money,” she replied. “Do not think about the money. Where do you want me to take you?” She said “It is up to you.” This meant she would take my advice. It was up to me to decide where to take her. I took her directly to Bethesda Hospital because that is where I was working at the time... Then I went directly to the community with a letter explaining she really was poor and that this had been acknowledged from the RT/RW and the subdistrict leadership. Then I went to each family asking for a contribution. At that time, I collected 200,000 rupiah. 143

Ibu Kirom describes the profile of a chronically poor community member, one who had no relatives to provide her with a safety net when she became sick. Ibu Kirom took the initiative to get a formal letter explaining Bu Wati’s economic situation and took responsibility for collecting money from the community for her treatment.

The letter Ibu Kirom obtained was an official letter recognizing Bu Wati as poor. This type of letter is presented to community members when they are asked to donate money,

and it is also presented to the hospital when it treats the person recognized as poor. *Ibu* Kirom describes the procedure for obtaining this letter:

This is called a poverty clarification letter and it is acknowledged by the RT/RW up to the subdistrict. . . . This clarification letter is attached. Then there is another letter that asks for contributions. This has their name, their RT number, and the total that was collected. The amount collected is taken to Bethesda.  

According to *Ibu* Kirom, if the patient’s medical expenses are greater than the money collected from the community, a letter clarifying that the patient is poor will often result in the hospital not charging for the entire cost of its service. Since *Ibu* Kirom moved to Gondolayu Lor in 1984, she has used this procedure to help four community members.

The women in Gondolayu Lor also take up community collections *without* a formal letter. For example, the community always collects money when a community member dies. When I arrived in Gondolayu Lor for my 1997 field research, a woman in the community had just lost her husband and the Women’s Family Welfare Organization was collecting money to help her. In times of crisis, the spontaneous planning that occurs is often very subtle taking the form of community members telling each other stories about the resident experiencing the crisis. For example, the woman who lost her husband was said to have no relatives in the community and her husband had been sick for at least five years, which resulted in tremendous emotional and financial strain. She also had a daughter in high mampu, diketahui RT/RW sampai Kelurahan. Terus saya keliling tiap warga itu pokoknya saya minta sumbangan. Ternyata mendapatkan sekitar 200 ribu waktu itu.

144 Istilahnya surat keterangan tidak mampu yang diketahui RT-RW sampai Kelurahan. . . . Ha kalau sudah ada surat keterangan itu nanti dilampirkan tho. Terus nanti ada lembaran lain untuk minta sumbangannya.
school for whom she was still financially responsible. This sort of information circulates throughout the community, suggests a community member’s level of need, and thus influences the amount of money community members contribute.

In conclusion, these spaces for spontaneous poverty alleviation practices are not sustainable by the community, and they, are not meant to be. Because the financial strain they place on the community is too great, these spaces are necessarily short-lived. Rather than being long-term opportunities for poverty alleviation practices aimed at ongoing manifestations of poverty, these spontaneous spaces are lifesaving mechanisms created out of desperation in the absence of a social safety net.
Clockwise: (1) women at a Family Planning Acceptors' Support Group meeting; (2) Women's Family Welfare Organization activist collecting rice to sell below the market price to poor families; (3) leaders and activists at a Women's Family Welfare Organization meeting; and (4) the Child Development Program in 1994, when it was still active.
Figure 8.3: Photographs of the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly

Clockwise: (1) participants in the health care clinic for the elderly; (2) Mbah Wongso, one of the co-founders of the clinic; (3) Ibu Kirom, the other co-founder of the clinic, here organizing vitamins for distribution; and (4) a local community activist taking a resident’s blood pressure.
8.8 Conclusion

During both the 1994 and 1997 field research periods, the most active community-based planners in Gondolayu Lor were the women’s organizations. In both these periods, the women were the only members of the community who attended meetings at the higher political and administrative levels, the subdistrict and district levels, on a regular basis. In 1997, when the men’s RW forum and the youth group had stopped meeting on a regular basis due to a series of conflicts within the male RW leadership structure, the women’s organizations, through the commitment of community activists, successfully withstood the leadership crisis. In 1997, when the community wanted to organize its annual Independence Day Celebration, it did so through the Women’s Family Welfare Organization because it was the only active organization that represented the entire RW. For all of these reasons, the women’s organizations demonstrate great capacity to engage in community-based planning for the purpose of alleviating manifestations of urban poverty.

In addition, the state-designed, indigenous, and spontaneous community-based planning spaces used by the women’s organizations provided the most comprehensive community approach to poverty alleviation. These activities occupied disparate and overlapping spaces within which women activists engaged in community-based planning to reduce diverse manifestations of poverty, such as a lack of health care, education, and credit. Moreover, the women in the community had organizations to educate and support each other prior to the state-introduced Women’s Family Welfare Organization. In other
words, the state duplicated the women's indigenous organizations. However, it also expanded and diversified these earlier spaces for poverty alleviation. If imitation is the highest form of flattery, then the health care clinic for the elderly speaks for itself, as it replicates the state-designed Women and Children's Health Care Clinic. The two women that founded this clinic, Ibu Kirom and Mbah Wongso, created an indigenous space, that did not previously exist, within which their local knowledge could be used to alleviate a particular manifestation of poverty. In Gondolayu Lor, both the state-designed and indigenous poverty alleviation efforts exist in mutually reinforcing spaces. The volunteers modified the state-designed poverty alleviation programs and created new programs that built on successful elements from the state programs. In addition, the state-designed Women's Family Welfare Organization provides women with a legitimate state-sanctioned space within which to mobilize the community in its spontaneous poverty alleviation efforts. The women's participation and activism, whether inside or outside the state's arena, was never in opposition to the status quo. The women used both state-sanctioned and new indigenous planning spaces to further their own end: the alleviation of poverty. However, this activism was not "radical" in the political sense because it furthered the state's national development agenda.

The success of the women's organizations to engage in community-based planning to reduce poverty was partially the result of strong leadership. Most often this leadership came from a committed, knowledgeable, and resourceful group of community activists. In this chapter, the story of Ibu Kirom exemplifies these women and what they are capable of accomplishing. Just as important as the leaders are the women who support
their efforts. In Gondolayu Lor, there is an extensive network of women activists who volunteer their time to make these organizations and their poverty alleviation efforts successful. These women are more like community-based implementors than community-based planners. While the work of these women is not as conspicuous as is that of Ibu Kirom, it nevertheless is equally crucial to the success of these poverty alleviation efforts. These are the women who cook the meals for the health care clinics, clean up after the meetings, and always quietly contribute their own money because the treasuries never have enough. These activists are not so much transferring their indigenous knowledge into action as they are transferring their indigenous determination into action to eliminate poverty in their community.

However heroic these efforts may seem, ironically, some residents in the community are too poor to participate, beyond accepting emergency financial assistance, which is not a sustainable solution to chronic poverty. In order for the chronically poor, like Ibu Marsono, to break the cycle of poverty, they need more than community-based planning can offer. Community-based planning deals effectively with community-level problems, such as building a road or providing a service that benefits a subpopulation of the community; it does not deal effectively with chronic poverty in an individual households. The fact that the case study community is cohesive, socially conscious, creative, and continuously engaging in community-based planning directed at the alleviation of poverty and yet is still unable to assist the poorest households within the community is a very strong argument for the need for a social safety net.
CHAPTER 9

A BIRTHDAY PARTY

List of Characters in Order of Appearance

Mas Wanto, leader of the youth group 1992-95 and principal planner of the community library
Mas Muguh, youth group community activist and head of the library
Mas Agus, preceded Mas Wanto as leader of the youth group

9.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze: (1) the capacity of local residents to engage in community-based planning to alleviate a self-identified manifestation of poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so. In this chapter, the community-based planners are the members of the local youth group, and the manifestation of poverty is the inaccessibility of information and reading materials on an individual household basis or, more broadly, the local level of illiteracy and lack of education in the community. In the two previous chapters, the capacity of community-based planning to reduce poverty depended on the social and physical spaces these practices occupied. The point here is, knowledge does not get transferred to action as simply as water moves through a pipe. Instead many influences shape the space through which this transformation of knowledge to action takes place, and knowledge must sometimes find more than one “pipe,” or space through which to reach its destination, here poverty alleviation. Other authors have pointed to the

145 To protect the identity of this individual, I use a pseudonym.
oversimplification of the knowledge-action paradigm and have argued in favor of adding an element of "power" into this theoretical anchor for planning (Tore 1995). I think the previous examples and the story of the library demonstrate that "power," although it plays a role, is not a rich enough representation of what transforms knowledge along its journey to action. Rather, I argue the missing ingredient in the knowledge-action paradigm is space. Space, with all its multiple layers, competing actors and complex social relations, affects knowledge on its way to becoming action. Simply put, the capacity of indigenous knowledge to reduce poverty depends on the spaces it occupies.

The community-based planners in Gondolayu Lor are adroit at maximizing the opportunities of the spaces they are dealt. In previous chapters I have shown how local residents transform spaces in order to alleviate poverty more effectively. However, there are limitations to their transformative powers. For example, the community never works with neighboring communities, largely because of the lack of horizontal linkages in the political-administrative structure. All the linkages in this structure are vertical, thus precluding communities from joining forces and mobilizing with other communities. From a political perspective, this of course keeps those with less power in the socio-economic hierarchy from gaining strength via horizontal linking. The political-administrative structure not only maintains the status quo, but it also encourages communities to find alternatives to inter-community action to alleviate poverty. In the two previous chapters, I provided examples of numerous poverty alleviation efforts and of how the community-based planning behind them occupied different spaces. For example, a road was built using both the formal political-administrative structure and the
informal Jumat Kliwon group. Two health care clinics were planned: the one for children occupied a space created by the state and the one for the elderly occupied a space created by the community. Both clinics used indigenous knowledge to varying degrees. This chapter illustrates how the youth group, in its effort to plan a library, made the best possible use of numerous and diverse spaces in order to alleviate a particular manifestation of poverty. Through the savvy of its leadership and the flexibility of its organization, the youth group was able to proceed from space to space as it moved its plan forward.

9.2 The Youth Group

The Gondolayu Lor Youth Group has existed for approximately the past 30 years and consists of both male and female community members. Residents of the community are usually considered young until they are married. When I first conducted field research in Gondolayu Lor in 1994-95, this group had regular monthly meetings, similar to the RW and RT meetings, and it was through these meetings that the library was planned.146 When conducting field research in Gondolayu for a second time in 1997, I discovered that the youth group, for reasons that are explained later in this chapter, had ceased meeting on a regular basis. However, the library continued to exist, and it celebrated its third birthday in 1997 with a community-wide party.

146 Other community-based libraries exist in the Province; however, in a survey I conducted that included all the communities located along the Code River in the City of Yogyakarta, community libraries were relatively uncommon in these lower-income neighborhoods.
9.3 The Story of the Library

*Mas* Wanto, a native of the community and a university graduate in political science, was the youth group leader when the library was first planned and established. In the following section, he explains how the library was planned and the different spaces this effort occupied.

9.3.1 The Plan

The exact source of *Mas* Wanto’s inspiration for the library is difficult to pinpoint. Prior to establishing it, he had had a number of experiences implementing educational activities, including the development of a reading room. Personally, he was a successful university student who valued reading and education. *Mas* Wanto begins his story with his attempts to rally support for his plan before presenting it to the youth group. He approached *Mas* Muguh, another university student and youth group activist, to elicit support before the formal meeting:

Well in 1994 I already had a plan about how the program [for the library] could be accomplished. Then, I approached Muguh. At that time Muguh was in charge of supplies [for the youth group]. I said to Muguh, “What do you think of this suggestion?” . . . I was only in front of his house, not in a forum. . . . When I lobbied Muguh, he agreed [with my suggestion] and he was supportive. Finally, when we had a meeting of the education committee [from the youth group], we communicated our idea in the forum, “What do you think of a suggestion like this?”

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147 Ha waktu tahun '94 itu kan saya sudah punya rencana gimana kalau program itu di, di kenyataan itu lho, kita realisasikan. Terus saya, yang pertama saya sampaikan adalah Mas Muguh itu. Mas Muguh waktu itu kan koordinator seksi anu, perlengkapan. Saya sampaikan ke Mas Muguh, "Gimana ada kok ada usulan seperti ini?" . . . Jadi di depan rumahnya itu aja saya, jadi di luar di luar forum. . . . Saya melobi Mas Muguh, dia setuju banget itu, setuju dan mendukung. Akhirnya waktu ada rapat seksi pendidikan kita sampaikan ke forum, "gimana ini ada usulan kayak gini?"
It is significant that \textit{Mas} Wanto says “\textit{we} communicated \textit{our} idea,” indicating that he had gained \textit{Mas} Muguh’s active support prior to making the plan for the library public. Most decisions reached by community groups in Gondolayu Lor are decided through a consensus-building process (\textit{musyawarah}) based on open public deliberation, and, ideally, these issues are debated until everyone in the group comes to unanimous agreement (\textit{mufakat}). \textit{Mas} Wanto approached \textit{Mas} Muguh outside the forum in order to gauge possible responses to his idea and to secure the support of at least one well-respected member of the youth group — a “behind-the-scenes” lobbying tactic commonly used to mobilize support for grassroots efforts in Gondolayu Lor.

After \textit{Mas} Wanto successfully enlisted the support of \textit{Mas} Muguh, they brought their plan to a meeting of a youth group subcommittee that specializes in education.\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Mas} Wanto describes this meeting:

\begin{quote}
The leaders of the education section and others were there [at the meeting]. Plus those who wanted to participate in the planning [of the library]; we made them managers. That was a special meeting to evaluate the work of the education committee, specifically the study group program. Every few months we have an evaluation with a discussion. It was in this discussion that we brought forward our suggestion about the library. And the forum agreed. After this agreement, in the next meeting it was decided that [in the future] special meetings [for the library] would be conducted separately. After the forum reached an agreement, Muguh was immediately appointed the leader of the [new library] forum.\textsuperscript{149}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{148} The Youth Group has various subcommittees for art, education, and athletics.

\textsuperscript{149} Pengurus seksi pendidikan, dan tambah yang lain. Ditambah mungkin ya sama yang mau rencana kita masukkan ke untuk menjadi pengurus. Waktu itu kan sebenarnya rapat seksi pendidikan khusus untuk itu mengevaluasi program kerja seksi pendidikan sendiri. Ya itu, program kelompok belajar itu lho. Lha itu tiap berapa bulan kita evaluasi, kita rapatkan. Dalam rapat itu kita sampaikan sekalian untuk usulan itu pembentukan suatu perpustakaan. Dan forum setuju itu lho. Ya akhirnya setelah itu disetujui, baru rapat.
Mas Wanto strategically decided that the education subcommittee was the most likely space to receive and support his idea. He also displayed political savvy in engaging Mas Muguh as an ally in establishing the library, an action formally validated by the subcommittee’s appointment of Mas Muguh as the leader of the library. The youth group’s adoption of the plan was not entirely based on Mas Wanto’s political maneuvering, however; in fact, the group had a number of preceding experiences implementing grassroots educational development efforts.

9.3.2 The Role of Indigenous Knowledge and Experience

Prior to the establishment of the library, the youth group implemented a number of endemic activities designed to provide tutoring and reading materials for the children in Gondolayu Lor. One such activity was the formation of study groups within which older youth group members tutored younger children with their homework. Mas Wanto explains that this activity had existed in Gondolayu Lor since he was in elementary school, even before the RW political-administrative system was implemented:

This program existed since I was in elementary school. The program existed earlier, but the leaders were organized according to the individual RT. In those days the RW did not exist yet; the RW system was only implemented in 1989. In the lower RTs, RTs 56/57, we had our own youth group. We had study groups for
elementary and junior high school students. After this it was jammed again. Only in 1992, when I was leader of the youth group, did this program emerge again.150

Mas Wanto refers to this program as “jammed” because it had stopped functioning.

When he was appointed leader of the youth group in 1992, he rejuvenated the program throughout the RW and added his own innovations, including working with the adult RW leader to introduce an experimental study-hour program, which required school-age children to spend a number of hours studying each afternoon. Residents were asked to observe community-wide quiet hours during designated study periods; this meant not operating televisions, radios, or other equipment at high volumes, and, in 1997, this program was still widely respected throughout the community.

The other educational activity that preceded the establishment of the library was the establishment of the reading room where youth group activists lent their own books to children in the community. Mas Wanto speaks of how the reading room was an incremental step in establishing the community library:

Another activity is the reading room. At that time the youth group leaders would provide their own books for children, and we would let them borrow these books. Then it was still very simple; we did not use a system like the one we have now. In actuality we already had this model [for the library], we still have those books [from the reading room]... Then when this idea [for the library] emerged and we reached a consensus to form the library, we already had this model, and we were

supported by local families too. After this consensus was reached, we brought the idea to the community.\textsuperscript{151}

The knowledge and experience gained from organizing the study groups, community-wide study hour, and reading room, prepared the youth group activists for establishing the library. In addition to these indigenous planning experiences, \textit{Mas} Wanto’s knowledge of how to navigate the political-administrative structure also served as a valuable asset in obtaining necessary community and local government support.

\textbf{9.3.3 Community and State Support}

After \textit{Mas} Wanto had successfully acquired the community-based planning space created by the youth group, he brought his idea for the library to the broader space created by the adult RW meetings, which were attended by RT leaders. Like most community efforts, the library first attempted to achieve community-wide support through the RT and RW meetings. \textit{Mas} Wanto’s following statement indicates how these meetings provide a social space within which to communicate ideas, mobilize community support, and transform ideas into action:

\textit{We used the RW meetings. . . . We brought forward our idea and all the members and leaders agreed. In the end, many people gave us support. . . . When I say support, I mean they [local residents] were ready to give books. At that time our preparations were ripe; we printed signs for residents and posted them on the

\textsuperscript{151}Dan salah satu kegiatannya ada juga taman bacaan itu ya, cuma pengurus pemuda waktu itu kan cuma menyediakan buku, buku-buku bacaan anak-anak, terus anak-anak bisa pinjam itu. Tapi masih sangat sederhana sekali, belum pakai sistem, sistem yang lebih baru seperti sekarang ini. Jadi kita sebenarnya sudah punya modal gitu lho, buku-buku itu dulu masih ada . . . Jadi waktu gagasan itu kita realisasikan dan kita bentuk, setuju, setuju kita membentuk perpustakaan itu ya kita memang sudah ada modal itu, dan dukungan dari warga saya kira juga bisa mendukung juga.
announcement board. They stated: The Youth Group of RW XI is establishing a library and we need book donations from residents. Many residents contributed books, school books, magazines, and other sorts of books. . . Besides this, we informed the subdistrict and district offices that we were establishing a library. 

_Mas_ Wanto was careful to garner support from the RW and RT leaders prior to publicly announcing the establishment of the library because he understood that the community’s strict social hierarchy would prevent support being given to an idea that was not first sanctioned by the community’s leadership. As a result of _Mas_ Wanto’s adherence to this hierarchy, the plan for the library was never perceived as insurgent, either by community leaders or by community members. In notifying the subdistrict and district offices, the story extends beyond participation conceptualized as local residents partaking in externally initiated planning processes dependent on agents external to the community. The youth group was not “participated” into the government’s plan for a library; rather, the youth group activated the community-based planning process and then involved the government in _its_ plan. _Mas_ Wanto’s approach to amassing community and state support exemplifies how he maximized the spaces available to him. He was assertive in achieving the means necessary to establish the library, yet he was prudent in contacting the social and political hierarchy.

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As a result of this politically sensitive approach, the Youth Group experienced no opposition from the political-administrative authorities in implementing their plan. *Mas* Wanto goes on to describe how he continued to commandeer broader, formal spaces created by the political-administrative structure, such as the subdistrict and district offices, and how each of these acquisitions provided the library with diverse forms of assistance:

From the subdistrict office at that time ... we were only given information. If it [the library] was a success, we were given an address to apply for book donations. Another example, the subdistrict office told us we could ask for assistance from the district office. Finally, we made a formal letter to the district office requesting support from the district level Department of Public Education, and in the end we received assistance from them. [We were given] many books, but the majority of these books were thin. They were booklets, like those for the Adult Literacy Program — practical books. For example they were about how to obtain a skill ... or to garden, or to make handicrafts, or something similar. That was the first time we obtained books. That was the beginning, when we first established the library.  

The subdistrict and district offices’ support of the library would not have been forthcoming without *Mas* Wanto’s knowledge of how to navigate the different formal political-administrative spaces. The booklets he describes in the above statement are reading materials printed by the government, and, although they are primarily instructional, this donation empowered youth group activists to pursue a wider variety of
reading materials from other sources independent of the conventional political-
administrative spaces. Here, the group expanded the community-based planning space
within which their planning effort originally took place. Eventually, the library
commandeered spaces outside the formal political-administrative structure and
successfully solicited book donations from German and Japanese radio stations, the
United States Information Service, and the Asia Foundation.

After registering the library with the subdistrict and district offices, *Mas* Wanto and *Mas*
Muguh wrote a formal letter informing the Yogyakarta municipal government of the
establishment of the library. *Mas* Wanto describes how he and *Mas* Muguh, in the
process of registering the library, coincidentally stumbled upon a library management
training program:

Then, about July of 1994, after we received this assistance and we prepared a
location and all the necessary materials, we made a formal announcement to the
municipal government's Culture and Education Division . . . . We wrote a letter
and Muguh and I personally delivered it to this office. We were reporting that we
had established a library, and we were lucky that at that exact time there was a
training [program] for public libraries and we were immediately recorded as a
library. A few days later we received a letter that our library was selected for
training, training from the government, training on how to manage the library,
training on how to manage a community-level library . . . . It was just a
coincidence that our timing was perfect and we were selected to receive this
training . . . . That was our first training. Then we received routine training,
assistance from a newspaper program, and in the form of magazines.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Ya kemudian tahun itu kan sekitar bulan Juli '94 kita, setelah itu tercepat kita memperoleh bantuan dan
kita sudah mempersiapkan tempatnya kemudian alat-alatnya, kita terus membuat semacam pemberitahuan
ke mana, ke Tingkat II ke cabang Dinas P dan K Tingkat II . . . . Kita udah membuat surat langsung saya
sama Mas Muguh saya bawa ke sana. Kita lapor kan bahwa kita sudah mendirikan perpustakaan, dan
untungnya saat itu kebetulan dari Pemerintah itu ada semacam pembinaan itu lho, pembinaan perpustakaan

macamlah. Itu pertama yang kita peroleh buku-buku itu. Itu awalnya, awalnya kita mendirikan
perpustakaan.
Mas Wanto and Mas Muguh both attended the training program, which was conducted at a local teachers' training college. Through their involvement with the training program, they gained access to other programs that provided free magazines and newspapers for the library. These programs provided supportive spaces within which to advance their community-based planning effort to reduce a particular manifestation of poverty. Although the acquisition of these spaces was empowering for the young planners, it was not perceived as insurgent because it was compatible with the Indonesian government's campaign to eradicate illiteracy. Here again one may see the characteristics of pragmatic empowerment. The element of serendipity, combined with Mas Wanto's pragmatic ability to focus on a poverty-eradication plan that was compatible with the national development agenda, is not to be underestimated. Yet despite the acquisition of supportive spaces from the state and community for community-based planning, the youth group still faced challenges in establishing the library.

9.3.4 Spatial Community-Based Planning Constraints

Within the space community-based planning occupies, there are, factors like the lack of horizontal linkages in the political-administrative structure, that limit its effectiveness to reduce poverty. This section describes some of the spatial limitations that the youth
group faced in the process of planning the library. The first limitation was the lack of
c vant physical space within which to house the library and the lack of financial means to
undertake a construction project. As a result, the library is housed in the RW office,
which is shared by all of the RW-level organizations, such as the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, the Mother and Child Health Care Clinic, and the credit union. 

*Mas* Wanto describes how he felt he had no alternative but to use this limited physical space:

One can always be sure that there are many obstacles. When [the library was] established the first problem was the location; this space is not adequate. The library is combined with the RW office, and with the Women’s Family Welfare Organization, and with many other [activities]. This space is very narrow. In reality, for a public library it is recommended that the space be no less than 6 times 8 square meters... Or maybe even more than that. But if we only have this space, it is not a problem ... as long as we have this, we continue to use it.\(^{155}\)

Because this office is used for a variety of community needs, the library is only open for two hours, three evenings a week. The lack of physical space means that most members of the library must quickly borrow and return books because there is limited room for standing and sitting. According to *Mas* Wanto, this limits opportunities for social interaction and tutoring among library patrons.

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\(^{155}\) Kalau hambatan ya tentu saja banyak sekali hambatan. Pertama waktu pendirian itu masalah tempatnya, ini kan tempat sini kan belum begitu anu kan mencukupi itu lho. Ini kan karena jadi satu dengan kantor RW, dengan kantor PKK dan macam-macam kan jadi masih, tempatnya sempit itu. Sebetulnya untuk perpustakaan umum yang disyaratkan, disyaratkan dari Pemerintah itu kan paling tidak ukurannya 6 kali 8 meter persegi... . Or maybe even more than that. But if we only have this space, it is not a problem ... as long as we have this, we continue to use it.\(^{155}\)

Because this office is used for a variety of community needs, the library is only open for two hours, three evenings a week. The lack of physical space means that most members of the library must quickly borrow and return books because there is limited room for standing and sitting. According to *Mas* Wanto, this limits opportunities for social interaction and tutoring among library patrons.
Another constraint concerned procuring sufficient funds for operating the library. *Mas* Wanto explains that the municipal government, although supportive, is unable to provide regular financial compensation:

The problem with funding is the money we receive from the government is not routine. We have to make the effort ourselves in whatever way possible. Our funding is still extremely limited. I kept notes [on the cost of operating the library], and we need at least 25,000 rupiah [U.S. $ 10.86] a month to operate. But all we receive is 10,000 rupiah [U.S. $ 4.34] each month. This money is from a collective billing program that goes straight here [to the library], and from fines, we have fines [for late books]. Also from the registration of new members. These are usually routine [sources of income].

The government provided assistance in the form of training, books, and money; however, the library could not depend on this funding to defray routine operating costs. The library’s sole source of reliable revenue is derived from selling memberships, which cost 300 rupiah (U.S. $ 0.13) and are valid for six months. In an effort to obtain additional funds for operation, the youth group attempted to raise money from community members.

Between 1992 and 1995, while *Mas* Wanto led the youth group, all the subcommittees were active and conducted community-wide monthly meetings. During this period, *Mas* Wanto started a collective billing program in order to finance the diverse activities of the

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156 Itu masalah dana memang kita ndak ndak rutin itu lho menerima dari Pemerintah untuk pembinaan. Ya kita harus usaha sendiri harus bagaimana caranya. Kita, dananya itu kalau kita, anunya masih sangat minim sekali. Kalau dulu pernah saya mengira-ira atau memberi catatan itu jumlah tiap bulan yang kita butuhkan untuk operasional itu sekitar mungkin paling tidak Rp. 25,000,- perbulan. Tapi kita, yang kita dapat itu biasanya cuma Rp. 10.000,- itu lho, Rp. 10.000,- tiap bulan. Ha itu sumber dananya, sumber dana itu yang biasanya kita peroleh itu dari rekening kolektif, itu kan pemasukannya kita masukan ke sini, dan dari denda, kan ada denda juga. Kemudian dari pendaftaran anggota baru. Itu yang rutin biasanya.

157 At the time of the 1997 field research, the exchange rate was 2,300 rupiah to $1 U.S. and the average household income in the case study community was 285,766 rupiah (U.S. $124.25) a month.
various subcommittees. For a small fee, this program collected money and paid the electricity bill of each household. Prior to this program, residents had to stand in line at the power company each month to pay their bills. While Mas Wanto was responsible for this program it operated smoothly and there was enough money to fund the individual subcommittees:

Before, when I was leader, all [the youth group subcommittees] were active. Each subcommittee needs funds, and from the collective billing program we entered all the profits into the treasury. Then the treasury would divide this money equally among every subcommittee, including the library. Before we would receive 10,000 rupiah [U.S. $4.34] each month as a subsidy for the library, but now all the money from the collective billing program goes to the library — everything. Now, the only problem is that the library’s profits from that money [from the collective bill program] is less than it was before. Because there was a problem, trouble... The new youth group leader, Agus, is not active... Maybe [it is because] he is an outsider, he is not a native to the community. Also maybe because he already has a family, he is busy, or maybe he has no motivation.  

In 1995, the new RW leader appointed a new youth group leader, Mas Agus. According to Mas Wanto, the new youth group leader was not an effective manager of the collective billing program, and many households withdrew from it. To the relief of Mas Agus, Mas Wanto eventually regained management of the collective billing program. At this point, Mas Wanto decided to channel all the profit from this program into the library, although this amount of money is less now than it was before this program experienced “trouble.”

158 Jadi kalau waktu saya dulu kan masih, semuanya masih aktif, jadi setiap seksi kan butuh, butuh dana kan, jadi dari rekening kolektif kita masukan ke bendahara kan hasil bersihnya. Kemudian dari bendahara baru dibagi rata ke mana yang membutuhkan kan seksi-seksi, termasuk perpustakaan. Dulu bisa Rp. 10.000,- perbulan kita subsidi untuk perpustakaan, tapi sekarang untuk rekening kolektif semuanya masuk ke perpustakaan, sisah bersihnya itu, hasilnya. Nha tapi cuma masalahnya itu sekarang apa, laba dari perpustakan, dari rekening itu lebih kecil dari pada dulu. Soalnya ada persoalan trouble, ehe, he he... Ya sekarang kan sudah tidak aktif yang Ketua Pemuda yang sekarang. Mas, itu Agus... Ya, mungkin anu,
Since *Mas Agus* assumed leadership of the youth group, all of the subcommittees, other than the one responsible for the library, have suspended their activities. This is due both to a lack of leadership on *Mas Agus*’s part and to the loss of funding from the collective billing program. *Mas Wanto*’s explanation that *Mas Agus* lacks commitment to the community because he is an “outsider” does not offer sufficient insight into the situation, as *Mas Muguh*, who is the active head of the library, is also a relative newcomer to the community. This leadership crisis goes beyond the youth group. Since 1995, when the community’s leadership changed, a series of problems has plagued the new male RW leader and *Mas Agus*.159 *Mas Wanto*’s decision to invest all the group’s money in the library reflects his opinion that this activity is the youth group’s most important contribution to the community.

**9.3.5 The Library on Its Third Birthday**

In 1997, the library had been in continuous operation for three years; it had withstood a change in the RW and youth group leadership and a reduction in funding due to the withdrawal of many households from the collective billing program. *Mas Wanto* had reduced his involvement, although *Mas Muguh* and other youth group volunteers remained active in managing the library. In the following statement, *Mas Wanto* describes his new role:

dia mungkin orang luar jadi bukan orang sini, mungkin juga, dia sudah berkeluarga mungkin repot juga, dan mungkin kemauannya ndak ada gitu lho.

159 This “leadership crisis” is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.
I have already withdrawn. When the [community’s] leadership changed, I was not willing to be selected again. The reason is I am busy; I wanted to work on my thesis. I wanted to take a break. I have been active in the youth group since my first year of high school. It has been almost eight years. I wanted to see how it [the library] would develop after I withdrew. I am not resting completely, I am still active in terms of guidance. In terms of leadership I am now an advisor . . . I push from behind.160

As Mas Wanto was not appointed youth group leader by the new RW leader, he did not want to remain overtly active and, thereby, disrespect the community’s social hierarchy.

When Mas Wanto says “I push from behind,” he is referring to his new auxiliary function. He goes on to describe why he cannot completely terminate his involvement in the library:

The library is very important because of its connection to education. . . . The education level here is not high enough because adults and the people of the community do not give it enough attention. . . . Even though this is the center of the city, it is on the edge of the river. . . . the parents do not give enough attention to education, there is not enough guidance. For example, after school the children should study first, but instead they play until the afternoon. Maybe at night the children study for a half an hour or an hour, watch television, and go to sleep. . . . This is the reason the library must continue. It increases local people’s motivation to read.161


161 Ya masalah apa perpustakaan ini sangat penting sekali kan hubungannya dengan pendidikan. . . . Pendidikan di sini kan masih kurang sekali untuk apa, perhatian orang tua dan masyarakat untuk masalah pendidikan. . . . padahal sini kan tengah kotalah ya walaupun di pinggir kali . . . orang tuanya juga kurang mungkin perhatiannya untuk pendidikan masih kurang kan mencurahkan perhatiannya kurang membimbing. Contohnya, kalau pas habis sekolah itu paling tidak ya harus belajar dulu, tapi setelah sekolah pulang, main sampai sore baru mungkin malamnya belajar setengah jam satu jam, nonton TV, terus tidur. . . . Ha itu jadi untuk perpustakaan ini mau ndak mau harus tetap diteruskan. Ya untuk ini meningkatkan minat baca masyarakat.
During the in-depth interview, Mas Wanto explained how many children would bring their homework to the library for help and how the youth group volunteers would provide informal tutoring. He also mentioned that many of the youth group volunteers had an interest in continuing their education beyond high school, and he felt this was directly related to their involvement in managing the library. Mas Wanto, one of the community’s few university graduates, realized the importance of reading, and he felt that by offering young children an opportunity to read, the library provided them with the possibility of a brighter future.
Figure 9.1: Photographs of the Community Planned and Operated Library

Clockwise: (1) a community elder giving awards to members of the library at the three-year birthday party, (2) members of the library enjoying the birthday party, (3) the subdistrict leader at the birthday party, and (4) children using the library in 1994, when it first began.
9.4 Conclusion

The story of the library demonstrates how a community-based planning process moved through different social spaces and occupied many of them simultaneously in order to reach its goal. The youth group acquired a series of diverse spaces in order to establish the library. First, *Mas* Wanto obtained the spaces already available within the youth group, then he sought broader planning spaces within the community — the RW and RT meetings. After the youth group had amassed these spaces, it moved to higher spaces in the political-administrative structure, and then went beyond these to those created by international development agencies.

There were a number of factors that made the library successful, one of which was the ability of the youth group leader to select a pragmatic community-based planning objective that complemented the state's national development agenda and its effort to reduce illiteracy. This is an important point, because had the youth group selected a more overtly radical or politicized planning objective, the state might have put the kibosh on their efforts. The selection of the "right" planning objective also paved the way for community and state support for the library in the form of book donations and training. The youth group demonstrated a form of citizen participation that I have termed *pragmatic empowerment* (see Chapters 7 and 8). This describes participation in community-based planning that is grassroots in origin, incremental in practice, and
practical in objective. *Pragmatic empowerment* is primarily relevant to those contexts within which political insurgency is tightly controlled by the state.

The indigenous knowledge and experience of the youth group activists were also crucial factors in the success of the library. There were two types of indigenous knowledge that made the community-based planning effort successful: first, knowledge of how to organize a library (gained from incipient efforts like the reading room) and, second, the more important, yet elusive, knowledge of how to navigate the spaces within which the community-based planning process could flourish. In the story of the library, this knowledge was largely held by the spatially opportunistic and savvy youth group leader, *Mas Wanto*.

In conclusion, the story of the library, like the story of the road in Chapter 7 and the story of the women's organizations in Chapter 8, provides evidence that local residents have indigenous knowledge which, when applied to community-based planning, has the capacity to reduce various manifestations of poverty. However, the capacity of indigenous knowledge cannot be analyzed outside the potential of the social and physical spaces within which it is applied. These spaces are multidimensional and have the potential to provide opportunities as well as obstacles to community-based planning efforts to reduce poverty. Even more complicated, the spaces of community-based planning are not fixed; they are dynamic. In the stories presented in Chapters 7, 8, and 9, local residents had the ability, albeit modest, to transform, redefine, and create new spaces. In short, I have found in my analysis of the capacity to apply indigenous
knowledge to the reduction of poverty that both social and physical space matter. For example, one might argue that the case study community, in order to reduce poverty in a meaningful and sustainable way, needs to engage in larger social transformation that would restructure the current power relationships within Indonesian society. However, the space for this type of community-based planning either does not presently exist, has not yet been found, or, even more provocative, is in the process of being created. I would argue that the process of social transformation begins incrementally and that the development of spaces for grand change takes a long time. For example, the eventual outcome of the empowering process of establishing the library and its educational effects on the youth group participants might not be visible for 10 to 20 years.

In addition to the limitations of indigenous knowledge with regard to grand social transformations, it was also consistently unable to alleviate poverty on an individual household-level. Indeed, the alleviation of chronic individual household-level poverty was only selected as a community-based planning objective in rare and desperate cases of crisis. There are a number of reasons why community-based planning did not address this type of poverty. First, Gondolayu Lor is a relatively low-income community with limited resources, and these types of community-based planning efforts are too financially draining over time. Second, it is easier to mobilize a community effort that helps large segments of the community than it is to mobilize one that targets individual households (except in dire situations, such as those described in Chapter 8). Finally, chronic household-level poverty is a very humiliating problem for the poor, and is, therefore, not conducive to public discussion and deliberation. Again, there were no
social spaces within which community-based planning could deal with these very personal and sensitive issues. It is much easier simply to identify a large community-level manifestation of poverty, to plan for its alleviation, to mobilize the community behind this effort, and to hope it reaches the poorest members of the community. Unfortunately, the case study showed that these efforts did not always succeed. This leads me to conclude that indigenous knowledge, when applied to community-based planning, has the capacity to reduce community-level manifestations of poverty within contextually specific social and physical spatial constraints.
CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION: IN A SMALL SPACE, OPPORTUNITY EMERGES

(KESEMPATAN DALAM KESEMPITAN)

The purpose of the conclusion is to summarize the dissertation’s empirical findings, its contributions to planning theory, and its implications for policy.

10.1 Empirical Findings

The starting point for the research is our inadequate understanding of (1) the capacity of local residents to engage in community-based planning to reduce urban poverty and (2) the processes by which they do so. From this problem, two related analytical gaps in the planning literature were identified. First, the planning literature does not provide a sufficiently critical analysis of the capacity of indigenous knowledge to reduce poverty (Escobar 1992; Korten 1986; Sandercock 1998b). Second, we do not have a sufficient understanding of how local residents participate in the planning process, beyond the largely dichotomized inclusion or social mobilization models (Castells 1983; Friedmann 1989; Friedmann 1992; World Bank 1991; United Nations 1991). To address the broader problem statement and these subsequent gaps in the planning literature, I pursue two area of inquiry: (1) the capacity of community-based planning to
reduce urban poverty, and (2) the processes by which local residents participate in this activity. To investigate these two areas, I used an ethnographic case study of an urban community, Gondolayu Lor, in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Data were gathered through the use of 48 in-depth interviews, 44 oral histories, 22 months of field observation, a census of the 275 households that comprise the case study community, maps, and written documentation.

I determine that many failures of the rational comprehensive approach to planning practice are due to its championing of positivistic, professional, supposedly value-neutral knowledge and the expense of indigenous, experience-based, contextual knowledge (Escobar 1992; Sandercock 1998b). However, I also show that there is a substantial body of literature, albeit largely marginalized in mainstream planning theory and practice, that argues for the merits of linking indigenous knowledge to action (Aristotle 1963; Dewey 1927; Dewey 1929; Flybjerg 1992; Friedmann 1973; Friedmann 1987). In addition, the citizen participation literature also supports the application of indigenous knowledge to planning practice (Rahnema 1992a, Korten and Klauss 1984, Korten 1986). I then established that the knowledge-action paradigm, the philosophical work concerned with applying indigenous knowledge to practice, and the literature on citizen participation in development all underemphasized social and physical space. I point out that both Lefebvre (1991) and Giddens (1979) make strong arguments for paying increased attention to the role of space in social theory. Next, I return to the Indonesian context, and analyze two cultural ethics that support the application of indigenous
knowledge to planning practice. The first ethic, decision-making through public discussion, deliberation, and consensus building — musyawarah — brings indigenous knowledge into the public domain so that it may be applied to community-based planning practice. The second ethic, mutual cooperation for the benefit of the larger community — gotong royong — is the vehicle for transferring indigenous knowledge into community-based planning practice.

Following this analysis, I argue that there are inextricable links between how poverty is caused, conceptualized, and measured. As a result of this, I decided that the most appropriate understanding of poverty would be found in the community members themselves because they are the ones both living in and developing the strategies for its alleviation (Chambers 1995).

I then argue for analyzing the case study community as a “place” with social relations stretching far beyond its physical boundaries. These social relations, as well as the historical development of the Yogyakarta greater metropolitan area, have a substantial influence on the smaller case study community. The presence of the sultan in Yogyakarta influences both the city’s physical development and the emergence of its strict socio-cultural hierarchy. The sultan’s palace is strategically located to establish a metaphysical link between Mount Merapi to the north and the Indian Ocean to the south. This link explains the future commercial development along the same axis and the willingness of residents along the river to live in substandard, even dangerous, conditions in order to be close to the
sultan and the city's commercial center. The presence of the sultan establishes a strict social hierarchy that has been preserved through Javanese language, etiquette, and social customs and that continues to influence how local residents interact in the community-based planning process.

Another factor that influences community-based planning in the case study community is its location along the Code River. Communities along the river have continually had their security threatened by two factors: first, since the 1960s, they have been exposed to a series of increasingly severe floods and, second, most (approximately 80 percent) of these residents do not have legal land tenure status. These two factors provide the state with strong reasons for demanding residents to relocate, and there is a constant sense of insecurity in all the communities located along the Code River. However, this situation is further complicated by the government giving the river communities a tacit sense of security through its investment in expensive flood prevention infrastructure.

I also explain how the Indonesian political-administrative structure both defines the physical boundaries of the community and structures the way residents organize at the local level and engage in community-based planning processes. The political-administrative structure is a hierarchy extending from the national level down to the RW- and RT-levels. It is through this structure that residents select their leaders, conduct public deliberations, and engage in community-based planning for the purpose of alleviating poverty.
The empirical data demonstrate that the case study community is somewhat independent of other neighboring communities because of its shared history and physical boundaries. Quantitative data from a household census that I administered shows the presence of a number of smaller subpopulations within Gondalayu Lor. The census data and in-depth interviews demonstrate that these subpopulations possess distinct residential histories, socio-economic profiles, levels of access to infrastructure, and land tenure patterns. Quantitative data also show that local residents have high levels of participation in community-based planning activities (e.g., the improvement of the community’s physical environment, the administration of the state-designed Mother and Child Health Care Clinic, the indigenous Health Care Clinic for the Elderly, and the youth group-initiated community library). I measure participation in terms of the percentage of eligible residents who use a resource as well as the time and money they contribute towards sustaining it.

Using the in-depth interviews, I then develop a community-based concept of poverty. In the interviews, residents used examples and experiences from their own lives to explain how they conceptualized poverty as multifaceted deprivation. Some characteristics of poverty to emerge from the in-depth interviews are: a lack of food, underemployment and low income, living as a single income household, inequality with one’s neighbors, inability to keep pace with modernization, and not enough resources to interact socially. However, the most
telling finding from the interviews was the insistence that poverty is “a lack of everything”; that is, that manifestations of poverty emerge in multiple, diverse, dynamic, and overlapping ways. The community conceptualizes being poor as a condition of multifaceted deprivation.

I then go on to examine (1) the capacity of local men’s organizations to engage in community-based planning in order to alleviate poverty, and (2) the processes by which they do so. First, I look at how separate community-based planning bodies, the state-sanctioned RW/RT forum and the Jumat Kliwon group (an indigenous organization), attempted to improve a particular community-identified manifestation of poverty: the lack of secure land tenure. This effort sought to improve the community’s dilapidated network of footpaths in order to make Gondolayu Lor look less like a temporary, low-income, illegal “squatter” settlement and more like a middle-class, legitimate residential community. In the opinion of local residents, this improved appearance would encourage the state to view the community as a permanent residential area and so be less likely to demolish it and relocate its residents. Second, residents, especially those who lived closest to the river, sought to repave the footpaths because the new surface materials were better at absorbing the runoff from the upper RTs during the rainy season. Consequently, this new surface could reduce flooding in the lower RTs and replenish the groundwater supply on which the residents depended. These two community-based planning bodies, the state-sanctioned RW/RT forum and the indigenous Jumat Kliwon group, took different approaches to planning and
implementing the repaving project. The plan devised by the RW/RT forum eventually fell apart primarily because it was largely decided without consulting local residents; RW leaders bypassed crucial RT-level spaces for community-based planning. When problems emerged, the space created by the RW/RT forums for community-based planning was too rigid (due to its formal leadership, fixed protocols, and strict social hierarchy) to adjust to changing community needs. When this plan fell apart community activists and elders created an alternative space in order to salvage the community-based planning effort. On the other hand, the plan created by the Jumat Kliwon group was successful largely because local residents were intimately involved with the planning process. When problems emerged, this alternative space, in contrast to the RW/RT’s more formally created spaces, was flexible enough (due to its informal, fluid leadership style) to deal with them. The men’s efforts to masquerade their land tenure claim as a benign community development provides the clearest example of pragmatic empowerment, which I identify as a participatory process that is distinct from either the inclusion or the social mobilization models that have dominated the literature on citizen participation in development. Pragmatic empowerment is characterized by its grassroots nature, its pragmatic objectives, and its subtle incremental challenges to the “powers that be” (in this case the current land tenure system). Here, these challenges were masqueraded as a community development effort that was compatible with the state’s development agenda.
I then examine local women's involvement in community-based planning efforts to reduce poverty. The women of Gondolayu Lor are extremely active in this area. Like the men's community-based planning organizations, the women's groups are organized by both formal leaders and community activists. The women focus their efforts on a wide array of manifestations of poverty, some of which include: access to information and credit, health care for children and the elderly, child development, illiteracy, support for family planning acceptors, and emergency assistance to poor community members in times of crisis. In the case study community, the role of the social activists was an essential ingredient in maintaining continuity in women's poverty alleviation efforts because the formal leadership underwent periodic changes, crises, and periods of ineffectiveness. The women's community-based planning efforts both used and created diverse spaces within which to alleviate poverty. In many of their efforts, the women used spaces sanctioned by the state, although they selected these spaces carefully and redefined them so that they were more compatible with the community's needs. The women also carved out new social spaces in order to implement their own indigenous poverty alleviation efforts, such as the Health Care Clinic for the Elderly. In addition, the women also created spontaneous spaces for indigenous poverty alleviation strategies needed temporarily in times of crisis; however, when these spaces were no longer needed, they would close up and disappear. A committed group of female social activists showed tremendous creativity in finding, redefining, and/or creating new spaces within which to transfer their indigenous knowledge into action in order to alleviate poverty. Like the men's
organizations the women's organizations also used *pragmatic empowerment* in order to participate in the community-based planning process. In other words, these women engaged in grassroots efforts, yet their objectives always remained pragmatic and were never overtly political. Yet in spite of all this fine work, these community-based planning efforts still did not have the capacity to address household-level poverty. Based on this finding, I contend that there is strong need for a reliable social safety net if chronically poor households are to be helped in the future.

Finally, I examine the activities of the Gondolayu Lor youth group. The young people in Gondolayu Lor also function as community-based planners attempting to alleviate poverty. In the context of the case study, the community youth group identified the inaccessibility of reading materials and information as the particular manifestation of poverty that they were going to address. In 1994, the youth group established a community-operated library that celebrated its third birthday during my 1997 field research. Like the men's and women's organizations, the youth group demonstrated that the capacity of indigenous knowledge to reduce poverty actually depends on the spaces local residents are capable of occupying. By strategically procuring different spaces in order to accomplish diverse ends (such as obtaining book donations, training, and financial support) the youth group successfully established the library. For example, the youth group occupied the space created by the formal RW/RT structure in order to garner community support for the library; it also acquired spaces created by the subdistrict, district,
and municipal levels of government in order to secure book donations, funding, and training; and, it successfully took possession of spaces provided by international development agencies in order to secure book donations. In conclusion, the youth group demonstrated how a single community-based planning effort can move between spaces as well as occupy different planning spaces simultaneously (some posing obstacles, others providing opportunities). All of these spaces affect community members’ capacity to transfer indigenous knowledge into action in order to reduce urban poverty. Like the men’s and women’s organizations discussed earlier, the youth group exhibited characteristics of pragmatic empowerment. The group was empowered to improve its situation, yet it was careful not to appear insurgent; rather, like the women’s and men’s organizations, it chose a community-based planning objective that was compatible with the state’s development agenda (to eradicate illiteracy). However, I argue that making reading materials available to low-income community members, as well as improving the land tenure status and health of local residents, represents a long-term radical challenge to their impoverished condition and to the broader relations of power that created it.

10.2 Contributions to Theory

My dissertation contributes to planning theory in two areas: (1) it provides a critical examination of the capacity of indigenous knowledge in planning practice, and (2) it provides an analysis of the processes in which residents engage during
community-based planning. This leads to the discovery of a diverse set of social and physical spaces for community-based planning and to the identification of an alternative form of citizen participation — *pragmatic empowerment*.

First, my dissertation concretely demonstrates the capacity of indigenous knowledge to identify manifestations of poverty, create plans for its alleviation, and mobilize residents in support of these plans. I show that residents hold a valuable "fund of knowledge" that is both contextually relevant to, and intuitively correct about, the needs of their community. However, only in emergency situations was this knowledge, used to address the specific needs of individual, chronically poor households. The manifestations of poverty identified by local residents as potential projects for community-based planning were all on the community-level. This gap between household- and community-level poverty was also illustrated by the difference between the characteristics of poverty identified by individuals in Chapter 6 and those identified for community-based planning in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

The capacity of indigenous knowledge to reduce poverty, either at the household or the community-level, depends on the spaces community-based planning can occupy. In Chapter 9, I argue, based on empirical findings from the case study, that Friedmann's knowledge-action paradigm would be enriched by a greater emphasis on the role of social and physical space (Friedmann 1987). Planning
theory is anchored in the concept of transferring knowledge into action in the public domain. However, this paradigm has been substantially criticized for what it is lacks. Knowledge does not transfer into action without interference. For example, among other factors, the element of power is absent from Friedmann’s conceptualization. Although, it is essential to acknowledge the importance of power, there is something else that determines how knowledge is transferred into action, and that is social and physical space. Planning occurs within sets of three dimensional spaces wrought with complex social relations, of which the public domain is only one type of space (Giddens 1979; Soja 1989). It is not enough to say simply that space matters. I have tried to identify different types of spaces, like those sanctioned by the state, those that are indigenous, and those that are spontaneous, as well as those on different planes, such as the subdistrict, district, and international level that were used for community-based planning. Local residents also redefined existing spaces, as in the case of the women’s organization altering the state’s poverty alleviation programs to reflect more accurately the needs of the community. Moreover, they created new spaces, such as the indigenous space used for establishing the health care clinic for the elderly. Spontaneous spaces exist for short limited periods of time, disappearing when they were no longer needed, as was demonstrated by the emergency money collections for poor households in trouble. I also examined the value of occupying various planning spaces in order to further the poverty alleviation process. For example, the youth group was spatially opportunistic and occupied an array of diverse spaces for planning the library, which ranged in their expanse
from local spaces to those created by international development agencies. Not only do I uncover sets of social spaces for community-based planning, but I also describe how structure, agency, and history interact with these spaces. For example, the presence of the sultan and royal monarchy, the community's physical location along the river, and the vertical nature of the political-administrative structure were all factors historical, physical, and structural that interacted with the community's agency, or affected its ability, to navigate and acquire specific spaces. I conclude that planning theory, in general, and the knowledge-action paradigm in particular, would benefit from an understanding of how space affects the planning process (the transfer of knowledge into action).

This discovery of spaces largely answers the question of what are the process in which local residents engage in community-based planning in order to reduce poverty. Their capacity to navigate these spaces largely determines to what extent community-based planning will be able to alleviate various manifestations of poverty. For example, the youth group was very adroit at navigating a variety of spaces in order to establish the library. The Jumat Kliwon group also successfully navigated local spaces, whereas the RW/RT group, because of its rigid structure and strict social hierarchy, was less capable of finding, redefining, or creating spaces to accommodate their plan. The women's organization was also extremely adept at redefining state-sanctioned spaces as well as at creating new spaces community-based planning.
One explanation of why indigenous knowledge was not capable of alleviating chronic, household-level poverty is that there were no spaces available for this type of planning. The issues were too embarrassing and sensitive to be discussed in public community spaces, except in extreme, virtually life-threatening, circumstances. Community-based planning rarely entered the micro-space of the households; usually occupying spaces at the community-level and beyond. This is a very difficult issue: Is there a way to increase the community’s capacity to assist chronically poor households? Although, community-based planning might be able to assist individual households in the future, in the present chronically poor households would be better served by a reliable social safety net.

My dissertation also examines the processes in which local residents engage when they participate in the planning process. The community-based planning literature has produced a pluralistic understanding of how local residents participate in planning processes. For example, in the human settlement upgrading and service delivery projects, community participation is conceptualized as the inclusion of local residents in externally motivated planning processes (World Bank 1991; United Nations 1991). The counterpoint is participation characterized by overtly politicized social mobilization in opposition to the status quo (Castells 1983; Friedmann 1989; Friedmann 1992). This dichotomy tells us nothing about such contexts as that provide by the case study, where the majority of community-based planning occurs outside formal regulatory frameworks, is initiated and
implemented by local residents, and rarely involves political insurgency. The case study provides empirical data for broadening our conceptualization of citizen participation to include *pragmatic empowerment* — as incremental in nature, grassroots in origin, yet pragmatic in objective. Residents were empowered because they took control of the social and physical spaces needed for community-based planning, and they were neither co-opted by the state (or international development agencies) nor politically motivated. Their overt objectives were pragmatic: to alleviate poverty and to improve the welfare of the community. However, the subtext of this process of poverty alleviation has long-term radical implications.

10.3 Implications for Policy

This inability of community-based planning to delve into the micro-spaces of the household and to alleviate chronic poverty makes a strong argument for a reliable social safety net. In many ways, the case study community offered the best possible circumstances for the flourishing of community-based planning. It was cohesive; many of its residents had a shared history and mutual sets of interests; and it was overflowing with intelligent, capable, creative social activists committed to improving the welfare of its residents. Yet, despite all this, the community could not address the issue of chronic household-level poverty. I think the case study shows that community-based planning deals well with specific community-level needs, such as a degraded physical
environment, a lack of health care, and the inaccessibility of reading materials. These are important community-level manifestations of poverty and their alleviation is worthy of respect and admiration; however, if household-level poverty is to be addressed in a meaningful way, then a social safety net must be provided for chronically poor households. Although community-based planning failed to alleviate household-level poverty in a sustained and meaningful way, indigenous knowledge showed great capacity for solving community-level problems. Communities and planners alike would benefit from creating more spaces within which to facilitate the type of community-based planning described in this dissertation. That is to say, a social safety net and community-based planning can co-exist. A sensitive balance needs to be struck between state intervention in the form of a social safety net and the creation of spaces within which the capacity of community-based planning can be enhanced.

In terms of the practical application of a poverty alleviation effort, it appears as though the number of poor in Indonesia has been seriously underestimated. It might serve the state well to use the same strategy that has been used successfully over the last 30 years to identify candidates for a family planning program in order to identify chronically poor households in need of assistance. This would require a network of trained field workers to identify the poor. Clearly, this identification process would be expensive, as would the cost of providing basic subsistence-level help to chronically poor households. However, one must ask: Does the Indonesian state want to know the number of chronically poor households? and, if so, does it have the resources to assist these households in a meaningful and sustained way?
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APPENDIX 1: Household Census Questionnaire

Household Census

Section A: Respondent’s Profile

1. Respondent’s name
2. Respondent’s address
3. District
4. Subdistrict
5. RT/RW
6. Date
7. Time
8. You are:
   1. Household head (go to no. 10)
   14. Other, mention
9. The highest level of education completed by the household head is:
   1. Never attended school
   2. Elementary school
   3. Junior high
   4. High school
   5. Above high school
   14. Other, mention
10. The highest level of education completed by the respondent is:
    1. Never attended school
    2. Elementary school
    3. Junior high
    4. High school
    5. Above high school
    14. Other, mention
11. What is your marriage status?
    1. Never been married (go to no. 13)
    2. Married
    3. Widowed
    4. Divorced
12. If yes, do you have any children
    1. Yes, how many
    2. No
13. How many members are in your household?
Please mention these members relationship to you, their sex, and age?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Relationship to the Respondent</th>
<th>II. Sex</th>
<th>III. Age</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>19.</td>
<td>20.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
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<td>47.</td>
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<td>48.</td>
<td>49.</td>
<td>50.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51. Total Number of Household Members:

Answer codes for questions in column I:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Husband</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Child</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Adopted child</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Child’s spouse</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Parent</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Parent in-law</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sibling</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Cousin in-law</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Uncle/Aunt</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nephew/Niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Other relative</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Not a related</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52. Where are you from originally?
   1. From this community (go to section B no. 1)
   2. Another community within the City of Yogyakarta, mention______ (go to no. 53)
   3. Another region within the Province of Yogyakarta, mention______ (go to no. 53)
   4. Other (go to no. 53)

If you lived somewhere else before living in this community,

53. Where did you live?_________

54. How far is this from here? meters ________/kilometers______

55. If you lived somewhere else, how many years have you lived in Gondolayu Lor? ________ years

56. Before you lived in an urban area like this one, did you ever reside in a rural area?
   1. Yes
   2. No
Section B: Economic and Environmental Conditions

Economic Conditions

1. Do you work?
   1. Yes (go to no. 2)
   2. No (go to no. 5)
   3. Housewife (go to no. 5)

2. Where do you work?
   1. Work for someone else
   2. Civil servant/Military
   3. Private sector
   4. Entrepreneur
   5. Other (mention:________)

3. What type of work do you do?
   1. Manual laborer (mention:________)
   2. Manager or administrator (mention:________)
   4. Government civil servant, teacher (mention:________)
   5. Service sector (hotel, restaurant, etc.) (mention:________)
   6. Seller from a moving cart (mention:________)
   7. Seller from a permanent stand (mention:________)
   8. Laborer with a specialty (mention:________)
   9. Entrepreneur (mention:________)
   10. Other (mention:________)

4. How much do you earn each month from this work?
   Rp_________/month

5. Who else in your household works and how much do they earn each month?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to the Respondent</th>
<th>Type of Work</th>
<th>Earnings per month</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
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</table>

30. Do you receive other routine income other than the income of household members (i.e. pension, part-time employment, money from relatives)?
   1. Yes (go to no. 31)
   2. No (go to no. 38)
31. If yes, from where and how much do you receive per month?
32. Source of income: _________
33. Rp/month: _________
34. Source of income: _________
35. Rp/month: _________
36. Source of income: _________
37. Rp/month: _________

38. According to the respondent, how much is their total household income per month?
   Rp _________ /month

To better understand the economic condition of your household, we would like to ask about your spending on a daily/weekly/monthly (use one time unit per item) basis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Expenditure</th>
<th>Rp/Day</th>
<th>Rp/Week</th>
<th>Rp/Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>39.</td>
<td>40.</td>
<td>41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other foodstuff</td>
<td>42.</td>
<td>43.</td>
<td>44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, tea, coffee, milk</td>
<td>45.</td>
<td>46.</td>
<td>47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snacking (i.e., for children)</td>
<td>48.</td>
<td>49.</td>
<td>50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking fuel</td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry and cleaning soap</td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>55.</td>
<td>56.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing soap, toothpaste, cosmetics</td>
<td>57.</td>
<td>58.</td>
<td>59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>60.</td>
<td>61.</td>
<td>62.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>63.</td>
<td>64.</td>
<td>65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public washroom</td>
<td>66.</td>
<td>67.</td>
<td>68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>69.</td>
<td>70.</td>
<td>71.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trash removal</td>
<td>72.</td>
<td>73.</td>
<td>74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television viewing fee</td>
<td>75.</td>
<td>76.</td>
<td>77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School (level: _________ )</td>
<td>78.</td>
<td>79.</td>
<td>80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School (level: _________ )</td>
<td>81.</td>
<td>82.</td>
<td>83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School (level: _________ )</td>
<td>84.</td>
<td>85.</td>
<td>86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School (level: _________ )</td>
<td>87.</td>
<td>88.</td>
<td>89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School (level: _________ )</td>
<td>90.</td>
<td>91.</td>
<td>92.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extracurricular activities or tutoring</td>
<td>93.</td>
<td>94.</td>
<td>95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Planning</td>
<td>96.</td>
<td>97.</td>
<td>98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious contribution</td>
<td>99.</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>101.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community contribution</td>
<td>102.</td>
<td>103.</td>
<td>104.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent for housing</td>
<td>105.</td>
<td>106.</td>
<td>107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper, magazines</td>
<td>108.</td>
<td>109.</td>
<td>110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation tax</td>
<td>111.</td>
<td>112.</td>
<td>113.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation costs (i.e., gas)</td>
<td>114.</td>
<td>115.</td>
<td>116.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus fare</td>
<td>117.</td>
<td>118.</td>
<td>119.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expenses (mention: _________ )</td>
<td>120.</td>
<td>121.</td>
<td>122.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expenses (mention: _________ )</td>
<td>123.</td>
<td>124.</td>
<td>125.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
126. According to the respondent, what is his/her household’s total expenditures per month?
Rp ________/month

Assets

Do own any of the following assets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asset</th>
<th>Number of Items</th>
<th>Value in Rupiah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>126b.</td>
<td>127.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>128.</td>
<td>129.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>130.</td>
<td>131.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle</td>
<td>132.</td>
<td>133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile</td>
<td>134.</td>
<td>135.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigerator</td>
<td>136.</td>
<td>137.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry (i.e., grams of gold)</td>
<td></td>
<td>138.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings (not rotating savings)</td>
<td></td>
<td>139.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House currently occupying</td>
<td></td>
<td>141.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business assets</td>
<td></td>
<td>143.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (mention: ______)</td>
<td>144.</td>
<td>145a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

145. In what year was your house built? 19 _______

146. How large is the property on which your house is built? ________ meters²

147. How large is your house? ________ meters²

148. How large is the area of this house your family occupies? ________ meters²

149. How many levels is your house? ________ levels

150. Do you pay taxes?
1. Yes (go to no. 151)
2. No (go to no. 152)

151. If yes, how much did you pay last year? Rp ________

152. What is the legal status of your house?
1. Renting, meaning both the house and land (go to no. 156)
2. Own house but rent land (go to no. 153)
3. Own house but the status of the land is unclear (go to no. 153)
4. Own house and land (go to no. 153)
5. Own house and land is owned by someone else (pengindung) (go to no. 153)
6. Own house but land is owned by the government (wedi kengser) (go to no. 153)
7. House is owned by family (go to no. 154)
8. Company house (go to no. 154)
9. Rent a room (go to no. 156)
14. Other (mention: ________) (go to no. 154)
153. If you own the house, how did you obtain this status?
   1. Gift
   2. Purchase
   3. Took the land and built the house yourself
   4. Inheritance
   14. Other (mention: ____________)

154. Do you have a certificate to occupy this land?
   1. Yes (go to no. 155)
   2. No (go to no. 156)

155. If you possess a certificate it is:
   1. Certificate to use the building (go to no. 157)
   2. Certificate of ownership (go to no. 157)
   3. Certificate to use the land for 10 years (go to no. 157)
   14. Other certificate (mention: ____________) (go to no. 157)

156. If you do not possess a certificate, do you have another type of “permission” to occupy the land?
   1. Permission from (previous) colonial government
   2. Permission to use the land for agriculture
   3. A letter (Kartu/Surat Kaveling)
   4. Permission to rent
   5. A letter from the Kelurahan office
   6. Permission to reside
   14. Other (mention: ____________)

157. Do you own other land or another house?
   1. Yes (mention: ____________)
   2. No

Environmental Conditions and Access to Infrastructure

158. Does your house have a piped water connection?
   1. Yes (go to no. 160)
   2. No (go to no. 159)

159. If no, where do you get water for cooking and drinking?
   1. Neighbor’s piped water connection
   2. Piped water connection (PAM)
   3. River water
   4. Public hydrant
   5. Water vendor
   6. Private well
   7. Neighbor’s well
   8. Public/communal well
   14. Other (mention: ____________)
160. Where do you get water for cooking and drinking?
   1. Neighbor's piped water connection
   2. Piped water connection (PAM)
   3. River water
   4. Public hydrant
   5. Water vendor
   6. Private well
   7. Neighbor's well
   8. Public/communal well
   14. Other (mention: __________)

161. Does your house have a bathroom?
   1. Yes (go to no. 163)
   2. No (go to no. 162)

162. If no, where do you go to the bathroom?
   1. Neighbor's bathroom
   2. Public bathroom
   3. River
   14. Other (mention: __________)

163. How do you dispose of your garbage (solid waste)?
   1. Burn
   2. It is collected by someone
   3. It is collected by the RT/RW system
   4. Throw it in the river
   5. It accumulates
   14. Other (mention: __________)

164. Do you own a telephone?
   1. Yes (go to no. 165)
   2. No (go to no. 166)

165. If yes, how much do you pay a month? Rp __________/month

166. Usually, where does your household receive health care?
   1. Private doctor
   2. Traditional healer (mention: __________)
   3. Government-certified health care professional (Mantri Kesehatan)
   4. Polyclinic
   5. Child health care post (Posyandu)
   6. Public health clinic (Puskesmas/Puskesmas keliling)
   7. Hospital (mention: __________)
   14. Other (mention: __________)

167. In the last year (4/1996-4/1997) have you experienced any large expenses (due to crime, disaster, etc.)?
   1. Yes (go to no. 168)
   2. No (go to Section C, no. 1)
168. If yes, please mention the type of expense:__________

169. How did you spend? Rp__________
Section C: Participation in the Planning, Implementation, and Use of Community Activities

Please list which household member participates in the following activities and his/her role, contribution of time and money, and benefits received.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Activity</th>
<th>II. Relationship of Participant to the Respondent</th>
<th>III. Role of Participant in the Activity</th>
<th>IV. Contribution of Time (hours/month)</th>
<th>V. Contribution of Money (rupiah/month)</th>
<th>VI. Type of Benefit Received from the Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RW Meeting</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RT Meeting</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKMD</td>
<td>21.</td>
<td>22.</td>
<td>23.</td>
<td>24.</td>
<td>25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK RW</td>
<td>31.</td>
<td>32.</td>
<td>33.</td>
<td>34.</td>
<td>35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK RT</td>
<td>36.</td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>38.</td>
<td>39.</td>
<td>40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit Group, etc.</td>
<td>41.</td>
<td>42.</td>
<td>43.</td>
<td>44.</td>
<td>45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posyandu</td>
<td>46.</td>
<td>47.</td>
<td>48.</td>
<td>49.</td>
<td>50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Development Group</td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>53.</td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>55.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Illiteracy Program</td>
<td>56.</td>
<td>57.</td>
<td>58.</td>
<td>59.</td>
<td>60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Library</td>
<td>61.</td>
<td>62.</td>
<td>63.</td>
<td>64.</td>
<td>65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Group</td>
<td>66.</td>
<td>67.</td>
<td>68.</td>
<td>69.</td>
<td>70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Planning Group</td>
<td>71.</td>
<td>72.</td>
<td>73.</td>
<td>74.</td>
<td>75.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary Labor</td>
<td>76.</td>
<td>77.</td>
<td>78.</td>
<td>79.</td>
<td>80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens Group</td>
<td>81.</td>
<td>82.</td>
<td>83.</td>
<td>84.</td>
<td>85.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (__________)</td>
<td>86.</td>
<td>87.</td>
<td>88.</td>
<td>89.</td>
<td>90.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (__________)</td>
<td>91.</td>
<td>92.</td>
<td>93.</td>
<td>94.</td>
<td>95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (__________)</td>
<td>96.</td>
<td>97.</td>
<td>98.</td>
<td>99.</td>
<td>100.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Answer codes for questions in column II:
0. Respondent
1. Wife
2. Husband
3. Child
4. Adopted child
5. Child’s spouse
6. Parent
7. Parent-in-law
8. Sibling
9. Cousin
10. Grandchild
11. Grandparent
12. Uncle/Aunt
13. Nephew/Niece
14. Other relative
15. Cousin-in-law
16. Servant
17. Not related

Answer codes for questions in column III:
1. The program is not active
2. The program is complete
3. Person does not participate
4. Member
5. Planner
6. Organizer
7. Person implements the program
8. Person utilizes the program
9. Financial contributor
10. Do not know

Time Interview Finished _____ : _____
APPENDIX 2: List of In-Depth Interview and Oral History Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent’s Name</th>
<th>Position/Title</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ibu Herman</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 5, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ibu Siswoatmojo</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 6, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ibu Sri Yunarti</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 6, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bapak Suparmuji</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 7, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bapak Slamet Cokro Soemarto</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 7, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mbah Wongso</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 9, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ibu Sulastri Subani (Ibu Bandi)</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 9, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bapak Adi Slamet Supriyadi</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 9, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ibu Purwanti</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 10, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bapak and Ibu Heru</td>
<td>residents</td>
<td>April 11, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ibu Yayuk Srusudarini</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 14, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ibu Istutri Nurdalina</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Ibu Titik Sumarsih</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 16, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Ibu Hardikristopo</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Bapak and Ibu Suryanto</td>
<td>residents</td>
<td>April 19, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Ibu Partini</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 19, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Ibu Purnomowati</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 20, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Bapak Rubiyadi</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 23, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Bapak Muriyanto</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 23, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Bapak Subagio</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 24, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Bapak Trisnarejo</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>April 24, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Bapak Subardi</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>June 24, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Ibu Kirom</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>July 1, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Ibu Marsono</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>July 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Ibu Djoyo</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>July 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Ibu Mujini</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>July 18, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Mas Hemi</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>July 18, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Bapak Surip</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>July 19, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Bapak Subardi</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>July 20, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Ibu Sriyani</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 6, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Ibu Karni</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 7, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Bapak Mardiyanto</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 7, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Bapak Hendro Andiman</td>
<td>municipal planner</td>
<td>August 9, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Ibu Sumiyatun and Bapak Nanang</td>
<td>residents</td>
<td>August 11, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Ibu Watinah/Sunardi</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Ibu Kadarwaitul</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Bapak Juwari</td>
<td>subdistrict leader</td>
<td>August 22, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Bapak Mustarimasno</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 23, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Mbah Ramelan</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 26, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Ibu Herdani</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 28, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Mas Muguh</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 28, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Mas Wanto</td>
<td>resident</td>
<td>August 31, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Bapak Budi Sulisty</td>
<td>planning director</td>
<td>September 2, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Mas Hemi</td>
<td>resident, second interview</td>
<td>September 9, 1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3: Interview Guidelines

The interview component of the research gathered data regarding recent community-based planning experiences and perceptions of urban poverty in order to address the research question. Most respondents were residents of the community and had diverse profiles. Respondents included: male and female, young and old, diverse socio-economic backgrounds and included both activists and non-participants. Three interviews were conducted with non-residents of the community, a municipal planner, the municipal planning director, and the subdistrict leader, because of their knowledge of the community-based planning process and the broader context of the case study.

• Respondent's profile and history
  1) What is the respondent's age, gender, marital status, number of children, household structure?
  2) How long has the respondent lived in this community and where did he/she live before (residential history, reasons for moving)?
  3) How has the community changed over the respondent's lifetime?
  4) What is the respondent's current occupation?
  5) What is the respondent's educational attainment and occupational history?
  6) What is the household income, expenditures, assets?
  7) How has the respondent's economic status changed over time (occupational change, assistance from family/friends, natural or personal disaster, impact of larger economic trends)?
  8) What is the physical condition of the respondent's house and local environment?
  9) How has the physical condition of the respondent's house and local environment changed over time?
 10) What is the respondent's access to local infrastructure and services (health, education, water, sanitation, transportation, community forums)?
 11) How has the respondent's access to local infrastructure and services (health, education, water, sanitation, transportation, community forums) changed over time?
 12) What is the respondent's role or position within the community?
 13) How has the respondent's role or position within the community changed over time?
 14) What is the role or position of the respondent's household within the community?
 15) How has the role or position of the respondent's household within the community changed over time?

• Conceptualization of urban poverty
  1) How does the respondent define poverty?
  2) How would the respondent describe a poor household?
  3) How would the respondent identify a poor household?
  4) What specific factors/characteristics indicate a household is poor?
  5) What are the common reasons for household poverty?
6) Has the number of poor households increased or decreased during the respondent's life in the community?
7) What factors have facilitated this change in the number of poor households?

• Community-based planning strategies for reducing urban poverty
  1) In the respondent's community what are the specific programs / activities / strategies / efforts undertaken to alleviate poverty (formal, informal, or spontaneous)?
  2) Describe how these strategies are planned, implemented, and utilized.
  3) When did these strategies begin in the respondent's community?
  4) What frequency are these strategies implemented?
  5) How do these strategies work?
  6) What is the purpose (formal) of each of these strategies?
  7) How do these strategies (actually) help poor households?
  8) How could these strategies be more helpful?
  9) How are these strategies implemented?
  10) Has the respondent engaged in the planning, implementation, or utilization of these strategies?

• Implementation of community-based planning strategies
  1) Through what community forums or meetings are these strategies planned, organized, and implemented?
  2) Describe how these strategies are planned, organized, and implemented.
  3) What is the respondent's role in the implementation of these strategies?
  4) Who contributes time and money to the implementation of these strategies?
  5) Where do other (non-time, non-monetary resources) for these strategies originate?

• Beneficiaries of community-based planning strategies
  1) Describe how local residents benefit from these community-based planning strategies?
  2) How have utilizers or beneficiaries of these strategies changed over time?
  3) Are there any factors that prevent poor households from benefiting from these strategies?
  4) Does the respondent benefit (directly or indirectly) from these strategies?

• Specific examples of community-based planning strategies that seek to reduce urban poverty (repeat these questions for different community-based planning activities)
  1) Can the respondent provide an example of a specific community-based planning activity that sought to reduce urban poverty?
  2) Who initiated this effort?
  3) Describe how the strategy was planned, implemented, and utilized.
  4) Who were the planners, implementors, beneficiaries?
  5) Who were the decision-makers?
  6) How were decisions made (consensus building [musyawarah] or majority rule [suara terbanyak])?
7) How was the community-based plan implemented (mutual cooperation [gotong royong] / public service [kerja bakti] / volunteerism [suka rela], or by another process)?
8) Who provided the resources?
9) What was the outcome of the program?
10) Why was it successful? Why was it not?

• The success of community-based planning strategies in the reduction of urban poverty
  1) Which of these strategies are successful in reducing poverty?
  2) How does the respondent define success in terms of poverty reduction?
  3) What criteria does the respondent utilize to determine if these strategies are successful in reducing urban poverty?
  4) Which of these strategies benefit poor households?
  5) Why is a particular community-based planning strategy beneficial to a poor household? Why is it not?
  6) How long will the benefits of these strategies be enjoyed by poor households?

• Socio-political conditions that facilitate or impede community-based planning strategies that aim to reduce urban poverty
  1) Why are particular strategies successful at helping poor households while others are not successful?
  2) What socio-political characteristics of the community facilitate or impede community-based planning strategies in successfully alleviating poverty (i.e., leadership, social cohesion)?
  3) What characteristics of the community would have to change before the capacity of community-based planning to alleviate poverty could be increased?
APPENDIX 4: Oral History Guidelines

Generally, in the oral history component of the research, respondents were long term residents of the community and had diverse profiles. Respondents included: male and female, young and old residents. They had diverse socio-economic backgrounds and included both activists and non-participants. Diverse perspectives were sought in order to facilitate triangulation.

• Respondent's profile and history
  1) What is the respondent's age, gender, marital status, number of children, household structure?
  2) How long has the respondent lived in this community and where did he/she live before (residential history, reasons for moving)?
  3) How has the community changed over the respondent's lifetime?
  4) What is the respondent's current occupation?
  5) What is the respondent's educational attainment and occupational history?
  6) What is the household income, expenditures, assets?
  7) How has the respondent's economic status changed over time (occupational change, assistance from family/friends, natural or personal disaster, impact of larger economic trends)?
  8) What is the physical condition of the respondent's house and local environment?
  9) How has the physical condition of the respondent's house and local environment changed over time?
 10) What is the respondent's access to local infrastructure and services (health, education, water, sanitation, transportation, community forums)?
 11) How has the respondent's access to local infrastructure and services (health, education, water, sanitation, transportation, community forums) changed over time?
 12) What is the respondent's role or position within the community?
 13) How has the respondent's role or position within the community changed over time?
 14) What is the role or position of the respondent's household within the community?
 15) How has the role or position of the respondent's household within the community changed over time?

• Conceptualization of urban poverty
  1) How does the respondent define poverty?
  2) How would the respondent describe a poor household?
  3) How would the respondent identify a poor household?
  4) What specific factors/characteristics indicate that a household is poor?
  5) Has the respondent's opinion about poverty changed over his/her lifetime?
  6) What are common reasons for household poverty?
  7) Has the number of poor households increased or decreased during the respondent's life in the community?
  8) What factors have facilitated this change in the number of poor households?
• History of community-based planning efforts
1) What is the history of community-based planning in the respondent's community?
2) How has the community-based planning decision-making process changed (from consensus building [musyawarah] to majority rule [suara terbanyak], or other decision-making processes)?
3) How has the community-based planning implementation process changed (mutual cooperation [gotong royong]/public service [kerja bakti]/volunteerism [suka rela] or by another process)?
4) How has utilization of the community-based planning utilization (who utilizes/benefits from these efforts) changed over time?

• Community-based planning strategies for reducing urban poverty
1) In the respondent's community what are the specific poverty alleviation programs/activities/strategies/efforts undertaken to alleviate poverty (formal, informal, or spontaneous)?
2) Describe how these strategies are planned, implemented, and utilized.
3) When did these strategies begin in the respondent's community?
4) With what frequency are these strategies implemented?
5) How do these strategies work?
6) What is the purpose (formal) of each of these strategies?
7) How do these strategies (actually) help poor households?
8) How could these strategies be more helpful?
9) How are these strategies implemented?
10) Has the respondent engaged in the planning, implementation, or utilization of these strategies?
11) Describe how the nature (focus, planning, implementation, or utilization) of these activities has changed over time.

• Implementation of community-based planning strategies
1) Through which community forums or meetings are these strategies planned, organized, and implemented?
2) Describe how these strategies are planned, organized, and implemented.
3) What is the respondent's role in the implementation of these strategies?
4) Who contributes time and money to the implementation of these strategies?
5) Where do other (non-time, non-monetary resources) for these strategies originate?
6) How has the process of implementation changed over time?

• Beneficiaries of community-based planning strategies
1) Describe how local residents benefit from these community-based planning strategies.
2) How have utilizers or beneficiaries of these strategies changed over time?
3) Are there any factors that prevent poor households from benefiting from these strategies?
4) Does the respondent benefit (directly or indirectly) from these strategies?
Specific examples of community-based planning strategies that seek to reduce urban poverty (repeat these questions for different community-based planning activities)
1) Can the respondent provide an example of a specific community-based planning activity that sought to reduce urban poverty?
2) Who initiated this effort?
3) Describe how the strategy was planned, implemented, and utilized.
4) Who were the planners, implementors, beneficiaries?
5) Who were the decision-makers?
6) How were decisions made (consensus building [musyawarah] or majority rule [suara terbanyak])?
7) How was the community-based plan implemented (mutual cooperation [gotong royong] / public service [kerja bakti] / volunteerism [suka rela], or by another process)?
8) Who provided the resources?
9) What was the outcome of the program?
10) Why was it successful? Why was it not?

The success of community-based planning strategies in the reduction of urban poverty
1) Which of these strategies are successful in reducing poverty?
2) How does the respondent define success in terms of poverty reduction?
3) What criteria does the respondent utilize to determine if these strategies are successful in reducing urban poverty?
4) Which of these strategies benefit poor households?
5) Why is a particular community-based planning strategy beneficial to a poor household? Why is it not?
6) How long will the benefits of these strategies be enjoyed by poor households?
7) Has the ability of community-based planning to reduce urban poverty changed over time?
8) If yes, can the respondent describe this process and the reasons he/she thinks the ability of community-based planning has changed over time?

Socio-political conditions that either facilitate or impede community-based planning strategies aimed at reducing urban poverty
1) Why are particular strategies successful at helping poor households while others are not successful?
2) What socio-political characteristics of the community facilitate or impede community-based planning strategies in alleviating poverty (i.e., leadership, social cohesion)?
3) Have these socio-political characteristics changed over time?
4) What characteristics of the community would have to change before the capacity of community-based planning to alleviate poverty could be increased?