

Overseas Fieldwork Report 2011:

Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia



**Graduate School of International Development
Nagoya University**

Introduction

The twentieth Overseas Fieldwork (OFW 2011) of the Graduate School of International Development (GSID), Nagoya University, was carried out in Yogyakarta, Indonesia from September 18 to October 2 in 2011. Universitas Gadjah Mada kindly accepted the OFW continuously last year and this year, putting aside the past OFWs in 1996 and 1997. Based on the long cherished relationship, the OFW 2011 was managed smoothly and it contributed to further strengthen our tie with this prestigious university in Indonesia.

Considering the relevance of topics to the Yogyakarta context and the expertise of GSID professors, we divided 20 students into four working groups, i.e., (WG1) economy, (WG2) disaster management, (WG3) administration, and (WG4) tourism, for the purpose of studying rural and regional developments of Yogyakarta in an integrated manner. This year, students conducted their research in two districts; namely, Gunung Kidul and Sleman in Yogyakarta special province. On September 30, one day before the departure from Yogyakarta, they shared their research findings with resource persons and local authorities of Yogyakarta as well as Indonesian professors and students.

Reflecting comments and advice received at the presentation and on other occasions, participants tried to elaborate their work in the final product. The present volume is a collection of the working group reports.

Acknowledgements

The committee of OFW 2011 is indebted to many people and institutions both in Indonesia and Japan for the successful completion of this year's program.

Our appreciation must be directed first to the people of Gunung Kidul and Sleman in Yogyakarta. We are especially grateful to local authorities including village heads, staff members of government offices and other relevant organizations for their generous assistance and cordial hospitality. We also would like to express our sincere gratitude to all of those who kindly provided us precious information in the interviews. We could not have accomplished the OFW successfully without their kind supports.

Next, our appreciation goes to the students and advisors of the faculty of Social and Political Science of Universitas Gadjah Mada. We would like to express our sincere appreciation to Prof. Riza Noer Arfani, Dr. Suharko, Dr. Nanang Pamuji Mugasejati, Prof. Bahruddin and Mr. Muhammad Rum of Universitas Gadjah Mada. Participants of the OFW 2011 received tremendous

support from staff and eight students of Universitas Gadjah Mada during the field research. We are grateful for their dedicated cooperation not only as advisors and interpreters but also as joint researchers.

Last but not least, we are very grateful to those who provided valuable lectures to our participants in the preparatory seminar of OFW 2010: Prof. Aiko Kurasawa of Keio University, and Prof. Atsuko Ohashi, Prof. Hiroshi Osada and Associate Professor Yuzuru Shimada of GSID. We also would like to thank Ms. Erin Sakakibara for the English editing of this volume.

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** Group leader, * Sub-leader,

DID: Department of International Development, DICOS: Department of International Cooperation,

DICOM: Department of International Communication

Program of OFW 2011

Preparatory Seminar at GSID

	Date	Title of Lectures	Lecturers
1	May 11 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Introduction to the Year 2011 OFW and Yogyakarta”	Prof. Shoko Yamada and Prof. Penghuy Ngov (GSID).
2	May 18 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Introduction of Indonesian Economy”	Prof. Hiroshi Osada, (GSID)
3	May 25 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Research Sites Introduction”	Prof. Riza, Gadjah Mada University, Visiting Professor to GSID.
4	June 1 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Political Economy of Indonesia”	Prof. Riza, Gadjah Mada University, Visiting Professor to GSID
5	June 8 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Culture and History of Indonesia”	Prof. Atsuko Ohashi, (GSID)
6	June 15 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Inter-Group Discussions and Information Sharing”	OFW Participants
7	June 22 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Issues on Health and Sanitation and Maternal Health in Indonesia”	Prof. Aiko Kurasawa, Keio University
8	June 29 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Disaster Management”	Prof. Yuzuru Shimada, (GSID)
9	July 6 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Village Survey in Indonesia”	Prof. Aiko Kurasawa, Keio University
10	July 13 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	“Research Ethics”	Prof. Koichi Usami, (GSID)
11	July 20 (Wed.) 14:45-16:15	Presentation of Research Plans	Each Working Group

Interim Presentation of Research Findings in Yogyakarta

The interim presentation of research findings was held in Yogyakarta at Universitas Gajah Mada on Sep. 30th, 2011. Each WG presented for 20 minutes and followed by Q&A session by the interviewees attending the presentation.

Presentation of Research Findings at GSID

The presentation of research findings was held at GSID by each working group to disseminate and to collect feedback from colleagues on Nov. 30, 2011.

Overall Schedule of Fieldwork in Indonesia

Date	Activities
Sep. 18 (Sun.)	8:00 Meeting at Chubu International Airport 11:15 Departure from Nagoya (GA889) 17:05 Arrival at Denpasar (transit) 19:10 Departure from Denpasar (GA255) 19:25 Arrival at Yogyakarta (<i>Accommodation: Wisma MM UGM Hotel, Yogyakarta</i>)
Sep. 19 (Mon.)	Courtesy Visit to Gunung Kidul Development Planning Agency (WG1, WG3, WG4); Courtesy Visit to Yogyakarta Provincial Development Planning Agency (WG2), Get-to-know-each-other Gathering (all WGs)
Sep. 20 (Tue.)	Agency for Trade and Industry, Cooperative in Bobung Village (WG1); Agency for Community Protection, Women Empowerment Office (WG2); National Agency for Indonesian Migrant Workers Monitoring & Protection, Provincial Agency for Manpower and Transmigration (WG3); Agency for Culture and Tourism, Bobung Villagers (WG4).
Sep. 21 (Wed.)	Complete-process Sanggar (WG1); Agency for Public Works and Infrastructure, Java Reconstruction Fund (JRF); Sub-district Governmental Offices at Kecamatan Playen & Kecamatan Pathuk, Plembutan Village head (WG3); Villagers in Bobung: Craftsman/woman, Dancers (WG4)
Sep. 22 (Thu.)	Complete-process Sanggar (WG1); Disaster Response Unit (WG2); Plembutan Village Head, Plembutan non-migrants and current migrants' families (WG3); Villagers in Bobung: Food Makers, Tourists (WG4).
Sep. 23 (Fri.)	Batik drawing Sanggar (WG1); Kepuhario Village Head, Disaster Victims at Gondang Shelter (WG2); Plembutan ex-migrants and current migrants' families (WG3); Center for Tourism Study, NGO (WG4).
Sep. 24 (Sat.)	Group Work at Hotel
Sep. 25 (Sun.)	Free Activities
Sep. 26 (Mon.)	Batik drawing and Raw Material Sanggar (WG1); Disaster Victims at Gondang Shelter (WG2); Ngoro-oro Village Head, Ex-migrants and their families (WG3); Local Tourists and Homestay Owners (WG4).
Sep. 27 (Tue.)	Raw Material Sanggar and non-Sanggar Home-based workers (WG1); Sindumartani Village Head, Disaster Victims at Ketingan Shelter (WG2); Ngoro-oro Non-migrants and current migrants' families (WG3); Tour and Travel Agents (WG4).
Sep. 28 (Wed.)	Home-based Non-sanggar Workers (WG1); Disaster Victims at Ketingan Shelter (WG2); Center for Policy and Population Studies (WG3); Tour and Travel Agents (WG4)
Sep. 29 (Thu.)	Preparation for Findings Presentation
Sep. 30 (Fri.)	Findings Presentation
Oct. 1 (Sat.)	20:10 Departure from Yogyakarta (GA254) 22:25 Arrival at Denpasar (Transit) 01:05 Departure from Denpasar (GA888)
Oct. 2 (Sun.)	09:10 Arrival at Nagoya

PCM Workshop at GSID



WG1



WG2



WG3



WG4



Gathering Picture





Handicraft in the Village



Aftermath of Mount Merapi Eruption



Picture with Ramayana Actors



Excursion to Borobudur

The Roles of CBOs in Local Development : Case Studies in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

By Prof. Suharko

Introduction

Involvement of Indonesian Government in the provision of basic social services have been less significant in the last decade. It happens due to liberal practices of state where it performs in minimal roles. As seen in the states in which such liberal practices are implemented, its function as basic social service provider is gradually handed over to community or society and market, though at the initial stage it was under government responsibility (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006).

Local community is requested to establish their own institution functioning for the provision of social services for the people. Meanwhile, market is allowed to have authority of freedom to emerge in the areas of social services which was at initial stage provided by the state. Embarking for that situation, people must be responsible for the higher costs of some services. For instance, they always complain about blooming cost of education (ranging from playgroup to the university) and medical and healthcare in health centres (local health center, clinics, hospital, etc).

In this context, the existence and roles of Community Based Organisations (CBOs) are very important to function community-based services. Primarily in the local context, CBO performs its responsibility and play alternative roles because weakening role of government institutions (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006). In some extents, CBO is not considered new for local community in Indonesia. They establish CBO as way to resolve problems in regard to social services for the shake of themselves. When government involvement downshifts, this CBO comes up as community agent in grassroot level in order to keep it survive and guarantee that social services is given in well-managed manner.

This paper is in attempt to uncover the important roles and existence of CBO through elaboration arised from several cases in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Presentation about the general concept and roles will firstly highlighted and afterward it continues

with its milestones in the context of community Indonesia. Three case studies of CBOs will also be pointed out to view closely some of CBO's activities. And the last section will be summarised with concluding remarks.

Local Institutions and Development

In general context of developing countries as asserted by Uphoff (1986) and Esmand & Uphoff (1984), there are many organisations at the local level. It arises because of two main reasons. First of all, people are more easily to formulate their common interests and proliferate their effort in making it possible through collective actions. Intense social interaction enables them to instantly formulate common interests and perform it through collective actions. Second of all, people use local level as a basic means to make decisions and mobilise resources because established identity is located within smaller groups. In relatively micro social unit, people are easily make a move forward to organise themselves for decision making processes and to mobilise resource in realising common interests possible for them.

Local levels, as Uphoff (1986) emphasizes, can be defined as social space or units under sub-district level that consists of relations among communities (locality), community, and social groups. Locality levels composites many communities where cooperative and commercial relations are fostered. Community level is a unit of social economic settlement which is independently established. Meanwhile, group level is that, people who are independently able to identify themselves as the owner of collective interests such small settlement groups as sub-villages, neighbor clusters, group of jobs, or any others groupings that forms based on races, cast, ethnicity, gender, and so forth. At these levels, people usually make a decision for designing and implementing collective action. The people initiate and develop various local organisations. As in table below, there are three categories of local organisations.

Table 1. Categories of Local Organizations/Institutions

No	Category/ sector	Name of Organization	Definition
1	Public sector	Local administration	Local agencies and staff of central government ministries, accountable to bureaucratic superior
		Local government	Elected or appointed bodies such as village councils or panchayats, having authority to deal with development and regulatory tasks and accountable local residents, in contrast to local administration
2	Voluntary sector	Membership Organizations	Local self-help associations whose members may seek to handle <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. multiple tasks : local development associations, committee of village development – in Indonesian context: neighborhood association and clusters, etc; 2. specific tasks: water users' association managing irrigation, health committees overseeing village programs – in Indonesian context: integrated health service at subvillage (<i>posyandu</i>), etc; 3. needs of members who are some particular characteristic or interest in common, e.g. mothers' clubs, caste associations, tenant unions,
		Cooperatives	Kinds of local organizations that pool members' economic resources for their benefits, e.g. marketing associations, credit unions, consumer societies, or producer co-ops, also rotating credit and saving association in Indonesia.
3	Private sector	Service organizations	Local organizations formed primarily to help persons other than members though members may benefit from them. Example are religious or charitable associations, service clubs, Red Cross or Red Cressent societies, etc.
		Private Businesses	Either independent operations or branches of extra-local enterprises engaged in manufacturing, services and/or trade.

Source: Uphoff (1986: 4-5)

General Characteristics of CBOs in Indonesia

Based on categorization developed by Uphoff (1986) above, this paper posits all local organizations or associations belonging to voluntary sector as community based organizations (CBOs). CBOs are established by community based on their interests and aspirations. Coverage of CBO activities is at the levels of community, sub-villages, and some occasion having network outside village. Membership in the CBO is voluntary based. Social relations developed in it are informal, familiar, and interpersonal.

According to Widodo & Suradi (2004), Indonesian people have long been establish social institution or local wisdom for fulfilling basic needs, reaching resources and services as well as taking part in community activities. Thus mechanism has been well institutionalized in a sphere which takes form of organization either based on religion, ethnicity or tribes. In some Indonesian regions, institution or organization who run this activity have various terms such as “Mapalus” in North Sulawesi, “Banjar” in Bali, “Todung Natolu” in South Sumatra, and “Rereyungan Sarupi” in West Java.

In Indonesian context, CBO covers organisations that are formed by local community in the local area such neighborhood association and cluster (RT/ RW), Islam activities in the conduit of Koranic chanting (maj’lis ta’lim/pengajian and yasinan), community association, ethnical association, village youth association/club, neighborhood based woman association (*kelompok dasawisma*), mourning association, youth Hindhu/Buddha association, community financial membership, arts club, traditional community association, youth association for community services (*kelompok ‘sinoman’* in Jawa), health benefit fund (dana sehat), etc (Widodo & Suradi, 2004). The CBO terminologies vary in different region. The term of “banjar dharma prawedhi” is used in West Nusa Tenggara as institution that grant benefits and charity allowance to those in need. In West Sumatra, “tani saiyo gerahan” as organisation that grants aids to those suffer from calamity or disasters.

In general there are two forms of CBO development. Firstly, CBOs are independently established by local community as their needs and community aspirations, such as Koranic chanting association, family descendants group (“trah” in Javanese society), and so forth. This establishment is usually in regard to

endeavors in order to retain and preserve local values, traditions, customaries, and also resources. Secondly, CBOs are established by the government as a mean to implement development programs such as Family Welfare and Empowerment (PKK), Integrated Healthcare Service (POSYANDU), Community Independent and Self-Resilience Board (Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat), Village Youth Club (Karang Taruna) and so forth.

Activities of CBOs cover extended matters. Shortly, referring to Widodo & Suradi (2004), in general, CBO activities can be categorised as follows:

- a) ritual and cultural activities,
- b) sport and art activities,
- c) religious and social activities,
- d) basic social services, and
- e) community based economic activities.

CBO has various financing resources. In general CBO raises fund from membership fee. Other financing resources may be obtained from donation of social groups, corporates, individuals, government aids and subsidy, benefits of activities, etc.

Case Studies

Case study 1 : ‘Kampung Cyber’ⁱ

Kampung Cyber (Cyber Kampong) is situated in RT 36, Kampung Taman, Yogyakarta City (within Yogyakarta Palace). Its population consists of 43 households including 132 individuals. Their main livelihood are earned from batik tradings and some of them are as batik supplier, tourist guide, private employees, and government officials.

The Cyber Kampong was initiated in 2008. The ideas were inspired by a program of “Yogyakarta Cyber Province” that was developed earlied by the government of Yogyakarta Province. Fundamental situation was a backdrop for its early development where local community overcome accessibility constraints in such

technology. All of people in this community were independently creating ways of making possible this system as affordable means for community members (neighborhood association-RT). They augmented the function of security post as learning spot and accessing internet. The security post is places in the most strategic vicinity that enables people to reach it. An internet connection is available on a computer put in this security post. Local people who has not been capable of using internet may use it free of charge in turns.

Until 2010, 80 % of houses in this *kampong* have connected to internet connection and networks. Local people purchased hardwares and also pay for monthly subscribtion which is worth Rp.50.000 with unlimited access. Internet networks installations were undertaken independently by them with available equipments at that time. Those who were not able to own computer at home may access internet in the security post free of charge.

In its early stage, only small number of community members who were willing to use internet. However, in line with their encouragement to learn further internet, along times more people are capable of using and demonstrating their ability for internet use. In the pursuit of better skills in internet use, internet and computer training as well as writing skill enrichment were carried out locally. Afterward they have skills in demonstrating blog development, creating Facebook accounts for networkings, and also other internet based learnings.

Activities and updated news as well as information about kampong are instantly uploaded to a blog or website which were set out by themselves. It can be accessed on <<<http://rt36taman.multiply.com>>>. Some creativities, initiatives, and craftmanships are now available on it for public exposure and it is also used to forge relations with many parties who are interested in their activities. This website have attracted some national TV programmes to broadcast their local activities in Kampong Cyber. Metro TV and Indosiar as two national TV station covering all Indonesia have ever broadcasted them.

With that affordable and easy internet access, several community members continue their networkings through Facebook, and some of them are working on their own blog. By using such programmes, they take benefit from it. A housewife who is

keen on cooking, use internet to download all of recipes for differing cuisines and afterward she sells it out. She also take advantage of being Facebook members to promote and market it. Some of local traders and other entrepreneurs furnish and customise their blogs to market their products and in the latter stage, they can figure out an increasing profit. Meanwhile, children obtain learning materials to support their school assignments from this internet connection. When people met each other in the security post, they cordially interact, exchange information, and of course learn together. Community members become more congenial, friendly, and bounding-up also finally able to create action plans together. These activities are then uploaded on website, so that all people and even other parties can recognise and acknowledge them. By this mean local people endeavor to sustain and tie up their social solidarity. Also, through website they are recently expandings their social networks with other parties.

Briefly, the Cyber Kampong provides many benefits for the members of community, as follows:

1. Developing knowledge and life skills by using internet as a learning source,
2. Informing & marketing a product through blog, email, facebook, etc,
3. Increasing product sales and income,
4. Tightening social solidarity,
5. Enlarging social network of the community.

Case study 2 : Gambiran Green Kampongⁱⁱ

Gambiran Geen Kampong is an initiative of local community residing in Pandeyan RW 08 village, Umbulharjo subdistrict, Yogyakarta Province. It is located in the riverside of Gadjah Wong. Unlike common community in the riverside where poor people live in, many people ranging from high status to lower social status settle in this area. Social composition of the people shows more variants as they are the locals and some of them are newcomers, so it affect employment structure which consists of trader, merchants, labour, government officials, lecturers, and also private employees.

Unlike other kampongs located in the riverside which are so much messy and unmanaged, environment within this kampong's area is much cleaner and the housing complex looks well-arranged. This better environments is resulted from the collective actions performed by local people who live mostly in riverside. They are in excellent attempts in shifting the images and real situation of kampong which was notably worsened by the massive emergence of waste. Facilitated through several community meetings, local people then agreed to set up a program on environmental arrangement. It was demonstrated by community cleaning event, waste management, sanitation, and also replantations. In the conduct of these activities, local people were collectively establish a "Green Kampong" agents to implement those goals.

In creating green kampong, local people were organized into collective activities and institutionalized in task groups. They finally arranged 8 task groups who are responsible for different job description:

1. Sanitation Task Group. This group focuses on fixing up sanitation channels within their areas. With aids from the city government and self-finance they developed public toilets and bathrooms in RT 45 and also RT 30, sanitation infrastructure in RT 45, and also water treatments in RT 32 and RT 30. This task group has successfully completed Waste Management Installation (IPAL) which has been place in some venues in Kampong Gambiran. Recently local community has been capable to construct pipelines from their own house. These pipelines link up main dung containers to each of houses. By this IPAL construction local people no longer release their domestic wastes and dungs to the Gajah Wong river.
2. Waste management task group. This task group is entitled to fix up waste management as main problem for community living in the riverside. Collective waste management is centered in different 5 areas of RT, starting from household level. Each of household should provide plastic bags to load waste based on its categorization. The waste separation is performed by arranging commercially potential garbage, and also disposal garbage in different packs. Every twice a week, each of cadre and also local beggars are invited to take away those wastes. Environmental cadre is assigned to distributed it according to the schedule agreed. To support their works, local

community conduct regular meeting and request the community members to pay Rp.500.00-Rp.1.000. This money will be then collected as community deposit for financing their environment cleaning-related activities.

Waste management especially the organic ones are done independently by local community. All tools and equipments are created from materials which are easily obtained, for instance putting a plumb on plastic buckets and clay-made water container for biodigesting machines. Beforehand, chemical biostater of so-called as EM4 is mixed in it to ensure further chemical processes. The residue resulted from this processed can be used for domestic purpose, be commercialized and even for fertilizer for gardening at home.

3. River task group. This group's focus is on tackling physical issues of river such as erosion and dump-shifting problems. The projects are initiated by previous landslides disaster which caused housing destruction, such as in art-gallery and labor training centre. Their main activities are to wrap up with metal web the riverside walls in order to avert upcoming erosion in Gajah Wong river. This activity is assigned to RT 30 and RT 45 because they live in adjacent to the riverside.
4. Alternative energy task group. Biogas which is centered in RT 30 is alternative energy developed in this community. Biogas materials are basically mixed from decomposing residu (as EM4) and also IPAL's residue. First trials on this alternative energy had ever been done for lighting when a badminton competition was rolled out. Government of Yogyakarta city made this competition as a mean for trial and experimental activities. However, the use of biogas has not been largely recognized by local community.
5. Local food task force. This group provides a sphere for local people who have home based food industries especially traditional food (such as *kipo*, *geplak*, and *yangko*). They are encouraged and empowered to make traditional food by optimizing natural and healthy ingredients. Not only that, environmental friendly ingredients are also another extent that becomes their main concern.
6. Library task group. This group manages a community library which is so named "*Jendela Nusa Indah*" and situated in reachable spot, so they place it near compound and public toilets. Education Board of Yogyakarta City has supported them with financial aids for its early development. A group of

youth studying in Secondary School level is now assigned to be responsible for this library. The main objectives of it are to promote environmental education for children and also become a good centre for early childhood education.

7. Public sphere task group. The main responsibility of this group is to facilitate the provision of public space for community activities. It is realized because of limited public spaces available in the area. The augmentation of public space is carried out by giving away private land areas with width of 380m² and 512m². This area is recently occupied for security post and children amusement parks that belong to early childhood centre, as well as sporting activities.
8. Replanting and gardening task force. For the sake of green environment and also in the pursuit of the best green kampong, some women run gardening project and replanting activities in RT 15. This activity gained financial support from Che CHI foundation, Environmental Board of Yogyakarta City, and Forestry Department of Yogyakarta Province. They have developed “Program Pagar Hidup” (Living Fence Environment Programmes) and optimized a plant which is so-called *Acalypha siamensis* for this programme. The ones who have brick fences are highly suggested to grow specific plants for decoration, herbs, and others on the fences.

Instead of it, this task group also manages community cleaning programme to clean up all surroundings located in each households twice a day. Meanwhile to keep all public infrastructures cleaned, they also arrange such activity 2-7 times a week. Every neighborhood cluster is demanded to run weekly cleaning day.

These collective actions are organized mostly by local women and their efforts have contribute to the success of community and won many competitions such as 2nd place in the Cleanest Area in Yogyakarta 2007, 1st place for Free Crime Areas, the big 10th of Green Kampong trials (accredited by WALHI national level, 2007), 1st place in Cleanest Group for Gajah Wong category in 2008, and nominee for national winner for cleanest kampong on 2008.

Case study 3. Forum for Disaster Risk Reduction (Forum Pengurangan Resiko Bencana-FPRB) in Wukirsari ⁱⁱⁱ

FPRB was established by youths in Wukirsari village, Imogiri subdistrict, Bantul regency. This forum is fully supported by village chief and community leaders. Its establishment is part of efforts in leveraging information accessibility about disaster (specifically for earthquake) and disaster risk reduction.

FPRB has strong spirit and vision to reach its goals as trustful organisation in Wukirsari local community empowerment and its vicinity. This organisation is partially based on the cultural habituation for Disaster Risk Reduction and Climate Change Adaptation (CCA). These visions can be reached through following means:

1. Encouraging local awareness in Wukirsari village and its vicinity about potential threat and vulnerability of disasters.
2. Empower women participation, entrepreneur, and children for disaster risk reduction
3. Strengthening civil society, specifically from family to regency level along the way of disaster risk reduction.

With financial assistances from local people, NGOs, international donors, private sectors (through CSR programmes) and government agencies, FPRB in Wukirsari develops and runs several programmes as well as activities to reach that visions and missions:

1. Drinking Water Management in village level

Drought has make people more suffer in some areas in Wukirsari, especially Pucung sub-village and Nogosari sub-village. In 2007 awarenese of managing drinking water among local people boosted up and with supplementary participative analysis under threat, potential, and vulnerability assesment, various programmes and activities arise as means to reduce disaster risk management and minimise risk caused by drought in Wukirsari. This progamme is also replicated in other villages such Srimulyo, Muntuk, Jatimulyo, and Selopamioro.

2. Training and socialisation about disaster risk for community facilitator

This activities ranging from training to socialisation about disaster risk management organised by FPRB Wukirsari. FPRB has conducted many trainings for facilitators who will assist disaster risk activities in this village and its neighbouring areas. On May 2010 FPRB facilitated disaster risk socialisation for facilitators in Wijirejo village and Gilangharjo-Pandak County, also Sumbermulyo and Mulyodadi in Bambanglipuro county, Bantul.

3. Training and socialisation about disaster preparedness and simulation.

Disaster simulation especially earthquake has been done in sub-village level and in 5 primary schools located in Wukirsari village. This activity is form of partnership between FPRB and village authority of Wukirsari as well as NGO who has working areas around this region.

4. Early warning system development

This early warning system is set up with additional mobile communication which does not too much use electricity, such as handy talky. This equipment was preferred as relying on earthquake in year of 2006, many mobile phones was disabled due to lack of electricity supply from National Electricity Company (PLN). Instead of it, this forum has extended coordination system such as disaster management and disseminating information ranging from neighbourhood subcluster (RT) to village level.

5. Potential Threat Analysis, Vulnerability, and Community Capacity in Disaster Risk Reduction

Technically this potential risk analysis involves community in Wukirsari and all stakeholders. This analysis employed Participative Rural Appraisal where all community members were actively engaged in making a change for disaster mitigation. This work has resulted in many important documents such as Village Potential Map, Disaster Vulnerability Assesment, Calendar of Season, Matrix Transect Walk, and Venn Diagram for Institution.

6. Network expansion and partnership with similar organisation

The efforts in network expansion and partner organisastion are necessary because disaster is out of administration boundary, so that disaster risk reduction should be carried out surpassing administrative borders. Concerning to this extent, this

forum is actively involved in creating sphere for regular discussion about disaster in village level as well as Bantul entirely (FPRB Patalan and FPRB Sriharjo village). This media is as for place to transfer knowledge and exchange experience.

7. Public Policy Advocacy

In regard to public policy on disaster risk management, this forum has carried out numerous important activities which involved village authorities and other stakeholders. It was also to formulate village regulation No. 6 year of 2009 on Disaster Risk Management. A collective forum involved by Bantul authority, Wukirsari village authority, Java Reconstruction Fund, and World Bank has been impetus for local relocation of people living in landslide vulnerable areas and drought (catagorised into multi hazard). Aside of it, this forum also ensure that disaster risk-based development in Wukirsari and its nighbouring villages is well-involved in the number of discussions for local development planning, especially village development planning meeting (musrenbangdes).

FPRB Wukirsari is a youth-membered organisation in the field of disatser that counts as the most active in Yogyakarta Province. Recently, this organisation takes a lead 3 FPRB in other villages in Bantul regency. In light with its work, this organisation also forge partnership with some disaster mitigation-led institution, such as FPRB in provincial level, Regional Board of Disaster Mitigation (BPBD) at Yogyakarta Province, Red Cross Bantul, Department of Social Affairs-Bantul and Yogyakarta Province, Board of Unified Nation and Social Protection (KESBANGLINMAS) at provincial level.

Other stakeholders whom FPRB forged to support its work such as: relevant organisations, and board, Imogiri County authority, University and disaster centres such as Center for Disaster Gadjah Mada University and Akprind Yogyakarta, Financing institution in village level (LKD) of Wukirsari, NGO (Institute for Research and Empowerment and Java Reconstruction Funds), and international NGOs (CordAid and CWS).

Concluding Remarks

According to three differing cases above, referring to Uphoff (1986), CBO produces three main outputs as follows:

1. producing public goods: subvillage road, bridge, neighborhood security post (*gardu ronda*), learning centre (*sanggar belajar*), other community facilities,
2. producing goods and services for individual & community needs, and
3. providing non-materials benefits (spiritual, social, cultural benefits) for the members of association and community

Those cases also confirm that CBO is part of local means in meeting basic needs and addressing social problems. CBO activities are varied depend on the interests and needs of local people. CBO plays several significant roles for community livelihood, as follows: :

- ✓ Maintaining cultural identity,
- ✓ Delivering information & sharing knowledge,
- ✓ Providing basic social services,
- ✓ Providing social space for meeting social & cultural needs,
- ✓ Mediating social dispute and conflict,
- ✓ Advocating the interests of community,
- ✓ Strengthening local economic.

Those roles above embed higher sustainability rate because of two main reason. First of all, community member have really experienced output and benefits from CBOs. Second of all, as viewed in those three cases, CBOs have capability of expanding networks with various stakeholders such as NGO's, the governments, funding agencies, and corporations.

It is not overwhelming to argue that in the level of Indonesian community, a concept of "welfare society" is actually set up whereas scheme and mechanism in the provision and fulfilment of various basic needs for community are created and self-funded by community itself by organising CBO without any dependence to government programmes. Welfare society practices are reflected from community creativity in setting up various local institutions, self-financing, and self-reliance to expand and implement service systems and social security. In local level different

range of CBOs and other social institutions which provide scheme and mechanism for education, healthcare, economic upliftment, and other social services.

Acknowledgement

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ⁱ . According to the report from Michael Adi Pradipta, 2010 and also informasi available on the “Kampung Cyber”’s Website

ⁱⁱ .This section is based on report from Fuji Riang Prastowo, 2010

ⁱⁱⁱ . Data for this section gathered by Pratiwi during Overseas Fieldwork (OFW) GSID-Nagoya University in Wukirsari, Bantul, September 2010.

Working Group 1

Production and Marketing of Batik Wooden Handicrafts in Bobung, Indonesia

1. Introduction
2. Objective
3. Research Questions
4. Review of Related Literature
5. Methodology
6. Results and Discussion
7. Summary and Conclusions
8. Recommendations
9. Acknowledgment
10. References

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Production and Marketing of Batik Wooden Handicrafts in Bobung, Indonesia

1. Introduction

Handicrafts are items made by hand, often with the use of simple tools, and are generally artistic and/or traditional in nature (Yojana and Sansad, 2006). The handicraft industry is one of the most active industries in the developing world. It empowers people who otherwise would have been unemployed. In doing so, it has enabled them to earn income as well as assist in sustaining their livelihood. Though not a high powered industry, the handicraft industry has the potential to develop, if well managed, into an efficient income earning venture for those engaged in it.

The handicraft sector is among the five top-priority sectors for the Indonesian government. The industry has rapidly reached over 2 million units throughout Indonesia, absorbing not less than 10 million workers. The main products of the handicraft industry are wooden or metal items, leather products, textiles, and ceramics. The industry is mostly labor intensive and, in many parts of the country, an important part of the socio-economic structure. Many Indonesians create high-quality products with solid craftsmanship and good market potential in foreign markets, yet handicraft manufacturing remains a predominantly cottage industry.

As far as production is concerned, the province of Yogyakarta in Central Java is widely known as the fountain head of Javanese culture for its abundance of exceptional cultural heritages. It is not only the center of traditional handicraft industry, but also the country's oldest cultural center, from where handicrafts such as weaving, the manufacturing of batik (cloth painted by a special method), production of silver articles, wood carving and creation of theater masks and puppets for the shadow theater originated. One particular famous site for wooden handicraft production is the district of Gunung Kidul which is located in the southernmost part of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Within the district lies Bobung sub-village, part of Putat village, which is located around 15 kms from the city of Yogyakarta. Bobung is locally famous as one of the major producers of wooden handicrafts in this part of Indonesia. The variety of wooden handicrafts produced in the village are for sale locally and for export to countries such as America, Italy, Japan, France, Malaysia and Thailand. The wooden products in Bobung are handmade by local residents and embedded with batik patterns as a traditional symbol of the Javanese culture.

Among Bobung's batik wooden products, there are animal figures, statues of couples and food containers, but the area is most famous for batik wooden masks. The production of wooden masks started from a local tradition rooted in the thanksgiving ceremony called *Rasulan*. *Rasulan* is characterized by villagers wearing masks and dancing as an expression of gratitude to God for blessing their farming and cattle breeding ventures. As a symbol of their local culture, they started selling wooden masks in the market during the 1970s. As sales increased, more residents of Bobung village ventured into mask-making as a

source of income. Since making wooden mask requires precise and specific techniques, workshops, locally known as sanggars, were soon established for those who wanted to produce the masks.

Currently, there are more than 300 mask artists in the village, highlighting the contribution of the wooden mask industry in the village's economy. Recognizing the village's potential, the local government designated Bobung as one of the tourism villages, highlighting handicraft production as one of the tourist attractions. This was done to promote the local wooden mask industry and to augment the income of the villagers.

1-1. Problem statement

The research set out to find if the residents engaged in small-scale batik wooden mask industry in Bobung Village were faced with problems of low profitability or inefficient production and marketing strategies. If so, these constraints could be hindering the industry from realizing its full potential as a viable source of income for villagers. With the significant number of residents engaged in batik wooden mask production, studying the process of wooden mask production and marketing will help determine the constraints to the industry and possible ways to improve it. In discovering these, it is possible to be able to determine how to make the industry more profitable and thus increase the income of villagers depending on wooden mask production as a full-time or part-time income source.

2. Objective

The study sought to determine the constraints to profitability and the opportunities to improve the production and marketing of batik wooden products in Bobung sub-village.

3. Research Questions

1. How are wooden handicrafts in Bobung produced and marketed?
2. Who are the stakeholders in Bobung's wooden handicraft industry and what are their roles?
3. What problems do producers face in production and marketing of wooden handicrafts?

4. Review of Related Literature

4-1. Small scale cottage industries

Cottage industries are based mostly on local raw materials, inherited artistic skills and some simple technologies. A cottage industry is primary manufacturing industry that includes many producers working from their homes, typically part-time. A cottage industry can be carried on with the help of members of the family. For example, they referred to home workers who were engaged in tasks such as sewing, lace-making or household manufacturing.

The main cottage industries in urban areas included handicrafts like iron work, cane-work, gold and silver ornaments, embroidery, hide tanning and leather goods, musical instruments, sports goods and brass and glass bangles (Chapaisamity, 2010). Requirements:

- Cottage industry producers do not need high quality machinery, large capital investment or spacious premises.
- Human resources are the greatest asset of such industries so that even the women and elderly in the family can utilize their leisure time productively. Producers are usually family members, hired staff as full-time or part-time workers.
- Retail activities of cottage industries are often carried out at the proprietors' homes by the members of family.

The most successful among the cottage industries are divided into three categories:

- The first category is food related such as milk-products, ice cream, fruit processing and canning, pulse grinding mills, flour mills, rice mills, paddy husking machines, bakery, confectionery, molasses-making, poultry feeds, ice making, salt and salt crushing.
- The second category is textiles and leather goods, including cotton and cotton goods, silk and silk goods, tap bags and batik.
- The third category is wood crafts such as toys, boats, hats, cane and bamboo goods, stick making, musical instruments, agricultural machinery such as wooden ploughs, sporting goods, picture frames, grafting, etc.

Capital investment for cottage industries can be provided by short-term credit and there are some governments that give short-term credit to assist producers. Cottage industries most often provide economic and investment opportunities for the poor or middle-income sectors of society through employment and income generation schemes in the developing and underdeveloped countries.

4-2. Development of Wooden Mask Handicraft Industry in Indonesia

Indonesia, a developing country in Asia consisting of 17,000 islands, is blessed with a large variety of cultures and natural resources that can be used to express artistic and cultural concepts in the form of handicrafts. Handicrafts include the wooden crafts of the Asmat tribe, the shell crafts of Halmahera and carved sandalwood from the most southern part of the island complex. In between, there is a large variety of craft products such as wood masks from Java and leather puppets, batiks, and silver crafts from Central Java and Yogyakarta.

Yogyakarta's fine arts have been developing since the dawn of its history. There are works of art over a thousand years old like *wayang kulit*, the leather puppet shadow play that still holds a magical fascination. To many Indonesian artists, Yogyakarta is an oasis of inspiration. On the Indonesian islands of Java and Bali, the wooden masks called "topeng" are used in certain theatrical performances called "wayang wong." These dance dramas developed from the shadow puppet plays of the 18th century and are performed not only as amusement, but also as a safeguard against calamities.

In the late 1990s, the country was the second-largest handicraft exporter in the world. After the turn of the century, however, Indonesia had lost its competitive edge, mainly due to the Bali bombing and stronger competition from other Asian countries. As a result, the value of handicraft exports dropped from some \$2 billion a year in 1998 to \$400 million in 2002. To increase handicraft exports, the Association of Exporters and Producers of Indonesian Handicrafts has been working hard to organize training and workshops in collaboration with government organizations like NAFED (National Agency for Export Development) and overseas trade promotion through offices like INA (Indonesian Netherlands Association), JETRO (Japan External Trade Organization), and others.

To promote Indonesian handicrafts in export markets, the Association of Exporters and Producers of Indonesian Handicrafts (ASEPHI), a national business association with membership limited to companies or organizations that have interest or involvement in the handicraft industry, has participated at handicraft trade fairs in potential markets like the United States, Europe, Japan, Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand and Vietnam. For the domestic market, ASEPHI has established a venue for worldwide craftsmen to promote and market their genuine handicraft products. The number of participating companies and sales has increased sharply since 1999.

Expanding the market for handicraft products plays a very important role in improving the welfare of the craftspeople and creates employment in Indonesian villages. Market expansion can directly influence the economic growth of the country and the well-being of its people.

4-3. Production and Marketing of Handicrafts

Handicrafts are also central features of the tourism industry and often times represent local traditions (Akhalet al., 2008). Apart from this, the handicraft industry also provides significant financial opportunities for the local people in terms of job creation, community advancement and reduction of poverty.

Indonesia has a long history of handicraft production. Wood carving started in the 15th century but took time to develop until the 18th century where it was popularized by Kartini, the first female

Indonesian leader. As time passed, the emerging governments created policies to cater to this development. Major institutional assistance to the wooden handicraft industry began in 1966/67 when the government established a Unit for Technical Assistance (Unit Pelaksana Teknis) in Jepara (Hadi, n.d.). From that point on, the government gave attention to the industry due to its role of providing widespread employment and income generation. The government provided further assistance in the form of credit and other support activities with the aim of boosting production in the industry. Examples are the establishment of Kredit Investasi Kecil (Small Investment Credit), Kredit Modal Kerja Permanen (Permanent Working Capital Credit Fund) and Unit Pelaksanaan Teknis (Unit for Technical Assistance). In 1983, a National Council of Handicraft Industries was set up (Hadi, n.d.) to further improve the skills of the handicraftsmen, increase production, and promote the wooden handicraft industry.

Despite the role handicrafts play as a source of empowerment for people, there is still far to go. In Indonesia there are still barriers in marketing and production, including development of good quality products that last and the ability to access good markets. Another issue associated with handicrafts is its ability to keep people actively engaged in what they do so they do not migrate to cities and pursue other ventures. Similar studies in Indonesia (Akhal et al., 2008) have also noted similarities of skills development and market development whilst studies from Uganda (Kata et al., 2005) reveal barriers in the production and supply side, skills development, access to materials, organization and marketing.

4-4. Role of Cooperative in Small Scale Industries

Cooperatives have been active facilitators for industries all over the world. They involve rallying the stakeholders to support and manage them for a return of mutual benefit to the members. To better understand them and their purpose, a definition and role of cooperatives is offered here.

Cooperatives are organizations where a number of businesses – both small scale and large scale – work together to achieve a common purpose. They are primarily formed to enable members to benefit from the group, for example, skills training for members and promotion of better market access, among other things. They are different to other corporations due to three main features (ibid) – they are user owned, user controlled and users are the beneficiaries.

When utilized and managed properly, cooperatives have been proven to be quite beneficial for their members. Japan is a country that uses cooperatives quite well. Evidence of these can be seen in various products which are produced and sold in shops throughout Japan. Such products range from agriculture produce to small-scale manufactured items. The members establish their own style of organization, often based on the product they intend to sell.

Indonesia has a long history with cooperatives. The first cooperative was established in 1896 (Halimath, 2010) by Raden Aria in an attempt to help civil servants avoid vicious money lenders. In 1930 (ibid) a cooperative department was set up under the ministry of economic affairs. In 1936 (ibid) a form of parent cooperative was established under the name “Indonesian Joint Cooperative (GADKI).” During the Japanese occupation, the development of cooperatives stalled. In 1947, initiatives were made to

launch new cooperative movements, thus SOKRI, the Central Organisation of Koperasi located in Tasikmalaya was established. From 1947-1956 (ibid) Congress Cooperatives 2, 3 and 4 were launched to set up and develop various aspects of the cooperative movement in Indonesia. In 1992 (ibid), the constitution set laws as to how cooperatives could be established.

Despite the initiatives by the state to assist the cooperatives sector in Indonesia, a number of problems still exist within the sector that need to be solved for higher efficiency. Suradisastra (2006) notes that whilst government involvement has assisted the sector to develop, the future is not certain, and on the contrary, suggests less intervention from the state. Suradisastra (2006) notes that the benefits of such incentives have to be made quite clear in order for members to participate efficiently and goes on to mention that the sector needs to clearly identify its goals and targets for helping the members. This may help to increase participation. The sector also needs efficient managerial skills to assist cooperatives to flourish. Ropke (2005), however, indicates that it is the lack of "entrepreneurial energy" that is missing from this sector. Ropke (ibid) further breaks this down into three areas: lack of competitive advantage, insufficient competence of management and ineffective participation.

5. Methodology

5-1. Data gathering methods

To gather primary data, the group conducted semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) with target respondents from September 20-28, 2011. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the head of nine workshops, with twenty-four workshop employees, eight home-based handicraft producers, and one middleman. Different interview guides were prepared for each type of interviewee. The heads of the workshops were selected for interviews based on their availability. Two to three workers, representing the different stages of production in these workshops, were also selected as interviewees. The home-based producers were selected based on recommendations from the village head and the workshop heads. Interviews with workshop heads, workers and home-based producers were all conducted in Bobung while the interview with the middleman was conducted in Yogyakarta.

Three FGD sessions were conducted to gather more detailed information about the different stakeholders and the roles they play in the development of the handicraft industry in Bobung. An FGD was held among four representatives from the Agency for Industry, Trade and Cooperative in Gunung Kidul. Other FGD sessions were held with three key officers of the KOPINKRA, local cooperative based in Bobung and with four key officers of APIKRI, a non-government organization that trades batik wooden handicrafts.

Secondary data about the socio-economic background of Bobung and other relevant information about the local handicraft industry were gathered from the head of Bobung and the Agency for Industry, Trade and Cooperative.

5-2. Study Site

The study site is Bobung, a sub-village of Putatin the district of Gunung Kidul in Yogyakarta. It is approximately four kilometres away from the village center. From the city center, Bobung is around 15 kilometres away and is accessible by bus via main roads. Bobung's working-age population is 478 (2010 data) that comprise 126 households. Bobung was chosen as the study site because it is one of the major wooden handicraft producers in Java, Indonesia.

Figure 1. Location of study site



Source: <http://mapru.com/en/cat103/47060-.html>

Table 1. Summary of research methodology

Objective	Research interest		Data gathering method	Respondents	Data gathering site
To determine the constraints to profitability and the opportunities to improve the production and marketing of batik wooden products in Bobung sub-village.	Background of handicraft industry in Bobung	Socio-demographic characteristics of Bobung	Secondary data	Head of Bobung sub-village	Bobung
		Number of households engaged in handicraft industry			
		Number of workshops, workers, and home-based producers			
		Contribution of wooden handicraft industry to local economy		Agency for Industry, Trade and Cooperative	Yogyakarta
	Production and marketing of wooden handicrafts	Stages of production and marketing process	Semi-structured interview	Head of workshops, workers, and home-based producers	Bobung
		Working conditions			
		Production inputs			
		Operational and financial management strategies			
		Rate of production			
	Stakeholders of wooden handicraft industry	Different stakeholders involved in local handicraft industry	Focus group discussion	Agency for Industry, Trade and Cooperative	Yogyakarta
		Role of stakeholders		Key officers of APIKRI	Yogyakarta
	Production and marketing constraints			Problems/constraints in each stage of production and marketing process	Semi-structured interview
		Suggestions for improvement			

Source: Authors

6. Results and Discussion

6-1. Handicraft Industry in Bobung

The local wooden handicraft industry supports the livelihood of a majority of Bobung's population. According to records obtained from the village head, 90% of the 478 people of working age are engaged in the wooden handicraft industry.

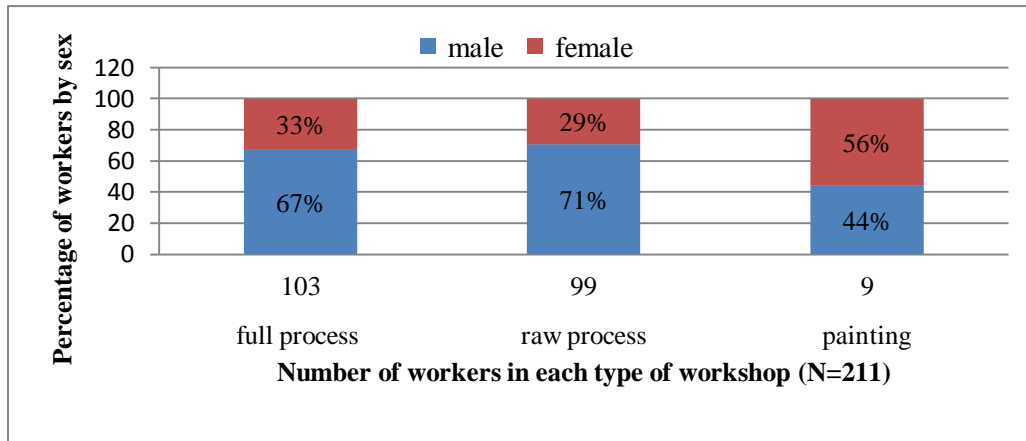
Sanggars: There currently are 14 wooden handicraft workshops operating in Bobung. These workshops, or "sanggars" in the local dialect, can be categorized into three types – full process, raw process, and painting sanggars. The full process sanggars are those that produce wooden products from carving (raw process) to the finished product that is ready for sale. The raw process sanggars, on the other hand, are those that specialize in carving of the wood into a specified product, but do not cover painting and other processes. The painting sanggars are the most specialized and they focus only on painting of the wooden products.

Together, these sanggars employ 211 local residents, or 44% of the total working age population. In addition, there are some producers who are not employed in sanggars but work independently in their homes. In this study, they are referred to as home-based producers.

Sanggar-based workers: Figure 1 shows the distribution of workers in the different types of sanggars. One hundred three residents, or almost half (49%) of the total number of sanggar workers, are employed in full process sanggars. This is mainly due to the fact that full process sanggars cater to all stages of the production process of the wooden handicrafts and thus require a larger workforce compared to more specialized sanggars that do not involve all stages of production. Another 99, or 47% of the total number of workers, are employed in raw process sanggars. The number of raw process employees is almost equal to that of the total number of full process workers. This is because most of the existing sanggars in Bobung are raw process sanggars. Only nine, (4%) of the total number of sanggar workers, are employed in painting sanggars. This is because there are currently only two painting sanggars and they operate on a much smaller scale. Of the total 211 working in the sanggars, the majority (68%) is male and 32% are female. In general, the males are in-charge of the raw process (cutting, shaping, carving) while the females are in-charge of the batik process (drawing, sketching, painting) and finishing (smoothing, polishing).

Twenty-four sanggar workers were interviewed in the study. Of these, 14 were male and 10 were female. The age of the workers ranged from 17 to 45 years old. The respondents' experiences of working in sanggars ranged from 1 to 16 years. A great majority (83%) are full-time workers in the sanggar, working at least 8 hours a day, often 7 days a week.

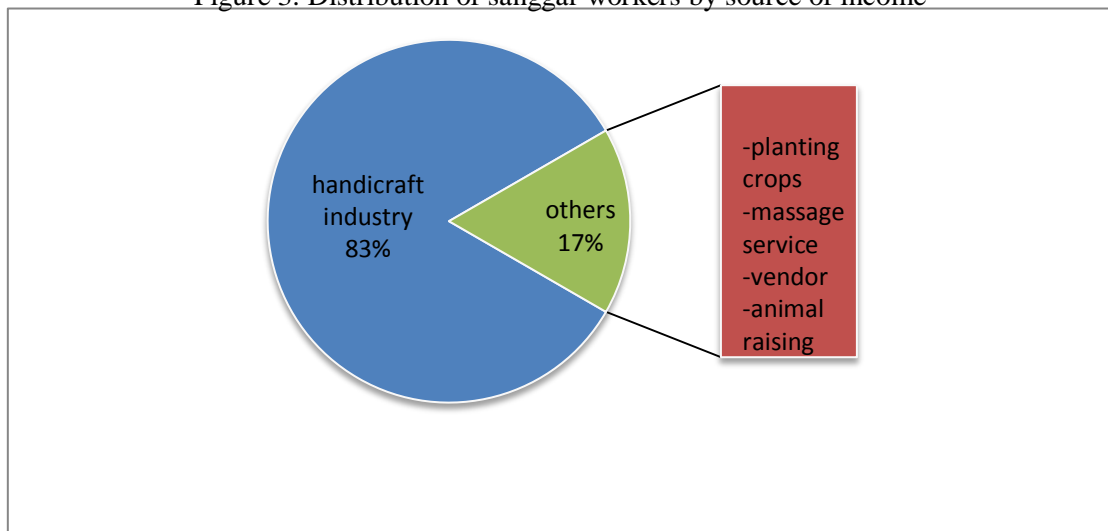
Figure 2. Distribution of sanggar workers by sex



Source: Authors, based on fieldwork interviews

The full-time respondents considered wooden handicraft production as their main source of household income. Those respondents who consider themselves part-time work in the sanggar for half a day maximum and engage in other activities that generate income for the rest of the day.

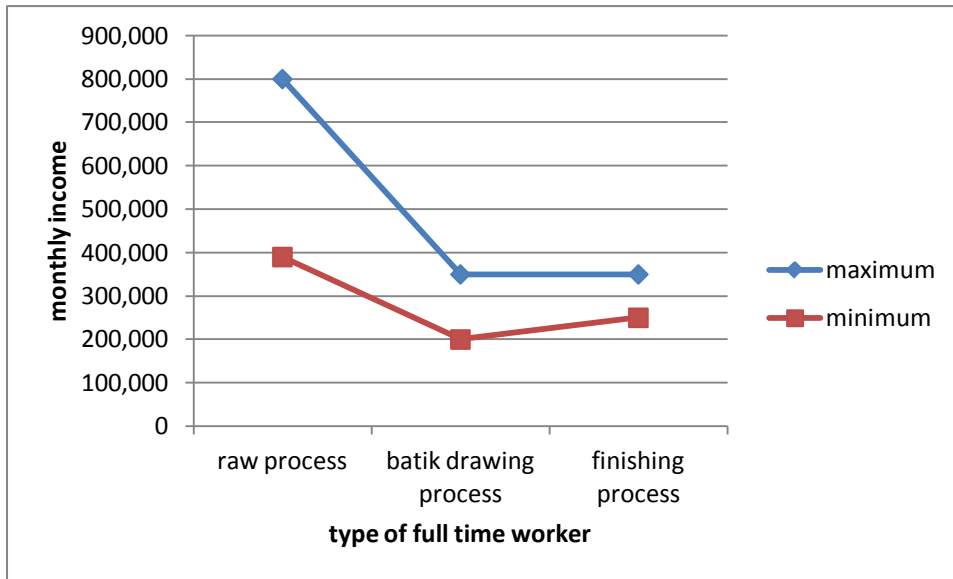
Figure 3. Distribution of sanggar workers by source of income



Source: Authors, based on fieldwork interviews

Among the 20 full-time respondents, monthly income differed depending on the type of job they performed at the sanggar and the number of products they finished. Figure 3 shows the distribution of full-time sanggar workers based on their monthly income and specialization. Workers that specialize in raw process (cutting, shaping, carving) receive the highest income among all full-time workers. Monthly income ranges from 390,000 to 800,000 Rupiah a month. Full-time respondents who specialize in the batik process (drawing, sketching, painting) earn 200,000 to 350,000 Rupiah a month, while those who specialize in the finishing process (smoothing, polishing) earn 250,000 to 350,000 Rupiah a month. Part-time workers specializing in any stage of production earn a range of 160,000 to 250,000 Rupiah a month, depending on the number of products they finish.

Figure 4. Monthly income of full-timesanggar-based workers (Rp/month)



Source: Authors, based on fieldwork interviews

The majority of the sanggar workers (67%) did not have prior experience of wooden handicraft making before working in the sanggar. These respondents learned the skill only when they were taught in the sanggar, by either the sanggar head or another worker. The six respondents (25%) had learned the skill prior to working in the sanggar through a family member or a friend. Only two respondents, who are both working in the batik process, had formal training from school.

The scheme for providing salary to sanggar workers in Bobung follows the “borongan” system. In the borongan system, workers are paid weekly or monthly, based on the number of products they finish, but there is no specific time of the month when they are paid. Workers can claim their accumulated earnings whenever they want to.

Home-based producers: Home-based producers comprise 46% of the total number of residents engaged in wooden handicraft production. They are referred to as home-based producers since they are not formally employed, but produce wooden products from their own homes.

There were eight home-based producers interviewed for the study, of which seven were male and only one was female. Five respondents specialized in the raw process, two for the batik process, and one for the finishing process. The age of home-based producers ranged from 31 to 42 years old. All home-based producers considered wooden handicraft production as their main source of income. However, aside from handicrafts, they also engaged in farming and animal husbandry, with one respondent engaged in dressmaking.

Compared to the sanggar workers, home-based producers are more experienced in the production of wooden handicrafts. The experience of the home-based respondents ranged from 7 to 16 years. Most of the

respondents were sanggar employees before deciding to work independently at home. The usual reason given for preferring to become home-based producer was that it allowed them to earn independently and have more flexible working hours, allowing more time for their families.

Only two of the respondents had formal training in wooden handicraft production. The rest of the respondents were either self-taught or learned the skill from a previous job in a sanggar.

Home-based producers make products on an order basis and do not maintain their own stock. They are paid upon delivery of the products. Compared to sanggar workers, home-based producers earn more; between 1 million and 4 million Rupiah a month. The income varies depending on the number of orders they receive.

Relationship between producers: Figure 5 shows the relationship between sanggars and home-based wooden handicraft producers in Bobung. As earlier mentioned, full-process sanggars are those that produce wooden products from carving (raw process) until finishing, when the product is ready to sell. The raw process sanggars, on the other hand, specialize in carving the wood into the specified products, but does not cover painting and other processes. The painting sanggars are the most specialized because they focus only on painting of the wooden products.

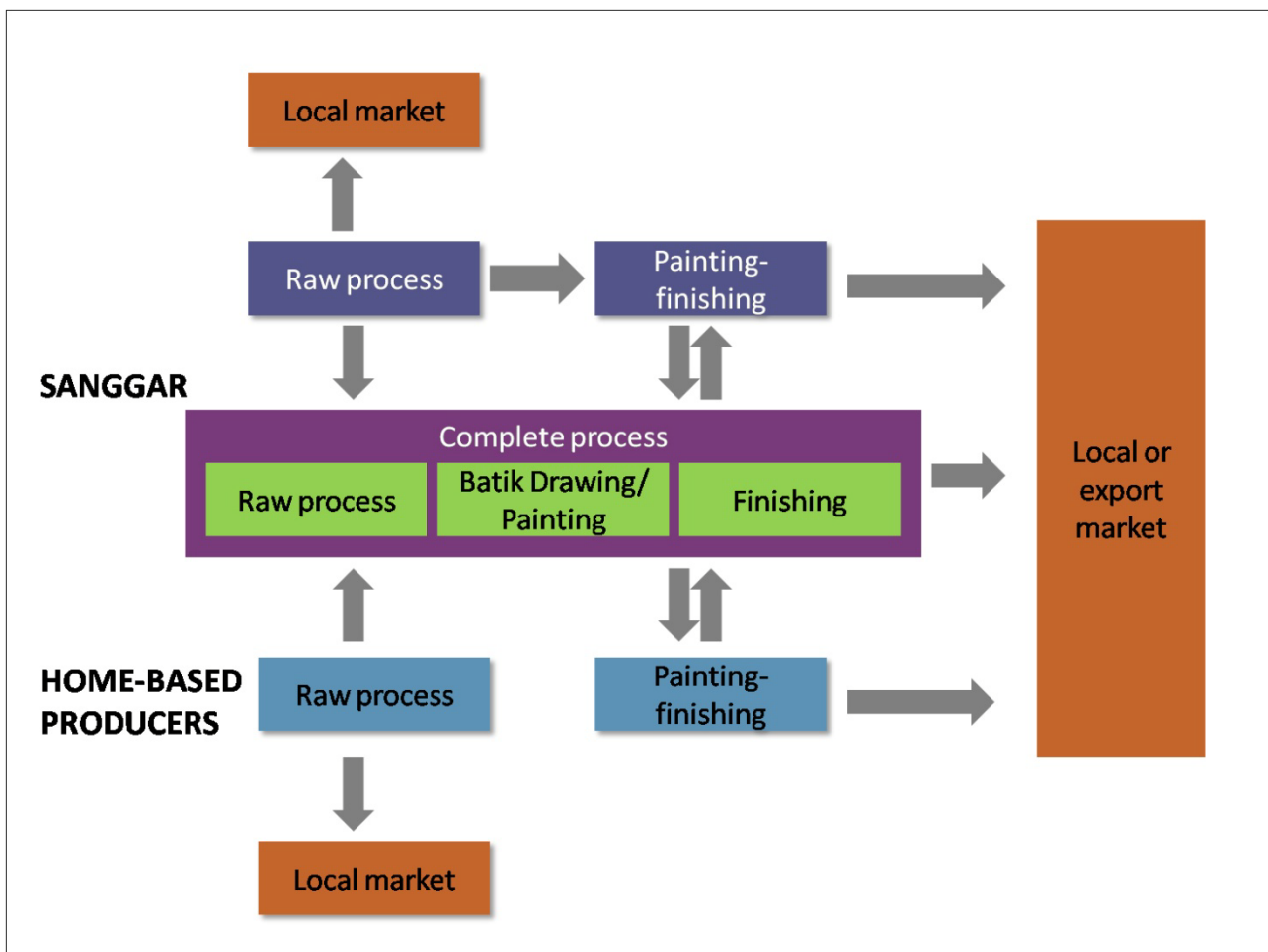
Although there are only few complete process sanggars in Bobung, they are nonetheless the biggest producers in terms of volume of production and share in total output from the village. The rate of production is highly dependent on the volume of orders, meaning that the sanggars only produce items when there is an order and thus, the speed at which products are produced can hasten or slow down, depending on the deadline agreed upon by the sanggar head and the buyer. Since the complete process sanggars can handle all stages of production, from raw process to finishing, they are basically the center of the wooden handicraft production in the village and employ many artisans to handle specific tasks or stages of the production process. Within the sanggar, there are all-male carvers that handle the raw process stage (from wood cutting/shaping to carving and smoothing), sketchers/drawers who draw the patterns or design before the product is painted, painters who handle the actual painting process and finishers who handle the final smoothing and coating of the product.

However, when the demand for wooden products is high, specific areas of production may be outsourced to other sanggars or to home-based workers. For example, if the number of orders for masks exceeds the current capacity of the sanggar, it commissions other raw process sanggars (those specializing in shaping and carving) to produce a portion of the order and then the complete process sanggar will just buy them from the raw process sanggar in order to meet the orders. The same scenario can occur during the painting and finishing stages and then the complete process sanggar will buy the products and handle the final packaging and selling of the products. Since production in the complete process sanggar is relatively large scale compared to other types of producers in the village, they are the only producers who are able to supply to the international market, mainly through middlemen or exporting shops.

On the other hand, raw process sanggars also provide their products to the painting sanggars who will handle the painting and final processing of the products. In this way, the specialized raw process sanggars have the options of selling their output to either to complete process sanggars, other specialized painting sanggars, or directly to the market. The specialized painting sanggars also have the option to sell to a complete process sanggar or directly to the market.

In the case of raw process home-based producers, they produce products also on an order basis. Orders can come from the sanggars or directly from outside buyers, which are either stalls in market areas or sanggars in other villages. The same is true for painting home-based producers. Thus, home-based producers can supply to the complete process sanggars or sell directly to the market, but only on a local scale.

Figure 5. Relationship of sanggars and home-based producers in Bobung



Source: Authors, based on fieldwork observation and interviews

6-2. Production and Marketing of Batik Wooden Handicraft

6-2-1. Production Process

During the research it was established that the production process of wooden handicrafts in Bobung village undergoes three main stages. These three main stages are raw process, painting and finishing.

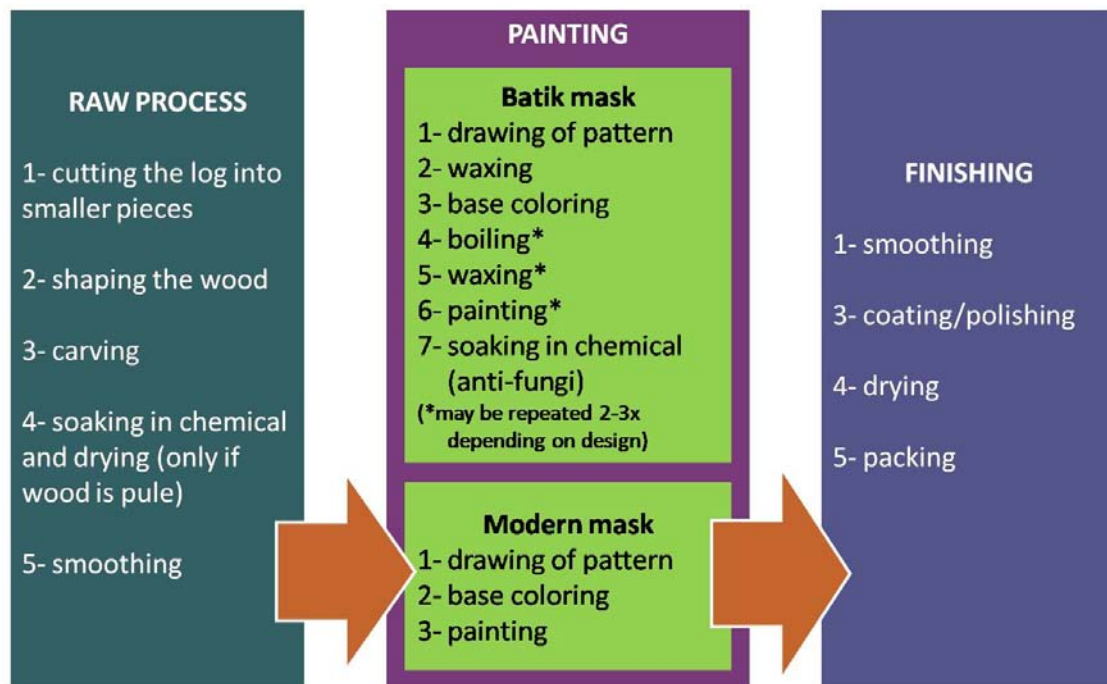
Raw process: The first stage, or raw process stage, begins after acquisition of the raw materials. The usual types of wood used for making handicrafts are pule, albasia and terbelo puso. Of the three types, pule is most preferred in Bobung because it is soft and easy to carve. Upon acquisition of the raw material, the main raw process stage begins when the logs are cut into smaller pieces for easier storage and to facilitate shaping. The size of the smaller pieces depends on the type of product that will be carved. The smaller pieces of wood then undergo initial shaping or a rough shape of the desired product. The shaped products are then carved by artisans into different wooden products using a variety of knives. This carving process takes a few hours, depending on the size of the product and the complexity of the shape. Once the products have been carved, and if they are made from pule, the wooden products are then soaked in a special chemical formula. The chemical formula coats the pule-made wooden products to make them more resistant to insects and other things that may damage it. When the wood has dried, it then undergoes the smoothing process using sandpaper. This is done to facilitate sketching and coloring of the products. If the wooden product is not made from pule, it skips the soaking process and proceeds to smoothing. These processes, from cutting the log into smaller pieces of wood to the smoothing of the carved materials, are usually all done by the carvers.

Painting process: The second stage of production begins when the materials have been carved and smoothed in preparation for painting. The carved materials then undergo the painting process. The painting process may vary depending on the product. If the product is painted with a batik pattern, it undergoes a longer painting process. Modern wooden masks, however, that are hand painted with colourful non-batik patterns undergo a less detailed process and take a shorter time to finish.

In the case of wooden masks, for example, when the masks are to be painted with a batik pattern, the drawers or sketchers, who are usually women, draw the pattern on the mask using a lead pencil. Once the pattern is visible, the wax can then be applied to all parts of the mask which will then be colored in the later stages to make the batik pattern. When the wax has been applied, the mask is painted with the base color. When the base color has set, the mask is then soaked in boiling water to remove the wax. Upon drying, wax is re-applied to the mask to cover certain parts, depending on the design. The unwaxed portion is then painted with the desired color. The mask is then boiled again to remove the wax. This step is repeated twice or three times, depending on the intricacy of the pattern. The remaining small details are painted with the desired colors by the women painters using brushes of different sizes. Once the mask has been painted, it is soaked in a solution to prevent early fungal growth. In the case of modern masks or non-batik masks, the steps are easier and faster. Once the design has been sketched into the mask, the base color is applied and the rest of the details are color painted with a brush.

Finishing process: The finishing process involves the smoothing of the surface of the wooden product using fine sanding papers after it has been painted. The wooden product is then coated with clear liquid coating for a polished and glossy finish. The polishing also serves as additional protection for the product. The product is then dried under the sun before it is finally packed for selling and distribution.

Figure 6. Steps in the three main stages of wooden handicraft production.



Source: Authors, based on fieldwork observation and interviews

6-2-2. Marketing Process

Examining the process of marketing the wooden products will help in understanding the ways to improve the wooden handicraft industry in Bobung. Based on interviews, it was found out that there is no sophisticated system of marketing employed by the handicraft producers in Bobung. Instead, each sanggar owner and home-based producer developed his own selling points and markets their products independent of the other producers. In this system, some sanggar owners have fixed buyers who are in nearby markets like Yogyakarta, while other owners have fixed buyers not only from Yogyakarta, but also from distant places, including abroad through traders. The proceeding paragraphs explain the method of promotion, selling and distribution of products by sanggars and individual home-based producers.

Promotion: The main strategy for promotion of products among sanggar owners is through exhibitions and leaflets. Some sanggars have participated in domestic and international product trade exhibitions sponsored by the government. Some exhibitions were held in Yogyakarta, while the bigger and mostly international ones are held in Bali. However, these exhibitions are not solely for wooden handicraft producers of Bobung; a variety of products from different artisans in villages all over Indonesia are showcased. Moreover, these exhibitions are not held often, and because the local government shoulders the

expenses of the participating sanggar, only one representative can be sent per exhibition. Thus, only very few – mostly the big sanggars – have been able to participate. The sanggars have produced their own leaflets that feature their products and contact information, though they are not widely distributed. The pamphlets are mainly given out during the rare instances that the sanggar owners are able to participate in exhibitions and to the customers who are traders or visitors that come to their sanggars in Bobung. Home-based producers, on the other hand, do not have promotional activities. They are relatively small-scale compared to the sanggars so they do not produce their own leaflets as a promotional strategy. Further to that, only sanggars are able to represent villages in exhibitions so they are unable to participate in such activities.

Selling: Sanggars produce on a per order basis. This means that they only produce if there is order from fixed buyers or customers (shops, middlemen/traders and exporters) and custom design the shape and size designated by the buyers. Sanggars also sell directly to buyers who are mostly Bobung tourists. However, the number of tourists is very small and the volume of the products they buy is also small. The same is the case for the home-based producers who also produce on a custom order basis. The difference, however, is that majority of the orders received by home-based producers are from sanggars in Bobung itself. Thus, most of the wooden products produced by these independent producers are sold to the sanggars who receive the bigger orders from outside buyers. Some home-based producers, however, have made an effort to sell outside of Bobung, but these are still on a custom order basis and mostly from sanggars in other villages.

Distribution: Wooden handicrafts produced in Bobung are widely known and distributed locally but have also made it to international markets. The major local markets are Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Bali, Semarang, Klaten, Surabaya, Bandung, Solo and Malang. Internationally, Bobung wooden handicrafts have been exported to USA, Japan, China, Thailand, Malaysia and Australia, through traders and exporters who order through the sanggars. These traders and exporters are locally-based in such places as Bali and Jakarta. Thus, sanggars distribute or deliver their products locally and the traders are the ones who export their products. None of the sanggar heads interviewed in the study kept a detailed record of their transactions. Thus, there is no available data of the precise number of products sold and frequency of delivery. However, below is a sample taken from one of the sanggar heads.

Table 2. frequency and total volume of delivery at each destination (2010)

	Destination			
	Yogyakarta	Jakarta	Bali	Solo
Frequency of delivery	11	5	3	1
Total volume	5,500 pieces	2,000 pieces	1,500 pieces	450 pieces

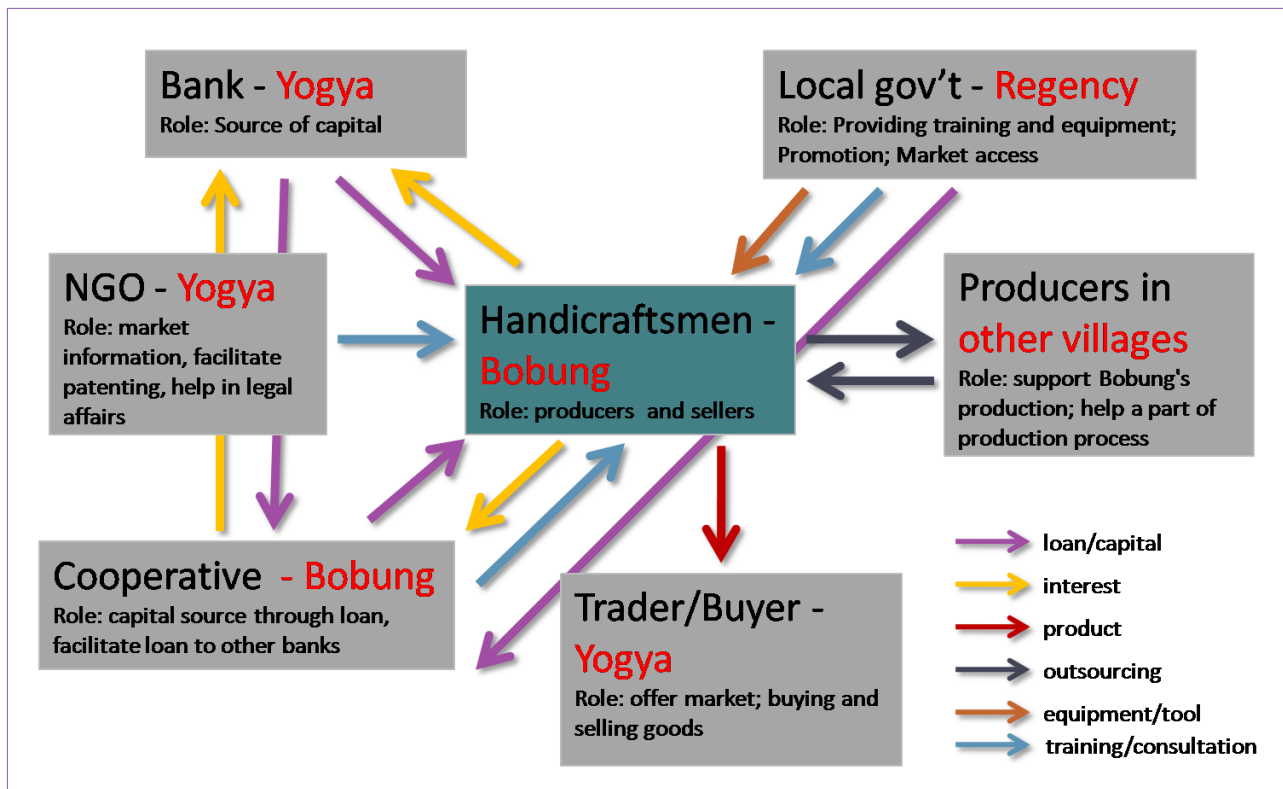
Source: hand-written report of Panji Sejati sanggar head

As mentioned earlier, home-based producers receive orders mainly from sanggars within Bobung. Thus, most of the products produced by these independent producers are distributed only in the village. However, in few cases when home-based producers receive orders from outside, these are usually sanggars in Krebet and Bantul. Very few home-based producers deliver products directly to stores but if so, only in Yogyakarta.

6-3. Stakeholders of Bobung Wooden Handicraft Industry

In order to fully understand the situation of the wooden handicraft industry in Bobung, it is imperative to study the different stakeholders currently involved. Including wooden mask producers of Bobung village, there are seven major stakeholders. Figure 7 reflects a simplified diagram of the relationships among the current major stakeholders of the handicraft industry in Bobung.

Figure 7. Relationship among stakeholders of the wooden handicraft industry in Bobung



Source: Authors, based on fieldwork observation and interviews

Handicraftsmen: The handicraftsmen are the producers of wooden handicraft in Bobung. They include the sanggar head, the sanggar workers and the home-based workers. As producers, they are the source of supply of batik wooden handicrafts. Since these handicraftsmen are directly earning income from the production of wooden handicrafts, they are considered the main stakeholders of the industry. As such, they are at the core of the industry and the development of the industry is largely dependent on the

performance of these producers and their relationship with the other stakeholders. How these handicraftsmen relate with the other main stakeholders of the industry is outlined in the following paragraphs.

Local Government Unit (LGU): The involvement of the local government in this context is through the Agency for Industry, Trade and Cooperative at the regency level in Gunung Kidul. The main role of the agency at the village level is assistance through the provision of market access, training and equipment to the handicraft producers. Access to the market is gained through product exhibitions that the local government sponsors. At certain times of the year, exhibitions are held locally to showcase the different products of the regency. During these exhibitions, a representative from the producers in Bobung can be sent to participate. If the exhibition is held outside of the province, such as in Bali or Jakarta, the agency can send a representative and pay the expenses related to the transportation and participation. Through this, the producer can be linked with potential buyers and can gain information about current trends in design and production from the other participants. However, these exhibitions are not frequent and the number of representatives that receive sponsorship from the agency is limited to only one. Thus, not all producers are able to take advantage of the opportunity.

Government support can also come in the form of trainings conducted by the agency. In the interviews conducted, some of the interviewees claim to have participated such training sessions but only in the past. Financial support is also provided by the agency through the local cooperative. The agency extends a bigger loan to the cooperative which in turn provides smaller loans directly to the member producers. Following the eruption of Mount Merapi in October 2010, the agency provided tools to independent handicraft producers in order to boost production. However, such intervention is not made on a regular basis.

Bank: Local banks, such as the Bank of Indonesia based in Yogyakarta, are an important stakeholder of the industry since many handicraftsmen take loans from these banks in order to start their own sanggar, to finance the continuity of their production or to acquire money to complement their earnings from handicraft production. These banks also lend money to the local cooperative, which in return, provides loans to its members. Thus, local banks are an important source of financial capital. These banks then benefit from their provision of loans through the interest returned. Since Bobung wooden handicraft producers are mostly operating on a small-scale basis, financial capital for starting up costs is almost always needed. Without banks that provide loans, it would be difficult for these producers to start their own production or increase their current production capacity.

NGOs: The main non-governmental organization involved in Bobung's handicraft industry is APIKRI. APIKRI is a locally-based NGO that aims to improve the state of small and micro handicraft producers in Indonesia by promoting fair trade, providing market access and increasing business capacity and competitiveness. In Bobung, APIKRI helps by conducting environmental campaigns to replant pule trees at the locality for the sustainability of the industry. APIKRI also provides consultation services to its member producers and provides assistance in legal affairs of the business, as well as in acquiring patents for original designs. Even so, only very few producers in Bobung are members of APIKRI.

The Cooperative: A local cooperative KOPINKRA (Koperasi Industri Kerajinan) operates in Bobung. At the time of the interview, it had 140 members who are mostly handicraft producers from within Bobung and nearby sub-villages. The main role of the cooperative, regarding the handicraft industry in Bobung, was mainly in terms of capital or financial support through loans to its members. Members also benefit from their membership in the cooperative through a profit sharing scheme. Apart from providing loans and the profit sharing scheme, there was no other mention of activities from which the producers were benefitting.

Buyers/Traders: Aside from the local sanggars who outsource production to other producers or place orders, outside buyers and traders are a significant point of sale for wooden handicrafts in Bobung. Transactions with these buyers are made only by cash and orders are placed usually by telephone calls through mobile phones or personal communication. The traders are also responsible for forwarding products, not only to local selling points, but also to export markets.

Producers in other villages: During the peak season of demand for wooden products, some sanggars in Bobung outsource production, especially the batik painting process, to producers in other villages. Other home-based producers also sell their half-finished products to other sanggars outside of Bobung.

6-4. Production and Marketing Constraints

To determine production and marketing constraints experienced by wooden handicraft producers in Bobung, insights were gathered through interviews with sanggar heads, workers and home-based producers. The major constraints are categorized into inputs, management and marketing.

Inputs: In terms of production inputs, two major problems were related to the availability of raw material, equipment and tools. According to sanggar heads, workers and home-based producers, there is lack of drying facilities during the rainy season, especially ovens. The product must be dried under the sun and this takes longer to dry during the rainy season. Since production cannot proceed to the next stage if the wood is not completely dried, production time is prolonged during the rainy season. This is a significant disadvantage for the sanggar heads and home-based producers because they have production schedules to meet. It is also detrimental to the sanggar workers because their income is based on the number of products they finish. The use of ovens for drying is a better alternative to dry the products and reduces the time consumed for drying. However, only the big sanggars currently have an oven and the home-based producers lack the capital to procure one.

Another common problem is the availability of raw materials, especially pule wood, which is the most commonly used material for making wooden handicrafts. Pule wood has been increasingly difficult to obtain around the village. Home-based workers who cut the pule trees themselves claim that they need to go farther from the village than they used to because the forest around Bobung has already been exhausted.

This difficulty in the availability of raw materials inevitably leads to higher prices, which is also a burden to both home-based workers and sanggar heads. The high price of raw materials reinforces the problem of capital acquisition for handicraft producers. This is one of the problems that can hinder the production among skilled producers who do not have enough capital to buy sufficient raw materials and are therefore limited in their capability to increase production and income.

Once the raw materials are available, equipment and tools are needed to start the production. Although readily available, the problem lies in the quality of the tools and equipment. Sanggar heads claim that the tools that are locally available are sometimes of low quality and easily get damaged or dulled in the case of knives. Also, spare parts for some equipment are hard to obtain at the local market. If tools are of low quality, they need to be replaced more often, resulting in increased costs. If spare parts are not readily available, it causes delays in the production. From the perspective of the sanggar workers, sometimes the tools provided are not the best or appropriate tools for their job. All of these factors have the potential to negatively affect the rate of production and/or the quality of output.

Management: Major constraints related to management are further categorized into human resources, operational and financial management. In terms of human resource management, sanggar heads claimed that there is a serious lack of skills among workers, especially for those specializing in the batik drawing process. Those in charge of the batik drawing process are usually women who do not receive formal training. As a result, sanggars sometimes outsource the batik drawing process to other home-based workers specializing in batik. From the perspective of sanggar workers, some interviewees claimed that they have to handle many tasks in the sanggar because of the lack of workers. The recruitment of more workers can help to in allowing proportional distribution of tasks among workers. Among home-based producers, one problem that the study revealed that the environment is less conducive for production, since most of them do not have a real working area, only a part of their house, resulting in an inefficient production process.

In terms of operational management, the major problem raised by sanggar heads was about the workers' participation in social events that decrease the workshop's productivity. Traditionally, in the Bobong way of life, it is difficult to separate work from social obligations, however this participation in social events decreases workshop productivity. To tackle this problem, an understanding and agreement need to be reached between workshop heads and workers to see how they can incorporate the two in order to promote continuity of the production process. Among the home-based producers, on the other hand, the problem is the lack of a production calendar to manage the multiple tasks and high demand. A clear delineation of the tasks put on an organisational calendar allows each one to know in advance what to do and in cases of high demand, tasks can be handled easily.

Concerning financial management, in general, both sanggar heads and home-based producers do not perform proper and detailed accounting of their transactions. The most that they do is simply record the amount of sales on a sheet of paper but this does not give them a good record of how much has been spent or earned, thus they are unable to keep track of how their business is doing. The lack of accounting practices is

simply due to the inability to perform accounting as well as their failure to realize the importance of accounting in running a proper business. This often results in the mixing of family and business money.

Marketing: Based on interviews with Bobung wooden handicraft producers, constraints related to marketing can be categorized into three: product design and development; promotion and sales; and distribution and transport of the finished products. According to the sanggar heads, some designs and patterns do not meet the current market trends because of the low skills and creativity of workers. Most producers used the Bobung traditional batik patterns that they have been using for many years. While keeping traditional patterns is necessary in order to preserve their culture and to better reflect the cultural value of the product, demand for newer and more modern designs have been increasing. Thus, aside from the traditional patterns, there is a need to create new patterns and be innovative with the designs to gain competitive advantage and increase the market value and demand for products. Sanggar heads claim that they get pattern and design ideas from the internet or attending exhibitions, but the majority are from their own creativity. However, according to sanggar heads, there is a lack of workers who are creative enough to create new batik patterns or designs of the wooden products. Moreover, newer designs demand a higher level of skill because they are usually more intricate and elaborate. This is especially true for both modern and batik wooden masks. However, since the workers have been so used to the traditional designs, only a few are able to produce the very intricate and elaborate new designs.

A constraint experienced among both sanggar heads and home-based producers is the difficulty to obtain market information and to establish a larger network of buyers or traders. One reason for this is that very few of the producers are really given the chance to participate in exhibitions or trade fairs that give them the chance to showcase their products, as well as connect with other producers and possible buyers. Also, since most of the home-based producers are small-scale, they do not make more intensive efforts to look for buyers apart from their usual local buyers because they are afraid that if they increase their reach, they will not be able to produce enough to meet bulk orders. Although one sanggar head has tried to establish his sanggar's own website on the internet, the connection in the village is intermittent and slow so that as of the time of interview, the possibility of online sales and promotion was very limited.

Another marketing constraint is the lack of a more reliable means of transport for delivery of the finished products. Most of the home-based producers deliver their products using a motorbike. However, if there is a need to deliver larger quantities of products or if the delivery destination is quite far, the use of motorbikes become less efficient. Motorbike transport is also affected by weather and becomes especially difficult during the rainy season. In addition, the sanggar heads claimed that some couriers do not take proper care of their products and thus some gets broken during delivery.

7. Summary and Conclusions

This study aimed to determine the constraints and opportunities in the batik wooden handicraft industry in Bobung sub-village by examining the production and marketing process, the stakeholders involved and the problems faced by producers.

Employing around 90% of the working age population, production of wooden handicrafts is the most important economic activity in Bobung. Producers can be classified into sanggar heads, sanggar-based workers, and home-based producers. The sanggars can be classified based on specialization – full process, raw process, and painting sanggars. The production process of wooden handicrafts consists of three main stages – raw process, painting process and finishing process with methods remaining remarkably unchanged or improved since production started in Bobung. Producers are mostly self-taught and have not undergone formal training for their technical and/or management skills. Among the sanggar heads and home-based producers, there is high reliance on capital loans for production and sustenance of production. Loans are obtained from the local cooperative and private banks.

Based on orders received by producers, the wooden handicraft producers in Bobung are able to meet the current demand for wooden products. The major constraints to production of wooden handicrafts in Bobung are: the decreasing availability of raw materials, specifically pule wood; the lack of drying facilities; inadequate quality of working tools; lack of skilled workers, especially for batik drawing and painting; lack of business management skills; a serious lack of appreciation for and practice of proper accounting; difficulty in obtaining market information; lack of innovation in product design and development; and lack of a more reliable means of transport for safe delivery of finished products.

Among the producers, there exists little effort on the marketing of wooden products, largely because producers rely heavily only on orders they receive from outside buyers or traders or from other producers. Promotion of wooden products is through participation in exhibitions, but it is a rare opportunity. Although wooden products from Bobung are being exported through traders, a great percentage of the products are still limited to the local market.

There is still a lot of room for improvement in the batik wooden handicraft industry in Bobung. The production and marketing constraints need to be properly addressed in order for the industry to sustain its economic importance to the great majority of the population. Majority of the constraints to production and marketing can be dealt with through proper coordination and strong cooperation among the current major stakeholders of the industry: the local producers, the local government, NGOs, banks and the cooperative.

8. Recommendations

Problems regarding the delay in production, especially the drying process, due to unfavorable weather conditions can be addressed by the availability of drying facilities such as a large oven. The LGU should consider building communal ovens or provide individual units through subsidies or loans via the local cooperative. The LGU, perhaps through the Agency for Industry, Trade and Cooperative, should conduct and maintain opportunities for training based on the needs of the craftsman. This should include skills training for sanggar-based workers and home-based producers, workshop management for sanggar heads and accounting skills for both sanggar heads and home-based producers. The LGU should carry out activities to improve the producers' awareness of and appreciation for proper and detailed accounting. The LGU should assist to increase the promotion of wooden products and strive to open up more market access to the producers. This should include where possible, internet access, more exhibitions and more contacts with foreign clients abroad. At the same time the LGU should carry out more measures that will assist the producers themselves to do the marketing on their own, both domestically and internationally. Considering the heavy reliance of producers on loans to start up and maintain operations, the LGU should develop partnership projects with the local cooperatives or private banks to establish a scheme for producers to have access to loans at higher amounts but lower interest rates.

Considering that the local cooperative is seen as a significant source of financial capital, it should endeavour to increase its capital base to provide loans at lower interest rates to its members. Also, the cooperative should increase the scope of its activities to offer seminars and training for marketing and widening the market access of producers. This will increase the producers' awareness of current market trends leading to an increase in marketability of products, at the same time improving the visibility of the cooperative in the community. The cooperative should also help in the marketing of wooden handicrafts by establishing a common website for online business of Bobung products, facilitate participation and representation of Bobung producers in exhibitions to establish a bigger network and develop a scheme to accept bigger or bulk orders that can be divided among member-producers.

To address the issue on quality and availability of inputs and raw materials, the producers should consider developing a system of consolidating orders of materials and equipment to reduce procurement costs. Especially for sanggar heads, a management scheme should be developed to prevent or compensate for the loss or decrease in productivity when workers have to attend to social gatherings or obligations.

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Working Group 2

Gendered Role in Disaster Management: The Case of Mount Merapi in Indonesia

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Gendered Role in Disaster Management: The Case of Mount Merapi in Indonesia

1. Introduction

1-1 Background

With the view of contributing to continuous improvement in disaster management, this research will focus on the gendered role in disaster management, in the context of Mt. Merapi as a natural hazard. How this study fits in the overall picture of disaster management, as well as the disaster management strategies of the government of Indonesia, will be given below. Definitions of the key terms that will be used in this study, as well as methodology and methods of data gathering, will also be given.

The UN defines a disaster as “a serious disruption of the functioning of society, causing widespread human, material, or environmental losses that exceed the ability of the affected society to cope using only its own resources” (United Nations, Department of Humanitarian Affairs, 1992). Thus, in order to secure people’s life, property and environment, disaster management is conducted as a set of efforts toward: (1) risk reduction, (2) preparedness, (3) response and (4) recovery. For the purposes of this research, each stage is defined herein.

Risk reduction is “any sustained effort undertaken to reduce a hazard risk through the reduction of the likelihood and/or the consequence component of that hazard’s risk. In other words, mitigation seeks either to make a hazard less likely to occur or to reduce the negative effects if it were to occur” (Coppola, 2006). Examples of reducing negative effects of hazards include construction of community shelters, building codes and regulatory measures, community awareness and education programs. Risk reduction has gained a very significant position in disaster management because of its differentiated features. It is also sometimes called “prevention” or “mitigation.” However, in our research, we use the term “risk reduction” because the government of Indonesia basically uses this term in its law, policies and plans for disaster management

Preparedness, meanwhile, is the “actions taken in advance of a disaster to ensure adequate response to its impacts, and the relief and recovery from its consequences” (Coppola, 2006). For example, this could include emergency response planning, training of government officers, public education, etc. **Response** is defined as “actions aimed at limiting injuries, loss of life and damage to property and the environment that are taken prior to, during and immediately after a hazard event” (Coppola, 2006). Examples of this are early warning, evacuation assistance, medical treatment, etc. **Recovery** is defined as “the emergency management function by which countries, communities, families, and individuals repair, reconstruct or regain what has been lost as result of a disaster” (Coppola, 2006). Rehabilitation of infrastructure, provision of long term shelters and the creation of employment opportunities are all examples.

In terms of timeline, risk reduction and preparedness are conducted before the disaster. In contrast, response and recovery take place after a disaster has occurred. These four factors comprise the disaster management cycle. In practice, however, all of these overlap in disaster management, for even while the population is recovering from a disaster, if the hazard is still present, preparedness and risk reduction may still be undertaken.

An important concept in disaster management is **vulnerability**, which is defined as “a measure of propensity of an object, area, individual, group, community, country, or other entity to incur the consequences of a hazard” (Coppola, 2006). This definition implies that vulnerability varies even among people who are exposed to the same hazard. Vulnerability, Coppola argues, may be due to physical, environmental, social and economic situations of a certain group of people; hence, it can be said that vulnerability is a property or tendency of certain groups to be effected by the hazard more than others.

In most cases, hazards are brought by natural occurrences that cannot be controlled, like earthquakes, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions. At most, what humans can do is to try to predict and warn the population. Beyond this, where disaster management can have the most impact is on addressing vulnerabilities to lessen the impact of these hazards. The sources of vulnerabilities are therefore identified so that measures can be taken to lessen them.

Certain groups who are marginalized in society, such as women and ethnic minorities, tend to have relatively limited access to resources or information in cases of hazards. Because of this, they incur more damages from the hazards than any other group. In this way, it is said that they are vulnerable and their vulnerability may be because of their physical, social, environmental or economic situation.

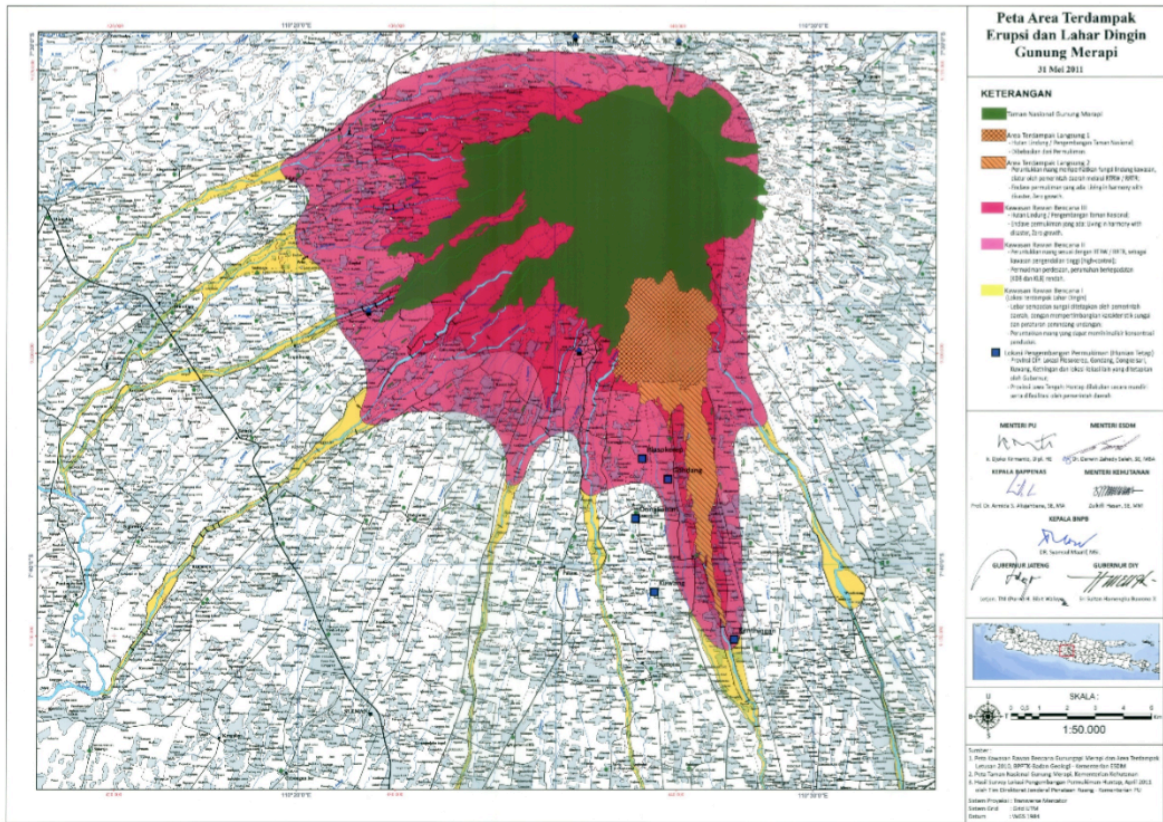
The interplay of hazards and vulnerability can be seen in the case of Mt. Merapi in Indonesia, the location of our research. Mt. Merapi, located about 30km north of Yogyakarta, is one of the most active volcanoes in the world. In the 20th century, Mt. Merapi erupted more than 20 times (Voight, 2010), with the latest eruption in October 2010. Those eruptions affected the lives of the people in the area and have caused disruptive impacts in the region.

As for volcanic hazards, damages are caused by primary and secondary disasters. A volcanic eruption, where the volcano spews out pyroclastic flows and burns everything in its way, is referred to as primary disaster. Lahar, which is mudflow composed of debris, rubble blocks of volcanic origin transported by water (Lavigne, 2000), is considered the secondary disaster. Lahar is a word Javanese in origin but has become the common terminology for this substance. In the past eruptions of Mt. Merapi, this flow was often observed to have caused huge impacts on the region, and Mt. Merapi’s eruption in 2010 was no exception.

The eruption began on October 26, 2010. Officials noted that about 15,000 people had not yet evacuated, even though several minor eruptions had already occurred prior to October 26 (Global Volcanism Program). The eruption continued intermittently until early November. In this disaster, more than 300 people

died and a considerable number of homes were destroyed. Consequently, many residents evacuated from the disaster site to temporary shelters.

Figure 1: Official Map of Damaged Areas



(Source: Bappenas, *Rencana Aksi Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi Pasca Bencana: Erupsi Gunung Merapi Provinsi D.I. Yogyakarta dan Provinsi Jawa Tengah Tahun 2011-2013*, (<http://bencana.bappenas.go.id/imdff/sites/default/files/filesupload/RENAKSI%20MERAPI%2016%20Juli%202011-lowres.pdf>, accessed on February 15, 2012))

In order to protect the population from the impact of Mt. Merapi’s eruption, policies were put in place that focus on both the general population and later on, with special provisions for the segment of the population deemed to be most vulnerable: among them women, children, and the elderly.

1-2. Review of related literature

Recent trends in Disaster Management involve risk reduction, an integrated approach, community participation and involvement of the vulnerable groups in risk reduction programs. The 1990s was declared as

the International Decade for Disaster Reduction. In this decade, there was a shift of paradigm in disaster management from “emergency response” to risk reduction.

Continuing this paradigm shift, the Hyogo Framework for Action (2005-2015) was set in 2005 in Hyogo, Japan by the International Strategy of Disaster Reduction (ISDR). The conference emphasized a systematic and integrated approach to make risk reduction effort effective. This approach aims to involve national and sub-national stakeholders from government, civil society and the private sector, thereby emphasizing the crucial role of community participation in a disaster management program.

In Indonesia, the National Action Plan for Disaster Risk Reduction (2006-2009, 2010-2012) by UNDP Indonesia, and the National Disaster Management Plan (2010-2014) by the Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management, has reflected the global trend of focusing on risk reduction, an integrated approach and community participation. This was manifested in the Indonesian government’s revision of the law from a centralized to a de-centralized approach and also from an emphasis on emergency response to risk reduction so that community participation and empowerment of the local people can be encouraged.

In line with increasing the involvement of vulnerable groups, Indonesia’s National Action Plan for 2010-2012 and the National Disaster Management Plan for 2010-2014 began to emphasize the importance of women’s involvement in DRR (Disaster Risk Reduction). For example, the plan is to implement gender mainstreaming by giving opportunities for women to take leadership roles in DRR and related activities. In order to understand this emphasis, it is important to understand the general situation or status of women in Indonesia.

1-2-1 Status of women in Indonesia

In Indonesia, most women are considered to have less opportunity socially, economically and politically than men. Some indicators point to this gender disparity. Compared to neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Thailand, the rate of maternal mortality in Indonesia is high: Indonesia, 420; Malaysia, 60; and Thailand, 110 (2003-2008) (藤掛, 2003). Moreover, the illiteracy rate of women is twice that for men with women at 13.3% and men at 6.5% in 2002. The rate for those achieving secondary education is also lower for women than men, with women at 24% and men at 31% in 2010 (UNDP, 2010). One reason given for the discrepancy is religion, which influences daily life and cultural beliefs and practices. Over 85% of Indonesian people are Muslim. One Islamic concept called *Ulamā*, holds an enlightened man-dominated view as moral code and has been among the reasons why women are considered inferior to men in Indonesian society. Fujikake indicated that this disparagement of women also causes unequal conditions of employment and salary for Indonesian women (藤掛, 2003, p. 46).

It is stated that violence against women by men is prevalent in Indonesia, even though there are various laws that protect women’s rights (OECD). According to a 2003 Demographic and Health Survey,

almost 25% of women, who are or once were married, agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife for any of the following reasons: she burns the food; she argues with him; she goes out without telling him; she neglects the children; or she refuses to have sex with him (ibid). In this sense, Indonesian women are aggrieved.

Another notable characteristic of Indonesian women is that early marriage is prevalent in rural areas. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB, 2006), 15% of women who lived in rural areas were married before the age of 15 in 2002. It implies that those women are not well educated because most likely they quit school to become mothers.

The Indonesian government identified gender mainstreaming as one of its goals in order to close, or at least lessen, this gender gap. The government issued gender mainstreaming policies, including a Presidential Decree issued in 2000, and the State Ministry for Women's Empowerment guidelines for gender mainstreaming in 2002 (ibid, p. xi). In addition, Indonesian government realized the need for women members who can articulate the rights of women if the current male-dominated government does not adequately address this issue. Nevertheless, only 11% of parliament is women (ibid) women's political participation was very low in Indonesia's New Order period (ADB, 2006). Under these circumstances, there is little chance for women to assert their rights and reflect them in policy. The ADB argued that there is still fundamental lack of understanding of the benefit from gender mainstream in politics (ibid). Therefore, gender issues remain one of the challenges in Indonesia.

Artati (2011), meanwhile, drew from her experiences in disaster management in the communities around Mt. Merapi and saw the active role that women play in looking after the family and being involved in women's associations that are common in the communities around the area. She asserted that women are no longer vulnerable and should no longer be looked upon as such, but instead should be treated as capable individuals that can be tapped for DRR.

The concept of capability has come from a philosophical perspective, one of which was conceptualized by Amartya Sen. As for poverty regarding women; Sen explained that poverty is caused by the conditions wherein people cannot utilize their capability (Ito, 2009). Women tend to be marginalized and often are prevented from utilizing their capability within social structures (Nussbaum, 2005). Therefore it means that if there were no obstacles preventing women from utilizing their capabilities, they would not be marginalized and could even be agents of change in the society. Nussbaum (2005) further points out that women have capabilities and the ability to achieve opportunities (Nussbaum, 2005). This is often seen in instances where women create associations and improve their own situation.

The same can be said in disaster context. Often times, women are seen as the group to be protected because they are powerless in disaster. However, evidences such as the result of Artati's study showed that in fact, women have power to improve the situation in post disaster situations through their unique role in the

community. Therefore it is quite important to involve women in process of disaster management, including risk reduction.

Being a woman does not make one vulnerable per se; neither does being a man make one capable. Rather, some aspects/roles/ positions in society create these situations and it has an impact on their vulnerability in times of disasters. Therefore, it becomes important to examine which aspects of their roles contribute to their vulnerability, what these roles show about their capabilities, and how men and women can be effectively tapped for risk reduction considering their vulnerabilities and capabilities.

1-3 Statement of the problem

While policies and studies mentioned in the review of related literature speak of women's vulnerability, data on casualties in the Mt. Merapi eruption of 2010 showed that only 28% of those who died from that disaster were women. Artati's assertion that women are no longer vulnerable. likewise raises the need to understand what accounts for women's higher survivability in this disaster and ascertain whether in the case of Mt. Merapi disaster, women are still a vulnerable group.

1-4 Research questions

Given the problem as stated above, this research aims to answer the following questions:

- (1) What roles do women and men play in disaster situations?
- (2) What are the vulnerabilities and capabilities of women in disaster situations?
- (3) How can findings on vulnerability and capability of women inform disaster management practice?

1-5 Research objectives

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- (1) To find out the roles of women and men in disaster situations
- (2) To find out the vulnerabilities and capabilities of women in disaster situations
- (3) To identify policy implications based on the research findings

1-6 Hypotheses

Given the review of related literature, we developed the following hypotheses:

- (1) Women and men play different roles affecting behavior in disaster situations.
- (2) Women are no longer more vulnerable in post disaster than what is generally thought of.
- (3) Women's involvement in disaster management is not maximized and there is a need to find ways to tap their capabilities.

1-7 Methodology

A qualitative methodology was used to attain the objectives of this research. This methodology enabled the group to probe deeper to better understand the role of women and men in disaster situations and the underlying relationships that produce their vulnerability and capability using the research methods as given below

1-7-1 Research methods

Both primary and secondary data were gathered for this research. Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews with nine government agencies at the provincial, district and village levels and at one focus group discussion with government agencies responsible for various aspects of disaster management. Interviews were also conducted with community-based organization, one research institution at Gadjadara University and fifteen households in Gondang and Kentingan shelters. Among the household interviewees, selection was random per shelter and subject to availability of the interviewees. Samples were selected regardless of whether they were victims of primary damage (those affected by pyroclastic) or secondary (those affected by lahar) damage. The entire sample of interviewees has both types of respondents.

Secondary information was gathered through literature review, website, and reports of relevant institutions, government or private organizations.

1-7-2 Research instruments

In conducting the interviews, the group used interview guides that enumerated the sequence of questions to elicit necessary information from the interviewees. Three kinds of interview guides were used; one for government officers, one for NGO staff, and one for primary and secondary victims of disasters, both men and women.

1-7-3 Research site

The 2010 Merapi Eruption caused damages mainly in Magelang Regency, Boyolali Regency and Klaten Regency, which are located in Central Java Province and Sleman Regency, which is located in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The research focused on Sleman Regency because this regency had the largest numbers of casualties. Until December 12, 2010, 277 people died in Sleman, while 109 people died in the other three regencies combined (BAPPENAS, BNPB, 2011). However, this regency has experienced disaster of volcanic eruptions in the past. Therefore, it was expected that there were suitable practices of disaster management in Sleman Regency. In addition, access to this area was advantageous for fieldwork activities.

1-7-3-1 Basic information on Sleman

This regency is located on the northern part of the Yogyakarta Special Region. The population is 850.176 people, with an area is 574,82 km² (Sleman, 2011). This area has a tropical rainforest climate, with rainy season occurring from November to April and dry season from May to October.

The group conducted household interviews at the Gondang and Ketingan shelters, both located in Sleman District. Gondang shelter is about 10km south of the top of Mt. Merapi. Ten kilometers from the top is within the designated hazard zone, yet this area was not affected by lava flows. This shelter was constructed under the initiative of the Indonesian television network, TV One, as part of its charity program. Most interviewees who evacuated to this shelter lived less than 10km from the top of the volcano.

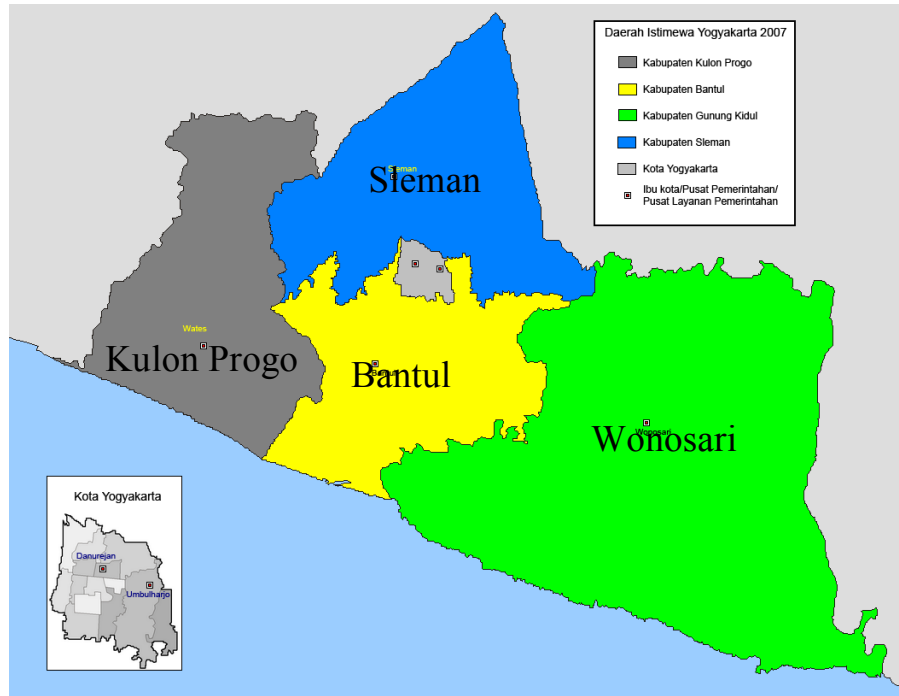
The Ketingan shelter is located 17km south of Mt. Merapi. The interviewees who evacuated to this shelter lived more than 10km from the top, in areas outside of the designated hazard area.

Figure 2: Map Showing Central Java including Yogyakarta Special Region



(Source: <http://baliwww.com/jateng/> accessed on 11 January 2012.)

Figure 3: Map of Sleman District and its Neighboring Districts



(Source: Wikipedia:http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/id/e/e9/Peta_seri_DIY_AA_2007.png., accessed on 5 August, 2011.)

1-8 Scope and limitations

This research covers gendered roles of disaster victims in Merapi area in general, and Sleman District in particular. The group also studied government policies from the preparation stage to the rehabilitation and reconstruction stage. The selection of interviewees was limited only to the covered sites. Sample size was also limited due to time constraints. For some households, both the husband and wife were interviewed although in most instances, it was only the women who were available because the men worked away from home from morning until afternoon. For example, at the Kentingan shelter, the men went to their former land to make a pool for catfish; while the men in Gondang shelter were working on their former land to breed cattle (given from the government), work as sand miners or other occupations.

As for the focus on women in this study, it is important to note that it is not the intention of this to conclude whether or not the women were marginalized. It was noticed during the fieldwork that “gender” and “women” were words laden with meanings giving the impression that the research was attempting to examine the marginalization of women in disaster management. While it is acknowledged that the situation for women in society is important to understand the context, this research is not focused specifically on that point. Rather, the focus of this study is on understanding the roles of women by also looking at the roles of men and to determine differences that could lead to better policies in disaster management.

2. Research Findings

2-1 Gendered roles and responsibilities

Based on the results of the household interviews, it was found that before the disaster, there was no substantial difference of activities between men and women in terms of livelihood. The majority of the interviewees raised cows and supplied milk as their livelihood. Among the households with cows, both wives and husbands were involved in the work. Among the farming households, even women helped with farm duties at the same time, fulfilling their obligations as a housewife. The exception to this shared responsibility trend were the families who used to live in the areas that were be damaged by cold lava. Some of these men started sand mining for their livelihoods, in which case the women were not involved.

When it comes to disaster stages, men tend to play different roles than women. The commonalities and differences of gender roles are summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Activities of Men and Women

		MEN	WOMEN
Before the eruption		Farmers, Cattle breeders Miners,	Cattle breeder, farmers, housewife,
Emergency situation	Gondang Within 10 kms from the top	· Evacuated with elderly. · Returned to feed cows	· Evacuated with children · Collected important documents
	Ketingan Over 10kms from the top	In a panic, they evacuated all together	
At evacuation centers		· Cleaning garbage etc · Looking for livelihood · No activity	· Public kitchen · Caring for their children · Cleaning mosque, toilet etc
In shelters		· Working to get income such as salesman, miners, and so on. · No activity	· Cleaning in mosque etc · Caring for their children

In the emergency stage when the family had to evacuate, roles were different between Ketingan and Gondang respondents. Noting that those who were in Ketingan shelter used to live beyond the designated 10km hazard area, the pyroclastic flow took them by surprise and they panicked. In this case, family members evacuated at the same time. For people living in the Gondang shelter, there was ample time to prepare for evacuation because they had been forewarned. In this case, men tended to evacuate with the elderly, while women tended to evacuate with the children. Experiences in the past disasters also made the difference between

the two shelters. People living in the Gondang shelter stated that they were used to facing pyroclastic and hot lava, while those in Ketingan shelter, said they were used to being affected by cold lava.

In the evacuation center, men and women also play different roles. Men's activities are centered on income generating activities or helping in cleaning the vicinity of the evacuation shelter. Women, on the other hand, are focused on taking care of the children, cleaning and participating in the public kitchen.

Effects from the differences in the damage from eruption could also be seen between the two shelters. While people in Ketingan seem to be struggling with lack of livelihoods because many were injured and lost their source of income, people in Gondang seemed to be better off because many of them had already started their new jobs, such as mining or breeding cows. The likely reason for this difference was the location of their communities before the eruption. The people living in Ketingan lived beyond the 10 kms radius from the Mt. Merapi and did not evacuate before the pyroclastic flow reached them. They were not prepared and did not expect that pyroclastic flow would reach them. As a result, a huge number of people in the community were injured. In addition, the community they lived in relied on farming more than in other income resources such as mining. Therefore, the recovery of those who were at the Ketingan shelter tended to be more delayed than those at Gondang.

Upon transferring from the evacuation center to temporary shelters, women still focused on taking care of the children, while men were in charge of finding a means of livelihood. Government and donors held livelihood trainings in shelters. Some training sessions, like making accessories and making ginger tea were for women only, while the men were beneficiaries of livelihood training like catfish rearing. Trauma healing services were open to all disaster survivors, although in reality, only women and children took advantage of these services. The explanation given during the household interviews was that compared to men, women and children are more likely to be traumatized from experiencing the disaster.

Once the family transferred from temporary shelter to permanent housing, the lives of the family tended to normalize. At this stage, men were primarily concerned with earning income for the family, while women were focused on taking care of the children. With the exception of those whose jobs that were in the service sector, most of the respondents either found a means of livelihood different from that they had before the eruption, or retained the same, e.g. farming/cow raising, but on a decreased scale and level of income.

2-2 Access to information

Access to information related to dealing with disasters is very important in disaster management. In most cases, this determines one's ability to survive. The research found that in the pre-disaster stage, gender was not a determinant on whether they were able to access information or not. Rather, the main determinant was the hazard zone designation. The government's designated hazard zone was 10 kilometers from the top of Mt. Merapi. This was estimated based on the experience from a former eruption and on the assumption that

future damage would only occur there, the government implemented disaster risk reduction programs to only those who were living within the 10 km range. Projects implemented include simulations, training and information dissemination, which they call *socialization programs*. Local leaders were also asked to identify vulnerable people – elderly, people with illness or mental illness and women with children - within the community, so that they can be prioritized during the disaster.

In contrast, the areas beyond 10 kilometers did not have access to any disaster risk reduction programs. When the volcanic eruption turned out to be bigger than expected, the people in these areas were caught unprepared. This explains why there were more people who were injured and died in these areas than in the areas within the 10 km range.

Among those who lived within the 10 km range and had disaster risk reduction programs made available, the research found that the way of accessing information is different between men and women. Women gained access to information through Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) or family welfare education meeting; Posyandu, a community-based service to improve child survival and development; or their husbands who are involved in DRR trainings. In general, women had more opportunity to access DRR information because of their social roles. In general, PKK covered all women in each village but not all of them participated in PKK. The number of passive members in PKK was larger than the active ones and therefore, not all women could access the DRR information.

Males gained access to information through the environment (seeing signs of the volcano), hamlet or village government initiatives through Rukun Tetanga (RT), an official government association which is the lowest strata of the local government's organizational structure. It would be worth noting that the eruption in 2010 reached farther than could logically be predicted. On a positive note, government programs in the communities where they were implemented did make a difference in preparing the people.

The roles of the women included the spreading of information to neighbors, joining as Posyandu, participating as health cadres and participation in Wajib Latih, a government-initiated training for DRR. Among the male interviewees, however, only a few were able to participate in DRR-related government projects. The reasons for this may be: (1) the limitation of interviewees and not having more male respondents who had participated in the preparation stage; (2) the timing of the implementation of these projects, which meant that men were out in the field or working outside their homes; and (3) the manner of selecting participants, by which participants were selected on the basis of vulnerability to disaster or by invitation from the village government.

In the emergency stage, until the rehabilitation and reconstruction, these different ways of accessing information could no longer be observed. During these stages, information about available governmental programs or opportunities tended to be shared within households.

2-3 Government's pre-disaster initiatives

The government's policy of decentralized disaster management left the local governments and provincial arms of national agencies with the discretion to create policies which best suit the situation on the ground. Among the policies initiated by the government was the *Wajib Latih*, socialization on *PKK* and *Posyandu*, and simulation.

In *Wajib Latih*, health cadres receive training that will enable them to respond to emergency situations. Disaster preparedness information is also disseminated through *Socialization Programs* at which government representatives attend, such as meetings of *PKK* or the Indonesian Neighborhood Organization and *Posyandu*, in case of health cadres. *Posyandu* is a regular activity where women with children meet for children's health checkups. Using simulation in drills, people are taught what to do during the disasters.

2-4 Post-disaster initiatives

In the post-disaster stage, more actors are involved. Cooperative linkages of government with other donors were also observed, starting from the early recovery stage to rehabilitation and reconstruction. In the early recovery stage where the survivors are still in the evacuation center, daily supplies like foodstuffs and clothes were coming from both the government and private sector, consisting of private companies, educational institutions and other volunteers.

In the rehabilitation stage where the survivors are already in temporary shelters, the same coordination can be seen, with the added services in the form of livelihood training and assistance like catfish rearing and seeds for planting vegetables; making accessories and producing ginger tea as training for women; monetary assistance from the government; and trauma healing sponsored by the Faculty of Psychology at the Universitas Gadjadara and Islamic University.

To facilitate reconstruction and rehabilitation, the biggest project is the Java Reconstruction Fund (JRF) and REKOMPAK (Community-Based Settlement Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Program). JRF and REKOMPAK were originally established to support disaster recovery from the 2006 Java earthquake and tsunami. The European Union, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Canada, Finland, Denmark and the Asian Development Bank donated a total of US\$94.1 million to JRF, which was administered by the World Bank. Of the total budget, US\$75.12 million was contributed to REKOMPAK, including US\$3.5 million for the eruption. In the 2010 eruption, the government of Indonesia asked JRF and REKOMPAK to assist with the recovery and reconstruction, thus extending their duration from 2011 to 2012.

REKOMPAK is one of the main actors in the recovery phase of the 2010 eruption. It aims to rebuild houses and community infrastructure, as well as in investing in disaster preparedness and mitigation in affected villages using a community-driven approach. This community driven program was adopted because of the success of similar programs for the recovery after the Tsunami in Aceh.

Evaluation results highlight the effectiveness of REKOMPAK's project for many reasons. Among these reasons is that this type of project can result in a higher degree of satisfaction among the beneficiaries and a sense of community ownership. Because the project can involve various groups of people, women, children men and the elderly, the information is spread to everyone and the community can be stronger and more resilient. This function is very important in reflecting specific needs of marginalized groups like women and elderly (JRF Secretariat, 2011).

It is likely that JRF and REKOMPAK strive to uphold a gender equality strategy. The World Bank report (2007) says that the project will systematically administer gender equality with a minimum of 30% local female facilitators and consultants and also a minimum of 30% women participation in community meetings. In addition, socialization and focus group discussion activities will be conducted specifically for women. However, whether or not these indicators were achieved in the field could not be confirmed due to limited data. Most disaster victims, both men and women, were satisfied with the response to the eruption. However, because they did not have the opportunity to join the simulation and have since realized its importance, many said that they would like to have a pre-disaster program. As one interviewee from REKOMPAK recognized, the government and other institutions still have room to utilize the potential of women.

A community-based approach was evaluated from the women's participation but again, due to limited data, it was difficult to know if the indicators above were reached in the field. It is possible that women's participation was still not sufficient and that the potential of the local women have not been fully utilized yet.

3. Analysis

3-1 Policy and practice: matches and gaps

From our interview data, it was apparent that government policies and intentions matched the results of interviews with the households. These interviews were conducted separately, indicating that the other party did not taint the data.

As an example, both the government and local people acknowledged the importance of cows as a part their livelihoods. Both of them pointed out that the cows were source of income, helping them to buy their daily foods and goods. Thus, for local people, cows were among the important assets to be saved at the time of disaster. During the eruption in 2010, some men were reluctant to evacuate because of their cows, while others went to the evacuation centers but returned to their houses to feed and attempted to evacuate their cows to a safe place. In response to this, there was one community where the government initiated a program to evacuate the cows. However, the pyroclastic flow all reached the place where they were evacuated. Not all cattle owners were involved in evacuating the cows and many cattle still died. The government responded with compensation. The importance placed on the value of cows resulted in an appropriate government response.

Second, the role of women was recognized in disaster management. An Indonesian policy paper indicated the importance of women's participation in DRR activities because of their vulnerability. During the interviews, some of the government officers mentioned women's activities during DRR (Wajib Latih, PKK, Health Kadre, etc). They took part in the initiatives and facilitated trainings for local people. In addition, there were men who didn't participate in disaster simulations who stated that they would follow their wife's instruction in case of a disaster. Therefore, women have potential role for DRR activity and should be regarded as important.

Third, both the citizens and government agreed that the designated hazard zone was insufficient to deal with the eruption. A government officer pointed out that the scale of this eruption had been beyond their expectation. Local people who dwelled in areas that they considered safe mentioned that the eruption was so big that it reached beyond hazard zone. As previously mentioned, areas beyond the hazard area did not have a DRR program and early warning systems. This was why they didn't hear sirens or announcements and didn't participate in DRR.

Fourth, both parties recognized the importance of local people to communicate through indigenous channels. The government's method of spreading disaster related information through the long-established PKK and Posyandu in communities is laudable. With regard to the communication tools utilized, both sides recognized the importance of using a handheld transceiver which is locally known as *Handy Talky* in emergencies. Local people used *Handy Talky* to spread information about the condition of Mt. Merapi in order to flee from dangerous places. They also spread information about safe evacuation places. At that time, the *Handy Talky* functioned as a useful tool that enabled local people to avoid risks caused by the eruption.

Among the gaps, however, is the assumptions placed on the access to and spread of information. For the pre-disaster training, the government chose only representatives of the villages, perhaps due to constraints in capacity and budget. Among those who were selected to participate for the information dissemination activities were members of vulnerable groups, village officials and the health cadre and were chosen based on their qualities of being active community members. In this way, participation was limited only to a few. It was assumed that information would spread from these core people out into the community. The results of the household interviews showed that information did not spread as expected. While some participants spread the information to neighbors and family members before in the pre-disaster stage, during the actual emergency, their own family remained the priority.

3-2 Vulnerabilities and capabilities of women and men

Some situations during early recovery were found to highlight the vulnerabilities of women on one hand, and capabilities on the other. For example, in the evacuation centers there was no segregation of men and women, which raised the need for facilities for women in the evacuation center. For example, sleeping areas

and bathrooms were not separated and all refugees had to sleep in the same place. There were reports of sexual harassment and human trafficking of women during the evacuation stage, taking advantage of their vulnerability. There was also report of sexual harassment caused by volunteers who were supposed to be helping the refugees.

Women also tend to be more concerned with problems related to the welfare of children and other family members. The food that was distributed in the evacuation centers was found to be non-palatable for children or inappropriate for babies and lacking in nutrition for elderly and pregnant women.

The capability of women was also gleaned from the interview results. In particular, women have more access to information through community channels. This proved to be an advantage in spreading disaster risk reduction information. Many women in Indonesia are housewives who usually stay at home and have more time than men. The schedule of evacuation simulation training suits their availability, giving them more opportunities to obtain information about disaster risk reduction. They likewise have opportunities to spread the information to neighbors more so than the men in the community.

Likewise, men have their own vulnerabilities and capabilities. For instance, men were injured more frequently than women during the disaster. Since men tended to be the head of households and they were often physically stronger than women, they had the first responsibility of finding the way of evacuation at the time when Mt. Merapi erupted. A male interviewee was injured while trying to get the motorcycle to evacuate with his family. Because ash covered his eyes, he lost his sight and fell into hot lava resulting in a loss of his hands and feet. Another male interviewee also stated that many men died after the eruption when they attempted to return to their homes to save property such as cows.

Another surprising finding about men's vulnerability revealed in the interview was the discrepancy in post-disaster treatment. Even though many men were traumatized after the eruption, almost all post-trauma healing activities were prepared and implemented only for women and children. There was also a lack of activities for men in the evacuation centers. While women had activities working in the public kitchen or cleaning the facilities, some men in the interview stated that they spent doing almost nothing in evacuation center and there were few activities for them. Therefore, this area could be considered for improvement, as men's capabilities can also be tapped not only for their family but also for communal work at the evacuation center.

During the recovery stage, men primarily think of ways to raise income for their families. Livelihood opportunities offered are different not only between genders, but also between shelters, depending on the priorities of the donors and the needs that they perceive as necessary for the victims to recover.

4. Conclusion

Results of the research confirm that there are stages in disaster management when knowledge of the gender roles is important in order to maximize the effectiveness of project implementation. In this research, it was shown that, whether or not the community is able to access information is related to disaster preparedness and depends on the government as the first initiator. On the other hand, the manner of accessing information was found to be different between women and men, especially in the pre-disaster stage. There were also differences in responsibilities between genders during the emergency stage, like the findings that women tend to evacuate with children and men tend to evacuate with the elderly. Also in the early recovery stage, when women are in charge of taking care of the family. It is acknowledged that women have vulnerabilities, yet this reality should not overshadow the central role of the women in their families and the community to the extent that their capabilities are not tapped.

Moreover, this research recognizes the importance of community-based organizations in dealing with disasters and the government's initiative to use these various channels is vital to the success of DRR efforts. In addition, understanding the cultural context is necessary. In this case, for instance, knowing how people value their cows and understanding that there are traditional beliefs that make them behave in a way that is contradictory to safety should be taken into consideration.

4-1 Policy implications and recommendations

Following the foregoing conclusions, the different roles of men and women in different stages of disaster can be valuable information when designing the content of training, as well as the timing and modes of implementation of DRR programs for both genders. In the pre-disaster stage, we found their unique ways of accessing information brought about by their daily roles. It would be helpful, for instance, to disseminate DRR related information for men during the time that they are home during the week or on weekends. Furthermore, if there is a need to limit the participants of the information drive due to administrative or budget constraints, it would also be helpful to have a means of assessing the extent of which the information is spread out to the communities. Ways to achieve this could be a short survey or DRR knowledge questionnaire that could be distributed and collected on a schedule that suits the community.

On the cultural and economic aspects, the research found that cows were very important to the people in the communities. Therefore, it would be helpful if there was an evacuation system that included the protection of livestock.

Based on the findings it is clear that families in general are in need of financial recovery after the disaster. While this has budgetary impacts on the government, it is beneficial to guard against unrealistic expectations. In the post-disaster phase where people have lost their livelihoods, it is usual for the victims to

expect a certain level of compensation. In the case of Mt. Merapi, victims were promised financial support but received less than what was promised and this contributed to dissatisfaction.

On the preventive side of financing disaster losses, it is necessary to create an insurance system that is focused on disaster damages or a cooperative type of system established in groups within the community. Members can contribute financial resources to this cooperative as preparation for disaster, so that in the aftermath of a disaster, losses can be recovered. The researchers view this as feasible given that the interviews at the Kentingan shelter revealed that they have Arison, a system of pooling in money in hamlet. This was well utilized by a family who lost their income source and could not get any financial aid from government. This is an indigenous method that may be appropriate for buffering against losses.

Other recommendations based on the observed issues on the ground are as follows:

4-1-1 The need for psychological support

As mentioned earlier in the analysis, women pay much attention to children. Some female interviewees sometimes said that they were very worried about their children's mental condition when they were in evacuation center or shelter. Sometimes children have trauma because of their horrible experience during the evacuation and did not want to attend school because of their condition. Therefore, proper psychological care for children in evacuation centers and shelters should be enhanced. This can also ease the mothers' anxiety about their children.

Considering the budget and technical issues, one solution could be to cooperate with specialists such as students or lecturers in the universities and psychiatrists near to the affected community. Some universities have already assisted the affected people, but it is mostly targeted towards adults. Thus, it is desirable if the government can expand the partnership with the psychological specialists suggested above to improve the children's psychological conditions post-disaster.

4-1-2 Creating employment opportunities

Most men and some women were very worried about their financial situation. However, the opportunity to get a job in the evacuation center or shelter was very limited. For example, many men in the Gondang Shelter worked in the service industry, especially in Merapi golf course, or as sand miners. In order to support their finances, a direct subsidy from government could be one solution but encouraging/promoting a new industry in the district near to the victims' new location is preferable because it would be more sustainable. This would entail collaboration between the government and private sector. The government could provide a subsidy to companies who want to operate their businesses in the area, thus giving impetus to improve the rural economy in safe areas around Mount Merapi. It would eventually provide opportunities for the victims to get new jobs rather than rely on external assistance. The experiences of Japan in the aftermath of the 2011 Tohoku

earthquake and tsunami are examples of this. Some manufacturing companies such as RENGO are planning to build new factory in Tohoku area to promote the devastated rural economy. A similar strategy may be tried in Indonesia.

5. Acknowledgment

This report is the product of a process, even though it was tedious, has enriched us all, in knowledge and experience. We hereby acknowledge the contributions of our professors, fellow students, and counterparts.

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In all of these stages, we were sustained by the attention to details and management skills of Professor Penghuy, and the direction, encouragement, and guidance by our adviser, Professor Shoko Yamada.

From this working group, Terima Kasih!

6. Footnote

ⁱ RENGO is a paper manufacturing company in Japan. See also <http://www.rengo.co.jp/english/index.html>, and http://www.rengo.co.jp/news/2011/img/pdf/2011_news_020.pdf (accessed on January 15, 2012)

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Working Group 3

Factors Affecting Migration in Indonesia **—The Case of Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro—**

1. Introduction
2. General Information on Labor Migration in Indonesia
3. Migrant Composition
4. Factors Affecting Migrants and Their Families
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7. Acknowledgements
8. References

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Factors Affecting Migration in Indonesia

—The Case of Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro—

1. Introduction

Originally having a multiethnic formation, Indonesia was the pole of attraction for many different cultures, seeing the arrival of Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims in different moments of its history. Migration, therefore, has been playing a decisive role in the making of Indonesia's socio, cultural, political and economical order.

The age of Great Navigations in the 16th century brought Indonesia under the control of the Netherlands, undergoing even deeper transformations and changing the patterns of migration. In order to cope with overpopulation on Java Island, and to dismantle social discontent against the colonization, the Dutch administration systematically selected Javanese people to move to the outer islands, assuring the control over the less populated areas and repelling the danger of foreign control. This pattern of induced migration came to be known as "Transmigrasi" (Transmigration), becoming a powerful instrument of policymaking and becoming a constant in Indonesian society.

After the proclamation of independence in 1945 and the centralization of the new government under president Sukarno, Transmigrasi was not only kept as a key policy but also further expanded, becoming more and more important in the national security policy. However, it was during President Suharto's New Order period (1966-1998) that it reached its maximum scope, reallocating hundred of thousands of families to all corners of the Indonesian archipelago. It was just with the end of New Order in 1998 that Transmigrasi would finally lose momentum, its holistic dimension and its original political weight. Nevertheless, this program is still alive today and Indonesian people can freely volunteer to transmigrate to the outer islands, receiving land in exchange of settling their lives there. As this working group discovered, however, Transmigrasi is losing appeal with young generations, which are less willing to pay the high costs imposed by transmigrating to distant islands (APMM, 2003).

Concurrent to this trend, international migration expanded towards the end of the New Order period. The economic bonanza enjoyed by Middle East oil exporting countries and the rapid economic growth experienced by South-East and East Asian countries have opened many opportunities for employment, especially low-skilled posts, propelling poor Indonesian people to seek better conditions and jobs abroad.

However, 78% of Indonesian international migrant workers are women (IOM, 2010). Right after finishing high school, or even before, Indonesian young women are increasingly migrating to countries such as Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Singapore or Hong Kong to work as housemaids, caregivers, babysitters or salesclerks. Many of them go abroad several times, shifting between employers, types of work, cities and even countries, spending a long time out of Indonesia. These prolonged absences has

brought both positive and negative impacts to their lives, to their families and ultimately to their villages of origin, which will be explained in this report.

1-1 Research Objective

Migration, which can be simply defined as the movement of an individual or a group of individuals between places, has a series of impacts not only on the livelihood of the migrant agents, but on their own families, their community of origin and the community they are hosted in. In light of this, this Working Group focused its main research question on understanding what are the effects of migration on the lives of the migrants, of their family members and ultimately the benefits for the village as a whole.

To reach this objective we divided the main research question into three related questions. The first focused on investigating how migration takes place in three specific stages: before departure, during the stay in the host community or country and after returning back home. Through this the research aimed to understand the reasons that propelled people to migrate, how life was for the migrants and their families during the migration period and what were the benefits they achieved for themselves, their families and their villages after returning.

For the second question focus was placed on understanding the ex-migrants' roles in influencing the migration patterns of the village. In other words, the research studied how ex-migrants influence the younger generations to migrate, to choose possible destinations and the type of work they can do, through the sharing of their own experiences. This channel of information between the ex-migrants and the prospective ones has a great weight in the decision making of the new generation of migrants.

The third question changes the focus of the second and specifically targets the role of the head of the village in influencing the migration patterns of the village. As pointed out by the second question, villagers share information within their families and their neighbors, but the head of the village may or may not play a greater role in supporting the prospective migrants. The study investigated whether there was specific information, connections with agents and public officers or even sharing their own case of migration as types of influence given by the village head. When the head of the village has an active role, it was found that the success rate of migration increased considerably.

1-2 Methodology and Data Collection

In order to access the information pertaining migration in the fieldwork, several interviews were conducted with the actors related to the migration phenomenon. The interviews were comprised of questions that aimed to identify, quantify and qualify the information and characteristics of the three stages of migration, the effects on the migrant's life, for his/her family and his/her village.

The interviews were conducted at two levels. First, interviews were held at official institutions related to migration control, as well as the municipal administration of the villages targeted for this

research. Access to official information and statistics was given, which expanded the understanding of Indonesian policy for migration. In addition to these, a visit to one private agency offered the perspective of a private actor on how Indonesian migrants responds to international labor market dynamics.

The second round of interviews was at the village level. Ex-migrants were interviewed in their own houses and asked about their experiences during the three stages of migration. In order to understand what were the impacts on family's life, interviews were also held with immediate relatives (spouse, father, mother, brothers and sisters) and asked the following questions:

- a) How was life before his/her departure? What were the reasons that made him/her decide to migrate? How did he/she get the information about the employment at the destination?
- b) How was life during migration? Was the migrant able to adapt to the environment of work, as well as the conditions of life in the village or to the culture of the country? Was he/she well received by the employer or were there hardships?
- c) During the migrant's absence, how did the family manage to take care of the household? In which ways were the remittances they received from the migrant helped the family's income generation?
- d) What changed after the migrant arrived back home? Did he/she manage to save money and invest back in the village? Did he/she obtain any knowledge/ability that could be applied at home?
- e) How did the family perceive the migrant after he/she arrived back to the village? Did he/she suffer any substantial change in the personality? Did the relationship with the family change?

In order to have a broader scope about the village itself, the head of the village was also interviewed. He was asked about the patterns of migration of the village: what were the main destinations and types of work performed, what were the difficulties they normally face before, during and after migration and how the head of the village helped during the three stages?

2. General Information on Labor Migration in Indonesia

Antecedent to the research, definitions for several types of migration were set. They were divided into two categories: domestic migration and international migration. This paper, showing several figures, will introduce the current situation of migration in Indonesia.

2-1 Domestic

As a definition for this research, domestic migration is the movement of people within Indonesia. This domestic migration has several forms: Transmigrasi, seasonal migration and other types of migration (rural-urban, rural-rural).

2-1-1 Transmigrasi

As a definition, Transmigrasi is the government policy to support people to migrate with their families from higher populated areas to lower populated areas. The word of 'Transmigrasi' corresponds semantically to the word 'transmigration.' The government offers the applicants opportunities to work in areas such as cultivation and then transports them to undeveloped areas. Transmigrasi workers then acts as pioneers in the process of creation of a new settlement area, through cultivation. Thus, it can be said that the Transmigrasi policy has a significant relationship to domestic or regional development in Indonesia.

Different rulers have used Transmigrasi policy through the ages. During the Dutch colonization in the 17th century, emigration of Javanese people to other regions and islands were encouraged by authorities as a way to secure the dominance over the outer islands, assuring access to agricultural and raw materials. Under the Transmigrasi program, migration was extensively used by the Dutch as a way to reach these resources and disperse social unrest from the economic exploitation and demographic pressures of Java, pushing a great number of Javanese people to migrate to less densely populated areas such as Papua, Kalimantan, Sumatra and Sulawesi.

However, it was during the New Order, established by Suharto in 1966, that Transmigrasi reached a bigger scope. More than assuring access to natural resources, migration was seen as a tool to assure regional development for nation building and for national security. The wave of decolonization after the end of the Second World War prompted the Indonesian government to reassure the sovereignty over the outer lands. In order to support the industrialization process, Suharto put into practice a five-year plan (Repelita), which aimed to move a considerable number of people from densely populated areas, mostly in Java, to the outer islands in order to make development a more diffused process.

During this period transmigration played a crucial role in assuring the population process of the outer islands and to assert the control over the national territory. International conflicts such as the "Konfrontasi" (a conflict during 1962 to 1966 between Indonesian and Malaysia over the incorporation of North Borneo to the Federation of Malaysia), border conflicts with Papua New Guinea and the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia in 1975, put a great stress on the central government in assuring that national territories were properly populated and controlled by Indonesian people (CHUA, 2000). To reach this goal transmigration was extensively promoted, with hundreds of thousands of families being appointed to migrate to these critical, less-populated areas. Through this policy, the central government aimed to drive away the fear of foreign expansion and control of national territories. In fact, it is accurate to affirm that transmigration helped to consolidate the presence of Indonesian people in the outer islands and the preservation of national territory during the uncertainties of the Cold War era.

However, during the 1990's a series of changes came into play on the national and international scene, helping to alleviate this pressure of territory conflicts. Though it is not possible to say that disputes among South-East Asian countries are over, the end of the bipolar system, the rise of globalization and the

spread of democracy and market values have helped governments to reduce, to some extent, an ultra nationalist approach on militarism and border issues. As a consequence, transmigration programs have shown signs of losing the original political component and undergoing some changes.

After the end of New Order in 1998, Indonesia underwent a structural period of reformation called the “Masa Reformasi.” In general terms, this reformation enabled Indonesian society to experience more political, social and economical freedom and self-determinacy. Transmigration policy also underwent several modifications, adapting itself to the needs of the new reality of Indonesian life. First, the selection of transmigrants has become more voluntary and fluid. During the New Order, the indication for a family to transmigrate would mean a rather strict, imposed decision and refusal of the terms of transmigration were not accepted. In most of the cases transmigrants were entrusted with the task of creating villages in the middle of the jungle, putting their families and their own lives at risk. There was an overall lack of infrastructure, official support and especially information about the destination, which meant transmigrants had to blindly abide to preset conditions.

With the Masa Reformasi, transmigration became more flexible. Now it is essentially based on the free will of families to state their intention in becoming transmigrants rather than the opposite. During the New Order the control of recruiting and placement of transmigrants were essentially carried out by the central government. Nowadays, since an extensive decentralization was introduced, the provincial level has more power to conduct the selection and allocation process, while the central government focuses on the general management. An evaluation process is carried out by the sending and receiving provinces, aimed at identifying the benefits and problems experienced by the transmigrants and look for ways to improve both sides.

The flow of information about the destinations is more fluid and transmigrants are more aware of what to expect. The main objective of the program today has a focus on economic issues, primarily to promote regional development. Surely enough, by incentivizing the development of less populated areas, countries can avoid the peril of foreign reclamation and sovereignty. It is accurate to say that territory building is still shaping the factors of transmigration, though not as strong as in the past. Some of the destinations already have some sort of infrastructure and adjusting to the life there is a little easier. The migrants have freedom to choose to return to their villages, though they lose their rights over the land and travel expenses are not covered.

The emergence of several dynamics of migration within Indonesian society have allowed people to migrate with more freedom within rural areas, from rural to urban areas and eventually from rural areas to different countries. This has brought new variables to the role of Transmigrasi. What differ from the current transmigration policy and its version of the past are not its main concepts and pillars, but how it is conducted and put into practice today. Flexibility and more self-determinacy for transmigrants have helped this program to survive the new dynamics of migration that Indonesia has experienced. Nevertheless,

transmigration is still an active vehicle for migration to the outer islands in order to gain property in exchange for settling and cultivating the land.

2-1-2 Seasonal and Others

Seasonal migration is another type of migration that involves people leaving their village temporarily to make a living. In Indonesia, farmers temporarily have seasonal periods when they cannot make a living due to shortage of water during the dry season. Therefore, during these seasons, they tend to move to another village or town to seek employment opportunities.

Two other types of migration were examined: rural-urban migration and rural-rural migration. Both of these migration types are irrespective of seasonal situations yet other types of migration may overlap with seasonal migration.

2-2 International

As a definition, international migration is the movement of people from Indonesia to countries overseas. In this section, the migration policy of the government and current migration tendencies will be shown [IOM, 2010, pp9-40].

International migration of Indonesians overseas has a very long history, tracing back to the period of before Dutch colonization. However, a proper national policy that created a framework to control and organize the flow of nationals between borders was introduced only during the New Order period. Under the current economic situation and with a relatively high population of working age citizens compared to other South-East Asian countries, the unemployment rate in Indonesia is also high, despite the high level of economic growth. Thus, there is a great demand for job opportunities. In contrast to the Indonesian situation, there are global labor shortages. Therefore, applicants who want to migrate have the opportunity to seek jobs overseas. Moreover, the Indonesian human poverty index is higher than the main destination countries, enabling migrants to earn a comparatively higher salary in the destination countries. Thus, Indonesian labor migrants are willing to go to overseas rather than staying in Indonesia.

Pertaining to the systems and law of international migration, in order to manage better working conditions in destination countries, the Indonesian government enacted laws that protect migrants' human rights and have indicated that it is the responsibility of recruiting agencies in helping to create an efficient migration process. For example, in 2004, the National Law on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (Law No. 39/2004) was passed in the Parliament. This law helps to ensure salaries and decent work conditions in destination countries. Because the influx of remittances into Indonesia from destination countries affects fiscal budgets, the Indonesian government wants to engage in international migration policy. In this context, the government is currently cooperating with a number of destination

countries for the placement of Indonesian labor migrants abroad. Also, irregular migration, which leads overseas workers to lose official status, is a challenging issue for the government. In particular, human trafficking is the most extreme case of exploitation in the realm of irregular migration. Although this report does not discuss this problem in detail, it is combined with criminal punishment by the Law No. 21/2007.

Article 5 of Law No. 39/2004 states the two roles of government: excursion (arrange, guide, implement) and supervision. Article 82 of Law No. 39/2004 requires recruiting agencies to ‘be responsible for labor migrants’ protection in accordance with the employment agreement.’

The following table describes the current migration tendency. As the above tables illustrate, the number of Indonesian labor migrants increased from 517,169 to 696,746 despite the fluctuating number of labor migrants between 1996 and 2007. It also increased 21% between 2004 and 2007. In addition while the gender of migrants is relatively the same in 1996, recently, the majority of Indonesian labor migrants are women.

Table 1: Placement of Indonesian Labor Migrants by Gender

Gender	1996		2000		2004		2007	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Men	228,337	44	137,949	32	84,075	22	152,887	22
Women	288,832	56	297,273	68	296,615	78	543,859	78
Total	517,169	100	435,22	100	380,690	100	696,746	100

Source: BNP2TKI (National Authority for the Placement of Indonesian Overseas Workers) (2006).

Table 2: Placement of Indonesian Labor Migrants by Major Destination Country in 2009

No.	Destination Country	Total
1	Malaysia	222,198
2	Singapore	37,496
3	Brunei Darussalam	5,852
4	Hong Kong SAR	29,973
5	Republic of Korea	3,830
6	Japan	96
7	Taiwan Province of China	50,810
8	Saudi Arabia	257,217
9	Kuwait	25,756
10	UAE	28,184
11	Bahrain	2,267

12	Qatar	10,449
13	Jordan	12,062
14	Oman	7,150

Source: BNP2TKI (National Authority for the Placement of Indonesian Overseas Workers) (2009b).

Around 60% of Indonesian labor migrants go to countries in the Middle East, such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. Migrants who go to the Middle East are mostly women working as housemaids, corresponding to the increase in women migration. Others are deployed to countries in South East and East Asia, such as Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong SAR. Above all, Malaysia is the main destination because labor migrants can integrate easily into the Malaysian society due to the similarities in ethnicity, culture and language between the two countries.

3. Migrant Composition

3-1 Research Sites

Research was conducted in Plembutan village and Ngoro-Oro village. Each village has its own unique characteristics even though both are located within the same regency (Gunung Kidul).

Plembutan is bigger than Ngoro-Oro (see Table 3.1). The main source of income for both villages is farming and both face periods of seasonal dry conditions with little rain, making it difficult to use water for farming during the dry season. In the past, both villages had to buy water, but nowadays they have pumps to provide water from underground.

Plembutan is a village that was recognized as a pioneer village in the Gunung Kidul District for sending migrants abroad. There are 11 sub- villages. The village has a long history and experience in dealing with the international migration issue. In the early 1980's, the destination was only to Saudi Arabia.

Upon return, the village community requires that the successful migrants pay a 150,000 Rupiah as a community fee. In this way, ex-migrants who succeeded in the migration are required to contribute financially for the development of their home village. The sub-district level and village head level are actively trying to increase their own income sources within the village to be able to introduce a new catfish pond project to the farmers. The catfish pond is made from plastic covers and it enables farmers to grow and breed catfish by themselves. The catfish pond is highly dependent on the village head. Actually, the sub-leader of Plembutan village has his own huge catfish pond and he is very successful in his own business.

Ngoro-Oro village is in the mountainous area, with limited farming area. The rice field is on a slope and terraced paddy farming is practiced. The village maintains several towers for TV and mobile signals and these companies are investing some money into the village. Ngoro-Oro is also actively sending

migrants workers abroad and the village is well-known as the home of numerous migrant workers. They also have experience sending transmigrants to other islands. The other feature of Ngoro-Oro village is the strong community association. They have no community fee for ex-migrants, but if migrants are successful they often pay the community by themselves. The money is mainly used for the mosque. The villagers know who is migrating and neighbors often try to help with housekeeping while the migrant is out of the village. The village head is actually the most influential person for migration and readily encourages people to migrate.

Table 3: Basic Information of Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro

	Plembutan	Ngoro-Oro
Total Population (2010)	5345	3726
Numbers of Households (2010)	1224	932
Main Source of Income	Farming →Producing corns and cassava	Farming → Producing rice and cassava
Number of International Migrants	120	333
Features	Pioneer village in the Gunung Kidul District for sending migrants abroad	Home for numerous migrant workers

Source: 2011 OFW Preparatory Seminar

3-2 Profile of Interviewees

Before departure, the interviewees shared the same motivation: money. No matter the different ways to utilize money, they left Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro alone to earn money. Ex-migrants and advertisements encouraged them, yet often they did not know clearly what they were going to do in the host countries. The migrants faced the dilemma of whether to stay with their family or migrate in order to support the family. The necessary steps were mostly taken by agents who also provided training.

While staying in host countries, employers arranged accommodations for the migrants. They typically worked for about 12 hours per day. In addition, housemaids, baby-sitters and caregivers had to work whenever their employer needed them. Since these jobs required time spent with their employers, a number of interviewees came back home because they could not get along with their employer. On the other hand, other interviewees were treated well and their employer asked them to return. All the interviewees stayed in contact with their families while in the host countries and made remittances. Most of the migrants left the host countries when their contract ended.

Table4: Profile of Interviewees

	Name	Age	Educational background	Year	Type of migration
Plembutan	Mrs. A	42	Elementary school	unknown	Domestic
				1998-2000	International
				2010-2011	International
	Mrs. B	40	Junior high school (dropout)	1986-1998	International
				1998-2004	International
	Ms. C	34	Junior high school	2000-2011	International
	Ms. D	38	Senior high school	1991-1992	Domestic
				2000-2009	International
	Ms. E	30	Senior high school	2001-2003	International
				2003-2010	International
Ngoro-Oro	Mrs. F	30	Vocational school	1999-2001	International
				2008-2011	International
	Mr. G	31	Senior high school	1999-2001	International
				2002-2004	International
	Mrs. H	44	Elementary school (dropout)	1991-1993	International
	Mrs. I	43	Junior high school	1985-1987	International
				1992-1994	International
				2003-2007	International
	Mr. J		Elementary school	1985 (2 months)	Transmigrasi
	Mrs. K	42	Junior high school	1985-1987	International
1989-1991				International	
1994-1996				International	
1997-1999				International	
2001-2003				International	
Mrs. L	47	Junior high school	1984-1986	Transmigrasi	
			1986-1995	Transmigrasi	
			1995-1997	International	
			1997-2000	International	

	Name	Destination	Occupation	Working conditions
Plembutan	Mrs. A	Yogyakarta	Housemaid	7 hours a day
		UAE	Housemaid	12 hours a day, no holiday
		UAE	Housemaid	12 hours a day, no holiday
	Mrs. B	Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	9 hours a day, 2 months holiday every 2 years
		UAE	Housemaid	5 house maids (take rest in turn), no holiday
	Ms. C	Singapore	Housemaid	7 a.m. to 10 p.m., 6 days a week
	Ms. D	Papua	Ticket seller	unknown
		Hong Kong	Care-giver	7 a.m. to 10 p.m., 6 days a week
	Ms. E	Malaysia	Sales clerk	9 a.m. to 9 p.m., 6 days a week
		Hong-Kong	Baby-sitter	6 days a week
Ngoro-Oro	Mrs. F	Malaysia	Operator	7 a.m. to 7 p.m., 6 days a week
		Taiwan	Care-giver	6 days a week
	Mr. G	Malaysia	Packaging	7 a.m. to 7 p.m., 6 days a week
		Korea	Operator	8 a.m. to 4 p.m., 6 days a week
	Mrs. H	Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	5 a.m. to 1 a.m., no holiday
	Mrs. I	Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	5 a.m. to 8 p.m., no holiday
		Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	5 a.m. to 9 p.m., no holiday
		UAE	Housemaid	6 a.m. to finish serving dinner, 6 days a week
	Mr. J	South Borneo	Farmer	
	Mrs. K	Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	Whenever employer needs
		Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	Whenever employer needs
		Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	Whenever employer needs
		Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	Whenever employer needs
		Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	Whenever employer needs
Mrs. L	South Sumatra	Farmer		
	South Sumatra	Farmer		
	Saudi Arabia	Care-giver	Whenever employer needs	
	Oman	Baby-sitter	Whenever employer needs	

	Name	Salary (monthly)	Investment
Plembutan	Mrs. A	Rp. 250,000	unknown
		Rp. 1.5 million	Land, house, goat, children's education
		Rp. 1.5 million	plane ticket
	Mrs. B	Rp. 600,000	Land, cattle
		\$200	House, goat, self-employed bussines
	Ms. C	S\$ 240 (increased to S\$ 300)	Land, cattle
	Ms. D	unknown	unknown
		HK\$ 1800 (increased to 3670)	Land, cattle
	Ms. E	Rp. 1.5 million (increased to Rp. 2 million)	Land, cattle, motorcycle
		Rp. 3 million (increased to Rp. 4million)	
Ngoro-Oro	Mrs. F	Rp. 1.5 million	Motorcycle
		Rp. 4.5 milliom	Land, house, cattle, rice field, satisfaction
	Mr. G	Rp. 2.5 million	Next migration
		Rp. 8 million	Land, wedding
	Mrs. H	SR 60	Cattle, children's education
	Mrs. I	SR 600	Land, house
		SR 2000	Land
		Rp 2.4-2.7 milion	Children's education, self-employed business
	Mr. J	self-sufficient	
	Mrs. K	Rp. 180,000	Land, cattle, children's education.
		unknown	
		unknown	
		Rp. 100,000	
		unknown	
Mrs. L	self-sufficient		
	self-sufficient		
	SAR 600	Land, house, cattle	
	OMR 800		

	Name	Agency	Source of information	Trainings	
Plembutan	Mrs. A	unknown	unknown	unknown	
		Government	Private agency	unknown	
		Private	Friend	21 days	Language, cooking, and cleaning
	Mrs. B	Government	Government, neighbor	N/A	
		Private	Private agency	unknown	unknown
	Ms. C	Private	Government, family, friend	3 months	Language, cooking
	Ms. D	unknown	unknown	unknown	
		Private	Government, family, friend	3 months	Language, basic care
	Ms. E	Private	Government	2 months	Language
Private		Government	2 months	Language	
Ngoro-Oro	Mrs. F	Government	Vocational school	N/A	
		Private	Neighbor	3 months	Language
	Mr. G	Private	Radio	unknown	
		Private	Family	2 weeks	Language
	Mrs. H	Private	Village head	2 months	Language
	Mrs. I	Private	Private agency	3 weeks	Language, cooking, culture, cleaning, how to use household appliance
		Private	Private agency	3 weeks	
		Private	Friend	3 weeks	
	Mr. J	Government	Village head	N/A	
	Mrs. K	Private	Village head	2 weeks	Language, cooking, culture
		Private	Village head	3 months	Language, cooking
		Private	Village head	1 month	Language, cooking
		Private	Village head	1 month	Language, cooking
		Private	Village head	1 month	Language, cooking
	Mrs. L	Government	Village head	N/A	
Government		Village head	N/A		
Private		Village head	3 months	Language, basic care	
Private		Village head	unknown		

Source: Primary materials from interviewees

After returning home, most of them enjoyed better economic conditions but had difficulties to find other sources of income and could not use their skills in the villages. Thus, they migrated again when they run short of money. Interestingly, they tended to discourage others about migration,

especially their children, even though their children were interested in migrating.

3-2 General Trends

Change of destinations and occupations is one of the similar trends in Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro villages. From the 1980s to the 1990s, many international migrants went to Middle East countries, such as Oman, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. However, from the year 2000 until the present, more and more migrants tend to migrate to East Asia and South-East Asia, like Hong-Kong, Malaysia and Taiwan. It was noted that the change in the migrants' educational background was the leading reason for this trend. This will be explained in more detail in the 4-2.

The table below shows the relationship between the destination countries and the year that the interviewees migrated abroad for both villages. As shown, most of the migrants who migrated during the 1980s and 1990s went to the countries in the Middle East while those who migrated in the from 2000 on have tended to work in East Asian and South-East Asian countries.

Moreover, interviews held with the private agency and with the National Agency for Indonesian Migrant Workers Monitoring and Protection {Balai Pelayanan Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (BP3TKI)}, confirmed this tendency of more migrants going to East Asia and South-East Asian countries.

From the information obtained from the BP3TKI, it was learned that there are four types of international migration for Indonesians:

- 1) Government to government
- 2) Government to private
- 3) Private to private
- 4) Migrants on an individual basis

An officer at BP3TKI discussed a case of government to private migration and explained about how a migrant from Indonesia came to the BP3TKI, which resulted in placement at a hardware computer company in Malaysia. The officer reported that the lowest level of education for migrants for the program is senior high school and in Indonesia, it is legal to work abroad from the age 18. Migrants are mostly females and there are still many unskilled workers working abroad. However, they mentioned that more and more skilled workers and semi-skilled workers are challenging themselves to work abroad in companies and in the hospitals as nurses.

Furthermore, the interview with the private agency revealed that they are recruiting workers from vocational high schools. During an interview held at a vocational school, the teacher mentioned that after graduation there are some students who go abroad to work as skilled workers in the developed countries. They were recruiting for countries exclusively in East and South-East Asia, including Malaysia, Singapore, Hong-Kong and Taiwan.

Table 5: Change in Destination

Plembutan	
Middle East	East Asia/ South-East Asia
1998-2000 United Arab Emirates (Mrs. A)	2000-2011 Singapore (Ms. C)
1986-1988 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. B)	2000-2009 Hong Kong (Ms. D)
1988-2004 United Arab Emirates (Mrs. B)	2001-2003 Malaysia (Ms. E)
2010-2011 United Arab Emirates (Mrs. A)	2003-2010 Hong-Kong (Ms. E)

Ngoro-Oro	
Middle East	East Asia/ South-East Asia
1985-1987 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. I)	1999-2001 Malaysia (Mrs. F)
1985-1987 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. K)	1999-2001 Malaysia (Mr. G)
1989-1991 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. K)	2002-2004 Korea (Mr. G)
1991-1993 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. H)	2008-2011 Taiwan (Mrs. F)
1992-1994 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. I)	
1994-1996 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. K)	
1995-1997 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. L)	
1997-1999 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. K)	
1997-2000 Oman (Mrs. L)	
2001-2003 Saudi Arabia (Mrs. K)	
2003-2007 United Arab Emirates (Mrs. I)	

Source: Interviewees in Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro

Another important fact, believed to be one reason for the shift of the countries and occupations of migrant workers is the incident of an Indonesian migrant working in Saudi Arabia, who was killed in 2010 by her employers. This brought public criticism from around world. According to the private agency, after this incident there were cases of workers committing a suicide in public ways, like hanging themselves from the 8th floor with a blanket, in order to attract the world's attention and thus earn big money for their families. With all this cases, the company now thinks that sending housemaids or other low-skilled workers abroad is too risky. Rather, they prefer to send skilled migrants under a formal contract.

One last fact, which makes the private companies think twice about sending low-skilled migrants informally, is strongly related to the incident mentioned above. After that incident another incident, where a maid was accused of murder and executed, prompted Indonesia to stop allowing its citizens to work as servants in Saudi Arabia. The moratorium begun on August 1, 2011 and according to officials, it will last until the countries can agree on a policy of fair treatment for migrant workers.

From this information, it is clear that the migration is still active in both Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro villages, but the destination countries have changed from countries in the Middle East to East Asian and South-East Asian countries. In addition, the migrant workers' occupations are changing from low-skilled work to those occupations requiring more skilled labor.

3-3 Impact of Transmigrasi

Although there was an overall positive image of Transmigrasi revealed in the interviews with the national level government and the provincial governmental agencies for manpower and transmigration, the opposite impression was seen from the Playen sub-district government and some villagers from Ngoro-Oro. These villagers had transmigrated but returned to the village because they couldn't live in the new place under the Transmigrasi policy. In order to understand why the Transmigrasi policy is not succeeding, at least in the cases investigated, and to look more deeply into the implementation of the Transmigrasi policy, a number of interviews were held with the following results.

Officers in the sub-district mentioned that their role in Transmigrasi is to give recommendations and information of the policy, while the applicants go to the district manpower office to undertake the actual procedures. However, the officer mentioned that currently they are in an era of autonomy, different from the era of Suharto, and Transmigrasi policy is difficult to implement because the receiving areas are often not ready to receive the transmigrants. Therefore, the officers said that Transmigrasi is not interesting or attractive anymore. Gunung Kidul District has a policy of moving people from one district to another, trying to force farmers become fisherman. This is actually almost impossible for most people and they usually come back to the village. Other factors that make the transmigrants come back are low motivation, cultural differences and not getting used to the new job. Some villagers still challenge themselves under these conditions because they get a new house and land for free.

The village head of Ngoro-Oro mentioned that the name of the village means 'middle of nowhere' and under the 'New Order' and the administration of Suharto, it was determined that Ngoro-Oro needed development assistance. Therefore, Ngoro-Oro was prioritized for implementation of the Transmigrasi policy and became the pioneer village to send transmigrants. Nowadays, more villagers prefer to go overseas rather than migrate internally, but some success stories of Transmigrasi stimulated villagers to take the chance. Among the villagers interviewed, there were two families who experienced Transmigrasi. Both were from the Ngoro-Oro, and both of them failed and returned to Ngoro-Oro.

One villager transmigrated to Plempang, which is located in South Sumatra. At first, the husband and his wife followed his uncle who had transmigrated in 1986. However, there were elephants, rats and monkeys destroying the land and it was hard for his uncle to keep cultivating the land he was provided. So they decided to come back to the Ngoro-Oro after only two years. Soon after returning the couple decide to try again, this time transmigrating for themselves. They were motivated because they received their own

land and a house and were looking for a better life. However, after nine years they decided to come to care for an aging parent. The land was taken over by a friend. Even though they had to come back, they think that the Transmigrasi is a good system if people can survive. According to them, the land condition is not always good and if you do not succeed in cultivating the land, it would be difficult.

In a different case, a villager transmigrated to Kolamkanaan, in South Borneo. The house and land he was allocated were near the sea shore. He was motivated to accept the Transmigrasi policy to fulfill his dream of self-sufficiency for he and his family. Another member from the Ngoro-Oro was also interested in transmigration, so he followed them. He was also promised a house and land, which were both received at the destination. However, the conditions were very harsh and quite different from his expectations. The level of the sea rose every day after 4pm and it flooded the house and the land, making it impossible to cultivate the land there. There were also snakes and mosquitoes making the life difficult. They tried to negotiate with the government but were told they had to try their best on the land they were assigned. There were other transmigrants from different parts of Indonesia and the long-established Balinese people were rather harsh to the villagers from Ngoro-Oro. The earlier settlers managed to live there by fishing, rather than cultivating the land, but for the villagers from Ngoro-Oro, life there was too difficult and they decided to come back after two months. They left the house in Kolamkanaan during the night to avoid conflict with the remaining people. There were 15 to 17 people who transmigrated at that time from Ngoro-Oro Village, but all returned. After returning, they went to the village head of the Ngoro-Oro and explained how impossible it was to live there and cultivate the land. The village head recommended and offered another chance to transmigrate but they refused and told him that they would do their best in the Ngoro-Oro Village.

Through these interviews, it was clear that implementation of Transmigrasi policy is not easy on both the individual level and the policy level. Transmigrasi may seem like an effective policy for Indonesia to create equal develop across the nation as a whole, but there are obvious challenges in the implementation.

4. Factors Affecting Migrants and Their Families

4-1 The way money is used

Examining the ways in which migrants used their money, several common issues among the different interviewees were found.

First of all, almost all migration was derived from the motivation to increase income and the most anticipated benefit held by the migrants is an increase in wealth. They invest the money into land, a house, farm animals small businesses and their children's education. The land is mostly used for a new house or farmland. According to the village head in Ngoro-Oro, the price of land is increasing because ex-migrants are buying lands and driving up prices. Increased land values are a side effect of migration.

Investment in housing is an indication of success for the migrants. The entrance hall is kept very clean and decorated brightly. But as reported by former studies, the house decoration is completed for those areas of the house that can be viewed, with more hidden parts of the house left undecorated.

The following case study is one example. Interviews were held with the sub-village head of Ngoro-Oro, who was considered as one of the most successful ex-migrants. She migrated to the Middle East more than five times. She was one of the first seven people to migrate abroad from the Ngoro-Oro Village. After graduating from junior high school, She was motivated by money to migrate abroad. She went through the head of the village, which conducted the whole process of migration but has also received information over the years from her son-in-law, who owned a private agency for migrant workers

The first time, she went to Jakarta for training (cooking and the language), but only for two weeks. The second time, the training was for three months and for the following times she went through training for approximately one month each time. Her motivation for migrating each time was to earn money and gain experience.

At her first place of employment she had to work, not only at the employer's house, but also the parents' house and the family farm. This job was difficult but she persevered. Subsequent jobs were not as difficult. Each time she worked almost every day, having a break on Friday. Relationships with the families were good and she had no problems. However, she did not have many friends from Indonesia and she spent most of her free time in the house, not being able to enjoy life in community. Her salary over the course of the different assignments was around 180,000 RP a month. Whenever she had enough savings, she sent them to her family. There was no monitoring from the village head or the government during her migration.

After coming back to Ngoro-Oro Village, the village head and the neighbors asked her about her experience overseas, since she was one of the first migrants to work overseas from the area. She invested the money by buying three pieces of land in the village and one in Borneo, buying cows and paying for the tuition fee for her daughter to study at university. She is currently a sub-village head in Ngoro-Oro for which she received a concession of a land. She has a positive perception regarding migration, but she doesn't want her daughter to migrate, though she stated that if her daughter ever goes abroad, she would want her to migrate as a skilled migrant to a developed country.

With the money she gained, she renovated her house and it was noted that the front, visible part of the house was decorated brightly in a yellow color. But the less visible part of the house was still not completed. There was another example of a dwelling in Plembutan Village that belonged to an ex-migrant who had renewed part of her house. It was very clean inside and out, with wall decorations depicting Mecca, which she had brought back from Saudi Arabia.

Returned migrants also bought farm animals, which was most often cows. Keeping cows is a sign of wealth in both villages. From interviews, it was revealed that they buy cows as an investment, often

selling it for at a higher value later when they need money, such as expenses for their child's wedding. For this farming society, owning cattle has many advantages.

Ex-migrants in some cases also run small businesses. Two of the respondents from the research are running small businesses in order to be near the house. They sell general merchandise for villagers or homemade snacks. It was said that they are running this kind of small business because they wanted to stay closer to their home and community after being away for such a long time. Additionally, as these two worked as housemaids while abroad and had their schedules determined for them, running their own businesses gave them a sense of control over their own daily schedule.

Finally, all of the ex-migrants interviewed stated that they used their savings for their children's education. They were highly motivated to educate their children and regarded education as important. The interviews included a question about whether the ex-migrants wanted their children to also be migrant workers and all of the respondents replied that they did not. All that were parents did not want their children to repeat such an informal and unskilled migration as theirs. This conviction influences them to spend their money on education. Indeed, most of the ex-migrants interviewed had children that were going to middle school or had already graduated. Some of the children were even studying at university.

4-2 Educational Backgrounds of Migrants

As mentioned in the previous chapter, private agencies recruit migrant workers from the vocational schools. Those who are recruited mostly work as skilled workers in East Asia and South-East Asian countries.

Interviewees of this study were mostly junior high graduates. There was one respondent who graduated from a vocational school where she learned secretarial skills, but she didn't use those skills in the destination country where she migrated. Out of 13 respondents, 11 were international migrants; out of those, 10 worked as either housemaids, caregivers to the elderly in the house, babysitters or a clerks in a shop, all of which do not require any particular skills. Most underwent certain training provided by the agency for two months, on average, while they waited for their visa. This was enough to obtain the necessary skills.

However, those respondents used their money for some form of education after they came back to the village. Although, there were only two respondents who had school-aged children at the time of the interviews, yet both of them invested their money for their children's education. One of the respondents did not have her own children yet, but she invested the money for her younger siblings' education and was financially supporting her sister to go to university. Right after completing senior high school, this particular interviewee decided to go to Malaysia to get work experience abroad. At first she wanted to go to university but the education fees were very high so she decided to look for a job abroad. She underwent a training course for about three months to learn the language and communications skills. When she arrived in Malaysia she was assigned to work as a salesclerk in an electronics shop. She worked from 9am

to 9pm, taking turns with another employee. The volume of work was high and she could not rest very much, though the relationship with the employer's family was good. Her salary was 1.5 million RP in the beginning, which increased to 2 million after a while. She built some savings from time to time and sent it back home. The average amount was around 2 to 5 million RP each transaction. After two years of work she decided to go back to Indonesia.

However, she did not stay long in the village and just after 1 month she decided to go to Jakarta to enroll in a Cantonese language program in order to migrate to Hong Kong. She decided to go to Hong Kong because she thought that it would bring her more opportunities for work, but also personal experiences and freedom. Before going she collected more information about opportunities by going to the Transmigration Agency and receiving advice and suggestions. Life in Hong Kong was better than Malaysia because she had more freedom and could enjoy her free time more. She took care of a one year-old baby, working from Monday to Saturday. Since her duty was to concentrate solely on the baby's needs it was possible to take a break when it was resting. She also had some side jobs, teaching the Quran to other Indonesia people. Her salary was around 3 million RP the first year and increased to 4 million after a while. She worked seven months without receiving the salary so she could pay her travel fees, though she did receive some small money for personal use. As in Malaysia she also sent remittances back home periodically. The average amount was around 8 million RP and when she had to send money she entrusted it her employer, which would remit through his own bank. She took care of the baby until it turned eight years old and the family decided to finish her contract.

After arriving back she helped her family to invest money in buying land, animals and goods. They now have five fields (which costs around 25 million Rupees each), two motorcycles and some cows. Her impression of migration is good but she thinks that if people have means to have a stable life in the village they should not migrate.

All the ex-migrants who had a child responded that they do not want their children to migrate overseas. They also said that if they are going to migrate abroad, they want their children to work as a skilled worker or go abroad to study more. However, in reality some ex-migrants' children migrate and there is a tendency for migration behavior to continue to the next generation.

However, it was seen that the children of ex-migrants were obtaining higher education than their parents and with the higher educational backgrounds, there are new tendencies for migration to change in terms of the destination and type of occupation.

4-3 Change in Family Relationships

Most of the interviewees were married before they migrated, which meant they were separated for a certain period. All interviewees agreed that their relationship with their family did not change after returning home. However, it is well known that migration causes divorce. In addition, there are reports

that when a wife migrates, the husband behaves badly or commits suicide. Migration seems to have an impact on not only the husband, but also children. In Ngoro-Oro, a juvenile “gang,” whose parents have migrated, were annoying the villagers. The gang gathered frequently anywhere in the village and rode bikes making noise. The villagers guessed that the lack of attention from the parents created the gang.

Though there are negative impacts of migration, nevertheless the interviewees in this study showed the positive ones. The reason why they maintained bonds within the family was not only to merely keep in touch with their family but also because each family member helped each other. Change in the role of husband and wife was seen in both villages. In Indonesia, the husband is typically the breadwinner and the wife is in charge of housework or taking care of the children. However, most of the interviewees were female and they became the breadwinner when they migrated. In addition, their husbands took up the role to do household chores and care for the children. More interestingly, the roles reversed after returning home. Based on this information, it could be argued that migration enhances the flexibility of family roles.

5. Factors Affecting the Villages

5-1 Ex-migrants as Sources of Information

Most of the time, ex-migrants share information regarding migration. There are also several information sources such as the village head, brokers and agencies but the information from ex-migrants was the most reliable for the villagers who were thinking about migration because they were neighbors and living in similar conditions most of the time. Many of the ex-migrants were from large families in rural areas, so that siblings and extended family could rely on the information.

Ex-migrants had a role as sources of for the villager. One of the respondents of the interview was a migration pioneer who migrated from Ngoro-Oro to Saudi Arabia. All together, she migrated five times. When she came back to the village, the village head and neighbors asked her about her experience overseas. She informed them that she had to work hard in Saudi Arabia but in the end, she invested the money in buying three pieces of land in the village and one in Borneo, in addition to buying cows and paying the tuition for her daughter’s university studies. Her success with migration influenced other villagers to migrate. She eventually became the sub-head of the village. Her success at migration still affects other villagers.

The ex-migrants that did transmigration had different experiences than those seen for the international ex-migrants. In most cases, the transmigrants did not come back to the village and created their new life in the destination place. However, in Ngoro-Oro, there was a family who came back after transmigration and have demonstrated both the positive and negative images of transmigration.

5-2 The Role of Village Head

The most significant difference between the two villages was seen regarding the role of village head. The village head of Ngoro-Oro had more influence when it comes to migration compared to the village head of Plembutan. Before describing the relationship of the role of the village head in regards to migration, a brief background description is given for both village heads.

The village head of Plembutan was born there and because his parents were government officers in West Java, he lived with his grandparents until he graduated from vocational school. After the graduation he worked as a construction worker in Bandung and Jakarta for more than 10 years. He returned to Plembutan in order to take care of his grandmother and took over the village head from his grandfather 18 years ago.

The government built Ngoro-Oro in the 1960s to develop the area. The village head of Ngoro-Oro has not changed since the village was established. The village head tried to transmigrate to other islands under the Transmigrasi policy but he could not because the Ministry of Religious Affairs asked him to stay in the village. Nevertheless, he pushed his villagers to transmigrate and the government gave this village priority during 1980s.

Though the village head of Ngoro-Oro has been in his position longer, the largest difference was their attitudes toward migration. The village head of Plembutan did not encourage migration because, he felt it was not his business and also he believed that job creation in the village is the best way to generate income. On the other hand, although the village head of Ngoro-Oro did not mention clearly why he persuaded people to migrate, he said there was not much possibility to create jobs in his village. In addition, he provided comprehensive support to migrants by sharing with them several experiences before departure, communicating with them while they are staying in their host countries, and meeting to teach them how to manage money after returning home.

These disparities in treatment of migration created other difference between the two villages. The differences were seen in two aspects: sources of income and contribution to the villages. First, even though migration was one of main sources in the villages, villagers seemed to seek other sources of income upon returning to Plembutan. In Plembutan, some villagers bred and sold catfish. Second, notwithstanding that villagers in both villages paid some amount of money for improvement of the villages after returning home, villagers in Ngoro-Oro paid the money of their own accord. An ex-migrant that came back to Ngoro-Oro mentioned that all the villagers are considerate of others. She mentioned that the most of the buildings in the village were built by the village head, and that the village head himself invested much for the village. All of the villagers trust the village head and also each other. Partly because of religious reasons, the interviewees didn't state the exact amount of money they invested for the village, but migrants invested money for improved infrastructure, such as reconstruction of the mosque and streets. It was seen that the villagers in the Ngoro-Oro village helped each other and were willing to contribute for

the good of the village without any particular regulations. Moreover, they also voluntarily allocated money to people in need in Ngoro-Oro. It could be argued that sharing experiences through the village head unified the village. During the interviews, the village head of Ngoro-Oro insisted that villagers should contribute of their own will.

6. Concluding Remarks

During the course of the research, three main reasons for propelling people in both villages to migrate were found. These were: acquiring more experiences, financial benefits and success stories from ex-migrants. As for the life during migration, there were different experiences for each individual. Most interviewees who went abroad worked as housemaids or caregivers, therefore, their working condition and life itself depended much on their employer. Since most interviewees were women, it was their husbands who took care of the household chores and children, breaking the traditional roles usually found in Indonesia. The research revealed some benefits that migrants received after returning home, different from what was first assumed. It was thought that migrants obtained some new skill or knowledge, but in reality, none of the respondents emphasized learning anything new in particular. However, this is not unreasonable considering that most of the migrants were working in unskilled labor positions and taking into account their educational backgrounds and job experiences before migration. Despite this, new generations are acquiring higher education and pursuing jobs that require higher skills. This is a direct benefit to the family of migrants due to the increase in financial and material resources brought through migration. As for the village, ex-migrants contributed towards infrastructure development and also served as advisors for new migrants.

Although there are several information sources, such as the village head, brokers, agencies, etc., the information provided by ex-migrants who had once migrated abroad was felt to be the most credible for villagers when they were considering migration. In many cases, ex-migrants developed trusting relationships with neighbors, friends and family as source of information and influencing them to also become overseas workers. Because most ex-migrants tend to spend their money on purchasing land and building new houses the benefits of migration become obvious to the surrounding villagers and becomes influential in encouraging others to migrate.

The most significant difference between Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro is the role of the village head. The village head of Ngoro-Oro seems to have more influence compared to the village head of Plembutan. The village head of Plembutan does not encourage migration because he feels not only it is not his business, but he also believes creation of jobs in his village is the best way to generate income. However, the village head of Ngoro-Oro mentioned there was not much possibility to create jobs in his village and thus provides comprehensive support to migrants.

Last but not least, migration has a crucial role for both Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro villages,

affecting their social and economic structures in several ways. Commonly seen as a springboard, migration is a dream for the villagers and a way to overcome the low employment prospects in the village and providing better conditions of life for their families. However, migration is not considered to be an escape from the village but just a transformation period, a moment workers have to go through in order to achieve personal experiences and financial resources to finally return to their hometown and change their previous reality. The majority of the ex-migrants interviewed from both villages said that during their experience outside the village they realized how important the bonds with their village were, making the migration just a temporary condition. Nevertheless, when it comes to their children's futures they desire a different path, one that does not include migration as a low-skilled worker.

To avoid this scenery, most of the ex-migrants, during and after returning back home, invest in the education for their children, helping them go to better schools. In both villages education is commonly perceived as a priority and a way to transform their reality. They see it as the best legacy that they can bestow upon the next generation. Investments like purchasing land, animals and vehicles are other ways to use resources saved during migration. These are the palpable results of their hardship working and living abroad and the instruments to build up a new life. Some ex-migrants have improved their capacity to produce crops while others now can breed more animals and sell the meat and leather at higher prices. Still others have started their own businesses while taking care of their land. There are multiple ways that ex-migrants employ the resources they've achieved for a better life.

New waves of migration are still taking place in the villages and repeater migrants are very common. Villagers might seek two, three or even more opportunities to migrate and each one might bring them different experiences. Sometimes young workers also follow their parents' track and rely on migration as their first working experience. But among these migrants, the desire to return to their hometown is very strong, as well as their commitment in helping their families and village. How migration will bring concrete improvements to the village depends essentially on how migrants invest in it, and the case of Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro, migrants demonstrate a large attachment to their home village and strive to help the village to develop.

7. Acknowledgements

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There are many people who contributed very much to our research, including the officers and villagers in both Plembutan and Ngoro-Oro villages.

We want to note that it was great experience and hope this report will contribute to the bright future of Indonesia.

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Working Group 4

Cultural Potential for Tourism -The Case of Bobung Village –

1. Background
2. Cultural Tourism
3. Cultural Tourism Policy in Indonesia
4. The Situation in Bobung Village
5. Cultural Potential in Bobung Village
6. Constraints and Challenges
7. Recommendations and Suggestions
8. Conclusions
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10. References

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Cultural Potential for Tourism -The Case of Bobung Village –

1. Background

This research was conducted in Bobung Village, Gunungkidul District, Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia. It is aimed to analyse Bobung's cultural potentials for tourism, the current utilisation of those potentials and to determine further utilisation for the future. The main cultural activities focused in this research were: batik mask making and batik mask dance; traditional food making and homestays; and other activities such as traditional rituals and festivals. All of these aspects were examined and information was gathered from interviews with villagers, the village head, the local government, local NGOs, local and international tourists and travel agencies. As a result, it was found that there is a considerable amount of cultural potential for tourism in Bobung, but because of constraints revealed in the interviews, the village does not yet have a significant number of tourists coming to their village.

This report consists of two main parts. The first part is the background and general information of the research area based on literature review and the second part is findings based on actual fieldwork in Indonesia. Further recommendations are suggested at the end of the report, based on the analysis of the research findings.

1-1 Research Objectives

1. To identify cultural potentials (intangible and tangible culture) of Bobung village to attract tourists.
2. To investigate the degree of current utilization of the specific resources to attract tourists.
3. To seek ways of further utilization of cultural potentials.

1-2 Research Methodology

In order to achieve the research objectives, studies based on primary sources and secondary sources were used. The primary sources were questionnaires and interviews obtained from the fieldwork in Indonesia and secondary sources included previously published books and papers related to this research. Before conducting the fieldwork in Indonesia, secondary sources were collected. At this stage, literature was obtained from available sources such as books, papers, websites and also reports from the local government. The literature was mainly related to cultural tourism, specifically about Yogyakarta and Bobung. The basic information about Indonesia, Yogyakarta and Gunungkidul were also collected by the literature. However, there were limitations due to the language barrier and the limited amount of available information. As for the fieldwork in Indonesia, a numbers of interviews were conducted. The detailed number and the attributes of the interviewees are shown in the Table 1.

Table1: Number and the attributes of interviewees

Interviewee	Number	Note
Villagers	17 persons	Five craftsmen, five food producers, five dancers, two homestay owners.
Tourists	16 persons	Eight domestic and eight international tourists; nationalities of the international tourists were Belgian, British, Swiss, Korean and Dutch.
Village Head	1 person	Village head of Bobung.
Provincial/District official	1 person	Culture and Tourism officer in Gunungkidul.
NGO staff	2 persons	One person each from the organisations PUSPAR and APIKR.
Tourist agency staff	2 persons	One person each from two travel agencies in the city of Yogyakarta

The interviews with villagers were conducted using a questionnaire survey and based on the answers, deeper and more detailed questions were asked to the villagers to gain further information. The interviews with domestic and international tourists were also conducted in a similar way. These interviews gave us a good understanding of the village's cultural tourism activities.

The interviews with government and local officials, staff from tourist agencies and NGOs were targeted to elicit comprehensive opinions on the cultural tourism activities in the villages. Through the interviews with government and local officials, it was expected to reveal information about the village policy on cultural tourism, the implementation of policy and its impacts on cultural tourism in the region in general and in Bobung in particular. The interviews with travel agencies were carried out because of their close dealings with tourists and their familiarity with the cultural tourism activities provided in the villages. Therefore, interviews were conducted to learn the tourists' expectations and perceptions about these activities and what attracted tourists to the village. The interview with NGO staff was to investigate how the projects work and contribute to development of cultural tourism in village. Their recommendations on policy, as well as the village's activities, are expected to help improve the performance of the village in this sector.

2. Cultural Tourism

Tourism is one of the main engines in the service sector for most countries, with nature and culture as the driving forces that attract tourists. Although nature has a strong potential to attract tourists for sightseeing, culture is also important. The attraction on the cultural side is not only for enjoying the place, but includes learning and experiencing local people's lifestyles, customs, foods, rituals and authenticity that are specific to each community, country and region.

Cultural tourism is the movement of people to a region because of cultural motivations, such as study tours, performing arts, festivals and other related events. Thus, cultural tourism is based on traditions, art forms, celebrations and experiences that portray each nation and its people (Badaruddin, 2008).

Cultural tourism has generated new jobs for local people through several channels, such as interpreters of the local language. It also boosts the handicraft trade in the region through the production of souvenirs, helping to generate certain amount of employment. In addition, it builds relationships between tourists and villagers. This relationship can be viewed as negative or positive and may influence the local people because tourists bring along their own culture to the area during visits. Despite the possibility of absorbing new culture from outsiders, the host community will try to preserve their culture in order to attract more tourists. As studies have shown, tourism has led to the strengthening of local culture (Badaruddin, 2008).

3. Cultural Tourism Policy in Indonesia

The perception that cultural properties might become valuable resources for tourism development was actively discussed at the United Nations International Travel and Tourism conference held in Rome in 1963. This perception was then widely spread to many countries. In Indonesia, before 1975, the utilization of cultural properties for tourism was restricted by presidential orders. However, in 1979 the Indonesian government agreed to promote cultural properties as resource for tourism.

The government announced that 1991 would be "Visit Indonesia Year" to promote international tourism with a focus on the colourful local cultures. This national project involved what might be called "Indonesia Indah" in Indonesian language, or "Beautiful Indonesia" in English, featuring a calendar of events in various regions of the country that would include such attractions as the temple festival in Bali, the wayang orang dance drama in Yogyakarta, traditional funerals in Tana Toraja, etc. (Yamashita, 1999).

The national government recognized each province's potential for tourism with many of its planning efforts, including Yogyakarta. Tourism planning for any province is a top-down process. However, recent efforts toward the decentralization of the decision-making power from the national government have given provincial and local governments more power to directly develop and manage local tourism.

3-1 Cultural Tourism Policy in Yogyakarta

A tourism village program, or Desa Wisata in Indonesian, was developed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and introduced to Yogyakarta in 1999. The definition of Desa Wisata is “a rural area that offers the whole atmosphere, reflecting both the authenticity of rural socio-economic life, social culture, customs, daily life, architecture and structures of rural planning and unique and interesting economic activities which can be used to promote and develop tourism” (Priasukmana & Mulyadin, 2001, p.38).

According to Priasukmana and Mulyadin, the purposes of Desa Wisata are:

1. To support the government's program in tourism development
2. To explore the potentials of communities around the village for rural tourism development
3. To expand employment for the villagers and improve the welfare and quality of life of rural communities
4. To encourage city people, who have relatively better economic situations, to go to the rural areas for recreation
5. To raise the sense of pride for the villagers
6. To accelerate the assimilation of non-indigenous people
7. To strengthen national unity in order to overcome the disintegration of Indonesia

Therefore, Desa Wisata targets both international and local visitors who live in urban areas, and aims to attract them to rural areas with distinctive cultural features such as festivals, ceremonies, traditional performances, etc.

In accordance with these purposes, the activities of the program have to be implemented by local community. Village heads and staff must coordinate with the Village Supervisory Board (Badan Pengawas Desa) to localize the tourism village program. There are several stages of implementation for the tourism village program, including:

1. Planning (field survey, preparation of site plans, budgeting, human resource planning)
2. Implementation (infrastructure development, activity implementation)
3. Management (human resources recruiting, organizing, promotion)
4. Evaluation (report)

(Priasukmana & Mulyadin, 2001, p. 39-40)

Also according to Priasukmana and Mulyadin(2001, p. 38) villages in Yogyakarta have to meet some requirements to be titled as a Desa Wisata. The requirements include:

1. The village is easily accessed by tourists with various types of transportation
2. The village has interesting objects of nature, art and culture, legends, local food and so on, to be developed as a tourist attraction
3. The community and the local government appreciate the tourism village and the tourists themselves come to the village

4. Security in the village is assured
5. Accommodations, telecommunications and adequate manpower are available
6. The village has a pleasant climate (cool or cold climate)
7. The village is associated with other attractions well-known to the public

Based on these criteria, Yogyakarta has listed 96 tourism villages according to an official in the Culture and Tourism Office of the Gunung Kidul District Government (interview conducted Sept 20, 2011). These villages are known for their distinctive features or special attractions. Among the local highlights offered are arts and crafts centers, local traditions, natural scenery and cottage industries. Initially, there emerged handicraft-based tourist villages such as Kasongan (earthenware and ceramics), Krebet (wooden batik souvenirs), Manding (leather handicrafts), Gamplong (weaving) and Bobung (wooden masks). After some years, other villages followed with a broader-based approach, such as Turgo (natural scenery), Brayut (culture and agriculture) and Tempel (plantations).

To support the tourism village program, the government prepared funding totaling Rp 200 million. The fund is designed to support training and guide the community to prepare their communities and homes for visitors. This policy encouraged villagers to do their best to meet the requirements as a proper tourism village. Other support, such as media campaigns and introductions by international institutions, is also provided.

4. The Situation in Bobung Village

4-1 Desa Wisata (Tourism Village) in Gunung Kidul District

Yogyakarta is the second largest tourist destination in Indonesia after Bali. Diversity and the number of destinations are the factors that contribute to its popularity. There are more than 50 tourist destinations in Yogyakarta and Putat, where Bobung Hamlet is located, making it one of these tourist destinations (Rahajeng 2009).

Bobung is a sub-village of the Putat Village in Patuk Sub-district. It is located in the Gunungkidul District of Yogyakarta Province, which is located 20km west of the city Wonosari. Gunung Kidul is one of the largest regencies in Yogyakarta Province and located 39km from the city of Yogyakarta. It consists of 18 districts and 144 villages. There are ten tourism villages in Gunung Kidul: 1. Bobung (handicrafts, wooden masks); 2. Mojo (limestone handicraft/ornaments); 3. Garotan (traditional lamp ornament); 4. Nglanggeran (ancient mountain, tracking, rock-climbing); 5. Bejiharjo (cave tubing, river-rafting); 6. Bleberan (river tubing/rafting); 7. Beton (caving, outbond); 8. Wonosadi (forestry, traditional music instruments); 9. Kemadang (beache); 10. Ngestiharjo (fishing, beaches) (Dinbudpar Kab. Gung Kidul, 2011). According to a tourism official, two more, for a total of 12 tourism villages, will be added in 2012.

Tourism villages in Gunung Kidul are supported by PNPM Pariwisata– Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat by the national program for self-empowerment. Currently, Bobung Village is supported by PNPM for the promotion of tourism.

4-2 Bobung Village as a Tourism Village

Bobung village was selected in 2002 as the first cultural village in Gunung Kidul Regency and recognized as a tourism village in 2005. There are three main reasons for Bobung to be chosen as a tourism village:

1. It is located at the middle point of the route from Yogyakarta City to the main tourism destination of Gunung Kidul District (beaches) and used as a stopover.
2. It is a centre for the handicraft industry (wooden mask, wooden statue, etc.).
3. It has other tourism potentials, including dance performances, nature (e.g. a waterfall), outdoor activities (e.g. flying fox, tracking), traditional ceremonies and historical and religious sites.

There are a number of interesting attractions for tourists in Bobung. There are arts, such as dance, music, and performance; sports, such as cruise travel; crafts, such as masks, wooden batik, bamboo craft and souvenirs; ceremonies, some that include traditional rituals; traditional food and drinks; nature; landscape; and adventure tourism for high school and university students (Dinas Pariwisata Dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Gunungkidul, 2008). Furthermore, some other projects on cultural tourism are being developed. For example, a workshop to be used for performances, is currently being built and is expected to open October 2011. In addition, citizens are also starting to provide rooms for tourists who want to stay in the village (www.bobung-jogja.com).

However, there are several things that can still be improved in Bobung Village. For example, currently there is no formal training for Batik making or art performance in Bobung. Promotion of the village as a tourist area is another issue and lack of promotion is considered one reason why Bobung is not yet well known by foreign and local tourists, despite its various attractions (Kabupaten Gunungkidul 2010).

5. Cultural Potential in Bobung Village

5-1 Cultural Activities

Bobung Village has enormous potential to attract domestic and international tourists. One of the special features is wooden masks and wooden batik. In fact, in 2001, the local government of Gunungkidul announced the village to be one representing the handicrafts of wooden mask and batik.

The process of wooden mask production is complicated because it involves transforming a log into a wooden mask. The process starts with cutting the log in to cubes for the desired size. Every cube is divided into two and then each part is sculpted into a shield-shape as the basic pattern of the mask. Next, the basic pattern is carved to make the eyes, nose, and additional motifs, such as a peacock as seen in the photo below. After that, it is polished and painted or drawn with the batik motif of the character designed.

Photo 1: A batik mask before being painted



Currently, Bobung does not only make wooden masks, but it also creates innovative new products such as accessory masks, statues of Loro Blonyo, animals, etc. Functional wooden handicrafts, such as bowls, trays, plates, wooden calendars, mirror frames and many more are also popular. As the shapes and motifs get more innovative, the handicraft products of the Bobung people are purchased not only by the local people themselves but also by people from other cities like Jakarta and Bali, and even from foreign countries. The favorites among foreign tourists are the wooden batik handicrafts, such as the Dakon board, as well as the functional products. Meanwhile, local people of Gunungkidul and nearby areas favor the classic masks. Visitors can order masks in their desired size from small (9cm-11cm) to super-XL (30cm-40cm) at a variety of prices. Visitors can also learn how to make wooden mask and wooden batik from the local artisans.

In addition to wooden masks, traditional rituals, dance and food are also tourism attractions in Bobung. One famous traditional ceremony is Rasulan, which is celebrated to express people's gratitude for the annual harvest. Included in Rasulan, the local artists perform mask dances symbolizing the story of Ande-Ande Lumut with Panji as the main character.

Since 1960s, the mask dance Panji became popular again in Bobung after not being performed for centuries. Many scenes in the dance were performed using wooden masks. As a result, the wooden batik artists in Bobung became more prosperous and wooden batik was well spread as the dance became popular in other areas.

Other famous dances in Bobung are Ande-Ande Lumut, Kuda Lumping and Tari Topeng. Each dance has its own meaning and sends some message to the audience. Some dances express the wish for peace and harmony among the community.

Traditional food in Bobung Village also attracts tourists. Among them, Sompel (rice wrapped in banana leaves) with Sayur Lodeh (coconut with green chili) are famous. The food producers in Bobung try to make their food different from the other areas so that tourists have opportunity to enjoy the uniqueness of the traditional food found only in Bobung Village.

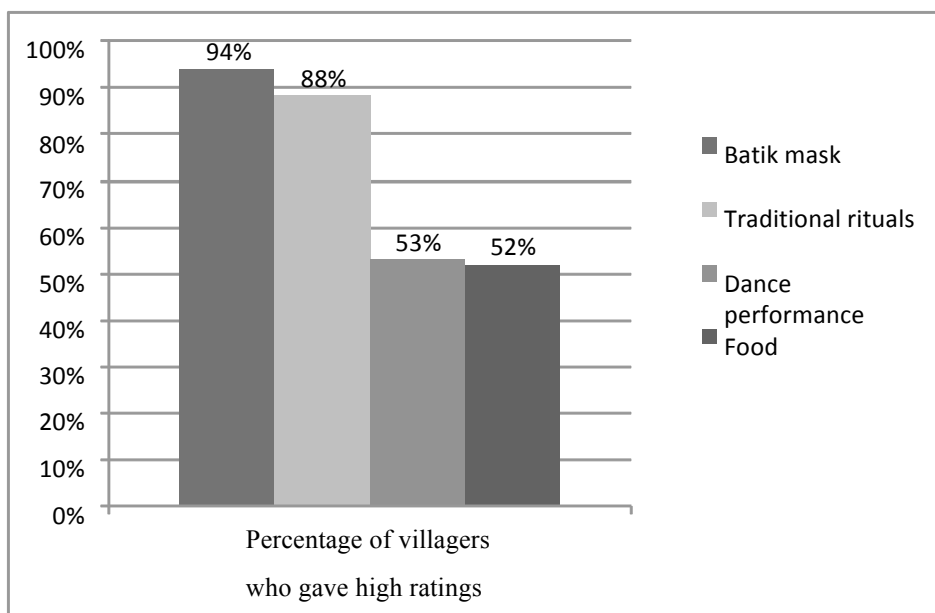
5-2 Villager's and Tourist's Perspectives on Cultural Potential

5-2-1 Villager's Perspective

In this research, we used the ratings from various groups of respondents to reveal the cultural potentials of Bobung Village. The potentials rated in order of importance include: 1. wooden batik masks, 2. traditional rituals/event; 3. dance performances; 4. food.

The results of interview survey show that Bobung has cultural potentials for tourism in batik wooden masks, which are highly valued by 94% (16 out of 17 villagers), and traditional rituals (e.g, Rasulan festival), valued by 88% (15 out of 17) respondents. Only 53% (10 out of 17) and 52% (9 out of 17) of villagers highly value the potentials of dance and food, respectively (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Villagers' perspective on cultural potential



5-2-2 Tourist's Perspective

Domestic tourists are most impressed with the Batik handicrafts and 88% (7 of 8) gave high ratings for its attractiveness. Dance and traditional rituals are followed with 63% (both 5 of 8) for its attractiveness. Relatively speaking, food was not highly valued by the tourists and only 36% of tourists gave a high rating (3 of 8). (Figure 2)

Figure 2: Tourists' perspective on cultural potential

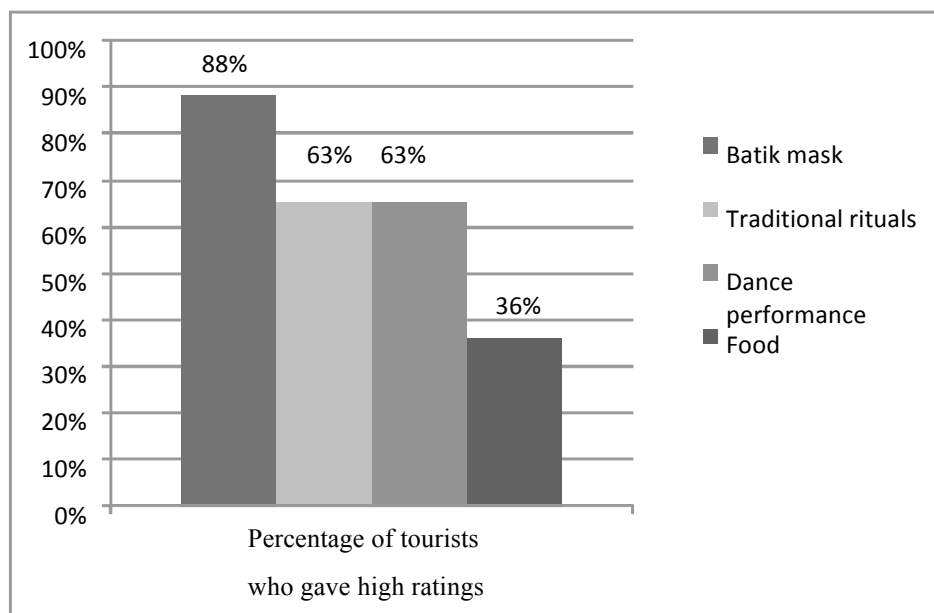


Table 2 shows how many respondents actually experienced Bobung's cultural activities, and of those, how many tourists gave a high rating to each activity. About 63% of domestic tourists who visited Bobung participated in the traditional ritual of Rasulan. Based on the ratings from tourists who participated in cultural activities during their stay in Bobung, 80% of them highly valued traditional rituals (Table 2).

Table 2: The rate of participant's number and high rates in tourism potentials

Tourism potentials	Participated tourist %	Participant's high rate %
Batik mask	75% (6 tourists out of 8)	67% (4 tourists out of 6)
Traditional rituals	63% (5 out of 8)	80% (4 out of 5)
Dance performance	88% (7 out of 8)	71% (5 out of 7)
Food	75% (6 out of 8)	50% (3 out of 6)

5-3 Awareness of the Tourism Village

5-3-1 Villagers' Awareness

All the respondents knew about the government policy regarding tourism villages and the reason why Bobung was listed as one such village. Every year there are meetings between the villagers and representatives of the Tourism and Culture Office in Gunung Kidul to discuss tourism village policy for Bobung. Thus, all villagers are aware of the village policy. In addition, 94% of the interviewed villagers highly regarded the cultural potential of wooden batik masks (Figure 1).

However, they don't know other details of the policy, such as the service provided to tourists. All packages and package prices are provided by the Board of Tourism Village Management and are sent directly to tourists and tourism center, thus leaving the villagers with no knowledge of these details. Crafters

also don't know about competitive price rates for finished batik masks and as a result, receive low payments for finished products sold at the showroom where they work.

5-3-2 Tourists' Awareness

The domestic tourists knew that Bobung was listed as tourism village. They also knew that one major potential for Bobung as a tourism village is the wooden batik mask. Therefore, 88% of the domestic tourists surveyed highly valued wooden batik masks. All eight of the domestic tourists were from areas near to the village. They received information about Bobung's tourism village policy from the newspaper, their community, Mr Kamiran (head of the tourism village) and Mr Ali (Tourism and Culture Office in Gunung Kidul).

On the other hand, international tourists do not know what a tourism village is. All eight international tourists we interviewed in Yogyakarta City did not have any information on the policy, despite the fact that brochures about the government policy were available at the tourism center in Yogyakarta City.

5-4 Cultural Tourism in Bobung

a. Tourism Village Management Board

The village has established a Tourism Village Management Board consisting of the villagers who are craftsmen, dancers and others directly involved in tourism. The Tourism Village Management Board is operated under the leadership of the head of village. The board is responsible for the development of tourism under the principles of Desa Wisata. Under this management, the village began to offer a tourism package to tourists, which includes activities such as a natural tour, learning tour for craft making, fishing experience, harvesting cassava, planting rice, etc. The package does not only serve those who are interested in the wealth of the surrounding nature, but also satisfy those who want to learn from the traditions and lifestyles of the local people. For example, for those interested in crafts, they can choose to learn to make a wooden mask and wooden batik directly from the artisans. The details of the package tour are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Tour package provided in Bobung village

TOURISM PACKAGE	
1. Learning Tour	
- Catch fish	Rp. 50.000
- Catch eel	Rp. 50.000
- Give animals a bath	Rp. 50.000
- Cultivate	Rp. 100.000
- Harvest cassava	Rp. 25.000
- Plant rice	Rp. 70.000

- Plant tree	Rp. 2.000
2. Natural Tour	
- Tour for elementary school:	
Route: Pertigaan I -> Kali Kajar -> Hamlet Pertigann -> Pavillon (± 800m)	
Price: Rp. 50.000	
- Tour for senior and junior high school:	
Route 1: Bridge -> Dung Sono -> Punthuk Klawing -> Field -> Susang -> Kali Kajar -> Mbusik -> Pertigaan pedukuhan -> Pavillion (± 1.200m)	
Route 2: Pavillion -> Pertigaan pedukuhan ->Mbusik -> Petilasan Brawijaya -> Pavillion (± 1.000m)	
Price: Rp. 100.000	
3. Craft Tour	
- Learn to make crafts	
- Learn to make batik	
4. Camping	
- Camping site with parking lot	
Price: Rp. 200.000/day	

b. Working Groups in Bobung

Working groups are formed in Bobung, based on many activities. There exists a level of collaboration between the villagers in each group.

As for the craftsmen, they gather to work for the showroom display while also working individually. They create new products in addition to the traditional mask products to meet the demands of tourists. These include such items as: accessory masks that are either painted or drawn with batik motifs; statues; animals; and functional wooden handicrafts. They also offer opportunities for tourists who want to observe or learn the handicraft making process.

As for food producers, there is only one big team in Bobung Village with eleven members. They split into small groups relating to the number of tourists and orders placed. On an interesting note, the cooks were rotating from one to another to ensure that every cook would get orders from the customers.

Like the food producers, there is only one team of musical performers in Bobung Village, consisting 20 gamelan players and 20 dancers. An experienced dancer from the village trains the group to ready them for performances. They usually perform at traditional ceremonies or other events in village, such as the Rasulan Festival. Sometimes they also travel to the areas outside the village for performances. However, because they do not have funds for this activity, most of dancers voluntarily participate out of their love for dance. Thus, the village faces challenges in developing this cultural tourism attraction.

Finally, there are some villagers opening their homes for homestay visits. However, this aspect of cultural tourism has not been fully developed in Bobung Village, since there are only three homestay owners. Yet, in spite of limited funds, homestay owners try to provide the best facilities and service to the welcome the tourists in comfort.

c. Facility for Tourism Development

To develop tourism in Bobung, the village spent funds they received from government on building facilities. A village hall and a public toilet were built. The village hall served for dance performances and other village activities and occasionally for the use of the tourists if there is a request. In addition, there is a wide parking area made available near to the hall.

However, the fund was insufficient and they village could not invest in other important infrastructures such as road improvement and transportation systems to facilitate an influx of tourists. A narrow and steep road and lack of public transportation are still constraints for the village in regards to the development of tourism.

d. Cooperation with Outsiders

To develop tourism, the participation of outside stakeholders like travel agents and NGOs is very important, yet the cooperation with the outsiders is another constraint for tourism in Bobung. Currently, there are no relationships with the travel agents so promotion one of their village is one issue. In addition, cooperation with NGOs working in tourism has not been established. Though there are some research organizations from various universities that know about the village and its tourism potential, the relationship has not developed to an extent that would help the village develop cultural tourism.

5-5 Impact of Desa Wisata

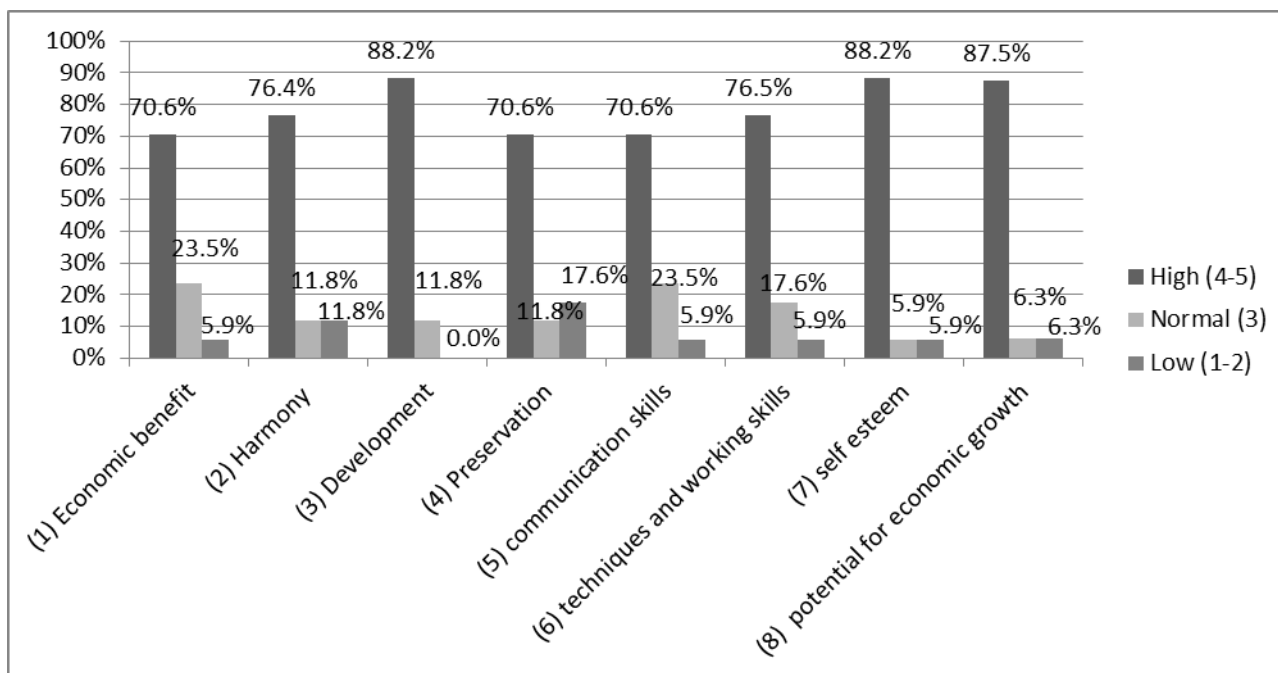
Despite the fact that Bobung is one of the first villages that started Desa Wisata in Gunung Kidul Regency, cultural tourism has not been successful as compared to other tourism villages as judged from a small number of tourists to Bobung. Though Bobung received 1,700 tourists in 2009-2010, the number was ten times larger in Kreet, one of the other tourism villages in Gunung Kidul.

The impact of introducing Desa Wisata was rated by villagers in eight fields, including: economic aspects, harmony among local people, development of local culture, environment, communication skills, improvement of techniques and working skills for crafters, food producers and homestay owners, improvement of self-esteem and exploring the potential of the village to enhance economic growth. In this questionnaire, villagers were asked to rate the impacts brought about by Desa Wisata using a 5-point Likert Scale, in which 1 represented the lowest impact and 5 represented the highest. As result, about 70 to 90 percent of the villagers believed that Desa Wisata had a substantial impact on all eight fields mentioned above. The results are shown in Table 4 and Figure 3.

Table 4: Impact of Desa Wisata in Bobung village (number of respondents)

Impacts	High (4-5)	Normal (3)	Low (1-2)	Total
(1) Economic benefit	12 respondents	4 respondents	1 respondents	17 respondents
(2) Harmony among local people	13	2	2	17
(3) Development of local culture	15	2	0	17
(4) Preservation of local environment	13	2	3	17
(5) Improvement of communication skills	12	4	1	17
(6) Improvement of techniques and working skills for crafters, food producers and homestay owners	13	3	1	17
(7) Improvement of self esteem	15	1	1	17
(8) Exploring the potential of the village to enhance economic growth	14	1	1	16

Figure 3: Impacts of Desa Wisata in Bobung village (by percentage)



a. Impacts on the Economy

The objective of Desa Wisata is to contribute to improve the economic situation in the village through poverty reduction and empowering local communities to help them obtain the maximum benefit from their region’s tourism potentials. Therefore, the implementation of the policy is expected to produce a positive impact on Bobung’s economic situation. The majority of villagers, accounting for 70.6% respondents, believed that the introduction of Desa Wisata had a big impact on their economic condition, while 23.5% found the impact was moderate and the remaining 5.9% thought the impact was small.

The villagers experienced an increase in income through the introduction of Desa Wisata. Before Desa Wisata, their income ranged from under 300,000 – 2,000,000 Rp. After the introduction of Desa Wisata the range shifted to 300,000 – 5,000,000 Rp. However, the increase of the income among the various groups was not equal. Higher incomes were seen for the craftsman group while low incomes remained for the other groups, including food producers, dancers and homestay owners. Before Desa Wisata, craftsman would earn less than 500.000 Rp/month, but had increased their income from 500,000 to 5,000,000 Rp. Meanwhile, before Desa Wisata, other groups earned from 300,000 – 600,000 Rp but after the introduction there was just a small change in their income ranging from 300.000 – 750.000 Rp. This gap stems from the fact that handicrafts are the main source of income earning and can bring the most profit to the villagers.

In the other groups, there were some people who even have to spend more time to earn the same amount of money or had to do add other jobs. For example, some dancers explained that after the introduction of Desa Wisata, they had to practice more before the dance performances, which meant they didn't have time for other activities, such as handicraft and farming, to earn more income.

b. Impact on Harmony among Local People

Harmony among local people is thought to be fostered after Desa Wisata. Of the respondents, 76.4% believed that there was a strong, positive impact resulting from the introduction of Desa Wisata; 11.8% responded that the impact was not so substantial. The remaining 11.8% said the impact was very small.

The harmony was seen in the willingness to help and teach each others within the working groups and the community. The harmony was also shown in the agreement among the people in Bobung to help the village to meet the requirements of Desa Wisata.

c. Impact on Local Culture

Many changes in local culture were brought about during the implementation of Desa Wisata and 88.5% respondents positively evaluated the impact of Desa Wisata on the local culture. With an aim to attract tourists to the village, they made effort to develop cultural activities such as dance, homestay activities and festivals. For example, dancers had to practice more frequently to perform for the tourists, which also contributed to the preservation and development of some traditional dances. The Rasulan Festival, which is celebrated after finishing the harvest, was also better organized than before in order to invite tourists from the other areas.

d. Preservation of Local Environment

One of the criteria for attracting tourists was to maintain the cleanliness of the environment. The results of the interview revealed that 70.6% of the respondents thought the implementation of Desa Wisata had a strong impact on maintaining and improving the local environment. Bobung carried out some activities to keep the village clean, including the creation of a Friday cleaning schedule. Every Friday, each group of workers gather to clean up the village environment. This kind of activity helped preserve the local environment as well as raise the awareness among the villagers about the development of the village as a tourism destination.

e. Improvement of Communication Skills

After implementation of Desa Wisata, 70.6% of the respondents believed that the communication skills among the villagers had improved. They succeeded in communicating with the government to get support for the development of tourism. They also shared the information about Desa Wisata among their working groups and within the community to form the consensus to put more effort into attracting tourists. They communicated by sharing their knowledge and skills and sometimes helped each other when unexpected issues arose.

f. Improvement of Techniques and Working Skills for Craftmen, Dancers, Food Producers and Homestay Owners

According to 76.5% respondents agreed that the implementation of Desa Wisata helped improve the techniques and skills for the village's craftsmen, dancers, food producers and home-stay owners.

Through the training programs provided by the government or the Regency, working and management skills were transferred to the villagers. Those skills were applied in their jobs and helped them to be more productive.

g. Improvement of Self-Esteem

The villagers recognized the governmental nomination of Bobung as a tourism village as an honor. They felt proud of their village and its features such as handicrafts, dance, traditional festivals and rituals. The implementation of the Desa Wisata also gave them more confidence to actively participate in the tourism activities of the village to attract tourists. They felt proud and satisfied with their jobs. Interviews with the villagers showed that 88.2% of respondents agreed that Desa Wisata contributed to the improvement of their self-esteem.

h. Exploring the Potential of the Village to Enhance Economic Growth

The recognition of a tourism village was targeted to make Bobung more attractive to tourists. As a result, an increased number of tourists can foster local economic growth through increasing income and job opportunities for the villagers. To achieve the target, Bobung has to pay more attention to tourism potentials and put in more effort to utilize them. When surveyed, 87.5% of the villagers responded that they strongly believed that Desa Wisata brought them the opportunity to enhance the village's economic growth.

6. Constraints and Challenges

6-1. Findings from the Interviews

This chapter will analyze the constraints on Bobung's cultural tourism. The findings are analyzed on the basis of the interviews with villagers from Bobung, local and international tourists and travel agencies.

Villagers

From the interviews, five main constraints were found. The first constraint is lack of funds for buying materials, such as woods for carving for craftsmen, ingredients for food producers and costumes for dancers. Four out of five craftsmen agreed that access to the wood is a problem because it is becoming scarce. Therefore, it could be that the craftsmen could not get raw materials even though there were sufficient funds.

The second constraint is lack of training provided by the local government. The training is often only once a year and neither continuous nor frequent, leaving it difficult for the villagers to improve their skills. In addition, the training sessions are not for everybody and as a result, there could be villagers who cannot access training for their respective cultural activities.

The third constraint is limited skills to promote their village as a tourism village for potential tourists. From the interview, it was revealed that the villagers have not seriously promoted their products or activities, such as dance, to tourists. They provide their products to the tourists only when they have an order.

The fourth constraint is the gap between generations. For example, one of the dancers said that the younger generation prefers learning modern dance, so it is difficult to interest them in learning Bobung's traditional dance and music.

The last constraint is the instability of the cultural activities in terms of income earning, except for the craftsmen. Of the four groups of villagers, craftsmen, dancers, food producers and homestay owners, only the craftsman could depend on their cultural asset as a main income source. The others must maintain other jobs as their main source of income. Therefore, it is clear that tourism-related activities have not generated enough income for the villagers thus far. As a result there is little incentive for villagers to actively participate in the cultural activities outside of handicraft production.

Domestic Tourists

There were four main constraints found from the interview with domestic tourists. The first one is expense. The "Tourism Package" that Bobung prepared is expensive for domestic tourists and none of the domestic tourists interviewed were interested in the package due to its high price.

The second constraint is the lack of facilities in Bobung Village. There are no hotels or restaurants that service tourists. Those who want to stay over in the village need to request a homestay but there are only three families offering homestays in Bobung. It is clear that there are not enough facilities for tourists to stay in Bobung for a relatively long period. Tourists also worried about management and cleanliness of the homestay facilities.

Transportation is another constraint. There is public transportation up to the nearest main road from Yogyakarta to Bobung, but no public transportation from the main road to the village. Furthermore, the domestic tourists interviewed also commented that the narrowness of the road that leads from the main road to the village was one of the problems.

The majority of the domestic tourists were from nearby the Bobung area, thus concluding that a fourth constraint is the lack of information being disseminated about Bobung outside of neighboring areas.

International Tourists

All the international tourists interviewed had never been to Bobung, so the findings from the interviews with international tourists were mainly based on the analysis of general information about tourism in Yogyakarta.

Usually, international tourists spend only three or four days in Yogyakarta, leaving time for only the main tourist destinations, such as Borobudur and Prambanan. In addition seven tourists out of eight did not know the concept of "Tourism Village." Therefore, the length of their stay in Yogyakarta (or in Indonesia, too), is a constraint to developing tourism to the outer areas, in addition to the lack of promotion of the Tourism Villages to international tourists.

Travel Agencies

From the interview with two travel agencies, three main challenges were found. The first challenge is to create a connection between the village and travel agencies in Yogyakarta. The research revealed that

there has been no business connection between them to date and thus the reason Bobung is not known by people outside of the area, due to the lack of promotion. One of the travel agents agreed to promote Bobung better if the village was to ask for their cooperation. They are also willing to distribute brochures, leaflets and other promotional information at their offices and would be willing to help if the village where needed. The fact that neither agency knew about Bobung's tourism package is evidence of a lack of connection between travel agencies and Bobung.

According to the agency, the distance from the city of Yogyakarta to Bobung could be another challenge. It takes approximately one hour from the city and tourists tend to go to other villages nearer to Yogyakarta.

It was also mentioned that there is no central showroom in Bobung. There are nine showrooms in the village, each displaying the types of products produced by the individual member running the showroom. Thus, tourists have to go from one showroom to another to see all the products produced in Bobung, rather than one central location.

7. Recommendations and Suggestions

7-1 Further Utilization of Cultural Potentials

From the results of interviews, there are several suggestions and recommendations for the various stakeholders to upgrade Bobung Village in order to be more attractive to tourists, as well as to improve the products along with the cultural potential that already exist in the village. According to the tour agencies, the criteria for tourists to select destinations to visit are as follows:

1. Cultural attractiveness
2. Natural attractiveness
3. Safety and security
4. Easy access
5. Climate
6. Comfort (facilities)

Through our observation, Bobung village seems to meet most of the criteria except the infrastructure and accommodation facilities, which should be improved. With regard to these points, the responses given by local tourists for further improvements of the village have clearly indicated three specific challenges: transportation (88%), homestay facilities (75%) and promotion (63%).

According to the perception of tourists, without their own transportation and with a lack of public transportation to access the village from the main road, as well as internal transportation, it is too inconvenient to visit. Hence, local transportation should be provided in the village, which will serve both local tourists international visitors alike.

Regarding the homestay business, there are only three houses available but they fail to have adequate facilities. These houses were granted homestay privileges due to the views of the surrounding landscape from the house (based on interviews), which is not sufficient enough to attract tourists to spend an

extended time in the village. It was found that there was a high rate of dissatisfaction in the homestay experience; therefore, a revised criterion of houses being selected should include the view of the landscape and atmosphere but also the quality of the facilities.

With the limited dissemination of information from the government and heavy dependency of local people on the government and other stakeholders such as NGOs, associations and previous visitors, the village seems not to be well known by others, especially tour agencies who have the highest potential for informing not only local visitors, but also international tourists. In accordance to this, connecting with tour agencies is imperative and the village should endeavour to build mutual relationships with them.

Besides these three main concerns expressed by the tourists, there are other issues raised as a result of the research, with suggestions for improvement:

- Public facilities, such as restrooms, should be cleaner.
- According to the interview with villagers, few people are aware of the tourism package developed by the village leaders for the benefit of the whole village. This information needs to be distributed to all villagers for the purpose of setting standard prices for products and services
- The village should create a centralized information centre to assist tourists.
- Villagers need to diversify their handicraft products to produce more than wooden masks and utilize other potential resources such as local food, dance and other traditional rituals to attract more tourists. Indeed, wooden masks can be purchased in other villages (for example, Kreet) and other markets across Yogyakarta.
- Selling unfinished products to other regions does not seem to contribute to the local employment nor economy. The villagers need to incorporate all the steps of the wooden mask production to be able to produce the finished product.

8. Conclusion

The research objectives of this group were aimed at finding cultural potentials for tourism in Bobung Village, identifying the current level of utilization of those potentials and seeking opportunities for further utilization for the future. The results of the fieldwork show that the village has many potentials, such as handicraft, dance, food, traditional rituals and festivals. Though almost all the villagers acknowledge these potentials and know about the Desa Wisata policy, the level of utilization is relatively limited. Compared to other tourism villages, which have the same products, e.g. Kreet, and villages that develop other products to attract tourists, e.g. Kasongan, Bobung seems to have much room for improvement to reach further success. The relatively small number of tourists indicates that currently there is limited success to their tourism strategy. Also there is room for further improvement in the way they manage tourism activity.

Some important aspects should be given more attention in their development of a tourist village to make tourism village grow and enable it to compete with potential rival villages. Such aspects include tourist attractions, the commitment of the community to receive more tourists, support facilities, marketing, cooperation with outside stakeholders such as NGOs and travel agents, more support from government, etc.

If all of these elements are optimized, tourism in the village will produce multiplier effects, and in return, impact all of the residents and institutions involved.

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