



Field Report

Moving Out of Poverty: The Case of Desa Branta Pesisir, Kabupaten Pamekasan

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December 2006

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ABSTRACT

Poverty is an extremely complex phenomenon that is linked to many specific factors and contexts. In the present study, the dynamics of poverty – including movements out of poverty – are seen as part of the social mobility that occurs in a community. This study specifically aims to understand why and how a group of people in a community can move out of poverty, while other groups fall into or remain entrapped in poverty. Movement out of poverty is analyzed through the interactions between the agency of different actors and the opportunity structure within which they operate. Therefore, this study identified a number of structural and agency factors that influence movements out of poverty both at the individual/household and community level.

The study was conducted in Branta Pesisir, a coastal community that is located in Madura Island (Pamekasan District, East Java Province). The data has been collected by using a combination of qualitative (FGD, life story in-depth-interview, observation) and quantitative (household survey) methods. In Branta Pesisir, the dynamics of socio-economic mobility are positively influenced by the accessible coastline and adequate public facilities (good roads and transportation). These factors have enabled community members to develop various livelihoods, so that they become less dependent on fisheries. Secondly, people's open attitude to new elements, critical attitude to power, their ability to accept a variety of social differences, and the overall security in the village are important social conditions that can enhance prosperity. In addition, Branta Pesisir has various economic opportunities that enable villagers to diversify income sources to ensure a more stable economic condition. To support efforts for upward movement in these coastal communities, technical and financial assistance is needed to establish and manage the Fishermen's Cooperative and public fish auction site. Fishers must be able to obtain cheap loans for their needs, and an auction site would prevent them from falling into debt with moneylenders or middlemen who force the fishers to sell their catch at low prices.

Keywords: Poverty, Community Prosperity, Individual Mobility, Conflict.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BBM	: <i>bahan bakar minyak</i> (Fuel)
BPD	: <i>Badan Perwakilan Desa</i> (Village Representative Council)
BUMN	: <i>Badan Usaha Milik Negara</i> (State-owned enterprise)
F	: Female
Golkar	: <i>Golongan Karya</i> (One of the prominent political parties in Indonesia)
JPS	: <i>Jaring Pengaman Sosial</i> (Social Safety Net)
KK	: <i>kepala keluarga</i> (Family head)
krismon	: <i>krisis moneter</i> (Monetary Crisis)
KTP	: <i>kartu tanda penduduk</i> (National Identity Card)
lansia	: <i>lanjut usia</i> (The elderly)
LSM	: <i>lembaga swadaya masyarakat</i> (Non-government organization)
M	: Male
musrenbang	: <i>musyawarah perencanaan pembangunan</i> (A consultative meeting for development planning)
MTs	: <i>Madrasah Tsanawiyah</i> (A formal religious junior high school)
NU	: <i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> (An organization for Muslim scholars)
PAN	: <i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> (National Mandate Party)
PBB	: <i>Partai Bulan Bintang</i> (Star and Moon Party)
PDAM	: <i>Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum</i> (Regional Drinking Water Company)
PDIP	: <i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i> (Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle)
PKB	: <i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> (National Awakening Party)
PKK	: <i>Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> (Family Welfare Movement)
PKI	: <i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Communist Party)
PNS	: <i>pegawai negeri sipil</i> (Civil servant)
PPP	: <i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> (United Development Party)
puskesmas	: <i>pusat kesehatan masyarakat</i> (Community Healthcare Center)
Raskin	: <i>beras untuk masyarakat miskin</i> (Rice for poor communities)
SD	: <i>sekolah dasar</i> (Elementary school)
SMP	: <i>sekolah menengah pertama</i> (Junior high school)
SMU	: <i>sekolah menengah umum</i> (Public high school)
SPBU	: <i>stasiun pengisian bahan bakar umum</i> (Gas station)
TDL	: <i>tarif dasar listrik</i> (Basic Price of Electricity)
TK	: <i>taman kanak-kanak</i> (Kindergarten)
TKI	: <i>tenaga kerja Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Migrant Workers)
TKW	: <i>tenaga kerja wanita</i> (Indonesian Women Migrant Workers)
TPA	: <i>Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an</i> (Qur'anic Education for Kindergarten)
UGD	: <i>unit gawat darurat</i> (Emergency Care Unit)

GLOSSARY

<i>Bajing</i>	: A village hoodlum
<i>Bedug</i>	: A kind of drum that is used in the mosque to call people for prayers
<i>Bek rembek</i>	: Discussion
<i>Klebun</i>	: Village head
<i>Kyai</i>	: Leader of a religious boarding school, a religious teacher
<i>Krupuk</i>	: A type of fried snack
<i>Mesken</i>	: <i>Miskin</i> (Poor)
<i>Ojek</i>	: A motorcycle taxi
<i>Pocong</i>	: A type of ghost
<i>Rembuk</i>	: Discussion
<i>Sogi/Sogeh</i>	: <i>Kaya</i> /Rich
<i>Tahlilan</i>	: A prayer service for someone who has died
<i>Ustadz/Ustad</i>	: A religious teacher

I. INTRODUCTION¹

A. Background of the Study and its Analytical Framework

The Moving out of Poverty study specifically aims to identify which individuals or groups are able to escape poverty, why some people are able to move out of poverty and how they achieve upward mobility. This study is also an endeavor to understand the movement out of poverty by comparing it with the situation where people remain trapped in chronic poverty or fall into poverty.

In this study, socio-economic mobility in general, and in particular movement out of poverty, are firstly contextualized within overall economic growth. It is assumed that economic growth can stimulate upward mobility. Secondly, movement out of poverty is connected to conflicts that occur in a community. Conflict is perceived as having negative impacts on social mobility and prosperity. In a country with hundreds of ethnic groups, cultural heritages, traditions and local languages such as Indonesia, conflict has a complex mix of historical, political, social, economic, and structural causes (Mawdsley, 2002). Local tensions based on ethno-religious or spontaneous migration to other regions can lead to local competition for jobs and to disputes over land and resources between newcomers and indigenous people, which all result in social jealousies and economic disparities between groups (Mawdsley, 2002).

In the light of all the above, the study was conducted in Indonesia on the basis of sampling that used two main variables, namely, level of growth (high and low) and intensity of conflict (high, medium and low/non-existent). The research was carried out in two provinces, North Maluku and East Java, both of which have been affected by conflicts. Two administrative districts (*kabupaten*) were selected in each province, one with a high level of growth and one with a low level of growth. Two or three villages were chosen in each district: one had a high intensity of conflict; one a medium intensity of conflict; and one a low intensity of conflict or no conflict at all.

This study explores a wide range of physical, social, political, institutional and economic mechanisms that hinder or facilitate the movement of poor people out of poverty. The study complements and makes use of ongoing work at the macro level and is highly relevant to the design and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies and policies in Indonesia. The perspectives of policy-makers and local people on the key events and policies that have impacted poverty over the last decade will also be captured in this study.

The analytical framework for the Moving out of Poverty study is broad and looks at the relationship between the agency of different actors and the opportunity structure within which they operate. It assumes that most societies are stratified and hence assumes inequality in power relations that are reflected in the societies' institutions. The framework focuses on the relationship or the interaction between the agency of different actors and the opportunity structure leading to different outcomes in mobility (Narayan, 2005).

¹This section is taken from the research design of the study: "Moving Out of Poverty: Understanding Freedom, Democracy, Governance, and Growth from the Bottom-up. Indonesia Case Study: North Maluku and East Java." Country Synthesis Report SMERU Research Institute. Draft, September 2006.

The figure in Appendix II presents the four domains of the framework – the key forces that interact to facilitate or constrain poor people’s efforts to improve their own well-being, and that also affect broader development outcomes. The figure highlights the fact that the empowerment and movement out of poverty of individuals or groups are influenced by: (a) a change in the capacity of these actors to take purposeful actions, that is, to exercise *agency*; and (b) a change in the social, political, and institutional contexts, which defines the broader *opportunity structure* in which these actors pursue their interests. There are multiple interactions between agency and opportunity structure, indicated by the arrow in the center of the figure (Narayan, 2005).

The concepts of opportunity structure and agency developed by Patti Petesch, Catalina Smulovitz and Michael Walton are superimposed on the four building blocks (Narayan, 2005). The first two building blocks constitute the opportunity structure that poor people face, while the second two make up the capacity for agency of poor people themselves. The opportunity structure of a society is defined by the broader institutional, social, and political contexts of formal and informal rules and norms within which actors pursue their interests. Agency is defined by the capacity of actors to take purposeful action, a function of both individual and collective assets and capabilities. All four components influence each other, and together they have effects on development outcomes. The empowerment of poor, excluded, or subordinate groups, which ultimately enables the poor to move out of poverty, is a product of the interaction between the agency of these individuals and groups and the opportunity structure in which this agency is potentially exercised.

This field report (Community Synthesis Report/CSR), however, will present only a part of the framework by mainly using FGD results and community profiles from the informants. Later, the framework will be fully exhausted in the Country Synthesis Report that will analyze the ten communities studied and make use of the CSRs.

B. Methodology

This study applied an integrated package of qualitative and quantitative methods developed by the Moving Out of Poverty Global Team.² The qualitative methods discovered the unknown, the how and why behind people’s movements, and explored whether the factors are multidimensional and combined or are sequenced in certain ways. The quantitative methods produced data that demonstrate the magnitude of various experiences in escaping poverty. In addition, the quantitative methods identified the factors that have the strongest correlation with movements out of poverty.

In adopting a qualitative approach at the village level, the research team interviewed community leaders and conducted at least eight focus group discussions (FGDs) with groups of men and women separately. The community leaders were men and/or women who had a certain level of knowledge of the village. In addition, the team also sought the assistance of community leaders to obtain a list of village community members and, wherever necessary, to confirm the movers and non-movers (those who have been trapped in poverty over a period of time) who were identified in the FGDs using the Ladder of Life technique.

²Led by Deepa Narayan from the World Bank Office of India.

Information from the Ladder of Life FGD was used to select 35 to 39 respondents for the household questionnaire. The respondents were grouped into four categories namely, 'never poor', 'mover', 'chronic poor' and 'faller'³ with the composition shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Composition of Required Respondents

Ten years ago	Now	
	Poor or worse off	Rich or better-off
Poor or worse off	Chronic poor (20%)	Movers (40%)
Rich or better-off	Fallers (10%)	Never Poor (30%)

In total, the study in Branta Pesisir involved nine FGDs, 36 household respondents and 18 individual life story respondents (see Appendix 1). Field research in Branta Pesisir was carried out simultaneously with research in other eight communities in East Java and North Maluku from 11 July to 7 August 2005. The researchers spent approximately 15 working days in each village.

C. Sampling

The sampling frame was developed using a combination of the 1996-2002 Gross Domestic Regional Product (GDRP) data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS), the 2003 Village Potential (*Podes*),⁴ and other resources and informants. These data were then combined with other sources or reports specifically focused on conflict issues. Among other sources were the World Bank Conflict Team, UNSFIR, LIPI, and local informants who have knowledge of their areas. The 1996-2002 GDRP was used to select the districts based on

³The prosperity mobility of a household is determined by examining the change in the position of the household on the Ladder of Life at the current time (2005) and ten years ago (1995). A household is classified as belonging to the 'chronic poor' if the position of this household on the Ladder of Life is below the poverty line (CPL or OPL), both now and ten years ago. Alternately, households can be said to be 'never poor' if they are currently above the poverty line (CPL or OPL) and also were ten years ago. Households that were below the poverty line ten years ago but have now passed the poverty line are classified as 'movers'. A household that ten years ago was above the poverty line but is now below the poverty line is classified as a 'faller'.

Ten years ago (1995)	Currently (2005)	Mobility
Rich (above the poverty line)	Rich (above the poverty line)	Never poor
Poor (below the poverty line)	Rich (above the poverty line)	Mover
Poor (below the poverty line)	Poor (below the poverty line)	Chronic poor
Rich (above the poverty line)	Poor (below the poverty line)	Faller

During this study, the welfare position of a household was determined by the participants of a FGD that consisted of a maximum of 12 people. After the FGD participants (the men's group was separated from the women's group) discussed the Ladder of Life, they were asked to determine the position of households in the community (sometimes as many as 150 households) on the steps of the Ladder of Life, both at the present time and ten years ago.

⁴The Village Potential Statistics (*Podes*) has been conducted three times in ten years by Statistics Indonesia (BPS). BPS has adopted a definition of local conflict as being beyond a particular threshold of violence within a given locality in the past year that may have resulted in loss of life, serious injury or property damage (Barron 2005: 4). Localities are rural villages or their urban equivalent. Responses were compiled from village leaders and central government statistical agents (*mantri statistik*) posted at the subdistrict level.

economic growth,⁵ while the 2003 *Podes* and other conflict reports as well as the information gathered from key local informants were used to identify villages where conflict had occurred.

The local conflicts that were considered when selecting the villages for this study included open violent conflict between groups (villagers and inter-ethnic disputes) and other local horizontal conflicts that have been resolved peacefully.⁶ The conflict questions appeared only in the 2003 *Podes* and there is no data covering conflict for ten years ago. One of the questions also asked was whether the conflict was new or old, however the question does not ask when the conflict started.

In East Java, Kabupaten Pamekasan was chosen because of its low rate of growth while Probolinggo District was selected for its high growth level. The community of Lunas, in the village of Branta Pesisir is located in Kabupaten Pamekasan and represents a community that has experienced low-intensity conflict and although it is low growth, it has a relatively high level of economic prosperity compared with other communities in the same village.

In this report, 'community' is used as a synonym for 'hamlet' or 'kampong' with a stress on the various social relationships that bind the citizenry. A hamlet is the smallest official administrative unit of Desa Branta Pesisir. This village consists of 11 hamlets, one of which is Lunas.

Previous experience has determined that informants (FGD participants) might only be able to identify the welfare status of maximum 100 persons who are/were community members now and ten years ago, whereas the size of a village could be more than 1,000 families. Therefore, it was decided to choose hamlets (RWs) consisting of 4-6 neighborhoods⁷ as a sample community to represent a village. The research team decided to focus the research on the hamlet of Lunas. While other hamlets in Branta Pesisir consist of households with the same livelihoods (e.g. all fishers, or all traders), the livelihoods of households within Lunas are varied and representative of all livelihoods found in the village of Branta Pesisir. In addition, Lunas is considered to be a social-geographical unit with clear limitations in the sense that its residents are well acquainted with each other. This is important because the FGD participants have to know and undertake the household groupings in their community for the mobility matrix. However, a 'hamlet' also still has quite a large population—more than 150 households are needed for the mobility matrix—to stand as one socio-economic unit that has specific characteristics.

⁵Except in North Maluku; since data were not available, local judgment was used.

⁶*Podes* 2003 questions that relate to the definition of local conflict appear in the politics and security module (question numbers 1703 to 1704). These are: 1) Has there been any conflict in the village over the past year? (2) If yes, what type of conflict has frequently occurred over the last year (disputes between groups or villagers, disputes between villagers and apparatus, disputes between students, inter-ethnic disputes and other security issues)? (3) If yes, is the conflict new or old? (4) Number of conflict victims (dead, injured, material damage)? (5) Was the conflict resolved peacefully? (6) If yes, who resolved the conflict (the community, village officials, or security apparatus)?

⁷A neighborhood usually consists of 30-40 households.

As all the key informants and FGD participants were chosen from Lunas hamlet to represent the village of Branta Pesisir, in discussions and interviews these two units (hamlet–village) are often difficult to separate consistently. Identity as a citizen of Lunas and Branta Pesisir are closely tied, so the FGD participants and key informants refer to those two identities equally or interchangeably in providing their responses.

It is important to note that Lunas is the most prosperous hamlet in Branta Pesisir. Compared to other hamlets, the trade sector in Lunas is developing rapidly. In addition, Lunas is located in the center of Branta Pesisir near the port of Branta and the village's main street. According to the village head of Branta Pesisir, economic development in his village is reflected in the economic development of Lunas.

D. Community Mobility Measurement

In measuring community mobility, this study used a mobility matrix as a basis of analyses, which shows the positions of each household on the Ladder of Life now and then (ten years ago). The analyses will use twelve different mobility indices, namely:

- (1) the Prosperity Index,
- (2) the Falling Index,
- (3) the Net Prosperity Index,
- (4) the Mobility Index,
- (5) the Moving out of Poverty Index,
- (6) the Shared Prosperity Index,
- (7) the Mobility of the Poor Index,
- (8) the Mobility of the Rich Index,
- (9) the Falling of the Poor Index,
- (10) the Falling of the Rich Index,
- (11) the Net Prosperity of the Poor Index,
- (12) the Net Prosperity of the Rich Index

(see Appendix III: an overview of the twelve indexes).

These indexes are a way to sort communities by type of movement and are intended to provide an understanding of how mobility patterns may or may not be linked to the policy focus, growth context or other key findings of the study.

II. CURRENT COMMUNITY PROFILE⁸

A. Physical Environment

The village of Branta Pesisir is located approximately seven kilometers from the center of the city of Pamekasan, and is a fishing village. Not a single key informant, including the village head, knows when this fishing village came into existence. However, in general, they are certain that Branta Pesisir has become more crowded with a dense population. While the area is now crowded with housing, in the past there was a large stretch of coastline with only one or two houses.

One main road splits the village of Branta Pesisir. Both sides of the main street are lined with houses, various shops, *warung* (small shops), storehouses and a number of trucks for the transport of rice. The main street ends at main gate of the port of Branta. Behind the main gate, there is a recently built pier that is not yet fully functioning. Here, Branta fishers tether their boats that are painted in a variety of colors. During the day, the villagers use the side of the pier as a place to dry fish. At night, the new pier becomes a place for the youths to gather. Not far from the Branta port gate are the village office, a gas station, and market.

The fishers' crowded housing area with its special smell is found behind the houses, *warung* and shops along the main street. This housing area appears disorderly with its narrow laneways resembling a labyrinth. In various places it gives the impression of being vile (*kumuh*). Nevertheless, here and there various nice, new buildings with walls clad with glossy ceramic tiles can be seen. The mosque and the village head's house are found among these new buildings. In this *kampung* the fishers generally do not have their own yards, so villagers undertake the various daily activities in the narrow streets in front of their houses.

B. Population and Number of Households

According to the village head of Branta Pesisir, the population of the village in 2005 is 4,964 people or 1,113 households. Ten years ago, the population was 4,230 people or around 900 households. According to two key informants (M, 43 and F, 28), in the last ten years roughly the same numbers of people have left and arrived in the village.

C. Important Social Groups

Almost the entire population of Branta Pesisir is ethnic Madurese and Muslim. A minority (less than 1%) are ethnic Javanese, while there are three ethnic Chinese families. The majority of the population speaks Madurese and approximately 50% speak Bahasa Indonesia. According to our key informants, the level of social discrepancy among the villagers of Branta Pesisir is very small and there has been no change during the last ten years.

⁸The hamlet of Lunas contains approximately 150 households. It is the most prosperous hamlet in Branta Pesisir, with the most varied livelihoods. It is located near the main road of Branta Pesisir, and has a daily market, electricity, telephone network, and access to clean water. Due to Lunas's small size, and the interconnected nature of the physical environment, community facilities, and infrastructure in Lunas and Branta Pesisir, this chapter provides an overall profile of the village of Branta Pesisir.

D. Main Livelihoods of Men and Women

The majority of villagers work as fishers (approximately 70%).⁹ In general, those working as fishers are men. In addition, many villagers work as traders (rice, fish, daily necessities and fishing requirements) and entrepreneurs (for example, owners of *krupuk* factories). Most women work in the trade sector. The basic wage of male adult laborers in this village is between Rp15,000–Rp22,500 per day and ten years ago it was around Rp7,500. Female laborers, in general, work at unloading fish from the boats. On average they are paid Rp13,500 per day and ten years ago their wages were approximately Rp7,000 per day. A minority of villagers work as tailors, civil servants, pedicab (*becak*) drivers, wharf laborers, building laborers, food sellers and so forth.

E. Access to Basic Infrastructure

Branta Pesisir has a road that connects the village with the subdistrict and district offices. It is an all-weather road and public transport vehicles (*angkutan perdesaan*) can be seen servicing the route in and out of the village. The majority of villagers use potable water that comes from a well or public water utility (PDAM). Moreover, in 2003, a special channel was built from the water source to the village. This village also has an electricity network, three mosques, several *wartel* (public telephone kiosks) and two markets. One of these two markets is open every day.

F. Social Development

Branta Pesisir has an elementary school and junior high school. Key informants gave a positive evaluation of the quality of education in these schools ('good' and 'adequate'). In their opinion, the teachers treat male and female students equally. In addition, there is a *Puskemas Pembantu* (secondary healthcare center) with midwives, but there is no doctor.

G. Important Institutions (Government and Non-government)

In 2005 there are five political party branches (PKB, PPP, PDIP, PAN and Golkar). In addition, there are three religious organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah and Persis. According to a key informant, the most important organization for the villagers is NU, both in the year 2005 as well as ten years ago. For the women villagers, there is also PKK (Family Welfare Movement) and Dasa Wisma. The most important government institution is the village administration that consists of 11 hamlets/communities, one of which is the hamlet of Lunas.

⁹The fishing profession in Branta Pesisir can be distinguished in three parts, namely: small-scale fishers (approximately 45%, with non-motorized boats, income around Rp10,000 each time of going to sea), medium-scale fishers (approximately 30%, using motorized boats, gross income of around Rp50,000 on each trip) and large-scale fishers (approximately 25%, using large motorized boats with large trawling nets and income around Rp500,000 per trip).

III. COMMUNITY PROSPERITY AND UNDERSTANDING MOBILITY

A. Trends in Community Prosperity

In both the men's and women's groups, participants in the Ladder of Life FGD said that Branta was more prosperous today than it was ten years ago. Women view that the increase in prosperity in Branta can be seen in additional work opportunities and the progress of fishers who now also use motorized boats. One participant associated the enhanced prosperity with cleanliness, "Previously, the use of toilets was unknown. Now from the perspective of cleanliness is also better. During the *pengajian* [recitation of the Koran], it is clear that cleanliness is important, that cleanliness is partly from faith. The community here, before the *ustadz* explained with *hadist*¹⁰ did not want to believe it" (F, 63). In addition, it was also mentioned that juvenile delinquency in Branta had declined (F, 38).

Although the women's group agreed that prosperity in Branta had increased, they said that during the ten-year period it has become increasingly difficult for individual villagers to look for work and enhance their prosperity. "Although they have a diploma, it is difficult if you don't have money, the outcome is usually being a fisher. Like me, for example, a graduate of senior high school but can't find work anywhere, in the end I became a seller of spiced fruit (*rujak*)" (F, 29). Another participant said that she forbid her child, who is a graduate of a tertiary education institute in Malang, from coming back to Branta, "It's a shame for him, here he would just be a fisher although it has already cost me millions of rupiah" (F, 63). In addition, "Looking for work as a civil servant is increasingly difficult, if you're looking for work outside the civil service it is not too difficult. There are many who have succeeded in finishing their studies, but there are no employment vacancies. If you're a woman there's a lot of work. For example, slicing *krupuk*. Every day work around two hours for wages of Rp5,000" (F, 29).

When questioned about the prosperity prospects for Branta villagers in the next ten years, the women's group associated prospects with the development of the new wharf in their village. "If the wharf is operating, then we may be more prosperous" (F, 28). But one participant was unsure, "If the wharf is fully functioning, it could be more profitable for traders. But for the fishing community it is more worrying. Large ships with better motors may come later and result in the small fisher losing out" (F, 28). Another participant said that, "If the government opens a factory here, then (with the help of God), our youth can work here" (F, 38).

¹⁰*Hadist*: Traditional collection of stories relating words or deed of Muhammad, the chief source of guidance for understanding religious questions.

As was the case with the women's group, the men said that Branta was more prosperous than ten years ago. They associated this improvement with several factors such as:

- Improvements in housing conditions: "Previously, there were a lot of houses that were made from woven bamboo or iron. Now many have concrete walls. There are now many housing models, so there is a saying 'regret already building a house a month ago because housing models continue to change and get better'" (M, 52).
- The use of better fishing equipment: "The difference [with ten years ago] is very significant. Previously, you went to sea without sophisticated equipment, in a boat without a motor, and their fishing tools and income were only sufficient to eat for one day. Now you're going to sea using motorized boats, mini trawling equipment (nets), so the incomes are higher" (M, 27).
- Availability of education: "Previously, education was poor and the schools far away, a junior high school has now been built" (M, 33).
- More economic opportunities and a higher level of income: "In general, villagers incomes have increased, there are a lot of trucks so young men have their own incomes by becoming drivers or driver's off-siders" (M, 48).

Participants were also optimistic that prosperity in Branta will continue to improve in the next ten years, with the condition "If assistance is sincerely given to the people, such as assistance with education and health care" (M, 48).

The men's group also said that although the prosperity of their village had increased, it was now more difficult for individual villagers to find an income. For fishers, this difficulty was caused especially by the rise in fuel prices. "Fishers are finding it increasingly difficult to make a living. The price of 100 liters of diesel is Rp250,000. Sometimes fishers lose on the diesel and can only earn Rp10,000 (for one trip to sea), is this enough? Looking for work is easy, but the income is declining. So working is only to struggle to survive, just enough to survive on" (M, 56). To overcome declining incomes, many villagers have to borrow money from moneylenders and repay the debt each day, so "If there is any additional income it is used to pay to the 'loan shark'. This has to be paid every day" (M, 48).

Based on the Ladder of Life resulted from the discussion with women's groups, it seems that prosperity is better now compared to ten years ago. This is indicated by the women's view that ten years ago there were only four steps, as no villagers were on step number 5 (most wealthy). In addition, the characteristics of each step are different now. At the moment (2005) the majority of the population of Lunas (70%) is on step 3 (normal), while ten years ago 50% of the population was on step 2 (poor). The difference in the characteristics of step 3 (normal) for example "People on step 3 (ten years ago) had income that could be saved for a rainy day in the future. People at that level now have income that can be saved and to provide food for seven days into the future" (F, 28). Then men's group indicated that there are now the same number of steps in the ladder as there were ten years ago

The Ladder of Life and characteristics of each step based on women and men's groups are shown in figure 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. The women's group made a ladder of life with more steps (5 steps) than the men's group (3 steps). The women made a more detailed differentiation

of the pre-prosperous group between the 'destitute' and 'poor' as well as the prosperous group between 'wealthy' and 'most wealthy'. The total income at each step mentioned by the women's group was lower than that mentioned by the men. The Ladder of Life comparison between now and ten years ago appear in Figure 3.1.3.

The characteristics of the lowest step (most lacking in prosperity) that were equally identified by both FGDs is: (1) not having a house, and (2) income that is insufficient to fulfill daily needs. Meanwhile the characteristics of the highest step (most prosperous) identified by both FGDs are: (1) ownership of various luxurious goods (car, large house), (2) ability to educate children to tertiary level, and (3) ability to seek medical treatment from a specialist doctor in Surabaya.

The men's group associated the characteristics of each step with levels of community involvement. The 'middle' group (*Tongkol*, step 2) is considered to be the most involved in the community. The 'poor' group (*Teri*, step 1) has difficulty participating in community affairs because they cannot meet the social costs, while the wealthy (*Kakap*, step 3) were often mentioned as refusing to participate in social activities such as voluntary work.

Figure 3.1.1 Ladder of Life and Characteristics of Each Ladder – Women’s Group

Ladder of Life	Characteristics of Each Ladder
<p>STEP 5 MOST WEALTHY Income: minimum of Rp175,000 per day or Rp3,500,000/month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Work as fishers owning a large boat or trade rice to Java” (F, 28) ▪ “Gross income of Rp175,000 – 500,000 per day. For the owners of large boats this still has to be shared with the crew of the boat” (F, 38) ▪ “Have a car, sometimes more than 2, have a truck but nowhere to store it so it disturbs the environment” (F, 29) ▪ “Have an air-conditioned house” (F, 29) ▪ “If sick and never well, seek treatment from a specialist doctor in Surabaya” (F, 63) ▪ “Can educate children to tertiary level/ university” (F, 63) • “Their prosperity is assured, their lifestyle is good, not wanting for anything” (F, 29)
<p>STEP 4 WEALTHY Income: minimum Rp750,000 per month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Minimum income of Rp750,000 per month” (F, 29) ▪ “Some are civil servants” (F, 38) ▪ “Have a rather large shop” (F, 29) ▪ “Most have a car, but in poor condition” (F, 30) ▪ “Have a fan, video, TV, tape recorder” (F, 29) ▪ “Have jewelry” (F, 28) ▪ “If sick, go to a doctor” (F, 63) ▪ “Have usually been to school or higher education” (F, 38)
<p>STEP 3 NORMAL/JUST ENOUGH Income: approximately Rp450,000 – Rp500,000 per month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Have work and enough to eat” (F, 29) ▪ “Work as a fisher or small-scale fish trader. If working as a fisher, usually have a small boat for 1-2 people” (F, 28) ▪ “Monthly income of approximately Rp450,000 – Rp500,000” (F, 29) ▪ “Have an ordinary house” (F, 63) ▪ “Have a fan, bicycle or motorcycle” (F, 30) ▪ “If sick, treated at the <i>puskemas</i>” (F, 63) ▪ “Can educate children to junior or senior high school, but to university is difficult” (F, 38)
<p>STEP 2 POOR Income: maximum Rp400,000/month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Daily work is usual for fishers or small traders, their life is not sufficient” (F, 28) ▪ “Income of a married couple of approximately Rp40,000/month. Usually increase income by slicing <i>krupuk</i> and their income at most is Rp60,000/month. Sometimes selling cakes made by other people, he obtains a commission of 1% of the total sales” (F, 29) ▪ “Their houses are made of <i>gedhek</i> (woven bamboo), floors of sand” (F, 63 years) ▪ “Health is not assured, if sick treated at the <i>puskemas</i> and don’t need to pay” (F, 63 years) ▪ “School children until graduate from elementary school, there are some who don’t graduate. They don’t need to pay school fees” (F, 30 years)
<p>STEP 1 DESTITUTE Income: below Rp40,000/month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Have work but their income is only enough for food each day” (F, 29) • “Don’t have a house, so their life is so-so” (F, 29) • “Their health condition is worse than the poor, so they obtain assistance from neighbors if they are sick” (F, 30)

Note:



Poverty line according to the government and according to FGD participants (approximately Rp400,000 per month)

Figure 3.1.2 Ladder of Life and Characteristics of Each Ladder – Men’s Group

Ladder of Life ¹¹	
<p>STEP 3 KAKAP (Wealthy)</p> <p>Income of approximately Rp 5 million/month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Work as trader. Importing rice from Java to Madura and taking salt from Madura to Java” (M, 52) ▪ “Their income is around Rp5 million/month” (M, 52) ▪ “Having 2–3 luxurious houses of more than one level, more than one car, including a luxurious one” (M, 52) ▪ “Have land of approximately 1 hectare, have two ounces of gold, have a business, have a large shop. Have a hand phone and telephone at home” (M, 52) ▪ “If sick, treated at a doctor in Pamekasan or a specialist in Surabaya” (M, 56) ▪ “Can educate children to tertiary level/ university”(M, 52) ▪ “Can make the hajj to Mecca” (M, 52) ▪ “If speaking freely, lightly, don’t have a burden” (M, 52), “It’s easy to order people” (M, 56) ▪ “But don’t want to do voluntary work” (M, 52); ▪ “If borrowing at the bank their application is approved immediately, for however much they want” (M, 56);
<p>STEP 2 TONGKOL (Middle)</p> <p>Income of approximately Rp2 million/month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Work as civil servants, fishers, and small-scale traders” (M 52) ▪ “Their income is approximately Rp2 million/month” (M, 52) ▪ “Have a single ordinary house, (M, 52) ▪ “Have income sufficient to eat for a month” (M, 52) ▪ “Have one car and one motor cycle” (M, 27) ▪ “Have a telephone at home and most have a handphone” (M, 52) ▪ “Have a small shop and a food stall” (M, 52) ▪ “If sick, treated at the <i>puskesmas</i> without a JPS healthcare card and can be treated at the hospital in Pamekasan” (M, 52) ▪ “Their lifestyle is quiet” (M, 52) ▪ “They have a high level of social interaction with their community” (M, 52) ▪ “If they borrow from the bank, they can get approximately Rp10 million” (M, 56) “The loans are for expanding their business” (M, 52)
<p>STEP 1 TERI (Poor)</p> <p>Income of approximately Rp150,000/month</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “If working as a fisher, usually as a crewman or laborer” (M, 52), ▪ “Their wife works at cleaning and drying fish” (M, 27) ▪ “Don’t have a fixed income” (M, 52), ▪ “Their income is approximately Rp150,000 per month” (M, 27) ▪ “Don’t have a house, don’t have a boat” (M, 52) ▪ “Not educated, only to elementary level. Can only educate children to elementary school level” (M, 37) ▪ “If sick, treated at <i>puskesmas</i>, using a JPS healthcare card (free)” (M, 48) ▪ “Eating each day is difficult” (M, 56) ▪ “Obtain assistance from the <i>Raskin</i> program (rice for the poor)” (M, 52) ▪ “Less sociable with the community, they have little social relationship with the community” (M, 52) because “If they want to have a social relationship with the community, for example to follow <i>selamatan</i> ceremonies they don’t have money to contribute” (M, 48). “If they do voluntary work, they can only offer their labor” (M, 52).

Note: — — — Poverty line according to the government (Rp400,000 per month).

— — — Poverty line according to FGD participants (below Rp150,000 per month).

¹¹The men’s group used several types of fish to describe each group on each step of the ladder. The fish type used was consistent with its price in the market, namely *ikan teri*, *tongkol* and *kakap*.

**Figure 3.1.3 Proportion of Community Population in Each Ladder
Now and Ten Years Ago**

Present Characteristics	STEP	Characteristics Ten Years Ago
Total of 3%	5 Most Wealthy	None
Total of 5% Have AC	4 Wealthy	Total of 5% Only have fans
Total of 70% “Income can be saved for use on a rainy day” (F, 28)	3 Normal	Total of 30% “Their income could be saved for use over the next 7 days” (F, 28)
Total of 20% “Can now work drying fish” (F, 28)	2 Poor	Total of 50% “Worked as shellfish seeker” (F, 28)
Total of 2%	1 Destitute	Total of 15%

To examine those views, Figure 3.1.4 below is the household mobility matrix based on women’s group¹² that shows the movement of each household during the last ten years.

¹²It was agreed that the Indonesian team would use the Ladder of Life that has the greatest number of steps because it is considered to reflect the groupings in the community in more detail. For that reason, for the community of Lunas, Branta Pesisir uses the ladder of life that was identified by the women’s FGD (5 steps). The mobility matrix was also based on information from the women’s FGD and became the reference in the sampling for the household questionnaire and individual life stories.

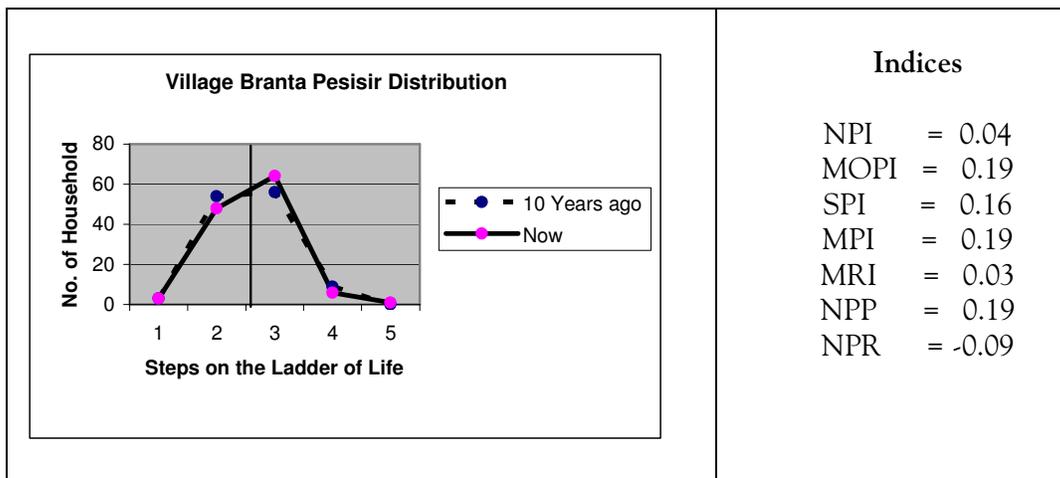
Figure 3.1.4 Household Mobility Matrix

STEP Ten years ago	Now					Total Households (Ten years ago)
	1 Destitute	2 Poor	3 Normal	4 Wealthy	5 Most wealthy	
1 Destitute	8; 9; 38					3
2 Poor		3; 4; 7; 10; 11; 17; 20; 21; 23; 24; 25; 27; 32; 35; 36; 39; 43; 44; 45; 47; 48; 49; 50; 52; 55; 57; 59; 60; 65; 66; 69; 70; 72; 86; 87; 93; 94; 102; 104; 110; 111; 115; 121.	12; 15; 29; 37; 92; 95; 96; 97; 99; 101; 114.			54
3 Normal		30; 78; 83; 107; 112	1; 6; 13; 16; 18; 19; 22; 26; 28; 33; 34; 42; 46; 51; 53; 56; 58; 61; 62; 63; 64; 67; 68; 71; 73; 74; 75; 77; 79; 80; 81; 82; 88; 89; 90; 91; 98; 100; 103; 105; 106; 108; 109; 113; 116; 117; 118; 119; 120; 123	5		56
4 Wealthy			41; 54; 122	2; 14; 40; 76; 84	85	9
Total Households (Now)	3	48	64	6	1	122

Community poverty line

Based on the mobility matrix above, Figure 3.1.5 below presents the results of the calculations of indices in Branta Pesisir and the explanation of the indices. The only indices analyzed are those that show movement in the prosperity of community and households, especially poor households, namely NPI, MOPI, MPI, MRI, and NPP.

Figure 3.1.5 The Calculation of Indices in Branta Pesisir



Even though participants in the Ladder of Life FGD for both the men and women's groups believe that Branta Pesisir is more prosperous today than it was ten years ago, the above indices explain that households tend to have stagnated whether they are wealthy or poor and have not experienced a change in their prosperity over the last ten years. Several wealthy households have had falls in their prosperity, so the NPR is negative. This is especially caused by the decrease in income levels for the main livelihood (fishing). This decrease is connected on the one hand to the higher cost of production and on the other hand the smaller amount of fish that can be caught. In addition, the SPI index shows significant and broadening inequality. Nevertheless, although the numbers are small, several households that were around the poverty line have succeeded in moving up a step and passing the poverty line during the last ten years.

B. Local and National Events that Helped or Hindered Community Prosperity

Both in the interviews with key informants and in the FGD on Community Timeline (Activity 4), information was obtained that Branta Pesisir experienced various events over the last ten years. Several of the important events include:



- 1997 = *Krismon* (monetary crisis)
- 1998 = Election of the village head
- 1999 = Fight over fishing area between the villagers of Branta and Camplong
- 2002 = Villagers of Branta have difficulty in obtaining clean water
- 2002 = Development of the pier
- 2003 = Inauguration of the special clean water channel to Branta
- 2005 = Rioters from outside, entered Branta

Among those events, the most important events in improving and impeding the community prosperity according to the community leader's informants, women's group, and men's group appear in Table 1.2.1. The less important factors they mentioned can also be found in the table.

Table 3.2.1 Events and Factors which Helped and Hindered Community Prosperity

Influence on Community Prosperity	Key Informants Interviews	Community Leaders Activity 4: Community Timeline	Women's Group Activity 5: Ladder of Life	Men's Group Activity 5: Ladder of Life
Negative 1	Ship piracy	The fight over fishing areas with the fishers of Camplong	Fish shortage during the dry season (F, 30)	Import of fish from Java that pushed down the price of fish from Branta Pesisir (M, 48, 27, and 56)
Negative 2	Conflict over fishing areas with the fishers of Camplong	The arrival of rioters from outside the village	Import of fish from Java that caused the price of fish in Branta Pesisir to fall (F, 28 and 29)	Fuel price rise (M, 56 and 37).
Positive 1	Wharf development	Development of clean water channeling	Funding assistance program for small traders	Enhanced education
Positive 2	Early period of the monetary crisis	Wharf development	Rice for the Poor (<i>Raskin</i>) Program	Good social relationships

Factors that hindered community prosperity:

(a) According to key informants and community leaders:

- *The dispute over the fishing area with the fishers of Camplong in 2000*

This event was considered the most disadvantageous and hurtful for the villagers. "The consequence of this conflict was that the fish catch of the fishers of Branta declined because they couldn't fish in the zone where fish were most plentiful. In the Camplong area there are a lot of shrimp. The community also became restless for about three months. The purchasing power of the community fell and the pawnshops also started to fill up" (M, 57). Apart from this, "mobile banks' and moneylenders also appeared" (M, 48).

- *The entry of rioters from outside the village in 2005*

The entry of the rioters (a group of drunks) from outside Branta occurred when there was a wedding party or public entertainment activity (for example, an orchestra). Nevertheless "it was incidental in nature, the influence was not great and was easily overcome. This disturbed the comfort and feeling of security of the villagers. The villagers were scared of being disturbed by others. But there was no economic impact" (M, 57). "The police office is close by. If there were rioters bringing sickles, we could simply call the police" (M, 58).

(b) Both women and men's group in the Ladder of Life FGDs, mentioned the import of fish from Java as one of the most important factors leading to a decline in community prosperity, as it resulted in the reduced price of fish in Branta Pesisir (F, 28 and 29, M, 48, 27, and 56).

The other most important negative factor mentioned by the women's group was the shortage of fish during the dry season (F, 30 years), while the men's group pointed to the increased price of fuel/BBM (M, 56 and 37).

Factors that facilitated community prosperity

(a) According to key informants and community leaders

- *Krismon*

In the early period (from the end of 1997 to early 1998) the monetary crisis definitely benefited the villagers because the price of fish rose by 60%. The monetary crisis increased the price of fish while the operational costs were constant. During this early period, fishers in general still had reserves of raw materials and fishing equipment. If the fishers benefited, the traders usually benefited as well. During the following period, however, the fishers started to exhaust their raw materials. They had to buy fishing equipment at a high price. At that time, the rise in the price of fishing equipment was far higher than the rise in the price of fish, so the income of fishers declined. This was exacerbated by the price of essential needs, which also rose. As a consequence many fishers sought loans.

- *Opening the wharf*

The opening of the wharf had a positive impact on the prosperity of the community due to several reasons:

- "The new wharf made it easy for the fishers to dock. In addition, the wharf also protected the boats docked there from the pounding of the waves. Before we had the wharf, boats docked there could be sunk by the shock of the waves" (village head).
- "The wharf made it easy for fishers to dock and it became a recreation place" (F, 33).
- "With the opening of the wharf, fishers can get close to their boats with their motorcycles. People from other places could also enter Branta by sea. Fishing transactions also became easier" (M, 57).
- "The wharf reduced isolation, although at night it was used for courting, but there were no serious problems" (M, 48).
- "The new wharf also added work opportunities. When there were large ships bringing goods, many of the villagers became laborers to unload the cargo" (M, 57).
- "The wharf also made it possible to open new businesses such as cafes, gas stations for diesel and workshops" (M, 48).

- *The development of clean water channeling (PDAM) in 2003*

Informants and FGD participants conveyed that the development made it easy for the villagers to undertake their daily activities. "Since there has been clean water, washing has been easy. In addition, it has also supported the production of things, for example the production of fish *krupuk*" (M, 57). "It is now easy to fulfill needs. Previously, we had to fetch clean water in Pamekasan by using a tanker and the community washed clothes outside Branta, now we don't." In addition, the provision of clean water has also contained costs, "Previously, one household needed to buy one tanker per week at a price

of Rp65,000” (F, 33). “Now, one month’s water only costs Rp40,000, so the cost is more economical. For new brides it is good” (M, 57).

(b) Meanwhile, the two events that most affected the rise in community prosperity according to the women’s group were: the provision of funding assistance, and the rice program for poor communities (*Raskin*). According to participants “Funding assistance has been available since the monetary crisis... channeled via cooperatives. Loans of Rp600,000 are paid back in the same amount. Those receiving the assistance are small traders. Many obtained the assistance but the repayments were slow, I pity the cooperative workers” (F, 29). Participants also said that the *Raskin* Program was already in existence before the provision of funding assistance, “The manager of the *Raskin* Program was the village head. Those obtaining *Raskin* benefits were the less well off. Early on it was obtained every month, then once every 2-3 months. The amount of rice provided was 10 kg that cost Rp10,500” (F, 29). The men’s group, on the other hand, mentioned different factors, those were: (1) improved education (M, 37) and (2) good social relationships “... if someone experienced a disaster, others came to help. If one was sick, others were also sick” (M, 52).

Although all informants and FGD participants come from the same community and village as well as discussed relatively the same topic, the answers from the two Community Timeline activities are different to the answers from the two Ladder of Life FGDs. This difference can be the result of the different genders of the informants. Informants in the Community Timeline activity are prominent community figures (including the village head of Branta Pesisir). They tend to refer to the special events that occurred in the village. Meanwhile the participants in the Ladder of Life FGD were villagers with a diversity of livelihoods, who appear to have referred more to the process, event or policy that is closer to everyday problems.

C. Economic Opportunities, Migration, Inequality, and Governance

Main livelihood

The majority of the Lunas community work as fishers and traders. Fishers’ work can be differentiated into three types, namely: (1) small-scale fishers (approximately 45%) who use small non-motorized boats for 1–2 people with an income of around Rp10,000 for each trip to sea; (2) mid-size fishers (approximately 30%) who use motorized boats with a gross income of approximately Rp50,000 for each trip to sea, and (3) large-scale fishers (approximately 25%) who use large motorized boats with large trawling nets and receive a minimum income of Rp500,000 for each trip to sea. Work as a trader in Lunas is varied, starting from traders of small goods, traders of staple needs, fish traders, rice traders, salt traders and so forth. In addition, the villagers of Lunas also work as *tailros*, wharf laborers loading and unloading ships, *krupuk* factory entrepreneurs, and civil servants.

Ten years ago fishing and trading were also the main livelihoods for the Lunas community. A participant in the FGD explained that the majority of villagers “are just working as fishers because there is no other work. Becoming an entrepreneur is less profitable because of the rise in the price of fuel.

The problem of production and marketing

The biggest problem for fishers is the rise in the price of fuel. “Previously the price of diesel was low, now it has gone up. Previously diesel was Rp650/liter but now it is Rp2,200 per liter” (M, 50, fisher), FGD LFPD). In addition, “the price of fishing equipment has gone up by approximately ten percent” (M, 31, trader of fishing equipment, FGD LFPD) and “the price of boats has also gone up. Small boats that previously cost Rp8 million are now Rp15 million” (M, 50 years, fisher, FGD LFPD). Although prices have gone up, according to FGD participants it is not difficult to obtain raw materials and information on their availability, “Information is not difficult to obtain, now it is very good. The price of fuel can be sought at the gas station. Information on fishing equipment is easily obtained from friends” (M, 31, trader of fishing equipment, FGD LFPD). Information can also be obtained from TV and radio.

Participants in the FGD complained about the marketing of fish, “If fishers bring in a lot of fish, there is nowhere to land the catch. So lots of fish are spilled on the ground. The produce is great but there are no fish traders to buy them. If they’re not in demand, the fish have to be dried, but there is also no place or time to do that. In the past there was a TPI (fish auction) but it closed a long time ago” (M, 42, teacher, FGD LFPD).

The role of economic organizations

Villagers in Branta Pesisir are involved in several economic organizations. These organizations include various types of *arisan* and savings and loans cooperatives managed by the women. “All the villagers can join the women’s savings and loans cooperative if they have a KTP (ID card) and a business” (F, 37, trader, FGD LFPD). In general, however, if the fishers need greater capital, for example to buy a boat and its engine, then they will borrow money from the ‘boss of fish traders’. “The community now obtains more loans from individuals (traders) but their fish output has to be sold to him at a price that is lower than the general price ... to obtain a loan of Rp5 million to buy a boat and engine, the fish produce has to be sold to him (creditor). If the sale of fish results in Rp100,000 then that will be split Rp5,000 for saving and the rest to pay off the loan...” (F, 38, housewife, and F, 37, trader, FGD LFPD).

Migration

Participants in the Community timeline FGD and Ladder of Life generally said that not many villagers of Branta had emigrated from the village (less than 1%) and no one has left the country to work as a guest worker (TKI/TKW). One participant in the community timeline FGD elaborated,

“Villagers don’t want to leave the community because they have what they need here. Branta villagers believe that there are four sources for happiness, namely (1) good marital relationship, (2) virtuous children (3) working in your own village, and (4) a good environment. This is what motivates them to improve their village, people continue to think, work and evolve in their village. Don't leave, but grow work opportunities in the village. Likewise with work abroad, you can earn Rp2 million wages in one month. One million is spent on the cost of living and one million can be saved. If you are just after money, it can be found in Branta. In fact, it is nicer, closer to the family and not far away” (M, 57).

Every year fishers from Branta undertake seasonal migration. They leave in June to look for fish in the area of Puger and Muncar and return in September, “Fishers who migrate seasonally are usually the prosperous ones who have large fishing boats. Every time they return they usually bring Rp25 to Rp60 million. Sometimes they buy refrigerators as a place to keep clothes” (M, 57). Apart from fishers, there are villagers who leave the village to continue their education. “There are a lot who leave the village to further their education, there are also a lot of academics, but they do not leave because they are looking for work” (F, 63) and according to other participants, “after graduating they live in other cities because they are working as university lecturers or as lawyers. Their level of prosperity has indeed risen” (F, 38).

Inequality

When asked whether the condition of inequality in Lunas is greater or smaller than ten years ago, there was a difference of opinion among FGD women’s group participants. Some answered that inequality is now greater because “houses previously made from *gedhek* (woven bamboo) or wood now have concrete walls ... fishers previously used sails but now use motors and their equipment is sophisticated, previously fishing with lines and now using nets.” There were, however, also participants who answered that inequality in their community was not great, without explaining why that is the case.

According to women, community members are now more involved in the decision-making process for various important problems. “The community is involved, in the hamlet there are representatives and in addition NGOs and village social activities groups (LKMD) are also involved” (F, 38). In the last ten years, the means of decision-making has increasingly involved many people and has become more open, likewise with the village representative council (BPD), the community can submit their aspirations (F, 24). The women’s group also showed a positive attitude on the change in access to economic opportunity in the village, “It is greater now, for example previously there were no people who had a *krupuk* business, now there are” (F, 52). It was also mentioned that in Branta Pesisir there savings and loans cooperatives that have open memberships. There are more and more of these economic organizations over the last ten years because “a lot of people have the need” (F, 38).

Box 3.1

Inequality according the villagers (FGD)

Inequality according to the women’s group means ‘a difference’, for example the difference between poor and rich, clever and dumb, sick and healthy, even between the living and the dead (F, 25). They also mentioned various types of inequality, for example: social inequality (F, 38), inequality in knowledge (F, 52), economic inequality (F, 52).

The men’s group also meant by inequality ‘a difference’, for example differences in education levels. Types of inequality include, “social and economic inequality” (M, 31). One participant explained that in this ten year period inequality in their community has become greater, “economic discrepancy is now greater. From the perspective of their equipment, there are fishers who are more modern. The rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer” (M, 50).

The men's group differed with the women's on the issue of making important decisions in their community, by saying that decisions were only made by a small group of villagers: "not all members of the community are involved, only particular people; for example, prominent figures in the community, religious figures, village authorities and fishing groups" (M, 42). Nevertheless, there have been changes in decision-making processes in this ten year period, more of the community is involved, for example "when the wharf developed, before it was built the community was invited to discuss the plan. The advantages and disadvantages had to be discussed together" (M, 50). The men's group also said that economic opportunity in their village was greater now compared with ten years ago, "now, if you don't have a boat, as long as you *rembuk* (consult) with the boss (fish trader), you can have" (M, 50). In addition, "those who previously became fishers can now also work as handymen and traders" (M, 41). For the men's group, economic power is not associated with political power because "political power is owned by anyone" (M, 50).

It is interesting to note that the men's group mentioned religious organizations as the organizations that are most open to everyone (M, 50), while the women's group mentioned economic organizations like savings and loans cooperatives.

The Role of Government

The participants of both the men's FGD as well as that of the women said that they don't often have contact with the government (local) when undertaking their livelihoods. "The most contact is when there is a dispute, if requesting an identity card or to obtain credit" (M, 50, fisher, FGD LFPD). Apart from that, special permission is not needed from the government to start and operate a business, except "if food producers want to market their produce to shops/supermarkets then they need the permission of the Health Agency" (F, 37, trader, FGD LFPD). Several matters that can be undertaken by the government to assist them include, "forming a savings and loan cooperative, providing assistance with capital and skills training that we don't have here such as embroidery and making flowers to advance the community" (F, 37, trader, FGD LFPD).

D. Local Factors: Freedom, Power, and Democracy

Freedom

Related to the concept of freedom mentioned by both women's and men's groups (see box below), the women's group believed that the most free in Lunas are "the youths who hang around the neighborhood, because they don't have to think about anything, act as they like, especially those who are unemployed" (F, 52). All participants in the women's FGD agree that the least free group is "some women, because if they want to work they are not allowed or are not given permission by their husbands". On the other hand, the men's group did not specifically mention the group with the most freedom in the community of Lunas. "Everyone is free, there are no impediments" (M, 31). In their opinion, however, the groups that are least free are "those who are less able to think because of their lower IQ and don't join in the social life" (M, 31) and "civil servants because their working hours are regulated". In addition, actions that enhance freedom include, "education and interactions that are consistent with religion and culture" (M, 31), "providing information, for example, from the television" (M, 41) and by "worshipping" (M, 42).

On the gender issue, all women's group participants agree that men are freer than women because men are leaders, especially those who are already married. For that reason, "the action that can enhance women's freedom is *rembuk* (having a consultative meeting) with husband and family" (F, 38). However, according to the men's group there is no difference in the freedom of men and women "anyone can trade if they want to, provided that they make an effort" (M, 42).

Box 3.2
Concept of Freedom According to the Villagers

The women's group associated the meaning of freedom with "free will" (F, 52), "free to express an opinion" (F, 38) and "free to seek personal security" (F, 52). To become a free person is "not being tied to anyone". While the men's group associated freedom with situations such as: "working or not working, there is no-one who gives orders" (M, 50) or "free to work at whatever, there is no-one to order or impede you" (M, 41).

The women's group mentioned various types of freedoms, including freedom of worship, freedom to work, freedom to conduct a business as long as it is *halal*, freedom of opinion. Meanwhile, the men's group expressed the type of freedoms as freedom of religion, freedom to trade, freedom to organize, and freedom to engage in politics.

When asked about the most important types of freedom, the women's and men's group answered differently. The women's group conveyed, "the most important freedom is the freedom to worship, because this is brought by death" (F, 38). A men's group participant said, "freedom of political expression because everything is associated with political freedom" (M, 42). One participant also mentioned the freedom of religion (F, 42). During their FGD, the men relate their opinions to their experiences: "If there is business credit, the people who provide it are certain ones in the government and DPR, those who suggest assistance are the government people. The community of Branta votes for particular parties because they hope to get their assistance".

In general, respondents did not initially know what was meant by economic freedom, however one participant added that economic freedom is easily obtained if one has capital (F, 38). According to participants, there is no connection between freedom and becoming poor because poor people also have freedom. In addition, "rich people also can't be free because they are tied up in work" (F, 37 years).

One participant said that economic freedom is "can do business or trade" (M, 31 years). It was also mentioned that there is a connection between freedom and becoming poor because freedom "... depends on the level of education, if education is insufficient then one can run a business" (M, 31 years). Nevertheless, poor people can have freedom "if the poor *tak andi otang* [don't have debts]" (M, 50 years).

Box 3.3 Concept of Power

The women's group associated the meaning of power with "authority", "strength", and "owning" (F, 52 and 37). Becoming powerful means "If you have something it may not be owned by other people, for example, one's husband" (F, 52). "A husband is not allowed to be owned by another person, I have power over everything" (F, 37). Meanwhile, participants in the men's group said that, "power is if one can dominate other people, for example *klebun* (the village head) has power" while becoming powerful is becoming the 'leader'" (M, 50), being "highly regarded, intimidating and being given priority" (M, 42), or "having position" (M, 41).

When discussing types and sources of power, the women stated, "husbands have power at home" (F, 37), "the school principal has power in the school" (F, 37) and "the *Imam* has power in the mosque" (F, 52). While according to men types of power include power from above, "political power" (M, 31), and "economic power" (M, 41).

Both the women and men believe that power is desired and sought for several reasons, one of which is because "people with power have rights" (F, 52), and "power can be beneficial" (M, 50 years), but becoming very powerful is not good because "only God is the powerful" (F, 37).

Ways to obtain power include: "trying to obtain the confidence of the community" (F, 25) and "providing a good example to the community" (F, 24), an election such as an election for village head (M, 50) or not through an election such as a *kyai* "people who can overcome problems will be well-regarded here" (M, 42). Even though power can be obtained, both women and men also agree that power can be lost if one is "dishonest or unfair" (F, 24), "seized by other people" (M, 31), "behaving improperly" (M, 50) or "released from one's duties" (M, 42).

Power

According to the women's group, the most powerful people in Lunas are "the village head, because he is the leader of the village and several older people in the village" (F, 37), in addition "*kyai*, *ulama*, husbands and old people" (F, 38). However, the men's group was of the opinion that no group had the greatest power in Lunas, "because of community awareness that power was not a good thing. *Kyai*, *pamong*, village head are only titles, temporary titles. If people get arrogant with their power, they would be "run out" of this village". In addition, "there can't be people who are too powerful here, the power of the village head is only for a few years" (M, 50), and "even though educated people can think, they just can't dominate things" (M, 42).

The men's group also did not identify the least powerful group in their community "there is no least powerful group because of the family relationship system here, everyone protects each other" (M, 31). "Many people in this village still have a family relationship because there is rarely anyone who leaves this village" (M, 42). However, the women's group mentioned the least powerful groups are "the ignorant/uneducated" (F, 52) and "weak people such as the disabled, idiots, and the crazy" (F, 37).

In relation to the factors which can help people to move out of poverty, the women's group in this community agree that there is an association between power and being poor because people with power are, in general, not poor. The way to obtain power is "to work with enthusiasm". In this community, the groups with the greatest economic power are "rice and fish traders" (F, 52 and F, 37). Economic power can be enhanced if there is capital, for that reason the group that has the greatest economic power is "the business community" (M, 50). According to the women's group, economic power does not always run in parallel with political power, "It depends on the person, although the opinions of the rich people are not yet certain of acceptance by the community. Not all opinions of the rich are accepted, because it depends on the community" (F, 37 and F, 52).

Democracy¹³

According to both the women's and men's groups there have been positive changes in the conduct of democracy during the last ten years in the community of Lunas, Branta Pesisir. "Previously, there was no Village Representative Council (BDP). Before there was a BPD, the community submitted its aspirations via the LKMD and PKK, but now it can be done via the BPD and this is better" (F, 37). One participant also added that at this time the community has greater influence over the decision-making process because, "the community submits its aspirations to the BPD and the BPD delivers them to the village head. Previously, the community submitted its aspirations to the village clerk" (F, 38). "Those invited to meetings are more numerous and varied" (M, 41), "but sometimes the community doesn't know what is on the agenda" (M, 42). One participant of the men's group explained in detail how the decision-making process by the village government involves community representatives:

"In Branta, in 2003, there was a nomination process and election for the BPD. The BPD was elected by the people and was the community's representative. Meetings of the BPD will later produce village regulations – *perdes*. If there already are *perdes*, this will be socialized to the community. Now there is also a consultative process for development planning – *musrenbang*. Those who follow the consultative process are the members of the BPD. In the *musrenbang* priority is given to suggestions from the people, from members of the BPD who know the conditions of the village" (M, 41).

There are, however, participants who are skeptical about the involvement of the community in decision-making. In their opinion "... the involvement of the community is still floating. The community is not directly involved in decision-making. They are indirectly involved, through their representatives" (M, 31). The men's group agreed that there was an association between democracy and prosperity because "if democracy works well in accordance with the regulations, then there will be prosperity" (M, 42).

¹³The changes in the questions on the issue of democracy – including the production of the democracy timeline – that were suggested by the Global Team in the July 2005 newsletter, could not be undertaken in Branta Pesisir because the research at that time was already underway.

Box 3.4
Concept of Democracy

The women's group associated the meaning of democracy with "freedom", for example "freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, and freedom to vote" (F, 38 years). The men's group also associated the meaning of democracy with "freedom": "the freedom to do something" (M, 42), "free to choose the picture" (M, 50).

There important characteristics needed in order for democracy to function are "*rembukan* (community consultation), and suggestions from the people and outcomes for the people" (M, 41), "the provision of a community consultative forum and dialogue (F, 38), an "open" forum (F, 24), and a process which is "honest and fair" (F, 25).

Three of the most important characteristics that make democracy work	1. Community consultation	
	2. Open – there are suggestions from below (from the community)	
	3. Honest and fair – the outcome is for the people	
Ability of the community to engage with the local government	Enhanced (because there is a Village Representatives Council/BPD)	
Relationship between democracy and community prosperity	Exists (if democracy works well in accordance with regulations then there will be prosperity)	
Level of government corruption	1. At the village/local level	A lot
	2. At the central level	Most

According to women's group, to become a politician at the local level, one has to be nominated to become a member of the BPD. Members are then chosen directly by the community in every hamlet/community (F, 37). The women's group mentioned various good activities undertaken by the BPD, for example, "Before there was a BPD no citizens received assistance from the *Raskin* Program (rice for poor families), but after the BPD was established, the BPD suggested that villagers received benefits from *Raskin*. The BPD then undertook a selection of those villagers who had the right to receive assistance" (F, 24). "A program of football matches was also implemented at the suggestion of the BPD, who also sought a sponsor for the program" (F, 38). For that reason, the women's group agreed that local politicians (who sit on the BPD) can assist in directing community aspirations and enhancing prosperity. The men's group explained that to become a local politician, for example a member of the BPD, you have "to start with the process of registration, verification undertaken by the election committee and [be] elected directly by the community" (M, 41). All the local politicians have reached their positions by "being chosen on their capabilities" (M, 50) and "because they can give effect to the function of community affairs" (M, 42). According to the men's group, local politicians, in general, have already assisted villagers and the decisions taken reflect the interests of the community, although "sometimes the BPD doesn't know a lot about program implementation" (M, 42).

All participants mentioned that there was a direct election for the Branta Pesisir village head in 1998. The men considered the election to have been conducted honestly and openly (M, 42 years). However, the women viewed that “the candidates gave money to the community” (F, 38), but “although the community was given money, they were not certain to choose that candidate” (F, 37).

“Information on candidates was obtained from leaflets posted on walls, electricity poles, and shops” (F, 38). Information on the candidates was also obtained from prominent figures in the community, from the candidates themselves and from leaflets (M, 31 and 42). At the time of the election, there was no campaigning but the candidates approached the community through religious activities such as *tahlilan* (M, 42).

Looking forward ten years, the women’s group is “optimistic that the village government will give more attention to the interests of the villagers because there is the BPD” (F, 38). According to the men’s group, compared with the situation ten years ago, local government now gives more attention to the interests of the villagers, for example “now there is assistance from the *Raskin* Program” (M, 50). Meanwhile, the ability of the villagers to relate to the village government is also enhanced because “now there is the BPD” (M, 42). The men’s group is optimistic about the democratic change in the community and their village for the next ten years, “the community has become increasingly knowledgeable about what is meant by democracy” (M, 31). In addition, “freedom has given greater opportunities for expression” (M, 41).

E. The Youth and their Aspirations

1. Preparation to Enter the World of Work

From the aspirations mentioned by both male and female youth, in the discussion, it seems the youth in this community are mature and ready for their future. Most of them know what they want and how to achieve their dreams over the next ten years. However, in order to achieve their dreams for the future they still depend on the support of their parents and family. They also face obstacles, among others the absence of funds (capital) and difficulty in obtaining work. The females furthermore stressed that an unsupportive family and social environment impedes them from achieving their aspirations, “An unsupportive environment can also impede aspirations. The community in this village considers that schoolgirls are of no use, because women will definitely return to the kitchen. There is a consideration that (for women) school is only a waste of money” (F, 20).

In general, the young women want to be professionally successful (as entrepreneurs, civil servants, teachers, midwives, and shopkeepers). They mentioned the various efforts they have undertaken to achieve their aspirations, including: “having to study first before working. In addition, I save Rp85,000 per month. I put that money aside from my university allowance. I will later use these savings as capital” (F, 20). Participants in the young men’s FGD also expect success in their future work. In their opinion, in order to achieve these aspirations one must, “work hard at school to attain knowledge” (M, 25), “to get experience from people who are already successful” (M, 20), “work hard and be disciplined with time” (M, 23).

The most important issues for young women preparing for their futures are “support from family and the social environment” (F, 18), “the availability of economic resources from family and capital” (F, 20) and, in addition, “a strong inner desire” (F, 20). The young men stated the importance of self-motivation, and added the importance of education: “[you must] prepare yourself mentally to carry out change, obtain an education because with education we can take ourselves and study skills because with skills we can develop” (M, 20).

2. Exploring Freedom, Power, Inequality, and Democracy

Freedom

One interpretation of “freedom” that arose in both youth discussions is that of limited freedom. It was mentioned, for example, that freedom is “freedom to do whatever but in accordance with the rules” (F, 24), or being “free to work together as long as you don’t disadvantage other people” (M, 25). In the young women’s group, however, there was a debate about whether freedom that is limited by regulation is really freedom, “Freedom without rules is real freedom” (F, 20), “but if there are no rules, it is also uncontrolled so in the end it will not be good” (F, 18). A participant in the young men’s group said that the use of freedom is so “we are not afraid to do whatever we want to do” (M, 20).

The young women stated the most important freedoms are the freedom to look for work and the freedom to choose a husband, “because there are still a lot of women who are promised in marriage, almost 25%” (F, 22). They agreed that the freedom to look for work is the most important because “if we choose a husband first, how can we sustain ourselves economically? That’s why the freedom to work comes first and then the freedom to choose a husband, for example my older sister who married first has not, until now, got a job. In the end it depends on the parents” (F, 18). For the young men, the most important type of freedom is “the freedom to express an opinion” (M, 22), being “free to choose” (M, 25), “free to have an organization” (M, 20), and “free to determine work” (M, 23).

The young women’s group agrees that in their community, the rich are the group with the greatest freedom, because “they have money/wealth” (F, 20). Meanwhile, according to the young men’s group, the freest are “those from the middle to upper classes” (M, 25 s) and “prominent figures in the community (village head, *kyai*, *ustad*)” (M, 20 s). These two groups “are higher than other community groups, for example from the perspective of knowledge. If prominent figures have an opinion, it is usually done by the village head, *ustad* and the middle and upper classes” (M, 20). The young men and women both mentioned the poor/less well-off as the least free group, because, “they are less educated and less than healthy” (M, 22), “the poor are always frightened of the rich” (F, 20), and “although the poor came earlier, they are always beaten by the wealthy who came late. The rich are not familiar with the culture of queuing” (F, 20).

The young women’s group had the opinion that men and women have the same freedoms. If there are differences, then “our own families provide the boundaries for women” (F, 20). It was also mentioned, however, that “if women are still single then she depends on her family. Meanwhile, for women who are married, she depends on her husband” (F, 22). The young men had a different opinion on this issue, some saying that men and women have the same freedoms, and some saying they weren’t the same, because “... men have

stronger mental powers. For example, men work as fishers and women only work in the home” (M, 20). One young male said, “Old-fashioned thinking in this village caused this difference, for women there were more rules. For example, women are not allowed to go out at night, but for men it doesn’t matter. Women are more often the subject of gossip, if leaving as one, come back [pregnant] as two” (M, 22).

Both youth FGDs mentioned that there is a connection between having freedom and becoming poor because misusing freedom can make people fall into poverty. For example “the rich can become bankrupt and poor because they have said the wrong thing” (F, 18) or “the rich are free to womanize so they exhaust their wealth and then fall into poverty” (M, 20). One young man, however, was of the opinion that there was no association between freedom and becoming poor because “becoming poor doesn’t mean not being free” (M, 23).

Power

In general, the youth FGD participants associate power with “influence”, “authority” and “rights”. According to the young women’s group, power is useful to “control families in a harmonious way” (F, 18) and “in order to act in accordance with one’s own will” (F, 20). The young male also mentioned a variety of uses for power, for example “for self-confidence” (M, 20), “so that you can be confident on everything you do” (M, 22), “so we are not frightened to do or act” (M, 25).

All the FGD participants were of the opinion that having power was not always a good thing: “power is good if it is used in accordance with the rules, and not good if it is used arbitrarily” (M, 20 years), and “power can be good because it can provide the rules, but can also be bad because it creates stress and illnesses” (M, 24 years).

According to the two discussion groups, the most powerful group is “the rich because they have a lot of money to buy everything” and “because the rich employ a lot of people in their village, for example all the neighbors, so they become leaders” (M, 23). In addition, those considered to have the greatest power in Lunas are “the people who have high office...[including]... *Pak Klebun* [the village head] because he is the leader of this village ” (F, 20), “*Pak Klebun* is more powerful than the person who understands religion” (M, 24). According to the young women’s group, the young people with power are “the children of the rich because they can rely on the wealth of their parents” (F, 22). The young men’s group specifically pointed to one of their friends – who was also a FGD participant – as an example of a young person who has power. He, they said, “has acted superior, has the confidence of friends, is friendly and doesn’t choose friends” (M, 25 and 23).

Both the young women’s and young men’s groups were of the opinion that the poor and weak economic group is the least powerful group because “they don’t have money” (M, 22). “In this village everyone depends on money, if you don’t have it, you can’t do anything” (F, 20). Moreover, “if you don’t have money, you can’t go to school and can’t become a civil servant” (F, 24).

Both groups mentioned various means to obtain power, for example by “working hard” (M, 22), “presenting an attractive charisma” (M, 20), “having money” (F, 18), or by “becoming a prominent figure in the community” (M, 20). In general, participants said that economic power could be gained if people have capital and want to work hard. However, according to the young men’s group, power can be lost if people make mistakes,

for example “rich people can go bankrupt by misusing their wealth” (M, 22). The young women mentioned several other matters that cause someone to lose power, including a loss of credibility and authority (F, 20 and F, 24).

Inequality

The young men and women associate the meaning of “inequality” with various issues, for example “differences”, “social strata”, and “gaps”. The forms of inequality in the community of Lunas, for example, are “Social inequality” (M, 20), “Economic inequality” (M, 23), “Inequality of power” (M, 21). They also mention “inequality between the old generation and the young” (F, 24). Explaining the inter-generational inequality: “This discrepancy occurs because of the difference in thinking, finally resulting in disputes in the family” (F, 18 years). “The old have old-fashioned thinking and the young modern thinking” (F, 20).

When questioned about political inequality in Lunas, the young women’s group said that the villagers of Lunas in did generally not care about politics as, “what is important is being able to eat” (F, 20). Furthermore, they explained that decisions related to community affairs are taken by the minority of villagers, namely “the village head and prominent figures in the community” (F, 18). In addition, the young people never join in the decision-making. The young men had a different view to the young women, and said that there is political inequality in Lunas but that “it is not too striking, only at particular times, such as at the time of the election for village head” (M, 20). In addition, they were also of the view that important decisions were not only made by a small group of villagers, but in fact all young people were involved in that activity, “decisions that are related to the fate of the village at this time are made by community consultation with most villagers. Because the decisions are made by many people, then the results are satisfying” (M, 23).

Both groups said there is social inequality between the youth.

“Educational inequity between those with a tertiary education and those without a tertiary education is very obvious. But not all children of the rich have a tertiary education. Here there are a lot of the tertiary educated come from the middle class. If there are gatherings, it is not certain that the children of the rich will join in” (F, 20).

“There are social differences [between the youth], depending on their interests, hobbies and friends. If you like playing volleyball you join friends playing volleyball and the same if you like playing in a band” (M, 23).

There are a variety of organizations for young people in Lunas, including a band, a volleyball group, a football team, a group for mosque youth. All participants said that the membership of these organizations was open to anyone “depending on interest and skill” (F, 20).

Democracy

The young men and women’s understanding of democracy is associated with freedom of expression. One young woman added that democracy is “from the people, by the people and for the people” (F, 18). According to the young women’s group, the important

characteristics that make democracy work are “the freedom to jointly elect and agree” (F, 20). Meanwhile, the young men’s group mentioned that “openness, honesty, fairness, and freedom” (M, 23 and 25) are needed for democracy. Both groups mentioned that there is a connection between democracy and community prosperity, “because democracy is from the people, by the people and for the people then prosperity is surely also for the people” (F, 20), “because in democracy, if there are problems to be resolved through a process of community consultation and assistance, it is surely to be channeled to those with rights” (M, 20). Participants of both FGDs are optimistic that in the next ten years, democracy in Branta Pesisir will be better, especially if “the village head acts responsibly and doesn’t act out of self-interest” (M, 23).

How to become a politician

The youth said that there have been elections for village head in the past, the last was undertaken in 1998. At that time there were four candidates, and “they lobbied the community” (M, 25). “They joined a *tahlilan* if there was a death, if there were young men playing ball they came with a ball, the community was invited to the houses of the candidates and given food” (M, 23). “When the election for village head was on, the villagers never ate dinner at home because they could get fed at the houses of the candidates” (M, 20). Information on the candidates was obtained from “word of mouth” (F, 20) and from leaflets (F, 24). All the young men said that the election for village head was undertaken honestly and fairly because the vote counting was conducted openly, while according to the young women, the election was not honest because “there were no clean candidates, all used money” (F, 24).

The youth mentioned several means to become a village politician, including “approaching people who have official positions” (F, 24), “showing ability” (F, 20), and “registering with the election committee” (M, 22). Two participants in the young female’s group said that village politicians were not useful because they “don’t represent the community” (F, 20). “At first, the formation of the village representative council (BPD) was useful for the community. In 2002 and 2003, the BPD organized sporting events, but now they are less useful because they don’t respond to the aspirations of the community” (F, 20).

F. Conflict

1. Level of Security in the Community

The LFPD FGD women’s group agreed that the level of security in their community at this time (2005) is very safe: “the lives of the community here are very secure, without crime, they can leave their house without closing the door”. Ten years ago the level of security in Lunas was the same. The men’s group at the LFPD FGD also said that their community is very safe, nevertheless if people leave their house “the door should be closed or goats and cats can get in” (M, 37). Ten years ago the community of Lunas was also very safe due to community interaction, and because the varied nature of livelihoods leads to around-the-clock activity in the community. As one respondent puts it, Lunas is safe because of “cooperation between the community, authorities and community leaders...[and]...from one morning to the next there are people walking” (M, 42).

2. Public Security and Conflict Resolution

The women's group mentioned various efforts that have been undertaken by the community of Branta Pesisir to protect public security during the last ten years: "The community protects individuals, there is a security post (*pos kamling*) but it is not active because the village is already secure. But if outsiders enter the village after 9.00pm, they will be asked where they have come from and what their business is" (F, 31). "Protecting harmony between neighbors [is important] and if there are neighborhood disputes, then we help each other" (F, 31). If there is a more serious problem, such as the hijacking of the fishers' vessels, then villagers will report to the village head and the police. According to the women's group, the most successful efforts to avoid conflict are by working together and protecting each other" (F, 41). They also referred to this effort as "a social effort" (F, 29) or "an effort in solidarity" (F, 31).

The men's group mentioned that one effort to protect security during the last ten years has been "keeping a personal look out" (M, 51). In addition, the majority of participants mentioned a religious approach. "In this village there is no need for physical protection. A number of mosques here provide talks and religious advice. The community here is very obedient when it comes to religion... this village is very safe, motorcycles and clothing left outside won't be lost" (M, 50). The local setting supports village security: "Fishers here come and go, so there is always someone around keeping an eye on things. If an outsider comes into the village and wants to do something, it will definitely be known" (M, 50). The men's group stated that the most effective way to ensure security is via a *dakwah* (religious preaching). "The Branta community still adheres closely to religion, so if there is religious advice from the *muballigh* (Islamic preacher) it will definitely be followed" (M, 32).

Table 3.6.1 Types of Criminal Activity According to the Women's Group

No.	Type of Criminal Action	Frequency of Occurrence During the Last Ten Years	Trend During the Last Ten Years
1	Theft	Seldom	Declining
2	Fraud	Seldom	Declining
3	Gambling	Seldom	Declining
4	Consumption of alcohol	Seldom	Declining
5	Robbery	Seldom	Declining

The women's and men's group have different opinion on the type of criminal acts that have occurred in Lunas during the last ten year period (see Table below). It is interesting to note that the men's group only identified two types of criminal acts that occurred in their village during the last ten years, while the women's group identified five. So, although the two FGD groups in general mentioned that their community and village were safe, the men's group interpreted the level of security as higher than the women's group.

Table 3.6.2 Types of Criminal Activity According to the Men’s Group

No.	Type of Criminal Act	Frequency of Occurrence During the Last Ten Years	Trend During the Last Ten Years
1	Theft	Seldom	No change
2	Gambling	Not often, not seldom	Declining

If there is a conflict between villagers, the women’s group mentioned that the initial effort to resolve it is usually “undertaken as a family matter” (F, 31), “if it can’t be resolved this way, it is brought to the community leaders, if they can’t resolve it, then it is taken to the village head” (F, 31). According to men’s group, “everyone is helped, both those who are suffering and those who inflict the suffering. The wrongdoer is assisted so he/she doesn’t do it again, and the mistreated party is provided with assistance to recover. Other methods are through mediation” (M, 50). If the conflict is quite serious, then villagers will report to the village head.

Young people experiencing problems usually need to involve the village head for a resolution. “Young men tend to get involved in gang fights, so the *klebun* will intervene. With God’s help they will be successful. But gang fights rarely occur, maybe 4-5 times a year. Usually they happen at *sahur* (pre-dawn meal), young people compete to sound the *bedug*” (M, 50). Many of the efforts to resolve problems and conflicts do not involve village officials (other than the village head), “although there are village officials here, if the problem can be overcome yourself, then go ahead and overcome it yourself. Village officials are no longer relied upon for a resolution” (M, 55).

In a number of community groups that have experienced conflict, the resolution effort is undertaken in stages. For example, if women experience conflict then the first step is to discuss it with the husband/parent/family. If the family can’t resolve the problem, then the woman concerned can take the problem to community leaders and the village head (M, 50). These stages are also followed if youths are involved in the conflict. However, according to the men’s group, if women experience problems, then they usually do not take the problems outside: “If there is a problem, it is usually reported to the family first. Women usually don’t run off somewhere else. This attitude has its basis in religion” (M, 32).

Participants in the women’s group said that the most credible and fair method of conflict resolution is *musyawarah* (community consultation), which involves prominent figures in the community. “If it is taken directly to the police, it will become more difficult and complicated because the police will ask for money” (F, 29).

3. Conflict Timeline and Selected Cases of Conflict

Both women’s and men’s groups identified two to three conflicts they consider have had the most influence on their community. These are noted in Table 3.6.3 below.

Table 3.6.3 Local Conflict Timeline

Women's Group		Men's Group	
Year	Event	Year	Event
2001-2004	Ship hijacking/theft of fishers nets	1995-2005	The hijacking of fishers vessels
1999	Protest/demonstration against the trade in fish from outside Branta	2000	Dispute over fishing areas with the fishers of Camplong
		1999	Demonstration about the extension of Budiono's warehouse

Both women's and men's concluded that the hijacking of the fishers' vessels and the theft of their nets, that occurred periodically during the last few years and peaked in 2003, was the most important conflict. Interviews with the village head¹⁴, also pointed to the same issues. For that reason, the hijacking of the fishers' boats is the event that will henceforth be the focus of discussion.

¹⁴M, 43. Apart from being the village head, he also owns a boat (operated by others) and has a business in the trading sector.

Box 3.5

The Piracy of the Fishers' Boats in Branta Pesisir (2001–2004)

The fishers of Branta Pesisir have experienced ship hijacking for many years. The problem reached its peak around 2003, with incidences of piracy occurring every one to one and a half months. Piracy usually occurred during the night, especially if fishers had gone to sea in an easterly direction towards the island of Gili Raja. It is widely known that the pirates are villagers from Gili Raja. During attacks, the pirates usually threaten and terrify the fishers with sickles, knives, and dynamite in order to seize their nets and vessel engines. The pirates then take the stolen items to Gili Raja. If the fishers want their property back, they must go to Gili Raja and pay for it.

“Usually, the victims of the piracy report to the village head after coming back to shore. The village head will tell people to look for information in Gili Raja. Usually the people of Gili Raja already know where the nets can be redeemed. It is known that everyone on that island has the same profession. The main thing is that to redeem their nets, the victim of the piracy has to go to Gili Raja. The pirated items can be redeemed in one day, if they're not quick enough, they will be sold to someone else. After the victim gets the information, he meets directly with the hijacker. If there is money, there are goods to recover. In Gili Raja, what is important is money. You can't bargain over the cost of redemption” (M, 32).

The cost of redemption is indeed high: “If you want an estimate, to redeem three nets can be up to Rp5 million, for the motor it can be more than Rp10 million. Usually, to redeem things costs around 40% of the value of the item” (M, 55).

“Usually the fishers of Branta don't resist if their vessels are hijacked and their nets are taken. This is a long-term strategy. Nets that have been taken can be re-purchased, but if the fishers fight back and are killed or injured, it is more difficult. The people of Branta have our own expression: ‘Defeated to win, not because we are cowards’” (M, 32). The fishers of Branta Pesisir try to avoid the area where pirates are active. “If it is pirate season, then there are areas that we need to avoid. If the pirates are operating in the west, then that area is avoided and the fishers go fishing to the east” (M, 32). Nevertheless, the catch around Gili Raja can be good, so many fishers still go to the area.

“Recently, there has been a change on Gili Raja, as the police have arrested the ‘big fish’ (the pirate leader). The *teri-teri* (members of the pirate group) still try to hijack but they are not as good as their leader” (M, 51).

Table 3.6.4 presents the summary of the various parties associated with and affected by the conflict surrounding the piracy of the fishers' boats. It is most important to pay attention to the parties directly associated with the hijacking, as they came from both within and outside of Branta Pesisir. The sources from within the village that were directly associated with the piracy are:

- (1) The Fishers of Branta Pesisir
- (2) The Village Head of Branta Pesisir

The village head was the first person to receive the reports of piracy and gave suggestions as to how the victims could redeem their hijacked property: “The village head will tell people to look for information in Gili Raja. The victims did not yet

know how to get that information, but the village head did” (M, 55). None of the FGD participants knew whether the village head worked with other groups (for example, village authorities or the village head of Gili Raja) to obtain this information. Both the men’s and women’s groups mentioned that of the various parties involved in the hijacking problem, the village head was the most capable and had the most credibility for resolving the problem. “The power of the village head and community figures became stronger after the conflict concluded, because if anything happened, the community reported it to the village head” (F, 41). Participants in the women’s group mentioned that, “the village head also has a role in accompanying victims of the hijacking at the time they report to the police.”

Table 3.6.4 Summary of the Various Sources Associated with the Piracy Conflict

Institution/ Organization/Group/ Individual Villager	Important for the Daily Life of the Community	Associated with the Piracy		Role in the Piracy
Village head of Branta Pesisir WV*	Yes (community figure/formal leader)	Yes	After the piracy	Resolving the conflict, assisting the victims of the piracy
Village authorities of Branta Pesisir WV*	Yes (local government authority)	No		
Village Representative Council (BPD) WV*	Yes (representative institution for the villagers)	No		
Kyai/Ustad WV*	Yes (community figure/religious teacher)	No		
The fishers who are victims of the piracy WV*	No	Yes	At the time of, and after, the piracy	The direct victims of the piracy.
Pirates OV**	No	Yes	At the time of, and after, the piracy	The perpetrators of the piracy, those who triggered the conflict/problems.
The village authorities of Gili Raja OV**	No	Yes	After the piracy	Intermediaries in obtaining information on the items that have to be redeemed by the victims.
The fishers of Gili Raja OV**	No	Yes	After the piracy	Intermediaries in obtaining information on the items that have to be redeemed by the victims.
Fishers/villagers of Branta Pesisir WV*	Yes (citizens of the hamlet /village)	Yes	After the piracy	The indirect victims of the piracy (because they feel unsafe in working, income declines).
Police OV**	No	Yes	After the piracy	Resolving conflict (taking reports, capturing the pirates' group).

Note:

WV* = Source from within the village (WV).

OV** = Source from outside the village (OV).

The parties from outside the village who were directly associated with the hijackings are the perpetrators from Gili Raja. The men's group in the Conflict FGD also mentioned the direct role of the fishers of Gili Raja. Hijacking victims who wanted to redeem their nets sought information via the fishers of Gili Raja. One participant in the men's group mentioned the fishers of Gili Raja and their village head as "the people there who were intermediaries for obtaining information on the pirates" (M, 55).

4. Primary Livelihoods and the Consequences of Piracy

According to the women's group, the fishers of Branta Pesisir took to fishing in other areas and avoiding the vicinity of Gili Raja in order to protect themselves from hijacking (F, 31). No group of fishers could protect themselves better than others. In the words of one respondent, "it depends on one's fate. If you're lucky then nothing happens, but if your fate is bad then you will be a victim" (F, 31). The fishers lost the most from the hijackings due to the loss of their fishing equipment and the cost of redeeming their equipment. Civil servants were the least affected by this problem, because "...every month they were assured of receiving their wages and their wages were frequently raised" (F, 31). The men's group also mentioned that the fishers avoided fishing in the Gili Raja area to avoid piracy: "This was enough to be on one's guard, if there was a threat the community here usually directly avoided it" (M, 32). In addition, when you're at sea "... protecting oneself from piracy depended on the speed of the engine of the boat. Those who were most able to protect themselves were the fishers who have boats with fast engines because they can escape quickly from the pirates. Fishers with poor engines can't escape" (M, 55 years).

The hijacking problem also affected several other livelihoods. According to the women's group this is because "... fishers couldn't fish and the fish traders had no fish to trade" (F, 30). Nevertheless, no new livelihoods emerged and there were no work because of the hijacking cases. The piracy did not benefit any particular group in Branta Pesisir, however it changed the relationship between villagers. "Villagers became closer because the people who lost their nets often had a *berembuk* (community consultation) to look for a solution" (F, 31). The men's group also mentioned that traders' livelihoods were influenced by the hijacking cases, "before there was a problem with hijackings, the fish catch was abundant, because of the conflict the catch has rather declined. All of the traders also feel its effect. Fishers are still, however, following their profession. [The piracy] has not influenced them to change jobs" (M, 32). Furthermore, the men echoed the women's belief that civil servants were not affected: "The people who were definitely not affected by the conflict are groups who have fixed incomes, like civil servants" (M, 50).

The boat hijackings did not change the pattern of power in local politics and the village head still holds office, "the village head has not been replaced because it is not time yet and because he still has the confidence of the community" (F, 41). In addition, both women's and men's groups mentioned that after a series of hijackings, the villagers found it increasingly easy to participate in important decision-making because they were more often involved in meetings.

The women's group mentioned several matters that could assist the villagers with their livelihoods and enhance their prosperity:

- (1) A reduction in the price of fuel, as high prices reduce villagers' incomes, resulting in an inability to fulfill daily necessities. For example, sometimes the cost of diesel is more than the income fishers receive from their catch.
- (2) Villagers obtaining loans for working capital.
- (3) The capture of the pirate groups, so fishers can work safely.
- (4) Traders not buying fish from outside Branta Pesisir, to avoid a reduction in income for Branta's fishers.

According to the men's group, the matters that would enhance the villagers' prosperity include:

- (1) The organization of fishers' cooperatives so the price of fish can be established by the cooperative (M, 50 years).
- (2) Enhancing cooperation between the fishers because close cooperation is more valuable than handouts.
- (3) Providing loans/credit to the fishers.

IV. UNDERSTANDING INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY

Why and how do some poor people move out of poverty and stay out of poverty, while others remain trapped in chronic poverty or fall into poverty? How do some maintain their wealth? What are the factors that influence the ability to move out of poverty? This section presents the factors that helped or hindered someone's prosperity mobility based on the community perspectives gathered during FGDs, and the individual perspectives from the selected individual life stories.

A. Community Perspectives

Factors that can help a household climb to a higher level on the Ladder of Life

The women's group mentioned that mostly it is economic factors could help a household improve their prosperity:

From 1 to 2	Capital assistance to enhance the prosperity of the 'destitute'. "If given free new capital assistance they can progress"(F, 29), "But if given free capital it can also be used up on eating" (F, 29).
From 2 to 3	"To rise from the level of 'poor' to 'normal' needs cooperative funding assistance (F, 29). This assistance "can't be obtained from the bank (loans) because the poor don't have collateral" (F, 38).
From 3 to 4	"To progress from the level of 'normal' to 'ordinary wealthy' also needs capital assistance from cooperatives (F, 29).
From 4 to 5	"To progress from the level of 'ordinary wealthy' to 'most wealthy', it needs large amounts of capital from the bank, capital that is only half-hearted can't help" (F, 38). "Borrowing a lot (from the bank) is possible because there is collateral" (F, 29).

The men's group discussed several factors that would aid an improvement in prosperity:

From 1 to 2	All participants agreed that the availability of capital is the most important factor for the "poor" to rise to the "middle" level but several other factors were mentioned, namely "having high motivation, wanting to learn from the success of others and having experience as well as the success of their efforts" (M, 52)
From 2 to 3	Participants agree that to rise from the 'middle' level to the 'wealthy' level, one needs "will, a learning process and capital"(M, 52 years)

Factors that impede the ability to progress to the next level

According to the women's group, factors that can impede progression to the next level are:

From 2 to 3	"The absence of collateral to obtain capital loans" (F, 38).
From 3 to 4	A lack of desire. "People who persevere can become rich" (F, 29).

According to the men's group, it is the most difficult for *teri* (the poor) to increase their prosperity because "their income is just alright. It is immediately spent and there is

nothing extra to save. This means the income of one day is just enough for one day” (M, 52). In addition, the ‘poor’ have difficulty rising to a higher step because “of a lack of self-confidence, and a low level of education” (M, 56) as well as “because the ‘poor’ are less trusted by the ‘normal’ and ‘wealthy’ groups” (M, 52). The women’s view is that it is most difficult to climb from level two (poor) to level three (normal). They added that it is also difficult to climb from step four (ordinary wealthy) to step five (most wealthy), “because people at level four ... who have shops, are sometimes scared to take out bank loans, scared if their business declines then their shop or house can be seized by the bank. If you’ve borrowed from the bank it can be seized, can’t it?” (F, 29).

Factors that cause people to experience a loss of prosperity (fall down a step)

The factors that make people experience a loss of prosperity are: a lack of business competitiveness, “two, womanizing, three, gambling, and four, old age” (M, 52). Meanwhile, the factor that impedes progress and causes stagnation is “... laziness, and ... associating with the *teri* group in the community, so there is no communication” (M, 52).

Easiest step to advance from

The women’s group felt it is easiest to advance from step three (normal) to step four, because “income at level three is already greater and can be saved as additional capital, so it is not necessary to borrow from the bank” (F, 29). There are no households that can climb several steps at once, “if there are, they will later be suspected of using a shaman to become rich quickly” (F, 28). The men’s group feels it is easiest to jump from the *tongkol* level (step 2) to the *kakap* level (step three), “...because the *tongkol* level usually already has some capital, a feeling of self-confidence, a strong will and neighbors who are also at the *kakap* level” (M, 52). No households can climb several steps simultaneously “everyone goes through a process” (M, 52).

Easiest step to fall from

According to the men’s group, it is easy for people to fall from the *kakap* level to the *tongkol* level because of poor behavior like “arrogance, insulting people, making false promises” (M, 56 and M, 52). But, although they fall, the rich do not easily fall into poverty because “they still have a lot of their capital” (M, 56). Several factors that allow households to stave off a fall into poverty are “... economic planning that is not pompous and not speculative” (M, 52), and by budgeting, “how much is coming in and how much is going out, ...[not] a lot of acting on whim” (M, 56). Women viewed that it is easiest to fall from level four (ordinary wealthy) to level three (normal), “because of bankruptcy, failure to be competitive, losses, the wrong trading methods and womanizing” (F, 29). A decline in prosperity from level four to level three does not result in people falling into poverty.

Majority

According to the women’s group, the majority (70%) of villagers in Lunas are at level 3 (normal). Ten years ago, only 30% of Lunas villagers were at this level. This third level is also considered to be representative of the middle class. Capital assistance and a strong will to “have a go” are very important to improve the prosperity of villagers in this group. According to the men’s group the majority of villagers in Lunas are at the *tongkol* level. This condition is the same as ten years ago. The men also considered the *tongkol* class as the group that is no longer considered to be poor. However, this group cannot always be seen to be a middle class group because “the middle group has to be able to communicate

well to those above as well as below, for example *kyai* or *ustad*. Prominent community figures are not always from the *tongkol* class, he can also be from the *teri* class” (M, 27 and M, 52).

The poverty line

The women’s group agreed that the government-determined poverty line (Rp400,000/month) is consistent with the condition of the Lunas community and of Branta Pesisir in general. The men’s group was of the opinion that the government poverty line was well above the Lunas community poverty line, which they consider to be Rp150,000/month.

B. Individual Experiences

The two narrations and the diagrams (see Box 4.1 and Box 4.2) focus on individual work experiences because details of actual experiences can often reveal how and why a person can or cannot improve his/her economic prosperity. The timeline of work experiences of the two informants, HB (M, 64) and Mn (M, 67, shows that one of the factors that makes it possible for someone to enhance their prosperity and escape from poverty is the ability to accumulate (or obtain access to) wealth, which can then be invested to develop a business. HB bought two trucks, which he used to dispatch his trading goods. Hence, he did not need to rent trucks, and so reduced his transport costs, increased his profit margin and, finally, increased his economic prosperity.

HB and Mn were both born in Branta Pesisir. They are also of the same generation. HB started his working life as a fisher and Mn as an assistant teacher (civil service candidate). HB changed professions and became a trader and Mn stayed working for decades as a crewmember of a fishing boat.

HB obtained a loan from his parents-in-law in order to become a trader. At that time there were not many traders in Branta Pesisir. He accumulated wealth from the trading business and could finally invest in the development of his business by buying a truck. When Mn initially became a fisher, he also received assistance from his family (one of his brothers loaned him a boat). Nevertheless, work as a fisher over a number of decades has not made it possible for Mn to accumulate the resources necessary to invest in business development. He could only buy a small boat, which he used for fifteen years before it broke down and could no longer be used. Mn became a trader in 1995, when there were already a lot of large traders in Branta Pesisir (for example HB). Mn failed to be competitive, and so changed to a new livelihood with a lower income.

Box 4.1
Individual Life Story of HB: A 64 Year Old 'Never Poor' Informant

I was born in Branta village in the 1940s, and up to now I have not moved from Branta to anywhere else. I am happy in this village and I work here. That's why I never move anywhere. All of my relatives support me staying here. No body opposes me on that.

"I worked for the first time in 1955. At that time I worked as a fisher. A friend asked me to work with him. My income was Rp50. In 1960, I worked on a sailboat. I worked in a boat that carried salt to Surabaya, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Semarang, Cirebon. When we got back from those places, we brought rice and wood from Kalimantan. Back then, boats were not equipped with an engine, but only a sail. I earned Rp50,000–Rp100,000 every time we sailed. Economically, my earnings were better compared to when I was a fisher. I was supported by my family. Every time I went sailing, it would be for five months. But if we sailed to Java, I often visited Branta. I usually spent a week at home. Depending on the sail schedule, too.

Then, in 1983, I started trading. First, I sold rice. I bought the rice in Java and sold it in Pamekasan. I bought the rice every two days. Sometimes once a week, depending on the demand. My investment was Rp500,000 and my father-in-law lent me Rp100,000. Fortunately, at that time, my profit was Rp100,000 for one truckload. My investment had paid off within two months. My life was getting better then when I was sailing. But at that time, I still rented the truck for Rp150,000 for one trip.

After that, in 1990, I sold salted fish. I dried salted fish here and then took it to Solo and Madiun. At that time, my investment was only Rp1,000,000. It was my own money: not from a loan. One delivery could reach two to four tonnes. The profits could reach Rp1,000,000 per month. At first I sold the salted fish by coincidence. One time, my wife brought rice from Java and there was a man who found salted fish and asked me to find him one ton of salted fish. From then on, I sold salted fish. But my wife runs the salted fish business. Mine was rice trading.

"The business obviously led my life and my family to a better life, *Alhamdulillah* [thank the Lord], especially in 1995 since I didn't have many competitors. Nowadays this business has many competitors so the profit is small. From one shipment I can only gain a profit of Rp600,000 after delivery costs. Once, when I sold fish I suffered a loss because the fish was rotten. Finally, it was sold for duck food. That was in 1997. But since then on to 2005, my business is fine.

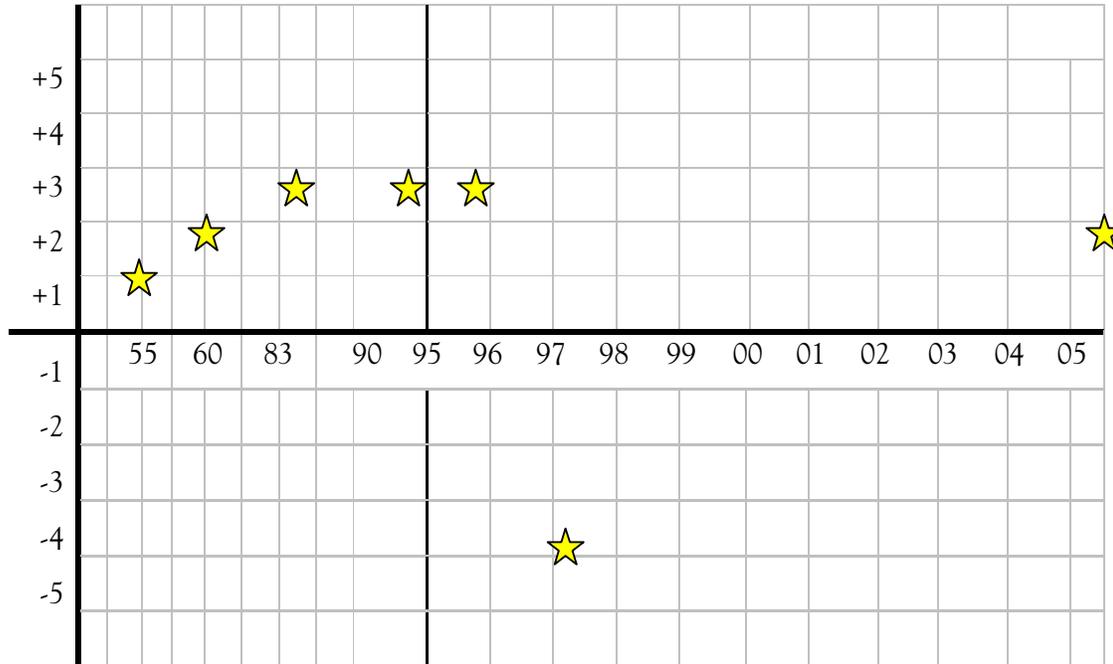
For an income, nowadays, I sell rice and salted fish. Ten years ago, my earnings were also from selling rice and salted fish and I will probably keep doing this until I can't sell any more.

Though there were conflicts, I kept selling salted fish and rice. There was *kar tokaran* [a dispute] once between Camplong and Branta fishers. But it did not affect me. The crucial one was in 1998 when fishers protested against me because I brought fish from Ketapang Sampang.

Moreover, at that time the Branta fishers complained to me and the other traders because the Ketapang fish made the price for local fish fall. I was summoned by Pak Klebun and the subdistrict chief to the village hall. I told them, 'I run my business legally. What is wrong with that?' I want to gain much fortune. That's why I want cheap fish, whereas in Branta, the fish are expensive. Many police officers came to secure the situation. But I kept telling them, 'I will continue to sell. I'm not doing anything wrong.'

At 12.00pm the protest still continued. It was during the fasting month. One of the fishers threatened to burn my house. I said, 'Please do. I'll give you the gasoline. But if you want to do it, do it after *terawih* [night prayers during the fasting month], so nobody can see you.' It turned out they didn't have the guts. The night of the incidence, my son, who played soccer, brought along his friends to guard, just in case somebody wanted to burn my house. But they didn't. It was only envious people who couldn't stand to see someone else's success. But eventually it was resolved; in fact, nowadays all of them are nice to me. I could only laugh at them.

History of Work Experience



- 1955: Started to work as fisher
- 1960: Worked as fishing boat crew
- 1983: Worked as rice trader
- 1990: Worked as dried-fish trader
- 1995: The business was growing because there was no competitors
- 1997: Income decreased because the fishes were spoiled.
- 2005: Nothing important happened, the business was normal.

Box 4.2

Individual Life Story of Mn: A 67 Year Old Man who has Moved Out of Poverty

*Before he worked as a skipper in Jakarta, Mn already had an income as a student at a teaching school called SGB. When I was in SGB, I received pocket money of Rp10,000 per month. I was supposed to have been a teacher and devote my life to being a public servant but I was not interested. I preferred working as *oreng lajangan* [ship's crew], maybe it was my faith to follow my father's way of living. Because I am literate, I could be a skipper, because to be a skipper requires the ability to read maps and official letters from related parties concerning my work in the timber industry as well as a skipper.*

His occupational history in Jakarta was the most impressive and exciting experience for Mn. I started working for the first time in Jakarta. It was in 1959. I was a skipper of a 77 tonne boat that my brother lent me. By skipper, I don't mean that I owned the boat, but I was the one who arranged tasks for the captain and crew (seven people) who were my friends from Branta Pesisir. We cut down trees in Sumatra, transported them, and sold them in Jakarta. We cut the trees with permission from the local Forestry Department, after giving a tip of Rp25,000 for each load. The tresses to be cut down were marked beforehand, and we cut them using axes and machetes. Chainsaws did not exist at that time and the tip for Forestry Department official was still cheap. We usually cut logs with four meters in length and 30 centimeters in thickness, the volume around 27 cubic meters. Our targets were meranti, teak and kruwing. We operated in the Palembang area and once a week we sailed there. Within a month, we could get Rp500,000. After that was divided into eight, each of us usually got Rp60,000 per month, quite a big amount at that time.

We could eat three times with only Rp900, that means with Rp27,000 a month we could have a decent life. You could say that we were rich when we lived in Jakarta, not to mention that the rent was paid jointly so our living costs could be saved.

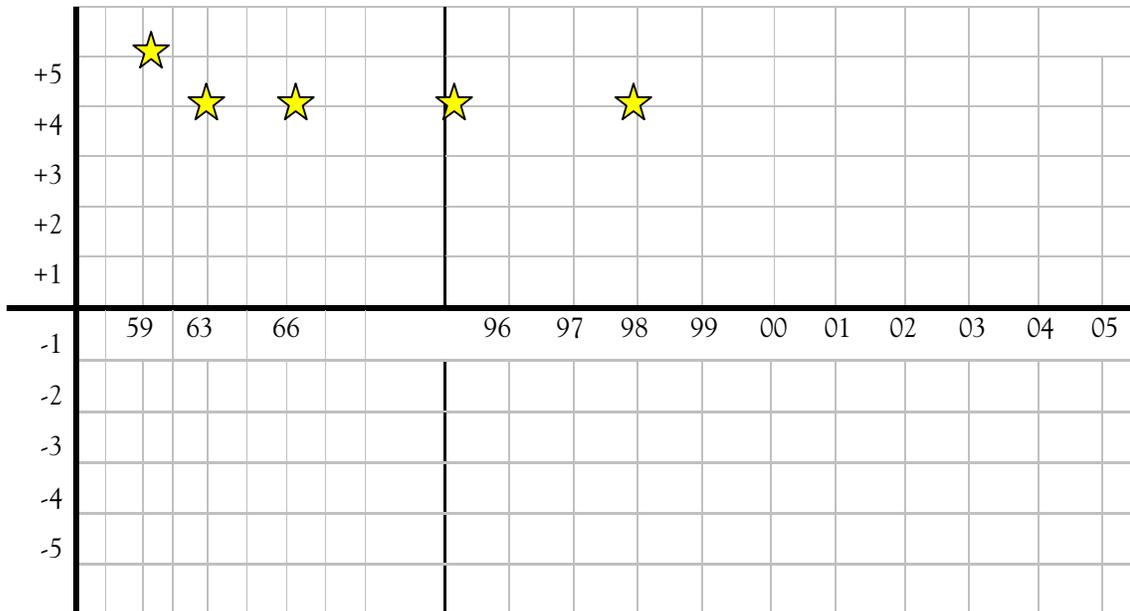
In 1963, Mn had to return home because of the PKI conflict. In Branta, I started my life as a fisher but it was not satisfying since my income was much lower than in Jakarta, so I decided to try my luck in Muncar just two months after I got back to Branta. With six friends from my homeland and a boat that my friend lent me, I tried my luck as a fisher in Muncar. It turned out that fishing in Muncar was also not promising. My income as a fisher was unsteady. Although I was familiar with the fishing life, since my father was also a fisher who sailed as far as Semarang, life in Muncar was not pleasant to me. When I was in Jakarta I was never running out [of money], but in Muncar I lived alone and had to live minimally, ate anything there was to eat, I even had to sell my clothes whenever the dry season came. I only stayed in Muncar for three years; in 1966 I went back home.

*Back home, Mn restarted his life as *oreng lajangan*, like he was in Jakarta. With a boat that his brother lent him and with seven of his friends he sailed around Lombok, Bali, Banyuwangi and Banjarmasin to load timber, coconuts, rice, salt and spices. I did it for almost 30 years but the income was barely enough. When I was living in Jakarta it was much better. I remembered that many people were now in the same business as I was. I didn't get much from it since our boat only functioned as freighter and we were not carrying timbers that we could sell for a high price anymore. We didn't cut down trees anymore because at that time it was difficult to do. We had to compete with many parties who had connection with the Forestry Department officials. What pleased me was the experience of being a ship's crewmember, which took me all over Indonesia, up to Kuching, Malaysia.*

Other than his work as orang lajangan, Mn used his savings to buy a small fishing boat that could carry two to three fishers. He bought the boat in 1980 and used it until 1995. Then, I clearly remember that my boat could catch 200 to 300 tongkol per day. At first my small boat could sail every day or five times a week. As it got older, it was often broken down, so I had to sell it in 1995 because I kept suffering a loss.

In 1995, feeling that he was getting older and wanted to spend more time with his family, Mn decided to go back to his home town. In the same year, he started to work as rice retailer. I worked as rice retailer more or less for three years. I rented a big truck and brought rice from Sragen and Solo. At first, my income from this business was good but as time went on my earnings were declining because more and more people started in the same business. They even had more capital. As a result, they dared to take small profits since they bought the rice in greater amounts. As a consequence, my business kept declining and in 1998 went bankrupt. My investment in wholesale rice for a truckload was usually Rp2,000,000 and I sold it for Rp2,100,000 So my profit was only Rp100,000 from one truckload. But then, my customer base was also shrinking since they had turned to bigger wholesalers who sold rice for cheaper prices. My profit was Rp50,000 from one truckload. The small profit was not a net profit since I still had to pay for the truck and porters. My total profit from a truck full of rice was only Rp10,000, absolutely not enough and less because I only bought the rice one to three times per month. Finally, seeing the reality, I quit. Jungle law was applied here: survival of the fittest.

In 1998, Mn started a new business, a registrar in Branta port whose task was taking notes for incoming and outgoing salt from the ships, his salary was Rp25,000 per day. I only did it for two years because since 2000 I have suffered from high blood pressure. When it strikes, my tumor hurts too. I was hospitalized in Surabaya, my nieces and nephews had prepared the fund for surgery but I refused, I was afraid. So, finally I only take outpatient treatment.



1959: Worked as the leader of ship's crew.
 1963: Worked as fisher
 1966: Worked as the boss of a fishing boat
 1995: Worked as rice trader
 1998: Worked as administrator in salt shipping
 2000: Did not work

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The dynamics of poverty and prosperity in the community of Lunas, Branta Pesisir must be understood from various levels and perspectives. This report endeavors to understand these issues from the macro, meso (village and community) and micro (household and individual) levels, especially from the perspective of the villagers who have experienced the dynamics themselves.

The conclusions drawn in this report provide the answers to a number of questions: (1) Which setting has had the greatest influence on attempts to move out of poverty in Branta Pesisir? (2) What are the most important factors at the household level and at the community level for: moving out of poverty, maintaining wealth, and remaining trapped in poverty? Are these factors specific to the village of Branta Pesisir? Why is that so? Are there any patterns of interaction or a sequence in these factors? (3) Are these factors and events linked to any more general or wider happenings? and (4) What policy implications can be drawn from the findings and conclusions of the research?

A. Placing Efforts to Move Out of Poverty in Several Contexts

This report also shows that the effort and road to move out of poverty (at the individual, household and community levels) is influenced by various kinds of conditions (settings). From the findings obtained from the FGDs as well as various interviews, it can be said that there are a number of larger conditions that influence the dynamics of social-economic mobility in Branta Pesisir: natural surroundings, social conditions, and economic conditions.

Natural conditions: Accessible coastline and having adequate public facilities

Branta Pesisir is an easily reached coastal region, as it is located only seven kilometers from the center of the district capital and serviced by a busy main road, accessible by all types of vehicles. The development of the wharf at Branta port has improved access to Branta Pesisir, as the village can now be reached via the sea.

As a coastal community, the majority of villagers in Branta Pesisir earn their living as fishers. The villagers' dependence on this livelihood, however, is declining. More and more people are working in the trading sector and becoming cottage industry entrepreneurs (such as *krupuk* makers). The strategic location and the adequate means of transportation make it easy for the community to undertake their daily activities, including operating and developing their various livelihoods.

Nevertheless, like coastal regions in general, it is difficult for Branta to secure a reliable clean water supply. Villagers have to pay for clean water to be delivered from Pamekasan. Each household had to spend approximately Rp65,000 to fulfill their weekly clean water needs. This problem was overcome when the direct water channel to Branta Pesisir was built in 2003. The villagers now spend only around Rp45,000 per month for clean water.

In summary, Branta Pesisir has a natural condition and geographical location that is relatively advantageous, and the problem of obtaining clean water has been resolved.

Social Condition: Openness, social diversity, and security

None of the villagers seemed to be surprised when the research team entered Branta Pesisir. This was not the case when the team entered the other village not far from Branta Pesisir to conduct fieldwork. In that research site, villagers looked curiously at the team members, who were seen as 'strangers' entering their village. On the contrary, villagers of Branta Pesisir seemed to be familiar with 'non-residents' who came in and out their village for various reasons. Moreover, many people in Branta Pesisir, as fishers and fishing boat crew, are used to working in areas outside their village.

The FGD participants and key informants often explicitly expressed their pride in being villagers of Branta Pesisir. They are proud of the advances the village has made and the openness of the community to a variety of new influences—for example ideas to pioneer new businesses by using the raw materials that are available in abundance in the village. The *krupuk* industry is one example of these new businesses.

It is interesting to note that there are no *kyai* in Branta Pesisir, although there are several *ustadz*. Participants in the FGDs also said proudly that there were no *bajing* (village hoodlums, thugs) with any power in their village. In the rural communities of Madura there are generally three categories of prominent figures who hold great power: *klebun*, *kyai* and *bajing*. Participants in the FGD mentioned that acknowledgment of the power of a small group of prominent figures is not consistent with the character of the community of Branta Pesisir. The power of the village head, for example, is limited by the interests and wishes of the villagers, even though he is accepted as the most important leader in the village.

The community is also used to the presence of various religious organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and PERSIS. Each of these organizations has their own mosques and followers. They also interpret several aspects of Islam differently. According to FGD participants, the community is not disturbed by the differences between these groups. In one FGD, all the various *ustadz* proudly related how they often hold discussions and pray together.

The stable state of security in Branta Pesisir was mentioned several times during the FGDs and by the key informants. During the last ten years, there has never been any serious conflict between villagers or with the people of other villages. In addition, apart from the hijackings, criminal activities like theft also occur very rarely.

The open attitude to foreign and new elements, the critical attitude towards power, the ability to accept a variety of social differences, and the overall security of the village are all important elements of the social condition in Branta Pesisir. This positive social condition makes village renewal and advancement easier.

Economic Condition: Various economic opportunities and a faster circulation of money

The village head of Branta Pesisir said that his village is in the middle of experiencing a transition. Although the majority of villagers are fishers, increasing number of people are also "having a go" in the trading sector or have completely moved into the trading

profession. Those who have a lot of capital can open a shop, telephone kiosk (*wartel*), a *Playstation* rental outlet or a gas station. Meanwhile, those with a limited amount of capital can work as a trader with a small stall (*kaki lima*) selling *rujak* (spiced fruit), *bakso* (meatball soup) etc. Villagers with no capital for trading can have side jobs as laborers. Men generally become laborers loading and unloading boats and women become workers in the *krupuk* industry. In addition, some villagers of Branta Pesisir also work as civil servants (teachers, or military or police officers). These various economic opportunities—although not all villagers can exploit them—make it possible to diversify income sources to guarantee a more stable income.

FGD participants also mentioned a number of times the importance of loans for both the development of businesses (buying bigger boats and better fishing equipment, obtaining working capital, covering operational costs) as well as to facilitate consumption (fulfilling daily needs, meeting school costs). The community can obtain loans from various sources, for example from intermediate fisheries traders, from savings and loans enterprises managed by a group of villagers or moneylenders. In addition, a number of *arisan* were found whose turnover ranges from several hundred thousand to tens of millions of rupiah.

Various forms of these credit, savings, and loans enterprises can work due to the relatively rapid circulation of money in Branta Pesisir. As fishers, traders and entrepreneurs, many villagers obtain their income regularly, and over a relatively brief period of time (daily, several times per week, weekly, each trip to sea, each time produce is dispatched and so forth). This rapid turnover enables the villagers to make regular deposits at the *arisan*, or to make regular loan repayments, and ensures they are not as susceptible to crippling losses as tobacco farmers, for example.

B. The Most Important Factors Influencing Socio-Economic Mobility and their Interaction Patterns

This part of the report will systematically draw conclusions on the most important factors at the household and community levels that influence socio-economic mobility. These factors are arranged in accordance with their order of influence.

At the Household Level

In general, socio-economic mobility in Branta Pesisir at the household level is influenced by a decline in purchasing power as a result of the price rises for daily necessities and raw materials, especially fuel. Fisher households have also experienced a decline in income as a consequence of the dependence on middlemen for the marketing of fish, and the import of cheaper fish from other areas. These factors have resulted in most households not having an adequate income and suffering from a decline in their prosperity.

The Most Important Factors For:	Household Level	Community Level
Maintaining wealth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Ability to utilize economic opportunity (2) Ability to invest (to develop a business, undertake economic diversification) (3) Access to working capital (credit) that is adequate or consistent with needs (4) Good wealth management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) The availability of infrastructure: clean water, roads, electricity, market (2) Many economic opportunities (making it possible for villagers to diversify their livelihoods) (3) Security
Moving out of poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Work and incomes that are fixed/stable (for example becoming a civil servant) (2) Availability of capital for the costs of production or operations (3) Beneficial social networks (surplus) (4) Capability of utilizing economic opportunity (5) Availability of capital for investment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) The availability of infrastructure: clean water, roads, electricity, markets (2) Economic opportunities (for example: various livelihoods) (3) Security
Trapped in poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Low unstable incomes (cannot fulfill essential needs and cover operational costs) (2) Declining purchasing power (3) Social network that is negative or unbeneficial (4) Lack of ability to utilize economic opportunity (e.g. Due to lack of capital or inability to undertake investment) (5) No collateral to use to obtain formal loans (6) Old age (7) Declining/poor health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Seasonal fish shortage (April – October) (2) There is no place to market fish and the price is not stable (price determined by middlemen or creditors), there is no public auction site, there are no buyers (3) No security in work (piracy of boats)

There are some households, however, who have overcome the decline in their purchasing power, and those who have relatively stable incomes from a variety of sources. A minority—generally rice and fish traders—has the ability to acquire wealth and invest in the development of their business. They are individuals who can obtain formal credit (for example from the bank) because they can provide collateral. In addition, their businesses are not influenced by natural events such as the seasonal fish shortage for fishers.

At the Community Level

Several factors at the community level assist the villagers of Branta Pesisir to enhance their level of prosperity: the accessibility of the village, adequate infrastructures (streets, transportation, electricity, clean water), openness, tolerance, and security. In addition, it was found that a variety of economic opportunities and activities could provide cheap loans for the villagers. Nevertheless, several factors were also found to impede the villagers—especially fishers—from improving their prosperity, for example the influence of middlemen in the determination of price of fish, and the problem of piracy.

These two groups of positive and negative factors interact in the daily life of the community and cause fluctuations in prosperity at the household level. At the community level, it appears that the prosperity of Branta Pesisir is relatively good and is actually increasing. This is reflected in the low level of migration for economic reasons. Branta Pesisir villagers are not interested in working abroad as TKI or TKW because they feel that there are still economic opportunities in their own village. In other words, the economic condition in Branta Pesisir has not become a push factor for the villagers to leave the village to attempt to improve their lives.

The macro level events that had the most negative influence on prosperity in Branta Pesisir were the price rises for essential commodities, raw materials, and fuel. Villagers mentioned the difficulty they have to fulfill their daily needs and cover the operational costs of going to sea. One fisher participant in the FGD said that profit from the sale of their catch was sometimes less than diesel costs.

In addition, the various central government assistance programs, such as the cheap rice for the poor (*Raskin*) program are considered to have had a positive influence on the prosperity of the poor in Branta Pesisir.

C. Policy Recommendations

The following policy recommendations have arisen from the research findings:

- (1) The provision of technical and financial assistance to establish and manage the Fishers' Cooperative so fishers can obtain cheap loans for their various needs, for example to improve their existing boats, or buy new boats, boat engines, or fishing equipment. Well-managed low cost loans can prevent fishers from falling into debt with moneylenders or middlemen, who force them to sell their fish at a low price.
- (2) The provision of technical and financial assistance to establish and manage a TPI (public fish auction site). At the TPI, fishers can market their catch for a better price.
- (3) The establishment of skills training and capacity building programs to establish a variety of cottage industries that can provide work opportunities for women and the elderly.

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APPENDIX 1

List and Summary of Research Activities Undertaken

Data Collection Method	Type of Informant	Number of Informants
Activity 3: Community Profile (questionnaire)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Primary school teacher and Islamic junior high school teacher ▪ Prominent Figures of the Village Council (BPD) ▪ Village Midwife ▪ Village Head 	4 people
Activity 4: FGD on Community Timeline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Religious/community figures ▪ Entrepreneurs/Traders ▪ Fishers 	4 people
Activity 5: FGD Ladder of Life/ Prosperity	FGD with 7 men FGD with 6 women	13 people
Activity 6: Livelihood, Freedom, Power, Inequality, Democracy and Local Governance ¹⁵	FGD with 5 men FGD with 7 women	12 people
Activity 7: Aspirations of Youth ¹⁶	FGD with 7 young men FGD with 7 young women	14 people
Activity 8: Conflict Timeline and Institutional Mapping ¹⁷	FGD with 6 men FGD with 7 women	13 people
Activity 9: In-depth Interview: Individual Life Stories	Households identified in the women's Ladder of Life FGD	18 households
Activity 10: Household Questionnaire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 17 movers ▪ 8 never poor ▪ 7 chronic poor ▪ 4 fallers 	36 households

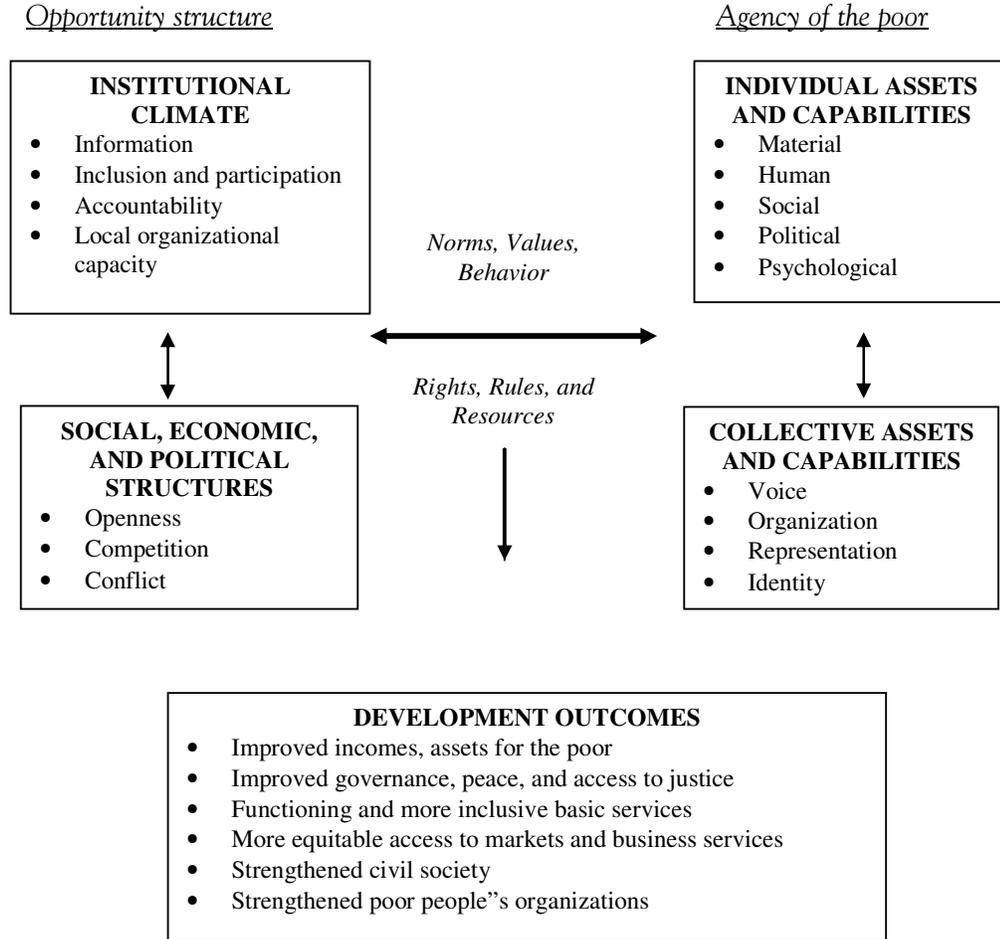
¹⁵In the report it is also referred to as the LFPD FGD.

¹⁶Also known as the FGD young male/female in the report.

¹⁷In the report it is also referred to as the Conflict FGD.

APPENDIX II

Conceptual Framework



APPENDIX III

Indices Used for Mobility Measurement

(1) Prosperity Index

The Prosperity Index (PI) is the extent of all upward mobility in a community which captures *only upward movement* in a village, irrespective of the individual's position on the Ladder of Life ten years ago.

(2) Falling Index

The Falling Index (FI) is the extent of all downward mobility in a community which captures *only downward movement* in a village, irrespective of the individual's position on the Ladder of Life ten years ago.

(3) Net Prosperity Index

The Net Prosperity Index (NPI) is the extent of net upward mobility (upward minus downward) in a community which captures *net upward mobility* in a village, that is, it shows whether the share of upward movement was greater than the share of downward movement.

(4) Mobility Index

The Mobility Index (MI) is the extent of all (upward + downward) mobility in a community, irrespective of the direction of mobility, which captures *all movement or changes in status* in a village irrespective of whether it is downward or upward.

(5) Moving out of Poverty Index

The Moving out of Poverty Index (MOPI) is the extent of upward mobility by the poor across the community poverty line in a community which captures *only upward movements across the poverty line*, that is, from below to above the poverty line. This index differs from other indices because the prosperity and mobility indices are independent of the individual's initial position on the ladder ten years ago. They only capture upward movement (in the case of the prosperity indices—gross and net) and both upward and downward movement (in the case of the mobility index).

(6) Shared Prosperity Index

The Shared Prosperity Index (SPI) is the extent of upward mobility by the poor minus the non-poor in a community, which compares upward movers who were poor in P1 with upward movers who were non-poor in P1. The shared prosperity index is simply the difference between the two ratios.

(7) Mobility of the Poor Index

The Mobility of the Poor Index (MPI) is the extent of upward mobility by those who were poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those poor in P1 who moved upwards, irrespective of whether they did or did not cross the CPL.

(8) Mobility of the Rich Index

The Mobility of the Rich Index (MRI) is the extent of upward mobility by those who were non-poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those non-poor in P1 who moved upwards.

(9) Falling of the Poor Index

The Falling of the Poor Index (FPI) is the extent of downward mobility by those who were poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those poor in P1 who moved downwards.

(10) Falling of the Rich Index

The Falling of the Rich Index (FRI) is the extent of downward mobility by those who were non-poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those non-poor in P1 who moved downwards.

(11) Net Prosperity of the Poor Index

The Net Prosperity of the Poor Index (NPP) is the extent of net upward mobility (upward minus downward) by those who were poor ten years ago.

(12) Net Prosperity of the Rich Index

The Net Prosperity of the Rich Index (NPR) is the extent of net upward mobility (upward minus downward) by those who were non-poor ten years ago.