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Japanese papers with English abstract

Developing a Community Revitalization Movement Based on Reflective Dialog Using Engaged Ethnography

YB. Cahya Widiyanto, Toshio Sugiman

[Author information](#)

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 This study describes the process in which a certain community of farmers in Indonesia tried to overcome a crisis caused by rapid penetration of free market economy into agriculture. In the crisis, farmers were marginalized economically and socially and their community was declined by losing togetherness and cultural traditions. In such a situation, a community revitalization movement was initiated by the author in 2008 and carried out by a group of farmers in Daleman, a

sub-district located in Bantul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. This paper reported the process of the movement during 2008-2013, though it is still going on. The movement had two major characteristics. First, a strategy called *creative return to the past* was emphasized. Specifically, regaining the togetherness and cultural traditions that they had maintained until the penetration of market economy is regarded as the return to the past. But, it is almost impossible to ignore market economy in our globalized world and thus the return to the past is possible only by utilizing market economy creatively. Second, an ethnography was written by the author not just for an academic purpose but also for contributing to the movement by facilitating reflective dialog among participants. In this sense, it is called *engaged ethnography*. The group of farmers was gradually convinced that the crisis was brought by their passive attitude toward market economy and finally reached a future vision to start organic farming as a major pillar of their activities. Organic farming had been conducted by all farmers until they began to use chemical fertilizer and pesticide to increase the rice production to meet market demand. In the process of development of the vision, the author used the ethnographies he had produced concerning the crisis until then to help the farmers understand that the crisis was not just a tragedy of their own community but was a nation-wide prevalent problem caused by market economy and that it would be possible to overcome it if they stand up together and start to do something new actively. Fortunately, organic farming was appreciated in the market while the farmers regained togetherness and cultural tradition in their community. However, the success also led the community to confusion and even a conflict in 2011-12. The conflict was so serious that neither the farmers nor the author could find any future prospects. It was the engaged ethnography the author wrote in 2008-10 that helped them resolve the conflict and regain solidarity. By the ethnography, they could recollect the process in which they once struggled with development of their solidarity and future vision and convince themselves of how they should proceed to the next step.

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Developing a Community Revitalization Movement Based on Reflective Dialog Using Engaged Ethnography

YB. Cahya Widiyanto, Toshio Sugiman

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Developing a Community Revitalization Movement

Based on Reflective Dialog Using Engaged Ethnography

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Abstract

This study describes the process in which a certain community of farmers in Indonesia tried to overcome a crisis caused by rapid penetration of free market economy into agriculture. In the crisis, farmers were marginalized economically and socially and their community was declined by losing togetherness and cultural traditions. In such a situation, a community revitalization movement was initiated by the author in 2008 and carried out by a group of farmers in Daleman, a sub-district located in Bantul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. This paper reported the process of the movement during 2008-2013, though it is still going on.

The movement had two major characteristics. First, a strategy called *creative return to the past* was emphasized. Specifically, regaining the togetherness and cultural traditions that they had maintained until the penetration of market economy is regarded as the return to the past. But, it is almost impossible to ignore market economy in our globalized world and thus the return to the past is possible only by utilizing market economy creatively. Second, an ethnography was written by the author not just for an academic purpose but also for contributing to the movement by facilitating reflective dialog among participants. In this sense, it is called *engaged ethnography*.

The group of farmers was gradually convinced that the crisis was brought by their passive attitude toward market economy and finally reached a future vision to start organic farming as a major pillar of their activities. Organic farming had been conducted by all farmers until they began to use chemical fertilizer and pesticide to increase the rice production to meet market demand. In the process of development of the vision, the author used the ethnographies he had produced concerning the crisis until then to help the farmers understand that the crisis was not just a tragedy of their own community but was a nation-wide prevalent problem caused by market economy and that it would be possible to overcome it if they stand up together and start to do something new actively.

Fortunately, organic farming was appreciated in the market while the farmers regained togetherness and cultural tradition in their community. However, the success also led the community to confusion and even a conflict in 2011-12. The conflict was so serious that neither the farmers nor the author could find any future prospects. It was the engaged ethnography the author wrote in 2008-10 that helped them resolve the conflict and regain solidarity. By the ethnography, they could recollect the process in which they once struggled with development of their solidarity and future vision and convince themselves of how they should proceed to the next step.

Keywords: community revitalization, creative return to the past, engaged ethnography, reflective dialog, organic farming

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Chapter I

Literature Review and Positioning of the Study

This chapter describes agriculture as an Indonesian cultural identity containing norms, customs, traditions, history, and value systems that serve as guidance for farmers' actions and mindset. In Indonesia, the farmer's culture is not exclusively internalized by farmers; it is also adopted by Indonesian society in general. The sad story about Indonesian agriculture began with the development and use of modern innovations, such as chemical fertilizers and pesticides as the result of the implementation of the free market system that has proven to be severely degrading to the traditionally good quality of life of farmers. In Indonesian agriculture the free market system introduced a transactional relationship pattern that paralyzed many Indonesian farmers from gaining market access since there was significant gap between the possible risk and profit the farmers might have. Therefore, most Indonesian farmers considered the agriculture free market system as a powerful enemy that had recently entrapped them in a miserable cycle of poverty. The golden era of the former Indonesian agriculture was dimming for most farmers as the agriculture free market system started brightening for only a few stealthy individuals. Further, the wealth and pride of being a farmer were an ironic dream, as the real daily life of a farmer was found to be difficult and unsustainable.

As other farmers all around the country, the farming community of Daleman, Bantul, in Yogyakarta, Indonesia also experienced a similar tragic story. However, not only complaining about the degradation of life they faced, they became aware of the existing situation and even tried to undertake an agriculture revitalization through a collective movement. They wanted to move on and change the existing situation into a better state by utilizing the spirit of the victorious agriculture that they once possessed;

the agriculture that is self-sufficient, creative and full of solidarity. They wanted to achieve this goal through an agricultural revitalization. However, while the clock will never go backwards, there are some people who still endeavor to recreate the respected “past” of being a farmer. Using engaged ethnography with reflective dialog as a more proactive attempt to return to “the past”, people can harness knowledge and skills obtained through a creative method, which is called a “creative return to the past” by Sugiman (2012).

Aiming to support and strengthen their movement, the researcher accompanied them during the community revitalization process and encouraged them to develop a positive environment that would enable them to regain their formerly sustainable and victorious way of agriculture as it was lived in the not-too-distant past. Through collaborative action research, the researcher offered an innovative implementation of the narrative approach. The researcher encouraged members of the farmer community to develop a narration through story writing about their experiences, concerning the reality and events they had been facing related to agricultural practices. Through facilitation by the researcher, they wrote and shared the stories with each other in community discussions. For the community, the organic farming pillar or mainstay, that they eventually chose as the central tenet of the revitalization movement, was also part of the experiences included in their narration. Starting from the belief in the power of narration in supporting social transformation, the researcher employed the narrative approach in a proactive form of participative ethnography, calling it *engaged ethnography*. The narrative approach is an instrument for developing and communicating the deeper meaning, found by members of community within their context that can contribute in the formation of identity and development of action plans (Gergen, 1999). Further, narration is also an instrument for promoting values and beliefs as a guideline for action and change. In this action research, engaged ethnography provided a space and time for

reflective dialog for farmers to maintain the goals of their revitalization movement through stories, pictures, written notes, and movies. They believe that by returning to the traditional practices of organic farming, they will be able to improve their life condition, as they experienced it in the past.

Sections in Chapter 1 will present various relevant analyses to explain the condition of Indonesian Agriculture and the movement of agricultural revitalization undertaken by the Daleman farming community in developing an empowered narrative as a form of reflective dialog using engaged ethnography.

1. Agriculture as an Indonesian Identity

1-1. Agriculture as a popular sector for Indonesia

From elementary school age, Indonesian people listen to and sing praises for the fertility and richness of their land; a theme one could easily find in many children's and popular songs. People used to be proud to live off the bounty of the mother earth, as expressed in one of the most popular oldies: "... *orang bilang tanah kita tanah surga, tonggak kayu dan batu jadi tanaman*"³. Reference to the Indonesian land as "heavenly land" represents popular acceptance of the deep-rooted spiritual/agricultural life in the country. It is not an exaggeration to say that up to the present time, people considered Indonesia primarily as an agrarian country.

Indonesia's rich natural resources and wonderful tropical climate support farming as the core existence of many of its people's life. Farming has been the main characteristic of the country throughout its history. For the majority of Indonesian people, farming practices are tied to all aspects of life. It is easy to find various farming practices that reveal the history of indigenous people everywhere in Indonesia

³ Literal translation: "People say that ours is land of heaven, where log and even rock become plants", from a song by *Koes Plus* Brothers, a famous music band from the 1970s that was well-known as pop dan rock'n roll vanguard in Indonesia.

(Winangun, 2005). Many rituals and traditional spiritual practices of the people; for example, *Bersih desa* (traditional ceremony to clean a village), harvest parties, wedding ceremonies, and the like—all of which basically constitute cultural symbols that are generated from local farming traditions.

Makepung, a Balinese term for water buffalo racing, is a very popular traditional water buffalo race in Jembrana District. Initially it was just a game that farmers played while they plowed in the wake of the harvest season (Arshiniwati, 2012). Farmers jockeyed water buffaloes pulling carts. This once spare time activity has developed into a cultural event that attracts local and foreign tourists, and is professionally presented as part of the routine tourism agenda in Bali. Currently not only farmers take part in the event, but numerous civil servants and merchants of the town also take part as racers or supporters. In the grand prix, a Governor Cup of sort, *Makepung* involves more than 300 pairs of water buffaloes taking part in the race. The race becomes more merrier and animated when accompanied by the performance of *Jegog*⁴ musicians.

In the west of Bali Strait, villagers of Alasmalang, Banyuwangi District perform the traditional rite of *kebo-keboan* (literally, playing water buffalo) every year. Initially it was a traditional ceremony asking for rain during a long dry season. Rainfall would enable farmers to start their farming activities. The climax of the rite is field plowing and seed planting. People who act as buffaloes become ‘possessed’ and chase anyone who tries to remove the planted seeds. The villagers attempt to take the planted seeds that were believed to have powers to prevent disaster and bring luck to the people (Ernawati, 2007). There are many more traditional rites in Indonesia that use aspects of agricultural world as potent symbols of life and fertility. (Campbell, 1988).

Indonesia has countless regions with special natural richness that have developed their own farming and crop cultivation traditions. People of eastern Indonesia and parts

⁴ Balinese unique gamelan made of bamboo.

of Sumatra Island, for example, have a long history cultivating the sago palm. Before the introduction of a uniform staple food policy, sago was a staple for the people of the two areas. As a national alternative food product, sago actually offers a promising staple product since Indonesia produces 60% of the world sago stock (Louhenapessy, 2010). Nutritionally, sago can be processed into flour with nutrients equal to tapioca or *Aci garut*⁵. In addition to an alternative source of carbohydrates, sago can serve as the raw material for the preparation of glue, syrup, and ethanol for both domestic and export products.

Another popular crop is sweet potato. As the key carbohydrate-containing crop after rice, corn and cassava, sweet potatoes play an important part in providing both a staple food supply, and industrial raw materials, as well as providing cattle feed. Sweet potatoes are often consumed as an additional food, except for in Irian Jaya and Maluku where they are consumed as a staple food. In the Jayawijaya Highland, they are the main carbohydrate source for the local inhabitants providing 90% of their caloric needs (Lingga, 1984).

One might easily remember Costa Rica as the Banana Country, the Netherlands as the Tulip Country, and Japan as the Sakura Country while New Zealanders are happy to be known as people from the Kiwi Country. In their small country, from high-ranking officials, artists, to the citizens in general, they are all proud of their Kiwi Country, and Kiwi fruits are even offered in their flag-carrier planes as promotion of the country's identity. Ethnographically, this strong identity may in turn enhance the people's pride (Gergen, 1999). Various regions in Indonesia have been maintaining established farming traditions for hundreds, and even thousands of years that have inspired the cultures in these regions. Agriculture is the *élan vital* of Indonesian culture that manifests itself in the diverse traditions of local communities throughout the archipelago. Essentially,

⁵ Flour made of the Garut's tuber.

agriculture is part of the key to understanding the Indonesian cultural identity (Kartodirdjo, 1990).

The agrarian character of Indonesia can be seen from the vitality of agricultural-living sectors of its society. Villages that constitute 60% of Indonesian territory are the significant areas that continue to maintain the agricultural practices of the country. According to BPS (*Badan Pusat Statistik*; Statistics Indonesia) data, 56% of Indonesian households are living in rural areas and the majority of them depend on the agricultural sector as their main livelihood (BPS, 2010). Agriculture is the most vital sector economically, socially, and socio-historically. More than 46% of the Indonesian work force is involved in the agriculture sector and the rest is engaged in work by the goods and services industry and other sectors (BPS, 2010). Agriculture is the most important element of the society's livelihood. It is a land of resourceful living that welcomes everyone. It is a place to "return" for one who is entangled in modern life. Historically, agriculture is the nourishing mother, the alma mater, for the people of Indonesia.

1-2. Agriculture: from livelihood to culture

As a cultural inspiration of Indonesia, agriculture animates the everyday life of Indonesian society. Agricultural characteristics are identical with village traditions: hospitality, collectivity, and simplicity that have become an entrenched value system, even for non-agricultural communities. In many aspects of the life of the Indonesian society, rural values have become normative values that eventually have turned into prevailing standards. Agriculture is not just a way to earn a living, but is also an important and sustaining pillar of Indonesian culture (Kartodirdjo, 1976; 1990).

Historically, Indonesian agriculture was collective in nature (Kartodirdjo, 1976). Indonesian farming society has unique characteristics, which emphasize togetherness in all of their activities. The traditional sustainable nature of agriculture and various

community conditions of agricultural practices formed this unique social and economic collective background. Farming colonies and a rich variety of traditions in farmers' social interaction have developed the farmers' collective culture including shared practices of collective picking of many types of crops, planting selected crops, and cultivating and harvesting them together as a community bounty.

A deeper significance of farmers' togetherness exists in this form of collective culture. Substantially, the collectivistic culture has developed the value system of the agricultural community and generated social instruments such as modeling, and encouraging of social dependence while developing focus groups as typical sustainable relationships of farmers where everyone depends on one another (Kartodirdjo, 1990). Seasonal changes, irrigation, trends in pest attacks, and collective ownership and operation of agricultural properties are factors that strengthen the farmers' collective culture. Within this context, no single farmer could privatize agricultural resources and socio-economic situations. The communal culture of farmers places collective action as a key in the sustainable agricultural world. "*Guyub rukun*" (harmonious communal life) is a cohesive solidarity spirit among farmers in their everyday relationship as farmers. This *conditio sine qua non* (condition without which nothing) of collective agriculture in the relationship among traditional farmers has grown into a collective relationship in agricultural activities that definitely strengthened the confidence in their collective community capacity (Hayami & Kikuchi, 1987). Collectiveness in agriculture has boosted their community confidence as reflected, more or less, in the expression: "I can because the other can". In fact, the dependence on their collective capacity has also strengthened farmers' collective identity.

Farming is a profession involving unique characters, because farmers have to read nature, adapt to it and formulate a range of actions referring to nature (Scott, 1985). The intimacy of the farmer with nature has created a natural value tradition that the

traditional farmer has maintained. The farmers' tradition is a natural tradition, grown out of their experiences and interaction with nature through their community cultivation activities (Kartodirdjo, 1976).

Cultivation activities such as growing, taking care of crops, and harvesting are typical activities for farmers, which are nonexistent among the non-farmer, and even among those who rely on nature for livelihood such as the fisherman, hunter and such like who tend to just be involved with "taking" something from the natural world. "Cultivation" as a specific domain of farmers, as opposed to other professions, is not just plucking what nature provides, but farmers perform certain creations to acquire the product of nature (Sabetghadam, 2003). Farmers' way of life and cultivation tradition distinguishes farmers from other ways of life. Farmers are the actors of a culturally unique livelihood.

Agricultural realms have conditioned farmers to live a collective life. In an agricultural area, a farming group shares resources such as water, soil, and a cultivation atmosphere that can only be accessed by involving others (Mubyarto & Kartodirdjo, 1988). Few actions, if any that a farmer can perform in cultivation activities can be done individually. In adjacent farming areas called *Bulak*, providing pathways to the cultivated plot of land, irrigating the farming field, harvesting, pest controlling, and other measures to protect the crops, are carried out by involving public resources, or at least by involving other farmers (Kartodirdjo, 1976).

The agricultural background as such has forged the social bond among farmers (Mubyarto & Kartodirdjo, 1988). Initially, according to Kartodirdjo (1976), *Gotong royong* or *Sambatan*⁶ were cooperative forms of farmers' efforts to accomplish their

⁶ *Gotong royong* is Indonesian term for altruist tradition identical to rural life where people helping each other without asking for remuneration based on a feeling of being part of one big family. While *sambatan* is a Javanese term of *gotong royong*.

works. Such a relationship constitutes a kind of social security that farmers traditionally maintained. It enables farmer to share burdens and rely on each other in performing agricultural activities.

Most rural value systems are a replication of agricultural value systems. The field setting is brought home by farmers, and has in turn shaped their everyday lives in general. Farmers have developed their collective values into social organizations typical of a farming community, reflecting a village community (Kartodirdjo, 1976; Mubyarto & Kartodirdjo, 1988). They transform the collective spirit into their informal everyday spaces, into their conversations in their huts and homes. Their social integration is still very strong. Like in a family, they bring the problems of the field and everyday life into their collective conversation. They help each other, seek common solutions, and even bear risks collectively. Therefore, agriculture within the Indonesian context is not only a way of earning a living but a socio-cultural system consisting of norms, mores, traditions, and value systems that serve as reference for the day to day behavior of farmers. In this way, farmers possess a common way to act and conceive of life, which do not only just relate to the field and crop but also to everyday life management as well.

Legally, Indonesian administrative concepts of territory under sub-districts refer to rural terminology. For example, the administrative territory under a sub-district is *desa* (village), under which stands *Padukuhan* (hamlet), which consists of *Rukun Warga* (RW), larger neighborhood unit, and the smallest territory called *Rukun Tetangga* (RT), immediate neighborhood unit⁷. In addition to the use of rural-based terminology, many existing policies refer to the traditional collective value system.

Presently in some urban areas, people may still maintain rural traditions. In Yogyakarta, the fourth largest city of Indonesia, some collective rural traditions are well preserved and developed. In Gejayan, for example, located in an urban area of

⁷ There is also a story version that “RW” and “RT” are terms to mean small governance at village level introduced by the Japanese military government in Indonesia: *Tonarigumi* (RT) and *Azzazyokai* (RW).

Yogyakarta, occasionally people perform *gotong royong* for community events such as funeral ceremonies, and celebration of weddings or newborns. Everyone takes part in the traditional ceremonies in the neighborhood. Despite increasing rarity, such a situation can be found in some urban areas of other Indonesian big cities as Jakarta, Makassar, and Surabaya. An interesting phenomenon worth noting regarding this rural image has been the pride of *civitas academica* of Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, one of the best universities in Indonesia, for the nickname of the institution “*Universitas Ndeso*”, that literally means rural university. Collective traditions nurtured in the agricultural communities are widely spread and still alive in the Indonesia society. The Farmers’ culture is not exclusive to the farming profession; it belongs to the Indonesian society in general.

1-3. Land, agriculture and identity

The significance of land and agriculture can be most clearly seen, when a popular timeless slogan is voiced during protests related to land conflict: “*sedumuk bathuk senyari bumi, ditohi pati*”⁸. This slogan that invokes self-esteem shows that the land is inseparable from the life of the Indonesian people, particularly farmers, who most frequently use the slogan. As historically recorded, land, no matter how small it was, would be defended with violence if necessary, even with bloodshed (Sastroatmodjo, 2007). Land is a matter of life and death for farmers, and something they would do anything to defend.

⁸. In Javanese tradition, the term “*dumuk*” means to touch with finger, usually forefinger. While “*bathuk*” is forehead. Head, for Javanese, is the most respected body part. No one should touch another’s head, even the closest one, even with forefinger. Therefore “*sadumuk bathuk*” means honor. “*Sak nyari*” means a span of the hand, “*bumi*” is earth and in this context in possessed land, so “*sanyari bumi*” is a span of land possessed. “*Ditohi pati*” means to be defended to death. It could be said that land is an honor worth to defend even with death.

Another idiom that relates to the value of land for farmers, particularly in Java is “*dibelani nganti pecahing dodho, wutahing ludiro*”, meaning, Land is deserving to be defended with blood and death. Land is like a woman. Essentially, land is the mother that has to be defended to the last breath; it is a non-negotiable honor for Javanese men, the Javanese farmers. Land is life, not just a source of livelihood but also honor (Kuntowijoyo, 1993). For Indonesian people in general, their country is *Ibu Pertiwi* (literally motherland, *Pertiwi* is goddess of Earth, derived from Sanskrit *Prithvi*, Mother Earth).

In the recorded history of Indonesia, the close connection between land possession and honor has been prominent in many land conflicts of various scales in the political history of the country. It was widely conceived that, on the one side, the Diponegoro War was one of oppositions to the colonial rule, but on the other side, it could not be ignored: the *Nederlands-Indië* government had marked and occupied the land of Diponegoro, the Javanese prince for a project. One bloody conflict that has been a source of prolonged controversy, i.e. *G 30 S PKI* (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*; Indonesian Communist Party), could also not be separated from land issues (Onghokham, 1984). Historically, one prominent program of PKI was land reform.

On the other hand, land possession is attached to someone’s status and prestige. Javanese kingdoms’ history has introduced the notion of “*Perdikan*” land, a territory exempted from tax or retribution by the reigning king as an appreciation of its inhabitants, or its ruler’s special contribution for the kingdom (Wasino, 2005). By far the appreciation, honor, power, and land is attached to the head of village in most Indonesia territory. In Java, even today, many village heads are not paid in monetary remuneration; but instead were provided with a land tenure called “*Bengkok*”. Other village officials acquire similar land tenure called “*Pelungguh*” (Sastroatmodjo, 2007). As a rule, tenant farmers who are neighbors of the village officials using a sharing

system cultivated the official land. Village official are patrons while tenant farmers are their clients. This account clearly shows the close connection between land, agriculture, livelihood, and self-esteem.

In fact, the relation between power and land could be found in the Indonesian National Police doctrine: “*Tata Tentrem Kerta Raharja*”. The doctrine states that Police should take part in efforts to achieve an Indonesian society that is prosperous and just (*raharja*). Justice and prosperity require the spirit to develop (*kerta*) which, in turn, requires security/peace (*tentrem*). Security and peace were impossible to achieve without public order under the law (*tata*). This abbreviated doctrine of the Indonesian Police is part of a complete phrase, “*gemah ripah loh jinawi, subur kang sarwa tinandur, murah kang sarwa tinumbas, tata titi tentrem kerta raharja*”.⁹ In other words, prosperity refers to the sufficiency of food and dwelling that would be facilitated by peace keeping through public order according to the existing law.

For the youth of the 1970s, peaceful life was identical to the farmer’s life as recorded in the following lyric of a Javanese popular song:

*Ayem tentrem ing desane pak tani
Urip rukun bebarengan
Mbangun desa sak kancane, pak tani
Nyambut gawe tanpa pamrih*

*Wayah esuk wis podho nggiring sapine
Rame rame nggarap sawah lan kebonne
Pancen luhur bebudene, pak tani
Keno kanggo patuladhan
Nyambung urip sak anane, pak tani
Jujur tindak lan lakune¹⁰*

⁹Meaning: Peaceful and prosperous and its land so fertile that any plant can grow healthy, people can easily afford goods and live in a peaceful society due to public order under the law.

¹⁰The very popular Javanese song entitled “*Pak Tani*” (Mr Farmer) was sung by *Koes Plus brothers* in the 1970s.

(Peaceful and tranquil in the Farmer's village
He lives in harmony
Develops the village together with neighbors
Works with sincerity

Early in the morning, he leads his cows
Works together in the field and farm
What an honorable manner the Farmer lived
Really an exemplary character
He lives a subsistent life
Honest in behavior and deeds)

Moreover, various folklores that exist among the Indonesian society clearly articulate land and agriculture as grand themes. Agriculture is a landmark, a characteristic typical of Indonesia (Kartodirdjo, 1990). While once well known as an Agricultural Country, Indonesia now extensively imports rice, flooded by varieties of crops from neighboring countries (i.e., Bangkok guavas, Australian apples, and Californian papayas, to mention only a few), its original farmer's prosperity gone in the face of a free market economy. These concerns all indicate that there is a serious growing problem with community agriculture in Indonesia.

Even worse, now farmers no longer consider their land as a "woman", nor as "mother" earth, within which their honor resides. Almost heartlessly, they spray pesticides and acid fertilizers that contaminate the land and rivers in favor of short-term production while eventually diminishing their self-esteem. The spirituality of agricultural land has been replaced by the free market production interests that know no border. Recently the norms of the agricultural realms have changed. The previous richness of spiritual values based on the traditional social relationships and commonly held community agricultural measures have morphed into modern agricultural norms, which are considered more pragmatic, efficient, and heavily market-oriented, while serious problems concerning the former and future Indonesian identity are in progress.

2. The Rise and Fall of Indonesian Agriculture

2-1. Good old days of agriculture

The history of farming in Indonesia is not only a story about oppression and misery. Indirectly, the work of Indonesian farmers has significantly contributed to the rise of the Republic of Indonesia. To acquire international recognition for a newly independent country that was practically unknown to the rest of the world, the then President Sukarno sent rice as the Indonesian people's assistance for the starving Indian people on August 20, 1946. The Indian government rewarded the goodwill by sending medicines, clothes, and machineries that were urgently needed by Indonesian people. The famous "rice diplomacy" was considered as an initial success of the new Indonesian diplomacy that was under the Dutch's blockade at that time (Hatta, 1982). These "good old days" of Indonesian agriculture spanned through the 1940s and 1950s.

When the post-Sukarno regime consolidated in the beginning of the 1970s, agriculture enjoyed plenty of attention from the government. There were numerous development programs within PELITA (*Pembangunan Lima Tahun*; Five Year Development Program) implemented to enhance agriculture (Djojohadikusumo, 1985). The government's propaganda for the agricultural sector was extensively carried out through television and radio programs under the government's control. Television programs such as "*Dari Desa ke Desa*" (From Village to Village), broadcasted meetings of *Kelompok* (Reader and Viewer Group), and events of *Temu Wicara* (Public Dialogue) between the people and President Soeharto while the Rural Program of the Republic of Indonesia Radio implied that the government seriously put agriculture as the priority of the economic sector (Tjitropranoto, 2005).

In 1985, Indonesia was recognized and awarded by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) for achieving self-sufficiency in food supply and farmers'

prosperity. During those days, agriculture was one prominent sector of Indonesia that was admired by neighboring countries. Malaysia, Cambodia and Vietnam learned agriculture from Indonesia. Agricultural Faculties of University of Indonesia (UI) and Gadjah Mada University (UGM) were favorite destinations for students from those countries (Akhmad, 2007). The recognition of international institutions and neighboring countries further confirmed Indonesia's image as an agriculturally successful country.

Becoming a farmer was prestigious in those days, and it was normal for people to state that he or she was a farmer. It was normal for farmers to fill demographic registration forms with "farmer" as profession. According to the author's experience, elementary schools and junior high schools of that time included farming activities into the curriculum. Students were permitted not to attend school to perform *labuh* activity in school-owned rice fields; they were also allowed to leave during planting and harvesting seasons. They went to school carrying hoes and plunged themselves into muddy rice fields when they arrived at school. Not only considered normal, farming was also a joyful practice for those students. In after school hours, teenage boys and girls happily worked in their parent's or neighbor's field for small remuneration of Rp.150, or for just an afternoon meal in the field.

There were agricultural vocation schools that were favorite educational options at that time. Alumni of the 1970s and 1980s agricultural vocation schools were well respected, and immediately absorbed by the agricultural sector, as employees or in providing farming assistance in rural areas (Sutomo, 1997). There was no need to be an agricultural engineer (university graduate) to live prosperously with the sustainable agricultural knowledge they learnt from school.

Those were the "good old days" indeed. The agriculture vocation promised a prosperous life for Indonesian society so there was no need for people to hesitate to become a farmer. It was an honorable profession.

2-2. Free market: the beginning of farmers' downfall

Times have changed. Privatization has penetrated many economic sectors of society, including the electronic media that were under tight control of the government until the end of the 1980s era. The national television, *Televisi Republik Indonesia* (TVRI) and the national radio, *Radio Republik Indonesia* (RRI) that regularly broadcast agricultural programs have been gradually abandoned by their audiences who now prefer the more glamorous modernity of programs broadcasted by private televisions and radios through their *sinetron* (electronic cinema) and Top Hits programs. Recently, like a last call to remind people that the economic backbone of the country was agriculture, a public service ad is frequently broadcasted by one Indonesian private television, RCTI (*Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia*).¹¹

*Nasi putih terhidang di meja kita santap tiap hari
Beraneka ragam hasil bumi dari manakah datangnya
Dari sawah dan ladang di sana, petanilah penanamnya
Panas terik tak dirasa, hujan rintik tak mengapa
Masyarakat butuh bahan pangan
Terima kasih bapak tani, terima kasih ibu tani
Tugas anda sungguh mulia.....*

(White rice on the table we eat everyday
Various crops where they came from
From field and farm where farmers planted them
Intense sunshine, rainfall, they ignored
People need food
Thank you mister farmer, thank you mistress farmer
For the honorable duties you accomplished)

Song as a form of appreciation is common everywhere and for any profession. One song that appreciated postmen was very popular, and even obligatory, in a sense,

¹¹ RCTI is the first private television station in Indonesia, the song entitled “*Pak Tani*” (Mister Farmer) was a backsound of the public service ad in the beginning of the 1990s.

among kindergarten pupils of the 1970s. Similarly, elementary school students in art classes often sang songs that praised the sincerity of teachers. With regard to farmers, or the environment where they live, one could easily find popular songs that praise the land's fruitfulness and the beauty of the Mother Nature as blessings for the country. In fact, one commercial ad of the flag carrier airline, Garuda, from the 1990s, became a favorite program. The ad presented a bare breasted adolescent boy in the middle of a rice field as he sang about the beauty of Indonesia that was loved by people, even by those who had travelled around the globe. The song was closed with a *Garuda* plane flying over the rice fields. Many considered the ad as impressive, but actually the intention was different, as the public service ad was first intended to praise farmers, but this sentiment often went unnoticed.

From the interviews conducted by the author with the youth of that era that have grown older now, there are three explanations for the unpleasant responses to that ad: first, for the relatively prosperous urban people the ad was annoying because it interrupted more interesting commercial ads. TVRI has ceased to broadcast advertisements since 1981, and since then the commercial ads of private televisions have been considered as entertaining intermezzo programming. For those urban youth, the farmer's life was none of their concern. Second, for the villagers, especially farmers, who happened to receive RCTI broadcasting, the ad was considered to mock their difficult everyday lives. Their life as farmers no longer supported their self-esteem but the government tried to exploit and entertain them by making them heroes¹². Third, for

¹²The song award, not real appreciation for those awarded, entitled "*Pak Tani*" met a fate not dissimilar to a song entitled "*Pahlawan Tanpa Tanda Jasa*" (Hero With No Decoration) for teachers. Teacher's living, in the past, was identical to subsistence that bordered with poverty. Their salary was low but their responsibility so great: making the child of the nation smarter. The miserable life of teachers was so well-known through Iwan Fals' song entitled "*Umar Bakri*" that was a favorite of the early 1980s generation.

both the urban dwellers and farmers that had been fed up with New Order's propaganda style, the regime was considered no longer pro-people and more concerned with its own political and economic interests, and any effort from the New Order government had only generated apathy. In short, that praising song was not enough to cheer up farmers whose hard work in the field had increasingly become insignificant. In fact, with regard to the "good old days" of farmers, the song simply became an insult.

Before the decline of agriculture, farmers went to the market bringing crops to be exchanged for everyday needs, but now they go there to buy agricultural inputs such as fertilizer, pesticides, and even seeds which in the past they produced by themselves (Cahya, 2007). Not so long ago farmers were well known for their independence and self-sufficiency in terms of food for everyday life; they could produce staple food such as rice, corn, and cassava by themselves. For the side dishes they relied on vegetables planted in the garden, and for animal protein they had chicken and fish in their ponds. This kind of life pattern is almost impossible to find now, while it is easy to meet a farmer buying rice in the market.

Indonesian agriculture is far from what it was twenty years ago. It could be said that Indonesian agriculture is in a dire strait. It is true that objectively its agricultural output seems to be abundant; but as a matter of fact Indonesian farmers who constitute nearly 60% of the population are trapped in poverty. The undeniable fact is that Indonesia is a number one rice importer country: in 2011 Indonesia imported 1.7 tons of rice, equal to Rp.7 trillion (BPS, 2011). Based on this fact, it is difficult to state Indonesia is an agrarian country anymore.

2-3. The involution of Indonesian agriculture

The decline of the Indonesian agriculture has not come out of the blue. Its initial symptoms were closely related to the so-called agricultural involution. According to

anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1963) the deterioration of agriculture in Java had started in the early 1960s, ten years after the success of traditional agriculture. Geertz reflectively told the case of farmer Sulasih (45), inhabitant of Comprang Village, Widang Sub-district, Tuban District, East Java, who had begun to abandon the local seed *Markuti* and replaced it with hybrid seeds, and extensively sprayed his field with factory-made fertilizer and chemicals. This modern approach was a high-cost agricultural practice that deprived the Indonesian farmers of their independence and creativity.

Later, Geertz's reflection embodied the Indonesian agriculture reality. Entering the 1990s, the paradigm of Indonesian agriculture has turned 180 degrees, left the local traditions and turned into industrial agriculture; an agricultural intensification that relied heavily on market products: chemical fertilizers, insecticides, monoculture seeds, irrigation and mechanization (Soesastro, 2004). From that time on farmers and agriculture in Indonesia have dramatically been changing. Agricultural practices have been changing into commodity creation practices. The life-creating sustainability of agriculture was replaced by a modern commodities focus (Shiva, 2001). Farmers are no longer seen as independent creators; they have become "menial" slaves in their own land for the sake of market-dedicated products. Further, Sach (2006) emphasizes that the extreme poverty that occurs following the practice of free market is characterized by the absence of six types of capital as follows: (1) human capital, (2) business capital, (3) infrastructure, (4) natural capital, (5) public institutional capital, and (6) knowledge capital. These lack of capitals has entrapped poor people in the "poverty trap" as reflected by the presently impoverished condition of Indonesian farmers.

Materialistic desire has become the target of agricultural actors amidst the recessive situation that trapped them. It was at this point that Indonesian agricultural history was degraded. The focus shifted to production, no longer taking into

consideration farming processes and the spirituality behind them. Capital interests penetrated Indonesian agriculture through the dominance of mechanization that heralded efficiency and product maximization as the ultimate orientation (Martiar, 2011). To accelerate the production and to achieve maximum outputs, the use of genetic engineering, dangerous chemicals, and production acceleration were prioritized while they compelled farmers to depend on market access to acquire supplies for their agricultural practices.

The community mode of relationships in the traditional agriculture system was replaced by a mode of transaction that completely ignored the socio-ecological impacts it created. As the modern agriculture normative target became production, the social relations received lower attention in the farmers' social world (Cahya, 2007; Martiar, 2011). The ability to invest in laboratory-engineered seeds, factory-made fertilizers and chemical pesticides had proven to be able to speed up the production process with significant results. However, farmers had to buy all of those products to gain the benefit. The fascination on rapid production and more efficient results was so strong that people failed to seriously consider and realize the social, economic and ecological impacts of these modern agricultural practices.

One important issue to observe in this process is the change of farmers' attitudes and mindsets about agriculture. The shift from traditional paradigms into the modern one is not only embodied in the change of farming techniques but also in the farmers' life style (Cahya, 2011). One of the main changes is how the subsistence agriculture shifts into public market-oriented agriculture. Besides implying a change in agriculture techniques from "manual" to "mechanical", this shift also constitutes a change in agriculture economic norms: farmers have to purchase most of all their agriculture inputs such as seeds, fertilizer and chemical pesticides, where as in traditional agriculture practice, they could produce all of them by themselves. Modern agriculture

always requires the use of factory-made materials. The logic is as follows: certain varieties required certain nutrition and care (Setiawan, 2003). Seeds, fertilizer and chemical pesticides seem to be made in one package; the usage of one of them has to be followed by the consumption of the others. Farmers gradually lost their sense of independence as the market-dependent culture practices flourished. Basically, the manpower-oriented agriculture has now turned into capital-oriented agriculture.

Consequently, the agriculture's social pillars crumbled. The production-oriented agriculture model left only little room for voluntary types of social involvement (Cahya, 2007; Martiar, 2011). The sense of competitiveness created by this agriculture model has made the *gotong royong* no longer popular among farmers. *Gotong royong* as an altruist tradition to help others without asking for return among villagers has faded away. Furthermore, the word *tolong*, which literally means "help", has lost its true meaning, and disappeared in the agriculture world. Nothing is free anymore. New norms of economic transaction have become the main model of regulation in farming communities: paying for manpower employed in the field, paying for agricultural materials and tools and finally, selling the harvest for a considerable profit margin. Essentially, agricultural industrialization has brought market-oriented values and lifestyle to the agricultural practices.

Dependence on the market turns into a serious problem when the prices of basic needs (as well as agricultural materials and needs) increase, while crops prices decrease to a lower level. Seeds, chemical pesticides and fertilizers are factory made, and their prices are always influenced by economic indexes, while rice, corn, soybean and other agriculture products are harvested at almost the same time. This contrast results in a condition where supply and demand are not in balance: the abundant supply is not equal to the rise of demand. The price of crops is therefore cheap and the farmers' income tends to become lower. BPS (*Badan Pusat Statistik*; Statistics Indonesia) data reveals

that farmer's term of trade indices rate reached 101.09% (BPS 2010). The rate shows the comparison between farmers' income and spending. The 101.09% number suggests that farmers only receive 1.09% income (101.09% minus 100%). The flourishing of consumerism types of lifestyle has made this an even worse situation. Newly invented needs emerge along with the market's propaganda on the importance of fulfilling these needs. Those working in the industrial sector might be able to fulfill these needs; their salary is paid according to the economic standard (minimum wage rate policy). Farmers, on the other hand, face difficulties to keep up with their need fulfillment because their income relies on the price of crops, which is highly vulnerable to market fluctuation.

Inevitably, most Indonesian farmers lose their self-confidence and try to change professions. In a market dominant economy, being a farmer is like plodding a difficult path. Becoming a farmer now is identical to absolute poverty, being marginalized and isolated because a farmer's income could not properly meet his living needs (Cahya, 2007). Poverty has wiped out the farmers' self-confidence when they participate in social events and the pride and prestige of being a farmer is gradually lost within agricultural families. As a consequence, farmers attempt to find more suitable professions, and migrate to the city, finding work as manual laborers with the hope to gain a better living (Sachs, 2006)). As a result, the number of farmers has sharply decreased.

Currently, the shift in land use causes a decrease in agricultural lands. Around 27 million hectares of agricultural land in Indonesia change its function per year (BPS, 2010). This pattern happens at a very rapid pace due to the fast growth of industrialization. More and more farmers sell their property because they lose interest in cultivating their land. In addition, due to practical, but desperate considerations, triggered by poverty and the low prestige of an agricultural way of life, many farmers sell their land to industrial investors (Francis, 2001).

The suffering of Indonesian farmers has been alarming for the past twenty years. The 2010 data on poverty in Indonesia revealed that 23.8 million people or 13.8% of the Indonesian population lived under the poverty line and 60% of them were farmers (Sachs, 2006; World Bank, 2010). Traditional agriculture that had contributed to the Indonesian identity found no proper place in the era of industrialization. Farmers' poverty, the loss of pride among farmers, farmer depopulation and the rapid decrease of the agricultural land are serious dangers for the sustainability of agriculture in Indonesia. The penetration of the free market in Indonesian agriculture has caused complex problems for the agricultural sector, i.e. social, economic and cultural disorganization, and environmental degradation, which further led to the Indonesian farmers' socio-economic marginalization.

Simultaneously, social integrity and the collectiveness of the Indonesian agricultural world have been fast declining. The social spirit of the farmer has been replaced by a competitive climate; farmers' integrity has been withering under a relentless shelling of short-term objectives in modern agriculture. Farmers' social capital that once served as a pillar underpinning almost all agriculture activities from planting, cultivating, to harvesting now are under pressure of individualistic values that have penetrated every farming community (Cahya, 2007). Loss of integrity and accountability among farmers has paved the way for pragmatic materialism where community significance and goals seemed meaningless for farmers in comparison with visible agricultural production. It is further manifested in real life when the shared space for *gotong royong* began to shrink among farmers, and the ideology of farmer's action has lost both its clarity and charity. Many farmers tend now to be individualistic and overlook both the present consequences of their decisions and also the former significance and objective of their community actions.

It is obvious that the hegemony of market ideology over the agricultural sector has changed the collectivity of farmer. The logic of the free market that emphasizes a large scale economic ideology has affected the social behaviors of farmers; as a result the social character has turned into an individualistic one (Dano, 2006). The value system of economic dominance as the backbone of the free market has forced farmers to be calculative, competitive, and functional even when they could not keep up with the changes. The collective relationship typical of the farmer community has turned into a transactional one (Kuntowijoyo, 1993).

Under the prevalence of product-oriented agricultural propaganda, the countless economic targets and desires have found fertile ground in the farmers' heart. Rapid process and quantity of product have become an obsession that obliterated strategic consideration in agricultural practices. Bringing to bear expensive instant agricultural resources to every inch of their farm and field, they expect greater harvest in no time. This expectation is the so-called agricultural intensification *à la* free market as mentioned by Mubyarto (2004). Production target, high-cost agriculture, and the fall of agricultural commodity prices are cumulative burdens for farmers in the free market era. The exhaustion of the farmer because of those burdens is the situation that makes farmers to worry over their own interests (Cahya, 2007; Martiar, 2011). The concern about self-interests has further shrunk farmer's collective social realm.

As an agrarian country that has ratified the free trade agreement, the Government of Indonesia has been implementing the agricultural arrangement agreement as stipulated in the AoA (Agreement of Agriculture) that went into effect in 1995. Some policies taken by the government based on AoA ratification has brought serious implications for the national agricultural sector (Khudori, 2004).

The expansion of the world market policy in the domestic scope has enabled foreign agricultural products to enter the Indonesian agriculture market. In other words,

Indonesia has to open its doors for imported agricultural products. The implication of the policy took effect in 1997, when Indonesia became the number one rice importer country with 2.7 million tons of imported rice a year; this statistic is comparable to 10% of the worldwide traded rice (Jhamtani, 2005). The direct consequence that the Indonesian farmers have to bear was the fall of domestic dry paddy prices that weakened the domestic rice farmers' income.

Rice was not the only commodity that raised concern. According to the food import data of 2010, the average import value of soybeans per year was Rp.5.95 trillion (equal to US\$595 million), wheat Rp.22.5 trillion (US\$ 2.25 million), sugar Rp.8.59 trillion (US\$859 million), beef Rp.4.8 trillion (US\$480 million), dairy products Rp.7.55 trillion (US\$755 million), and salt Rp.900 billion (US\$90 million) (Kamendag, 2010)¹³.

Moreover, the policy of domestic subsidy reduction for the agricultural sector has aggravated the existing problems. One article of the AoA stipulates that any country ratifying the AoA has to reduce subsidy for farmer and agriculture activities to prevent market distortion. Based on this commitment, by 1998 the government revoked subsidies for the agricultural inputs such as fertilizer, seeds, and chemical pesticides (Easterly, 2006). As a result, the cost of agricultural inputs soared even higher.

Historically, the Green revolution program that the New Order regime introduced has made the farmers accustomed to the market-provided agricultural inputs. Further, the program also caused the current model of the Indonesian agriculture to be dependent on the availability of those inputs (Indra, 2000). Consequently, the Indonesian farmers that currently rely on the market for their agricultural inputs had to deal with the almost unbearable costs.

The burdening costs were further weighed by the State Trading Enterprise (STE) reduction policy. The policy was implemented through the removal of authority of

¹³ Kamendag is *Kantor Menteri Perdagangan* (Indonesian minister of trading office).

BULOG (*Badan Urusan Logistik*; Indonesia Logistic Affairs Agency) on the trading of agricultural products. Since then, there was no single authority in the export-import of food products. The agency's authority was reduced to just supervising the project of rice export and import, and no longer had the authority to set a price standard (Khudori, 2004). As a result, any corporation and individual possessing large capital could enter the business of export and import of food products, and moreover, they might have the capacity to set the price and to gain significant profit. This current pattern is a serious threat to the community values of economic equity and sustainability.

Farmers' creativity that enabled them to survive from various crises in the past has been crippled by the bio-piracy policy derived from the Trade Related Intellectual Property Right (TRIPs) ratification. The agreement requires Indonesia to accept the fact that much biological richness has been patented by big corporations, including the indigenous biological resources that culturally belonged to Indonesian tradition. The policy has opened the door for big corporations to monopolize agricultural access in Indonesia. One of its impacts is that the Indonesian farmers have no longer the right to keep and exchange patented agricultural seeds (Setiawan, 2003). Meaning, the farmer communities have now become the consumer of agricultural capital produced by the private corporations, and therefore their creativity has been diminished and replaced by reliance and dependence on the capitalist-created agricultural seeds (Sach, 2006).

Another cause of the decline of the Indonesian agricultural quality is the deterioration of its agricultural environment due to the monoculture farming system and industrial farming model practiced for years (Setiawan, 2003). Most Indonesian agriculture ecosystems have been gravely deteriorated by the excessive use of chemicals. Also, chemically processed seeds have mutated pests that are becoming increasingly difficult to control. These environmental factors pose an especially difficult problem for Indonesian agriculture and causes increasingly high farming costs.

Poverty that most farmers suffer and the relentless problems they have to deal with have undermined their pride as farmers. Now only a few farmers consider farming as a prestigious profession and worth continuing. A research of PATANAS (*Panel Tani Nasional*; National Farmer Panel), a national agricultural study institute, in 2009 revealed that the majority of Indonesian farmers were reluctant to keep up farming as a profession. It is possible that this situation has accelerated Indonesian agricultural depopulation. Furthermore, the undermined pride has discouraged people to become a farmer, and many farmers now prefer to sell their land. All of these facts have contributed to the progressive shrinking of the agricultural land in Indonesia.

Another miserable fact of the agricultural life is the low-income of the farmer household. The national average income per farmer household is about Rp.12.8 million; this amount could only meet 48% of a farmer household's needs (BPS, 2010). This income situation pushes farmer families to look for additional income from other sources; they take non-farming side jobs as temporary labor or occasional trader.

Urgent attempts to strengthen the agricultural sector in dealing with the market economy are needed. Structurally, the government has made such efforts through the issuance of several policies. Unfortunately, those policies have not significantly affected farmers. Many farmer empowerment programs only worked on their ideal visions, but only barely begin to touch the roots of the problems (World Bank, 2010). Generally, the programs only put the emphasis on procedures and short period calculations, but do not take into account the participation of farmers as the actors and the primary movers of the agricultural sector.

2-4. Agricultural policies that do not favor farmers

“The state should protect farmers. They should not suffer because of a policy. But, we also have to take our consumers into consideration, so that people will be able

to buy food in affordable prices.” This sentiment was the expectation of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in his address at the opening of a food security appreciation event in the State Palace on 5 December 2005. The expectation stood in contrast with the policies of his administration that were *ad hoc* with regard to the agricultural problems. One seriously improvised policy was the preference on food import to ensure food stability and availability (Suseno & Suyatna, 2007).

In the short-term, such a policy may have saved Indonesia from food shortage. However, in the long-term it would surely create a dependence on other countries. Moreover, a worldwide study on various famines in the last 100 years showed that the root cause of the famine was not the lack of food; it was the lack of access to food and the government policy that deprived the poor from the access (Sach, 2006). On a closer look, it was the adoption of the rice import policy while neglecting the distribution problems that eventually destroyed people’s capacity to produce food by themselves. The rice import policy tended to accelerate the impoverishment process and widen the gap between the rich and the poor, both in inter-sector (agriculture and industry) and interregional (rural and urban) contexts (Suseno & Suyatna, 2007).

The government policy to import food is just one among many development policies that discriminates against farmers. The stagnation of the agricultural sector has its roots in the excessive favor of the government in facilitating the industrial sector; while since the 1980s the agricultural policies tend to be disruptive and distortive (Suseno & Suyatna, 2007). Generally speaking, the implemented agricultural programs were centralistic and disregarding of participation of the actual agricultural actors. Examples of such policies included credit provisions that overlooked farmers’ readiness and financial preparedness, and initiation of agricultural programs without adequate feasibility studies. Agricultural development programs that did not consider farmers’ involvement have caused farmers’ sense of belonging to the program to be very low and,

worse, the program was often interrupted throughout their implementation (Easterly, 2006). The most obvious example of this kind of program was the pretentious project called the Green Revolution.

The ‘green revolution’ that was considered as successful in leading Indonesia to achieve rice self-sufficiency in rice production in the mid-1980s has left expensive bills to pay and was unable to bring about real improvement in farmers’ lives. One of the adverse effects of this revolution was the farmer’s dependence on government selected seed varieties. As a result, local seeds were not used and developed, and the selected crops became vulnerable to pests. Even worse, farmers became ignorant because they abandoned local knowledge in favor of industrial technology and agricultural mechanization packages. The revolution has also destroyed the bio-diversities of food sources traditionally owned by the farmers and people in general. With regard to fertilizer usage, this government-backed revolution has damaged the ecological system by offsetting the natural balance. It is, in fact, it is the farmers who must directly bear the disadvantages and sometimes-disastrous results.

Sunyoto Usman (in Suseno & Suyatna, 2007) pointed out three crucial problems of the development experienced by the country in the last four decades. The first concern is the deteriorated rural environment condition since for years farmers were compelled to follow agricultural productivity improvement policies through the use of fertilizer and chemical pesticides that did not only create dependence but also deteriorated farming land quality as well. Second, there are numerous problems relating to farmers’ human rights. Farmers have been exploited by the means of government’s control over the dry paddy price policy and increasing the number of means of the agricultural production. The third problem involves the weakening functions of local institutions. Centralistic agricultural policies made local institutions non-operational. Farmers were obliged to join farmer groups created and controlled by the government.

Farmers became accustomed to work according to top-down instructions and barely had a chance to get involved in the decision-making that could affect their lives (Suseno & Suyatna, 2007).

3. The Importance of Putting Farmer as Actor

3-1. Farmer as subject

“Farmers are central to the creation of food sovereignty. Farmers have multi-dimensional roles as both producers and consumers” (Hidayat & Adinata, 2002). It is worth noting the researchers conscious option of the term, “food sovereignty” instead of “food security”. The fundamental problem with the food security notion is that “Farmers are often disposed by food security concept that merely promotes food availability regardless importation from other countries” (Narayanan & Gulati, 2002). In contrast the term food security is legally defined in the following Indonesian government agricultural regulation where it is specifically stipulated in Article 45 Law No. 7 of 1996:

“Government together with people has the responsibility to realize food security. Furthermore, the government organizes, maintains, controls and supervises sufficient food availability, both in quantity and quality, secure, nutritious, diverse, evenly distributed, and affordable for people’s purchasing power parity”.

Despite the stipulation that the government and people have these shared responsibilities, the rest of the sentences show the prominence of the government’s role that excludes the people’s role. Unfortunately this prominent exclusivity is the reality. The existing agricultural development programs have failed to see the farmer as the reliable principal development actor. Countless studies have exposed farmer’s impoverishment process and marginalization, and showed that by far the farmer was not the subject, let alone principal actor, of the agricultural development transformation (Nasikun, 1990).

Management of farmers is usually handled by bureaucrats that do not fully understand the actual agricultural problems. The role of farmer mover was mostly taken by social organizations or businessmen that admittedly are lacking knowledge about agricultural issues. Even the closest assistance for farmers; i.e., KUD (*Koperasi Unit Desa*; Village Unit Cooperative), was often managed by local businessmen who paid more attention to fertilizer and chemical pesticides trading than to problems that farmers encountered in the field. Even worse, occasionally those managers were involved in the speculation of fertilizer prices, a clear conflict of interest from the legal perspective. Meanwhile official assistance representatives for farmers, the PPL (*Petugas Penyuluh Lapangan*; Field Agricultural Extension) of the Agricultural Extension Agency, sometimes were unaware of the local problems in areas where they had been assigned. The extension officers, however, were appropriate in giving instructions about what fertilizer and chemicals should be used by farmers and explaining the promising market prospect to farmers, essentially and effectively selling the farmers on the promotion of modern industrialized practices (Winarto, Maldi, & Darmowiyoto, 1999).

The two examples above show that the government does not involve farmers in the agricultural programs. The fact is that the government prioritized agricultural bureaucrats who are directly affiliated to the market. The common reason for not involving farmers was that farmers were considered to be lacking in the proper capacity, or their strategic capacity was inappropriate. Consequently, government often regarded farmers as “infants” in need of guidance and order, and their opinions were not taken into account.

As a matter of fact, the one who knows most about the actual problems of agriculture is the agricultural actor: the farmers. It is undeniable that experiences in farming process and its consequences are the real capacity of farmer. It is true that they may lack the formal education, but they have their own wisdom that can be beneficial in

designing and developing agricultural program. It is the farmers who have to bear the consequences of certain agricultural programs, and not the bureaucrats nor the agricultural businessmen.

Any agricultural program should put farmers as its main actors. Gathering perceptions and desires of farmers while reviewing the actual picture of the contextual situation that prevails within the agricultural world are a more realistic options for developing the agricultural strategic policy. Opening communication channels between the government and the farmers would facilitate the development of effective strategic collaboration to cope with any hindrance in the agricultural realm (Winangun, 2005; Tjitropranoto, 2005).

Despite the possible difficulties, considering the existing gap between farmers in general and other agricultural stakeholders of the country, the aforementioned effort should be carried out. No matter how, it is of necessity to formulate the most appropriate media to integrate farmers' aspiration into a strategic development plan of agriculture. Dialogue spaces with farmers, as agricultural actors should be built to help reformulate strategic decisions concerning the agricultural development in Indonesia.

It is important to place farmers as the subjects of the development program. The involvement of the farmer in any agricultural revitalization program may enhance the sustainability of the program. Farmers could regain their sense of belonging and share the responsibility to implement programs where they are directly involved. Farmers would consider again viewing themselves as an inseparable part of such programs. Most of all, farmers would see themselves as human beings, active again as actors not as players in their community.

3-2. The significance of farmer's involvement in agricultural revitalization movement

Participation builds awareness. Involvement, interconnectedness of subjects and performed activities would create a reciprocal awareness relationship. Subject and activity that are intensively interconnected would build a dialogue that develops one another (Gumucio, 2001). Further, Wegner (2005) maintains that by being fully involved in the reality of the problem, the awareness of actors would be raised up and that makes him or her subject of the problem. He or she essentially becomes aware of the objective value of what he or she does. More importantly, the subject would take the responsibility attached to the action. He or she will experience a sense of self as an actor. When the self-sense as an actor grows intensely then the activity involving the subject will “have more impacts” to the objective of the action. In short, involvement will raise subject's awareness and improve the quality of the activity. For example, initially a farmer regarded hoeing just as a “turning over soil” activity, as the involvement to hoeing intensified, the farmer will not conceive hoeing just as an activity of “turning over soil” but as an effort to make the soil fertile.¹⁴ In the meantime, his way of doing hoeing will be more efficient and effective compared to the first time he knew the tool. The intensity of farmers' dialogue as a subject and hoeing, as an activity will transform the farmer's awareness as reflected in the way he does hoeing.

Involvement will develop the capacity of actors in organizing their action in line with the objective he or she pursues (Wegner, 2005). This result is because involvement enables actors to go into the activity, and to reflect upon the experienced activity. In short, involvement raises the actor's awareness about the objective of the action. Involvement will build the actors' accountability to perpetually improve his or her action in accordance with the objective.

¹⁴ Hoeing, in fact, is not just turning over soil, it is an effort to keep soil turned to access outside oxygen and sunlight.

Agricultural revitalization will only make progress if the farmer's involvement is internalized (Busyairi, 1999; Winarto, 2002). Inviting farmers to come in from the fields to take part in planning and implementing agricultural revitalization programs will intensively bring forth farmers' awareness that they are a solid part of the outcome. Intensive integration between farmer and the revitalization program needs to be solidified. Self-sense of the farmer-actor in any revitalization activity will be meaningful when their self is integrated with the objective and the action within the revitalization activity.

The sense of self as part of the objective of the action will ensure the sustainability of a program (Chambers, 2002). Resources that belong to the farmer will flow into the program that is considered as representing their interests. When farmers consider their self as part of a movement, they will voluntarily give their resources and, even will happily improve their capacity as contributors for the success of the program. Participation then is a decisive factor for the success of a program.

3-3. Effort to build farmers' awareness through "farmer film"

Building farmers' participation in an agricultural revitalization movement is not an easy effort. Farmers' awareness has to be raised first, as well as their desires and hopes. Building discourse among farmers about their existing problems is an important step for farmers' participation in a revitalization movement.

Discourse building among farmers could be done by means of media that is accessible to them and easy to understand (Gumucio, 2001). Within the context of Indonesian farmers, movies are one of the most promising media to attract their attention. In many cases showing movies has been considered able to raise farmer's

awareness, as demonstrate by a movie entitled “*Bisa Dèwèk*”¹⁵. The movie grew into very strong discourse of the farmers’ voices and the resulting dialogue vindicated the effectiveness of such discourse practice that later pushed the local authorities to acknowledge the capacity of farmers in Indramayu District, West Java. The title, literally means “I can do it by myself”, was chosen to show the capacity of farmers. “We ourselves can, *bisa dèwèk*, produce desired seeds, produce free-chemicals organic rice,” highlighting farmers’ capacity to those who doubted it. Showing the movie in a seminar, the farmers want to be acknowledged by the authorities and academics for having the capacity and ability to cultivate plants just as scientists do. The movie theme becomes an even more powerful discourse to show their identity and capacity. The significant impact of this discourse practice is the changing social relations between farmers and their partners as well as the government. The slogan “*Bisa dèwèk*” has eventually become the identity of farmers involved in the initiative.

In Wareng, Gunung Kidul District, Yogyakarta Special Region, as told by Winarto (2006), a group of SLPHT (*Sekolah Lapangan Pengendalian Hama Terpadu*; Field School of Integrated Pest Controlling) women alumni decided to organize themselves into a women farmer group called “*Menur*”. In the group they shared experiences, collected resources, worked in groups, and increased their income together through *arisan* (traditional saving and loan activities), as well as collective land cultivation and paddy barn construction. They also produced a documentary film about their activities with the title *Lakoné Menur* (Starring by *Menur*). Although not as firm and explicit as their Indramayu counterpart, “*Bisa Dèwèk*”, members of the *Menur* farmer group also asserted that they are capable of acting independently. “*Menur ya isa*”, an expression in Javanese that means “*Menur* also can” was mentioned by a woman

¹⁵Literally means “can do alone”, can handle all by themselves. Documentary film produced by IPPHTI (Association of Integrated Pest Control Farmers) of Indramayu District in cooperation with anthropology team University of Indonesiapada 2006 – 2007.

farmer when considering the title for the film before they adapted it and opted for “*Lakoné Menur*”.

The emergence of new idioms as mentioned above shows how discourse changes the farmers’ position in relation to others (Gergen, 1982; 1999). Discourse does not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or “constitute” them. First, discourse contributes most of all to the construction of what are variously referred to as “social identities” and “subject positions” for social “subjects” and types of “self”. Second, discourse helps in constructing social relationships between people. And third, discourse contributes to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief. Discursive practices, therefore, include both conventional and creative ways; they contribute to the reproduction of society (social identities, social relationships, and systems of knowledge and belief) as it is, yet also contribute to transforming society (Gergen, 1982). In addition, to constructing social identities and subject positions, to creating social meaning between people, and to forming systems of knowledge and beliefs as the two film showed, discursive practice—through visual media—is also able to raise again once faded social identity and to confirm it as shown by the case of farmers in Daleman, Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Region, as described in detail below.

Villages that in the past were prosperous and inhabited by prosperous farmers are now confronted with a completely different situation. The farmers cannot even fulfill their basic needs, which are getting more and more in number. This difficult situation has disseminated typical poverty-related problems such as conflicts among community members due to debt settlement, water distribution in the field, and general social disharmony. This situation was aggravated by the lack of ability of village leaders, as frontline representation of the state at the village level, to settle various problems faced by the people.

Realizing that complaining has no use at all, some villagers discussed their problems creatively and explored ways of “how to solve” those problems. In a discussion, they agreed to watch together a movie entitled “The Loss of the Farmer’s Dreams”. The reason for their agreement was that the film is a form of multimedia that is more enjoyable and attractive to a greater variety of people than a lecture or a book where certain terms may be difficult to understand. The 13-minute documentary movie they choose to play was produced and based on an investigative study among Indonesian farmer communities. In general, the villagers’ reaction after watching the movie demonstrated that what was presented in it was not different from their own stories. The situation that the film depicted was not different with the situation they faced in their daily life. What was discussed then began spreading across the village through people’s daily conversation. The most important outcome was that the movie successfully raised people’s awareness of their social identity as independent farmers and affirmed their will to improve their conditions, despite its many difficulties.

The community awareness was further strengthened after they watched another movie entitled, “The Story of Pasundan Farmer’s Union” presenting a story of the Community of the Pasundan Farmers Organization in advocating farmers to act against land grabbing and middlemen oppression. The movie revealed how farmers experienced structural impoverishment through an unjust economic and political system. As a result, farmers were really poor both economically (they could not send their children to school) and also culturally (they tended to be aggressive and egoistic).

4. Creative Return to the Past for the Future: A Creative Idea for Agriculture Revitalization

4-1. The importance of identity in transformative movement

Identity is history. Identity is affected by the social context and cultural mores (Gergen, 1982; 1994). Identity and self-image emerge out of previous experiences and

initially are based on what others do to and for another. Community can be seen as a collection of versions of identity reflected in interaction and conversation, and it creates and supports the actions of the community. Livelihood community is one of the axes of identity that is usually considered to be the shared source of self-esteem, solidarity and comfort.

The above last statement and the fact that people actively construct their own sense of self and perform identities that enable them to live “a livable life” are quite ironic compared to the Indonesian farmer’s condition as previously described. It is obvious when considering the survey of PATANAS¹⁶ 2009 that demonstrated that the majority of Indonesian farmers express their hesitation to keep up agriculture as their livelihood. Because the Indonesian agricultural history is replete with the “good old days” accounts (Kartodirdjo, 1976) and the farmers discussed in this paper are farmers as an entity, therefore it is important to understand their collective social identity.

Tajfel (1982) first introduced the concept of social identity and defined it as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership”. Brewer (1991) defined social identity as “categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept, where I become we”. In this sense, according to Tajfel and Turner (1986), a group or social unit is “a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition, and achieve some degree of social consensus about evaluation of their group and of their membership in it (Bryan, 2008).

As a group, the Indonesian farmers’ social categorization is people who rely on farming works that are inseparable from natural aspects such as land, climate, and water, and who collectively live in a natural habitat with the spirit of *gotong royong* and,

¹⁶ For PATANAS, see page 30.

therefore, do not highly value a financial reward. Farming knowledge is inherited without any formal education and a farmer would happily share his knowledge when taking rest while working in the field or when attending social events such as wedding ceremonies, *syukuran* (gratitude ceremonies), *arisan*, etc. (Mubyarto & Kartodirdjo, 1988).

As a social entity, the Indonesian farmers have been facing prolonged difficulties that have undermined their social identity. Social identity is closely related to independence, self-sufficiency, and maintaining a peaceful life even though it is not financially prosperous. Farming communities that previously lived in a communal system, helping each other mutually, have changed when they entered the heralded capital and production-oriented modern capitalistic system. Most farmers living in the villages that once firmly adhered to the moral and sustainable economic values of the past as a life principle and who held communal tradition as paramount to survival have now changed and taken side with the pragmatic rational economy of the modern world (Kartodirdjo, 1976).

The past regime or New Order (Soeharto's *Orde Baru*) took advantage of the change to support its rule by inviting investors to develop industrial sectors by offering cheap labor. The laborers were rural people who lost their jobs and workplaces or land due to Green Revolution programs. In this context, the hidden role of the green revolution was revealed: to support the industrial sector. The green revolution, therefore, served as a protective shield of Soeharto's rule from potential protest, opposition or revolution that might be launched by those who had lost jobs and other disadvantaged groups due to the transition from traditional agriculture to a modern one (Sach, 2006). The globalization of trade has further aggravated the erosion of the farmer's social identity in terms of their self-esteem and pride.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) presence in Indonesia, during the wake of the monetary crisis of 1998, has further worsened the Indonesian farmer's condition. Through the structural adjustment programs (SAP) and the AoA (Agreement of Agriculture), IMF, the World Bank (WB) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) urging the elimination of importation tariffs, this measure has created an import-friendly domestic market and turned Indonesia into the most liberal developing country. The implemented advice of the IMF has crippled the Indonesian government's authority particularly with regard to the agricultural sector (Setiawan, 2003).

The trade liberalization resulted in the escalation of imported goods and the fall of agricultural commodity exports (Easterly, 2006). As early as 1994, Indonesia drastically turned from a net food exporter country into a net food importer country. The dependence on imported rice continues increasing over time. The AoA destroyed the Indonesia's agricultural market and replaced food production with import of food. Six years after the AoA ratification the import of rice soared to 664%. The import of sugar in the same period skyrocketed to 365%. Similarly, shallot rose to 150%. Other drastic increases of imported commodities included chicken, chicken eggs and fruits, while aggregate export fell drastically. Rice export steeply decreased from US\$210 million to US\$3 million, and soybeans dramatically decreased from US\$2.2 million to just US\$281 thousand. Agriculture as the basic livelihood of farmers was seriously threatened, and replaced by imported food (Khudori, 2004).

Devastating blows have continuously fallen on the so-called, agrarian countryside, which in 2010 was inhabited by 44.9 million farmers, whose work and life pattern have extraordinarily contributed to the culture of Indonesian people in general. As a consequence, farmers as crops producers now have to live miserably. They have to deal with numerous problems in cultivating and producing crops. Although farming is an "*alma mater*" for almost all people in Indonesia, no formal education or special

certificate is needed to work in this sector. Relentless attacks on the agricultural sector and lack of government protection made farmers' children reluctant to take over their parents' vocation, a profession that is financially discouraging and has seriously declined in prestige. This farmers' crisis of identity has become more and more pervasive in the midst of farmers' marginalization and in the wake of the miserable lives that most of them have to experience.

Identity is not an accidental aspect of human lives, it is something that is performed and negotiated to construct and adapt to suit changing circumstances and choices (Gergen, 1994). Gergen added that, people have choices about their identity; it could be ceded or reassigned, depending on changes in the circumstance or personal preference. Overall, identity is crucial to people's well being and aspirations, since it influences what individuals do, how they position themselves and how they make sense of the world. By extension, community as a form of collective identity is especially pertinent when people feel threatened or excluded (Gilchrist, Bowles, & Wetherell, 2010).

Without a distinct identity, any attempted transformation would only result in a new crisis and confusion as can be seen in the identity of farmers and people in general in Indonesia during the past decades. Farmers' social identity has a very crucial role in determining their position in life financially, socially, culturally, and spiritually. These four inseparable aspects had previously been relatively integrated into a sustainable Indonesian farmers' social identity during the 1940s and 1970s era, providing hope for the future of farmers in light of the many modern challenges they must meet individually and collectively.

4-2. Exploring the past root as a strategy to deal with changes

Most people born in rural areas become farmers one day (Norberg-Hodge, Merrifield, & Gorelick, 2002). In a sense, farming is an inherited profession. Moreover, not so long ago, becoming a farmer was something worth doing proudly, despite its modest financial reward. This sentiment is because the farmers' richness lay in their mental dimension; what is important is to live in peace, security, and tranquility, with sufficient clothing, food, and residence. The tradition may have been replaced but its traces can easily be seen. With regard to social identity as a cornerstone for farmer transformation, it is important to briefly discuss the farmers' condition before their identity as farmers no longer became the source of their self-esteem.

The past memorable prestigious identity of farmers could be seen in the following author's experience. A story of rural life of 1980s era in Village Banyubiru, Ngawi District, East Java clearly illustrates how agricultural life generated esteem and pride among farmers. The majority of villagers in Banyubiru Village were well educated, in Islamic knowledge, so that their village attracted young people from neighboring regions to come and study there. Most of them were farmers' children in their respective villages. In Banyubiru they attended *Madrasah Diniyah* School (which offered only religious knowledge with no formal diploma) every afternoon. To live every day while studying, they worked for local farmers, a practice known locally as *ndhèrèk* (literally means following). They worked in the field that belonged to those local farmers for no monetary reward. All they received from their work was everyday meals provided by their masters' families. School fees (Rp.300 a month) were paid using remuneration they got from selling dry paddy during the harvest season, where they were paid 1 kilogram for every 10 kilogram of paddy they harvested. The afternoon school was closed during harvest season, since all teachers and their students went to work in the field. The joy of harvest season was not exclusively owned by the students who boarded with the local

farmers, but was also shared by those who did not board with the local farmers. Even children of the local rich farmers also took part in the crop-sharing system.

Students who did not work for a certain landowner met their everyday needs by doing farming-related activities such as hoeing, planting, and *matun* (removing weeds) for a fee of Rp.500 per day. No one complained that they lived in shortage. There was no burden or shame for being farm laborers. In their social lives they never encountered self-esteem problems. They made friends with the rich farmers' children who also attended the afternoon school (local youth typically attended formal school in the morning and in the afternoon attended *Madrasah Diniyah* with the incoming students).

In fact, young people working in the field without burden (without feeling embarrassed, to be more precise) were a normal phenomenon at that time. In Sleman District, Yogyakarta, young people joyfully worked in the field for Rp.150 per half a day. Time changes rapidly, becoming a farmer is no longer interesting, let alone working as farm laborers. Even so, traditions other than those directly related to farming practices can still be found today, even in areas that have now become urban. In the Gejayan area of Yogyakarta, for example, occasionally one could find people roofing a house in a traditional manner, *gotong royong*, where people who are involved were not being paid.

By and large, the farmers' social identity that may serve as a foundation to strategically respond to transformative currents is collectiveness in all activities. The communal culture of farmers takes collective action as a key to the community in the agricultural world. "*Guyub rukun*" (harmonious communal life) constitutes a cohesive solidarity spirit among farmers in their everyday relationship as farmers, which could take the form of helping one another, seeking solutions communally, and even taking risks collectively. Additionally, reading the nature, adaptation and formulation of a range of actions in reference to nature were a typical life of a farmer. Farming tradition

is a natural one, grown out of the experience of farmers in interacting with nature through their farming activities.

It is the farmers' social identity that once helped them to live their life proudly that nowadays may be used as the vision to be achieved by the farmers' movement for transformation. In this respect, the future will appear to be going "back to the old days", or returning to the past. However, the clock will never go backwards. "The past" aimed at is never just the past as it used to be because farmers have experienced the shock of modernity. It is the respected "past" of the traditional farmer that people may aim at. As a more proactive attempt to return to "the past", we can harness this traditional knowledge and these skills through a creative method known as a "creative return to the past" (Sugiman, 2012).

4-3. Organic farming way as a pillar for agriculture revitalization

The "good old days" of agriculture has become such an outstanding memory that many farmers wish for it to return. Using the "here-and-now collective stream" that Toshio Sugiman proposed:

"...memory is a process in which collective streams that have been initiated in the past penetrate into the here and now stream. When we are looking at an old teacup and we are reminded of our grandfather who enjoyed a cup of tea everyday while he was alive, a long-term stream that started when he was alive penetrates the here-and-now stream in which you are embedded now. We are located in the here-and-now stream that is a node of many long-term streams, you feel you are reminded of the narrative items which have been stocked in your head and picked up now" (Sugiman, 2012).

Similarly, current farmers' memory of the living of their predecessors is not something without relation to the past. The memory has been initiated with the life they saw while they were young, or children, that still permeates their 'here-and-now collective streams'.

The all sufficient and creative life of farmers in the past has reincarnated in the form of organic farming practices. In traditional agricultural practices, the use of livestock manure as fertilizer is a very common practice. Basically, organic farming's most symbolic material is compost. The purpose of compost is to recycle agricultural waste back into the system, so that a minimum of energy and nutrient transferring away from the farm, aside from the food produced. In an ideal system, compost is composed of crop residues, livestock manures, and organic household waste (Norberg-Hodge, Merrifield, & Gorelick, 2002).

Organic farming practices as a medium to bring farmers back to the traditional ways and to the old spirit of agricultural life has been adopted by the farming community of Daleman, Bantul District, Yogyakarta Special Region (Cahya, 2011). It is believed that through the traditional subsistence farming practices, farmers' independence and creativity could be restored. This 'organic' spirit and action are necessary to challenge the free market agriculture that has degraded and marginalized farmers into abject poverty.

Perhaps the most all-encompassing claim made about organic agriculture is related to the internal process of organic growers themselves—specifically, that they are motivated by different values than those of conventional growers who operate under a different paradigm. If they no longer operate in explicit opposition to “the food system”, organic growers are thought to strive to provide alternatives to conventional food delivery. The flip side of this claim is that conventional growers seek only to make money and are ignorant of or flagrantly disregarding other real social and environmental concerns (Norberg-Hodge, Merrifield, & Gorelick, 2002).

5. The Power of Narrative : Guarding Community Movement

Using Engaged Ethnography

5-1. The importance of participative reflection in farmer empowerment

It is often said that experience is the greatest teacher. Unfortunately, most of us do not always learn from experiences. Reflection is where we analyze experiences, actively attempting to “make sense” or find the meaning in them (Moon, 2004). In fact, reflection is an everyday process. We reflect on a range of problems and situations all the time. Reflection can be a more structured way of processing experience to deal with a problem. This type of reflection may take place when we have had time to stand back from something, or talk it through, as in: “On reflection, I think you might be right” or “On second thought, I realized he was more upset than me” (Schön, 1983; Moon, 2004). Reflection is a type of thinking associated with deep thought, and aims at achieving better understanding of a certain event. Therefore, it is needed to momentarily stand back from the activity being performed. It can be hard to reflect when we are caught up in the middle of an activity. “Standing back” gives a better view or perspective on an experience, issue or action.

Social movement assumes the involvement of many individuals with various action styles. Despite the common objectives, the emergence of diversion should not be disregarded along the process. Different interests and divergent perceptions on the achievement of the objective might become the cause of diversion or even negation of the common movement objective. If the bias of action in the form of deviation continually exists, the collapse of the common objective is inevitable, and worse possibilities might be manifested: disintegration, factional enmity within the community, and ultimately, personal resentments.

Since many individuals and interests are involved, the common objective should be maintained as the main orientation in the social movement process. Maintaining the

consistency of action in accordance with the determined objective should become obligatory for those involved in the movement. Awareness to reflect on the process is an important prerequisite for the achievement of the common objective. Reflection is an important way to keep the purity of vision and mission in social movement (Redmond, 2004).

In a social movement context, participatory reflection is one important option. At a certain point, all parties involved need to take a pause and sit together to review what they have done (Chamber, 2002). The reflection process needs to be taken to achieve greater clarity, like seeing an event reflected in a mirror. It can help at any stage of planning, implementation and reviewing activities. Assessing and commenting on what has been done might serve as the foundation for the next actions. In the process, it is important to correct any mistakes and to find productive solutions for every problem encountered.

Through participative reflection, the purity of vision and mission of the social movement can be maintained (Redmond, 2004). Deviant action from the shared goal in a movement process, provided they are well reflected, would be a common precious experience that strengthens the movement process to achieve the main objective of the movement.

Any agricultural revitalization movement involving many individual farmers with their diverse interpretive styles is vulnerable to bias. Continual diversions that are neglected could become a trap that might pose serious harm for the revitalization movement. Taking time to silently review what has been done might become a precious moment to reflect on their performed actions in a movement. Reflection on the common movement that is harmoniously and sincerely carried out would create a common movement that could be compatible with the determined vision and mission.

5-2. The power of narration for a reality transformation

Every individual is a social actor. Social situations are not a static condition, instead, they are a result of dynamic involvement of individuals within the society (Gergen, 1999; Davis, 2002). Interaction between individuals form experiences with common meaning as an event and experience that builds social reality. The process of meaning formation that creates reality is a dialog between individuals in a social environment. The Self absorbs meaning from its environment, and the self also contributes in the formation of meaning for its environment.

Narration is an expression of every meaning formation. Narration is also a communication of meaning between individuals and their environment that contributes to the formation of social reality. Through story telling between individuals, there is an exchange of experience and value that forms the meaning, identity and ultimately, the social reality. Story telling as sharing of meaning is an encounter point that can meet common goals, expectations, and crystallize the reality of members of society (Davis, 2002). A story will awake the context, an identification process where the common action and thoughts will be defined in the community context.

Narration always exists in all forms of interaction (Gergen, 1999), both when an individual directly meets others through communication, or indirectly through communication media such as pictures and written notes. Narrative dialog will always be a discourse, a dialog of meaning about something. It is not just positioning certain individual as storyteller or listener but through the dialog individuals will listen and accept the message conveyed. Furthermore, narrative interaction will lead to the key meaning formation process.

Concerning social reality, the formation of meaning is a crucial aspect that stimulates the occurrence of social action (Sugiman, Gergen, Wagner, & Yamada, 2008). The trigger of every action of human beings is the formation of meaning about the

object and the self. Meaning resulting from narrative interaction will create action suitable with individual formation of meaning about something. A group of farmers that too often hears narration about “the losing” life as a farmer that is poor, weak and powerless, will tend to have an attitude and action that confirms the meaning of losing as a farmer. The action of complaining, not repaying debt or the tendency to be minimalist in working will characterize their social reality.

Similarly, a story about changes will create actions of change. In fact, a change of social reality is a change of the collective formation of meaning that creates a change of collective action (Davis, 2002). The scale of the role of narration in developing the context of formation of meaning will determine the dynamic of the existing reality. If reality is a construction of meaning, then the narration of change will create a certain reality. Narration that communicates experience, value and perception about change will create a new formation of meaning that constructs the existing reality. The new construct of reality is a transformation.

It is reckless to define a social transformation merely by showing the results such as new values or certain actions that have changed in a society. Transformation has to be understood as a transformation of the formation of meaning. Before a transformation happens, it is preceded by a series of processes of formation of meaning. Further, it is also preceded by an essential narrative dialog about transformation.

Narration is an initial step that creates an actor’s formation of meaning articulated through action that later is synthesized in constructing social reality. Narrative dialog in a social interaction that introduces or exchanges experience, value and identity will create a formation of meaning in the form of action of the social actor involved. Narration always finds its power to present social reality. Narration about transformative experience, value and information will create transformation of reality

through every expression of actors' formation of meaning. On the contrary, narration about negative experience, value and unclear identity will create a pessimistic reality.

5-3. Engaged ethnography as a narrative instrument for transformative movement

Social life is the text of life's story, and social action is an articulation of a formation of meaning. Narration has an important power in creating social action. The content of value, experience and information in a communicated story is able to create formation of meaning that can initiate an action. Moreover, narration is a common activity in the social world. Story telling is not merely a media for interaction; instead it is a need of every human being.

Narration is an alternative in developing social reality (Gergen, 1994). Developing the content of a story and improving media for social interaction that can enable a dialog of stories between members of social community is the main idea of this research. Furthermore, constructing transformative experience, knowledge, value and information in the form of narration involving all members of the society is the main method of creating transformative social reality. Documenting experience, value and events of the society, arranging these into narration and then promoting and developing dialog based on the narration is the method undertaken to create collective formation of meaning. The new growing collective formation of meaning is expected to create constructive actions toward reality that can lead the social transformation into a new social reality.

Through film, pictures and written notes that represent events, values and experience of the society, narration is created for a collective dialog. The dynamic of the dialog in the form of affirmation and contradiction becomes the materials of reflection. The process of reflection that creates new formation of meanings will be underlined as inspiration of collective action. This approach is the practice of critical ethnography that

I have labeled *dialogic reflection* or *reflective dialog* using engaged ethnography (Cahya, 2011)

Engaged ethnography is a part of the collaborative practice between the researcher and the concerned subjects; the former and the latter are which by no means separable. Ethnography of action research is useful for reflecting practices that have been conducted by both the subject and researcher, and for developing plans for further practices in the future.

For an engaged ethnographer, the goal of producing an account is never only to uncover internal conflicts and tensions, but the ethnographer also produces critical understandings that can help activists develop strategies to overcome obstacles and barriers for effective organizing. As a methodology and epistemology, ethnography has long been associated with a deep concern for the lived realities that comprise the socio-cultural context. Engaged ethnography is not just a set of research methods. Participant observation, open-ended interviews, and related qualitative technique are necessary, but not sufficient, *sine qua non* of ethnographic praxis. Furthermore, engaged ethnography has also been conceived as an attitude, a perspective, and, above all, a specific mode of “epistemological encounter”, involving an ethic of openness and flexibility and willingness to allow oneself to become personally transformed through the research process (Juris & Khasnabish, 2013). Engaged ethnography should be given the power to change our world directly or indirectly (Sugiman, 2012). In this context, engaged ethnography was able to be used as a tool for creating a change in reality.

Daleman is a village in Bantul District, Yogyakarta Special Region of Indonesia. The village has farming communities whose characteristics are typical of a Javanese farming community: ownership of a small piece of land (less than 0.3 hectares on the average) with a low welfare level and twelve years of experiencing the impacts of the free market regime. The members of these communities have experienced how the free

market became ‘an enemy’ that brought them into misery. Based on their bitter experience, the farming community of Daleman expected a transformation and agreed to undertake collective movement, developing better relations between each other in an activity of change, and created a positive atmosphere for change by developing narrations that supported the transformative movement process.

Engaged ethnography was implemented as a narrative strategy to develop reflective dialog intended to encourage a change in the reality of Daleman farmers through providing positive power tools for dealing with the agriculture free market. Choosing and presenting the facts collectively experienced as farmers in the form of a narration are intended to stimulate ideas for transformative actions. Presenting a narration about “the past golden era of agriculture” and also “the bitter life of farmer” in the agriculture free market era, in a series of transformative narrations, aimed to create a renewed spirit towards change among the actors. Dialog about the “glory” of organic farming was developed to support the movement of the Daleman community in reviving the practice of organic farming that was shifted by the market friendly mechanical-agriculture models.

The collaborative practice in Daleman between the villagers and the researcher resulted in the establishment of a group created by villagers with the aim of addressing various problems that affected their lives. They identified and mapped out the current situation of the village, determined their farming dreams and decided upon revitalization actions based on the principle of community participation.

The proactive collaboration by the villagers and the author under the frame of the revitalization movement aimed to find solutions to the problems faced in relation to their farming practices in the present setting and time of a free market condition. In a practical sense, this study required the participation of both the researcher and the

community members to map problems, to find the root causes of the problems and to generate strategic agendas to improve the existing conditions.

Participation was the main keyword in developing this collaborative movement. Through open and intensive interaction among community members, opportunities for participation were opened as wide as possible (Somers, 1992; Polletta, 1998). Community members themselves became the resources of the movement; they even directed activities and movements by facilitating the formation of a farmer organization in the community. The high degree of participation among the community members was the major contribution for success of the movement; the researcher only stimulated discussions and took notes during the process. The process was documented in pictures and field notes. This practical ethnography aims to create materials by which villagers can reflect their activities in the past and elaborate a plan for the future. In this sense, ethnography is not just a description but also a part of collaborative practices between villagers and the researcher. This approach, called *engaged ethnography*, aimed to generate a socio-cultural change through reflective dialog and community transformative action rather than solely through value-free research findings (Cahya, 2011).

6. Context of Research

Referring to Sugiman, Gergen, Wagner and Yamada (2008), meaning developed within the social life is a crucial element in the analysis of social action. The construction of reality and social action are always fundamentally connected with the formation meaning by the actors. Context is the central discussion in explaining a social reality. Considering this perspective, the modern-positivist psychology approach that counts on the assumption of objectivity that was deductively developed, is considered as unsuccessful in developing our understanding about contextual meaning-based reality.

Modern knowledge is only a tool for judging the reality, and moreover it often takes the side of the elite and creates knowledge that tends to utilize generalization, undermining popular knowledge.

This research was conducted as an effort of the researcher to favor critical and transformative psychology. Critical psychology is a psychological paradigm that emphasizes sensitivity to real existing problems, not an artificial or a theoretical research problem (Prilleltensky & Fox, 1997). The critical psychology paradigm attempts to reproduce knowledge that may be able to contribute to everyday problems faced by the individuals in a community. Through transformative knowledge, this research attempts to offer narrative and evidence on participatory social transformation process conducted by the researcher and the community. Together, the researcher and community went through the process to build new knowledge that will be useful to create a beneficial strategy for their honorable lives of community members..

Specifically, this research possesses some original points of view. First, most research on the process of social change conceives that the role of a leader is exclusive and principal (Sloan, 2000). Therefore, the characteristic of transformation is attributed to the leadership quality of a certain leader. This research emphatically poses evidence and simulation that social change could be controlled together as a collective without leaders. Involving any type of roles into collective action has brought about new participatory dynamics of change. Inviting every actor as subject of the transformative process constitutes a significant consideration in the meaning and social reality making process.

Second, the orientation of social change usually emphasizes standard and objective perspectives that are being offered by outsiders, without considering the potential or the past local wisdom that the community owned (Goodley & Parker, 2000; Sloan, 2000). It turns out that such models of a change design always create prolonged

disintegration within a community. In this research, the concept of “creative return to the past” is included as a reference to determine the future strategy. Involving past wisdom enabled the identity and social context to grow stronger, so that the community might enjoy the process of change without losing its original identity, through self sufficient and sustainable transformation.

Third, a reflective process is usually carried out in formal and less egalitarian manners: from evaluator to actor, verbally or written. The reflective model developed in this research employed a common and practical technique of the social world: storywriting and storytelling. Experience, information, event and value are taken up and developed into narration using the engaged ethnography method. The basic idea uses the empowering narrative approach in developing social transformation. Through reflective dialogs about narration, experience, values and information collected from the process of the revitalization movement, the creation of a new formation of meaning is expected, providing a guide for the community members in choosing action that are able to improve their condition. In addition, this reflective model is able to empower ethnography as a tool to encourage essential changes; ethnography is not just a luxurious cultural note that only involves narration created by the researcher, instead it systematically provides opportunity for the creation of narration participatively provided by community members in the transformation process of creating productive change.

7. Organization of this Paper

This thesis consists of four chapters intended to explore the researcher’s three points of views: (1) that social change could be controlled together; (2) that using the concept of “creative return to the past” as a reference to determine future strategy could enable identity and social context to grow stronger, so that the community might enjoy the process of change without losing its identity; and (3) that a loose and informal

reflective dialog by empowering the narrative approach implemented through engaged ethnography is able to freely offer chances for any actor to correct the situation and action performed and to empower ethnography as a tool to encourage change. Chapter I is a literature review and positioning of the study, consisting of the background and theoretical framework of the Indonesian agriculture identity, free market and the involutive agriculture, the importance of transformative movement of farmer community, and the use of the narrative method through ethnographic facilitation for the agriculture revitalization movement. Chapter II and III explain the researcher's experiences and lessons obtained in learning from the Daleman community. In detail, these two chapters present the process of the field research during 2008-2013. Starting from the first meeting of the researcher with the community, through the beginning of the revitalization movement, and strategic planning of the collective effort, various achievement of the community are presented, including the existence of conflict, and the ultimate reconciliation of the community. This chapter also presents lessons learned gained by the researcher during the collaborative research process with the community, covering the process experienced, engaged ethnography, crisis management, and the cultural context of a Javanese farming community.

Chapter IV includes general discussions and conclusions, consisting of the researcher's analysis of the impact of the free market economy on Indonesian farmers, and the innovative approach of being market friendly to the free market system through the strategy of the community revitalization movement. Furthermore, this chapter also specifically presents the proof of the power of narrative implemented with reflective dialog using engaged ethnography as experienced by the researcher, considering both the positive and negative power for transformative community change in the modern world.

Chaper II

Initiation of Revitalization Movement

The previous chapter presented perspectives about the buried Indonesian agriculture in the free market era. The pervasive outreach of the free market economy has devastated the life of farmers. Aware of this situation, a group of farmers in the community of Daleman, Bantul, Yogyakarta intended to stand up and change their situation into a better condition. The researcher and the community initiated and undertook a collaborative revitalization movement. By empowering the group through the power of narrative, implemented through engaged ethnography, the researcher supported and strengthened the community's agenda for the revitalization movement.

This chapter presents a detailed explanation about the early process of the Daleman community revitalization movement facilitated through engaged ethnography using reflective dialog. The process of initial awareness development, consolidation and collaborative work between the researcher and the community in defining a common strategy through engaged ethnography will be presented in the following sections based on its chronology and the substance of the process. In the last section, this chapter presents discussion about the condition of the community and discussion about implementation of engaged ethnography based on the researcher's experience in the collaborative process.

1. Research Field: Daleman

Java is one of the islands in the Indonesian archipelago that is very significant to the country. About 54% of 17.8 million farmer households in the country live on the island. Formerly approximately 75% of farmers in Java owned less than 0.5 hectares of land and this number increased, from 10.8 million households in 1993 to 13.7 million in

2003, suggesting a worsening situation of farmers in the island.

This study was conducted in Daleman, a village in Bantul district, Yogyakarta, Java (see Photo 1). Daleman is inhabited by farming communities whose characteristics are typical of many Javanese farming communities: ownership of a small piece of land (the average being less than 0.3 hectares) with a low welfare level after twelve years of experiencing the impacts of the modern industrial agricultural revolution. Daleman farmers do not cultivate specific plants but have varied their crops according to the seasons. In the rainy season they plant rice, while in the dry season, tobacco and other non-staple food crops are grown. Yet, in general, rice is the main crop (see Photo 2).

According to Daleman inhabitants and the agricultural statistics of the Bantul District, Daleman was one of the prominent food sources in the district twenty years ago. Daleman's farming products were notorious for their good quality and quantity at that time. The village farmers were once credited for their endless effort to create a better quality of local rice varieties, which are called *Pandan wangi*, *Mentik Susu*, *Rojolele*, *Genjahrante* etc., through a traditional subsistence farming model. They also raised animals that produced natural fertilizer, and were able to collect organic pesticide plants to support their farming activities. Agriculture-and-village-living rituals such as *Wiwit* and *Rasulan* were conducted periodically, which promoted collective solidarity among the farmers. *Wiwit* was a ritual to begin rice planting and *Rasulan* was a ritual to send prayer for the sake of the village prosperity and safety in Java. They worked communally in the field; each person was willing to help the others when needed, including when it came time to plant and cultivate crops. Conflict was very low and in general, the villagers trusted each other within the community.

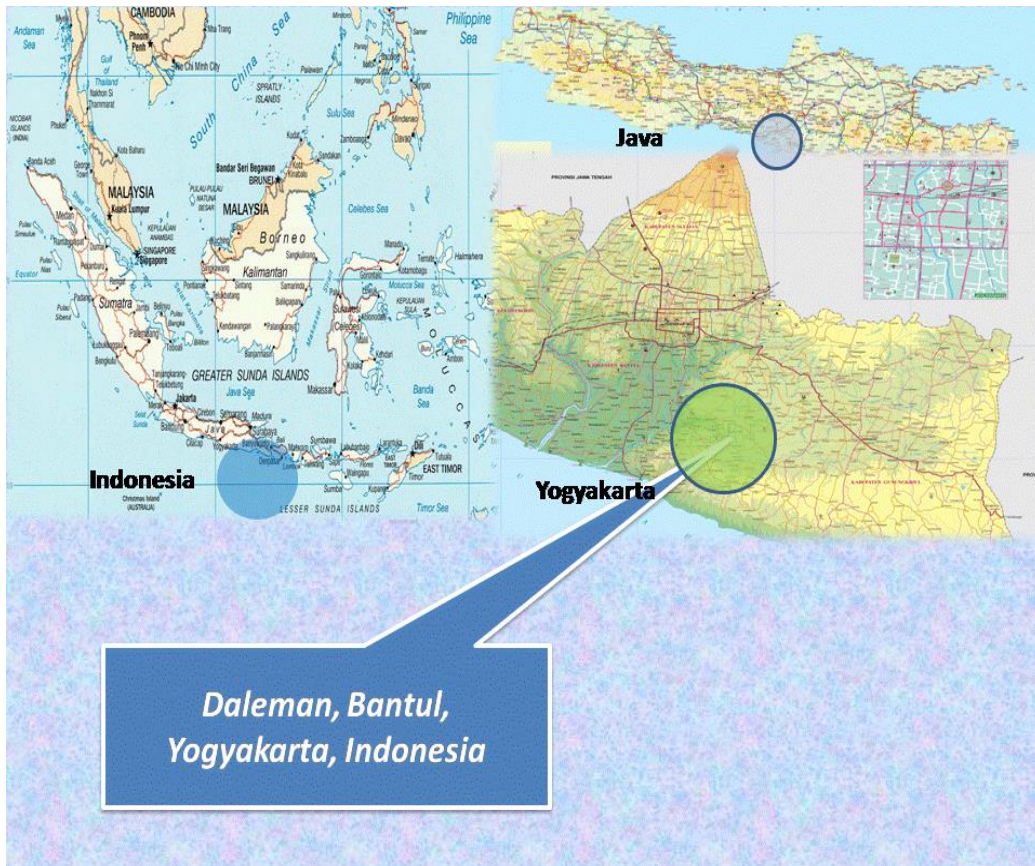


Photo 1. Location of Daleman



Photo 2. Farming in Daleman

Daleman changed drastically over a twelve-year period. The tradition of raising livestock no longer existed, land fertility has been degrading, and organic pesticide plant collection was no longer known as their spirit of community collectiveness faded away. Due to the long imposed modern, and expensive, capital-oriented farming practices, poverty emerged in Daleman.

Collaborative practice began between a group of villagers in Daleman and the author for two years during 2008 and 2010 to initiate the revitalization of the community. During this process, a 'joinder' community organization was created by the villagers, aimed at addressing the aforementioned situation. Its representatives and the author attempted to promote awareness among villagers of this situation. They had initially identified and mapped the village's current situation, determined their farming dreams and decided upon revitalization actions based on the principle of community participation. Daleman is not merely a geographical name that identified a certain community but become a center of a revitalization movement of 72 farming households in the area.

2. Ethnography: Revitalization Movement in Daleman

The movement of community revitalization in Daleman was divided into four phases, each of which reflected certain achievements of the process in the community movement. The phases are presented below.

2-1. First engagement

This phase described my first encounter with Daleman community. During this period, I heard so many complaints about how hard farming life was that I soon felt as if I were experiencing the same crisis. My first contact with Daleman community

happened when I was volunteering for a non-profit organization in Yogyakarta named GNH (*Gerakan Naungan Harapan*; The Shelter of Hope Foundation, a local NGO for Bantul earthquake assistance), working on the program of aid verification for the 2006 Bantul earthquake victims. It was one evening in the second week of February 2008 when I came to Daleman for the first time and when I met the family of Mr. Shr (aged 53). His house was newly built with brick-and-cement walls like many other houses that had been rebuilt by the governmental financial aid after the 2006 earthquake, but its interior seemed empty, with almost no furniture and a notable lack of care. I talked to Mr. Shr in his living room that was furnished with several chairs, each with a different shape. The house's yard was filled with wreckage of his broken house. Some farming tools such as hoes, bamboo-plaited baskets and some empty pesticide cans lay scattered on one side of the living room.

I could not help but notice a similar arrangement and situation in almost every house that I visited. I did not only gain data for aiding in verification but also listened to stories about their everyday life as farmers and villagers. They spoke about their variety of needs and shared sad stories of a farmer's life: a poor harvest, small income, unpaid debts and being tired of farming. When I asked about their daily life, I received complaints as an answer. For one and a half months, almost each day during my visit to Daleman, I heard such complaints.

After I finished my volunteering work in Daleman, I promised that I would return to some of the families. In the afternoon of April 4, 2008, I visited Daleman again. At the village entrance, I met Mr. Mrd (aged 59) whom I had met once before. He was working in his field. I glanced at the approximately 800 meter-square-large of field he was working on, filling it with green short rice plants. Mr. Mrd said that it was the only rice field he owned, cultivated for one month with the C-64 hybrid rice variety. "It takes two more months to harvest...If I could get fertilizer, I will probably have good harvest,

but if I don't, perhaps the rice plants will not bear many fruits," Mr. Mrd said. He signaled that in order to have a good harvest he must give his plants fertilizer at the right time. However, the fertilizer was rare and its price was soaring high. Mr. Mrd mentioned that he spent 300-400 thousand rupiah to cultivate the plants, from planting to harvesting. If the harvest was good, he could sell his rice for one million rupiah. Thus, he gained 400-600 thousand rupiah income for each harvest that occurred once every three months. Due to his small income and increasing basic needs, Mr. Mrd had to go into debt.

"I take debt when I need money. Not only me, but almost all of the people here have debts. What else to do? We are in a trap but we have to fulfill our needs. Debts are usual phenomenon for us. If we have good harvest, we will repay the debts. But if we don't, then we get more debts. Such situation is common to us".

From April to May, 2008, I frequently visited some families in Daleman: the Mr. Hrdj (aged 52), Mr. Yl (aged 49), Mr. Spy (aged 58), and Mr. Sgd (aged 63) and Mrs. Sht (Aged 51), until one evening in the mid of June, 2008 when I met Mr. Nrc (aged 53), a prominent figure in the community. Mr. Nrc was a farmer and an administrative worker in an elementary school near the village. His house was simple but well cared for, a very different residence than most of the houses in the Daleman village. Mr. Nrc had a different perspective on the farming situation:

"This village is different from what it used to be in the past. It was a prosperous village, with prosperous farmers. Now, it is completely different; the farmers cannot even fulfill their needs, which are getting more and more in number. Thus, they can only complain." He added, "Now, farming is no longer a reliable way to earn a living. Its cost is high and even asymmetrical with its result. Sometimes farmers must spend more than their field can produce. Harvest is always abundant...but the price is so low that farmers do not gain any profit. What else to do? The era has changed".

Social cohesion was another prominent issue in Daleman. Conflicts among community members often happened due to various causes that commonly emerged as a

result of poverty: debt settlement, resource distribution such as water distribution in the field, and social jealousy. Mr. Rtn (45) mentioned this to me,

“Now, people here fight each other on debt settlement, water distribution. When troubles come to the village, they are not compact anymore. Even we do not work together for the village or for any job anymore, we have lost respect to each other”.

During my early visits to Daleman, I noticed that the village roads were actually in bad shape and not well cared for so there were many holes on and very bumpy. Many public facilities such as the security post, the village hall and the irrigation canal were dirty; their walls were cracked and crumbled in some parts. I concluded that these facilities were not taken care of and that there was barely any collective activity to do so. This situation was an indication on how poor the condition of the village’s social capital was, lacking the bond among community members based on trust and mutual cooperation able to generate movement for collective interest. Perhaps what I saw reflected that the community members were so busy in undertaking their personal business so that they did not have time to care about others outside their family and themselves.

I did not see any sign of serious initiatives by community organizations or leader figures to address the problems. Community agents had not yet acted systematically to solve their community problems. Even the Village and Hamlet forums did not do anything significant. There was a sense of most all village elements being passive. Mr. Ag (aged 40), who is a community member who I met at that time, said to me in one of our conversations,

“We do have leadership organization, village and hamlet forums, but they do not do anything except organizing *arisan* and *rasulan* from time to time. They never think to improve the condition of the farmers.... even such a thing do they ever think about it? I don’t think so.”

Arisan is an economic tradition that was common in rural communities involving

savings and loan activity, and collections and holding cash for the village needs. *Rasulan* are routine community activities that aim to give thanks to the Almighty for having a harvest. Various traditional art performances are usually performed in this event. *Rasulan* is a tradition handed down in the lives of rural communities in Java.

According to some of Daleman people, students from various universities in Yogyakarta had conducted a student service program called KKN (*Kuliah Kerja Nyata*; University student field orientation program) in their village. Unfortunately, the activities within the program were sporadic and unsustainable in nature due to the short time of program and sense of formality the universities perceived of the program, which resulted in unserious program planning and execution.

Until the end of September 2008, I visited some families in Daleman, interacting with them informally in their everyday life settings: in their houses and their fields. In every meeting during that period, I mostly listened to them. Their stories brought me to the point where I felt knowledgeable and knew more about Daleman and its problems.

2-2. Initiation of the revitalization movement

In this second phase, my relationship with Daleman community members became more intensive. I felt more confident and self-assured to get involved in the community, as if I were one of the members. I noticed that their awareness began to emerge as indicated by community discussions deliberating topics on current conditions. As time went by, a small forum with a few Daleman people as its members was founded. Later, the forum experienced some instability. Different opinions among group members and members' frustration at the group contributed to the dynamic. Yet, all were reconciled through activities they organized together.

My interaction with the Daleman farming community continued to get deeper. After some time in the village, I met a young farmer whom I had never met before. He

was Mr. Kryt (aged 37). He was married and a college dropout. On Sunday evening of October 19, 2008), Mr. Ag (aged 40) and I visited Mr. Kryt in his house. I was invited to see his field as well. The field was around 700 - 800 meters square large, inherited from his parents and cultivated with vegetables such as spinach, peanuts, eggplants and chili.

Mr. Kryt said,

“I prefer planting vegetables because it takes shorter time before I can harvest them. Besides, they are easy to sell and always sold well whatever the season is. This time they have too much water so they are not really good”.

October was part of the rainy season; therefore, his plants were not very healthy because of too much water. Some of their leaves were worm-eaten, leaving many holes on them. While helping him pick the worms from his plant's leaves, I asked him about Daleman and its farming situation. He was very open to the questions and enthusiastic to respond to the topic.

“I am actually really concerned with the situation. I want to do something, but it seems so difficult to talk to others. They don't seem to understand. They just complain and complain but they never do anything. It happens from time to time”.

In the evening of October 29, 2008, I went to Mr. Nrc house where they were celebrating their daughter's wedding. In Javanese, the wedding party is often called *Jagong*. Usually, the bride's family, who organizes the wedding party, will invite people who are considered as their relatives or family. The classification of relative or family is based on a blood relation or close friendship.

I saw other community members whom I knew attending the wedding party too. In the corner of the room, I sat with Mr. Ag, Mr. Yl, Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Mrd, Mr. Shr, Mr. Sgd, Mr. Krtn and Mr. Kryt. Our conversation started with idle chatter until we came to the topic of the farmer's life in the community, which according to them was getting harder day by day. I was already familiar with this topic: how middlemen arbitrarily determined the harvest's prices, how the price of pesticide and fertilizer soared and how

they felt marginalized of being farmers. Mr. Kryt who was seemingly enthused by our conversation said,

“If we are seriously concerned about this, let’s have a serious talk sometime. Do not just be complaining without any action.” They agreed. “It seems that we have to act rather than complain,” continued Mr. Kryt, whose remark seemed to convince the others of the need to create change. They agreed to continue the talk in a bigger forum, where more community members could attend. Mr. Kryt was appointed to organize the meeting. He, however, seemed so surprised and confused of what to do about the meeting. He asked me, “I do not know how to begin. Do you have any idea?” I suggested, “What about watching a movie about peasants and commenting about the movie afterwards?” Mr. Kryt agreed and gave the ‘responsibility’ of organizing the meeting to me.

The reason I suggested the people to watch a movie was because it is a multimedia format that is more enjoyable and attractive to a greater variety of people than a lecture or a book where certain terms could be difficult to understand. Voices and pictures, as integrated parts of movies, would easily leave certain impressions in one’s mind. I felt that presenting a movie where the content was appropriate to the context of the community’s condition would easily stimulate comments and in turn, awaken the residents’ awareness about their condition.

The meeting was held at 8 p.m. on November 3, 2008. Fifty-two Daleman farmers, 48 men and 4 women, gathered in Mr. Nrc’s house, ready to watch the movie. The number of the participants exceeded my expectation. I came rather late due to heavy rain but once I arrived, it did not take a long time to begin. The movie of “The Loss of Farmers’ Dreams” was played. The movie was a 13 minute documentary I made myself. It was based on an investigation I conducted among farming communities in Indonesia such as Sleman, Wonosobo, Magelang and Kebumen during 2003-2007. The movie presents my interviews with farmers concerning their situation of living, poverty, dependence on factory-made products, jealousy of other classes and losing pride as a farmer.

When, the movie was finished, I gave a few short remarks on the movie; i.e., it was not a performance and all the dialogues in the movie truly happened between the farmers and me. I asked the audience to give their comments.

“We also experience such conditions, am I wrong or right?”, Mr. Kryt began. “Yes, it is the same as we experience here. That is the condition of farmers nowadays” Mr. Krtn continued. Mr. Ag entered the discussion and asked me, “Then, what is the condition of the farmers in the movie now? Has it changed?” I answered, “Now they are trying to change the way they do farming”.

In my opinion, these people were ready to begin discussing the agriculture and farming situation in Indonesia now. The meeting ended at 10.30 p.m. Most of the farmers went home but eight remained: Mr. Nrc, Mr. Ag, Mr.Yl, Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Mrd, Mr. Shr, Mr. Sgd and Mr. Kryt. I stayed with them and we continued our discussion on the movie.

Mr. Sgd, who rarely stated his opinion, said, “The movie was real and natural. I felt like I was standing in front of the mirror when watching it. I felt like the farmer in the movie was me”. Then Mr. Shr asked, “Is it possible to improve such situation...It looks difficult.” Mr. Kryt answered, “I believe we can, if we have chance to think about it”.

At 7:00 p.m. on November 15, 2008, as agreed before, we gathered in Nrc’s house to watch the second movie as I promised. 48 people came this time, but the electric power suddenly went down so that I could not show the movie. We nevertheless continued the meeting and discussion by candlelight. I reviewed the first movie and shared some comments, which I heard from the community members I met before the meeting. I heard that the movie made a deep impression on them and that the theme of the movie reflected the current situation in Daleman. Some of the audience, particularly Mr. Ag, Mr. Krtn, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Yl and Mr. Hrdj, confirmed this sentiment by restating their opinions regarding the first meeting.

At 9.15 p.m., the power was back and I prepared the equipment, an LCD

projector and a computer, for the presentation. The second movie was entitled “The Story of Pasundan Farmer’s Union.” The movie is a 29-minute long story of the Community of Pasundan Farmers Organization, who advocated farmers against land grabbing and middlemen oppression. A friend of mine, an activist in Bandung, gave me the movie. I chose this movie, because it expressed the urgency of the farmer’s struggle.

Ten minutes after the movie was finished, the power went down again. Unfortunately, there was no discussion this time because some people had started to go home and it was completely dark. Only a few people remained: Mr. Nrc, Mr. Yl, Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Shr, Mr. Sgd, Mr. Kryt and me. They demonstrated that they had a personal connection with the movie and made emotional comments about the movie such as “Middlemen were really rats!” or “The government was unfair!” I did not respond to such comments but stating that the movie did explained the position of farmer in Indonesia. Although their comments were emotional, I sensed that they began to understand the position of farmers in Indonesia in relation to businessmen and the industrial interests.

Discussion about the movies actually continued to extend to the community members’ daily encounters. As I talked to them personally in informal settings, they told me that the story in the movie resembled theirs.

Mr. Nrc said, “Farmers are put in difficult situations and no one takes the responsibility of that.” Mr. Kryt added, “As the farmers’ situation is getting worse, there is no choice but for the farmers themselves to fix the situation”.

Every time I heard arguments on the urgent need of farmers to be independent, I confirmed and reinforced those ideas.

Gradually, establishment of an organization started to be discussed among villagers who had shared intention to change their situation. Some of the community members, who now felt a bond with each other, agreed to organize a routine meeting to discuss community revitalization. Informed by Mr. Kryt in the meeting in the evening of

December 2, 2008, I went to Mr. Hrdj's house where 17 people had been waiting. They were Mr. Kryt, Mr. Yl, Mr. Nrc, Mr. Sgd, Mr. Krtn, Mr. Mrd, Mr. Shr, Mr. Ag, Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Mdj, Mr. Jwr, Mr. Rtn, Mr. Tmi, Mr. Yn, Mr. Anr, Mr. By and Mrs. Sht. They made plans to have a routine meeting once every two weeks to discuss ways to improve the community. Mr. Hrdj was appointed as the chair of the group at the meeting, which, thus, validated his leadership and marked the establishment of the community organization.

The organization's first formal meeting was held on December 16, 2008. The meeting, held in Mr. Hrdj's house at 4:00 p.m., aimed to map the community's problems. The organization's members identified several important issues, namely that the farmers poverty was because of low income, the low income was due to the high cost of farming and the low harvest price, and farming costs were high because farmers must purchase all their farming tools and materials. Nowadays, farmers had no memory of what their farming predecessors did to provide for their farming needs. In short, they had lost the ability to acquire tools and resources independently, organically and ecologically as their ancestors once did. Their ancestors had not needed to buy these from the market because they had their own fertilizer and herbal ingredients to be used as pesticides. As I listened, I took notes during their discussion and read it back to them before the meeting ended, three hours later.

The next meeting was held on January 4, 2009. Seventeen members attended the meeting. This time, the purpose was to reflect on farming activities they had practiced so far such as planting, fertilizing, and harvesting as well as the calculation of cost for each activity. This meeting was important because the organization members realized the extreme discrepancy between the farming costs and the harvest prices. They were motivated and interested to find a new less expensive, more fitting model to fit their farming situation.

As the organization began to conduct their activities, one could perceive its dynamic. Debates among members happened when they were discussing the ideal farming model. In the third meeting, which was held on January 21, 2009, the members debated whether it was possible to change the way they farmed or not.

Mr. Kryt argued about the possibility, “This is just about courage or smartness. I, as proven, did not use factory-made fertilizer for two years. I gave my vegetables rotten leaves as fertilizer,” he said, comparing himself with others rather cynically. Mr. Rtn, on the other hand, argued that it was hard to change the practiced model because the soil had already become used to factory-made fertilizer. “It is difficult. Our soil has become like this. I tried animal dung as fertilizer but the leaves were not green. This is not about courage at all,” he said.

Unfortunately, this debate created a gap among members; some agreed with Mr. Kryt’s opinion, others with Mr. Rtn’s view. The organization split because many people had been anxious regarding the issues. The fifth meeting, held on February 18, 2009, was only attended by nine persons. The other eight were absent without notice. I found out later, that there were various reasons for the absences. Some felt offended because of the previous meeting’s debate; some were bored and some had lost interest. Mr. Sgd told me, Mr. Rtn was very offended, Mr. Mrd told me he was already bored, while others were not interested anymore; they wanted to see a result soon.

Therefore, the only subject discussed in that meeting was the organization’s split. The participants began to process and think about the importance of keeping the members together. “We have to stay united. Why do we fight even before we do anything?” said Mr. Nrc. By the end of the meeting, they agreed to keep their organization members united. With nine members left, the organization decided to carry on.

These nine people were the main ‘motor’ of the community. They were (1) Mr. Kryt, a young, high school graduate farmer and a leader of a youth group in the community, who was the most active member and highly critical of the status quo; (2)

Mr. Hrdj, a Protestant priest and a Bachelor of Theology who was interested in farming; (3) Mr. Nrc, a middle aged, school administration officer and also a farmer, who always acted as mediator when conflicts happened and as a group motivator; (4) Mr. Sgd, an old farmer who was interested in organic farming, active in contributing ideas on the traditional farming model; (5) Mr. Krtn, an old farmer, a Javanese spiritual and shaman practitioner, who tended to be passive; (6) Mr. Mrd, a community figure, not a farmer but a hospital worker, interested in community empowerment, active but tended to be aggressive; (7) Mr. Shr, a true farmer, very talented in making traditional pesticides, a Moslem ulema; (8) Mr. Yl, a young farmer, a figure of the youth group in the community, and (9) Mr. Ag, a young farmer, a beginner in farming, a painter, an art school drop-out who filled the position of secretary of the organization.

The importance of unity in the organization became an increasingly important topic to discuss among members. On July 18, 2009, another meeting was held to discuss the future prospect of the organization. As members wanted to test their teamwork performance, they agreed that the celebration of Independence Day of that year would be the right arena to do so. They organized competitions related to farming and local traditions, such as competitions on house yard utilization, on traditional medicine making and traditional food cooking. The nine members were the organizing committee. They actually appointed themselves as the organizing committee and were not elected by community members. Yet, this approach was not considered a problem because usually no one would nominate him or herself as the organizing committee of such event. They designed the event, set the rules of the competition and decided upon the prizes for winners. The prizes for winners were one goat, two rabbits, four chickens and some other tokens. The members prepared these prizes, which were bought with money they collected. Some were donated by some people outside the community. The prizes were aimed to attract people's participation.

Almost all community members participated in the competition, either as individuals or as a team. The 2009 Independence Day celebration in Daleman was very different from ones before. Almost all the people whom I met were impressed. The festivity of the Independence Day celebration lasted until the winners were announced and awarded prizes in the Night of Celebration on August 16, 2009. Almost all participants won something. That all participants would win was planned before in order to raise their appreciation to the community through their pride of being winners. Slides on the community's activities, including the recent competition, were presented during the celebration, completed with a positive narration. The slides were my personal documentation, which I took every time I visited the community, including during the discussion time. The audience looked extremely enthusiastic, as they recognized their faces in the slides.

2-3. Dream making

In this third phase, the organization members began to focus on their movement with a definite agenda. They learned about the past experiences and how traditional farming used to work and compared it with the current situation. They identified the community's strengths and weaknesses and presented a list of alternatives for change that was systematic and detailed. Of these, they finally decided to pick organic farming as a way, an entrance to community revitalization they considered as suitable to solve the community's problems. To make their movement operable, they planned their strategies and produced an action planning program. The steps undertaken unexpectedly increased other community member's interests in every activity the organization held, evidenced by the increasing number of participants in the activities. The process of this phase is briefly described below.

The organization realized the importance of systematically organizing the

movement. On August 25, 2009, a week after the successful Independence Day celebration, the organization held a meeting in Mr. Hrdj's house. It was Mr. Kryt who suggested this meeting to make a plan of action. "Strike while the iron is still hot!" he texted me, inviting me to the meeting two days before the meeting. At the meeting, people discussed the importance of strengthening the organization by setting agendas that focused on the community empowerment.

"Although we are not many, we are able to do something for this village. The Independence Day celebration proved it all. It is time to draw up a real plan," said Mr. Kryt, motivating the audience. "I will do anything with all my strength. Previously, we felt it would be impossible (to organize an Independence Day celebration) but we did it anyway," said Mr. Mrd, declaring his support.

The success of the Independence Day celebration had actually given confidence to the members to take further steps. In every meeting, they seriously discussed the agenda to change their life, which consequently touched upon many topics relating to farming. At that time, they had not yet drawn up a final systematic and concrete plan.

The organization decided to inquire more about the past farming situation in Daleman. The glorious past of Daleman farming was a topic the members never failed to discuss. Some members, such as Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Sgd, Mr. Kryt and Mr. Mrd, also suggested that they should learn, in detail, how Daleman's past farming practice was conducted. In order to do so, they decided to interview an old Daleman farmer. On September 29, 2009, we visited him. Mr. Sdrj is one of Daleman's elders. He was 89 years old at that time, but his speech was clear. He was the oldest man in Daleman and lived in the village all his life.

Mr. Sdrj told us a long story about his happy experience practicing the old farming model in the past. This story convinced the organization members about the glory and value of traditional farming that was independent from market control. He told us that farming used to be an activity one could rely on for their life because it

earned enough money.

“There was no such a thing as cost, except if we employed other people to work in our field. We turned the animal dung and the fallen leaves into fertilizer. Although the harvest was not much like what it is today, it was not valueless,” he said. “It was not hard to be a farmer, as long as you were determined to work. There would always be harvest, your plant would surely produce. We had pests, for sure, but it was not so many like it is now. The key was doing the right thing in the right season,” he added. Sudiarjo claimed that he could save some of his money to buy cows. He could also feed his nine family members without buying food other than rice and vegetables. “Although my land was not much, only 1500 meters square, I never bought rice and vegetables because I could plant vegetables in the rice field bund. We had enough, it was even abundant for us”.

The organization saw the urgency to accurately analyze the community problems related to farming. At the request of the members, I invited a resource person who could share his knowledge and facilitate the organization to explore the community’s potentials and possibilities. The person was Mr. Edy Tanto, my colleague, who was a sociologist and rural community empowerment activist. He had experience of working with rural communities in almost all parts of Indonesia. His altruism was not doubted; he was willing to work without being paid and he helped the organization to map out their potentials and problems. His lesson received a positive response, not only from the organization members, but also from other community members who passed us in the field or on the road.

His teaching method was not sitting indoors but roaming outside around the surroundings, which is called the transect method. The method is a participatory technique to discover potential resources in a community by walking around and observing the community and then indicating them on the map for discussion (see Photo 3).

On September 7, 2009, seven organization members began practicing the transect method. They observed the location and gathered information across generations of

community residents and village leaders. Since they could not finish it, they continued it until the next day. Two days later, they produced a rough transect drawing of the community, including a description of physical features and farming history of the communities. Mr. Ag, Mr. Krypt and Mr. YI refined the drawing into a neater one. On September 15, the organization members identified problems and options of their communities by applying SWOT method based on the results of observation through the transect method. SWOT is a planning method in which Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat are analyzed.

The organization chose the community's resources as the frame to develop the plan. On September 27, we met to discuss the final transect map. The map clearly illustrated the community development, chronologically, related to areas (change in land usage), community history (some important events in the community) and farming history (change in the community's farming methods). The members commented and

	1	2	3	4	5
TITAH/GUNA LAHAN	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa
STATUS LAHAN	- milik masyarakat	- milik masyarakat	- milik masyarakat	- milik masyarakat	- milik masyarakat
VEGETASI	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa	- Paksi - pisang - kelapa
KESUBURAN	Sedang	Sedang	Sedang	Sedang	Sedang
PROBLEM	- lahan sempit - masalah air	- lahan sempit - masalah air	- lahan sempit - masalah air	- lahan sempit - masalah air	- lahan sempit - masalah air
POTENSI	- sumber air - lahan subur	- sumber air - lahan subur	- sumber air - lahan subur	- sumber air - lahan subur	- sumber air - lahan subur
HARAPAN	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur
SWOT ANALISIS	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur	- lahan subur - lahan subur

Photo 3. Transect map

revised the facts described in the map, such as the time period, land ownership, and community history. Considering the abundant resources in the community, both in the past and present, the organization decided to make these resources as the basis of their community empowerment scheme. Included in the list of the resources were natural resources (land, water, collection of pesticide plants), physical resources (irrigation canals, village roads), human resources (skill, access) and social resources (solidarity potential). I also showed articles from websites on traditional farming methods that were basically organic: local seed, household waste fertilizer and organic pesticide. I also presented articles on farming rituals celebrated in the old days. The organization members agreed on the grandeur of traditional farming. “This is a less expensive, environmental friendly farming method,” Mr. Nrc stated (see Photo 4).

Organic farming, which was called ‘traditional farming,’ had become the discourse of the organization. All agreed to make traditional farming the main pillar of



Photo 4. A meeting for making a dream (The man standing in the right hand corner is Edy Tanto, SAW.)

community development. The discussion did not only comprise the method but also the political-economic aspects of organic farming. The organization members had indeed heard farmers of older generations reciting and sharing their experiences in books or articles on organic farming, but they still needed more technical knowledge about organic farming methods.

Finally, they were ready to launch their organic farming movement. They knew what to do in applying the traditional farming methods, but they did not know how to make their plan into action. They wanted training on organic farming, and this was held for three days in November 4-7, 2009. The training was conducted in Sleman (located north of Yogyakarta), in Edy Tanto's field that had been managed organically for more than 7 years. The training was not only attended by the nine organization members but also other farmers of the Daleman village, so the total number of participants became 36 people. They learned how to work with the soil, to make seedbeds and nurse the young trees, to take care of the plants, and to make organic fertilizer and pesticides. In addition, they learned about polyculture and the importance of good teamwork as supporting factors.

A week later, the training participants made an action plan. Applying the simple social analysis method they had learned before, they designed some activities and classified them in a short, medium and long-term schedule. On November 15, 2009, they designed a strategic plan in Mr. Hrdj's house with the facilitation of Edy Tanto. More than 47 people attended the meeting. The activities consisted of soil management and fieldwork, fertilizer making and training to improve the farmers' skills. Their planning was not yet completed enough but realistic enough to guide the following action. Based on what they had learned about the old tradition, their idea and orientation of farming was guided by traditional farming values in the frame of organic farming. They appreciated local seed, traditional fertilizer, self-made pesticides and some rituals that

they believed could make them closer to nature.

To systemize the movement, a division of labor was set up. They divided jobs based on working sections they decided by themselves. One section worked to make fertilizer (coordinated by Mr. Shr), one raised and nursed seeds (Mrs. Sht), one made pesticides (Mr. Ag) and another organized the community (Mr. Kryt). Through the work division, they were better able to organize their actions. Besides this advantage, this division of labor did not suggest that they work separately, because they conducted every activity collectively.

At the same time, the leadership quality within the organization was better developed. They raised the idea to alternate a meeting chairperson every time they met. Every organization member would alternately lead the meeting. Thus, the leadership was not centered on a particular person anymore (such as Mr. Hrdj or Mr. Kryt). They decided to develop each member's leadership qualities and this approach was a good indication for the organization's sustainability. Grogginess and stalling often happened to those who had never led meetings before, but no matter how limited his or her performance was, the organization members always appreciated it.

The agenda of the movement had become an actual topic to talk about within the Daleman farmer community. The organic farming movement then became the central issue most Daleman farmers discussed with one another. The movement was not only echoed in their meeting room but also extended into their fields. When they met one another in their fields, they never failed to discuss the movement's development, whether it was making progress or becoming at times challenging and even troublesome.

The community achieved some progress. Within one month, an interesting phase occurred. First, they chose organic farming as an empowerment activity; second, the community's interest had unbelievably multiplied as the organization conducted several activities, as demonstrated by the increase in participants from the nine original

organization members to 36 and finally 47. Organic farming seemed to raise their curiosity. Essentially, this small organization was actually a reflection of the larger Daleman community.

2-4. A beginning to action

This fourth phase reflected how the plan of the organization turned into action. The members experimented with organic farming methods in their own fields. They started with soil revitalization, local seed planting and organic fertilizer and pesticide 'laboratory' building. When they began these activities, many people, not only from Daleman, but also from villages around Daleman, were interested to join in the experiment. However, this phase was not without conflict. During this phase they experienced agitation and repression from other farmer communities that disagreed with them. The following is a short description of this phase.

They began to apply organic farming methods in their fields. They usually planted rice in January, when the rain provided plenty of water. It had been agreed upon before that the planting season of the year would be their testing ground for their knowledge of organic farming. Coordinated by Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Sgd and Mr. Nrc, 24 rice fields with the largest of 1.8 hectares, owned by 22 farmers were cultivated with a variety of rice and managed organically. The planting was not conducted exactly at the same time, but within two weeks, all fields had been filled with the young local rice plants. There was nothing special when the planting began, but when the plants turned 35 days old, the farmers were fascinated by their fast-growing, greener and taller plants.

Their fields were generally not large in size, only 500--1500 meter square on average. Some of them owned their own land, and some others rented from a local landlord and paid for it yearly. They got ten kilos of local rice seeds variety called

Mentik Susu from Edy Tanto for free. The seeds had been grown and nursed in Mr. Hrdj's field a month before and now, the young rice plants were ready to plant. Everyone was allowed to take some of the young plants for free.

The organization also created a 'laboratory' of organic pesticides and fertilizers to support their organic farming. This so-called laboratory was actually in one corner of Mrs. Sht's yard in the far side of Daleman. The community learned to make organic fertilizers out of coconut water and animal dung in the mid-January, 2010. At that time, they also learned to make a pesticide from the *Jenu* plant, a poisonous plant in Java, added with fermented insect bodies. Coordinated by Mr. Shr, they made two kinds of organic fertilizer and 24 kinds of pesticide in two weeks. In the mid of February 2010, they spread them in their fields as part of the organic farming treatment.

After two months, they started to encounter problems. The rice plants were yellowing, not growing, and were being killed by pests. These problems were then reported and discussed in the meeting. Each farmer reported the condition of his or her plants and mostly all of them had problems. After discussion, Mr. Edy Tanto concluded and stated that the inability of the plants to flourish was mainly caused by poor land quality due to the previous cultivation model. These problems encouraged the community to decide to invite Mr. Edy Tanto to visit their fields to find the solution. In the second week of March 2010, Mr. Edy Tanto with his friend, Mr. Bng (aged 46), visited Daleman. They came to each organic field, observed it carefully and provided some suggestions on certain specific needed treatments for each condition.

There were several training sessions held to find solutions to the problems. From March to May 2010, the organization members attended four training sessions on soil treatment, pest management, natural fertilizer making and knowledge regarding the environment. Many community members joined these training sessions, as well as others from outside the community. The number of the participants increased gradually.

The participants were not exclusively organic farming practitioners, but also those who had not practiced it but were interested in learning the methods. I discovered that whenever resource persons from outside visited the community, they became subjects of attraction and discussion to these inhabitants. This attitude reflected a positive social dynamic within the community.

The collective activities fostered a sense of togetherness and eased communication among the community members. They felt closer to each other, found it easier to share and listen to each other. When I asked Mr. Sgd to clarify the perception on the community's situation at that time, he said "This is different from what it was six months ago. Now, we share and listen to each other better."

On the other hand, the community experienced repression and hostility from other farmer groups. The community's internal dynamics were conducive for good growth, but agitation often came from other farmer groups. On May 15, 2010, Mr. Shr was forced to pull off all his rice plants by owners of the fields around his. His rice plant's physical appearance was different from that of the plants in the other fields. Mr. Shr's rice was considered a potential source of pests, which might spread to other fields. Similarly, Mr. Kryt's field did not receive his water share due to the different variety of rice he planted. Fortunately, the agitation did not lead to further open conflict although it did upset the community for a short period of time. When people experienced such hostility, they discussed it with other community members, who would then support and strengthen those who felt threatened and vulnerable.

Meanwhile, the movement had been proceeding and expanding to other areas outside Daleman village. Every trouble experienced and solved had clearly contributed to the community's development. Although their efforts were not yet as successful as they dreamt of, their high curiosity and interest always led them to walk on a positive path.

3. Discussion

Whether the movement would be a success or failure could not be predicted at this time, yet it was important to highlight and discuss several important issues from the movement process previously described. The elaboration of these issues was expected to enrich the fieldwork evidence, to confirm the perspectives, and even to provide inputs for the upcoming future process.

3-1. Discussion on revitalization movement

Marginalization of certain community members had been an unavoidable dark side of modernization. The clash of opposite contexts and value systems in each cultural encounter in a global context always presupposes the existence of the strong and the weak. The strong, sooner or later with all the means it could employ, always had the opportunity to win, dominate and control the weak through the process of cultural synthesis. In a cultural and community-related context, this process does not only mean a conquest, but a marginalization of the weak value system (Polanyi, 1944).

Value disorientation usually happens during cultural transition. The weakening value-system of the 'defeated' culture is reflected in the disorganization of social actors that further imply an identity derivation. Our observation in this study suggests that the situation in the community was the emergence of out-of-context behavior or decision-making. Certain behaviors had no strong roots in tradition; they were affected by contemporary market trends. The behavior bearers were not able to realize the possible long-term effects of their behavior. The people consumed the images of the market promotion rather than their actual needs. Therefore they purchased items because they lacked the awareness to distinguish between needs and wants. In the process, their value system became marginalized.

In such situations, where the effects of marginalization intensified, revitalization was urgent. Revitalization was defined as a process of creating awareness on context. Thus, it did not only encompass individual domains but also social domains (where community exists) because behavior was connected to its social context.

Community revitalization is not a simple concept. It involves many dimensions to take account of, explore and elaborate on. As shown, there were various forces in the Daleman community that formed certain dynamics and reflected the community's movement. Besides the social, economic, political and cultural context, physical setting and the community's external context also affect the community's movement (Grinc, 1994). Sensitivity to capture the various dimensions of community thoroughly and the ability to translate them into a strategy of revitalization are the significant factors for the success or failure of the revitalization program.

The situation of the Daleman community reflected the aforementioned complexity. The dynamics, the ups and downs, of the revitalization process happened because of the influence of the community's various contexts, which sometimes synergized poorly. Sometimes the wheel of the process stopped turning because the actors lost their context; their enthusiasm to go through the process was at stake and they were often hesitant to move on.

Every revitalization process requires clear and contextual goals for the community working on it and this agenda depends on the understanding of the problems of the community in question. Analyzing the community's problems and raising awareness among the community members are not easy tasks to perform. The gap of understanding among community members results in uneven levels of awareness, which in turn blurs the orientation of the movement, or worse, can divide the community.

As shown by Daleman community's experience, conflict and disagreement were likely due to different assumptions and degrees of awareness of what actually happened

in the community. Sometimes a group or an individual started a dispute or would commit sabotage on another's property out of their real intention. They probably had had no knowledge of the ramifications of what they did. Good communication would be the best means to alleviate this gap of awareness level so that every community member could understand the orientation of the revitalization movement.

Participation of community members is integral for the revitalization movement as we observed in Daleman (Taylor & Mackenzie, 1992). Every step in the movement process should belong to the community members entirely, which results in their full, non-hesitant involvement. Full participation of each actor would create a sense of belonging to the purpose of the movement, which in turn would help the actors' creativity to strengthen the community.

Community revitalization movement is a never-ending process; the movement in Daleman was continuous and flexible toward the dynamic situations within the community. The process of cultural encounter did not simply happen at one time and end at other; it kept on moving. The revitalization movement ideally proceeded in accordance with the growth of the community and the modern era. The movement might have evoked a different rhythm in a different time, but it should hold onto the essential value of awareness of time and space.

3-2. Methodological discussion on ethnography

Lastly, the practical nature of the ethnography in this paper should be emphasized. The ethnography is not conventional: it is practical ethnography. Conventional ethnography aims to produce a detailed description of a community and culture. The description aims to create understanding about different cultural identities in a way that it enriches information on various ethnic groups with their knowledge system, belief system, behavior pattern, system of social organization and artifacts. *Emic* and *etic* ways

of seeing, as well as comparison of cultural profiles expressed in this type of ethnographic production, generates a description of a multicultural reality, which expands the reader's cultural knowledge (Cahya, 2011).

By contrast, the ethnography in this paper was written by the author in order to create materials by which the villagers could reflect on their activities in the past and elaborate a plan for the future. In this sense, the ethnography is not only descriptive but also a part of our collaborative practice. An Indonesian language version of this ethnography will be prepared and presented to the villagers soon. A series of intensive meetings will be held to clarify whatever was ambiguous for them and to discuss the issues they agree or disagree with. The author will participate in the discussion as a single person who elaborates the ethnography with his colleagues, not an author who is solely responsible for it.

In this sense, the ethnography in this paper can be called engaged ethnography. Engaged ethnography employed a participatory-collaborative framework with emphasis on group actions by both researcher and community members using joint language and context. This approach aims to generate a socio-cultural change rather than value-free findings. Engaged ethnography produces writings on reflective processes that facilitate change. Through the reading of the writings, supplemented by other relevant existing ethnographical works, the researcher and community members became essential parts of a movement for change. They both worked together to describe and inscribe a history of problem settlement.

Reflective dialectic is a significant factor to ventilate awareness on reality (Schön, 1983). Listening, summarizing, reflecting and reconfirming analysis on the community's experience are the main activities of this approach. Meetings held by the community are arenas for discussion, and generating comments. Comments and discussions that touched the topic of the community empowerment were explored and sharpened to

awaken the audience's awareness about their actual context.

Chapter III

Conflict and Reviving

In the previous chapter, the early process of the revitalization movement was discussed starting from the initial phase, consolidation process, community strategic planning through the organic farming framework, and finally the early positive outcome achieved by Daleman farmers through their transformative action. Further, the previous chapter also explained about the dynamics of the revitalization movement, the fragility of the organization, and the importance of engaged ethnography using reflection dialog for safeguarding the awareness about the revitalization movement.

This chapter will present the detailed process of reflective dialog in the Daleman community undertaken with engaged ethnography. Reflective dialog held an important role in the process of revitalization movement, especially when the community experienced various progresses that resulted from their collective movement, while on

the other side some conflict occurred and threatening the community. Conflict, tension and reconciliation experienced by the community will be explained in detail in this chapter. Finally the chapter will present experiences about transitional crisis, dialog strategy, and the character of indigenous conflict in Java.

1. Reflective Dialogue as an Important Point in the Community Revitalization Process

In a community revitalization movement, mentoring is a very important aspect. After the community determines the goal and plan of the movement, the next important point is to carry them out together. A process that is consistent with the determined goal would increase capacity and participation of people during the attempt to achieve it and, on the contrary, a process, which denies the goal would lead them to failure. Various cases of failure of the community movement in Indonesia are examples of the consequence of the missing of mentoring in the movement process (Benford & David, 2000). Generally, the community empowerment tends to focus on program planning, organizing and funding, without paying close attention to the ongoing process. The common result of such practice is a stagnancy, which ends in failure that is usually accompanied by various excesses of disintegration within the community. Ignorance to the mentoring aspect will increase the probability of action inconsistent with the goal of the empowerment movement.

The consistency between the process of the movement and its goal also relies on the occurring situation within and outside the community. Situations within the community such as member's commitment to the goal and integration within the community are the forms of internal dynamics. Further, the form of external dynamic includes outside influences related to the course of movement such as external pressure or member interaction with other communities. Both the internal and external dynamic always contribute to the process of the movement (Boud & Walker, 1985; Chambers,

2007; Somers, 1992). Maintaining the process to always be on the vector of the revitalization goals among the competing internal-external dynamic is the key to the success of the movement.

The actors of the movement are responsible to keep the process consistent with the goal. Strong commitment from every actor to nurturing awareness concerning the movement is the main pillar of the sustainability of the movement. Collective awareness will provide power and motivation to keep on creating and choosing actions relevant to achieving the goals, and thus sustainability is preserved. Awareness about the movement involves community members' commitment to always be adjusting their chosen actions with the goal of the movement. Prioritizing the chosen relevant action and preventing any action that disrupts the goal are strong expressions of the awareness of the movement.

Building a tradition of evaluating every event of the movement process and finding improvement strategy is the articulation of awareness of the movement. Evaluating events within the community means appreciating every success and realizing every flaw that occurred. Through such a means, the growth and development of the community movement could be better maintained on the right track to the achievement of the common goal.

Awareness that strengthens the community revitalization movement can only occur from within the community itself (Boud & Fales, 1983). The emergence of awareness resulted from all actors' involvement becoming the vital determinant. Although external power could affect the situation and event within the movement process, it is the chosen response of the community as the ones responsible in the movement, which would determine the ultimate result, whether success or failure.

However, maintaining the awareness of actors to keep working toward the goal is not always easy. Involvement of actors with their various types of personalities and the

internal-external dynamics of the community within which they interact become a crucial matter. Friction between actors concerning various perspectives and interests stimulated by the existing external-internal dynamic could lead the process into two possibilities: the awareness will become more mature or the loyalty to the agreed goal will fade away.

There is no single power that could force the awareness of the community to stay strong. Awareness is a state of taking sides on an understanding about certain situation that arises from the willingness of actors to understand and position themselves within such situations. Awareness is built through an intensity of involvement of actors in every event they participate (Grinc, 1994), which then, through a self-learning process, turns to be an insight, as a source of inspiration for their actions. At the community level, the presence of each individual through active participation in reflecting the movement process plays an important role in keeping the existence of the awareness of the movement well (Johns, 2006). Participation of as many as community members in reflecting the common movement process and developing the improvement strategy is an important element of the process that reciprocally will strengthen the awareness of the movement at the community level.

Encouraging the community to actively participate in reflecting on all situations and events happening in the community will create greater capacity in developing improvement strategies. These outcomes are what participative reflection is all about. Participative reflection will produce such an understanding that could be accepted by the community. Starting from this point, a reflective awareness emerges and later this process will support the community to achieve the goal effectively.

Reflective dialog is an effective way to develop reflective participation of all members of a community movement (Johns, 2006). Here, the term *dialogic* refers to the presentation of interactive communication between members within the frame of

reflection on the community movement process. The activity of reflective dialog enables every member of the community to elaborate the development of certain events and also to freely provide correction through dialogue (Ulrich, 2000; Noblit, Flores & Murillo, 2004): reviewing what they have done collectively, appreciating every success achieved and also finding weaknesses to fix. Reflective dialog helps the community to observe and realize the movement process they have been doing so that the awareness in the action and the goal of the movement can be better maintained.

2. Reflective Dialog Using Engaged Ethnography

Reflective dialog needs a media that is compatible with the goal and the context of society. The media determines the quality of interaction in a reflective dialog (Freire, 1973; Schon, 1983; Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004). The process of dialogue in reflection needs a medium to stimulate sharing of reflective thoughts about certain objects. The process of reflective dialogue assumes that interaction of expressed opinion and judgment exists. Determining the media that is able to provoke actors to express themselves in a reflective dialogue about the movement process is therefore very important.

Recalling community's event and situation in the form of a story about the community and presenting it in a community meeting was the technique chosen by the researcher in persuading the community to do a reflection about the movement process. The following section of this paper describes the technique in detail. The story was written based on the field documentations previously recorded by the researcher, and then, it was shared to the community members to get their comments and input. Through this process, it was expected that the community could have a chance to evaluate what they had been doing in achieving the common goals.

The story telling approach to reveal community reflection is a form of engaged

ethnography. Theoretically, engaged ethnography is a form of critical ethnography aiming at realizing social transformation (Thomas, 1993; Johns, 2006). This ethnography approach is not merely story telling of a collection of documentations to be commented on, but it is systematically intended to direct the community to make an improvement strategy. Presenting stories, collecting opinions and then synthesizing them in a summary of learning points was a reflection process able to drive the community to provide correction on the strategy for the next community movement process.

Community confirmation in a process of engaged ethnography is an embodiment of reflective dialog (Thomas, 1993). In the engaged ethnography, the notes of the process presented in a community forum were reviewed by the community: some parts of the stories were accepted; some were corrected or even rejected by them. There were processes of confirmations and clarifications during the discussion. Every discussion was concluded by presentation of general views about the on-going process. At this stage, the reflective dialog through ethnography notes took place. Presentation about the running process was done, and the access of the community to correct it widely opened. Through the process, the community was encouraged to evaluate and to judge the stages of process previously done, and to make decisions on various things they considered as needing to be fixed or to be kept in the next step of the movement process (Katz & Martin, 1997). Using this approach, the reflection process ran smoothly and participative. Nobody felt as if they were being evaluated personally because what was evaluated was a note, not an individual person.

Engaged ethnography is also a collaboration of work (Thomas, 1993; Ulrich, 2000). Empowering community members to become an ethnographer is an important step in this method. If the community members previously only read the notes provided by the researcher, in the next step they could take the role as ethnographer, presenting

their own impressions and understanding about the ongoing processing. The community had their chances to lead the reflective dialog based on the process notes they themselves wrote.

However, this stage is not easy to do. Involving community to become an ethnographer could lead to the state that “risk became a possibility”. Spontaneity of community members, which tends to be impulsive, could produce stories that would be easily misunderstood. But, although there is an obvious risk, this step has to be taken as an attempt to increase community participation in the reflection of the movement.

Reflective dialog using engaged ethnography is a very powerful alternative in securing the awareness of community movement. Through the existing participative character, this approach has an ability to raise awareness of the actors towards the movement process. Every community member has an opportunity to get involved in the process of evaluating the development of community situation and providing corrections on the movement process through their reflective comments. Having this media, each actor within the community would feel responsible to secure the sustainability of the movement. Moreover, the community has the opportunity to learn about how to become more mature from the process they created and exercised. The capacity and sensitivity in achieving the goal through the movement will continuously be developed through the dialogic reflection (Katz & Martin, 1997).

3. Strengthening Awareness of Revitalization Movement through Reflective Dialog Using Engaged Ethnography

An attempt to strengthen awareness of the participating people in a revitalization movement has been made in Daleman community, Java, Indonesia. Engaged ethnography has played an important role in the process of revitalization movement. It was described how the movement was initiated in 2008 – 2010 in Chapter II (Cahya,

2011). This section describes the process of the movement until 2013, starting with a brief summary as described in Chapter II.

3-1. Community revitalization movement in Daleman: 2008-2010

The revitalization of Daleman community was propelled by the farmers' awareness to move out from poverty regarded as the impact of the agricultural free market (Cahya, 2011). Life difficulties the farmers experienced sparked awareness to change the situation. Eventually, they realized that the degradation of their dignity was related to their agricultural practice within the past twenty years, i.e. they bought all agricultural production needs. In addition to fertilizer, seeds and chemicals, they also had to hire laborers. While the market set lower prices for their crops, their agricultural expenses were higher than their revenues. They found out that their creativity, independence, and solidity had collapsed. Mostly, they struggled to survive without social and cultural support. This outcome was the result of their dependence on the modern agricultural market.

In mid-2008, with such awareness, some community leaders propagated their ideas and knowledge on the importance of agriculture paradigm change. They called for their fellow farmers to revitalize creativity, independence, and solidity in the agricultural realm as a strategy to cope with the massive, capital-intensive, and impersonal agricultural market. They firmly believed that re-developing their social resources and agricultural traditions would transform their lives as farmers.

In this stage, ideas and inspirations of how to improve the farmer's quality of life were discussed from the point of view of the agricultural situation they had faced. The understanding of their situation as well as of agricultural free market mechanisms was the result of the opinion sharing among the community members. They were also supported by an organic farming activist invited to share his knowledge. It was not

surprising that they clearly grasped the root of agricultural problems they had faced (see Photo 5).

By the end of 2008, they worked together to map some problems they had faced. The transformation movement within community had already been in progress. They mapped their problem and its roots through a series of discussions, internally amongst themselves or involving outsiders. They tracked and reflected the facts from everyday experiences in a causal relation. The process of discussion at times could be amicable, or sometimes it grew heated. Such a debate was common among them. The community's mood fluctuations became the prominent characteristic in this phase. Despite the difficulties, they reached an agreement on the importance of independence, creativity, and efficacy of agricultural basic organic traditions to set them free from the trap of the massive free market; a regime that had ruined their dignity as farmers.

From the mapping of the problems and exploring the community's potentials, they found a transformative idea expressed in a stronger community movement. In the middle of 2009, they began to make a grand plan for the transformation they would carry out in a collective movement. They revitalized the agricultural social foundations of their community, improved cooperation among farmers, and strengthened the communal bond of the community to realize the transformation of the movement.

They chose natural and creative agricultural traditions to realize the transformation. They regarded the agricultural tradition that had been forgotten for a long time as "the lost treasure". Such a tradition was expected to change the current farmers' life condition. Organic farming mechanisms, in their opinion, would be able to accommodate their self-reliance, creativity, solidarity and independence necessary for farmers who had to deal with a damaging 'free' market system.

They prepared plans for the community based on the organic paradigm. With the knowledge they learned from the experiences of the elderly farmers as well as from the

advices of organic farming activists they had invited, they explored labor-intensive traditional agricultural styles that would enhance their self-esteem. Together, they planned an agenda ranging from technical to non-technical aspects and distributed the roles and duties, i.e. seed provision or plantation and organic cultivation that they integrated into a revitalization movement.

They determined to represent the traditional passion in the present context through a collective movement resolution. They worked hand in hand to provide necessities and arranged collective activities of the community. Despite the existing differences, they dealt with any trouble so successfully that they were able to achieve the community objectives. By practicing traditional agriculture called “organic farming,” they found a path to improve the situation (see Photo 6).

The vibrant collective spirit of Daleman farmers had brought about a significant transformation. In a relatively short time, for about 2 years after they began the collective process early in 2008, they seemed to gain what they wanted. Because of the organic farming practices, the agricultural production cost decreased dramatically and they were able to provide all the production needs independently. The collective movement of organic farming enabled them to provide and distribute resources for the success of their agricultural work.

At this moment, the food market tended to be on the side of the organic agriculture business. Global articles and analyses on healthy organic food in mass media put organic products in a prestigious position in line with people’s desire to live a healthy life. Such a situation made the farmers’ agricultural products able to acquire a wider market access with more feasible prices.

Like dry land showered by rainfall, the Daleman farmers became more enthusiastic to promote their organic farming. The movement found its path. The farmers’ dream dramatically came true. The following conversations conveyed clearly

the recent development:

They felt that they were highly valued. The recent situation was sharply contrasted to that of 3–4 years ago when the agricultural cost was high while the crops were valued cheap. Lower cost and higher output gave them very marvelous profit. They enjoyed the “fruit” of the movement. They regarded it as a blessing.

This achievement made Daleman community famous among farmers of the neighboring villages. People were amazed with the success of Daleman organic farming community. Other farmers regarded the success as a “new enlightenment” of agricultural practice. Some of them were interested in joining the process of Daleman farmers. More and more farmers from outside Daleman joined the community. Early and mid 2010 was the heyday of the new Daleman community. They could be called as the pioneers and motors of organic farming.



Photo 5. Discussion in early stage of the movement, 2008 (The man wearing the black shirt is Edy Tanto.)

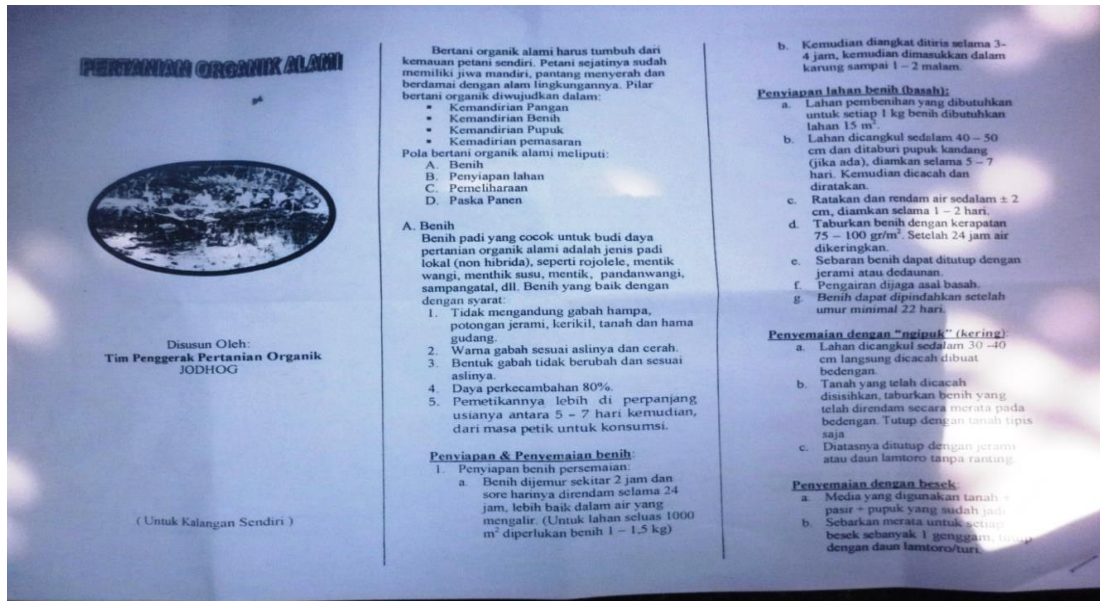


Photo 6. Organic farming leaflet prepared by community

3-2. A call for reflection

The movement of Daleman community lasted for a short time. The success with its euphoria did not go along with and match the community's persistence. Some of the community's key figures were so engaged in their own private interests that later they were found to be discouraging of the community's collective spirit. The community forum as a movement basis at times had been abandoned since some key figures were frequently absent. Similarly, the meetings of the community had become more and more unfrequented. This situation made some other community figures feel precarious and this sentiment resulted in suspicion. It was such a damaging situation that it collectively weakened the togetherness of the Daleman community.

The occasional cold relationships and uncomfortable situation during community meetings brought about a rumor within the community. The rumors about private business or selfish interests owned by some figures uncontrollably spread within the community. Some community prominent figures talked negatively in secrecy about their fellows who were often absent in the meetings. It was said that those who rarely came to the meeting had been preoccupied with exclusive business for personal interest. They were considered as deviating from the common objectives, while those who continually attended community forum felt that they were betrayed. There was a tension within the community. The community's progress began to become stagnant. The gap amongst the leading figures, as a result of the suspicion, became wider and started to shift the focus of the collective movement.

The dynamics of the community situation demanded a reflection. With regard to some figures' concern, it was important to review the record of the community's movement process. Review of the record was intended to describe more clearly the dynamics of the movement. Reflecting on the movement by means of documentation of

the process was one of the methods to describe the initial goal and the existing dynamics of the process.

In fact, reflection is very important for the quality of sustainable action. To ensure the quality of an action towards a goal, it is ideal for an actor to reflect his or her actions based on any possible effect. The consistency between the action and the goal could be maintained by continuous reflection. Continuous progress would take place through reflection of action consistently performed by the actors.

Reflection prevents the problem to become more complicated. As a rule, heavily complicated problems were the result of neglecting minor faults. Early reflection would enable actors to find out minor problems before they grow into more complex ones. Greater negative effects of the problem could be annulled by intense reflective consideration. Consideration of action would raise awareness of the actors to widen his or her scope of actions across the objective lines.

Unfortunately, such reflection had not been ideally conducted in Daleman community movement. When initial reflection was carried out by community members to build dialog and to change (through discussion and watching movies), the tradition of reflection as an important part to maintain sustainability of the movement process had not been built yet. Despite various regular talks about the action plan and its implementation, more intensive reflection on the action had not been done yet. The discussion in the community so far was only description on how they performed actions.

Finding the right moment to offer a reflection period for the community was a priority (Ulrich, 2000). Referring to Ulrich, and considering the prevailing situation, it was necessary to immediately initiate the reflection. Having these, the promotion of the reflective view for Daleman villagers to review the situation and to revitalize the spirit of the community movement could be done. The initial important step I chose was building the culture of processing reflection among the villagers through ethnographic

methods of written documentation.

The adoption of ethnographic notes for that purpose was based on two considerations. First, the author had sufficient ethnographic community notes. Comprehensive documentation in a chronological order of events, including pictures, would help villagers to understand the process of the movement. Second, the ethnographic notes were a representation of the author's perception on the community situation (Thomas, 1993). The author's judgment was an initial stimulation to encourage the community to discuss their perception of the process. With this assessment of perception, I could ask the community members' opinions on a certain event. I believed that this method might help Daleman villagers to review the significance of events within the community movement from their own perspective. Descriptions of the ethnographic notes might help villagers to reflect on their movement.

3-3. Encouraging the community to perform reflection process

As stated above, it is important to determine the right moment to encourage the villagers to conduct the reflection. The right moment will serve as smooth entry to attract villagers' attention on the importance of reflection. Some strategies are needed to make the villagers to take part in the reflection. First, openness of the community is needed. Second, certain efforts should be made to encourage them to review what has happened in the community. In a casual conversation with villagers, I found such an important moment. They felt reluctant and embarrassed to come to the meeting I initiated. Even so, they were very surprised to hear what I intended to do. They were not accustomed to what I did concerning the community activities. They did not think that what they did in the community programs was recorded.

In the evening of January 3, 2011, Mr. Ag and I went to Mr. Shr's house to attend *tasyukuran*, a Javanese cultural event held by a family to give thanks for blessing

they received. On that occasion, I met Mr. Shr, Mr. Nrc, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Mrd and Mr. Yl, and had an informal chat discussing the absence of some key figures in the community's meeting.

“Recently the number of participants attending community meeting has been decreasing. Some members attended meeting on a certain day, but they were absent in the next meeting on the other day. So we have to repeat the material of discussion over and over again. It is wasting time,” said Mr. Yl . “They said that they were very busy,” he added. “I am so sad to hear that the key figures in this community are not active anymore because of their personal business,” Mr. Kryt said. “What really happens? How can we end it like this? What is the plan of the programs then?” interrupted Mr. Nrc . Then Mr. Mrd added, “In my opinion, these people have been inactive since the beginning”. But, Mr. Kryt did not agree with Mr. Mrd. “I don't think so. Actually, they used to be active participants. Even some of them sat in the position of certain coordinators. Their being inactive in the community's programs can be felt only in the past couple of weeks/months,” Mr. Kryt said. As they had a debate on that matter, I joined the conversation and I told them that I had a record of the process of the community programs from the beginning up to now. I told them, “I have recorded all the process in this community. Even I have processed the record into a story of everything in details. Anybody who wants to listen to the story I have made, please come. I think it's better for us to invite them, and we are going to discuss this matter together.”

What have you written? Have you written it since we started the programs three years ago?” asked Mr. Shr. “I have complete records of everything we have done,” I answered and teased them as I opened my laptop to see the field record of the community activities. I showed them the field record of the community activities briefly. They paid much attention to the record I explained. Mr. Ag and Mr. NRC seemed to be interested in that record. However, they felt embarrassed to be exposed in the record which will be presented in a meeting where many participants attend. Mr. Yl said, “We will be embarrassed that our names are exposed in the record or that there will be certain events which are not proper to be exposed in the record”. Mr. Mrd was of the same opinion. But I convinced them that the important things were not the persons and their names but the process. The six of us agreed to hold a meeting to listen to the record of the community activities which I constructed in a story.

Finally, I managed the meeting. This meeting was held in my rent house in Ngirengngireng at 20.00 on February 16, 2011. Twelve participants attended the meeting. They were Mr. Rtn (47), Mr. (42), Mr. Jyn (65), Mr. Mrd (61), Mr. Shr (57), Mr. Yl (51), Mr. Nrc (55), Mr. Jwr (58), Mr. Mdj (65), Mr. Rdi (52), Mr. Kryt (40) and Mrs. Sht (53). I gave concise slide presentation of the community process based on the theme, events, time, and actors. After the slides presentation, I added some verbal explanation about the events, and also showed some photos to visualize the community activities.

I presented my story of the community activities to them. I managed the story in form of pointers including time, places, names, and events. They gave various responses to my story. Some disagreed, and some others affirmed the story. On this occasion, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Rtn, and Mr. Mdj did not agree with one of the sequences of the story entitled “the role of the film to generate the community”. Mr. Kryt argued, “There is something not definitely right in this part of the story. The watching film program was not the main motivator for us. It was our own firm determination which generated the spirit, not the film. The film just inspired us with examples.” I agreed with his statement.

Some of them were impressed with the field record of the community process. Mr. Rdi was fascinated with the documentation. He said, “The story of the community process was so fascinating although I felt nothing special when I experienced it. When I watched the photos of the community activities, I felt like watching a film. I felt so impressed”. However, one of them felt embarrassed as his name was exposed in the story. “I feel embarrassed to find out only my name is mentioned in the story. There should be other names. It seems that I am the hero. I am really not,” stated Mr. Rtn, Mr. Ag, Mr. Mrd and Mrs. Sht in their bursting laughter.

A different response was given by Mr. Jwr. He declared that by reviewing the story, he was able to understand what the community had done so far. “I can understand deeper about what we have done in this community. From this story, I can even find out the interrelation between the activities. Though the activities do not seem to have relation, they are interrelated to each other actually.”

The main aim of exposing the story was to conduct self-reflection. At the end of the meeting, I thanked them for attending and listening to the story. I also stated that the story was used as a means to review what they had done together in the community. From the story, I asked them to learn from what they had done. Hopefully they were able to do the process better in the next activities.

Some members of the community were interested in the story and expressed opinions that actually were their own reflection. Listening to the story of the community could create an exciting situation. It could be useful to observe each process in details. Constructing a story of the community could be also interesting for them. Three days after they attended and listened to my stories, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Ag, Mr. Rtn, and Mr. Jwr expressed their enthusiasm to learn how to write such stories.

In response to their interest in writing stories, I urged them to take the writing course I would prepare for them. I asked Mr. Gdg (39), a friend of mine graduating from the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, University of Gadjah Mada, to give them training of how to write diary and to construct a story, twice a week from February to March 2011. They showed their high enthusiasm in taking this writing course. They attended the course regularly without absence and were very active in asking questions to Mr. Gdg when they found some difficulties.

Mr. Gdg stated, “Almost every day during the course, I received many questions from the members of Daleman community, for example about the theme of the story. Mr. Kryt, Ag, and Mr. Rtn were the ones who actively asked questions about everything in the writing course: how to prepare the material or how to choose interesting and appropriate diction. They showed me their writing output. What enthusiastic members they are!”



Photo 7. Telling and listening to the community stories

During the training, stories about community composed by the members of the community were distributed to other people. Some of them had succeeded in constructing stories. They wrote stories in a simple style, and the themes were their impressive experiences in the community activities. Mr. Kryt, Mr. Ag, and Mr. Jwr shared their stories as the output of their training. Although the stories were not perfect in the way that they did not have titles, they were able to express their experiences, review, and impressions on the community activities.

The following is the extract of Mr. Rdi's writing. "I am happy that I can learn how to make liquid fertilizer with other community members. Now I know how simple the composition of liquid fertilizer is. When I made the liquid fertilizer for the first time, I was not sure if it worked as expected. Because of the regular training and the impact the fertilizer could perform, I could make the useful liquid fertilizer easily. However, some of my friends mocked on me and didn't help me when I made a mistake. I don't like them."

Mr. Ag's extract is as follows, "I have never thought of cooperating with friends of mine before. I gained much more inspiring idea when I worked together with

my friends than when I worked by myself. I would get much more advantages if I have worked with my friends. However, we are not consistently and continuously enthusiastic. Sometimes we forget that we should work together. Let's work together".

Their interest in writing a story of the community developed in such a way that they held a special meeting to listen to their own stories. In that forum, they were free to read their stories and to give comments on them. Telling and listening to the stories became an exciting activity for them. Comments and responses could be delivered in such a humorous and warm manner (see Photo 7).

3-4. The Conflict

Writing stories about community became even more interesting. The writers began to show their impressions about the community. They could express their opinions bluntly and freely through the stories they wrote. Story writing and telling stories became interesting activities in the community. However, on one occasion, the community story was considered to be annoying and did not represent an exciting process of reflection any more as a member of the community used the story to judge and express his disappointment on a certain member of the community in an indecent manner.

On May 5, 2011, two pages of a provocative story written by Mr. Kryt were passed around secretly amongst the Ngirengireng community. This story contained harsh criticism toward Mr. Hrdj's rice business. In his story Mr. Kryt accused Mr. Hrdj (55), a leader of Jodhog community, of running rice business for his own vested interest. The following is Mr. Kryt's excerpt, "...now there is a traitor in this community, someone who takes advantage of our hard work to gain profit. Now, it is the time for us to be careful and not to trust him easily. He is Mr. Hrdj who buys our rice at a low price and then sells it at a high price in town without sharing his profit to us".

Actually almost all members of the community heard about this rumor. But, the

story was considered as disturbing as it was openly exposed in writing and was read by the community. The story Mr. Kryt composed presented a tendentiously negative impression on Mr. Hrdj as the central theme. This story did not reveal a neutral impression of the situation, but it was a kind of expression of disappointment toward other members. It was a provocative story aimed at warning a certain member of the community in a sarcastic way.

“I composed this story with the purpose so that Mr. Hrdj would be aware that we know very well about the improper business he is running,” answered Mr. Kryt without feeling guilty when Mr. Mdj asked him about the matter a week after the story was read. Although the story was anonymous, the community member knew that it was Mr. Kryt who wrote the story. I was worried and sorry to hear the story as it was something which was not productive.

The negative impact of the story was so influencing, and the story spread widely without any control. Most of the members of the community heard this story quickly. Only in a few days, Mr. Hrdj knew what was happening. The situation of the community grew complicated and stressed. Mr. Hrdj who felt discredited by the story was so angry.

According to Mrs. Sht, Mr. Hrdj expressed his disappointment and anger in the community meeting held in May 2012. She stated that Mr. Hrdj and other farmers in Jodhog were disappointed with the story. They declared that they would not join the community of Ngirengireng anymore.

Mrs. Sht said, “I was actually ordered to stop joining the Ngirengireng community, but I kept getting in touch with the members and coming to the meeting secretly as I didn’t know what really happened”. It was clear to me now why the community members from Jodhog did not attend the meeting. Mrs. Sht asked the community members not to tell her friends in Jodhog that she was the one who told what happened in Jodhog to the members of the community in Ngirengireng. She attended the community meeting although her friends from Jodhog boycotted the meeting.

The Jodhog people’s boycott was a response to Mr. Kryt’s story, under the influence of Mr. Hrdj. Mr. Hrdj spread his hate to his friends. He suggested that they

should stop joining the community activities done by Ngirengireng farmers as they were considered as supportive of Mr. Kryt.

I felt that I was not accepted amongst the Jodhog people. Whenever I came to Jodhog, they did not show their friendly welcome as they used to give to me before the conflict. They thought that I was on Mr. Kryt's side. That was why they avoided seeing me.

At night of June 9, 2011, I visited Mr. Shr's family in Jodhog. My visit was so awkward. He responded to my talk coldly and seemed to ignore me by doing his activities while having a talk. As I moved to see Mr. Hrdj, I got an unfriendly welcome. As we talked, Mr. Hrdj tried to turn the conversation to his own programs, which I thought as a subtle sign of refusing what I intended to do.

The situation in Jodhog was getting worse. I could feel the atmosphere of suspicion amongst the Jodhog farmers. They seemed to stop having concern about their community. When they were visited and invited, they rejected subtly in response and did not come.

3-5. Failure of reconciliation

Community disagreement was nurtured by rumor and agitation. As far as I noticed, their conversations were about hatred among villagers. The beginning of June 2011 was the most uncertain period for Daleman community. The most frequently discussed conversation within the community was agitation that heated the situation. It was not only Mr. Kryt and Mr. Hrdj who engaged in a tense relationship, but almost all villagers were also trapped in a similar situation. The effect of hatred that Mr. Kryt's story created became a central theme in any talk. It emerged and developed unstoppably.

The friction among the leading figures developed into a collective hostility and made villagers polarize into two groups. The influence of leading figures turned out to be a dominant factor within the community. When they conflicted with each other, their

fellow villagers followed to oppose to each other. The growing heated situation clearly demarcated between Jodhog and Ngirengireng.

“Here we are, there’s no need to depend on Jodhog people,” said Mr. Ag when he replied to my invitation by short message for a meeting on June 13, 2011. And Mr. Nrc gave the more or less same response, “Why should we meet them? It was just useless. We can proceed all by ourselves”.

Considering the increasingly tense situation, it was necessary to stop discussing Mr. Kryt’s writing in any conversation. This effort was made as a cooling-down tool to create reconciliation.

Feeling uncomfortable and guilty regarding the community’s dynamics, I held a meeting in the community’s rented-house with participants only from Ngirengireng such as Mr. Rtn, Mr. Ag, Jwr, and Mr. Rdi on June 14, 2011. Mrs. Sht did not come. In this meeting, I urged them to stop the conversation and rumor about the story in question. Personally, I asked Mr. Kryt to withdraw his writing and to immediately apologize to Mr. Hrdj without any condition. He seemed to hesitate at first, but I told him that what he should do was important for the continuation of the community cooperation. He finally agreed, “Okay, I will apologize and revise my writing”.

Unfortunately, the apology was not immediately accepted. The avoidance and apathy were the response of Mr. Hrdj. Despite the good intention, the apology found no result.

On Mr. Kryt’s consent, we visited Mr. Hrdj to apologize. In the afternoon of June 16, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Ag, Mr. Mdj, and I visited Mr. Hrdj in Jodhog, but we couldn’t meet him. We only met his wife who told us that her husband was not in the village and she had no idea about when he would come back. Then, we talked about many things except the conflict. We were in Mr. Hrdj’s residence for two hours but went home in vain. I felt guilty of persuading Mr. Kryt and friends to visit and apologized to Mr. Hrdj.

Regardless the difficulty, community reconciliation was a priority and should always be attempted. Mediation with external involvement was made. However, it just decreased the tension, but it did not result in resolute statement and commitment for the

conflict resolution.

On June 20, I contacted both leading figures of Jodhog and Ngirengireng and asked them to attend a special meeting as an effort for further mediation. I told them that Mr. Tsugi, who was a Japanese scholar and had deep interest in the movement in Daleman, had heard about the conflict and out of his concern he sent a special peace message for them. Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Kryt and Mr. Nrc were surprised by that fact. Finally, at 20:00 on June 22, we met in Mr. Shr's house in Jodhog. The meeting was attended by more participants than the previous ones. Mr. Rtn, Mr. Ag, Mr. Mrd, Mr. Shr, Mr. Yl, Mr. Jwr, Mr.Rdi, Mr. Sgd, Mr. Kryt and Mrs.Sht were there. I read the peace message in this forum. Some of them felt ashamed that the conflict was known by an outsider such as Mr. Tsugi. We were embarrassed that he knew this problem," said Mr. Yl. Mr. Hrdj added, "How come, I don't know how if I meet this man, it would be embarrassing. . This is a disgrace." I replied to their comments by saying, "I will do anything to re-unite the community, I don't want to disgrace this community, and Mr. Tsugi is a well-intentioned man for this community".

I felt that there was still a barrier in the communication. There was not yet a friendly atmosphere as before. Finally, after 2 hours passed, the meeting ended. Usually some of them would stay for casual conversation but now they went home immediately.

The effort for conflict reconciliation was an exhausting one with no immediate result. Although there were no more agitating talks both in Jodhog and Ngirengireng, there was no sign for initiative within the community to explicitly stop the conflict and bring the peaceful situation back as it used to be. The conflict was not prominent any longer, but collective activity within the community could not be felt anymore. Until September 2011, joint activity within the community was not done. No initiative was made. Gap between the two hamlets was still wide, and Jodhog still closed its door.

Suddenly they found a brilliant idea for community reconciliation. This brilliant idea for reconciliation would be done in the one-year commemoration of the death of Mr. Edy Tanto. He contributed immensely to starting the movement in Daleman (Cahya, 2011).

Early October of 2011, I met Mr. Yl, Mr. Sgd, and Mr. Kryt separately in informal

visits. In such casual talks, they asked when the one-year commemoration of the death of Mr. Edy Tanto would be held. Mr. Sgd, an elder figure of Jodhog farmer, proposed an idea of the community reconciliation in that commemoration event. "I think it is the right moment to reconcile during the one year commemoration of the death of Mr. Edy Tanto. It would be great," he suggested. Mr. Yl supported the idea, "Perhaps, it would be very good, and Mr. Edy Tanto means much to all of us, we will never forget his contribution for this community." Mr. Kryt also supported the idea. Having considered the suggestion for reconciliation during the commemoration of Mr. Edy Tanto, I planned the event. I was sure that no leading figures would refuse my invitation. I prepared the event, including documentation display of Edy Tanto's involvement in the community. They expressed their consent for the event.

The one-year commemoration of the death of Mr. Edy Tanto was also an initiation for the community to reconcile. This event gave crucial contribution for the reconciliation and it served as a very strategic starting point for the peace process of the community.

On January 23, 2012, the commemoration was held in Mr. Edy Tanto's house in Sleman (one of the districts in Yogyakarta Province). Most of Daleman community members of Ngirengireng and Jodhog attended it. They spontaneously rented a car for transportation. During the event, I played a short movie on Edy Tanto's involvement in the community. Specifically, I showed the movie to spark collective situation of the community. Many of them cried and were emotionally touched while they were watching the movie. No one talked at all about the conflict. We just prayed for and commemorated Edy Tanto during the event.

The message and memory of Edy Tanto's involvement encouraged them to put aside the conflict. The commemoration was a good starting point for the community reconciliation. In the wake of the event, leading figures and members of the community determined to forget the existing split between them. Although no explicit peace statement was declared, it was clear that they eagerly opened a new page of community cooperation.

On January 30, 2012, we held a meeting at Mr. Hrdj's house to discuss the community and some abandoned agendas during the past heated situation. The meeting was attended by Mr. Mrd, Mr. Shr, Mr. Yl, Mr. Jwr, Mr. Rdi, Mrs. Sht, Mr.

Sgd, Mr. Kryt, and Mr. Hrdj as the host. Unexpectedly, no significant agreement on collectivity was achieved in the meeting. However, there was a short resolution on the community's plan to maintain harmonious relationship. "We will restart with useful things for the community. We do not need to talk about the past which of course will hurt ourselves, we are *nulnulan* (Javanese: 0-0: zero-zero refer to soccer score, to start all over again, no hard feeling.)," said Mr. Sgd, and other participants agreed. During the meeting, I didn't have the heart to say a thing any further, I just listened to them.

Although the situation had not been completely recovered, I could feel more friendly communication during the meeting. At least, they were friendlier to each other and had no suspicion towards one another.

As one community that had worked together in one movement, Jodhog and Ngirengireng became two villages bordered by the influences of their respective actors. Peace was achieved within the community, but recovery did not come yet, let alone significant cooperation between Jodhog and Ngirengireng. People of both territories were preoccupied with their respective activities. Their common dreams and goals that they had agreed upon were not touched yet at the moment. Collective organic farming and cohesive community that they had built before were not yet able to spur the collective sense of belonging. They did not have any idea to realize their collaborative efforts in sight.

In February 2012, when the harvest season came to Jodhog and Daleman, they no longer visited and helped each other. The activities were carried out in their respective territories. It was not the case a year before, when they visited and helped each other, they crossed the hamlets' border to borrow harvesting tools and even collectively transported their crops. In the afternoon of February 17, 2012, I visited the farmers in both of Jodhog and Ngirengireng. "We are busy in our own field, *Mas*¹⁷. So, we have no time to visit Ngirengireng again," said Mr. Shr answering my question why he did not help his Ngirengireng colleagues' harvest.

¹⁷ "*Mas*", is the designation for the young men in the Java community. It usually used in the conversation between two people who are already familiar. Like a "Brother" in the western context.

Mr. Ag said the same thing to me, “We’re tired, we even have not finished our own harvest yet”.

It was undeniable that the influence of leading figures of both groups within the community was very strong. When two leading figures within the community had not achieved a complete peace agreement, the members would follow their respective leaders, and they preferred to work within their own boundaries. As long as the uneasiness remained between community leaders, so the situation was between their members.

The relationship between Mr. Kryt and Mr. Hrdj had not fully recovered yet. After January 30, 2012, they never met again. Arguably, they had never contacted each other personally. I perceived that when I asked their news, both Mr. Kryt and Mr. Hrdj were unable to answer clearly, in fact, they tended to avoid further conversation about their condition. I got such impression during my visit in February-March in 2012.

The situation of Jodhog was very different from that of Ngirengireng. The influence of respective leaders made the two groups of Daleman community different in their own ways. Although both of Jodhog’s and Ngirengireng’s inhabitants are farmers, some had not yet undertaken to join agriculture activities again. In general, farmers in Jodhog had not undertaken the joint activities yet like what they did before the conflict.

Farmers of Jodhog relied more on individual business, even though they worked together at the same time. Jodhog inhabitants’ activities were based more on practical consideration and economically profit-oriented goals. Perhaps, because of the personal business of Jodhog’s leaders, they did not hold a community meeting anymore. There was no joint activity to unite them. They were still farmers, but they did their jobs without cooperation with their neighboring villagers.

Mr. Nrc said that private business activity was more practical. “Selling rice is more practical, *Mas*. Although we have to distribute from one place to others, the profit is more visible and easy”, said Mr. Nrc when I asked about the community

activities as he arranged rice sacks in his barn in the beginning of April in 2012. Mr. Nrc along with Mr. Mrd and Mr. Hrdj had a joint rice business. They collected organic rice from both of Jodhog community and outside areas to sell in many cities.

Meanwhile, in Ngirengireng, the community joint activities were revitalized as it was done before. Although the rice sources were limited, they have collectively marketed rice within the community. Ngirengireng community also ran mushroom and fisheries businesses that were collectively managed within the community. In fact, the mushroom business of Ngirengireng had been growing rapidly (see Photo 8 and Photo 9). In the last 6 months, the orders for mushrooms that Ngirengireng received reached 3000 log bags a month.

In a meeting of Ngirengireng community that was held at Mr. Jwr's house on April 25, 2012, some villagers expressed their satisfaction and looked forward to their community's business. "I'm pleased that we have a joint venture. I'm sure we will achieve more as time goes by," said Mr. Rtn satisfied. Mr. Jwr added, "I think we have become more creative with this activity. We bought anything previously, but now we cultivate them by ourselves".

Although no hatred was felt, Jodhog and Ngirengireng had been pursuing their own activities. Both hamlets had different characteristics. Jodhog focused more on the private business with its economic profit goals, while Ngirengireng emphasized on its community joint ventures.

3-6. Towards reconciliation

Reintegration of the Daleman community could not be attained only by informing the success story of the collective movement. Other efforts and a breakthrough should be carried out. One of them was transmitting the story of the successful business run by Ngirengireng people to Jodhog people. This effort would, for sure, help to bring peace

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Photo 8. Outlet Ngirengireng mushrooms “*Bagus Jamur*” on titrademarket.com



Photo 9. Mushroom transportation truck

and reestablish the relation between Ngirengireng and Jodhog people.

In a casual conversation at Mr. Kryt's house in Ngirengireng in the evening of May 2, 2012, I and Mr. Knj (aged 42) held a small event to celebrate the success of mushroom businesses in Ngirengireng. We appreciated rapid progress that the mushroom business achieved. 6000 log bags of mushroom were ordered at the time. It was such an achievement that had not been made before. I asked Mr. Kryt consent to promote this success to our friends in Jodhog, "Do you agree if we share this success with our Jodhog friends? We could bring some mushroom spawn for them so that they could enjoy, too." Without hesitation, Mr. Kryt and Mr. Rtn agreed, "I think it is a good idea. Of course, we don't mind at all. We like the idea." Mr. Rtn added, "No problem if only it is not a form of arrogance." "Of course not ... we do it for the sake of creating a peaceful neighborhood," said Mr. Knj.

The spreading of information about the success of mushroom business to Jodhog served as a peace-making effort. We agreed to inform the success of mushroom businesses to our Jodhog friends. It was our expectation that this effort would restart cooperation between Jodhog and Ngirengireng.

On May 6, 2012, Mr. Knj, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Rtn, and I left Ngirengireng for the houses of Mr. Sgd, Mr. Mr.Yl, and Mrs. Sht in Jodhog. We brought 60 log bags of mushroom for them and said that it was the result of Ngirengireng friends' production. Mr. Sgd, Mr. Yl and Mrs. Sht warmly welcomed us in their houses. Mr. Kryt. Mr. Rtn enthusiastically explained the progress of their mushroom business in Ngirengireng to them.

Sharing the mushroom spawn with Jodhog people was used as a mission to remind them of the planning of the community, including running the mushroom business they had achieved. This gesture also could be considered as a reminder that what had been done in Ngirengireng belonged to the Jodhog community.

During the visit to Jodhog, we told a story of the success of running mushroom business. Besides, we reminded the community members that the mushroom business was a part of the community's plan. It meant that this business actually also belonged to

Jodhog people. Mr. Sgd, Mr. Yl, and Mrs. Sht gave a good response to our story. They hoped that they could take part in the mushroom business in Ngirengireng.

Mr. Sgd stated, “I know that the mushroom business was part of our plan. But we have not accomplished it yet. I am going there. I am going to plant mushroom in the yards of my house”. Mr. Kryt responded with attentive care and said, “We are looking forward to your visit. We really are.” We felt release to see the warm relation that had been reestablished amongst the community members. Feeling so relieved, we got back home that night.

Some Jodhog people began to give positive response to the cooperative initiation of Ngirengireng people. The visit paid by some Ngirengireng people to introduce the mushroom business resulted in attentive intention from Jodhog people. Two Jodhog farmers came to Ngirengireng a month later to observe and learn how to cultivate mushroom.

On June 3, 2012, Mr. Sgd and Mr. Yl came to Ngirengireng to observe the production of mushroom spawn activity. “How to start ... the material ..., once I observed at a glance but I did not know how to produce seeds ... I want to produce them myself,” said Mr. Yl. “Come here ... Let’s go to the backyard I have plenty raw materials here ... You can practice right now... It’s easy, you know,” said Mr. Rtn as he took Mr. Yl towards the mushroom production room. After engaged in some talk, they went back to the main house to drink coffee together. “What a wonderful day. It is better that you invite Jodhog friends to come here tomorrow. Okay?”

It was such a wonderful moment for all of us. The Jodhog and Ngirengireng people had temporarily forgotten the tension they had felt until then. We longed for such a peaceful situation and hoped that Mr. Sgd and Mr. Yl could come next time. Mr. Hrdj and the Jodhog farmers enjoyed the togetherness that evening. Togetherness was a wonderful moment they longed for.

The informal talk amongst some community members in Ngirengireng brought about good effects. Mr. Sgd and Mr. Yl delivered the message they got from that informal talk in Ngirengireng to Jodhog people. The friendly discussion in a mushroom

plantation in Ngirengireng became the starting point to end the inter-villagers hostility. In spite of the fact that it had not been confirmed, the prejudice of hostility amongst the Jodhog people was gradually removed from their mind.

In July 18, 2012, I went to Mrs. Sht's house to take my friend whose students had a live-in program in that house. As I arrived at the house, Mr. and Mrs. Sht gave me a very warm welcome. She asked me enthusiastically about the visit of Mr. Sgd and Yl to the mushroom plantation in Ngirengireng. She wanted to know for sure whether news of this visit was really true. She asked me, "Was it right that Mr. Sgd and Yl visiting Ngirengireng, a few days ago?" "Yes, it was. What do you think about it?", I said with curiosity. "It is such good news, isn't it? I am happy to hear that they finally paid a visit to Ngirengireng. Last week, in a meeting held in Mr. Hrdj's house, they told us about the visit. Mr. Hrdj was eager to hear it", said Mrs. Sht. Then I asked her back, "What were Mr. Sgd and Yl telling about?" She answered, "Mr. Sgd and Y did not talk about Mr. Hrdj, and they discussed the success story of the mushroom business in Ngirengireng and their intention to start such a plantation in Jodhog". I felt relieved to hear Mrs. Sht's explanation. She added that Mr. Hrdj did not show his hatred to Ngirengireng people anymore. Instead, he was impressed and fascinated with what Mr. Sgd and Mr. Yl told. "So actually Mr. Krypt and his friends didn't show their hostile attitude toward us, did they?" said Mr. Hrdj as retold by Mrs. Sht.

My visit to Jodhog at that time gave a different impression from the one I did in the last eight months. I was so happy to hear about Mr. Hrdj's response from Mrs. Sht. I thought that the door of reconciliation began to open and the community activities would resume actively. It was a kind of fruit of our hard effort to re-generate the community for a long time.

I couldn't wait to see Mr. Hrdj's response. I tried to contact him via short message service (SMS) to know where he was. I just wanted to pay a visit to him and know his response from his expression. Mr. Hrdj answered my short message service and we made an appointment to meet.

Mr. Hrdj and I agreed on the appointment. On July 20, 2012, I went to his house. Unlike his cold welcome that I used to see whenever I visited his house until then, he

was right in front of the door of his house to welcome me enthusiastically. I avoided talking about the problems around the community. I just asked him about some trivial things, such as his own activity since we met last time. As we talked further, he really showed his warm friendship. What Mrs. Sht said about the change of his attitude was true.

“How are you, *Mas Hrdj*?” I greeted him to open conversation. “I’m fine. It’s been a while since I have seen you, *Mas Johan*, I hope everything is okay with you. I’m sorry, I was very busy recently,” said Mr. Hrdj as he shook my hand firmly. Then, we talked about family and trivial matters with his wife beside him until 21:00. I asked for their permission to go home. I was more and more convinced at the time that the situation had significantly improved. Even though I did not even dare to mention “Mr. Kryt” or even “Ngirengireng” in front of Mr. Hrdj, I perceived my visit was so promising.

After the visit to Jodhog, my expectation on the community togetherness grew again. Conflict reconciliation based on a model of two-way open communication where each actor openly confronts their arguments against other actors as I have read in certain literature (i.e. Carpenter & Kennedy, 1988; Coyle, Diane & Patrick, 2009) was arguably inapplicable in Daleman case. However, Mr. Hrdj’s positive response was enough for me to ensure that it would be easier for me to reach again my farmer friends of Jodhog. Based on my experience of the interaction with them, I knew that I did not have to waste time to meet everyone in Jodhog. All I had to do was to meet some key actors, and the rest would follow them. My relationship with them would depend on my relationship with their leaders.

After they stopped showing their hostile attitude and began to have a good will to rebuild the relationship, I went willingly to visit some key figures of Ngirengireng and Jodhog to get them informed about the visit of Mr. Tsugi in the following week. Although the plan of Mr. Tsugi’s visit was confirmed a couple of months ago, I only dared to tell them about it on that time. I hoped that the Jodhog and Ngirengireng people

would use this moment of his visit to have reconciliation. As I had expected, they would pleasantly welcome Mr. Tsugi together. I talked about my expectation to Mr. Kryt and Mr. Hrdj in separate meetings. Enthusiastically, both of them gave positive response and would prepare to welcome the visit of Mr. Tsugi. However, it seemed that I expected too much. Although Ngirengireng people would like to hold a welcome ceremony with Jodhog people, but Jodhog people were not willing to hold the welcome ceremony together with Ngirengireng people.

On July 28, 2012, according to Mr. Kryt's and Mr. Ag's consent, I visited Ngirengireng to inform them about the arrival of Mr. Tsugi. We met in Mr. Ag's house, where I told the plan. In front of Mr. Kryt, Mr. Rtn, and Mr. Mudji, I explained, "Dear friends, Mr. Tsugi will come here next month. What is your plan? I will go to Jodhog, too, to inform this plan. I hope we can arrange this event together." "We're ready at any time. Whether we hold the ceremony here or in Jodhog is not a problem," Mr. Rtn responded passionately. The others expressed their support. "Well, I will tell to the *Mas* Hrdj and his friends in Jodhog to find out more," I said to them. Everything seemed all right, so we turned to casual conversation about their mushroom business. On the next day, I visited Jodhog to inform the arrival of Mr. Tsugi. I went to Mr. Hrdj's house first and meet him. I said to him, "*Mas* Hrdj ... the mid of next month, Mr. Tsugi will visit here, he wanted to know about all of you here, what I can do for the preparation?" "Oh, yes. When? When will he come?", Mr. Hrdj responded. I explained, "Around August 16. He wanted to see celebration of the Indonesia's Independence Day here on August 17; I told our friends in Ngirengireng about this. They expressed their readiness to welcome him. What do you think if we arrange together the welcoming party as we did before?" Surprisingly, he replied, "I'm happy he will come here, but it would be better to welcome him here, in Jodhog. We can do it by ourselves." His answer took me by surprise. Unwilling to argue in such a situation, I just said yes, and we talked about technical things. I thought it would be better for me not to respond to Mr. Hrdj at the time.

I expected too much, indeed. I thought there was no problem anymore within the community. But, I was wrong. More efforts were needed just to achieve togetherness, even for a meeting of a welcoming party. I had no choice but had to let them prepare the welcoming party as they wanted. Sometimes I needed to let everything go and I did not

want to make new problems that could disrupt my newly improved relationship with Mr. Hrdj.

Fortunately, Mr. Tsugi was very impressed and felt honored by the Daleman community, both in Jodhog and Ngirengireng. All of them wanted to specially greet him. They showed same the respect and love for Mr. Tsugi, but each community welcomed him separately. For two weeks, I had to go to and from between Ngirengireng and Jodhog to assist their respective welcoming parties. It was I who coordinated the two communities, not they themselves. According to their respective plan, Ngirengireng would welcome their guest at night on August 16 until the next morning, while Jodhog would do so the next day. What a strange situation it was that only 4 km distance separated the two hamlets, but it seemed like hundreds of kilometers away. The psychological separation of the two hamlets really had frustrated me.

I felt more comfort to have relations with the people in Ngirengireng rather than that of Jodhog although I knew Jodhog people first as Daleman community. I found it easier to get associated and to talk with Ngirengireng people than Jodhog people. So I decided to encourage Ngirengireng people to attend the welcoming ceremony in Jodhog.

On August 10, 2012, I contacted Mr. Kryt by phone to discuss the plan to hold the welcome ceremony. Trying not to hurt his feelings, I begged him to attend the welcoming party in Jodhog in the morning and took Mr. Tsugi from Ngirengireng to Jodhog. “*Mas Kryt, Would you please go to Jodhog after the ceremony in Ngirengireng? How would Mr. Tsugi feel when he hears that there is hostility amongst the members of the community?*”, I asked him. “Take it easy, mas. I will take Mr. Tsugi to Jodhog and attend the ceremony there. It’s no problem”, he said. I felt so relieved to hear that.

As planned before, on August 16, Mr. Tsugi arrived at Ngirengireng and attended the welcoming party in the evening. His arrival in Ngirengireng was celebrated in the local celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day. The people of Ngirengireng enthusiastically welcomed Mr. Tsugi. They shook his hand one by one. Showing

hospitality, they asked him to sit in front row. The front row seats of a forum in Javanese were generally reserved for the honored guests. As a complement honor, they gave Mr. Tsugi the conical peak of a *tumpeng* (cone-shaped ritual rice). In that occasion, Mr. Tsugi expressed his appreciation for the togetherness of Ngirengireng people.

In a yard without roof where the party was held, Mr. Syt (aged 62), a chairman of the event, asked Mr. Tsugi to deliver a speech. "I appreciate the togetherness spirit of Ngirengireng people. And I hope that this spirit could be preserved. In the age of vast progress, togetherness is a rarity. I hope this togetherness would be maintained all the time. Thank you," Mr. Tsugi concluded his speech after he introduced himself and his ideas in simple but comical style to the audience. Though not verbally conveyed, the praise from Mr. Tsugi was appreciated by the audience, and they were very happy to hear it. Moreover, they were proud of welcoming their special guest.

As the night was getting late, hospitable and friendly conversation with Mr. Tsugi was then moved to Mr. Kryt's house. Mr. Rtn, Mr. Rodhi, Mr. Ag, and some young farmers joined in. We talked casually until late that night, without mentioning the community conflict or any embarrassing event. We talked more about mushrooms while enjoying local snacks.

After spending the night in Ngirengireng, Mr. Tsugi departed to Jodhog at 9:30 in the next morning to fulfill his promise with the farmers there. Taking two cars with some friends from Ngirengireng, I accompanied Mr. Tsugi to Jodhog. The distance between Ngirengireng and Jodhog was only 4.5 km, so it took only a few minutes to reach Jodhog. We headed to Mrs. Sht's house. At 9:25 a.m. on August 17, we arrived at Mrs. Sht's house where Jodhog people waited for us. They had been waiting patiently from 8:20 a.m. in the morning. About 45 people, all of whom are farmers, attended the event. They preferred to attend the event instead of the Independence Day celebration in the village office. Although they had busy schedules, they had no objection to arrange a welcoming party for their guest. That was how they expressed their enthusiasm to greet Mr. Tsugi, a man who they honored.

We got out of the cars and, in front of our car door, Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Shr, and Mr .Yl, Mr and Mrs. Sht and other friends in Jodhog were standing to warmly welcome us, including our Ngirengireng friends, with shaking hands. It seemed that nothing had happened between them. Mr. Tsugi was greeted by Mr. Hrdj with a short welcoming speech. After hospitable and friendly talks, Mr. Tsugi was asked to deliver speech.

As I predicted, Mr. Tsugi emphasized the importance of unity and integration of the community as his opening remarks. “I heard that you had some problems concerning how to manage community. In spite of the problems, I hope that this community can maintain togetherness and achieve our common goals. It’s common to have conflict in any relationship, but experiences of conflict are not a hindrance to building our togetherness and achieving the common goals. Conflict gives us opportunities to enhance togetherness if we can overcome.” I translated his English speech into Javanese without any change in meaning and intention.

Frankly speaking, I was worried about Mr. Tsugi’s revealing the hostility amongst the community bluntly before the audience when he delivered his speech. I myself did not dare to touch on that problem anymore. However, I thanked him for his blunt speech about what really happened in the community. I tried to translate his speech explicitly and bluntly. Some of the audience looked so embarrassed to hear his speech. It seemed to me that Mr. Hrdj and Mr. Kryt felt uncomfortable to hear his speech. In spite of the inconvenience caused by Mr. Tsugi’s speech, Mr. Hrdj remained seated to continue to attend the meeting until the meeting ended. Mr. Kryt, however, went to the car and slept there. He got out the car when the lunch began. Mr. Kryt and Hrdj did not say hello and talk to each other although, and they avoided having an eye contact. I did not understand how Mr. Kryt could behave in such a way. I decided to leave him alone

The ceremony in Jodhog went on successfully and excitingly. After Mr. Tsugi’s speech, one of the community members reported the progress of the community they made. They also demonstrated their skill in developing fertilizing bacteria before Mr.

Tsugi. After a session of question and answer on the agricultural practice in Java and Japan, the meeting was closed with lunch.

The meeting in Jodhog ended at 14.30. After the closing ceremony, Mr. Tsugi and I went back to Yogyakarta along with the Ngirengireng people on their way back home. On my way back to Yogyakarta, I contacted Mr. Kryt and Hrdj by phone to ask their impression about the visit of Mr. Tsugi.

“Thank you *Mas* Kryt for organizing the meeting. What is your impression about the meeting?”, I asked him. “It was really good. Everybody was happy with that. My regard to Mr. Tsugi”, he answered. “*Mas* Kryt, where are you? What do you think about the two-day visit ceremony?” I asked him. “It was good, thank you,” he said. Being not prejudiced, I was happy to hear what they said.

I planned to bring reconciliation between Mr. Hrdj and Mr. Kryt. On my phone call, I cordially invited them to attend a dinner with Mr. Tsugi and the family members of the late Edy Tanto in Yogyakarta. Both of them agreed and promised to go to the dinner. I did not arrange the dinner for entertaining Mr. Tsugi only, but actually I also planned to arrange a reunion meeting between Mr. Hrdj and Mr. Kryt for the purpose of reconciliation. I hoped that they could cope with their uncomfortable feeling toward each other in such an informal meeting. I planned to arrange an informal but important meeting between these conflicting community members with Mr. Tsugi, Mr. Knj, and the members of Edy Tanto family. These people are the ones Mr. Hrdj and Kryt greatly respected. It was such a precious moment to bring these opposing figures to sit at one table, and it would be a strategic step to bring peace between Mr. Kryt and Mr. Hrdj. The presence of Mr. Tsugi, Mr. Kunc, and the family members of Edy Tanto reminded them of the intimacy they once had in the community.

At 19:15 on that day Mr. Tsugi, Edy Tanto’s family and I arrived at “*Gudeg Sagan*”, a Javanese traditional restaurant in the corner of the city of Yogyakarta. As Mr. Kryt and Mr. Hrdj had not come yet, we waited for them while talking on any matter. 30

minutes later, Mr. Kryt arrived and joined the table. He came with his family, but not with Mr. Hrdj. I asked him where Mr. Hrdj was, but he did not know. He asked me where Mr. Hrdj was, instead. His remark made me notice that they did not contact each other to arrange their attendance in the dinner. I asked Mr. Kryt to call Mr. Hrdj, but he did not pick up the phone. Then, I gave my phone to Mr. Kryt and asked him to contact Mr. Hrdj. Upon my prediction, Mr. Hrdj picked up the phone and stated that he could not go to the dinner because he had many things to deal with. He did not come to the dinner although he promised to. Until the dinner was over, Mr. Hrdj did not appear.

I found that the reconciliation between Mr. Hrdj and Kryt had not been attained, yet. Although Mr. Hrdj did not show hostility to Mr. Kryt, he chose to avoid meeting with Mr. Kryt, even in an informal meeting in which the conflict and the hurt feelings amongst them would never be discussed obviously. Not answering Mr. Kryt's phone call indicated that Mr. Hrdj avoided meeting Mr. Kryt. The dinner arranged to solve the dispute and bring reconciliation between Mr. Hrdj and Mr. Kryt bore no fruit. This precious moment went by in vain.

Not wanting to miss this precious moment any longer, I still made an effort to bring reconciliation between these two conflicting figures. Five days later, I visited Mr. Hrdj with Mr. Kryt. The purpose of our visit was to open an access of meeting between these two community members.

In August 22, 2012, I went to Jodhog with Mr. Kryt to see Mr. Hrdj without any appointment before. We brought with us the mushroom harvested from the plantation in Ngirengireng as a gift for Mr. Hrdj's family. When Mr. Hrdj opened the door, he was shocked to see us in front of the door. "Oh my God, what a surprise to see both of you come here. Please, come in", said Mr. Hrdj. as he asked us to come into his house in a hurry. We started conversation by saying hello and giving the mushroom as a gift to Mr. Hrdj. Mr. Kryt gave the gift himself. He said, "Here it is. Please, try this mushroom, Pak. This is the biggest size that I have ever cultivated. I bring this kind of mushroom especially for your family." Mr. Kryt opened the plastic bag and took the best twelve mushrooms in a jumbo size (the diameter was about 20 cm) and gave them to Mr. Hrdj. Then, in

a friendly manner, Mr.Hrdj received the jumbo mushrooms and said, “What big mushrooms they are! I have never seen this type of size in the market. Thank you very much for the mushrooms, Mas. Wow, they’re too many for me! I will cook them tomorrow. They must be delicious.” Mr. Hrdj asked his wife to meet the guests and showed the gift. “Mam, these are the gift from *Mas*. Kryt for our family,” said Mr. Hrdj handing in the mushrooms to his wife. “Thank you, *Mas*,” said Mrs. Hrdj, taking the gift and bringing them into the kitchen.” We had a talk until late that night. We did not touch on the conflict. We went home too late that night as we enjoyed engaging in an interesting talk.

The mushroom culture given by Mr. Kryt to Mr. Hrdj brought about a good impact on their relationship. The mushrooms that blossomed only in twelve days were able to melt the two hearts, which had been frozen for a dozen of months. While the seed of mushrooms once could attract Mr. Yl and Mr. Sgd to pay a visit to Ngirengireng after a long enmity, the stalk of the mushroom was able to melt the Jodhog figures’ frozen hearts. The white leaves of the mushrooms were able to bring reconciliation to the two conflicting community members.

In Javanese culture, it is a kind of local wisdom for the younger people to open the conversation of reconciliation with older people. The recovery of the relationship within this community relied heavily on the relationship between the two leading figures. The age determined a social position in a traditional relation norm in a Javanese village. Considering the local wisdom, I suggested that Mr. Kryt, who was much younger than Mr. Hrdj actively open contact with Mr. Hrdj in any way to recreate relationship access. Mr. Kryt should take every chance he had to talk and get associated with Mr. Hrdj.

“Since you are younger, it would be better if you continually try to contact him, try to always communicate with him,” I said to Mr. Kryt on our way back to Ngirengireng. “Yeah, I know. I’ll try to contact him and re-establish our relationship as far as I can,” said Mr. Kryt. He added, “You know, it’s not easy for me to do so, but I’ll try to give in to him”.

In August 2012, the reunion of the two figures of the Daleman community who

had been separated by a prejudice barrier for a long time indicated a new hope for the unity and cooperation. Their warm conversation was like fresh air in the hot and humid community space. The most significant result of the meeting was the willingness of the influencing key figures to meet and work together hand in hand.

3-7. Towards post-conflict community reintegration

The recovery of relationship between the two conflicting figures of the community created good-smelling fragrance to the community. The community members did not only have informal meeting, but they also redeveloped some community activities after the reconciliation of these two key figures. The activities included inter-farmers visit, exchange of information, and cooperation in agricultural business. Jodhog and Ngirengireng people made an effort to focus on their previous goal of cooperation they had established before.

Since the meeting of the two key figures of the community in Jodhog in the mid of August 2012, the relationship between the two hamlets was getting better. It was a kind of interpersonal process. I did not notice exactly when the relation improved, but Mr. Kryt and Mr. Hrdj clearly had rebuilt their friendship. I heard that they often visited each other. Their visit to each other made their relation closer.

On September 28, 2012, I went to Ngirengireng and visited Mr. Kryt's house. But he was not there. Usually he was always available when I came to his house, even when I did not inform my visit in advance. "He went out since the afternoon to meet Mr. Hrdj," said his wife, Mrs. Ls (39). "It's okay. I just drop by as usual. I'll come again next time," I answered, asking her permission to go to Mr. Mdj's house. Although I did not meet Mr. Kryt, I was happy to hear that Mr. Kryt kept his promise to restore his friendship with Mr. Hrdj.

The exchange of visit of the two key figures did not only bear the fruit of friendship, but it also resulted in some business plans. Mr. Hrdj took part in building the

consumer network, while Mr. Kryt supplied special mushrooms to sell. Mr. Hrdj offered himself to become the marketing representative of the mushrooms and its seeds to his consumers. Mr. Hrdj bought the mushrooms from Ngirengireng for resale to his rice consumers.

On October 2, 2012, when I arrived at Ngirengireng. A truck loaded with mushroom seeds was ready to depart from Ngirengireng plantation. “What is the truck loaded with?” I asked Mr. Rtn as I parked my motorcycle. “Mushroom seeds. It will be transported to Purworejo (Purworejo is a district in Central Java Province, it’s bordered with Yogyakarta Special Region). This truck will carry 5000 log bags of mushrooms,” explained Mr. Rtn. “Oh, what a big order it is. Who ordered it?” I wanted to know. “Purworejo farmers ordered it. They are Mr. Hrdj’s new customers. It is the second order this week,” explained Mr. Rtn proudly. I was so surprised to hear his explanation. If it was the second order, it meant that 6000 log bags had been sent to Purworejo this week. “Wow, what a huge quantity of mushroom it is! How can they provide the mushroom seeds to meet the great number of the order?” I asked Mr. Ag who was standing next to Mr. Rtn. “To meet such an order, we have to work over time, day and night. Even right now, we are still working on supplying the seeds as we haven’t finished yet providing the need of seeds as ordered. Within four days, we have to send 3000 more log bags to Klaten,” said Mr. Ag. “Wow, this means that you have to work over time,” I affirmed Mr. Ag’s statement. “I think that we need a machine to work on this project. It seems to me that it is a tiring work if it is done manually,” suggested Mr. Ag. His suggestion made sense as the workers seemed to be exhausted and lacked sleep. I was happy to hear the vast progress of their business.

It seemed to me that the promising synergy amongst the community was born. It should be admitted that Mr. Hrdj’s link to consumers spread widely. Inter-city and even inter-province consumers were ready to support his business. This market network potential would strengthen the mushroom cultivation in Ngirengireng. Having been facilitated by Mr. Hrdj, the mushroom production in Ngirengireng found its path to the wider market.

On October 18, 2012, I visited Mrs. Sht’s family in Jodhog to say farewell as I had to go to Japan for awhile and to entrust the community to Jodhog people. Mrs. Sht was looking forward to my arrival. She was telling a story about the

positive progress of what happened in the community though I did not ask her. “Mr. Hrdj and Mr. Kryt had reconciled. It is such good news. They are running a business together. Mr. Hrdj put much product order from Ngirengireng, meaning that they are in harmony and peace. I am glad to hear that,” said Mrs. Sht. “I am glad too to hear that. I really am. What about other Jodhog people’s response?” I asked her, finding out what her response was. “All of them are glad to hear that. We hope that this cooperation can last forever,” said Mrs. Sht. It seemed to me that Mrs. Sht’s response represented other Jodhog people’s response. I hoped that I was not wrong in estimating their response.

As the work of providing the mushroom seed was increasing according to the quantity of order which also drastically increasing, the workers had to improve their product performance. Manual system of producing the log bags for the mushroom seeds should be changed into the system of using a machine. Two weeks later, a unit of custom-made log bag machine arrived in the Ngirengireng mushroom cultivation room.

On October 21, 2012, I visited Ngirengireng to say farewell of my leave for Japan as I did two days ago in Jodhog and to meet Mr. Kryt to preserve the cooperation within the community. I went right away to the mushroom cultivation field behind Mr. Kryt’s house. I found some Jodhog people made a mushroom log. After having a talk with Mr. Kryt, I got closer to the log machine which was being operated by Mr. Rtn. This machine was so shiny. “It is a new machine, isn’t it? How much did it cost?” I asked Mr. Rtn. “Yes, it is brand new. It is so helpful that I can make logs more quickly. I don’t know how much it costs,” answered Mr. Rtn. “How can’t you know the price?” I teased him. “I really don’t know how much it costs. Mr. Hrdj gave it to us,” answered Mr. Rtn. Beyond my thought, this machine was given by Mr. Hrdj free of charge for the Ngirengireng mushroom plantation. I was so glad to hear the development of their cooperation.

The mushroom business cooperation between Mr. Hrdj and Ngirengireng people was an obvious evidence of the improving relation between the key figures in the community. Not only Mr. Kryt and Hrdj, but also other people from Ngirengireng and Jodhog were involved in the mushroom business. The good mutual cooperation between

these two key figures was a generator encouraging the involvement of more community members.

The mushroom business cooperation was the meeting point of the two conflicting figures who were willing to reconcile, while the increasing quantity of mushroom orders was the result of the other synergy. Although the cooperation was in the business practice, its process indicated the significant orientation, which is productivity. Productivity in relations gave impact on the productivity of the working performance and financial profit. It could be observed through the increasing orders of the mushrooms in Ngirengireng and Mr. Hrdj's marketing network.

3-8. Regaining the spirit and goal of the community

As the time went by, the situation in the community was improving. It seemed to me that the Ngirengireng and Jodhog people again enjoyed peaceful community relations. The positive impact of the cooperation was felt by the community members who ran the mushroom business, and experienced in other spaces of the community in general. More Jodhog people visited Ngirengireng and the other way around. Some of them paid informal visits to each other, while some others met for the business purpose. Like Mr. Yl, Mrs. Sht, and Mr. Nrc, some Jodhog people joined the mushroom business and learned freely how to cultivate mushrooms in Ngirengireng.

The relation between Jodhog and Ngirengireng people grew stronger. Never did the previous conflicts in the past shadow their improving relationship. Their concern was not only for the mushroom business, but it also touched on the community activities that had been ignored for a long time. They started resuming the community activities that they had initiated before. I did not know exactly when they began to resume the community activities, but they had exchanged some important information on agriculture and other activities.

On October 29, 2012, I was invited by Mr. Shr by phone to attend the welcoming ceremony on the visit of some farmers from Klaten to Daleman community on November 3, 2012. He said, "Good afternoon. Would you please come to Mrs. Sht's house in Jodhog to attend a ceremony on Saturday at 9 o'clock!" he said on the phone. "What ceremony?" I responded. "Well, some farmers from Klaten are going to have a comparative study on agriculture. So we have to welcome them. If you are free at that time, please come!" answered Mr. Shr. "Who will attend the welcoming ceremony?" I asked him anxiously to find out whether Ngirengireng people were also invited to take part. "All of us will attend the ceremony," said Mr. Shr. "Oh really? Do you mean that *Mas* Krypt and his friends in Ngirengireng are also invited to attend the ceremony?" I wondered. "Yes, of course, I do," he answered convincingly. I was relieved to hear Mr. Shr's answer. I perceived that Daleman community had made vast progress. I told him that I would go to the meeting although it was a suddenly-informed invitation and I never knew how they organized the meeting. "I will be coming, see you there," I answered and stopped the phone.

I was convinced that what happened in the community was real. It was not just imaginings of my own perception. The community members were willing to develop their cooperation sincerely. Not only did they develop the mutual cooperation in the mushroom business, but they also diversified other community activities in a more intensive way. Beyond my thoughts, they had succeeded in initiating some cooperation and activities. The comparative study between the community and farmers from Klaten was undeniable proof that the cooperation in the community developed rapidly and deeply.

On November 3, what Mr. Sht had told me by phone about the comparative study was really fulfilled. Although the clouds hung over the sky that morning, all community members from Ngirengireng and Jodhog had been there to attend the comparative study meeting. At 8:50, about 60 people gathered readily to welcome the guests from Klaten who were expected to come at 9:00. While waiting for the guests, they talked to each other without any suspicion or restriction of psychological barrier between Ngirengireng and Jodhog. While some of them were having a talk, others were occupied with preparing some equipment used for the agricultural demonstration. They planned to present some community members' skills, such as how to produce liquid organic

fertilizer and how to cultivate rice seeds. They also displayed some photos and certificates of award given by the community partners. The guests came late. At 10:15, they arrived. Shaking hands, the community members both from Jodhog and Ngirengireng welcomed and asked them to enjoy refreshments. After some ceremonial activities were done, the floor was given to Daleman farmers to demonstrate their organic agricultural expertise to the guests. Then, a question and answer session was given to the guests. In this session, Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Sht, Mr. Nrc and other community members presented their ideas and answered the questions. Enjoying the meeting, they felt that the time ran so fast. It was 14:30 and they decided to end and closed the meeting with lunch. I really enjoyed the meeting. I was proud of this beloved community since its members could regain the collaborative spirit of the community.

It seemed to me that the positive spirit of the community grew stronger. Not only were they willing to reconcile, but they also made an effort to maintain their togetherness. Their initiative and creativity to regain their unity could be felt in the community activities, which they carried out sincerely. The key figures' mature attitude to end the conflict and forget the bitterness resulting from the previous enmity showed that this community was growing mature. It seemed that the great desire of the community members to develop togetherness would be the primary motive of the community. They intended to gain achievement together in a wider arena and greater competition through friendly cooperation.

Although the guests had left the meeting and said good bye, they were still gathered together to discuss the next plan of taking part in the national competition of the organic famer community. It was such another surprise for me. Suddenly Mr. Hrdj, Kryt, Mrs. Sht and other farmers arranged their seats to discuss welcoming the national jury council who were going to assess the community. Mr. Hrdj and Mr. Sgd opened the discussion by stating that they had become enrolled as the participants of the competition.

Their participation in the competition was facilitated by the Office of Agriculture in Bantul regent. "I just want to get all of you informed that, two weeks ago, I contacted the Office of Agriculture to confirm our participation in the national

competition of organic farmer community,” Mr. Hrdj delivered his opening words. “All the necessary documents concerning the participation in the competition have been handed in to the committee. What we have to do next is to make preparation for the juries’ visit for assessment. The juries are going to visit on November 18, 2013, but they do not tell us exactly what time they will arrive. We have to prepare for their visit the whole day. Do you have any idea of what we are going to do to welcome the juries?” added Mr. Sgd.

All the community members, from Jodhog and Ngirengireng, gave their suggestions. It seemed to me that they actually had discussed it before, so the discussion did not take an excessive time. Some technical suggestions had been given to prepare the welcoming ceremony and the job description of every department had been distributed. I just gave them support as I would not be there when the welcoming ceremony was held. “I am sorry that I cannot attend the welcoming ceremony. I just wish you luck,” I stated. “It’s okay, *Mas*. We can understand that are very busy. I just need your help to send the documentary team to record this event,” stated Mr. Kryt. Now, I was just an observer as they were able to do their best to have mutual cooperation. I found that this community had regained its collective spirit.

As a matter of fact I liked to attend every event they held. Involving in their togetherness reminded me of their initial hard effort to establish the community movement. As I was on my two-week duty in Japan, I could not monitor the dynamics of the community activities, including some important and great events. What I could do was just send my messages by SMS (short message service) to Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Rtn, and Mr. Sgd to encourage them. On the day of the assessment of the juries, I would take the chance to call them from Japan just to encourage them and give some technical direction if they asked.

The dream came true when I came back to Indonesia on December 12, 2012, and was informed that the Daleman organic farmer community won the third place in the national competition of organic farming communities. It was a kind of fantastic surprise

that I had not imagined before. All the community members were proud of that achievement.

“Mas, we became the third place winner. We were awarded a tractor and some cash money. We are going to celebrate this achievement on December 16. Would you please come to the celebration?” Mr. Sgd told me on the phone excitedly. *“I am glad to hear that. I will come. Thank you for this good news,”* I answered enthusiastically. I went to celebrate the achievement exactly on the day they planned. A small party was held to celebrate this achievement. Besides reviewing the chronological order of the assessment done by the competition juries who came to that village, we were also discussing the awards and what they would do with the awards for the community.

I never imagined that Daleman community would take part in a national competition. Actually, it was more than enough for me if the community movement progressed according to their goals without any conflict. However, I was so excited to hear that it was their own sincere initiative to take part in the competition, which was supported and appreciated by all members of the community. At this point, I could understand what was meant by this victory for them.

They had regained the meeting point to synergize. At the meeting point they had a chat with each other. It was actually such “a business meeting” run in an informal way where gratitude and hospitality blended in. I was sure that this was the beginning of the real reintegration. In this step, they would reinvent the strength of their togetherness.

3-9. Enhancing togetherness through reflective process

The situation of the community was getting better since the key figures reached reconciliation and started to collaborate in business. Furthermore, the award of the national competition of the organic farmer community they had achieved strengthened their cooperation. They reactivated the community’s meetings and discussion. They regained the space to discuss their experience and plan although the discussion was held irregularly and even spontaneously. The Daleman community was getting more active

with various activities of meetings amongst its members. In these meetings, important things were discussed and togetherness of the members was enhanced.

From October 2012 to January 2013 seven meetings were held. The agenda of the meetings were focused on the reinforcement of the community's togetherness. Although the meetings were not organized structurally as it was held in the beginning of the community movement, the idea to develop the community emerged in their discussion.

On February 2, 2013, I took a chance to attend the community meeting. The meeting was held in Mr. Mrd's house in Jodhog and was attended by 40 farmers from Ngirengireng and Jodhog. In the beginning of the meeting, no points of agenda of the discussion were informed. However, the important topics concerning the community were accidentally explored in the discussion. One of them was what Mr. Sgd stated, "We are known as the third place winner of the national competition. It is awesome. But we must not be satisfied with this achievement. To maintain the position is more difficult than to achieve it. It is true, isn't it?" It was the statement. I was looking forward in the midst of the boring ceremonial remarks. I supported Mr. Sgd by stating, "What Mr. Sgd said is right. To maintain the position is more difficult than to achieve it. There is no other choice except maintaining what we have achieved and keep on making vast progress in the community movement. Mr. Kryt added, "It is absolutely right. Sometimes we are too proud of and satisfied with our achievement, which actually will stop us from working harder. If we achieve the third place this year, we must be the second or first place next year. We must achieve it," Mr Sgd affirmed Mr. Kryt's statement. The discussion continued until the midnight. It could be inferred that they decided to reach more achievement for community. The community should be better and better in its work performance. "We will never forget what we have planned because it really bears some fruits of success," said Mr. Mrd. The meeting ended at 23:10, and then we went home. Although the meeting was in the form of informal discussion, it represented the togetherness within the community. No geographical boundaries and psychological barrier between the Jodhog and Ngirengireng people appeared in their discussion.

I was tempted to ask the community members to have reflection on the community changes to review the development. I offered to give the record of the community story to them. Seeing that it was not the right moment and thinking that it

was too risky for them to review the record, I suspended my suggestion of having reflection. It was not wise to have reflection on the community while they were just in the beginning of the reconciliation after the conflict and prejudice. I postponed the idea of reflection on the community until I found the right moment.

It seemed to me that there was no more conflicting tendency in the development of the community's situation. Everything went on progressively. The mushroom business cooperation also made vast progress. The demand for mushrooms and its seeds from customers was increasing. There was no significant problem except the limited production of mushrooms, which was not able to fulfill the increasing demand. More participants joined the community's agricultural activities. Not only Jodhog people, but now also more Ngirengireng farmers came to the compost cultivating and pesticide houses. Besides making compost and organic pesticide, the farmers from the both villages dropped in at the agricultural house just to say hello and to have an informal talk while spending their work's break time. That house of compost and pesticide became a place for informal meeting amongst the community members.

The social relation that once had been broken was re-knitted. As their fields are located side by side, these fields also became the medium for them to see each other. Their close relationship could be observed from their interaction in the field. They re-established some cooperation. They harvested the rice plant and dry season crops together happily without any feeling of the prejudice like what they felt about ten months ago.

I perceived that social intimacy amongst the community farmers recovered. On April 4, 2013, I dropped in at an area of Nopaten rice field to see Mr. Sgd, Mr. Yl, Mr. Mrd, and Mr. Ag. They were harvesting the crops together in Mr. Shr's field. Mr. Ag and Mr. Yl were operating a thresher machine, while some others taking the paddy from the mid of the field to be processed in the thresher machine. I just said hello as they were very busy, but I was glad to see that they could harvest the crops together. Such situation was really different from that of thirteen months ago when Jodhog people harvested their own crops, and so did

Ngirengireng people. They seemed to be able to work together in harmony and unity.

Later I found out that they did not only cooperate in the harvest, but they also worked together in the marketing of rice. They were willing to promote and sell their friends' rice. Whenever they could not meet the demand, they would offer their neighboring farmers' rice. They shared the market access together.

In the afternoon on April 28, 2013, when I visited Mr. Mrd family in Jodhog, I myself saw how they shared market access. In the middle of our conversation, Mr. Mrd's phone was ringing. "Yes, we have, how many kilos? Two quintal? Fine, I'll call you tomorrow," said Mr. Mrd on his cell phone. It was his customer who called him to order *Mentik wangi* rice. "Well, my customer wants to buy *Mentik wangi*. I don't have the stock," he explained to me. "Still, I will deliver the ordered rice. I think Mr. Mdj has the stock. It's no problem," Mr. Mrd added. "Well, when customer orders but we don't have ready stock, we find who has the stock. Is this how you work?" I asked him. "Yes, that's right. Recently we work this way. We find who has stock whenever the customer asks for rice. My customer is also their customer." "What about the price?" I inquired further. "The same price! I don't take any profit from friends. I sell it according to rice owner's price. When I have stocks, some friends market mine," Mr. Mrd explained. I got clearer picture of recent dynamics of how they also cooperated in rice marketing. "I do not take any profit from friend." That they did not increase the price of the rice as what Mr. Mrd did was a clear sign of how intensely the Daleman community had cooperation to their rice marketing.

Their harmonious relationship could be seen not only in their cooperation in the field but also in establishing and sharing the market hand in hand. The principle, "Not taking any profit from friends," signified that the spirit of helping each other and caring for one another that had been deeply rooted in Daleman community. Transactions with customers was not carried out for their own profit. They also shared customers with the other farmers in the community. It was a form of solidarity in business. It was a new form of the *gotong royong* spirit that had existed within the community. There came a time for the community members to have reflection to review the community's

development. It seemed to me that the right moment for the reflection had come. My intention to encourage the community to review their development of the movement would soon be fulfilled. I explored various strategies of how to make the reflection to become a motivating factor, instead of a source of problems, in the community

Learning from the previous reflection process that left a long “homework” within the community, I needed to reconsider very carefully how the reflection would be carried out. Based on the story of the community I had written, I would design the reflection in a smoothly ordered pattern and in a relaxed way. I could still feel the trauma of community conflict. So, I would never lead the reflection process in the reckless way as I did before.

The idea on the reflection method that crossed my mind was a method that prioritized positive appreciation for the story of the community movement. To put it a simpler way, I would invite all members of the community to view the successes that the community achieved, and then I would show them some handicaps they faced so far. In the next step, I would invite the community to trace back any background of events within community. The expected final result would be the growing awareness of the movement process within the community.

I elaborated further my ideas into the following several stages of scenario: (1) I would invite the community to review various achievements through several displays based on the daily notes I made; (2) not ignoring the conflicts that happened within the community, I would display some uncomfortable stories and their impacts within community; (3) I would encourage the community to discover connections between every achievement and any handicaps; and (4) I would ask the community to respond to what had happened as a form of reflection. Some photographs in my narrative based on the daily notes would be used in all of the stages. I hoped the model I had planned could work properly without any unnecessary problems or further challenges.

The community meeting I was looking forward to had finally come. On Saturday night on May 18, 2013, I attended the meeting held at Mrs. Sht's residence. About 32 participants attended the meeting. They almost reached the total number. The meeting's agenda was to discuss a cooperative proposal of a hotel in Bantul addressed to the community on rice supplying. I just listened to their conversation, which were mostly full of technical procedure. Before they came to the conclusion, I tried to interrupt the conversation with a suggestion. "I'm very pleased to see that all of you had made some progress and achievement as I observed from the discussion. It's a big honor for me to be part of community. I wanted to perpetuate what Mr. Sgd proposed in the last meeting at Mr. Mrd's house on February 2, 2013; to maintain is more difficult than to achieve. To reach this purpose, I planned to encourage you to keep improving yourselves by doing community reflection together, so that we can develop the positively-contributing factors for the community and put aside some damaging handicaps in the future." Everybody was silent. Then, Mr. Sgd nervously asked, "What do you mean by reflection? How do we do it?" "Reflection is reviewing what we had been done to determine the strategy for the future. We can take a brief view of our achievement and success and to find out what makes this achievement. We can learn, then, how to create situation that support our future achievements," I replied to Mr. Sgd's question. I just wanted to convince them that they did not have to be worried about what they were going to do like what happened in the past. "It's good, I guess. But, all we are going to do should not make any problem in the community. Please, think about it very carefully before we have reflection," said Mr. Hrdj in highly-spoken tone. He seemed to be worried about it. Hearing his statement, I tried to calm him down, "Of course, I will. We are going to carry on in a proper way; actually what we are going to do in reflection is to change events into meaning. Events are only mediums to explore a meaning. I myself will take the responsibility of the reflection. Would you please entrust this matter to me," I said. No question was raised. They seemed to agree with my statement.

Finally, they agreed that the reflection would be held in Mr. Hrdj's house on Saturday night on June 1, 2013. After the meeting ended, Mr. Hrdj and Sgd came to me in front of Mrs. Sht's house. Again, they begged me to be careful in encouraging farmers to have reflection. Mr. Sgd. said, "Please, try to create such reflection which does not bring about an uncomfortable situation." "I will. Don't worry about it," I convinced them.

Then came the time of the meeting. On June 1, 2013, we gathered at Mr. Hrdj's residence at 19:20. About 35 participants both from Jodhog and Ngirengireng attended the meeting and sat on the floor. Mr. Mrd and Rtn helped me to prepare LCD, laptop, and screen quickly. There was nothing to worry about in this meeting. They all seemed to be intimate and they experienced warm friendship. I saw some relaxed and enthusiastic faces. After Mr. Hrdj's opening remark, I started the reflection program with a statement, "It is our choice to keep on moving. The past has passed, but we can learn from the past. We will review together our progress through the simple presentation I've prepared. I hope there will be no blackout as it was 4 years ago when we watched the movie". Everyone burst into laughter when hearing my last sentence. Then, I displayed several pictures of the positive important events experienced by the community. First, I displayed the picture of an event in which they arranged a plan with Edy Tanto, followed by their first successful harvest, pictures of Edy Tanto and the community's guests, and the award of national competition that the community won. For about 35 minutes, I displayed and narrated those pictures. I asked for their responses. Mr. Rtn responded spontaneously, "Five years seems to be short, doesn't it. We do not look like we are now. I never imagined that we can be like what we are now." Mr. Mrd stated, "By making efforts and establishing the goal, we can reach what we want." "I am so deeply impressed with this community. We have many things to be proud of." Mr. Hrdj added. There were many other comments on what I had displayed. Most of the comments were about their pride and fascination with the process undertaken by the community. The first phase of reflection took place as I expected. I found no risky and

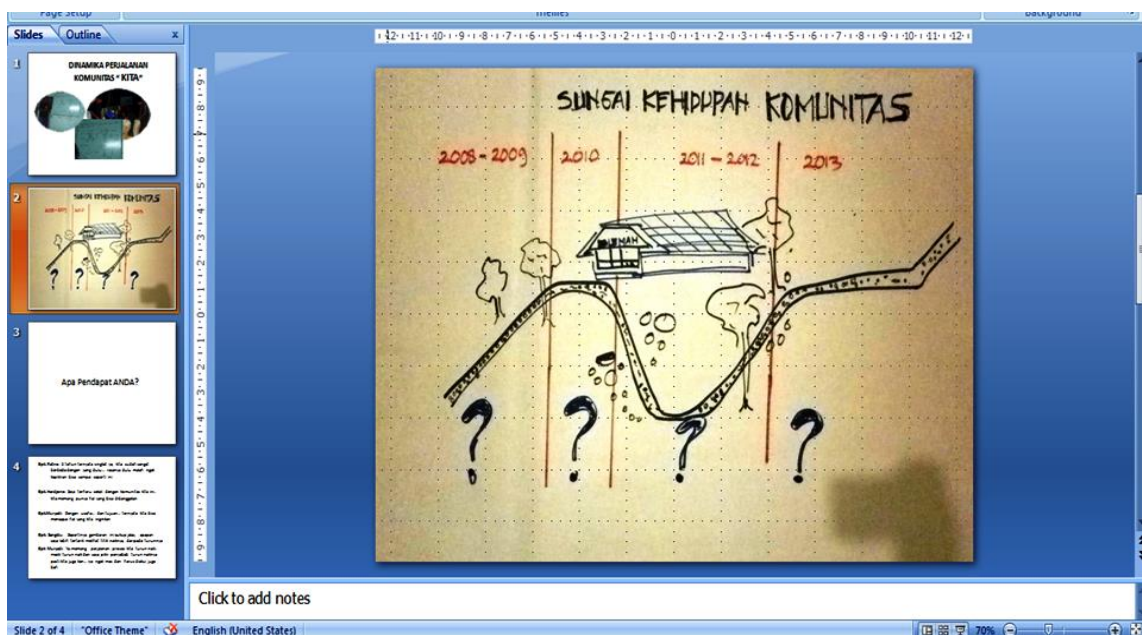


Photo 10. "The community river of life" slide

useless response which would damage the community. Positive affirmations dominated this stage. Taking the advantage of the prevailing positive atmosphere, I went on with the presentation of community's situation cycles. It was a chance to describe the real problems which once happened within the community. Full of confidence, yet still being cautious, I described a picture that represented the progress of the community situation. I called this picture "The community life river." After the audience gave comments on the first display, I presented the up-and-down dynamic of the situation of the community.

This display was entitled "The community river of life" (see Photo 10), a curving river symbolizing the dynamic of the community situation. From the left side, the river was flowing up. Then, it was running down, going flat and down and up again. I put some notes about the community situation according to the record that I had made on the turning points. Each point represented the founding the community, the programs planning, implementing the programs, enjoying the success, having tension, making reconciliation, and bringing peace. I also marked each point with the year. I never mentioned the word "conflict" in the annotation. I had explained about the River of Life for about 25 minutes. Then, I ended my presentation with this following remark, "Please, pay deep attention to my last display and give me your comments." They kept silent for a while, paying much attention on the last display. I hoped that nobody was offended by this River of Life. The first comment came from Mr. Sgd. "I think that this display is so clear. I prefer to focus the rising point rather than to see the descending point." The audience burst into laughter. "Thank you, Mr. Sgd. Are there any other comments?" I said. Mr. Mrd commented, "I realize that our community process was up and down. It was us who determined the process. We have to admit that not all of our goals have been achieved. There are some programs we still have to carry out." The audience laughed. I was waiting for Mr. Hrdj's and Kryt's comments. They seemed to remain silent and to have serious expressions on their faces. However, I didn't ask them to respond to what I had explained. It was 22:15. As there was no other comment, I decided to end the meeting. "If you have nothing to say, we can dismiss now. But, I think we are going to have another meeting next time. I have other interesting presentaitons," I ended the meeting and gave the forum to Mr. Hrdj as the host. "I think it's enough for the meeting tonight, and when are we going to meet again?" Mr. Hrdj asked the audience. Mr. Sgd responded immediately, "This program is important. What about tomorrow night? Do you have time?" Everyone agreed to meet again at the same venue to continue reflection program. Everyone said goodbye to each other, and I packed my presentation equipment

accompanied by Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Rtn and Mr. Kryt. “What do you think about this program?” I asked Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Rtn and Mr. Kryt. “It’s very good, *Mas*. Tomorrow we’ll meet again, right?” said Mr. Hrdj. “Sure, we will meet again here, tomorrow,” I said with relief. My anxiety was wiped out by Mr. Hrdj’s response “It’s very good, *Mas*.” It was more than enough for me.

The meeting to discuss the reflection made me relieved. I had no more worry about the relation among the community members. From their facial expressions, it could be inferred that they gave a positive response. They seemed relaxed and acted freely and friendly. Although the reflection was not done in detail, its message could be gained. I thought that the community would have gained much more progress if the reflection had been done in such a way.

There is another stage of reflection called “the real reflection”; that is, finding the meaning behind the sequence of all events. Every participant was expected to acquire the awareness of consequential relation of their actions and the situation created as a result of the actions. So everyone will be strengthened with positive spirit to welcome the future.

On Sunday afternoon, June 2, 2013, we met again at the same venue for a technical reason: it was a wide space with a sufficient electrical facility. At 18:30 I, assisted by Mr. Knc, was ready at Mr. Hrdj’s meeting hall to prepare presentation equipment. I asked Mr. Knc to record the meeting and take notes. As the participants had not come yet, I engaged in casual conversation with Mr. Hrdj’s family. At 19:00, the community members came in. They were Mr. Mrd, Mr. Shr, Mr. Rtn, and other participants. At 19:30, all participants were there. There were more community members who attended the program. They were 40 participants.

After Mr. Hrdj opened the meeting with brief remarks, I reviewed the displays and comments of the previous meeting. “Yesterday, we tried to review the process of our progress from the beginning to the end of the event. We received many comments from all of you,” I said while displaying excerpt of some comments in PowerPoint:

Mr. Rtn: “Five years seems to be short, doesn't it? We did not look like we are

now. I never imagined that we can be like what we are now

Mr. Hrdj : “I am so deeply impressed with this community. We have many things to be proud of”.

Mr. Mrd : “By making efforts and establishing the goal, we can reach what we want”.

Mr. Sgd: “I think that this figure is so clear. I prefer to focus the rising point rather than to see the descending point”.

Mr. Mrd: “I realize that our community process was up and down. It was us who determined the process. We have to admit that not all of our goals have been achieved. There are some programs we still have to carry out.

“Now, let’s continue our reflection process by paying much attention to the figure, ‘The community River of Life’ again,” I said as I displayed the picture (see Photo 11). “Please, take a look at the picture again carefully. We’ll try to inquire the causes of both up-and-down situation of the community. Think about what makes us reach the up turning, and what makes us fall on down turning. Please, watch it carefully,” I gave them a brief instruction. Thinking of the picture, the audience seemed to grasp the meaning of “River of Life”. Fifteen minutes had passed, I broke the silence, “You might comment freely on these events and figure out their causes.” Twenty minutes had passed and no one gave comments. “Come on,” I urged them. It was Mr. Yl who commented first, “Well, *Mas*, I think we were going up when we united, and were going down when we had dispute.” “Thank you, *Mas* Yl,” I appreciated his comment as I wrote it in PowerPoint, “Next, please.” Mrs.Sht commented, “It is a matter of communication, *Mas*. When our communication did not well function, we were going down. When we could maintain good communication, I believe, we would never go down.”

“Good,” I said and wrote her respond on the display. “Okay, is there any other?” To my surprise, Mr. Hrdj commented, “We were going up when we cared for each other, and we were going down when we ignored others.” “Thank you, *Mas* Har,” I said and wrote his comment. “When we were strong, we were going up. We went on going up when we focused on the objectives of our programs,” said Mr. Mrd. “Thank you, *Mas* Mrdj”, I said and wrote his comment. Then, for a moment the discussion paused, and it was replaced by silence. I tried to encourage the forum by commenting, “Come on, who else?” Mr. Ag raised his hand, “Our condition, whether we were going up or down, represented the state of our relationship. When we were in mutual cooperation and helped each other, we’re in good condition. But if we are not united for one reason or another, our condition would not be good.” “Thank you, *Mas* Ag,” I wrote his comment. There came a

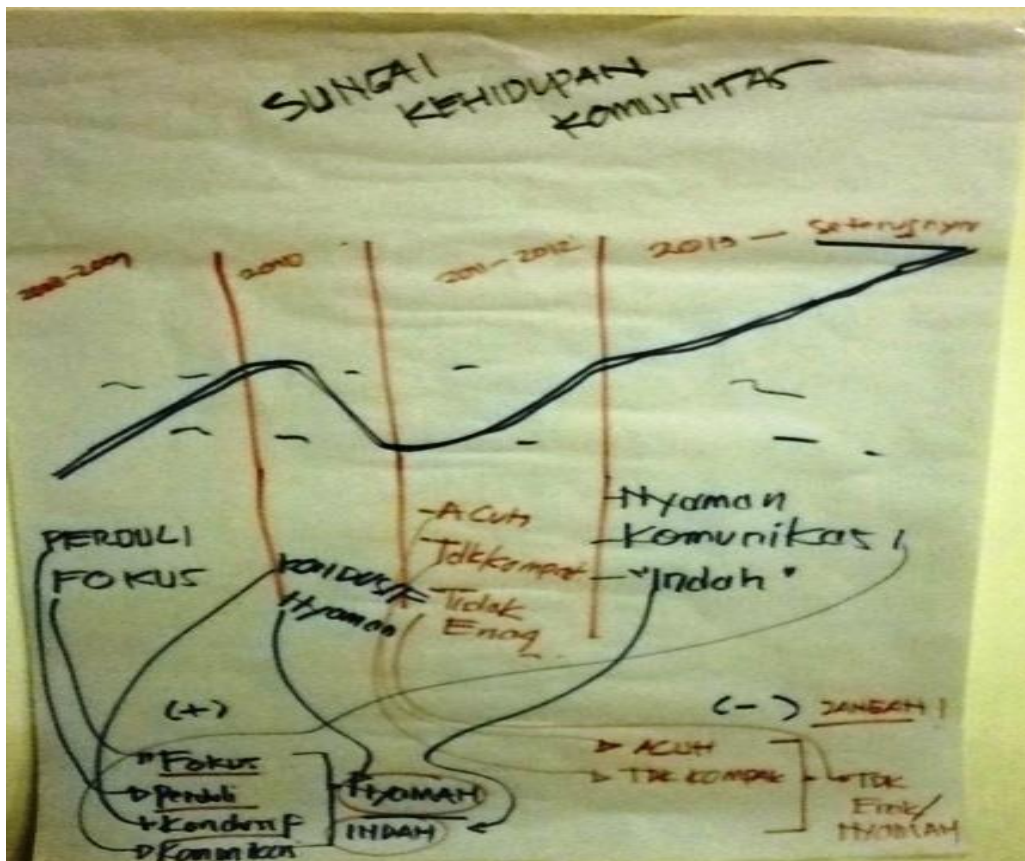


Photo11. Scratch paper of “The Community River of Life” discussion

silent pause again after Mr. Ag’s remark. I offered them the opportunity to comment, “Anyone else?” Mr. Sgd said, “I think it’s enough, Mas, our situation depended on what happened to us. When we had strong determination and focused on our goals, we would always create a productive situation within community, and the other way around.” “Thanks you. Now let’s review the comments I noted. If I ask anyone to ponder the displayed comment, just watch it. Do not give more comments.” Everyone focused on the display. To make a more productive atmosphere in the reflection meeting, I played the Javanese instrumental entitled *Irir-ilir* in low volume. *Irir-ilir* is a popular Javanese song in rural area that contains advices derived from Javanese philosophy and agricultural cycles. Almost every Javanese villager knows the meaning of this song. By this music, I wanted to create more relaxed and reflective atmosphere for them.

From the documented comments, the major subject in the sentences’ pattern is “we”, not “he or she” or “I”. “We” is a pronoun that semantically involves me, you, and

him or her in certain predicate. This majority showed that the comments focused more on the community rather than to a certain figure.

Giving them some time to ponder the picture, I turned to the next process. No further comment or analyses on the previous comments were delivered. However, I said to them, “These comments are ours. What will we do with them? What lesson can we learn from the comments to improve the future for our movement? From what we’ve learnt, what spirit would we adopt and develop in the next days so that our community will be on a perpetually going-up cycle? Say something, please,” I offered them to express their opinion. Mr. Kryt responded immediately, “Thank you, I try to give my opinion on that. Considering all the comments, we learned many lessons. In the days to come, we have to maintain the unity and develop good communication amongst community members so that in whatever condition we will be in a strong and close friendship. That’s all I have to say.” Then Mr. Yl said, “I think so. We experienced good and bad things, so we have to avoid the bad things and just focus on good things to achieve our common goals.” I thanked him as I wrote their opinions. Mr. Mrd said, “If we maintain our unity, I believe we will succeed in dealing with any difficulty we face.” “Right,” I affirmed his opinion. “Who else?” Again, I offered them chance to speak. Mr. Hrdj said, “Of course, we want to be better, much better not only for now but also for the next days. Let’s keep all the good things we have, so we can share them for the members of the community.” “Thank you, *Mas Har*,” I said to him. I wrote these long opinions word by word and displayed them. No one gave more comments after Mr. Hrdj ended his opinion. The night was getting late. It was 22:47, and I had to end the meeting. I thanked them all and asked them to stand up hand in hand. I read loudly every reflective opinion I wrote. When I finished my reading, they spontaneously shook hands with one another. What a touching sight it was! I asked Mr. Hrdj to close the meeting. It was 23:20, and we dismissed. All participants of the meeting seemed happy and excited with the result of the meeting. I left the house and expressed my gratitude to Mr. Hrdj, Mr. Kryt, Mr. Yl, and Mrs. Sht who took me to the yard. I went home happily that night.

What a productive meeting it was! They discovered the meaning and determination in all events they had experienced together. The “I”, “he or she” and “you” evolved into “us”. It was such an affirmation for the new intention to maintain the community sustainability with an extraordinary formula: togetherness.

3-10. Celebrating the regained togetherness

The firm will to be together was fostered in everyday activities of the community. After the community reflection program, I tried to intensively monitor the community development. Although I never specifically asked about the reflection's effect, I always observed the situation and listened to their comments about the community when I visited Daleman. I could not see the drastic situational improvement but I felt that the will to create togetherness that was emphasized in the community reflection became a motivating spirit for the community members.

To intensively observe the community situation, I attended every community meeting. I carefully observed various issues discussed in the meeting while trying not to intervene. As I expected, their togetherness spirit, which was strengthened in the community reflection, was increasingly felt. They even brought their strong will of togetherness into the community's formal activity. The community togetherness was chosen as the main theme in the community's Indonesian Independence Day celebration.

On Monday night on July 8, 2013, I attended the community meeting in Ngirengireng at Mr. Mdj's residence. The meeting agenda was to discuss the Independence Day celebration next month. About 32 people from Jodhog and Ngirengireng attended the meeting. I was there as just their guest, so I just listened to them. Mr. Kryt said, "We will hold *tutu belasan* (Javanese term for August 17 as the Indonesian Independence Day) celebration together, unlike last year when we celebrated separately in our own hamlets. We'll talk about theme and venue." "Yes, I strongly agree, let's make this *tujuhbelasan* moment as National Independence Day as well as our community celebration," said Mr. Mrd, and the others agreed. "So, what is the theme of our celebration?" asked Mr. Kryt. "We'll figure it out later, but I love the idea that this national celebration is our community celebration too," said Mr. Mdj.

Promoting the togetherness spirit and decision of the community in such a formal Independence Day celebration was a precious thing to do. It meant that they did not only celebrate the *tujuh belasan* as a routine ritual every year, but they also tried to give contextual meaning of this great state celebration. The independence celebration was once only an annual habit that was done in the same way from year to year, but now it was celebrated with the renewed highly-spirited enthusiasm within the community.

As the preparation of the celebration was in progress, a good theme came across their mind. “The beauty of togetherness” was declared as the central theme of the Independence Day celebration in the Daleman community. They were preparing everything they need for the celebration together. Without being organized in a special committee, they distributed the tasks to the members in a cooperative way. All members could take part their contribution freely.

On July 19, a meeting to discuss the Independence Day celebration was held in Mr. Hrdj’s house in Jodhog. Many people attended the meeting. I could not count the number as the participants in the meeting were not only the male members, but also female members and young people. “The theme of the celebration was “The beauty of togetherness”, which will be put up in the stage backdrop,” said Mr. Hrdj. “This theme was suggested because it was inspired by the spirit to create the togetherness amongst the community members,” added Mr. Hrdj. “As the spirit we are going to establish is the spirit of togetherness, we do not need to form a special committee. We are working together. Those who want to take part in the celebration, please, just go for it,” added Mr. Mrd. Some technical preparation and job distribution had been done in the meeting. I could not attend the meeting until the end as I had some business to deal with. However, I was informed by Mr. Kryt that the preparation for the celebration, with its approved theme, was going well.

Through the theme of the Independence Day “The beauty of togetherness”, the community planned to develop the firm will of togetherness. Promoting such a theme in a great formal state celebration showed that they had the spirit and commitment to preserve the togetherness in the community. They prepared all they needed for the celebration together, without forming a formal committee.

Then came the time to celebrate the Independence Day. That night was August 16

when all people in all villages all of Indonesia celebrated the Independence Day. But, a special event was held in Daleman community this year. A six by five meter stage was set in front of Mr. Hrdj's house in Jodhog. The red screen stage backdrop with "The Beauty of Togetherness" written on it was spread out (see Photo 12). The stage was beautifully decorated with some cheerful ornaments. There were tables full of food and beverages surrounded by well-groomed women who were ready to serve the guests. Children, young people, men and women were there. The celebration was opened at 20:00 with speeches from the village officer and the key figures of the community. After the speech, some various traditional art performances were presented. The performers were the young people, women, and kids from Jodhog and Ngirengireng. The community provided plenty of marvelous food, among which were fried chicken, tubers, and others. The Eid atmosphere was still around, so *halal bi halal* (Islamic-based tradition to ask one another forgiveness during *Eid-al-Fitr* celebration) was conducted to end the celebration. They asked one another forgiveness and shook hands. Then the exciting celebration was over.

All people appreciated the celebration. "I have never seen such a lively and exciting celebration so far. It was wonderful. All of us are happy," Mr. Mdj said. "I think it was a special celebration," I responded. Mr. Rtn also gave comments, "It would be exciting if we celebrated the previous Independence Days in that way." From their expression, I was sure that all of them were happy. Seeing the abundant food and the art performance, I wondered how they prepared them. "It was such a spontaneous celebration. We do not need to command them. They are willing to bring the food here. The performances were also spontaneous. They paid the cost of the costume from their own budget," said Mr. Kryt. "It was great," I said. On the one hand I thought it was wasting money, but on the other hand I was amazed with the people's participation. I thought it was very expensive. Observing the exciting and expensive celebration of the Independence Day which was held spontaneously without any organizing committee in Daleman community, I began to believe in the concept of synergy. When mathematics declared that $2 + 2 = 4$, in this community $2 + 2$ could be 4 or 8 or 16. This celebration was a proof of the synergy.

The Tujuh belasan celebration brought about special impressions for the Daleman community. In the beginning of the movement in 2009, the same celebration was used as media to establish the community unity. This year's *tujuh belasan* celebration offered an arena for the community reconciliation. Incidentally, *tujuh belasan* celebrations always gave a special meaning amongst the Daleman community members.



Photo12. Stage background of Independence Day celebration inscribed with "The beauty of togetherness"

Daleman community members were again proud farmers, as they used to be before. They were working in the field and doing anything related to agriculture. However, the difference was that previously they were market-alienated but now they are more understanding, and implemented a modern marketing strategy in their agricultural work. While they previously condemned the 'free' market and expressed their opposition against an agricultural market that allegedly marginalized them, now they became a significant part of market actors. Their life condition was very different now. Five years earlier, they were powerless and poor. But, together they have obtained proper revenue because of their creative activities within the community.

Their internal social relation fluctuated. At first, they were able to cope with the farmer social deprivation through the establishment of the joint movement. In the middle of their journey, they faced conflict resulting from the prejudice and the unfairness. Recently, they recovered a meeting point and steadily pushed aside the conflicting atmosphere by their togetherness commitment.

4. Discussion

The dynamic of Daleman community during the last five years shows that the movement is sensitive to the atmosphere around the community. The interaction between the internal and external situation led to the emergence of influences that determined the rhythm of the movement. The relationship between internal and external factors of community development significantly contributed to the achievement of the common goal. The success of the community in accessing the market benefited the community movement. The money earned gave economic reward, and the reputation achieved gave honor to the community: a great combination of feedback for the community movement.

However, the maturity of the community had been challenged by the emergence of relationship crisis. Having drowned in the noise of market transaction, a state of

misunderstanding emerged and weakened the social principles of community relationships. During the period of crises, what was previously agreed and believed by the community turned to be unimportant. Disintegration as a result of suspicion and defensive attitude of some community figures generated tension in the community that would need a great effort to recover from.

The fluctuation of the Daleman community movement provides an important message about the vital role of safeguarding the movement process. Awareness and commitment of actors of the movement have to be sharpened for sustaining the maturity and capacity of the movement in facing various possible crises that may happen in the future. Capacity in communication and commitment to the movement are important factors that determine the stamina and sustainability of the common movement. Several factors related to the revitalization movement of Daleman community need to be further discussed and explored.

4-1. Discussion on transitional crisis

A change always leads to the possibility of crisis. In the beginning, the transformation of role, from witnesses to actors, made the community members nervous. A change in the point of view, the role and the rules of the game had made the actors of the movement in Daleman community to be so nervous. The farmers, who used to be the victims of the market system and felt being used and cheated, finally had a chance to develop an improvement strategy through the common movement that enabled them to access the market. Currently, they are not just “the witnesses of the market show”; now they are “the market players”.

The market that used to be cursed now has become their best friend. The market has helped them in transforming their hard work into money; market economy has also helped them in converting money they earned into leisure through consumption of

various goods and services provided by the market. Through the market access they had, they could even gain respect. The market has benefited the farmers, not just in term of physical assets, but further, it has given the farmers a respectable reputation. The negative stigma of poverty and misery they used to bear as farmers faded as they gained market access. They are now respected in their neighborhood as successful farmers.

The market economy is the new ruler in the modern world. Its power existed through marketization operation in various aspects. Marketization is a practice, which simplifies all activities to the economic logic of buying and selling (Zak, 2008). Transforming human activities into economic value is the working mode of marketization. Within this mode, everything could be turned into money value, a kind of promise of successful life in the modern era.

In the modern age, everything has to be paid for; money is the ticket of the solution to having everything. The role of money in resolving many problems in this world has strengthened the existence of marketization as a very valuable thing (Zak, 2008). There is no single normal person in this modern age that does not like money as money promises a lifestyle dreamt by almost everybody.

Success in accessing the market will create a capacity to absorb and transmit anything into money (Simmel, 1978; Zelizer, 1994; Zak, 2008). It is not only in terms of goods or services, even a faith and a dream could be changed into money. The market and, later, the money could shift one's paradigm into being materialistic oriented, believing it a practical and economical way of life. In this stage, the proof of solution described by the market through the power of money is irrefutable.

Ironically the market can also be a greedy monster. Using its economical appeal, the market can turn everything into one single value: the economic value (Zak, 2008). Social relation, faith and idealism can dissolve into commodity. The market does not have the ability to verify emotional and personal aspects. The market can only do an

impersonal transformation, whereas even the modern man still needs the emotional and personal word of meaning (Zelizer, 2005). Right at this point, the market then provides various problems of life for modern man.

On the other side, relation, emotional intimacy, concern, and other social needs could never be solved by money (Fromm, 1955). No matter how much money one ever has, it cannot create intimacy and comfort of a sincere relation. Human beings need a warm relation, the one that they can only get by sharing their sincere intention to involve others unconditionally. It is only by stripping all the economic calculation and materialistic interests, one could enjoy a warm and sincere relation (Fromm, 1955; Zelizer, 2005). Ironically, market activity does not leave a space for such matter. Every room in the market has been filled with the economic interest and calculation. As a consequence, missing social spirit, egoism and social rigidity will be the inevitable problems if one excessively relies on the market logic.

A similar crisis almost hit the Daleman community. Overwhelmed by the joy of market access through products they produced had made some members of the community start to be influenced by a strong economic orientation. Some persons chose to take care of their business and start ignoring the togetherness of the community. Proof of such symptoms was that some of the community figures chose to be more intense in seeking the economic benefit rather than strengthening togetherness in the discussion of community. Such a gap of attitude generated prejudice within community and triggered serious conflict in the community afterward.

On the other side, since they started to accumulate money, the interest of consuming various goods that the market offered grew significantly. When they, then, had the purchasing power, they started to be more consumptive, even on goods that they did not actually need. It was indeed a new problem for the community that needed to be corrected: the importance of distinguishing between wants and the needs.

The ability to earn money started to change the shape of social economic conditions of the Daleman community. The opening of market access ignited an economic agenda that kept the people busy. The balance of social relations was a bit shocked and it gave an opportunity for social crisis to exist in the community. The key of the market gate they recently obtained absorbed most of their energy, and lowered their focus on the community togetherness. Luckily, it did not take long for them to gain back their awareness and move on to recovering it, and so they could avoid a more serious crisis.

Considering the description mentioned above, promoting awareness about the excesses of market crisis must be done continuously. Encouraging people of Daleman to always be maintaining the economic and social balance is an important effort in avoiding a crisis that could ruin the integrity of people in the community. The discourse to develop a strategy of synergizing positive energy of the market and the social power will strengthen the capacity of the community in facing further changes in the future. Having a mature capacity, they will be able to maintain a harmonic and calm situation although there are stronger flows of market economy confronted, and further, the spirit of community revitalization could even be stronger and everlasting.

4-2. Discussion on the reflective dialog strategy using engaged ethnography

Theoretically, the most relevant model of reflection in the accompaniment of the social movement process is the dialogic participative model (Schon, 1983; Smyth, 1986; Chamber, 2007). The involvement of as many as members of the movement in the reflection will make it enriched and become more contextual. It is assumed that the more members who get involved, the more experiences could be shared and considered. Chamber (2007) adds, the participative reflection is able to guarantee the development

of the sense of responsibility within the community members for the results of reflection that support the next movement process.

Considering the important value of participation in the reflection process, the writer chose engaged ethnography as a tool in accompanying the movement process of Daleman community. The writer started the process by presenting various past events of the community in the form of a story to be discussed with the community, and tried to get their comments about it. The various comments were used to complete the first version of the presented story. The dialogue process, in the form of presented responses to the writer's version of story, during that session was actually a form of reflection. Without feeling conditioned, the community had given their feedback on the process happening in their community. Some learning points were taken from the process of reflective dialogue.

The next step was asking the community members to write and discuss the community story. It was not only asking them to listen and to comment on the story written by the writer, but further, each member of the community had a chance to write their own story and discuss them with other members of the community. From this process, they could exchange their impressions of the ongoing process and also get the comments from their fellow members of the community. Using this approach, the reflection process became more participative with richer sources of story and responses. Various stories and responses expressed by the community members were actually the form of contextual and spontaneous reflection. Using this reflection model, the movement process could be comprehensively monitored by involving the interpretation of the whole community members. The result of this activity was enlightenment for community members on various things they needed to fix, keep and develop in the next process.

Engaged ethnography is a reflection process with the aim at empowering community. This process enables community to control the course of a movement. Responses from members through comments on stories of others or through the stories they themselves wrote have enabled them to decide what “should have been working” in the community. The themes covered in their comments or stories were the reflection of criticism and appreciation of the community process that they wanted, and these could be their stock of experiences for the next steps of the movement. This is the unique synergy of engaged ethnography as a transformation instrument (Schon, 1983; Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004).

The reflective dialog method using engaged ethnography is an impressive approach. If the reflection process runs smoothly and is full of fun, everybody has a chance to be actively involved. The reflection process, which is an important step in a movement, is no longer a formal and stressful agenda. Through the process, those characters support the reflection process of movement in all types of community.

However, it should be noted that application of this approach is prone to misunderstanding. The advantage of this approach is also its own greatest weakness. The inclusive and fluid characters of engaged ethnography, imply a freedom that could lead to misunderstanding. From the case of Daleman community, we can learn how a reflection could trigger an unexpected conflict. Although its initial goal was to give a meaning to the process, but instead what came up was judging and assessing others, which triggered a series of long conflicts with delayed reconciliation.

There are two important notes to consider in using this method. Firstly, a constructive rule of the game must be fully agreed and enforced. Having the freedom and spontaneity in nature, the characters of the engaged ethnography model still have to put a constructive commitment as its base. Every actor must focus on events as the resource and material of the stories and not on judging particular persons since the goal

is reflecting on the process, and therefore judging others is not relevant. Ignoring this point could lead to unproductive offenses, as the experience of the Daleman community. Secondly, the execution of engaged ethnography requires the right momentum. This stage of the process does not primarily rely on spontaneity, but it also needs to read, and even to create, that right momentum. Engaged ethnography cannot work in this way at all times; this approach needs a relaxing momentum, and presenting a representation of the community as much as possible. A relaxing moment would trigger sharper and unemotional responses, and the presence of as many as possible community members would reduce the possible bias of communication. The reflection process using the engaged ethnography approach will achieve its true goal: raising awareness of the movement when the rules of the game and the right momentum are seriously considered.

4-3. The character of indigenous conflict resolution of Java

Java is a uniquely large and diverse culture. The Javanese culture is full of symbolization, which constructs the standard of a very complex custom. There is no literal and frontal meaning in the Javanese model of interpretation. Javanese meaning is always attached with symbol and context (One may look like a saying a “yes”, although it actually means a “no” and vice versa. A “yes” which means a “no” is a subtle and polite rejection.) Being frontal is a taboo in the culture of Java. Directly expressing our intentions and needs to others could be perceived as rude and impolite. Sometimes someone needs to firstly take a long circle of talk before stating his or her true intention. For example, if somebody wants some mangoes owned by their neighbor, he or she will not ask for them directly. Most likely he/she will speak: “The mango tree has a lot of fruits, and it seems they are already ripe, aren’t they...” The owner will understand the meaning of those words immediately and the response will be “You’re right...please help yourself if you want it...” It means the owner is willing to give the mangoes to him

or her. The intelligence of indirectly saying an intention but understood by the one they talk to is a unique ability of the Javanese (termed *nglulu*).

In a situation of conflict the same logic is also applied. Conflict is a taboo and shameful for the Javanese. It has no positive aspect. Differences that could lead to conflict have to be repressed. Direct clarification is also not needed in the recovery of a conflict. When someone is forced to get involved in conflict, silence will be the most polite response, compared to having an argument directly. Resolving conflict directly, by directly explaining and clarifying the case, is a very rare case to happen. When a conflict occurs, being silent and directly apologizing, without having to clarify, will run the process of reconciliation by itself. Compared to openly apologizing, clarification becomes less important to do.

Apologizing without clarification is not a fake action. Indeed, rationally, it is a weird notion of understanding. How can forgiveness occur without clarification? In the society of Java, the case which triggers conflict is not the most important factor, but goodwill to forgive each other is. Forgetting the case and not repeating it again is a Javanese wisdom in resolving conflicts. For the Javanese, sincerity means forgetting the cause of conflict and starting the new state of relationship.

The Daleman community is a part of society and culture of Java. It takes a long process and a lot of efforts to learn from the case of conflict that occurred in the community. Trying to explain the chronology of the case and provide clarification to every involved actor with the hope to accelerate a recovery process was found as not useful enough, and it even harmed the process. Letting the time take its course on it while initiating other common activities beyond the cause of the conflict (by planting mushrooms) had proven to give more positive impacts. It was only after the situation became calm again, the conflict resolution could be initiated, by still not mentioning the conflict itself directly. Approaching the key actors of the conflict, and asking them to

reconcile with each other without mentioning the conflict itself have been found as effective in easing the hostility. Recovering conflict by the decoying strategy turned out to be more effective compared to the strategy of clarifying the cause of conflict. The spirit of Javanese culture that tends to avoid direct response is found as an important principle needed to be considered in reconciling conflict in the Daleman community.

Chapter IV

General Discussion and Conclusion

The previous chapter provided a detailed description about the process and effort to safeguard the sustainability of the movement of the Daleman farming community through engaged ethnology using reflective dialog. Reflection became an important aspect to neutralize various negative effects in the movement process that could impede community integration. The existing conflict in the community was finally been resolved through a long process of reconciliation. The role of narration in the practice of engaged ethnography, both in triggering and resolving conflict was clearly presented in the description of the reflective dialog process.

This chapter will present a summary and general reflection about the process of collaborative research between the researcher and the farmer community of Daleman. This chapter will also explain the transformation of the formation of meaning about free market economy that at first was perceived as an enemy, but finally considered as part of the life of farming after the market access was gained. Further, this chapter will also present a reflection about the power of narrative, which was called as engaged ethnography in the process of community collective reflection. Additionally, several important findings that include the importance of the history of identity and awareness, the importance of reflection in maintaining awareness, feudalism in the farmer community, and the character of indigenous conflict in Java will also be explained in this chapter. At the end, the chapter will provide a summary about the importance of narrative approach in engaged ethnography, of collaborative research, and of critical attitude in the modern era.

1. Transformative Movement Collaboration in Farmer Community: A Synopsis

Based on the belief in and the concept of the importance of collaborative action research for transformation, the researcher has been trying to implement such a model of research by participating in the revitalization movement of a farmer community in Daleman area, District of Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Region, Indonesia.

The researcher initially met the farming community of Daleman in 2007 while participating as a volunteer for the accompaniment of survivors of 2006 earthquake in the District of Bantul, Yogyakarta. Since then, the researcher developed an interaction with them and listened to their stories about all the problems they faced through a chat in community meetings. Starting from this point, together with the researcher they tried to find the main agricultural problems they experienced. In the next process they started to find their awareness about the formulated problems, and further, they finally understood what should be done to solve the problems.

One of the main problems they experienced was poverty. The poverty became the starting point in tracing the experience of being poor. Through problem exploration, they found that during the last 20 years, their way of undertaking agricultural works has been changing. They concluded that it has changed: from labor intensive agriculture into capital intensive agriculture; from a relationship agriculture model into a transactional agriculture model; and from self-reliance agriculture into a market dependent agriculture. A deeper exploration has brought them into a better understanding about the dimensions of the problems they faced and possible solutions for the community revitalization program.

A desire for their past agriculture experience strongly emerged. They are aware that they need to change their agricultural paradigm they have been following so far through revitalizing creativity and self-reliance, and strengthening unity in the community as a strategy to deal with the agriculture market they considered as

disadvantageous. The connecting line of their effort is revitalizing the social resources and agricultural spirit they previously had.

They intensively sharpened the idea of change internally by themselves within the community and by involving several activists of socio-agricultural perspectives from outside the community. Discussion and exchange of ideas had assured them about the importance of changing their current way of undertaking agriculture. Their awareness was strengthened by the explanation of senior farmers and from lesson learning from documentary films about the organic agricultural movement.

They wanted to change their way of undertaking agriculture activities into the organic farming model. In starting the movement, the community of Daleman held their long forgotten traditional way of farming as a “treasure”. They considered the organic farming model as a choice that could enable them to reassemble their spirit of self-reliance, creativity and freedom as farmers in dealing with the market system. Accompanied by an organic farming activist they prepared a strategic plan of the movement using a simple SWOT analysis.

The plan began to be implemented in 2008. Although each farmer had their own plot of land, they tried to keep the spirit of togetherness in doing the work in each of their fields. Discussion about what they had and have been doing, and about problems they experienced was regularly done in the community. Meanwhile, they supported each other based on the roles and skills they had. Role and responsibility were shared to support the agreed movement. The collective movement of organic farming also functioned as a means to provide and distribute resources for the success of the farming they did.

The movement of change, in a relatively short time, about two years starting from 2008, has brought their dream into reality. The organic pesticides and fertilizer they produced had significantly reduced the cost of agriculture production. Also, the local

seed of the rice paddy they organically cultivated had given them satisfying yield, being more pest-resistance, and easy to care for. In short, they farmed well with a cheaper cost of production. Their hard-working effort in practicing the organic farming tradition was rewarded with a sustainable and satisfying harvest.

The success of the Daleman community movement coincided with the increasing popularity of the value of organic farming in the view of consumers. The promotion of organic products attached with the healthy life style shown in various media had raised the image of organic products to be much better and prestigious in the perception of consumers. This momentum has helped them a lot in obtaining market access to sell their organic products at a reasonable price. This situation was totally different with the situation experienced by the Daleman community 4-5 years previously where the cost of agriculture production was high, while the harvest was low priced. Now, the farmer was successful and felt dignified as a farmer. The low cost of agricultural production and the high price of the harvest yielded economic benefit.

The achievement of the Daleman farmer community has been a pride movement. The success of organic farming movement of Daleman community was well known by other communities and considered as a sort of “new enlightenment” in agriculture practices. The success of the organic farming movement of Daleman has encouraged several farmers around the Daleman community to start observing and finally some joined the process of the farmers of Daleman. Since then, more farmers from outside Daleman community have gotten involved in the movement of Daleman farmer movement. In the next step, Daleman became the icon of organic rice in the district of Bantul, Yogyakarta. The euphoria over the success of organic farming took place during the early to mid-2010s, and conferred praise for the farmer of Daleman as a proud pioneer and driver of organic farming in the district of Bantul.

The movement of Daleman community was then found as not smoothly running and also not stable. It was ironic that while the Daleman community was praised and became well known because of the success achieved, internally in the Daleman community a gap and loosening relationships between farmers started to happen. The spirit of togetherness among community figure was decreasing. Conversation within the community that initially stood as the base of the movement started to cease because the absence of some key figures of the community. The situation was worsening with the emergence of gossip and rumors about the fading solidness among members. The situation of declining relationships within the community became very sensitive.

What was feared finally became reality: the split of the Daleman community. The crack was triggered by the feeling of getting offended experienced by one of the community figures that turned into conflict. Conflict between figures created polarization within the community. The conflict was at its highest stage in early June 2012. A minor suspicion could easily turn into agitation. The impact of conflict between figures on the dynamic of the community was indeed real as indicated by the absence of several persons in the community meetings. Worse, it was also indicated by the disintegrated activities of the community.

A reconciliation effort was undertaken. Mediation effort involving an external facilitator or through the performance of local important events had not been able to resolve the conflict as expected. The reconciliation effort finally achieved its success through a long and winding process. The two conflicting figures were approached intensively and various events were designed to create harmony. At the end of 2012 the recovered situation started to emerge as indicated by the increasing calmness within the community, and the collective activities within the community was back to normal in mid-2013.

The community reflected on the movement process after the conflict was resolved. The reflection was done to review what they have been doing together so far. Further, the reflection was expected to encourage the community to obtain valuable meanings from the experiences they had. The reflection was carried out using various media such as daily notes, pictures of activities, or group dynamics to stimulate discussion in the community meetings, where participants were encouraged to find the learning point of every single experience they had, both positive and negative.

The process of reflection strengthened the awareness of the community. People reaffirmed that they wanted to keep united in achieving a common goal. Since then, the postponed common activities were restarted and reactivated. The movement of the revitalization of Daleman community is still going on. Several changes have been created as they are reflected by several achievements, both physically and non-physically in the form of capacity building and awareness about togetherness.

The writer found that the farmers of Daleman started to enjoy their lives as farmers. They still worked in the rice paddy fields but they were different compared to their condition 4-5 years previously. They became more mature and have more capacities. They were alienated and had been victims of the market economy, but currently they have strategies to embrace and to get benefit from the market. They used to condemn the market but now they have organic products that are highly demanded by the market system. Their most substantial achievement is that they regained their pride as farmers.

2. Ambiguity of the Contemporary Power: Modernity

Modernity is a historical evolution in the form of an updated culture development. The main and most basic principle of modernity is rationalism that is able to push cultural achievement and is considered as the progress of human being (Habermas,

1984). The principle of rationalism has encouraged human beings to utilize their capacity to accumulate knowledge for taking them out of their weaknesses toward prosperity. Weaknesses were changed into leisure by the modernity project through the involvement of progressive science and technology (Levin, 1993).

Besides being supported by the creation and the utilization of science and technology- in achieving human prosperity, modernism is also supported by the new economic system that is able to provide products needed by human beings. The new economic system appeared as industrialization, a contribution of modernity in providing the needs of human beings in a rapid process and on a massive scale. The new social system provided a market system that took the role of distribution of all goods and services. Both the industry and market created by modernity stood as important pillars in conveying pleasure for human (Goldthorpe, 1971; Levin, 1993). Pleasure was identical with the ease of human beings in fulfilling their necessity and desire.

The growth of industry and the modern market system has accelerated rapidly. This fact is the result of utilization of science and technology in the industrial and market economic systems. The speed of industry and market system in responding to and fulfilling the need of modern human beings was able to answer their boredom (Goldthorpe, 1971). Sophisticated technology and responsive market economic system structurally satisfied the need of people living in Europe and America, where modernism initially started. When the supply of goods and services exceeded the need of local markets, the market system tried to expand its marketing outreach. The effort to sell goods and services outside Europe and America triggered globalization. In the next step, the globalization has made every place of the globe into a market of industrial products.

In the market economic system, excessive supply of goods and services could satisfy all the needs. However, at the same time, this end also required sacrifice

(Giddens, 1990). Modern individuals have to sacrifice something to obtain the goods and services needed; namely by working or by obedience symbolized by paying some amount of money. Absolute obedience of human beings to the value of materialism has caused the vanishing of the importance of human existential needs. The focus on fulfilling material needs will diminish the desire on social need (Fromm, 1955; Giddens, 1990). Focusing on individual work and sacrificing to get material satisfaction will separate individual human beings from others.

During the process, modernity shows its two faces. On the one side, it is successful in exploiting technology and the market economic system for the welfare of human beings. On the other side, it creates materialistic norms and dependency on materials in fulfilling the needs of life. This last aspect has brought human beings to be shallow minded by characterizing all dimensions of life with material measure. It is perhaps not surprisingly that material identity becomes the main identity for modern human beings. The wealth of a human being is considered to be the same as ownership of material, both in form of goods and services. This phenomenon is reflected by the obsession of human beings have with owning products that symbolize wealth such as houses, cars and mobile phones.

In the market economic system, the value of a product is not constant. The value of the product will depend on the dynamic of supply and demand that determines the price of the products. Therefore, the value is artificial because it does not have a constant intrinsic value. It is a paradox then when an individual becomes obsessed with accumulating material things as symbols of wealth, because the value of material items changes over time. This phenomenon indirectly encourages individuals to keep trying to accumulate material goods that could never satisfy the actual need of feeling wealthy. Such obsession may lead individuals to focus on his/her self and put aside the real needs that could be fulfilled through social relation. Psychological aspects and intimacy, for

example, are often ignored because individuals experience difficulty in converting the value of the need and the value of the satisfier in a form of product accumulation. The non-material basic need that is ignored and is unfulfilled has given negative impact to the life of human being as indicated by Fromm (1955, 1973) in the form of feeling alienated, feeling empty, and increasing individualism. In the situation of diminishing capacity of social relationships, an individual that is experiencing frustration and disappointment will have difficulty to find someone to share the feeling. No one is available to listen to the grievance. Truthful relationships have turned into myth for the modern human being. No one believes in the heart as a place to share and to find sincerity. Many modern human beings suffer from the resulting loneliness and are feeling alienated.

Another negative side of modernity is the inability to provide certainty for equal distribution of need satisfier (Giddens, 1981; Bauman, 1989) because people do not have the same access to pleasure. Different access among individuals was a result of limited available opportunity or the inability of certain people in fulfilling the required standard. As a result, there are always poor individuals among the wealthier. This condition has created community diseases that could not be solved by the modernity. Instead, these conditions developed into more complex diseases both quantitatively and qualitatively. Poverty and inequality have fertilized the feeling of revenge and frustration that in the next step rose to be various kinds of crime and violence (Fromm, 1973). This specter is the dark side of modernity.

Indonesian farmers are a social group that mostly represents the dark side of modernity. The limited resources and lack of capacity of the farmers have constrained them from gaining access to the pleasures of modernity. The illustration applies when a farmer cannot not utilize and take benefit from the market oriented agriculture, and becomes the victim of modernity.

3. The Problem of Marketization for Indonesian Farmers

Market oriented agriculture is a gigantic power with many arms. In developing its influence in the agriculture sector, the market does not solely rely on products they offered, but they also work hand in hand with the political actors working in the farmer community. Kartodirjo (1976) states that market oriented agriculture has been increasingly influential through various agriculture policies of Indonesia since the end of 1970s. Since that period, the main goal of the agriculture program of Indonesia was to achieve food self-sufficiency. The effort in achieving the goal was undertaken through the implementation of agriculture accompaniment programs focusing on the intensification of agriculture. The main idea of agriculture intensification is to promote agriculture practices that count on best quality of seeds and other agriculture inputs provided by the market.

The claim on the importance of maximizing the production of agriculture has been the reason of the Government of Indonesia to direct the development of the agriculture sector into market oriented agriculture. In its implementation, the policy considered farmers as just one of the factor of production, and further, ignored the tradition of a farmer as an important modality of agriculture. The long history of the Indonesian agrarianism was just abolished during the era of free market of agriculture. The self-reliance and creativity of a farmer have no room in the practice of market oriented agriculture. They started to vanish as the market provided all the needs of the agriculture activities. In the market system, the only remaining ability of farmer was just buying and selling.

The influence of market-oriented agriculture also impacted the social constellation of the farmers' community. The strong sense of economic motivation within the farming community has led individual farmers to be busy with them and start to ignore the needs

of living with others (Cahya, 2007; Martiar, 2011). The form of relationships between farmers has shifted into impersonal transactional relationships. A farmer, that used to be able to ask for voluntary assistance from other farmers, currently has no more opportunity to do so. Now, they have to pay other farmers to have such assistance. The economic calculation starts to be the principle of social exchange within the farmer community. Slowly but surely, the social bond of farmers is lessening. Now, it is not the era of farmers to expect the existence of social togetherness with other farmers. Everything has its price in the modern economic realities.

The fluctuation of the market character has eventually brought unquestionable crisis into the agriculture world. Market mechanisms directed by the logic of demand and supply, the loss and profit consideration, and the economic principle summarized in the fluctuation dynamics has finally created various vital crises in the life of farmers (Hayami & Kikuchi, 1987; Sach, 2006). Farmers that have been trapped in the market system have to deal with the many problems created by the market. The practice of buying and selling in agriculture activities, for example, has turned into a serious problem for the farmer as the price of products that usually the farmer bought has progressively increased. The increasing price of the agriculture products is not always met by the increasing purchasing power of farmer. Following the law of the market, the harvest will increase the supply of goods and this will decrease the price of the goods. The harvest season tends to create excessive supply of agriculture products that leads to the fall of price of the products. It is almost impossible for farmers to postpone selling their agriculture products to wait for a better price since they have to immediately buy the agriculture inputs for the next cropping season.

The situation gets worse when the soil they cultivate becomes addicted to synthetic fertilizer, because it will need more fertilizer. This means that a farmer would have to buy more and more fertilizer from time to time to keep their soil productive. The plot of

paddy field that initially only needed 30 kgs of urea per 1000 meter square, after two years will need 55 kgs of urea for the same plot, and it will keep increasing. The increasing volume of urea needed will always be accompanied by the more expensive price of urea. The gap between the value of input and the price of output in agriculture that is continuously experienced by farmers has brought them to bankruptcy (Cahya, 2007; Martiar, 2011) and put them in abject poverty.

Impoverishment resulting from the 'free' market system is not solely happening in the agriculture sector. The market also impacts other sectors. The motivation to consume products other than agriculture products that are abundantly offered cannot be realized because of the limited purchasing power of farmers. This condition is worsening the poverty of the farmers (Cahya, 2011).

The experience of farmers in term of market-oriented agriculture is indeed an irony (Sach, 2006). While they were expecting to gain economic benefit from their agriculture activities, what really happened was that they were trapped deeper in poverty. The market being trusted and completely followed by the farmers has denied their promise to provide prosperity. The farmer became fragile and powerless because they already over trusted the promise of the agriculture market system.

The poverty experienced by farmers is actually the sinking of their identity as a farmer. Complaining and regretting their lives is the common theme of the story of a farmer family living in a rural area. They feel they are victims of the free market and they have become the losers. The experience of living in poverty as farmers became a traumatic experience that was attached to the life of farmer (Faturochman & Walgito, 2002; Cahya 2007; 2011). The dimension of the farmer identity is also characterized by inferiority, feeling of powerlessness, and being alienated from the prosperous world of modern life.

The inferior identity of farmers has made the value of life as a farmer to be considered as a low and embarrassing social class. Being a farmer is not a popular choice, even in a family who inherited the tradition of agriculture. Parents who are farmers suggest their children to choose other professions. Parents never expect their children to be continuing life as farmers. Working as an ordinary worker in a big city is considered to be better than working as a farmer. It is only a small number of farmers that still consider agriculture as an activity worth enough to maintain. The survey of PATANAS in 2009 illustrates that most of the Indonesian farmers hesitate to keep agriculture as their livelihood profession. The summary of the survey is presented in Table 1.

The negative perception on the profession of farmer has decreased the population of farmers (Faturachman & Walgito, 2002; Cahya, 2007; 2011). Within the younger generation, there is almost no desire to live as a farmer. The number of farmers in rural areas has decreased with time. There are only older farmers living in poverty left in the paddy fields of the village. The young people go to cities to find ordinary work. This kind of work is the only profession they can get as a result of their limited resource capacity. They feel that they are lucky to be ordinary workers as it gives stability in terms of income compared to the hard work they should have done in the paddy field

Table 1. Survey on the Perception of Farmer About Their Agriculture Activity

	No	Hesitate	Yes
Farmer (Head of Family) likes to work in farming business	3.3% %	48.8%	47.9%
Want their children to continue their agricultural business	13.4%	64.0%	22.6%
Prefer their children to work in non-agricultural business	7.0%	69.0%	24.0%
If adequate capital is available, want to develop their agricultural business	8.9%	54.0%	37.1%
Agriculture as an economic buffer for the family and as a subsistence	4.8% %	50.6%	44.7%
Agriculture as an inheritance	22.8%	45.4%	31.8%
No other choices	7.5%	55.3%	37.2%

N : 925 Cited from the Survey of PATANAS, 2009

that has no certainty at all beyond poverty. The agriculture census held by the Statistic Indonesia in 2013 recorded a decrease of 5.04 million families of farmers in Indonesia. In 2003, the number farmer families was 31.17 million, and now it is only 26.13 million (BPS, 2013).

Decreasing population in the agriculture sector has triggered land conversion in rural areas. The young generation in the farmer's family that has no skills as a farmer tended to decide to sell the family land. This decision was immediately well responded to by the sector of manufacturing and housing that are desperately in need of land. The process of selling of the family land to the manufacturing and housing sectors often involved a persuasive promise to the owner of the land that they will be employed when the sectors start the projects on the land currently they owned. However, the fact is that they will only get a temporary job, and get the money from the payment of the land that will be spent to finance their expenses for the desired goods and services in the newly built mall over what was once was a paddy field held in a trust by a community that depended upon it for livelihood.

Free market economy is a possible social reality that should be accepted strategically. The failure of strategy in accepting the free market of agriculture in Indonesia has raised serious problems from the traditional farmers. As an opened Pandora box, starting from the poverty experienced by the farmer, the problem of agriculture in Indonesia is developing to be more difficult and complex. Poverty, deprivation, alienation, fading of farmers' identity, decreasing rural population, and the high rate of land conversion are the crucial problems that have to be faced by the Indonesian farmer at the moment.

Crises experienced by the traditional farmers of Indonesia during the era of agricultural free market are also experienced by the farmers of Daleman. Various experiences in the agriculture sector as described previously were also faced by the

Daleman farmer community during that period of time. They are part of the community of Indonesian farmers that helplessly fell into the negative impact of free market in the agriculture sector. They lived in poverty and were being marginalized.

The free market economy will turn into a destructive power when access to a market is unsuccessfully built. The consequence that follows is not only an economic problem, but it could turn into social and psychological problems. Difficulty in income generation could then destroy the social relations among people, and further, this stress could end up as a serious psycho-social problem. Failure in developing market access could lead to an exhausting life in the modern era: the market will seem as an enemy absorbing all our vitality.

However, behind the horrible face of the free market, there are also challenging opportunities for all people to gain everything for the sake of productivity and progress individually and socially. As long as the market access is successfully developed, there are opportunities to achieve an increasing quality of life since there is plenty of room provided by the market for exploration and articulation of all potentials.

It is not always easy to get the market access, to be accepted as a market player, and to reap the blessing of the market. Creative strategies that lead us to be appreciated by the market is needed in gaining market access. When the access has been gained, there will be challenges that follow. Plentiful profit and capital accumulation resulting from market transaction will also bring problems to ones who could not manage them wisely. Focusing on capital and economic profit could lead to robbery of rich natural and social resources. Additionally, being over obsessed in achieving production targets for the sake of fulfilling market demand could lead to the existence of egoism in excessive exploitation of natural and social resources. Within the agricultural context, the soil could be damaged because of imbalances between its utilization and maintenance, and the social bonds could be broken up because of dominant personal

interests. In the world of free market, efforts to develop creativity for gaining market access and maintaining positive attitudes in dealing with nature and human beings needs to be undertaken continuously for the sake of being positive market friendly, and more importantly for safeguarding the sustainability of life.

Referring to the field experience, the farmer community of Daleman who was first unable to benefit from the practice of free market, through the process of collective movement, finally gained the support and profit from the market that positively changed their economic and social conditions. Through the practice of organic farming and mushroom cultivation, they got the appreciation from the market and became an active market player. Financial benefit obtained from the market has changed their life condition, shifting from being buried economically to becoming more productive and dignified. Having gained that success, their economic problem was resolved by their friendship with the market, and they even became respected as the pioneer of Indonesian organic farming. Through the collective movement, they have been successful in utilizing the market to change their economic status.

In fact, markets could provide solutions, and new problems as well. While the Daleman farmer was experiencing economic progress obtained from the market, conflict occurred as a new problem for the community. Different perceptions among the community leaders about utilization of the market triggered a conflict that temporarily ruined the unity of community. Domination of personal interests and communication failures about the utilization of the 'free' market has resulted in serious disintegration of the community.

The farmer revitalization movement is an important aspect for maintaining the sustainability of farmers in the free market era. The movement needs to be undertaken continuously, not only for gaining market access in the early phase, but also as an effort to develop critical awareness about various possible market problems. Economic success

is not the only focus of the movement. Humanity bonds, social integration and sustainable nature are also equally important for the sustainability of the farmers' lives.

4. Collaborative Action Research: An Effort towards Farmer Revitalization in the Market Era

Every problem can only be resolved if the one experiencing it is firstly aware of the problem being faced. Being aware of the existing problem is very much determined by the courage of the actor to get involved and to directly deal with the reality of the problem (Blakely, 1989). Considering the stated relation and learning from the weakness of the research approach previously explained, the involvement and access of farmers to the process of research is a vital determinant of any transformative effort of farmers' critical condition. Involvement and access of farmers to the process of research are important in transforming the condition of crisis experienced by the farmer. This is the lesson learned from the weakness of research approach as described previously. The activities of involving farmers in reflecting the situation they faced, encouraging them to formulate various strategies of action, and accompanying them in the process are important aspects in realizing a transformation. For the sake of transformation goals, notwithstanding the difficulties that may arise, a collaborative action with farmers has to be and should have been done because the farmer is the actor that is living with the problems. The perspectives and reflections of farmers on problems they face are worthy to consider in creating a contextual transformation strategy.

Collaboration between the researcher and the farmer gives an opportunity to develop a realistic and contextual understanding, because only through such collaboration can the way the community thinks be understood and an accurate strategy could be formulated (Katz, Sylvan, & Martin, 1997; Beaver, 2001). The courage of the researcher to get involved in the life of farmers will encourage him or her to learn from

the reality of the farmer's life; learning about real experiences within their actual context. Collaborating with farmers assumes that there is a common understanding about the reflection of farmers on problems they face. A formulation of problems initiated by the farmer is believed to provide more opportunity for the emergence of a successful transformative effort in the agriculture sector.

Hurley (1998) and Chambers (2007) also emphasize the positive value of collaboration between researcher and farmer. They ensure that such collaboration will drive an optimal resource exchange in achieving the common goal. In fact, the researcher does not have to be the leader who controls all the research processes. The researcher should better take the role of consolidator of the farmer participation. The participation will enable resource exchange in all efforts of resolving common problems, especially problems that arise during the implementation of research. Putting the farmer as subject of all transformative actions is an appropriate choice because this will place the farmer as part of every plan formulated. Furthermore, this approach will ensure that the farmer will take the responsibility and involvement in supporting the sustainability of the transformative process.

Collaborative research is a convincing alternative for the effort of transforming the Indonesian farmer. Such collaboration has to be started from the real life context experienced by the farmer in their daily life. At the same time, the process of collaboration will also empower the capacity and aspiration of the farmer. Through the empowerment process it is expected that actual and relevant strategic choices could be created in resolving problems faced by the farmer. In this context, the researcher is expected to take the role as partner that always motivates and could systematize the process by contributing ideas and strengthening the farmer through various opportunities of dialogue during the collaborative work.

Through this collaborative process, it is believed that all difficulties and problems could be solved together. Various strategic alternatives of the transformation process could be appropriately formulated as needed. All the dynamics that occur can be recorded by the researcher, and further developed into a detailed description and a systematic conclusion that later could be considered in the formulation of the next transformation concept and program.

5. The Idea of Creative Return to the Past as Strategy of the Movement of Revitalization.

5-1. Creative return to the past as strategy in dealing with the crisis of modernity

The presence of modernity in the history of human beings is inevitable. No single community or individual could stop the influence and the speed of modernity in reshaping the world. It should be admitted that the modern value system that has been experienced by all cultural communities in the globe has brought goodness as well as problems. For people living in the third world –such as Indonesia that is in the transition of becoming modern, modernization has brought more problems instead of benefits. The crises of economic, social, psychological and environmental nature are a series of problems have to be faced by the people of the third world. The crises were not only caused by the unpreparedness of the people, but also by the existence of a conflict of value between the eastern traditional values that partly are still deeply rooted in the value system of community and the strong value of the modern system that is now well introduced by globalization into the daily life. The dilemma of values then has produced social distress (Bordo, Alan, & Jeffery, 2003).

In reality, the crisis of modernity resulted in economic poverty, social disorganization, and fading cultural identity (Giddens, 1990). This form of crises became a common concern of people living in the third world. Unequal market access

has created decreased welfare; dominant materialism norms have attacked the social cohesiveness of the community, and at the end these two crises led to cultural shock that eroded the cultural identity. All these forms of crises were the irony of pleasure promised by modernity.

Romantic attitudes of longing for the past utopia cannot be applied. However, the desire of having traditional harmony of life and nature could be presented through the current modernity (Simic, 2006). As a preliminary step in reviving the traditions, people need to trace the root of the existing crisis and try to find the part of tradition that is expected to be the solution. This step could be done by synergizing modernity with the richness of tradition. Identification of important parts of tradition that are relevant to the challenge of modernity, and creatively designing instruments to strengthen the value of tradition could be the alternative way to find the strength of tradition as a modality in dealing with negative impact of modernity.

Tradition is a community identity as a source of contextual power of the community, while modernity is an actual identity of the era. It will be beneficial to try to find the relevance of important traditional values and carefully analyze the weakness of modernity. Doing this, tradition could be a contextual modality for the environment and cultural community, while modernity provides facilities to obtain everything including richness of tradition. The relationship between tradition and modernity that is creatively developed will produce synergic power that enables communities to resolve the crisis of modernity faced by the modern human being.

This is the perspective described by the writer as ‘creative return to the past’: a way for presenting the valuable power of tradition to recover the crisis of modernity using the available modern facilities. The ability to resolve every crisis will provide power to the cultural community to survive and to create future opportunities.

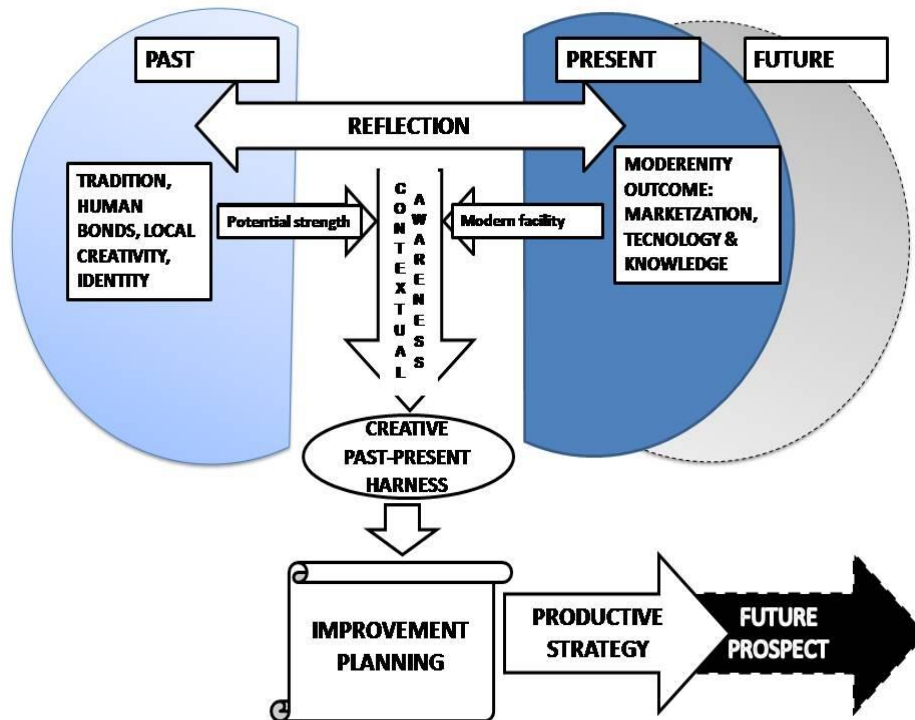


Figure 1. Creative return to the past

5-2. Farmer movement using the narration of creative return to the past

The crisis experienced by the farmer of Daleman was a result of the blind obedience to the project of modernity: free market of agriculture products. The obedience was followed by the action of leaving the farming tradition they previously had, and immediately replacing it with the recommendation of the market system for managing their agriculture activities. Initially they enjoyed the new way of doing agriculture, but later it turned into misery when they had to deal with unresolved problems trapping them in a prolonged difficulty. As a result, they did not only experience the unrealized dream of prosperity, but they also lost their identity as farmers since they were trapped in poverty and became market dependent. In this condition, some of them withdrew from being a farmer and tried to work as ordinary workers in cities that later was also found unable to sustain and change their life. Some others that

remain as farmers are living their lives with regrets and complaints. This outcome was the cost they had to pay for blindly following the market system. It involved not only being in poverty but also missing the richness of agricultural traditions as the source of meaning of farmers' identity. Self-reliance, creativity and their social treasure vanished while they were practicing market oriented agriculture.

The enlightenment finally emerged. Although the problem had already been severe, there was a chance when some agriculture pioneers identified the root of the problems they faced and had the courage to reveal it to the community. It was these pioneers that found and shared their awareness, and at the end inspired the movement of change of the farming community. Later, they were able to reveal the deepest roots of the problem and collectively decided to regain their traditional farming traditions that they believed able to resolve the agricultural crisis. Since then they agreed on participating in the movement of change.

The idea of the movement of change was put in the model of organic farming. The past agricultural tradition they called as organic farming was believed as able to bring them back to self-reliance, creativity and social cohesiveness. The organic farming was then agreed to be the pillar of the community movement for change. The movement was accompanied by some organic farming activists who then facilitated the formulation of the collective strategy. A SWOT analysis was prepared and an agenda was formulated.

The effort of reviving the organic farming tradition was then considered as beneficial as it resulted in cheaper cost of production compared to the previous method of farming they exercised, and the harvest gave them a reasonable profit. The biggest benefit of organic farming they obtained was the return of pride as a farmer that was previously lost.

The success of organic farming and the meaningful self-value as farmers they regained had motivated the initiative of the community to start the new business of

community mushroom cultivation. This plan was meant to strengthen them in dealing with the free market of agriculture. They expected to have other new community businesses managed collectively without the loss of solidness and self-reliance.

The success was achieved through a difficult process. Fluctuation of spirit, emotional fatigue and even internal conflict had been experienced and almost destroyed the movement. However, through engaged ethnology using participative and reflective dialog they tried to maintain the awareness of community about the movement. They observed what they had been doing and discussed its relevance to their common goals. Using the community ethnographic notes and facilitation of the researcher they reflected on the process undertaken by the community and based on this, they improved their strategy to revise the chosen action toward a common goal. They agreed to employ reflective dialog as a tool for maintaining the sustainability of the community movement.

One interesting issue to discuss about the process of the Daleman community movement is about how they regained their forgotten traditions using the current power of modernity. After realizing that it was impossible to fight the market system by complaining, finally they found the root of tradition that could be the modality in resolving the crisis they faced. The organizing process to regain the organic farming tradition was done using the facilities of modernity they could identify such as strategic plan analysis, motivating movies, the ethnographic method, and the process of reflection. Further, their effort in developing and utilizing the market network in selling their organic products and effort in developing the mushroom business were also positive aspects of modernity.

Learning from the modernity crisis they experienced, the community of Daleman was successful in determining the creative choice for synergizing the power of tradition and the modern facilities. The forgotten social cohesion, creativity, and agricultural self-reliance could be revived in the modern era.

The harmonic synergy between the traditional and modern way as experienced by the Daleman community proved to be able to resolve the modern crisis. The implementation of such synergy was successful in changing the situation for the better. The optimism raised by the community members has helped to develop a sense of ability in managing the future of agriculture and the community.

Choices and activities of the revitalization movement of the Daleman community is a model of strategy for farmers in dealing with the crisis of modernity. The creativity in reviving the agriculture tradition using the positive aspect of modernity has resolved the current problem of creating a better future condition. This perspective the writer called as the movement of 'creative return to the past for exploring the future'.

The researcher expects that the optimism of the Daleman community will continuously become the spirit of the movement, and further, become the inspiration for wider farmer community to undertake an effort of change.

6. Safeguarding the Movement Through Reflective Dialog

Using Engaged Ethnography

Keeping the sustainability of the movement of change is the perhaps the most difficult challenge of every movement of change (Benford & David, 2000). Movement is a process that requires the availability of time, resource and motivation. Effort in maintaining every aspect that is determining sustainability of the movement process is vital and should be seriously considered. Without effort to maintain the process, no matter how strong the actor is and no matter how good the vision of the movement is, it will stop in the middle of the process, and the goal of change will never be achieved.

The implementation of the movement of the Daleman community was accompanied by a serious process of safeguarding. Reflective dialogue using the method of engaged ethnography was undertaken to maintain the awareness on the importance of

sustainability of the movement. The reflective dialogue was employed as tool of maintaining the awareness of the common goal in every chosen action. It also functioned as media to resolve the existing crisis.

Engaged ethnography is a critical ethnography method aimed at achieving transformation toward better community conditions. Engaged ethnography is not only done by taking notes on existing events and then the researcher gives a cultural interpretation to it, as usually done in conventional ethnography. Here, the researcher needs to prepare a specific agenda to be achieved before going for a field observation, and notes are taken on everything relevant to the goals of the project.

Confirming the ethnographic notes to the observed community is an important step. What the researcher obtained in the field should not be interpreted by himself, but it needs to be communicated with the community to get responses. Confirming the ethnographic notes is actually also an effort of building dialogue systematically constructed to encourage the community to undertake transformation. The confirmation to build dialogue emphasizes that the engaged ethnography is an inclusive and deliberative ethnography (Ulrich, 2000). Members of the community and the researcher have the same access in preparing the ethnographic notes. Responses of the community to the notes of the researcher become the feedback for preparing a more comprehensive and actual report. The inclusive and deliberative character of engaged ethnography resulted in a description that not only was representing the perception of the researcher but also representing the understanding of the community about an event of their environment.

Therefore, engaged ethnography is more like an instrument for the process of common change (Hitchcock, 1993; Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004). The ethnographic notes as a documentation of a certain problem in the community become an effective instrument for exploring responses of the community. Responses that continuously are

communicated in the community evolve to be a process that has a capacity to become “driving”. Engaged ethnography is usually employed in a program of raising the awareness of underdeveloped or marginalized communities (Hitchcock, 1993). Engaged ethnography enables the researcher to directly interact with the community to observe what was happening and to engage dialogue that is able to drive the community toward certain awareness. The researcher can use the notes and his or her interpretation to stimulate the community in providing their support to the transformation process.

Thomas (1993) and Ulrich (2000) emphasize that engaged ethnography as a critical ethnography allows the presentation of contextual ethnographic notes that are easily accepted by the accompanied community. The researcher does not have to provide a complex and detailed paper, instead s/he could utilize various media to illustrate his or her interpretation and findings. Pictures, movies, stories and even a physical symbol could be instruments to encourage the community to give their responses, as long as it is still relevant with the goal of transformation.

The approach of engaged ethnography has contributed significantly to the revitalization movement of the Daleman community. The approach was not only stimulating farmers’ awareness and the spirit of the transformation, but further, it also functioned as media for collective reflection. Having the inclusive and deliberative characters was the reason of the researcher to employ engaged ethnography in the reflection process of the community. The researcher and the community collaboratively managed discussion in the community forum based on the collected documentation in the form of notes and pictures about the community process. The process of reflection was started by presenting the notes and pictures to the participating members of the community, followed by sessions of open discussion. The researcher openly gave the opportunity to the community to directly express their responses on the presented

process. The responses varied: some were accepting, some were against, and some others needing additional presentation.

Presentation at the beginning of the process was just stimulation. During the dialogue, they gave extensive responses that sometimes even went beyond the expectation of the researcher. They revealed much new information that was not captured in the notes prepared by the researcher. The responses were very rich giving a clearer illustration about the presented process. Through the exchange of responses during discussion, collective evaluation, appreciation and even new perspectives were obtained and finally summarized at the closing of the discussion.

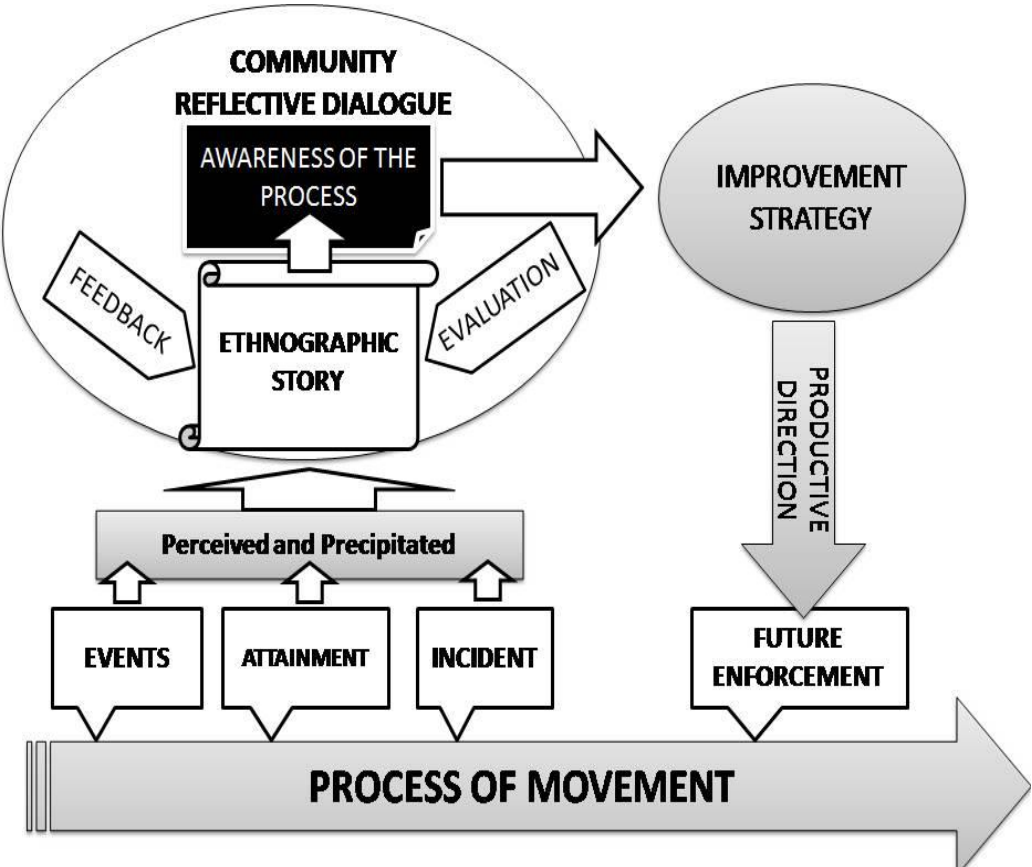


Figure.2. Reflective Dialogue Using Engaged Ethnography

Reflective dialog was also meant to encourage the community to provide response to the ongoing process of the community, to suggest any revisions needed, or to identify aspects of the movement that need to be kept in the next process of the movement. The dialogue indirectly gave an opportunity to the community to control the movement through their ideas, evaluations and understanding (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004). The dialogue was also able to maintain the awareness of the community members to keep participating in the movement.

7. Some Important Findings

Collaborative action research is still going on. The experience of the researcher in getting involved in the process since the beginning has encouraged the researcher to summarize some items considered as findings of the research. The findings are as follows:

7-1. Historical awareness and identity as vital determinant

“If you want to defeat another nation, the first thing to do is erase its history. Second, make them admire everything we have” is the statement of Thomas Babington Macaulay as cited by Robert Sullivan in his book of Macaulay: The Tragedy of Power (2010). The statement is a summary of the colonialism tactic. The statement precisely illustrated how the crisis of modernity is experienced by the nations of the third world. The crisis of modernity always happens because of the failure of a community in contextualizing the work of modernity in their real life. This demise was accompanied by the existence of absolute obedience to all values and practices of modernity, and the state of undermining and forgetting the history and local tradition. The state of forgetting could be not done in purpose but more as an impact of excessive admiration to modernity.

The crisis of the Daleman farmers before the movement started was also a result of the state of forgetting tradition and naïve admiration to modernity. The farmer was tricked into undertaking transactional and capital intensive market oriented agriculture because of their admiration to the way of doing agriculture that was considered as sensational: fast producing, massive harvest, and more simple and practical. Fertilizer, pesticide and seed could be easily bought in the market and the harvest could be achieved faster than usual. These are the advantages of modern agriculture that has assured traditional farmers to practice the method of market oriented agriculture. The farmers of Daleman considered the new method as benefiting and started to forget the agriculture tradition they previously had.

The focus on profit and easy process of the market-oriented agriculture made the farmers of Daleman never think that they could experience crisis because of the practice of such a modern agriculture approach. They did not understand about the law of the market or inflation that resulted in the expensive cost of agriculture production and cheap downturn of the selling price of the harvest. They could not explain it, but what they felt was how poverty had trapped them.

The interaction between nature and human beings, in certain times has created a pattern and strategy of collective living that is called a cultural tradition. The tradition supports the formation of the community identity, and through the identity, the community could determine who they are and what is good or bad. Perceptions on various experiences are very much determined by the identity of a certain culture. The characters of tradition are local, unique, and contextual following the characteristic of its environment and community (Bordo, Alan, & Jeffery, 2003). Modernity is the evolving system of value and social norm that has dominated the global culture tradition. Modernity emerged as a result of the awareness of the human being in their logical capacity that has brought them to the progressive invention of science and technology

(Giddens, 1990). Further, Giddens explains that the spirit of modernity is the optimism to defeat and exploit nature, and to resolve the constraint in creating pleasure of life. Modernity came from the western culture of tradition that was then rapidly spreading to all over the world. The global community now owns modernity.

The difference of social context of the emergence of modernity with the context of the recipient communities needs to be critically considered. Modernity that came from outside the cultural tradition of Indonesian farmers has a difference with the context of local culture tradition. Contextualization of modernity into local culture becomes an important aspect in achieving the balance of influence. The community accepting modernity has to creatively choose various offers of sophistication, facilitation and effectiveness that were claimed as parts of the modernity tradition. Awareness of the identity and community cultural history becomes the important element in developing a critical attitude about modernity. These elements will help the community to take a distance from and to select various offers of modernity to determine the one appropriate and that could be synergized with the one owned by the tradition (Bordo, Alan, & Jeffery, 2003). Without the awareness of the identity and community cultural history, it is almost certain that modernity will be easily accepted.

7-2. Reflection and maintaining awareness

Being directly involved in the existing problem that resulted in attaining awareness is a process that needs to be continuously undertaken, because awareness needs to always be renewed. The awareness of identity needs to be continuously renewed. Awareness is not static, instead it is a continuum that is able to loosen and change, depending on the individual and situation experiencing it. Today's awareness could be different with tomorrow's awareness. The experience dynamic contributes to the possibility of awareness to change. A change in experience could change the awareness

and create different choices of action. We could not expect that the awareness on the identity and community cultural history will automatically always be stable.

The process of movement of the Daleman community illustrated that the awareness on identity was something dynamic. At the beginning of the process, they forgot the tradition, and this illustrated the weak awareness. The process of reminding the tradition grew the seed of awareness. The preliminary awareness drove them to revive the tradition. Togetherness and creativity of the community emerged in the common movement. The change of awareness also happened when their organic farming business was achieving success and they obtained access to the market. Some of them started to ignore the importance of community togetherness, and even started to manage their own business individually. In the next step, they were successful in recovering the awareness of identity after experiencing and reflecting on the crisis. They went back to the track of the common movement. The change of situation experienced by the community of Daleman always gives an opportunity for the change of awareness. The past, now and the future could be different.

Again, modernity is a progressive and dynamic power. Many things could grow and be presented extensively by modernity through the market system. There is no room for stagnation in modernity. The rapid change of modern technology and science has been the driver of change. The speed and kind of situation faced by human beings will influence the continuum of awareness on identity. Keeping the consistency of awareness on identity is a challenge of the running modern era (Goldthorpe, 1971).

Reflection is a way to keep and to strengthen the awareness on identity. Reflection is a process of observing the own self, and processing past and current experiences based on the value and vision believed (Smyth, 1986). This process enables someone to observe his or her position by referring to identity, and then valuing the experience. Aware of the self-position, experience and the identity will enable someone to maintain

his awareness. Smyth (1986) adds that a reflective personality is a person that commits to awareness. Someone with full awareness will not miss his choice of action for a temporary satisfaction. Awareness will drive all responses to be consistent with the awareness itself. Every chosen response could always be explained based on its value of awareness. A mature awareness on identity will always choose an action that is representing its identity, without being isolated from the condition of modernity. Contextualization will be a chosen strategy to live in modern era. Debate and dialogue could happen because of the different situations and levels of awareness of each member of the community. However, the possibility of the crisis to worsen could be minimized and harmony in the modern era could be achieved.

Reflection is the determinant of the sustainability of the movement. Significant relationship between reflection of awareness and the chosen action is an important notion in understanding the sustainability of the movement. The experience of the Daleman community is a lesson of the fact that awareness as the modality of the movement could be maintained through developing the capacity of actors in undertaking reflection. The exercised reflection will keep the consistency of awareness that will further keep the sustainability of the movement. Internal and external dynamics that may influence the process of the movement could be resolved by matured and maintained awareness.

7-3. The less productive tradition of farmers: feudalism

It is impossible for farmers in Indonesia to live alone. Farmers always live in a colony with other farmers by maintaining a collective culture of relationships. The work of agriculture as the background of the natural resource of agriculture was the reason explaining why they had to live together in a group. It is impossible for an individual farmer to do agriculture independently, apart from other farmers. This value is reflected

in the process of planting seeds that have to be done together, including determining the kind of crops to plant due to seasonal factors. During the rainy season, farmers in the same block of a paddy field will plant the paddy together, and during the dry season they will plant horticulture. This pattern is almost impossible to change due to the natural relation between the need of the crops with the existing season. This is called planting in season.

Other explanations for why farmers have always worked together were that they depended on the collective infrastructure of agriculture. Irrigation and pest control were activities that are easily done collectively. The process of developing an individual irrigation system was clearly impossible to do as the field was fragmented and the distance to the source of water was usually far from the field. The irrigation infrastructure was always a common facility, as well as the pest control that will be more easily undertaken in an integrated effort and moment. Sporadic pest control activity would just push the pests to move to other places temporarily. These facts are real indicators of the technical background of the collectivity of farmers.

From the socio-psychological view, the collectivity of farmers was built of the mentality of the farmer that is fragile to risks. Scott (1985) illustrates the mentality of farmer as the mentality of the loser: less courage to deal with risks and tending to choose the safe alternative. The character of weak mentality was resolved by entering the group of farmers. The collectivity will make farmers feel safe as possible threats and risks will be faced together, and so these will be shared. This concept, when applied at least during the failure of a harvest, resulted in the feeling that they were not alone in facing the failure. Mosher (1966) explains that the mentality of the farmer that was fragile to risk, was more a response of the limited capital of farmer that could not tolerate the potential of failure. The failure, even once, would stop their cycle of agriculture. The fact was that most farmers did not have spare capital for their

agriculture process. All the capital they had, though small, was directly invested. This reality was the reason why they considered gambling in the agriculture process as too risky and its impact would be very severe if the failure happened. In short, farmers were difficult to adapt to the possible risk, and therefore they chose to be very careful. One of the forms of adaptation was the pattern of entrusting action on the modus of other farmers' action, an action that gave more feeling of safety to the farmer.

Various conditions that created the collectivity of farmers did not bring egalitarianism in the relationships of the farmer community. The interdependent relationship of farmer and the mentality of being fragile to risk have fertilized the culture of feudalism inherited from the past power relationship system. The feudalism inherited from the monarchy era has still influenced the relationship of farmers. Part of the feudalism was the still existing role of "the master" and "the servant". The role of "the master" was characterized by the dominance in the community, as an important figure, as a reference for other farmers. The holders of this kind of role were those who are usually considered as senior, but not always senior in terms of age. The ones owning large social resources compared to others such as land, assets, or certain ascribed status. Farmers with the role of "the master" would be the reference point of "the servants" who usually were played by the ordinary farmers.

For the interest of community movement, the existence of the tradition of farmer feudalism became a dilemma. The feudalism would be a benefit in the early stage of the movement as it could fasten the process of socialization and initiation of the movement. The success in obtaining sympathy of people considered as "the master" in the community will pave the way to reach all the community. Their influence could be utilized in collecting people or in socializing certain issues that could be started from these people. The process of approaching people became simple and efficient, because they did not need to be visited one by one. The key of access was on the hand of these

“masters”. Ironically, when there was conflict between “masters”, the conflict would spread to all members of the community and became difficult to contain.

The previous description is exactly the same with the experience of the researcher in accompanying the movement of the Daleman community. Several “masters” initially were very helpful in approaching the community. However, the situation was reversed when some “masters” became involved in conflict. Their followers took the side of their “master” and so the conflict widened, involving all members of the community.

Based on the field experience of the researcher, feudalism was a constraint for farmers to move forward faster. The patronistic pattern of the relationship tended to close the opportunity for farmers to maximally explore the situation they faced. Dependency to the figure of “master” created the possibility of manipulation as those who had the role of “master” were not always having the spirit of protecting ordinary farmers in the situation of panic. Sometimes, they even chose to sacrifice their followers to defend their pride. Effort to correct the feudalism in the farming community has to be done strategically. The agenda to transform the pattern of farmer relationship from feudalism into egaliterism needs to be undertaken, no matter how difficult it to start.

8. Conclusion

Reflection on the experience of collaborative work with the farmer community of Daleman provided several learning points as follows:

8-1. Engaged Ethnography

In the formation of social reality, every individual is a storyteller and as well a listener (Gergen, 1994). The construction of social reality assumes that there is interaction involving communication about the understanding of subject on reality. Such

communication is a form of narration. Narration is an important part of formation of meaning that determines how the social reality is formed.

Narration produces meaning that is articulated by an actor as actions that construct the social reality (Davis, 2002). In a social interaction, a narrative dialog that introduces and exchanges each experience, values, identity and information will lead to the formation of meaning in the form of actions of the social actors involved. Narration always finds its power to present social reality and creates transformation of reality through every expression of the actor about formation of meaning.

Engaged ethnography is one form of narration to assist the process of formation of social reality. Inclusiveness, contextuality and the dynamic character of engaged ethnography were found helpful in facilitating the community to create social meaning and construct an action. Story, film, notes and documentations about real processes of the community collected in engaged ethnography were an effective stimulation for the community in exploring their own experience and reflecting on it in a simple and flexible way. Engaged ethnography could provide a conducive situation that was able to attract the participation of community members.

Based on the field experience, engaged ethnography was successful in empowering the community of Daleman in undertaking their movement of agriculture revitalization: building awareness, preparing a plan and consolidating collective actions, and developing community dynamics: bringing up conflict while providing facilitation for resolution. Engaged ethnography provided opportunity for the community to find their awareness about the meaning of their situation and the action needed.

Engaged ethnography was used three times in my fieldwork. It was used for the first time when I encouraged villagers to start something actively without just accepting their current situation. The researcher invited members of the community to watch a movie about conditions of farmers in the free market, and to discuss it. Various ideas

and awareness concerning farmers' problems were reflected upon within their real situation as farmers, and expressed in conversations and the strong will for building a commitment to change.

Engaged ethnography was used for the second time when the researcher encouraged them to look back with reflective dialog on their successful phase so far. They observed the note about achievement and past community process written in the field record provided by researcher. In the next step, the farmers not only observed the notes provided by the researcher, but they started to write their own story about the community based on their own impressions and experiences. The story they prepared then was read and discussed in the community meeting as a learning process, as well as reflection of the community. In the beginning, the situation was rather awkward, but later they got used to enjoy telling and listening to stories. In this phase they experienced the power of text and used text to accuse the other community, which then caused conflict between the two communities. A story prepared by a member of community was the trigger of a prolonged conflict in the community that took away their togetherness.

Engaged ethnography was used for the third time to remember what they were doing until the conflict. Then, the participants could overcome conflict and 'Regained Togetherness' of the two communities. After the severe conflict, the community reused engaged ethnography to achieve integration. Through modification and creative adjustment, story about the community situation during the conflict, during the recovery process, and the beginning of the reconciliation process was represented again as material of collective reflection. Through developed dialogue, they enjoyed engaged ethnography as media for reflecting on the community experience: learning from the process and discovering various plans for the future of community management.

Based on the field experience, engaged ethnography may not only serve as a tool of description of what a researcher observes in a research field but it can be a powerful tool to promote reflective dialogue by residents and a means of exploration or creation of a new alternative for their future.

8-2. Creative Return to the Past

Communities in this study had strong solidarity among residents and valuable traditions in the past, but they have lost such solidarity and traditional wisdom in the process of modern marketization, which brings about a miserable situation for farmers. The past, namely solidarity and tradition, should be regained. But, a clock does not move counter clock-wise. If they want to return to the past, creativity would be required. That is, market mechanisms should be utilized creatively.

Indeed, money is an important thing in the free market era. Money is such a ticket to participate in activities of consumption (to buy) and production (as capital), as the market mechanism promotes. However, no less important is the human bonding tradition within the community, a tradition that provides the feeling of solidarity and togetherness in community life. Tradition of solidarity and togetherness will provide social force that will give the feeling of security as a human to share, to communicate and to strengthen each other.

Organic farming and the mushroom business are examples in which villagers utilized the market mechanism successfully. It is important that the organic farming and mushroom business are not just earning money but they were combined with regaining what they enjoyed in their past communities, regaining their solidarity and identity as a Daleman farming community.

8-3. Conflict

Community revitalization is never a smooth process. But, only the successes tend to be focused on in many studies so far. In term of the reputation of research, it seems that success is an expectation that has to be fulfilled in every study about community.

In contrast, in this research, the author's experiences in the conflict were described concretely by referring to the many narratives of residents in this study. Such narratives might suggest how people are trapped by a conflict and why they cannot resolve it easily. It would not be possible for the author to report such narratives if he did not have an opportunity to be involved in a long-term collaborative practice with people in Daleman. .

Successful achievement of transformation should consider any possible conflict that may occur. By experiencing conflict, we could learn to identify any possible constraints that resulted from the conflict, and further, to set up transformation strategy by considering any possible conflict. The narration during the conflict situation and reconciliation process as presented in this research is intended to provide an inspiring picture about the conflict experience in the process of community revitalization.

8-4. Collaborative Research

Capacity to resolve a problem would not exist without the actor being aware of the existing problem. Awareness of the root of the problem could only be acquired when the actor voluntarily identifies it by being directly involved in the reality of problem. By participating in the fieldwork, the actor could directly dig and map the detail of the developing problem.

The collaborative approach provides a chance for fieldwork involvement that will lead the actor to the awareness of the existing problem. Getting involved in the reality by keeping one's reflective sensitivity will bring one to have such a real and contextual

awareness that could disseminate any alternative solutions. Collectively experiencing, mapping and making decisions is the process of the practical collaborative approach.

Further, collaborative research will widely open the opportunity to build relationships between researcher and community in determining a collective transformation process. There will be no hegemonic relation between researcher and community. The model of relationship developed in a collaborative research will stimulate independent participation that enables sustainable transformation.

8-5. Critical and Reflective Stance in Living the Modern Era

The flow of modernity could not be stopped even for a single second. Modernity will push the world to immediately grasp all of it, the pleasure of modern life through its great design: Industrialization, free market, and globalization. We can observe how modernity has provided a lot of goodness of life such as wealth, facilitation and pleasure. Ironically, at the same time we also witness and even experience crises that resulted from the modernity.

It should be admitted that not all people can enjoy the benefits of modernity. Indeed, there are more people who experience the negative impacts resulting from the crisis of modernity. Poverty, loss of social ties, and even loss of personal identity are the potential crises that could be experienced by modern people. The crisis of modernity developed from the naïve attitude in dealing with modernity. Excessive praise to the promises of modernity that drive us to the condition of loss of awareness and identity could end up in undeniable crises.

Critical awareness is absolutely needed in dealing with the modernity. It indicates the capability of people of proactively undertaking the contextualization of modernity so the choices that support productivity of life could be achieved. Critical awareness will

guide people in dealing with modernity carefully and precisely without excessively condemning and denying it.

A reflective subject can also experience critical awareness. Diligent effort to always be doing self-reflection and observation based on value, identity and experience is the character of the reflective subject. Reflection will enable someone to choose responses that support the productivity of life among the rapid and complex changes of modern situations.

Now is the right time to promote critical awareness as a strategy in dealing with modernity. Further, it is also the right moment to encourage and to drive every individual that is (and potentially) experiencing crisis of modernity to have such a critical manner. All creative efforts to transform massive awareness into critical awareness need to be initiated and secured to develop greater capacity in dealing with modernity.

8-6. Proactive, Integrative and Sustainable of Transformative Movement

Continuing the idea of the first conclusion, transformative efforts have to be done proactively. The crisis of modernity could be experienced by everybody. Efforts in encouraging and strengthening critical awareness need to be systematically designed through initiation of transformation movements in all sectors. Attention to critical awareness needs to be an agenda in every social activity of modern human beings. This needs to be done in all aspects of life: in family, in school, in work place, in social world, and even in religious life. This is an effort to localize the expansion of modernity crisis and to prevent the crisis from being a continuous concern.

In preparing the approach and method to undertake the transformation process, one needs to consider the context and character of each community so that the process will be accepted easily and has a sustainability prospect, because the approach is interesting

and represents daily life experience. Principally, this effort could be implemented by developing the participative tradition of reflection that focuses on values, identity and experience in all aspects of life. Directly connecting real daily experiences with identity and values is an alternative way to create an interesting reflection environment.

There is no notion of being late to start the movement. Transformation has to be done continuously to balance the modernity that also progressively moves. Putting forward the participative process, it could be expected that the transformation will be sustainable.

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