

A Community Revitalization Movement in the Wave of Market Economy in Agriculture: A Field Study in Daleman, Java, Indonesia

Cahya Widiyanto¹

Sanata Dharma University, Indonesia

Abstract

The penetration of the free market in Indonesian agriculture has caused complex problems for agricultural actors, i.e. social, economic and cultural disorganization, which has led to Indonesian farmers' marginalization. This paper is an ethnographic study on the collaborative practice that was carried out jointly by a group of villagers and the author for the two years from 2008 to 2010, to initiate revitalizing an agricultural community in Daleman, Java, Indonesia. This study started at the time when the author met with a group of farmers in Daleman in 2008, and continued as he became deeply involved in their community. During the two years, they developed a vision of organic farming as a major pillar of their activities by his leadership. An Indonesian language version of this ethnography will be provided to them as basic material by which they can reflect their activities in the past and elaborate a plan for the future.

Keywords: agricultural free market, marginalization of farmers, community revitalization, collaborative practice, engaged ethnography

1. Historical and Socio-economic Background of Agriculture in Indonesia

Indonesia is situated in a tropical area with various natural potentials that make farming one of the ways to earn a living in the country. In different parts of Indonesia, one can observe a variety of farming practices which reveal the history of the indigenous communities. Although much of the world is now industrialized, agriculture continues to be an important tradition in Indonesia.

Indonesian agricultural tradition developed to provide food for its inhabitants. Yet, its continued further development suggests that agriculture has become part of Indonesian identity (Dianto, 1995). Several value systems underlying Indonesian social life are related to Indonesian agricultural tradition. For example, the model of collectivism is closely connected with that of the agricultural tradition where some activities cannot be handled individually (e.g. season-related, irrigation and pest control). Collective work in the field determines the activity's success. This practice has continued to be preserved in farming communities where the largest number of the Indonesian population lives. Therefore, the study of Indonesian social structure cannot be separated from that of the value system of the agricultural tradition.

¹ Faculty of Psychology, Sanata Dharma University, Indonesia.
satorbumi@yahoo.com

Indonesia's contemporary economic situation also places agriculture as a vital issue. As an illustration, more than 42.8 million people (40%) of the Indonesian labor force work in the agriculture sector, while the rest support themselves in goods, service industries and other sectors (BPS, 2010). Certain demographic figures report that 56% of Indonesian households are located in rural areas and the majority of them depend on the agricultural sector to earn their living (BPS, 2010).

Since the 1970s, the characteristic of Indonesian agriculture has quickly shifted from a traditional to a modern one. As the green revolution program was launched in America and Europe, Indonesian agriculture also experienced a significant change (Geertz, 1963). The formation of the agriculture intensification and extensification program in Indonesia, which aimed to reach certain production targets to ensure national food security, marked the aforesaid change. In addition, chemical products and mechanical tool usage dominated agricultural practice at that time. All agricultural activities were driven to be oriented to production capabilities and product quantity (Ekha, 1988). The result of this change was a revolutionary progress in the agriculture industry, which was based on the logic of production, distribution and consumption. However, tradition was undermined for the sake of the market.

Capital interest penetrated Indonesian agriculture through the domination of mechanization that valued efficiency and maximization of production as the peak values of orientation (Indra, 2000). In order to speed up production process and obtain maximum results, genetic engineering, dangerous chemical usage and machine-oriented agriculture activities were introduced. Production acceleration was supreme although farmers had to fully depend on market accessibility in getting supplies for their farming activities.

The mode of relation 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's normative measurement was production, social relations therefore earned a lower importance in the farmers' social world. The ability to invest in laboratory-engineered seeds, factory-made fertilizer and chemicals had proven to speed up production process with significant results. In fact, farmers had to buy all of those products in order to gain the benefit. The fascination of quick production and more efficient results was so strong that people failed to seriously consider and realize the social, economic and ecological impacts of those modern agricultural practices.

The important issue to observe in this process is the change of farmers' attitudes and minds on agriculture. The shift from traditional paradigm to a modern one is not only embodied in the change of farming technique but also in the farmers' lifestyle. Some of the changes are the following.

(1) Subsistence agriculture had shifted to public market-oriented agriculture. Besides implying change in agriculture technique from the 'manual' to the 'mechanical', this shift also meant a change in agriculture economic norms: farmers had to purchase most of all their farming materials such as seeds, fertilizer and chemicals, whereas in traditional agriculture practice, they could produce all of them by themselves. Modern agriculture always required the use of factory-made materials. The logic went this way: certain varieties required certain nutrition and care (Bonnie, 2003). Seeds, fertilizer and chemicals seemed to be made in one package; the usage of one of them had to be followed by the consumption of the others. Farmers gradually lost their sense of independence as market-dependent agriculture practices flourished. The formerly used manpower-oriented agriculture had now turned into capital-oriented agriculture. A more serious

impact of this shift was the withering of farmers' creativity because all they needed was already provided by the market.

(2) Agriculture's social pillars crumbled. The production-oriented agriculture model left little room for voluntary types of social involvement. The sense of competitiveness created by this agriculture model made *gotong royong* was no longer popular among farmers. *Gotong royong* is a local name for altruist tradition developing in rural areas: helping others without asking for remuneration based on the feeling of being part of one bit family. Also, the word, *tolong*, which literally means "help," had lost its true meaning and disappeared in the agricultural world. What was left was monetary remuneration for every amount of work done in the field. Nothing was free anymore. New norms of economic transaction had 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. Agricultural industrialization had brought market-oriented values and lifestyle to agricultural practices.

(3) Dependence on the market turned into a serious problem when the prices of basic needs (as well as agricultural materials and needs) soared, while harvest prices sank to a low level. Seeds, chemicals and fertilizers are factory-made, and those prices are always influenced by the economic index, while rice, corn, soy beans 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 balanced by the rise in demand. The harvest price is therefore cheap and the farmers' income is low. The 2010 BPS data revealed that Farmer's Term of Trade Indices rate reached 101.09% (BPS, 2010). NTP rate shows comparison rate between farmer's income and spending. The 101.09% number suggested that farmers only received 1.09% income (101.09% minus 100%). The flourishing of a consumerism type lifestyle made this situation worse. Newly invented needs emerged along with market's propaganda on the importance of fulfilling these needs. Those working in industry sectors might be able to fulfill these needs; their salary was paid according to the economic standard (minimum wage rate policy). Farmers, on the other hand, had difficulties to keep up with their need fulfillment because their income relied on their harvest price, which was vulnerable to market fluctuation.

(4) Most Indonesian farmers lost their self-confidence and attempted to change professions. With the market economy dominating, being a farmer was plodding a difficult path. Becoming a farmer was identical with absolute poverty, being marginalized and isolated because a farmer's income could not properly meet his living needs (Cahya, 2007). Poverty had wiped out farmers' self-confidence when they participated in social occasions and the pride and prestige of being a farmer was gradually lost within agricultural families. As a consequence, they attempted to find other suitable professions, and migrated to the city, finding work as manual laborers with the hope to gain a better living. As a result, the number of farmers decreased.

(5) The shift in land usage caused a decreasing number of agricultural lands. Around 27 million hectares of agricultural land in Indonesia changed in function per year (BPS, 2010). It happened at a very fast pace due to the similarly fast growth of industrialization. More farmers sold their property because they had lost 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 sold 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 238 million people or 13.8% of the Indonesian population lived in poverty and out of those 60% were farmers (World Bank, 2003). Agriculture

that had contributed to Indonesian identity had no proper place in the era of industrialization. Farmers' poverty, the lost of pride among farmers, farmer depopulation and the rapid decrease of agricultural land were serious dangers for the sustainability of agriculture in Indonesia.

Urgent attempts to strengthen agriculture in accordance with market economy situation were needed. The government had made such efforts structurally through the issuance of several policies. Unfortunately, those policies did not significantly affect farmers. Many farmer empowerment programs only worked on ideal visions, barely touching the roots of the problems (World Bank, 2003). The programs commonly emphasized procedures and short period calculations, not taking into account, the participation of farmers as the actors, the primary movers, of the agricultural stage.

Revitalization movements serve as the means for empowerment to happen. This study emphasizes farmers' participation. In doing so, all activities in this study were conducted collectively, from program designing to its execution and evaluation.

2. Research field: Daleman

Java is one of the islands in the Indonesian archipelago that is very significant to the country. As many as 54% of a total of 17.8 million farmer households in the country dwell in 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 was inhabited by farming communities whose characteristics are typical of a Javanese farming community: owning a small piece of land (the average being less than 0.3 hectares) with a low welfare level and twelve years of experiencing the impacts of industrial revolution. Daleman farmers did not cultivate specific plants but varied their crops according to the season. In the rainy season they planted rice, in the dry season tobacco and other non-staple food crops. Yet, in general, rice was the main crop (see Photo 2).

According to Daleman inhabitants and Bantul District agriculture statistic documents, Daleman produced 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* etc., through a subsistence traditional 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 village prosperity and safety in Java. They worked reciprocally in the field; each was willing to help the other 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.

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

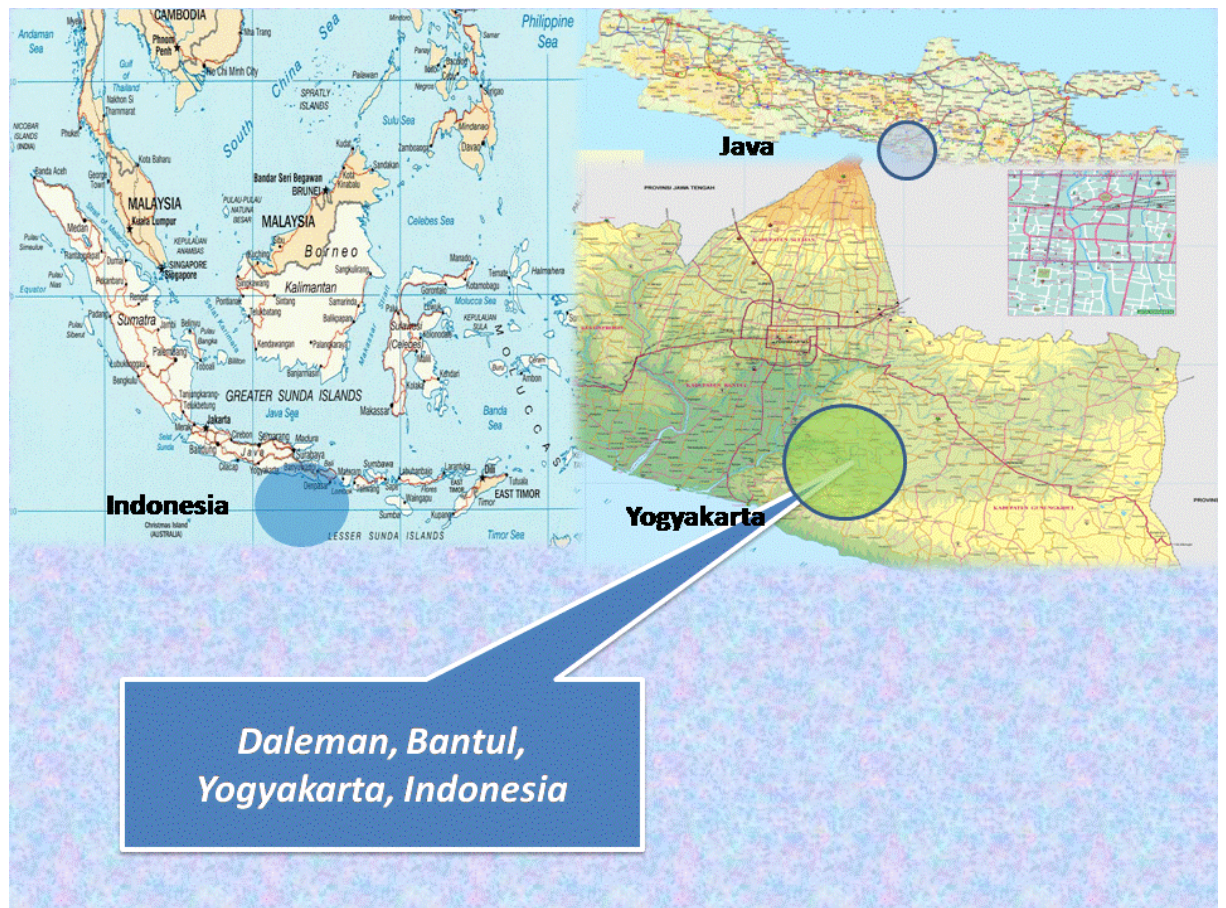


Photo 1. Location of Daleman



Photo 2. Farming in Daleman

This paper is an ethnography on the collaborative practice that was carried out jointly by a group of villagers in Daleman and the author for the two years between 2008 and 2010, to initiate revitalizing the community. The paper includes the process of the collaborative practice by the time this article was written, but it is still in progress. During this process, an organization has been created by the villagers, aimed at addressing the aforementioned situation. Its representatives and the author had attempted to promote awareness among villagers of this situation. They had 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 was not merely a geographical name that identified a certain community but became a center of a revitalization movement of 72 farming households in the area.

3. Collaborative Practice by Villagers and Researchers

The collaborative practice by both villagers and the author under the frame of this revitalization movement aimed to find out a solution to the agricultural problems in the setting and time of a free market. In a practical sense, this study required both the participation of both researcher and community members to map problems, to find the roots of the problems and to generate strategic agendas to improve the current condition.

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. Community members themselves became the resources for the movement; they even directed activities and movements by facilitating farmer organizations in the community. The high degree of participation among community members was the major contribution for success of the movement; the researcher only stimulated discussion and took notes during the process.

The collaborative practice consisted of several steps, as shown in detail in the next section, in which the first was to approach the community. In doing so, the author as a researcher, participated in the community's everyday life, living with them and listening to their experiences, hopes and anxieties. The researcher attempted in both formal and informal individual and collective encounters, to foster an intensive relationship with community members. Listening was the main priority at this stage where the researcher explored community members' expressions of feelings about their situation both as individuals and community members. The documentation of this first stage produced field notes, which the researcher then presented to community members through both personal and collective discussions so that his findings could be confirmed or corrected. The clarification stage enabled the researcher to gain clearer, more actual descriptions of the problems the community was facing.

With a better understanding of community problems that had been clarified by community members themselves at hand, the researcher further engaged in participant observation while living in the community. The researcher stimulated and encouraged community members to state their opinions on agendas of change. In doing so, the researcher played two films on farmers' living, which then stimulated community members' to comment and generate opinions on the contextualization of the film content with their actual life. Some relevant ideas were highlighted and used to focus as an agenda to strengthen the community.

Activities that aimed to generate change were conducted more intensively within the community. Community members discussed strategic planning to realize the change they wanted.

They began by mapping existing resources in the community and deliberating some possibilities to support efforts of community improvement. After the planning stage was completed, it was time to execute the already planned activities, which were conducted in a participative way. The researcher participated in this process and took some notes on it with the support of some of community members. With the help of the notes, the community members evaluated their activities.

Within the two years of the organizing process, the community experienced their ups and downs. Many factors contributed to the dynamic: internal (conflicts, boredom and limited resources) and external (agitation and repression from outside the community). The process was documented in the form of pictures and field notes. In the first year of the process, the pictures were put in a wall of one of community member's house, where other community members usually met. This kind of display raised the curiosity of other residents who had not yet joined the movement. Another way of gathering more people to join the movement was *getok tular*, a typical Javanese way to spread information verbally, not by written language.

4. Ethnography: Revitalization movement in Daleman

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

(1) First Touching

This phase described my first encounter with the 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 the Daleman community happened when I volunteered for a non-profit organization in Yogyakarta named GNH (the Shelter of Hope), 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 Suharyanto (aged 53). His house was newly built with brick-and-cement walls as many other houses which had been rebuilt by governmental financial aid after the 2006 earthquake, but its interior seemed empty, with hardly any furniture and a notable lack of care. I talked to Shr in his living room which was furnished with several chairs, each with a different shape. The house's yard was filled with unused and damaged household items. 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 aid verification but also listened to stories about their everyday life as farmers and villagers. They spoke about their variety of needs and sad stories of a farmer's life: a poor harvest, little 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 on April 4, 2008, I visited Daleman again. At the village entrance, I met Muryadi whom I had met once before. He was working in his field. I glanced at the

approximately 800 meters-square-large field he was working on, filling it with green short rice plants. Muryadi 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," Muryadi said. He cautioned that in order to have a good harvest, he must give his plants fertilizer at the right time. However, the fertilizer in question was rare and its price was soaring high. Muryadi 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 per three months. Due to his small income and increasing basic needs, Muryadi 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 corner but we have to fulfill our needs. Debts are usual phenomenon for us. If we have good harvest, we will pay the debts back. 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 Hardjonos, Yulis, Supriyadis, Sangidus and Suhuts, until one evening in the mid June, 2008 when I met Nurcahyo (53), a prominent figure in the community. Nurcahyo was a farmer and an administrative worker in an elementary school near the village. His house was not grand but well cared for, a very different residence than most of the houses in the Daleman village. Nurcahyo 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 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 their 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. Ratno (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 solid 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 shape but not well cared for because they were full of holes and bumpy. Many public facilities such as the security post, village hall and 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 was an indication on how poor the condition of the village's social capital was, which is defined as the bond among community members based on trust and mutual cooperation that are able to generate movement for collective interest. Perhaps what I saw reflected that the community members were so busy in minding their personal business 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 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 is a sense of village elements being passive. Agus, who is a community member 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 holding *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 where they do the savings and loan activity, and also collect cash for the village. *Rasulan* is 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 in their village. Unfortunately, the activities within the program were sporadic and unsustainable in nature due to its short time period 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 setting: 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) Initiation of the revitalization movement

In this 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 their 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’ exasperation 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 Krisyatno (36). He was married and a college drop-out. On Sunday evening (October 19, 2008), Agus and I visited Krisyatno 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, peanut, eggplant and chili. Krisyatno 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 that 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 clean worms from his plant’s leaves, I asked him about Daleman and its farming situation. He was very amenable 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 the 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 on October 29, 2008, I went to Nurcahyo's house where they were celebrating their daughter's wedding. In Javanese, the wedding party is often called *jagong*. Usually, the bride's family, who holds the wedding party, will invite people who are considered 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 Agus, Yuli, Harjono, Muryadi, Suhar, Sangidu, Kartono and Krisyatno. Our conversation started with idle chatter until we came to the topic of a 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 their harvest's prices, how the price of pesticide and fertilizer soared and how they felt marginalized being farmers. Krisyatno who seemingly was moved by our conversation said, "If we are seriously concerned about this, let's have a serious talk sometimes. Do not just be complaining without any action." They agreed. "It seems that we have to act rather than be complaining," continued Krisyatno, whose very remark seemed to convince the others on the need to create change.

They agreed to continue the talk in a bigger forum, where more community members could attend. Krisyatno 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?" Krisyatno agreed and gave the 'responsibility' of organizing the meeting to me.

The reason I suggested that the people watch a movie was because film is a multimedia form that is more enjoyable and appeals 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 showing a movie where the content was appropriate to the context of the community's condition would easily stimulate commentaries and in turn, awaken the residents' awareness about their condition.

The meeting was held at 8 p.m. on November 3, 2008. As many as 52 Daleman farmers, 48 men and 4 women, gathered in Nurcahyo'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, I did not take a long time to begin and showed "The Loss of Farmer's Dreams" immediately. The movie was 13 minute documentary I myself made. It was based on an investigation I conducted among farmer communities in Indonesia such as Sleman, Wonosobo, Magelang and Kebumen in 2003-2007. The movie presents my interviews with the farmers concerning their situation of living, poverty, dependence on factory-made products, jealousy of other classes and losing pride as a farmer.

When, it was finished, I gave a few short remarks on the movie: that it was not a performance, i.e., that 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?" Krisyatno began. "Yes, it is the same as we experience here. That is the condition of farmers nowadays." Kartono continued. Agus 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 farm."

In my opinion, these people were ready to begin to discuss 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: Nurcahyo, Agus, Yuli, Harjono, Muryadi, Suhar, Sangidu and Krisyatno. I stayed with them and we continued our discussion on the movie.

Sangidu, 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 Suhar asked, "Is it possible to improve such situation...It looks difficult." Krisyatno 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 Nurcahyo'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 commentaries 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 Agus, Kartono, Krisyatno, Yuli and Harjono, confirmed this by restating their opinion 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 29 minutes long, a story of the Community of Pasundan Farmers Organization, who advocated farmers against land grabbing and middlemen oppression. The movie reveals how farmers have experienced structural impoverishment through injustice system. Farmers are really poor economically (they cannot send their children to school) and culturally (they tend to be aggressive and egoist). A friend of mine, an activist in Bandung, gave me the movie. I chose this movie, because it expressed the urgency of 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: Nurcahyo, Yuli, Harjono, Suhar, Sangidu, Krisyatno and myself. 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 except to say that the movie did explain 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 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.

Nurcahyo said, "Farmers are put in difficult situations and no one takes the responsibility of that." Krisyatno 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 intension to change their situation. Some of the community members, who now felt a bond with each other, agreed to hold a routine meeting to discuss community revitalization. Informed by Krisyatno in the meeting in the evening of December 2, 2008, I went to Hardjono's house where 17 people had been waiting. They were Krisyatno, Yuli, Nurcahyo, Sangidu, Kartono, Muryadi, Shr, Agus, Hardjono, Muji, Sujarwanto, Ratno, Tomi, Yono, Andri, Bayu and Suhut.

They made plans to hold a routine meeting once every two weeks to discuss ways to improve the community. Hardjono 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 Hardjono'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 are high because farmers must purchase all their farming tools and materials. These present days, 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 their tools and resources independently, organically and ecologically as their ancestors once did. Their ancestors had not needed to buy from a market because they had their own fertilizer and herbal ingredients to use 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, later than scheduled. 17 members attended the meeting. This time, the purpose was aimed to reflect on farming activities they had practiced so far such as planting, fertilizing, and harvesting as well as the calculated cost for each activity. This meeting was important because now the organization members realized the extreme discrepancy between farming costs and 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 development. Debates among organization members happened when they discussed 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.

Krisyatno argued about the possibility, "This is just about courage or smartness. I, as proof, never used factory-made fertilizer for two years. I gave my vegetables rotten leaves as fertilizer," he said, comparing himself with others rather cynically. Ratno, 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 very debate actually created a gap among the organization members; some agreed Krisyatno's opinion, others with Ratno's. The organization split because many 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. Sangidu told me Ratno was very offended, Muji 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 Nurcahyo. 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) Krisyatno, 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) Hardjono, a Protestant priest and a Bachelor of Theology who was interested in farming; (3) Nurcahyo, a middle aged, school administration officer and also a farmer, who always acted as mediator when conflicts happened and as a group motivator; (4) Sangidu, an old farmer who was interested in organic farming, active in contributing ideas on the traditional farming model; (5) Kartono, an old farmer, a Javanese spiritual and shaman practitioner, who tended to be passive; (6) Muryadi, a community figure, not a farmer but a hospital worker, interested in community empowerment, active but tended to be aggressive; (7) Shr, a true farmer, very talented in making traditional pesticides, a Moslem ulema; (8) Yuli, a young farmer, a figure of the youth group in the community, and (9) Agus, a young farmer, a beginner in farming, a painter, an art school drop-out who filled the role of secretary of the organization.

The importance of unity in the organization became an increasingly important topic to discuss among the members. On July 18, 2009, another meeting was held to discuss the future prospect of the organization. As the members wanted to test their team work performance, they agreed that the celebration of Independence Day that very year would be the right arena in which to do so. They organized competitions that were 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 was not considered a problem at all because usually no one would nominate him/herself as the organizing committee of such event. They designed the event, set the rules of the competition and decided upon the prize for winners. The prizes for winners were one goat, two rabbits, four chickens and some others. The organization 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 team members. 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 Independence Day celebration lasted until its very end when winners were announced and given 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 winner. Slides on the community's activities, including the recent competition, were also presented, accompanied by 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.

(3) Dream Making

In this 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 potentials 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 which they considered suitable to solve the community's problems. To make their movement operable, they planned their strategies and produced an action planning program. This unexpectedly and serendipitously increased other community member's interests in every activity the organization

held, evidenced by the increasing number of participants in the activities. The process which occurred during this phase is briefly described below.

The organization now had realized the importance of organizing their movement more systematically. On August 25, 2009, a week after the successful Independence Day celebration, the organization held a meeting in Hardjono's house. It was Krisyatno 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 was held. The people present at that meeting discussed the importance of strengthening the organization with agendas that focused on 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 Krisyatno, 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 Muryadi, declaring his support.

The success of the Independence Day celebration had actually given confidence to the organization members to take further steps. In every meeting, they seriously discussed agendas to change their life, which consequently touched upon topic of 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 organization members never failed to discuss. Some members, such as Hardjono, Sangidu, Krisyatno and Muryadi, 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 Sudirjo with make appointment before. Sudirjo 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.

Sudirjo 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.


"There was such a thing as cost, except if we employed other people to work in our field. We made animal dung and dead leaves as 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 analyze community problems related to farming accurately. 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 Eddy 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 description of physical features and farming history of the communities. Agus, Krisyatno and Yuli refined the drawing into a neater one. On September 15, the organization members identified problems and options of their communities by applying the SWOT method to the results of observation by the transect method. The 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 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 method). The members commented and revised the facts described in the maps, such as the time period, land ownership, and community history. Considering the abundant resources in the



KELOMPOK LAKSIAN	- Perumahan - sawah - tegal - ladang	- Perumahan sawah - ladang - sawah - tegal	- Hutan mangrove - sawah - tegal - ladang	- Hutan mangrove - Perumahan - tegal - ladang	- Perumahan - tegal - ladang - sawah
STATUS LAKSIAN	- Milik masyarakat	- Milik masyarakat - Umum (Masyarakat)	- Milik masyarakat - masyarakat	- Milik masyarakat - masyarakat	- Milik masyarakat
VEGETASI	- Padi - pisang - mangrove - kelapa - kelapa	- Padi - pisang - mangrove - kelapa - kelapa	- Padi - pisang - mangrove - kelapa - kelapa	- Padi - pisang - mangrove - kelapa - kelapa	- Padi - pisang - mangrove - kelapa - kelapa
KESUBURAN	Sedang	Sedang	Sedang	Sedang	Sedang
PROBLEM	- lahan sempit - PT. SG - ketidakpastian lahan - pampasan PT. SG	- masyarakat tidak punya - PT. SG - ada sebagian lahan - potensi lahan	- lahan sempit - sawah sempit - masyarakat tidak punya - lahan	- lahan sempit - sawah sempit - masyarakat tidak punya - lahan	- lahan sempit - sawah sempit - masyarakat tidak punya - lahan
POTENSI	- sumber air - sawah - mangrove - lahan pertanian	- sumber air - sawah - lahan pertanian	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian	- sumber air - lahan pertanian - sawah
HARAPAN	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah
PEMILIK LAKSIAN	- sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah	- lahan pertanian - sawah - lahan pertanian - sawah

Photo 3. Transect map

community, both in the past and present, the organization decided to make the resources 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 the internet 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,” Nurcahyo 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 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 on organic farming.

They now were prepared to launch their organic farming movement. Although they had known what to do to in applying the traditional farming method, they did not know how to make their plan work. They wanted training on organic farming, and this was held for three days in November 4-7, 2009. The training was conducted in Sleman, in Edy Tanto’s field that had been managed organically for more than 7 years. The training was not only attended by the nine



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

organization members but also other farmers in Daleman village, which made total number of participants 36. They learned how to work with the soil, to make seedbeds and nurse the young trees, to mind the plants, to make organic fertilizer and pesticides. In addition, they learned about polyculture land use and the importance of good teamwork as a supporting factor.

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 arranged them on a short, medium and long term schedule. On November 15, 2009, they designed strategic plan in Hardjono's house with the facilitation of Edy Tanto. More than 47 people attended the meeting. The activities consisted of soil management and work, fertilizer making and training to improve the farmers' skills. Their plan was not yet complete enough but concrete 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 seeds, traditional fertilizer, self-made pesticides and some rituals that they believed could make them close 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 Suharyanto), one raised and nursed seeds (Mrs. Suhud), one made pesticides (Agus) and another organized the community (Krisyatno). Through the work division, they were able to organize their actions better. Besides, this division of labor did not suggest that they work separately, because they conducted every activity collectively.

At the same time, leadership quality within the organization developed well. 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 Hardjono or Krisyatno). They decided to develop each member's leadership qualities and this was a good sign 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 now 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 troublesome.

The community achieved some progress. In the last 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. This small organization was actually a reflection of the larger Daleman community.

(4) A Beginning to action

This phase reflected how the organization plan turned into action. The organization 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 Hardjono, Krisyatno, Sangidu and Nurcahyo, 24 rice fields with the largest 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 not something special when the planting began, but when the plants turned 28 days old, the farmers were fascinated of their fast growing, greener and taller plants.

Their fields were commonly not of large size, only 500--1500 meter square large in average. Some of them owned their own land, some rent from local landlord and paid it yearly. They got ten kilos of local rice variety called *mentik susu* from Edy Tanto for free. The seeds had been grown and nursed in Harjono'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. Suhud'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, and fermented insect bodies. Coordinated by Shr, they made two kinds of organic fertilizer and 24 kinds of pesticide in two weeks. In the mid February, 2010, they spread them in their fields as part of the organic farming treatment.

After two months, they started to find 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 practitioner reported the condition of his or her plants and most had problems. After discussion, Edy Tanto concluded and stated that the inability of the plants to thrive was mainly caused by poor land quality due to the previous cultivation model. These problems impelled the community to decide to invite Edy Tanto to visit their fields to find the solution. In the second week of March, 2010, Edy Tanto with his friend, Baning, visited Daleman. They came to each organic field, observed it carefully and provided some suggestions on certain 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 good 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 Sangidu to clarify my 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, but agitation often came from other farmer groups. On May 15, 2010, Suharyanto 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. Suharyanto’s rice was considered source of pests, which might spread to other fields. Similarly, Krisyatno’s field did not receive his water share due to the different variety of rice he planted. Fortunately, the agitation did not lead to open conflict although it did upset the community for a short period of time. When people experienced such hostility, they would discuss it with other community members, who would support and strengthen those who felt threatened and vulnerable.

The movement has been proceeding and expanding to other areas outside the Daleman village. Every trouble that community experienced and solved had clearly contributed to the community’s development. Although their efforts have not yet succeeded as they dreamt of, their high curiosity and interest always lead them to walk in the path they aspired to reach.

4. Discussion

The fieldwork has continued until this article was written. 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 described previously. The elaboration of these issues was expected to enrich fieldwork evidence, to confirm perspectives and even to provide inputs for the upcoming future process.

(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 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. Behavior bearers thus were not able to realize the possible long-term effect of their behavior. The people consumed the images of the market promotion rather than their actual need. Therefore they purchased items because they lacked the awareness to distinguish between needs and wants. Their value system became marginalized.

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

Community revitalization is not a simple concept. It involves many dimensions to take account, explore and elaborate. As we know, there were various forces in the Daleman community; they formed certain dynamics which 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 ability to translate them in a strategy of revitalization are the significant factors for the success or failure of 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 rather 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 depended on understanding 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, divided the community.

As shown by the Daleman community's experience, conflict and disagreement were likely due to different assumptions and degrees of awareness on 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 no knowledge on the ramifications of what they did. Good communication would be the best means to alleviate this gap in awareness level so that every community member could understand the orientation of the revitalization movement.

Participation of community members is integral for 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. The full participation of each actor would create a sense of belonging to the purpose of the movement which in turn would draw every actor's creativity to strengthen the community.

Community revitalization movement is a never ending process; the movement in Daleman was continuous and flexible to 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 era. The movement might have evoked a different rhythm in a different time, but it should hold onto the value of awareness.

(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 on 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, will generate a description of multicultural reality, which expands the reader's cultural knowledge.

By contrast, the ethnography in this paper was written by the author in order to create material by which villagers can reflect their activities in the past and elaborate a plan for the future. In this sense, the ethnography is not only description but 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 is 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 responsible for it.

We hope we can find some hints for expanding and deepening our activities in such discussions. This paper should be followed by the next paper that includes how the ethnography in this paper was revised and how planning was implemented for the future in the discussions as well as how their movement proceeded thereafter.

In this sense, the ethnography in this paper can be called *engaged ethnography*. Engaged ethnography employed participatory-collaborative framework with emphases on joint actions by both researchers and community members for change 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 the part of a movement for change. They both worked together to 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 community empowerment were explored and sharpened to awaken the audience's awareness on their actual context.

References

- Bonnie Setiawan (2003). Agricultural globalization: Threat to sovereignty of the nation and the farmer's welfare [Globalisasi pertanian: Ancaman atas kedaulatan bangsa dan kesejahteraan petani]. Jakarta: Institute of Global Justice
- BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik: Indonesian Statistic Bureau) (2010). *Farmer's term of trade indices 2010* [Nilai Tukar Petani 2010]. <<http://www.bps.go.id/?news=779>> (December 2, 2010).
- Cahya Widiyanto (2007). *Relative deprivation and alienation experiences among farmers in the agricultural free trade regime* [Alienasi dan Deprivasi Relatif dikalangan petani dalam regim pasar bebas pertanian]. Unpublished master thesis, Gadjah Mada University.
- Dianto Bachriadi (1995). *Farmer's dependence and capital penetration: Five cases of agricultural intensification with contract farming pattern* [Ketergantungan Petani dan Penetrasi Kapital: Lima Kasus Intensifikasi Pertanian dengan Pola Contract Farming]. Bandung: Yayasan AKATIGA.
- Ekha Isuasta (1988). Pesticide dilemma [Dilema pestisida]. Yogyakarta: Kanisius
- Francis Wahono (2001). Food depoliticization: An effort to raise local wisdom and utilize biodiversity [Depolitisasi pangan: Sebuah upaya mengangkat kearifan lokal dan memanfaatkan keanekaragaman hayati]. In F. Wahono, A. B. Widiyanto. & T. O.

- Kusumajati (Eds), *Food, localwisdom and biodiversity* [Pangan, Kearifan Lokal dan Keanekaragaman Hayati]. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Cindelas Pustaka Rakyat Cerdas.
- Geertz, C. (1963). *Agricultural involution: The process of ecological change in Indonesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grinc, R. (1994). Angels in Marble: Problems in Stimulating Community Involvement in Community Policing. *Crime and Delinquency*, 40, 437-68.
- Indra Tata (2000). *Sued the first generation of green revolution* [Menggugat revolusi hijau generasi pertama]. Jakarta: Tirta Karangsari-Kehati-PAN Indonesia
- Polanyi, K. (1944). *The great transformation: The political and social origins of our time*. Boston: Boston Press.
- Schön, D. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. London: Temple Smith.
- Taylor, D.R.F. & MacKenzie, F. (1992). *Development from within*. London: Routledge.
- World Bank (2003). Priority issues for Indonesian agriculture [Prioritas Masalah Pertanian di Indonesia]. *Agriculture Sector Review Indonesia, August 2003*. Carana Corporation for USAID.

—— Received on Aug. 15, 2011, Accepted on Nov. 18, 2011 ——

農業の市場経済化に抗する地域活性化運動：

インドネシア・ジャワ島ダルマン地域の事例

Cahya Widiyanto（サナタ・ダルマ大学）

インドネシアでは、1970年代以降、食糧増産のために農業の市場経済化が強力に推進されている。市場経済化は、インドネシアの伝統的農業を、機械化や化学肥料・農薬の大量使用を特徴とする近代農業へと変質させつつある。しかし、農業の市場化・近代化は、多くの小規模農家に、農産物の低価格化（収入減少）と生産コストの増加（支出増加）をもたらし、農民の生活は困窮の度を深めている。それに加えて、農業の市場化・近代化によって、農村コミュニティの絆も急速に失われつつある。このようにして、インドネシアの農民は、経済的にも社会的にも弱者と化し、その人口の多さにもかかわらず、社会全体の周縁的存在に疎外されつつある。

本論文は、ダルマン地域における地域活性化運動の途中経過（2008 - 10年）をまとめたエスノグラフィである。同運動は、生活苦にあえぎながらも何らなすすべを知らなかった農民たちに対する筆者の働きかけによって始まった。筆者は、他の農村での取材をもとに自ら製作した映画を住民に見てもらった。その映画に登場する農民は、ダルマン地域の農民と同じく、農業の市場化と近代化による生活苦にあえいでいた。映画をみた住民は、自分たちの悲惨な境遇が、インドネシアの広範な農民にも共通していること、そして、その原因が農業の市場化と近代化にあることを深く認識した。その映画をきっかけに住民たちは、市場化と近代化の波に翻弄されるのではなく、それらに能動的に立ち向かう必要性を痛感した、では、どうしたらよいか ---- 彼らは議論を開始した。次第に、9人のリーダーを中心とする組織が形成されていった。

彼らは、自らの地域の実態を把握し、その強みと弱みを分析した。その分析結果をもとに、彼らは、化学肥料や農薬を使わない自然農法を復活させようという夢を共有するに至った。自然農法は、インドネシアの伝統的な農法であったが、農業の近代化に伴って忘れられつつあった。自然農法を知る数少ない住民に教えを請いながら、自然農法の復活を軸に地域を活性化する運動が始まったのだ。その運動では、自然農法のみならず、かつては存在した地域住民の絆を復活することも大きな目的とされた。

本論文のエスノグラフィは、単なる研究のためのものではない。このエスノグラフィは、ダルマンの住民たちが読めるインドネシア語にも翻訳され、住民たちが自らの運動を自省し、今後の展開を考えるために使用してもらうことを念頭に執筆した。このエスノグラフィが、どのように使用されたかは、本論文の続稿の中で報告する。

キーワード：農業の市場化、農民の周縁化、地域活性化、当事者と研究者の協同的実践、実践的エスノグラフィ

著 者

Cahya Widiyanto サナタ・ダルマ大学心理学部 メール：satorbumi@yahoo.com