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Gintingan in Subang : an indigenous institution for sustainable community-based development in the Sunda Region of West Java, Indonesia

Saefullah, K.

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An Indigenous Institution for Sustainable Community-Based Development in the Sunda Region of West Java, Indonesia

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An Indigenous Institution for Sustainable Community-Based Development in the Sunda Region of West Java, Indonesia

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Gintingan in Subang:

An Indigenous Institution for Sustainable Community-Based Development in the Sunda Region of West Java, Indonesia

Kurniawan Saefullah

Leiden Ethnosystems and Development (LEAD) Programme Studies No 11
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Cover Sketch and Design: Iqbal Saefullah, Hanfa Saefullah, Tsalitsa Saefullah, and R. Akil.
The cover symbolises the triadic structure which characterises the Sundanese cosmology and its relation to the three circles of sustainable development. The picture inside the circles symbolises the characteristics of the livelihood in Subang: farmers, fishermen, the dance of Subang *Sisingaan*, with a *Gintingan* Vessel in the center.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Asep Djadja Saefullah and to my mother, Nurhayati Saefullah, for their extraordinary support throughout my life, and to my dearest wife, Vina Adriany and our three children: Iqbal, Hanfa and Tsalitsa.

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Abbreviations

AD : After Decades
ADS : Agama Djawa Sunda
BAPPEDA : *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah*
BI : Bank of Indonesia
BKD : *Bank Kredit Desa*
BMT : *Baitul Maal wat Tamwiil*
BPR : *Bank Perkreditan Rakyat*
BPS : Badan Pusat Statistik
BRI : *Bank Rakyat Indonesia*
CCB : Community Capacity Building
CDD : Community-Driven Development
CIA : Central Intelligence Agency
CLD : the Community Learning and Development
DKM : *Dewan Keluarga Mesjid*
DTSS : Data Theory Scaling System
FES : Field of Ethnological Study
GDP : Gross Domestic Product
GTZ : *Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit*
HD : Historical Dimension
HI : Harvest Index
ICMD : Integrated Community-Managed Development
IK : Indigenous Knowledge
IKS : Indigenous Knowledge Systems
IKSIM : IKS-based Integrated Model
IMF : International Monetary Fund
IMM : Integrated Microfinance Management
INCIN : Integrated Community Institutions
I-PRSP : Interim-Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
IRD : Integrated Rural Development
IRDFS : Integrated Rice-Duck Farming Systems
JIAEA : Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia
KDP : Kecamatan Development Programme
Kopontren : *Koperasi Pondok Pesantren*
KUD : *Koperasi Unit Desa*
LEAD : Leiden Ethnosystems and Development Programme
LED : *Lumbung Ekonomi Desa*
LKM : *Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat*
LKMD : *Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa*
LPD : *Lembaga Perkreditan Desa*
LPK : *Lembaga Perkreditan Kecamatan*
LPM : *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*
LPN : *Lumbung Pitih Nagari*
MAC : Medicinal, Aromatic and Cosmetic
MDCIN : Modern CommunityInstitution
MDG : Millennium Development Goals
MFI : Microfinance Institutions
MoH RI : Ministry of Health, Republic of Indonesia
MPI : Multi-dimensional Poverty Index
NGO : Non-Government Organisation
NIC : Newly-Industrialised Countries
NUSSP : Neighborhood Upgrading Shelter Sector Project
OECD : The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OVERALS : Multivariate of Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlation Analysis
PCINS : Plural Community Institutional Systems
PNPM : *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*
PPK : *Program Pembangunan Kecamatan*
PPKP : *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Perkotaan*
PV : Participant's View
RCT : Randomized Control Trials
ROSCA : Rotating Saving and Credit Association
RPJM : *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah*

RPJP	: *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang*
RT	: *Rukun Tetangga*
RW	: *Rukun Warga*
SAADP	: The Sulawesi Agricultural Area Development Project
SD	: *Sekolah Dasar*
SDGs	: Sustainable Development Goals
SES	: Social Economic Status
SMA	: *Sekolah Menengah Atas*
SMEs	: Small and Medium Enterprises
SMP	: *Sekolah Menengah Pertama*
SNPK	: *Strategi Nasional untuk Pengentasan Kemiskinan*
TEK	: Traditional Ecological Knowledge
TNP2K	: *Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan*
TRCIN	: Traditional Community Institution
TSCIN	: Transitional Community Institution
UD	: *Unit Desa*
UN	: United Nations
UNDRIP	: UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNPFA	: United Nations Population Fund
UPP	: Urban Poverty Programme
USD	: United States Dollar
WB	: World Bank
WCED	: World Commission on Environment and Development
WID	: World Inequality Database

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Need for Sustainable Community Development in Indonesia

1.1.1 Differential Progress of Development in Indonesia

Indonesia is known as one of the largest economies in the world. It ranks in fifteenth place in the world in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and classified as a 'Newly-Industrialised Country' (NIC). The country has survived by maintaining a positive economic growth rate in the last two decades after the Asian financial crises. Following a negative economic growth in the end of the 1990s, the country accelerated into positive economic trends since then until the present time. However, the positive figures of the economic growth has been followed by the increased trends of inequalities. There is a tendency that the disparities among the rich and the poor become wider and more than two-third of the inhabitants are in vulnerable conditions (*cf.* World Bank 2017; Indonesia-Investments 2018). In addition to that, the development of Indonesia also poses a big challenge concerning the solution of the environmental problems, which also affect the poor most, led to economic losses, including limited access to safe water, bad sanitation and high pollution. It is estimated by the World Bank (2014) in which the government of Indonesia has to spend about 2% of the total GDP annually to solve the environmental problems, while the annual costs of preventing air pollution have been estimated at around $400 million annually. These costs are mostly borne by the poor as they are the population group which is more likely to be exposed to the environmental problems. A special report by Lucas & Warren (2011) shows that the environmental problems are mostly affecting the rural areas of Indonesia. (*cf.* World Bank 2014; Lucas & Warren 2011).

The differential progress in the economic performance of countries has prompted the international development discourse to reassess the fundamental question concerning the concept of 'well-being' which transpires through any development programmes. While the main objective of development is to achieve well-being for the entire population, various authors tend to measure well-being differently, depending on the methods and approaches used in development, including a group of development scientists at Bath University which introduced a new discourse on redefining the concept of well-being, particularly for developing countries. Apart from the other critical discourse on the distinction between 'developed countries' and 'developing countries', they suggest to incorporate the measurement of well-being beyond the usual economic and material indicators, by adding 'subjective' and 'relational' dimensions. While the 'subjective' dimension refers to cultural values, knowledge, ideologies and beliefs, including local people's perceptions of their situation, the 'relational' dimension includes social interaction, and the rules and practices which govern the question '*who gets what and why'*. In this context, the pioneering study by Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) highlights the importance of incorporating the 'cultural dimension' into development programmes (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; White 2010).

1.1.2 The Role of the Community in Sustainable Development

Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller (2006) provide an important contribution to the attention to development at the community level. As defined by Harris (1997) and Harris & Johnson (2000), the economy is the sum of actions which are responsible for the provisioning of a society with goods and services. This definition focuses on the fulfilment of societal needs rather than individual needs. Thus, the community is highlighted in the approach. With around 17,000

islands spread over 34 provinces, Indonesia has numerous communities, which requires particular approaches of development plans and policies, which are suitable for each of the communities (*cf.* Harris 1997; Harris & Johnson 2000; Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller 2006).

As the community deals with various aspects of the livelihood of a society, development programmes therefore encompass various disciplines, including economy, sociology, anthropology, politics as well as cultural aspects of the society. It is not surprising that Allen (2000) defines development as multidisciplinary branches of the social science, which addresses numerous subjects concerning developing countries, including social, economic and environmental factors of development at the community to country levels. With regard to specific topics of poverty as a major problem in development, it is inadequate to approach poverty by only focusing on the economic analyses without involving other aspects of the society, including social and ecological factors. This view is supported by the work of Romila (2012) who has studied the Mauryan community in India. The study shows that socio-political factors influence the local economic activities of the Mauryan community, including the decision to allocate human and natural resources in the community. Similar evidence is also identified in Indonesia, by the works of Seibel (2008) and Lucas & Warren (2011). Seibel (2008) analyses the role of an indigenous village institution of *Pakraman* in Bali to the practices of the *Lembaga Perkreditan Desa* (LPD) ('Village Credit Institution'). The study of Lucas & Warren (2011) shows that the indigenous people of Tanimbar Kei in Maluku, Indonesia, use an indigenous community institutional system to balance the utilisation of marine natural resources, including the conservation process of the resources (*cf.* Lucas & Warren 2011; Romila 2012; Seibel 2008).

The important role of a community in development has brought in two implications: 1) development policies should incorporate economic and non-economic aspects of the society and 2) development policies towards the community require a particular approach which is subject to the particular characteristics of the community, which can vary from one community to another. The first implication has shifted the paradigm of development theory from 'Economic Development' to Sustainable Development, in which the latter suggests a balanced treatment in the development approach between economic, social and environment factors. In 1987, the *United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development* (WCDE) released a report entitled *Our Common Future*, which is also known as the 'Brundtland Report'. The report defines sustainable development as:*'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*.' Analyses towards recent development problems range from air pollution of the atmosphere - which has destroyed many forests and lakes - to the floods of the world's coast lands, protectionism in trade, and unequal access to technology (*cf.* WCED 1987).

In the dynamic of development discourse, Slikkerveer (1999) argues that the concept of 'sustainability' is not so much a novelty of the development rhetoric which expanded in the course of the 1980s, but can be traced back to the various indigenous cosmologies and philosophies of nature and the environment throughout the developing world, guiding local people's knowledge, beliefs and practices in their balanced relation with the universe over many generations. Within the context of etic and emic approaches in development, Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995) suggest an *emic* ('insiders') view, rather than an etic ('outsiders') view, while the work by Watson (2003) in Ethiopia provides an example of how the implementation of the emic view in development supports the development process more sustainably. The indigenous institution of *Gada* in Ethiopia has empowered the local people for many generations and supported the process of local development, combining their indigenous cosmologies and their practice in allocating their local resources.

1.1.3 The Cultural Dimension of Sustainable Development

The importance of community highlights the importance of incorporating the cultural dimension in sustainable development. A single perception of development cannot be applied in the community. There is no single solution for various problems in development at the community level. Marsden (1994) criticises development planners who used an inappropriate way of making generalisations in the development approach at the community level. Wodley *et al.* (2006) supports this perspective by arguing that: *'Most of development planning aims to maximize economic development and welfare and rarely takes into account the reciprocal culture-land/resource relationships which are fundamental to Indigenous Peoples' food and livelihood systems'*. The development planners often do not consider the cultural aspect of indigenous people. They tend to ignore various cultural aspects in the community, concerning indigenous people's traditions, ceremonies, food systems and local wisdom (*cf.* United Nations 2000).

The cultural aspects of development become more important in community studies. The work of Warren, Slikkerveer, & Brokensha (1995) pioneered several studies on this ground. The book documents forty cases in various communities all over the world, which elaborate on how cultural dimensions are incorporated and practiced in development. Later, the works of Watson (2003) in Borana (Ethiopia) and Seibel (2008) in Bali (Indonesia) have shown that the cultural factors of indigenous people, knowledge and systems, provide valuable contributions to sustainable development at the community level. Nevertheless, research by Lucas & Warren (2011) also documents that incorporating cultural dimensions in community development supports biocultural diversity and environmental protection (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Watson 2003; Seibel 2008; Lucas & Warren 2011).

1.1.4 The Potential of Institutions in Development

The development approach at the community level encompasses two important implications to be considered: 1) the 'Sustainable Development' concept is suggested in any development programmes, policies and implementations, by integrating the economy with social and ecological factors; and therefore, 2) the emic approach in development has to be promoted, as it accommodates local people's perspectives and empowers them through their participation in community development. As a consequence, institutions in a community possess a vital role to implement those two implications. Development planners and policy makers have turned their attention more to various kinds of indigenous institutions which have supported the development progress (*cf.* Watson 2003). The term 'institutions' in this matter, according to Keohane (1988), refers to a general categorisation of activity or a particular human-constructed arrangement, which is formally or informally organised. It encompasses various levels of institutions, from a community to a national and global level, including states and international organisations. At the community level, a specific norm such as the principle and practice of reciprocity could also be categorised as an institution, as it functionalises local people's resources in various situations. Therefore, any general patterns of activity which involve persistent and connected sets of informal and formal rules that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity and shape expectations are also categorised as institutions. In line with the definition, Menard and Shirley (2005) defined institutions as: *'the written and unwritten rules, norms and constraints that humans devise to reduce uncertainty and control their environment'*. Nevertheless, Slikkerveer (2019) states that institutions generally refer to 'any regularised practices or patterns of behaviour structured by rules and norms of the society, which are widely used, either formal or informal. Similarly, Leach (1999) also provides a broader perspective of institutions, by incorporating all community structures and practices, which have access to and control over resources, including arbitrate contested resource claims. As for indigenous institutions, Watson

(2003) suggests the concept of institutions, to include organisations, conventional knowledge, 'regularised practices', indigenous knowledge, systems and practices (*cf.* Keohane 1988; Watson 2003; Menard & Shirley 2005, Slikkerveer 2019).

At the community level, indigenous institutions have contributed significantly in community development in Indonesia for many generations. In Bali province, an indigenous institution of *Subak* has contributed to the water management and irrigation systems. An integration between the indigenous cosmology of *Tri Hita Karana* and the indigenous village administration of *Pakraman* has successfully supported the implementation of the village credit institution of *Lembaga Perkreditan Desa* (LPD) in Bali, which has been supporting various economic and socio-cultural activities at the community level. The institution has also played important roles in reducing transaction costs in the economy, improving services to the local people and empowering local people through socio-entrepreneurship programmes, including various attempts on poverty alleviation (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Seibel 2008; Eicher & Garcia-Penalosa 2006). The examples of the indigenous institutions in Bali province of Indonesia, which provides local support to the community, in combination with the contribution of various large companies which support various projects of development in mostly urban areas, have indicated that there are dynamics in the development approach. The dynamic reflects global-local dialogue in the development approach and shows pluralities in the approach of development. As for Indonesia, the country applies a Plural Community Institutional System which allows various types of institutions to exist and operate in contributing to the development plans, policies and programmes.

1.2 The Plural Community Institutional System

1.2.1 The Concept of the Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS)

The institutional approach covers various conceptualisations of ideas, policies and practices, including formal and informal rules and practices, as well as contributions from various organisations and decision-making groups (*cf.* Watson 2003). The inclusion of both formal and informal institutions, including the various practices of community-based development programmes at the community level, have brought about the concept of the 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS). It refers to a system of various formal and informal power structures, institutions, activities, and utilisation, which are implemented at various levels of community. The basis of PCINS in community-based development can be analysed from the work of Uphoff (1986) who makes a distinction over various types of development-related institutions, ranging from the international level of institutions to the individual level. This includes the middle level, which represents the local institutions at the community level. As for the community level, Slikkerveer (2019) further distinguishes the concept of institutions with organisations. Institutions refer to a complex of norms and behaviours persisting over time by serving some socially valued purpose, while organisations deal with a structure of recognised and accepted roles in the community. By using an example of Blunt & Warren (1996),

Slikkerveer (2019) elaborates the distinction between the two: marriage, for instance, is an institution which has longevity and legitimacy, while a particular family or a household is an organisation. It has a particular set of roles, which vary from one family to another. This study will consider PCINS, on both an institutional and organisational basis, where a community is considered as being endogenous. The consideration is in contrast to the exogenous approach, which is mainly influenced by various external factors. While Uphoff (1986) views 'local institutions' as 'formal' institutions, Slikkerveer (1990; 2019) highlights the importance to view 'informal institutions' within the context of sustainable community-based development. The

growing evidence of the 'informal' institutional roles in the development-related community level, including the local decision-making process, has become institutionalised over many generations. In support of a sustainable livelihood, Marsh (2003) classifies local community institutional systems into four classifications: 1) formal and informal institutions; 2) government-supported and government-represssed institutions; 3) open access and restricted access institutions; and 4) socio-economic and cultural institutions, which support the achievement of largely the need for economic objectives and various wide-ranging socio-cultural and community goals. Furthermore, the distinction between emic and etic views of development approaches could classify PCINS into 'Traditional Community Institution' (TRCIN), 'Transitional Community Institution' (TSCIN), and 'Modern Community Institution' (MDCIN). This distinction is rather common to analyse PCINS from the insider and the outsider views. Nevertheless, the work of Watson (2003) underlines the attention to the less-tangible dimensions of people-environment relations in defining Plural Community Institutional Systems. It has as a consequence that the concept of community institutional systems should accommodate indigenous, transitional as well as modern institutions. (*cf.* Upfhoff 1986; Slikkerveer 1990; 2019; Marsh 2003; Watson 2003; Agung 2005; Aiglsperger 2014).

1.2.2 The Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN)

Traditional – Indigenous -Community Institutions are generally believed as having important roles in developing and low-income countries, through their contributions in various activities in the community, particularly when the market functions in imperfect conditions. The term 'indigenous' in this research is used interchangeably with the notion of 'local' and 'traditional', with the specific characteristic of 'bottom-up orientation', influenced by local people's beliefs and practices, involving local participation and utilising the internal resources of the community. Although Watson (2003) states that the definition of 'indigenous' itself is problematic, however, the concept of 'indigenous' can be analysed as an institution, which has emerged in particular situations, practiced and constituted by local people who have been living in and utilising the resources in the particular area. Indigenous institutions are also groups of people in a community, who have been neglected in the 'top-down' approach in development, including any dominant forms of governance and knowledge.

Slikkerveer (2019) defines indigenous institutions as local-level institutions - with a socio-cultural and endogenous base, informal and sometimes invisible to the outsider - which are rooted in the history of the community and based on strong local philosophical principles of cooperation, mutual aid, and collective action. It includes the attention where the interests, resources and capacities of many community members are structurally joined together in order to achieve common goods and services for the entire community in a non-commercial way. Donelly-Roark & Ouedrago (2001) stated that indigenous institutions encompass many different types of traditional organisations and functions, including village-level governances, acceptable methods of community resource mobilisations, security arrangements, conflict resolutions, asset management and lineage organisations. In some rural areas, traditional institutions include the councils of elders, traditional midwives, indigenous rainmakers, and also traditional rotating savings and borrowing systems. In some places, sacred forests and trees are also included in the term. According to Watson (2003), the forms of indigenous institutions can be described as 'customary' or 'traditional' institutions, including new kinds of institutions, which are practiced by local people. The ways in which 'indigenous institutions' are embedded in the 'shared memory of local people make the indigenous institutions important in the analyses of their contributions to community-based development (*cf.* Slikkerveer 2019; Roak & Ouedrago 2001; Watson 2003).

Indigenous institutions have seldom been regarded by many development scholars and planners as important factors to support sustainable development. However, a study by Donelly-Roark & Ouedrago (2001) in Burkina Faso shows that the utilisation of high-performing traditional institutions has effectively reduced inequalities among local people and alleviated poverty. Similarly, the work by Watson (2003) in Borana, Ethiopia, also shows that the Indigenous Community Institutions of *Gada* has contributed effectively in the development of the community. Nevertheless, Seibel (2008) also provides evidence that a village credit institution in Bali, Indonesia, was effectively operated in supporting poverty alleviation programmes, by integrating the indigenous community institutions of *Lembaga Perkreditan Desa* with the indigenous village administration of *Pakraman*, influenced by the indigenous Balinese cosmology of *Tri Hita Karana*. Those two studies, in fact, have shown that indigenous institutions are indeed contributing to sustainable development, rendering local people's participation in community-based development programmes.

The pioneering work by Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) highlights about forty examples of the implementation of indigenous community institutional systems in development, which accommodated indigenous cultures. The practice of *Lumbung Pitih Nagari* in West Sumatra, *Gintingan* in West Java, *Jimpitan* in Central Java and *Bojokan* in East Java are also representing some examples of how these traditional institutions have been implemented for many generations in supporting sustainable community development in Indonesia (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Donelly-Roak *et al.* 2001; Basa 2001; Seibel 2008; Saefullah, 2019).

1.2.3 Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN)

The word 'transition' refers to 'in-between', involving any process of changes from one condition to another. Using that approach, Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN) could be represented by various institutions which are characterised by in-between private and public institutions, in-between commercial and non-profit organisations, including in-between traditional and modern institutions. In the context of the emic and etic view of development, the transitional development approach can be regarded as a combination between emic and etic views of development. Similarly, by using the development discourse of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches, the transitional development approach can be regarded as a combination between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches of development. Concerning the economic systems, Ahrens and Junemann (2010) refer to a 'transitional system' as a transformation stage from a 'centrally planned economy' to a 'capitalist market economy' (*cf.* Slikkerveer & Dechering 1995; Ahrens & Junemann 2010).

Within those frameworks, the TSCIN can be considered as the institutions which operate on the basis of combinations between local people's initiatives with the involvement of other institutions from outside of the community. Transitional community institutions operationalise activities through a combination between bottom-up initiatives and top-down supports, together with the combination between emic and etic approaches of development. In Indonesia, from 1998 to 2013, the country implemented the typical TSCIN through some community-based development programmes, *i.e. Program Pembangunan Kecamatan* (PPK) ('Kecamatan Development Programme'), *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Perkotaan* (PPKP) ('Urban Poverty Programme') and *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (PNPM) Mandiri ('National Programme for Community Empowerment'). The programmes were introduced together with the implementation of the decentralisation law in Indonesia, after some decades of centralised development plans by the government. In this context, the intention of the government of Indonesia was to accommodate local people's perspectives and participations in the development processes, although in some particular sectors of the economy and politics, the

central government was still dominant. The effectiveness of the TSCIN has been discussed by many researchers. The initial motive for implementing the transitional system was to increase equalities in various sectors of development. In that particular context, the PPK was evaluated as rather successful in reaching its targets. However, another study has also reported that the successful coverage of PPK was largely determined by a form of one-way communication and a 'top-down' approach. The local participations which were intended to be accommodated in the PPK mostly failed to be realised (*cf.* Bappenas 2013). The implementation of a 'bottom-up' approach in this transitional approach was also criticised. There were many reported cases in which the proposals for various development projects were not designed by the local people at the *kelurahan* or village level. They were rather prepared by the coordinator at the *kecamatan* (sub-district) level. In different cases, the decisions for the development at the community level were already decided by the coordinator of the development project at the higher level of administration. In addition to that, it was reported that in various cases concerning the Urban Poverty Programme (UPP), the programmes could not reach the poorest of the poor, yet failed to lift up the extreme poor. The programmes, which were sponsored by the World Bank through 'Government to Government' (G to G) schemes of soft loans, seem to be unsuccessful in reaching the poorest groups in the community. According to the Report by Bappenas (2013), the volunteers and consultants of the programmes preferred to allocate the money to the economically-active poor and micro-enterprises rather than the poorest of the poor, due to the risks that the projects had to face (*cf.* Bappenas 2013).

1.2.4 The Modern Community Institution (MDCIN)

In contrast to the Indigenous Community Institution, 'Modern Community Institutions (MDCIN) refer to any community institutional system, which are characterised by an exogenous basis, commonly structured formal institutions based on impersonal transactions among the community members for mostly commercial purposes. The term 'modern' usually refers to the discourse of modernisation in the development concept, which is based on the intervention of developed countries in developing and poor countries. Some examples of MDCIN are microfinance institutions, credit savings associations, and village unit institutions, which are established by the Bank and usually act as its branches. Those types of MDCIN commonly identify communities as their development objects, which should be changed through their development interventions. The interventions can be formed as cash subsidies, development projects, as well as other development programmes, which are decided by the people outside of the community, and not by the local people themselves.

At a community level, microfinance is very well known as one of the examples of the MDCIN. It provides poor people with various funding supports, which enable them to lift up their standards of living. The story of the Grameen Bank of Muhammad Yunus in Bangladesh, the Village Unit of Bank Rakyat Indonesia in Indonesia, and the Self Help Group in India are some examples of the glorious roles of microfinance in increasing income levels of the people, providing more access to health services and lowering gender disparities. However, recent researches on the impact analysis of microfinance have concluded that microfiance and microcredit have failed to alleviate poverty (*cf.* SMERU 2005; Obaidullah 2008; Bateman 2010; Duvendack *et al.* 2011; Bateman & Chang 2012).

The reports on microfinance impact assesment mostly reported the microfinance impact on the economically-active or low- and middle-income groups of people. However, the studies lacked evaluations towards the extreme-poor group of people, who are generally considered as unbankable and economically inactive. As a consequence, microfinance then becomes 'exclusive' to the poor. This conclusion has been underscored by Slikkerveer (2007), who states: *'...as the result of recent efforts solely to implement the "institution-building approach" by*

private and public institutions, ... the poor remain largely excluded from the formal financial services of cooperative societies, NGOs and private entreprises, impeding the process of attaining overall financial sustainability.'

1.3 Utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS)

1.3.1 The Ethnoscience Perspective on Community Institutional Systems

'Ethnoscience' refers to a scientific perspective which is based on how humans perceive their environment and how they make adaptations to their environment as reflected in their own daily words and actions. Ethnoscience is a cross-disciplinary orientation of knowledge. It collaborates various scientific disciplines in looking at various phenomena in society. Specifically, ethnoscience emphasises the perspective of how Indigenous People, Knowledge and Systems contribute to society. In this context, ethnoscience uses an emic perspective of science and development (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1990; Slikkerveer & Dechering 1995; Ingold 2000).

The field of *ethnoscience* developed from the discipline of cognitive anthropology in the 1950s as complementary to science, which is based on indigenous people's own ideas, cosmologies, perceptions, practices, experiences and wisdom. As the continuation of an emic view of the development approach, the use of local people's languages, their indigenous classification of plants, animals, religions and life, including their indigenous cosmologies and philosophies of nature and the environment, are the subjects of ethnoscience research (*cf.* Slikkerveer 2015). While Indigenous Knowledge (IK) has often been regarded as backward and incapable of achieving the development objective needs of the modern world, the work of Watson (2003) in Borana has shown quite the opposite to be true. For instance, while an indigenous system of deep wells still works, the 'modern ones' are mostly broken. Similar evidence could also be analysed with the implementation of farming systems in Japan, Korea and Thailand, which use ducks to combat the weeds and insects in the paddy field, in comparison with the use of pesticides. The system, named the 'Integrated Rice-Duck Farming System' (IRDFS), leaves the paddy field unharmed. Moreover, the paddy field is indicated to be more resistant to typhoons and extreme weather. In Iran, the utilisation of the system resulted in the plant height, the number of grains per panicle, the weight of a thousand grains, as well as the Harvest Index (HI) (*cf.* Mofidian & Sadeghi 2015). This evidence reveals that indigenous knowledge has proven its contribution to sustainable development. While Uphoff (1992) elaborates on the potential of institutional systems in development, the evidence shows that indigenous institutions have contributed positively to development in the community, risk-minimising, sustainable and adapted to micro-environments. Although the term 'traditional' is used interchangeably with the terms 'local' or 'indigenous', Watson (2003) suggests using 'indigenous', as it accommodates organisations, conventional knowledge, regularised practices, customary rules and practices. Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) highlight that indigenous institutions are considered to be the ready-made set of power structures, which support groups of people, to organise themselves including participating in the development process, taking any decisions in development, and enforcing regulations as well as resolving conflicts. Uphoff (1992) concludes that indigenous institutions, based on an emic approach in development and culturally-based inclusions, are considered as the 'universe of experience that could provide many valuable lessons for mobilising and sustaining collective action for self-help and self-management in the modern world'. In this context, the ethnoscience perspective suggests strengthening indigenous institutions to contribute more in the development programmes, to explore the possibility of replicating indigenous institutions in various situations in order to achieve development goals (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1990; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Uphoff 1992; and Watson 2003).

1.3.2 The Conceptualisation of Utilisation of the Indigenous Community Institutions

The Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) examine three types of institutions, which can be utilised in the achievement of development objectives: 1) the Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN); 2) the Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN); and 3) the Modern Community Institution (MDCIN). The utilisation of those institutions is determined by various categories of factors, which influence local people's beliefs, knowledge and practices in the community. The incorporation of the cultural dimension in development at the community level became a foundation for an ethnoscience perspective in economic and development studies (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Clammer 2005). Nevertheless, the work of Watson (2003) highlights that the term 'indigenous' is broader in accommodating cultural and community-based development programmes; furthermore, indigenous institutions have proven their contribution in the - so-called - modern world development.

Based on that framework, a specific ethnoscience methodology has been selected for the research in Subang, known as the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach', which has specifically been developed by Slikkerveer (1990) for executing research of indigenous knowledge, beliefs and practices. The methodology can be used to identify people's own preferences in the utilisation of community institutional systems in development and encompasses three major principles*, i.e.* the 'Historical Dimension' (HD), the 'Participants View' (PV) and the 'Field of Ethnological Study' (FES) (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1990). Both the selected research methodology and the analytical model elaborate on the specific ethnoscience-based research methods and techniques used for data collection and analysis in both the qualitative and quantitative parts of the study. The methodology can identify and quantify the 'individual or household participants' view – perceptions, beliefs, cosmologies, attitudes and opinions – as systemic 'socio-demographic' variables and insert them into the 'predisposing variables' as 'background characteristics'. In this way, local people's preferenes on the utilisation of 'Community Institutional Systems' can then be identified.

1.3.3 Towards Sustainable Community-Based Development in Indonesia

The inclusion of culture in development shows an understanding that ethnoscience is important enough to be addressed in the development concepts and approaches, to consider various factors in development, including economic, social and environmental factors. The measurement of well-being should be extended to incorporate other dimensions than material and economic factors. In the 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development through the Brundtland report, 'Our Common Future', has introduced the 'Sustainable Development' concept which considers social and environmental factors in the development agenda. The main objectives of sustainable development are to alleviate poverty, create equitable living standards, satisfy the basic needs of all peoples, and ensure that there are no irrevocable damages to the natural resources. The idea of sustainable development supports the approach that development should implement a holistic idea about development itself: the concept, the approach, the interrelated factors and how the development process would be implemented. Matin, Hulme, & Rutherford (1999) support the holistic perspective of development. By using the example of microfinance, they suggested that microfinance will achieve the development goals, only if the approach accommodates a holistic idea of poverty and development. Khan (1996) also states that: *'most Programmes developed for the poor in the Third World failed because they are designed by professionals who belong to the upper classes and are not fully conversant with the sociology, economics, and culture of the low-income communities or the causes of conditions in low-income settlements'* (*cf.* WCED 1987; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Khan 1996; Matin, Hulme & Rutherford 1999; Rogers, Kazi & Boyd 2008).

Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller (2006) underscore the importance of focusing on development at the community level, which integrates the macro- and micro-level of development through the contribution of community institutional systems. Nevertheless, Toledo (2001) argues that in the majority of third world countries, rural communities find themselves permanently under siege by the destructive forces of 'modernising development', based on the destruction of nature and collective wealth, and the concentration of individual interest – forces that an industrial, technocratic, materialistic society increasingly imposes in all corners of the world. In this situation, Toledo (2001) continues with his suggestion that the initiatives of sustainable development must consider the social and cultural situation of the communities. In other words, the development initiatives should be based on a community-based approach, to ensure its sustainability. This means that emic views in development are suggested rather than etic views. As highlighted by Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995), the 'insider' view accommodates more of this community-based approach of development, which encompasses at least five major aspects of development at the community level: 1) The (pre) historical assessment of a particular community or society in its natural and cultural setting; 2) The culture-specific or culture-bound reference of the term; 3) The holistic approach towards the inclusion of a range of sub-systems of knowledge and technology in sectors such as medicine, agriculture, environment, education, and so on; 4) The more dynamic assessment of the concept of 'culture' concerning the configuration of interacting western and non-western knowledge systems; and 5) The comparative - instead of a normative, western-inspired - orientation towards the development process in certain regions or culture areas.

To highlight the importance of using a holistic approach in development, the 'modern community institutional system' of microfinance in development is evaluated. The basic principle of microfinance operation follows the banking systems. The implementation of the microfinance institution, for instance, does not always give positive results to development in the community. In fact, it fails to lift up the poorest group of the society (*cf.* Roodman 2011). In the short run, the financial support by the micro-banking institution could support local people to have more access to economic resources, *i.e.* food, clothes, etc., through various schemes or loans or any other forms of funding support. However, in the long run, people will start to be alienated from one another, due to the 'impersonal' system of assistance and interaction in microfinance. In the end, the claims that microfinance has contributed to achieving development objectives is being criticised. According to Todaro & Smith (2005), there are three critical aspects accentuated in the objectives of development: 1) Improving people's living levels, *i.e.* income and consumption, food quality, health services, and access to education through targeted growth processes; 2) Achieving circumstances which are conducive to the growth of people's self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic systems and institutions which encourage human dignity and respect; and 3) Enhancing people's freedom to have more preferences by enlarging the range of their privileges, *i.e.* varieties of goods and services. Using the microfinance example, the institution could contribute to achieving the first objective; however, it fails to accomplish the other two critical goals (*cf.* Todaro & Smith 2005).

Following the distinction of institutional approaches in development by Ledgerwood (1998) between 'minimalist' (financial) and 'integrated'(financial and non-financial factors) approaches, in combination with the suggestion by Watson (2003) to incorporate indigenous institutions in its contribution to community-based development, Slikkerveer (2007; 2019) introduces new approaches in solving development problems at the community level with the concept of 'Integrated Microfinance Management' (IMM) and 'Integrated Community-Managed Development' (ICMD). These new perspectives combine the development approaches of the utilisation of indigenous institutions by the local people with the integration of the existing community institutions.

The approaches encompass not only the economic dimensions of the community, but also education, health, communication, and socio-cultural factors, which are also highlighted by Toledo (2001). These new approaches highlight the potential contribution of indigenous institutions to sustainable community-based development.

1.3.4 *Gintingan* as an Indigenous Community Institution in Subang

In the implementation of the emic view of development, it is necessary to understand the context in which the community is analysed. Subang is one of the districts in the province of West Java of Indonesia, where people's livelihood at the community level is influenced by the Sundanese culture. The Sundanese people are the major ethno-cultural group of the people in Subang and the Sundanese language is used in daily conversation. In some parts of the northern areas of Subang, some people communicate in mixed languages with the specific accent of *Dermayan*, which is known as a mix between the Javanese language with the Cirebon dialect. As the Sundanese people are the largest ethno-cultural group of people in Subang, people's livelihoods in Subang are mainly influenced by Sundanese culture. There are many indigenous arts and cultures, which have been established and practiced among most communities and people of Subang. The indigenous knowledge and practices influence the daily life of the people, from the way of farming and building houses, as well as the implementation of specific events, *i.e.* the wedding ceremony and circumcision, including the celebration of the harvesting period of plantations. Some practices of arts and culture of Subang, *e.g Doger Kontrak, Gembyung, Ruwatan Bumi, Mapag Dewi Sri, Sisingaan, Toleat,* and *Nadran,* reflect the practice of the Sundanese people (*cf.* BPS Subang 2017).

In the analysis of Sundanese culture, Wessing (1979) emphasises the importance of understanding the social structure within the context of Sundanese people and their livelihoods. According to his study, the social structure of Sundanese people consists of three settlements rather than the four or five in comparison with the suggestion by Heine-Geldern's model (*cf.* Wessing 1979). Sumardjo (2010) supports his views and also categorises Sundanese culture as a triadic social structure. This triadic structure is influenced by their cognitive beliefs or cosmological perspectives. The Sundanese people have the *Tritangtu* as their cosmological view (*cf.* Wessing 1979; Djunatan 2011b; Sumardjo 2010). The *Tritangtu* cosmovision is used by indigenous Sundanese people in their beliefs and livelihood. They believe that to achieve a *harmonious life* or *well-being*, the *Tritangtu* or triadic structure should be implemented in their life. *Well-being* in the Sundanese worldview is achieved when people can harmoniously balance the three dimensions of *Tritangtu*: the human, the earth and the universe, including the spiritual matters. It is interesting to observe that the concept of balancing these three elements of realms are also viewed by western paradigms as introduced by the concept of *endogenous development* through the re-conceptualization of *well-being* as the objective of sustainable development. *Tritangu* has been influencing the Sundanese people in their culture and livelihood. It influences their way of landscape arrangement and housing, as well as social interaction (*cf.* Wessing 1979, Sumardjo 2010, Djunatan 2011b, White 2010).

The Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* influences people's livelihoods, from socio-cultural activities to various economic transactions. One of the Sundanese traditional institutions, which represents the integration of economic activities and socio-cultural events, is an 'indigenous community institution' named *Gintingan*. It is a socio-cultural institution, which is based on communality, concerning the joint participation of individuals to provide a collective contribution to their community and of individual assistance to fellow villagers in need, known as *Gotong Royong* ('Communal and Mutual Assitance'). In contrast to the modern microfinance institutional system, *Gintingan* is a typical representation of an indigenous community institution, which is based on local people's cosmovision of *Tritangtu*. The cosmology

influences the practices of the institution. It guides the people and the institutional practices to maintain a harmonious balance among the villagers and their nature, during the implementation of such a socio-cultural event known as *Hajatan,* including weddings, circumcisions, rituals, etc. The tradition of *Gintingan* is generally implemented by the people living in the northern agricultural areas of Java, particularly in the district of Subang (*cf.* Saefullah 2019).

This study will further investigate to what extent this cosmological view influences the Sundanese people in Subang, particularly in choosing their decisions in various aspects of their life, including people's preferences towards existing community institutional systems on the fulfilment of socio-economic and cultural objectives of development.

1.4 Aim, Objectives and Structure of the Study

1.4.1 Focus and Significance of the Research in Subang

Earlier sections of this chapter have elaborated the phenomenological as well as the theoretical background of this research. The main focus of this study is to examine the implementation of 'sustainable community-based development' from the approach of the Leiden Ethnosystems and Development (LEAD) Programme. This approach attempts to integrate indigenous knowledge and systems with development, particularly at the community level. According to Slikkerveer (1999), development should be seen from the people's view, with local participation and indigenous institutions having important roles. The approach seeks to pertain to a better understanding of the ethnoscientific perspective in development and at the same time enhance a non-normative/more realistic comparison between indigenous and global systems of knowledge and technology.

There are some key factors which could explain the concept of 'sustainable community-based development' and its influencial factors, *i.a.* understanding indigenous knowledge, people, culture, and participation of local people, 'Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS)' and the utilisation of indigenous institutions and services in 'sustainable community-based development', including the integration of local institutions. These key factors actually have been addressed by Slikkerveer (2007; 2019) through 'Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM)' and 'Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD)' approaches to untangle and restore the imbalanced role of modern institutional systems in poverty reduction and development. The concept of 'Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM)' and 'Integrated Community Managed Development (ICMD)' were developed by Slikkerveer (2007; 2012; 2019) at the Leiden Ethnosystems and Development Programme (LEAD) of Leiden University, embarking on the development paradigm of Ethnoscience and Development, or specifically Applied Ethno-economics and Ethnodevelopment. In this new approach, IMM and ICMD are incorporating factors beyond financial roles in poverty reduction and sustainable development. By using the categorisation of Ledgerwood (1998), this new approach implements the 'welfarist/integrated approach' in dealing with poverty reduction and community-based development, rather than the 'minimalist/financial systems approach'. In this new orientation, the local people's systems of knowledge and practices are used as a starting point for the strategy of 'development from the bottom' rather than 'development from the top', in order to enhance the participation of local community members and as such, sustainable community development (*cf*. Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Ledgerwood 1998; Slikkerveer 2007; 2012; 2019).

The concepts of Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM), Ethno-economics and Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD) refer to the integration of indigenous institutions at the community level, based on the principle and practices of the indigenous knowledge and systems, into a new form of integrated institutions, managed by skilled managers

who are able to develop and extend financial services to the poor, by involving the social services of health care and education etc, into people-oriented development packages (Slikkerveer 2007). Instead of forcing local people to accept modern institutions in tackling their personal, community, and societal problems, the concepts of IMM, Ethnoscience and ICMD provide ways to indigenous institutions to participate in the process of local development and sustainably contribute to community-based development.

Gintingan is an example of how an indigenous institution plays an important role in sustainable community-based development. The local people of Subang have been implementing this institution for many generations. The culture of mutual–assistance and communalities *Gotong Royong* as well as their cosmological views mainly influence the utilisation of this indigenous institution. In this context, the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* has also influenced the concept and the practice of *Gintingan*. As far as the 'ethno-economics' and 'ethnodevelopment' perspectives are concerned, the indigenous community institution of *Gintingan* has demonstrated a practical example of sustainable and integrated community-based development concepts, where people in the community of Subang implement mutual-assistance among themselves through a reciprocal interaction. The indigenous community institution of *Gintingan* indicates that the sociocultural motives are more in favour of the people than the economic reasons. By using the 'Leiden Ethnosystem Approach', the ethnosience methodological approach will help to understand local people's behaviour from three key factors: the 'Historical Dimension' (HD), the 'Participant's View' (PV) and the comparison of the practices among different communities, under the 'Field of Ethnological Studies' (FES) (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1995). Historical evidence reveals that indigenous knowledge and systems – despite having been neglected by some modern scientists who believe that modern science should undertake these roles – have sufficiently proven their sustainability in development from generation to generation. While the role of the indigenous cosmological view and its implementation to the indigenous community institution of *Gintingan* is being studied in this research, the ongoing development debate has often overlooked one of the key dynamic factors which make community institutional systems effective, namely the indigenous organisational knowledge, values and norms embedded in the communities and the institutions which serve them.

This study attempts to understand how indigenous community institutions pose an important role in sustainable community-based development, including the integration between local culture and development. *Gintingan* as an indigenous community institution in Subang of West Java is used as an example of how the local people of Kabupaten Subang operationalise their indigenous beliefs and systems in their livelihood, and how dynamic processes influence the utilisation of the indigenous institutions. In particular, this study identifies local people's preferences towards the available 'Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS)' in the society: indigenous, transitional, and modern institutions. The independent and intervening factors, *i.e.* socio-demographic, psycho-social, as well as government and private promotional factors, are examined in the study, to understand the dynamic influences of how the local people of Subang choose their preferences to utilise the available community institutional systems. The study also seeks to contribute ethnoscientific findings to the development debate about the top-down versus bottom-up approaches in development. In particular, the discourse examines the roles of both approaches in poverty reduction, by using the community institutional systems approach.

1.4.2 General Aim and Specific Objectives

While Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) have been utilised by the people of Indonesia over many generations, the Modern Community Institutions (MDCIN) and Transitional Community Institutions (TSCIN) have been introduced into the community through various development policies and supporting schemes. Nevertheless, the Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN) have also benefitted from the process of globalisation, including the expanded use of media, where indigenous knowledge and practices become more acknowledged by many people outside the respected communities. The resulting Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) in the Sunda Region of West Java provides an interesting phenomenon, which needs further study in order to provide fundamental support for future community institutional policies, focusing on the improvement of the overall well-being of the people.

The general aim of this research is to assess and document, study and analyse the utilisation of the 'Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS)' by the local inhabitants in the Sunda Region of West Java, particularly those living in the four villages of Subang. The study encompasses the identification, documentation and analysis of significant factors influencing the related utilisation behaviours, differentiated over the three related Indigenous, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions at the community level. In particular, this study would like to identify the kinds of local people, within their circumstances of their related background factors, utilising existing indigenous institutions, *i.e. Gintingan,* in comparison with the other available community institutional systems: transitional and modern ones.

This study will also elaborate to what extent the Sundanese cosmovision of *Tritangtu* influences people's livelihood, particularly in the implementation of *Gintingan* towards a Sustainable Community-Based Development in Subang of West Java, Indonesia. In detail, this study will assess the indigenous community institution of *Gintingan* from the following three interrelated dimensions:

- The research will look at the livelihood of the Sundanese people in Subang, particularly in the four villages, where the field work was conducted. Their cosmological views and beliefs will also be examined in relation to their daily life activities. *Gintingan* as an example of an indigenous community institution in Subang will be used to understand further the socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions in which *Gintingan* was developed and practiced. It discusses the role of this indigenous community institution in sustainable community-based development in a particular place at a given historical time, stimulated not only by local socio-economic and cultural dynamics, but also by constant interactions and communications with various external factors.
- The research will distinguish and understand the interrelated factors that determine the utilisation of indigenous institutions, *i.e. Gintingan* in the community, in relation to the local sustainable community-based development such as health care, education, communication, and other needs of the society. The local organisation that facilitates the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* will also be emphasised.
- The research will highlight to what extent the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* and their interrelated factors play a role in the development process of the local community, promote more local participations, support the integration among community institutions, and contribute more effectively to the development of the people in the community.

Embarking on the general aims, through the combined, three-dimensional approach to the traditional institution of *Gintingan* and interrelated available community institutional systems, this study pursues seven specific objectives:

Firstly, to present theoretical orientation on the role of Community Institutional Systems on Sustainable Community-Based Development, placing special emphasis on Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS), including a description of the impact of globalisation on this system in Indonesia, and how ethno-economic and ethno-development perspectives work towards global-local interactions;

Secondly, to present the selected ethnoscience research methodology and the related appropriate analytical model and its components for the execution of the stepwise Bivariate, Mutual Relations, Multivariate and Multiple Regression Analysis of the collected quantitative data;

Thirdly, to describe the general profile or the sociography of the research area, including the socioeconomic development of the region, to give an overview of the socio-economic development policy of Indonesia, West Java and the Subang District. The overview will specifically assess the role of the indigenous institutions of the local people in four villages of the Subang District and how *Gintingan* is taking place in the context of sustainable community-based development;

Fourthly, to describe the profile of four villages, where the study has been carried out, particularly elaborating the concept and implementation of the existing Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS) and its role in Sustainable Community-Based Development; the description is based on the qualitative research during the fieldwork in the villages;

Fifthly, to elaborate the policies and practices the Sustainable Community-based Development in Indonesia, which provide the examination of the recent development progresses as well as the need to incorporate the community institutional systems in the approach, particularly to incorporate the traditional community institution;

Sixthly, to examine the description of the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu*, with a historical description, as well as the operationalisation of Sundanese knowledge systems in the livelihood and development particularly among the local people of Subang. In addition to that, the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* is elaborated from a historical view, on its practices, and its relation to the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu*, as well as its implementation in local development in the Subang District, including the global-local interactions in the discourse of poverty alleviation and sustainable community-based development;
Seventhly, to present the results of the stepwise bivariate and mutual relations analyses of the quantitative data from the household surveys, showing and explaining the differential relationship of significant factors in relation to the local people's utilisation behaviour of the Plural Community Institutional Systems in four villages of the Subang District, sub-divided over the Traditional, Transitional and Modern Community Institutional Systems, to examine the position of *Gintingan* in the local-global interactions, particularly on the discourse of local-global development approaches in poverty alleviation;

Eighthly, In addition to the bivariate and mutual relations analyses, the multivariate and multiple regression analyses of the quantitative data will also be conducted to explain the dynamic relationship between the block of variables of the socio-demographic, psycho-social, perceived needs, enabling, institutional and environmental as well as intervening factors which are

influencing the behavioural patterns of the respondents from the village samples in the utilisation of the Community Institutions, to propose a strategic model of 'Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS)' as a planning tool in order to provide a contribution to the improvement of the local people's level of well-being, together with their participation in development; Nevertheless, the analyses is also extended to elaborate the potential role of indigenous institutions, *i.e. Gintingan* in Sustainable Community-Based Development, and how the example could be implemented in different contexts of sustainable community development in different areas of Subang; and

Ninthly, to provide conclusions and recommendations on the role of the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* in Sustainable Community-Based Development in Indonesia, particularly in the Sunda Region of Subang.

With a central focus on the indigenous community institution and its comparison with the other existing community institutions in four villages of Subang, this study consists of a central enquiry into the factors which have contributed to the development of *Gintingan* and other similar institutions in the Subang District; how these local institutions are managed; to what extent indigenous knowledge systems are integrated in sustainable community-based development; and what sort of socio-economic and cultural factors contribute to local development, including from the historical analysis point of view. In the historical analysis, the first part of the question is directly related to the historic development of Indonesia and Subang as the sociographic area of the study. The historical explanation is meant to give a broader idea of how the local institutions, *i.e. Gintingan*, could exist and be implemented for many generations, among the Sundanese people of the Subang District. The Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* is also examined to understand the relation between Sundanese beliefs and practices in sustainable community-based development. The most important factors, which have contributed to the practice of the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* and interrelated community institutional systems in Subang, will be discussed. The structure of local forms of institutions and organisation and their relationship to *Gintingan* and the level of the community's participation will also be analysed.

The second part of the question deals with the organisational structure, the analysis of organisational management, placing an emphasis on the application of the *Gintingan* institution. The question is to what extent this applies to *Gintingan* in practice. From the perspective of the local institutions of the Subang District, the role of the indigenous communication and interaction of *Musyawarah*, *Gotong Royong*, local elders and kinship organisations will also be discussed. It is the expectation of the study that the interplays between these diverse factors might be approached more as a synergy of sustainable community-based development, in which the different aspects cannot be found in their original form, nor as a separate outcome, but instead are intermingled and contribute to a broader spectrum of the management of the 'indigenous community institution' of *Gintingan.* Conversely, it assumes that those institutions which do not have the capacity or are unsuccessful in arranging and adjusting to a proper balance have a great chance of running into crises or disappearing, whereas those which can adapt to the current local development needs are far more likely to fulfil their development roles. In this context, it seems an essential requirement to maintain a critical balance, which depends on a given organisational environment. The analysis of such interactions and changes, which take place in the organisational management, forms the central theme of this research.

The third aspect of the central question looks into the role of *Gintingan* in local development, under the concept of Sustainable Community-Based Development. In doing so, it analyses for what purposes and in which sectors *Gintingan* is used, and whether the availability of other community institutional systems (traditional, transitional & modern) support the sustainable community-based development through the *Gintingan* institution, in this way contributing to self-reliance and sustainable community-based development.

1.4.3 Expected Implications for Local Institutions

This research ties in aptly with the current debate and the consequent attention being paid to development economics and the increasing relevance of local socio-cultural factors and institutions in the development process. As such, the study attempts to contribute to the efforts being made in this field. This study will provide background information, which will then support development planners to be more aware of the locally available development resources which could be integrated or linked into the development process. Its aim is to broaden our insights into indigenous resources and knowledge systems in Indonesia, and its contribution to the field of development economics and sustainable community-based development. *Gintingan* and interrelated indigenous institutions, which are directly included in this study, as well as other available local institutions – both transitional and modern institutions – will be the direct beneficiaries of these research findings and the practical implications which will be generated in the final chapter of this study.

It is hoped that as one of its outcomes, this study will give a positive impetus to an increased participation and co-ordination of the efforts of local communities in the planning and decision-making process in the Subang District and Indonesia as a whole, as these communities develop a system of integrated management systems and development by utilising the active participation of target groups of local people.

1.4.4 Structure and Organisation of the Study

The overall study and its results are presented in eight chapters, the contents of which can be summarised as follows:

Chapter I, as the Introduction, encompasses the introductory remarks on the need for sustainable community-based development in Indonesia with a particular focus on poverty reduction and how local institutions can be accommodated into development, paying particular attention on alleviating poverty. The section is then followed by the roles of Plural Community Institutional Systems, which encompass the three types of institutions that contribute to the local development, under the Sustainable Community-Based Development approach. The three types of Community Institutional Systems, including Indigenous, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions, are elaborated. It is followed by the utilisation of the system by the local people as the subject in development, under the assumption of a bottom-up approach and an emic view of development. The ethnoscience perspective towards the utilisation behaviour is elaborated, followed by the introduction to Integrated Microfinance Management and Sustainable Community-Based Development, as a new field of the 'bottom-up' development. Furthermore, the chapter also introduces the Sundanese cosmology and the traditional institution of *Gintingan* as a focus of the example which is used in this study. The chapter closes with the general aim and specific objectives of the study, the expected implications for local institutions, and the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter II presents the theoretical orientation of this study, and begins with the Diverse Advancement in Development Discourse, starting from the classical foundations to Sustainable Community Development, underscoring the integration between Culture and Development. The section is then followed by the Institutional Theory of Development, starting from the role of Institutions in Development, followed by the redefinition of the well-being concept which embarks on understanding development objectives from the local people's perspective, including the practice of the 'Plural Community Institutional System' in Indonesia. It introduces the three types of Community Institutional Systems: Indigenous, Transitional and Modern Institutions.

The chapter closes with the views of Ethno-economics and Ethno-development where Indigenous Knowledge Systems play an important role in Development.

Chapter III outlines in detail the research methodology and selected analytical model which includes the applied-oriented research approach, the relevant research questions, and the methods and techniques of the stepwise analysis, implemented in Chapter VIII and IX. The Chapter underscores the importance of the use of the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' with its basic concepts of the *Participant's View* (PV), *Field of Ethnological Study* (FES) and *Historical Dimension* (HD). The operationalisation of the concept of *Sustainable Community Management and Development,* particularly by using traditional institutions, *i.e Gintingan*, is used. The operationalisation of relevant *factors* through the deduction of *concepts* through *variables* and *indicators* to *categorise* is also explained, leading up to the design of the questionnaires through a complementary qualitative and quantitative survey. Finally, the chapter introduces the stepwise statistical analyses including bivariate, mutual relations analysis, Mutivariate of Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlation Analysis (OVERALS) and multiple regression analysis.

Chapter IV describes the research setting of the Subang District of West Java in Indonesia as a country of diverse natural resources and various ethno-cultural groups. The chapter starts with the geographic and historical elaboration about Indonesia, administrative and socio-demographic figures and the current state of the economy, which then elaborates the sociographic description about the Subang District as the study area. The chapter closes with the introduction of Sundanese culture in the research area of Subang.

Chapter V prescribes the general livelihood patterns in four villages of Subang where the the research has been carried out. The description profiles of four villages are presented. The influence of Sundanese culture in the livelihood of the people is also elaborated. The chapter also elaborates the existing Community Institutional Systems in Subang, where the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* is practiced.

Chapter VI seeks to explain the background, concept and implementation of Sustainable Community-Based Development in Indonesia. It starts from the examination towards the development history and policy in Indonesia, the long effort on poverty reduction, the inadequate effort of microfinance roles in poverty reduction, as well as the need for incorporating culture into development policy and planning. The need to involve local people's participation in development is also emphasised, which brings to the concept of Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) and Integrated Community-Managed Development. The chapter closes with the practice of the 'Plural Community Institutional System' in Indonesia.

Chapter VII elaborates the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu*, and its influence on the livelihood of the people of Subang, starting from the historical elaboration of the Sundanese in Indonesia, followed by the livelihood of the Sundanese people by using the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu*. The chapter closes with the elaboration on the indigenous institution of *Gintingan*, which has been practiced by the people of Subang for many generations.

Chapter VIII elaborates the patterns of utilisation behaviour of the people in Subang from the existing Plural Community Institutional System. It starts with the elaboration of how the researcher conducted the study from the preparation stage of the data collection, to the step-wise statistical analysis, where peoples' utilisation behaviour towards the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* is examined, in comparison with the existing transitional and modern institutions. The complementary qualitative findings are supported by quantitative evidence, which consists of the bivariate analysis towards the observed variables by using the existing analytical model which is adapted from Slikkerveer (1990), followed by mutual relations analysis.

Chapter IX continues the quantitative analysis from the household surveys with the multivariate analysis of Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlation (OVERALS) and multiple regression analysis. The analyses are conducted to describe the dynamic relationship of multiple correlations between the blocks of variables, representing the independent variables of socio-demographic, psycho-social, perceived needs, enabling, institutional and environmental, as well as the intervening variable, with the behavioural patterns of the respondents from the four village samples in the utilisation of the community institutions.

Chapter X concludes with the description of the theoretical and methodological implications as well as the practical policy-based recommendations towards effective and efficient health sector reforms. The practical recommendations are strategised towards development planners, policy makers, trainers, researchers in ethno-economics and development, religious leaders, non-governmental organisations, local and central government agencies, with a view to enhancing the empowerment of local people in sustainable and integrated community-based development.

Chapter II THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This Chapter will elaborate the theoretical foundation which is used in this research. It dicusses from the discourse of development, the role of culture in development, the Plural Community Institutional Systems and Ethno-economics and Applied Ethnosciences and Development, which are used in this study.

2.1. Development Discourse at a Glance

Development theory, policies and practices have appealed to leaders and development planners of both poor and wealthy nations, developing and developed countries. Development is still an important subject to consider in the achievement of human well-being and a nation's welfare, although the concepts and practices have been 'self-critical and subject to critiques' (*cf.* Cooper & Packard 1998). There are numerous approaches used in looking at development. It encompasses the discussion on the subjects of development and institutions involved in development, including the implementation of development. Several studies such as by Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), Leys (1996), Haque (1999), Willis (2004), Todaro & Smith (2005), Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller (2006), and Hill (2014) have highlighted those various aspects of development.

2.1.1. Development Theories: Classical Foundations and Debates

Development is one of the important subjects which have attracted the attention of many scientists from different academic disciplines, policy makers, development planners and development practitioners. Development refers to any transformation exertions that enhance the well-being of people, community, and the whole society or country. As defined by Allen (2000): '*development is a multidisciplinary, social sciences branch, which accentuates issues concerning developing countries*.' Development involves historical analyses of particular societies and various places, with various topics related to social, cultural, political, technological, and economic aspects of development. However, most of the development planners put their emphasis more on the perspective of economic development, as is highlighted by the study of Leys (1996). The work pre-dominantly elaborates the influences of economic aspects of development by Keynes & Marshall, the development criticism by Gunnar Myrdal, Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth, the dependency theory by Karl Marx, and the discussion on the neoliberal approach in development. Each of those approaches has its historical context of their influences in the development theories and practices. The study also underlined the importance of putting correct assumptions in the implementation of the particular development approach (*cf.* Leys 1996). In contrast to Leys (1996), Todaro & Smith (2005) state that development is not solely an assessment of the economic phenomenon, but furthermore, it is a multi-dimensional process, as indicated earlier by Allen (2000). It encompasses the reorganisation and the reorientation of the entire economic and social system.

Slikkerveer & Decehering (1995) and Hill (2014) propose that a development model should be based on the heterogeneities among different countries. Thus, the development approaches should be different from one to another. Clammer (2005) furthermore states that the debate on development theories has recently brought the concept of culture back to the central stage of development, especially as a result of obvious failures of conventional approaches to economic growth and social transformation. In this context, there are three critical objectives to be achieved in any development approach: 1) to improve the living standard of the people, *i.e.* the

level of income and consumption, food quality, access to health-care services, including access to educational services; 2) to achieve certain circumstances, which improve the self esteem of the people, through the establishment of social, political and economic systems, including institutional supports which encourage human dignity and respect; and 3) to enhance the freedom of the people, to have more preferences and privileges in the utilisation of the variety of goods and services. These development objectives bear the development discourse into an essential concern in the development theories and policies: the problem of poverty. At a simple definition, poverty refers to the inability of certain people to have proper access to basic needs for living. In relation to that, Morduch & Haley (2002) underscore the difficulty to define poverty as it relates to different approaches to elaborate the problems and to provide any solutions. When poverty is represented by the level of income, giving the poor a proper job could be considered as a solution. However, providing nutritious foods to the poor might be the correct remedy to a malnutrition problem.

One of the well-known measurements of poverty is a poverty line. This measure was introduced by the World Bank. It is a minimum standard of income where people are categorised as poor, when they are unable to access basic needs, *i.e.* food, clothes, shelter, education and health-care services. In certain countries, poor people are entitled to get social welfare or supporting allowance from the government. Shah (2011; 2013) describes the world's figure of poverty where, according to the standard of the World Bank of USD 1.25 per day, the number of people who live at the poverty line or below were about 1.4 billion in 2011. This number is higher than the initial estimation of 984 million people, using the former measure of USD 1 per day which was set in 2004. In Indonesia, around one-third of the people are living under the poverty line of USD 1.25 per day or about half of the population is living poorly by using the USD 2 standard of the new poverty line in 2011. The percentage of poor people in Indonesia is considered higher than the proportion of poverty of the world's population. However, approaching poverty requires a more comprehensive view. It involves various aspects of the society, from economic aspects to health-care services, from education to the culture of the people. A recent definition of poverty by the World Bank extended the income-based measurement of poverty to a more holistic perspective, including the lack of opportunities and capabilities, a sense of voicelessness and vulnerability to external shocks (*cf.* World Bank 2000; 2015; Shah 2011; 2013; De Bekker 2016).

The problems of poverty are so pervasive that the United Nations has listed poverty eradication as the first objective in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Introduced in September 2000, the 8 MDGs are as follows: a) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; b) achieve universal primary education; c) promote gender equality and empower women; d) reduce child mortality; e) improve maternal health; f) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; g) ensure environmental sustainability and h) develop a global partnership for development (*cf.* United Nations 2000). The MDGs set all countries to improve their development progress in various sectors. After fifteen years of its announcement, the United Nations made a report on the evaluation of MDGs. It was generally reported that the UN's MDGs had made positive progress all over the world. It can be read from various reports and publications which are published *i.e.* by the United Nations and the World Bank. The MDGs helped to lift more than one billion people all over the world out of poverty, established a huge dialogue to include every country to participate in the formulation and the achievement of development, and reshaped decision-making by policy makers in developed and developing countries (*cf.* United Nations 2015; Kafungwa 2017). However, there are some critics towards the United Nations' MDGs and its achievements. Fehling, Nelson & Venkatapuram (2013) reviewed not less than 90 articles on the critical examination towards MDGs. One of the main criticisms regards the formulation of MDGs: who identified the goals and targets, and how and why certain goals were chosen and what political agendas influenced the structure of the MDGs.

According to Amin (2006), the overall concepts and approaches of MDGs were mainly driven by the United States, Europe and Japan. It was co-sponsored by the World Bank, The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development (OECD). Richard *et al.* (2011) underscored that only 22% of the world's national parliaments formally discussed MDGs, while Kabeer (2005) and Waage *et al.* (2010) state that there was very little participation of developing countries and civil society constituencies in the creation of the MDGs.

It is not surprising that Fukuda-Parr (2010) questions the real achievement of the MDGs, in comparison with the initial goals which were set in the beginning of the announcement by the UN in 2000. Hill, Mansoor & Claudio (2010) and Waage, Banerji & Campbell *et al.* (2010) highlighted that only one of the eight key objectives became fundamental to the MDGs' framework. The other critical development objectives, *i.e.* peace, security, disarmament, and human rights, were left behind. Mishra (2004) and Oya (2011) found that the MDGs ignore local and governance capabilities. Ties, Mathers and Abouzahr (2010) state that the MDGs give less consideration to national baselines, contexts and their capacities in the implementations.

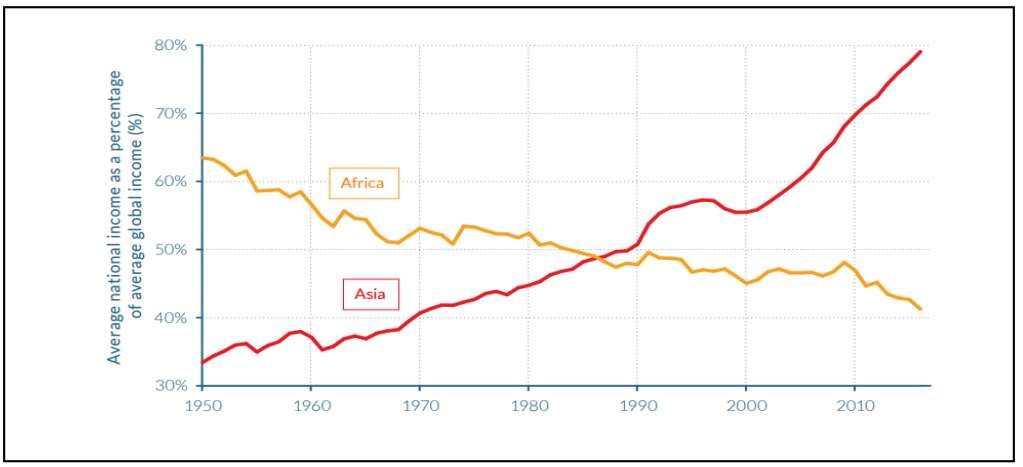


Figure 2.1. Comparison of Income Inequalities between Asian and African Countries. *Source:* WID (2018).

Another criticism which today became very significant to address is that the MDGs miss their goals to reduce inequalities within and between countries (*cf.* Fukuda-Parr 2010). It is not suprising that according to the recent report by The World Inequality Database (WID) (2018), the world's income inequality has increased in nearly all world regions in recent decades with various progressions. The global top 1% income earners have captured twice as much of that growth as the poorest 50% of individuals. The inequalities are becoming wider between, *i.e.* Asian and African countries as seen in the above Figure 2.1.

The general impression is that the rich groups of the population are becoming richer, while the poorest groups become poorer. Income inequality does not only lead to a lowering overall life expectancy of some groups in society, but it also causes them to have lesser access to health care, education, and other public services. It is estimated that global inequality will further increase in the next few decades, unless the leaders of the countries consider changing their policies and making significant utilisations on the institutional factors in development. (*cf.* Dabla-Norris *et.al*. 2015; Yap 2015; Rama *et al.* 2015; WID 2018). Furthermore, Dabla-Norris *et al.* (2015) mention: *'Irrespective of ideology, culture, and religion, people care about inequality. Inequality can be a signal of a lack of income mobility and opportunity - a reflection of*

persistent disadvantage for particular segments of the society'. The increase of inequality can generate economic instability as was the case in 2008 during the global financial-economic crisis and the related obstacles to global growth and employment. The establishment and progress of the United Nation's MDGs as well as its critical examinations extend the discussion on the development discourse to the problem of a situation of imbalance among different countries, amidst under-developed, developing and developed countries. Poverty alleviation and reducing inequalities became important topics in the development discourse in reducing the number of people under the poverty line.

The discourse between economic growth and inequalities brings back to a debate between *pro-growth* versus *pro-poor* in the development discourse, the debates between *income growth* versus equal *income equal distribution* in development measures. The study of Eastwood and Lipton (2000) in 23 developing countries concludes that pro-growth policies might be relatively not pro-poor, although the results are considered varied among different countries. Reductions in severe inequality may be particularly pro-growth while high inequality is associated with low elasticity of poverty to growth. In another study, Lopez (2004) believes that pro-growth policies lead to reduce poverty in the long run and suggest pro-poor policies in the short-run to avoid to reduce inequalities, while Klees (2012) highlights the roles of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in developing countries and concludes that the pro-growth policies are not pro-poor policies.

The term 'growth' and 'inequalities' in this study are considered within the society itself, and not determined by any outside development agencies as the main contributor to the development. It goes to the different perspective in defining well-being as the objective of development. For instance, while Townsend's definition of poverty in 1979 incorporates the inability to have holidays and offer food for friends, some local people in rural areas, particularly in Indonesia, have been enjoying 'holiday' at all times if holiday means to have outdoor activities, irrespective that they are coming from poor families. Thus, the measurement of poverty has become inadequate to generalise the picture. Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller (2006) brought up a critical point on the philosophical foundations of development concepts and practices. According to them, attention to 'communities' has been neglected by many development planners and policy makers. Economists, by using the assumption *of ceteris paribus* ('all else being equal or constant'), often ignore various factors which became the concern of sociologists, political scientists, as well as other non-economic scientists. In many cases, poverty and inequalities are related to the life of the people at the community level. Therefore, the analysis of a community has become an important subject in the development discourse.

As mentioned by Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller (2006), there are three different ways to define community: *firstly*, community as a place where space is a dominant part of the definition, such as the political boundaries of a municipality or country; *secondly*, community as a group of people with specific interests, where space plays very little role in the definition, such as a community of world anthropologists, economic developmentalists, etc; and *finally*, the last view which earmarks community as a logical decision-making unit that may or may not incorporate space. The community which they referred incorporates the first two definitions, but emphasises the point that a community can make and implement decisions. This approach refers to some political entity such as a village or municipality and include a trade area in which collective action can take place through a chamber of commerce, or urban neighbourhood through neighbourhood associations, school-based parent-teacher organizations, or church-based efforts. In addition to that, the culture of a community is influenced by socio-geographic factors, socio-demographic factors, and socio-cultural factors. These influence factors will determine the culture of a community as a whole, including the identification of the community needs, available institutions in the community, and the allocation and utilisation of available resources in the community. (*cf.* Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller 2006).

2.1.2. Sustainable Development: Integrating Economical and Socio-Ecological Perspectives

The attention to community in development brought the discourse of development into broader perspectives than merely the economic approach. This concern brings the discussion to the concept of sustainable development. Sustainable development is generally defined as a development approach, which has an orientation to fulfil the needs of the present generations with a consideration towards the ability of the future generations in order to meet their future needs. The term 'sustainable development' was introduced by Brundtland (1987) in her book *Our Common Future,* published by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). Sustainable development is a development attempt to alleviate poverty, create equitable living standards, satisfy the basic needs of all peoples, and ensure that there are no irrevocable damages to natural resources and nature. It attempts to balance economic aspects in the development of the community, with the related social and environmental factors (*cf.* WCED 1987; Rogers, Kazi & Boyd 2008). After 15 years of its implementation, the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) which has been planned and programmed by all member countries, were evaluated. As the achievement of the MDGs has created side impact of inequalities among the people and countries, this would threat the future generations. Thus, the new approach of sustainable development is accommodated and together with all leaders of the member countries, the United Nations launched the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, as the successor to the previous programme of the MDGs. The SDGs, also known as *the Post 2015 Development Agenda,* emphasise on poverty reduction as the main goal to achieve with an expansion in the number of development objectives to be realised, *i.e.* 17 global goals to achieve within 15 targetted years, amounting to 169 sustainable development targets. The SDGs reaffirm the importance of multi-dimensional approaches in reducing poverty, which is going beyond economic deprivation. Therefore, a specific measure of a Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI) has also been included to enhance the evaluation of poverty. This measurement would answers the call for a better measurement of poverty against the first Sustainable Development Goals: *'To end povety in all its forms'* (*cf.* United Nations 2015, 2017; De Bekker 2016; Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah 2019.).

To ensure that the development practices could apply sustainable approaches within the context of SDGs, the process of development should fulfil at least three criteria of Sustainable Development: *Environmentally Sound, Economically Productive,* and *Socially Just*. Development should not only improve the economic condition of people through income generating activities, but also ensure equal distribution among the people through the reduction of social disparities*, i.e.* socially just, and at the same time preserve the environment from any irresponsible behaviour of the exploitation of the resources, *i.e.* environmentally sound.
The IUCN Renowned Thinkers Meeting in 2006 concluded that sustainable development is a concept by which economic factors are considered together with social and environmental factors in the development theory and practices (*cf.* Swisher, Rezola & Sterns 2009).

Development implements a sustainable approach if the economic activity could also achieve social justice ('bearable'), preserve ecological factors, including non-human ecological factors ('viable'), as well as consider human ecological factors ('equitable'). For instance, mining is a manufacturing activity, which could increase the economic condition of the people and the community by giving some opportunities to them to get jobs in the industry. While the mining activity could accommodate people as the labour to the industry, the activity can be considered to be *bearable*. However, the exploitation of natural resources in the mining activity could harm the environment such as air and soil pollution, if the mining industry exploits the natural resources without considering some impacts from the industry, for instance, if the mining activities do not handle the industrial waste. In this context, the mining activity did not fulfil the criteria of *viability* of sustainable development.The exploitation by a mining activity can also be

examined as *non-equitable* if the exploration of natural resources is implemented without calculating the savings for future generations. Reijntjes, Haverkort, & Waters-Bayer (1992) extend the interrelation of those three factors into five criteria of sustainable development. Apart from the perspectiver of social justice, being environmentally friendly and economically viable, a sustainable development project should also fulfil the 'humane' factor as well as the 'adaptable' factor. The humane factor refers to the concern of humanity in any development project. Adaptability refers to the ability of the development project to be able to adapt to changes, adapting between traditional and modern advancements and institutions, as well as top-down and bottom-up approaches. Such sustainable development approach can indeed be realised through the integration of economic and socio-ecological perspectives (*cf.* Reijntjes, Haverkort, & Waters-Bayer 1992; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Dreo 2007; Swisher, Rezola & Sterns 2009; Brislin & Yoshida 2012).

2.1.3. The 'Cultural Dimension of Development'

Sustainable development suggests that economic activity must consider social and environmental factors. Both social and environmental factors vary from one country to another. While Hill (2014) discusses a development model for South-East Asia countries due to the existence of heterogeneities among the countries, Slikkerveer and Dechering (1995) suggest to approach those various states differently. In fact, the development that model applies to a country should be particularly distinguished from one country to another. In this context, the development approach as well as its model should consider an emic ('internal') view rather than an etic ('external') view. Culture is a particular example of how an emic view differs from one community to another, which distinguishes approaches in development. In this context, the development approach to the community could not be generalised by a single prescription of development. This generalisation approach in development, according to Marsden (1994), is an inappropriate form of development in the community. Generalisation, despite allowing the policy maker to make it easier to determine their policy, simplifies the complexity of the reality in the community. He mentions that: *'It is now commonplace to hear that there are many paths to development, each built on a different cultural base, and using different tools, techniques and organizations. The assumptions underlying the view that it would be sufficient to transfer Western technology and expertise no longer hold. It is not the 'native' who is backward, nor is it a failure to incorporate the 'human factor' which is at fault, but the essential inappropriateness of the western package that was on offer'*. Furthermore, Marsden (1994) states that: *'The arrogance with which policy makers and planners assumed that they were writing on a tabula rasa as they intervened in the Third World in the name of development, is being replaced by a reflexive understanding of the partiality of their own knowledge and a heightened appreciation of the value of other ways of perceiving the development task'*. The development planners often do not consider the cultural aspect of the local people. They tend to ignore cultural aspects in term of people's livelihood, traditions, ceremonies, food systems, as well as their cosmological views (*cf.* Marsden 1994; United Nations 2000).

The work of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) initiated the importance of incorporating culture into development which underscores the approach of sustainable development. Kohls (2012) defines culture as a set of values in a group of people. It is an integrated livelihood system of learning behaviour patterns that are identical to the members of any particular society. It refers to the way of life for a particular society. It also encompasses what they say, do, and make in the society. Their artifacts can be identified from their customs, language, material artifacts, including their attitudes and feelings (*cf.* Jenkins 1993). In addition to that, Kluckhohn (2012) defines culture as consisting of patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting of a people and a community. It goes with the way of the people and community in

reasoning and behaving towards themselves and the environment. The essential core of the culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values. Loeffelman (2010) states:*'Understanding the local cultural and gender dimension of any community is critical to the success of any development project. How can a development project succeed if the clients or population are not included in the organization and creation? How else will development practitioners, typically in the West, know what needs to be done in the local communities unless those people are directly involved? In some development organizations, when women in the global East and South are the recipients of aid, they are either left completely out of the development process or considered one homogenous group that has the same life experiences, needs, and goals for themselves and their families'.* Culture deals with cosmological perspectives or worldviews, and at the same time reflects on the actions of people and the community. It is a way of life as well as a system of conduct. It is not only invisible, but also contains physical objects which are related to human activity. It is inseparable to the history of the people and their social activities. It is cumulative and continuous: it doesn't belong to a particular generation, its influence is carried over through generations and it is transformed from one generation to another (*cf.* Jenkins 1993; Loeffelman 2010; Kohls 2012; Kluckhohn 2012).

Clammer (2005) examines the interaction between cultural studies and development studies. The cultural aspects of development actually become more important in sustainable community-based development studies. The pioneering work of Warren, Slikkerveer, & Brokensha (1995) is among the earlier well-documented research on this ground. Understanding development in the community requires in-depth analysis of the interrelated factors in the community systems. Neglecting the community factors and all interrelated factors within the community, as Marsden (1994) underscored earlier, means proposing inappropriate answers to important questions. A major challenge for the implementation of the concept of sustainable development, where cultural factors are integrated with development, is its essentially normative approach. As underscored by Wiesmann (1998), to make the concept of sustainable development operative, it must be translated into a set of new action-guiding ethical values of individuals and groups. Although globalisation makes some positive impacts such as easier access from one country to another, it challenges those communities where globalisation tends to create uniformity in the differences. Therefore, integrating culture into development plans is somehow not only meant to preserve their distinctive cultures, but also to ensure that the sustainability of people in the globe can be maintained.

Redefinition of well-being as the objective of development

While most of development figures used 'income' as the measurement for development achievement, some other groups started to criticise it. Warren, Slikkerveer, & Brokensha (1995) indicate the importance of cultural inclusion in development and how emic perspective in development is important. This view was followed by Hiemstra (2008) who introduces a concept of endogenous development. Endogenous means 'growing from within'. Endogenous development, similar to emic view, is a development approach based on people's initiatives of their own resources, values, knowledge, organization and strategies. The resources and development approaches implemented at the community level include material, socio-cultural and spiritual dimensions. This approach brought to the redefining *well-being* as an indicator of development objective beyond income. Endogenous Development defined well-being from a holistic perspective which encompasses social, material, and spiritual values of communities. Well-being became an important concept for pro-poor policy after 2015 and the Millenium Development goals as stated by Mcgregor and Sumner (2009). White (2010) further elaborates that the new measurement of well-being should incorporate the three integrating dimensions, which is named as 'the triangle of well-being': 1) subjective dimension; 2) material dimension; and 3) relational dimension. The material refers to any kind of *well-being*, such as food, clothes,

shelter and other physical resources and environment. In practical application this typically refers most immediately to economic assets and income, but it should not be restricted to this. The relational factors refer to social interaction, rules and practices that explain *'who gets what and why.'* It relates to politics, power and identity, which brings the material and subjective to life. The subjective dimension refers to cultural values, cosmologies and also people's own perceptions of their environment. There are three aspects of well-being which need to be considered: 1) what people have or do not have (*material*); 2) what people can do or cannot do (*relational*); and 3) what people think or feel of something (*subjective*). Land, for instance, is easily understood in material terms. However, it only becomes a livelihood resource when it is transformed through the human activity of labour, the social contracts of ownership or use-rights, and cultural meanings and values (*cf.* White & Ellison 2007).

2.1.4 The Paradigm of Sustainable Community-Based Development

According to Korten (1990), the paradigm of Sustainable Community-Based Development refers to: *'a process by which the people of a society develop themselves and their institutions in ways that enhance their ability to mobilise and manage available resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in the quality of life consistent with their aspirations'.* The concept of development, the objective of development and development indicators should be seen not from the view of 'outsiders' but from the view of 'insiders'. This view has also been supported by the *Compass Group of Sustainable Development and Bio-Cultural Diversity* with the introduction of an 'Endogenous Development' approach, where development should be seen as 'growing from within' (*cf.* Hiemstra 2008). Thus, as part of approaching development through an emic view, understanding indigenous knowledge systems, people's participation and the involvement of local institutions in the community has become a key factor in integrating culture into development, as well as the basis for the implementation of sustainable community-based development. As Bergdall (1988) argues: *'for development efforts to be sustained over the long haul, strong indigenous institutions are required... locally grounded organisations are indispensable for durable initiatives to improve the quality of life – wherever in the world those initiatives might be'.* Similar to the concept of endogenous development, the inclusion of cultural aspects in development has also given rise to a discourse of 'community development' or 'community-based development'.

Community development is a development project in which local people in the community are included in a participatory process of development. It is based mainly on local strategies, knowledge, institutions and resources, although it is not an exclusive approach. It is meant to achieve improvement of 'human well-being' with a balance of the natural world, the spiritual world and the human world. Thus, the achievement of development is not merely materially measured, but also spiritually achieved. As explained further by Hiemstra (2008), endogenous development uses peoples' worldviews and livelihood strategies as a starting point for development at the community level. Many of these worldviews and livelihood strategies reflect sustainable development as 'a balance between material, social and spiritual well-being'**.** This concept of balance is important as it relates to cosmological views as far as the culture is concerned. In Indonesia for instance, *Tri Hita Karana* of the Balinese cosmovision (three causes of well-being) and the Sundanese *Tritangtu* are among the examples of this cosmological perspective which put the balance between humans, nature, and spiritual beings as an important measure in development achievement. Some key concepts within endogenous development are: local control of the development process; taking cultural values seriously; and finding a balance between local and external resources. The concept of endogenous development has similarities with the concept of 'Sustainable Community-Based Development' by Korten (1990) which has been mentioned earlier. Local culture and participation are some key points which have recently

been brought up in the discourse. They relate to a concept of community and how development should be implemented at the community level. While some authors responded with a debate on the concept and implementation of participation, as discussed by Matin & Graham (2010), Toledo (2001) proposes a concept of 'sustainable community development' which he adapted for sustainable rural development. Toledo suggests that there are six dimensions of sustainable community development (territorial, ecological, cultural, social, economic, and political) which are integrated from one to another. The basic idea of Toledo (2001) is that the integration of culture with development should accommodate other interrelated factors in the community, particularly at the village level. This includes the regulation-based cultural tradition on how economics could integrate with society and environmental safety. The holistic perspective of development as described by Toledo (2001) was initially suggested by Khan (1996) and Matin, Hulme, & Rutherford (1999) who suggest that development efforts can only be implemented for better improvement by having a comprehensive and holistic idea about the development itself. Khan (1996) also states that: *'most Programmes developed for the poor in the Third World failed because they are designed by professionals who belong to the upper classes and are not fully conversant with the sociology, economics, and culture of the low-income communities or the causes of conditions in low-income settlements'.*

Nevertheless, sustainable development is challenged by globalisation. While sustainable development suggests incorporating cultural factors in any improvement projects, globalisation tends to create uniformities and interdependencies, while neglects cultural diversities. It is characterised by an assimilation process from one country to another, including from developed countries to developing countries. The new challenges arising from globalisation are making it increasingly important to reconceptualise and to relate between culture and development. It encompasses redefining sustainability in the context of the relation between cultural diversity, biological diversity, and development. The work by Warren, Slikkerveer, & Brokensha (1995) elaborated how a cultural dimension in the community should be considered to integrate all the interrelated factors in the development approach and implementation.

2.2. The Study of the Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS)

2.2.1 The Role of Institutions in Development

Institutions play an important role in development. They encompass community-based types of institutions, which are mostly operating at the local level, to large companies which contribute to the production of goods and services for the people in a large scale of the economy of the country. In Bali province of Indonesia, the traditional institution of Subak has contributed to the water management systems, while in Jakarta, a large company has built a large-scale infrastructure, including roads and public transportation to support people's access to various services and facilities. Similarly, a combination between indigenous norms of *Tri Hita Karana* and a local governance of *Pakraman* with the village-level local institutions of *Lembaga Perkreditan Desa* (LPD) ('Village Credit Institutions') in Bali has successfully supported the economic activities at the community level. Institutions have also played important roles in reducing transaction costs in the economy, improving services to people and empowering people through entrepreneurship as well as in attempts on poverty alleviation. At the community level, local institutions pose an important factor in development. Local people use institutions to reach their well-being and as a medium to achieve development goals. They also empower local people's participation in the development process (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Seibel 2008; Eicher & Garcia-Penalosa 2006). There are numerous studies showing evidence that local people were working collaboratively with local institutions to achieve sustainable

improvements in rural poverty reduction and management of natural resources. This reflects the practices of ethno-economics and its contribution to development which requires the participation of local people (*cf.* Uphoff 1992, Marsh 2003). While Marsh (2003) divides local institutions into various categories, *i.e.* Dairy Cooperatives, Traditional Authorities, Mutual Assistance, Church and Religious Institutions, Migrant Associations, and Traditional Savings & Credit Arrangements, including Community-based Natural Resources, Slikkerveer (2017) distinguishes local institutions into different categories, based on their characteristics. While the organisation refers to a complex structure of accepted roles, the rules and behaviour of a group of individuals in the community on an *ad hoc* basis – often transitory – may operate in formal and or informal ways. As for the institution, it refers to a structured complex of accepted roles, rules and behaviours of a group of individuals in the community on a protracted basis – often intergenerational – and may operate in a formal or informal way. For example, a new law firm is an organisation while a judicial court is an institution. An interesting factor, which has been identified as a 'missing link' on the side of policy makers and planners, is a general lack of interest and understanding of the target groups and their culture, largely represented by the indigenous peoples in developing countries (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer and Brokensha 1995; Woodley *et al.* 2006; Slikkerveer 2017).

Slikkerveer (1990, 2017) also makes a distinction between traditional, transitional and modern institutions, which is also defined as a 'Plural Community Institutional System'. As far as the development approach is concerned, 'traditional institution' refers to an institution which plays its role in development, by implementing a bottom-up approach as local people are empowered by participating in the process. On the other hand, 'modern institution' refers to an institution which is established by external parties in the community, usually government or commercial institutions, which implement a top-down approach as the local people implement any project determined by the external parties. A 'transitional institution' in this context is an institution which combines bottom-up and top-down approaches involving local people in the development, which is set by external parties. A 'local institution' can also be categorised as a formal and informal institution as well as its sector-specific categories, *i.e.* economic institution, social institution, financial institution, medical institution and other sector-specific institutions. The three types of institutions: traditional, transitional and modern, play their own roles in development (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1990, 2012, 2017; Agung 2005; Djen Amar 2010).

2.2.2 The Concept of Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS)

The utilisation of traditional, transitional, or modern institutions of the local people in sustainable development depends on how people themselves view their world and the universe, including the way they utilise their resources, which is called the cosmological view. Cosmology deals with the study of how humans understand the universe and its components, how the world was formed, evolved and what it could become. Cosmology is used to understand how humans can achieve their happiness through their words and actions, based on their views of themselves, the society, the environment, and to a certain extent, the spiritual beings. For instance, ancient Indians believe that living in a scattered area is preferable to protect the natural environment than flocked in one particular area, by considering their belief about *maya*. Later in social science, the term migration develops further, related to the concept of the dynamics of the population *(cf.* Sumardjo 2010; Djunatan 2011).

Slikkerveer (2017) underscores the importance of institutions in sustainable community-based development. He distinguishes between institutions and organisations, as both terms are sometimes overlapping concepts or are often used interchangeably. By using the example of Blunt & Warren (1996), Slikkerveer (2019) further clarifies the distinction between the two: marriage for instance is an institution as it has longevity and legitimacy, while a particular family

or household is an organisation, which has particular roles. Organisations may become institutions, that is, 'institutionalised' if they acquire people's values and special legitimacy for satisfying their needs over a longer period of time, while Institutional systems refer to various activities by any kind of institutions at various levels of society (*cf.* Slikkerveer 2017). The basis of an institutional system in community-based development can be understood from the work of Uphoff (1986), which makes distinctions over various types of development-related institutions, ranging from the international level of institution to the individual level. This includes the middle level, which is also represented as a local level. Concerning the local level, there are three types of institutions: 1) the locality level; 2) the community level; and 3) the group level. In this three types of local institutions, the concept of Community Institutional Systems is applied.

This research will consider institutions with an organisational basis in the community, being endogenous, as opposed to exogenous which are mainly influenced by external factors. While Uphoff (1986) underscores 'local institutions' mainly with 'formal' institutions, Slikkerveer (2017) highlights the importance of seeking 'informal' institutions within the context of sustainable development, because of the growing evidence of the 'informal' institutional role in the development-related community-level decision-making process, which has become institutionalised over many generations. In support of sustainable livelihood, Marsh (2003) classifies local community institutions into formal and informal institutions, government-supported and government-repressed institutions, open access and restricted access institutions, and largely economic goals to wide-ranging socio-cultural and community goals. By using emic and etic views of development, Community Institutional Systems can be classified as 'Traditional Institutions' and 'Modern Institutions'. This distinction is rather easy to analyse from the insider and outsider view. With an additional consideration of top-down and bottom-up approaches of development, this research would follow the work of Slikkerveer (1990), Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), and Aiglsperger (2014), which distinguish institutions into three categories: Traditional, Transititonal and Modern Community Institutions. The distinction is defined as 'Plural Community Institutional Systems'. While Traditional Community Institutions in development incorporate a combination between the emic view and 'bottom-up' development approach, Modern Community Institutions incorporate the opposite of the etic view and 'top-down' development approach. Transitional Community Institutions, on the other hand, are considered between the two approaches: the Transitional Institutions could be a combination between emic and etic or 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' development approaches. In Indonesia, such Transitional Community Institutions have existed in the development policies. The Community-Driven Development programmes, implemented by the Government of Indonesia during 1998 to 2013, are examples of this type of transitional community institutions (*cf.* Upfhoff 1986; Slikkerveer 1990, 2019; Marsh 2003; Agung 2005; Leurs 2010; Wong 2012; Aiglsperger 2014).

In addition to formal and informal institutions, Slikkerveer (2012) supports the view of Pejovich (1999) who defines *informal* institutions as:*'traditions, customs, moral values, religious beliefs and other norms of behaviour which have passed the test of time, being part of a community's heritage which is called culture'.* With regards to the support of development at the community level, institutions can be categorised as traditional or indigenous institutions, transitional institutions and modern institutions: 1) *Traditional or Indigenous Institutions.* These refer to institutions established through a bottom-up initiative by local people in the community, that aim to empower local people in achieving their development objectives. Slikkerveer (2017) divides the traditional institutions into several types, including Indigenous Social Institutions, Indigenous Cultural Institutions, Indigenous Economic Institutions, Indigenous Medical Institutions, Indigenous Educational Institutions, and Indigenous Age-Grade Institutions (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1990, 2017); 2) *Transitional Institutions.* These refer to institutions established as a combination between a local initiative with external influences. This is a combination between

‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ development approaches. The operations of the institution are usually started by the local initiative, but involve government or private institutions in practice, to support financial or other resource supports based on rules and regulations; and 3) *Modern Institutions*. These refer to institutions established in the community by external parties, including government and private organisations to support the development activity in the community. It also uses a top-down approach of development. The above categorisation can be perceived of as ‘Plural Institutional Systems’ which at the community level can be defined as ‘Plural Community Institutional Systems’ (PCINS). The explanation of this concept will be elaborated in the next paragraphs.

2.2.3 The Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN)

Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) are generally believed to play an important role in developing and low-income countries by facilitating activities in the community when the market functions imperfectly. As Bergdall (1988) underscores, for development efforts to be sustained over the long term, strong indigenous institutions are required in any approach of sustainable community-based development. Wijayaratna (2004) highlights that the role of ‘Traditional or Local Institutions’ such as government units, formal and informal local institutions including cooperatives, culture groups and NGOs, is becoming more important for the realisation of the integration of various rural development efforts. The term ‘traditional’ in this research is used interchangeably with the term ‘local’ and ‘indigenous’ with a specific characteristic of ‘bottom-up’ orientation, using local people’s beliefs and practices, with full local participation, using internal resources of the community. However, the work of Watson (2003) highlights that the term ‘indigenous’ is broader in accommodating cultural and community-based development programmes; indigenous institutions have proven their contribution in the so-called modern world development.

Slikkerveer (2019) defines traditional or indigenous institutions as: *’local-level institutions with a socio-cultural and endogenous base, informal and sometimes invisible to the outsider, rooted in the history of the community and based on strong local philosophical principles of cooperation, mutual aid, and collective action, where the interests, resources and capacities of many community members are structurally joined together in order to achieve common goods and services for the entire community in a non-commercial way’*. This perspective links up with the substantial works on indigenous knowledge systems in various subjects of the society, which are supporting the base for local-level decision-making processes, and as such are essential for attaining sustainable community development. Furthermore, Donnely-Roark & Ouedrago (2001) state that traditional institutions encompass many different types of indigenous organisations and functions such as village-level governance, acceptable methods of community resource mobilisation, security arrangements, and conflict resolution at the community level. In some rural areas, traditional institutions include councils of elders, traditional midwives, indigenous rainmakers, and traditional rotating savings and borrowing systems. In some places, sacred forests and trees are also included in the term. Research has found that sacredness bestowed on some trees or forests reflects important ecological functions. It also has a function to protect public goods and the environment (*cf.* Slikkerveer 2019; Donelly-Roak & Ouedrago 2001).

In the past, traditional institutions or indigenous institutions were seldom regarded as an important factor in sustainable development. However, the work by Donelly-Roak & Ouedrago 2001 *et al.* (2001) in Burkina Faso has shown that the utilisation of high-performing traditional institutions has effectively reduced inequality as well as poverty, and promotes more equal development. People’s participation and indigenous management councils are key factors in the successful implementation. Similarly, the work by Seibel (2008) also shows that microfinance institutions in Bali, Indonesia could be effectively operated in poverty alleviation programmes,

by integrating the local institutions of *Lembaga Perkreditan Desa* ('Village Credit Institutions') with the indigenous governance of *Pakraman*. Earlier work by Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) in fact documents about forty cases based on this role of traditional institutions. For instance, the Indigenous Water Management System of *Subak* in Bali has contributed to the local development of Bali for many generations, supporting the 'bottom-up' development approach in balancing the local bio-cultural diversity. In addition, the practice of *Lumbung Pitih Nagari* in West Sumatra, *Gintingan* in West Java, *Jimpitan* in Central Java and *Bojokan* in East Java are some examples of how these traditional institutions have been implemented for many generations in supporting sustainable community development in Indonesia (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Donelly-Roak & Ouedrago 2001; Seibel 2008; Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah 2019).

2.2.4 The Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN)

According to Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018), the word 'transition' refers to 'a process of changing from one state or condition to another'. In other words, transition could be defined as 'in-between'. Transitional institutions could be representing in-between private and public institutions, 'in-between' commercial and non-profit organisations, and even in-between traditional and modern institutions. In the context of the emic and etic views of development as introduced by Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995), the transitional development approach can be regarded as a combination between emic and etic views of development. In addition to that, by using the development discourse of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches, the transitional development approach can be understood as a combination between those two. Concerning the economic system, Ahrens & Junemann (2010) refer to a 'transitional institution' as a transformation stage from a 'centrally planned economy' to a 'capitalist market economy'.

As regards the approach which is used in this research, transitional institutions in development or Transitional Community Institutional Systems (TSCIN) can be considered as the institutions operating on the basis of a combination between local people's initiative with the involvement of other institutions from outside of the community. Transitional institutions operationalise their activities through a combination between bottom-up initiatives and top-down supports, together with the combination between emic and etic views of development. During the period of 1998 to 2013, Indonesia implemented Transitional Community Institutional programmes. The *Program Pembangunan Kecamatan* (PPK) ('Kecamatan Development Programme'), *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Perkotaan* (PPKP) ('Urban Poverty Programme') and *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (PNPM) *Mandiri* ('National Programme for Community Empowerment') are the formal institutions used in the programmes. The programmes were introduced together with the implementation of the decentralisation law in Indonesia; afterwards, for about 32 years, the economy of the country had been planned by the central government. In this context, the intention of the central government is to accommodate local people's perspective and participation in development, while in some particular sectors of the economy and politics, the central government is still controlling the power. The Community-Driven Development programmes, particularly the Urban Poverty Programme, are another representative Transitional Community Institutional System, as they combine local initiatives and external funding support. The World Bank states that '*Through a bottom-up and transparent approach, the project seeks to improve basic infrastructure in poor urban neighborhoods and to promote sustainable income generation for its poor urban residents who are mostly long-term poor, have incomes eroded by high inflation, or lost sources of income in the economic downturn. Also, the project seeks to strengthen the capability of local agencies to assist poor communities' (cf.* World Bank 2013).

Wong (2012) indicates that the Kecamatan Development Programme (KDP) became one of the largest World Bank-financed Community-Driven Development Programmes, with an accumulated budget of some USD 700 million distributed to the people in the community to execute their development programmes. The Kecamatan Development Programme has been implemented under the Directorate of the Community Development of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Directorate coordinated the KDP together with the teams of facilitators and consultants from the village level to the national level, and provided some technical support and training. At the village level, a 'Village Facilitator' was selected in a public forum by the local community to coordinate the programme. Project decisions were made locally and the 'Village Committees' were responsible for procurement, financial management, project implementation and oversight. The projects on infrastructure used local building materials, suppliers and labourers. Indonesian civil society organisations such as the 'Association of Journalists' and NGOs which are based in the provinces have been providing independent monitoring for the PPK, which had started in 1998 during a period of great political and economic turmoil. After three years of its operation, the PPK had reached a coverage of 4,048 *Kecamatan* ('Sub-districts') and 69,168 *Desa* ('Villages') (*cf.* Wong 2012; Slikkerveer & Saefullah 2019).

The effectiveness of this type of transitional developmental system has been questioned by many researchers. While the initial motive was to increase equality in development, the PKK can be considered as rather successful in reaching its target. However, it has also been reported that the successful coverage was largely determined by a form of one-way communication and a 'top-down' approach. The implementation of a 'bottom-up' approach in this transitional type of institution, *i.e.* the PKK programme, had also failed. Many cases have been reported in which the proposal for a development project had not been designed by the local people at the village level, but rather by the coordinator at the *kecamatan* level, where in many cases even the decisions on the development sector had been taken. Furthermore, concerning the Urban Poverty Programme, the institutions could not reach the poorest of the poor, yet failed to lift up the extreme poor. The programme seems unsuccessful in reaching this group in the community. According to the Report, the volunteers and consultants preferred to lend the money to the economically active poor and micro-enterprises rather than to the poorest of the poor, due to the risks that the project had to face (*cf.* Bappenas 2013).

2.2.5 The Modern Community Institution (MDCIN)

As a contrast to traditional institutions, modern institutions refer to formal institutions with characteristics of an exogenous base, based on impersonal transactions among the community members for mostly a commercial purpose. The concept of modern is often related to the modernisation concept in the development discourse, which is influenced by the intervention of the developed countries to developing and poor countries. It also refers to the external and or top-down intervention on the community to transfer the condition of the community to certain standards of development set by the development agencies. Microfinance institutions, credit savings associations, village unit institutions which are established by the Bank and act as their branches, and insurance organisations are some examples of these modern community institutions. They do not only operate at the national level, but also at the local level (*cf.* Marsh 2003; Wong 2012; Slikkerveer 2017). These types of modern institutions identify the community as a development object, which can be changed through development interventions. The interventions can be formed as cash subsidies and development projects, as well as other programmes, which are decided by people outside of the community, and not by the local people themselves.

According to Robinson (2001), the poor which are supported by these modern community institutions are categorised into three groups, based on their income levels: the poorest of the poor, the economically-active poor and the lower middle-income poor. As seen in Figure 2.2, each of these groups were assisted through two types of financial schemes, either commercial financial services or subsidised poverty alleviation programmes.

<table>
<tr><th>Income Level</th><th colspan="3">Commercialized Financial Services</th><th>Subsidized Poverty Alleviation Programs</th></tr>
<tr><td>Lower Middle Income</td><td>Standard Commercial Bank Loans & Full Range of Saving Services</td><td rowspan="3">Commercial Micro Loans</td><td rowspan="4">Interest-bearing saving accounts for small savers</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Economically Active Poor</td><td></td><td rowspan="3">Poverty programs for such purposes as food and water, medicine and nutrition, employment generation, skills training and relocation</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>Official Poverty Line</td></tr>
<tr><td>Extremely Poor</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Figure 2.2. Financial Services in the Poverty Alleviation Programmes.
Source: Robinson (2001).

The story of Muhammad Yunus' Grameen Bank, Bank Rakyat Indonesia in Indonesia, and the Self-Help Group in India are some examples of the glories of these types of financial assistance. A number of studies have been done on the success story of microfinance in development, and yet its role in poverty alleviation is still in question. Obaidullah (2008), Hulme & Mosley (1996); Brower & Dijkema (2002), Chowdhury & Bhuiya (2004), Phitt & Khandaker (1996) and SMERU (2005) are some studies which document the success stories of microfinance institutions, while Fernando (2004), Ellerman (2007), Bateman (2010) and Duvendack *et al* (2011) are some studies which criticise the glories of microfinance. Fernando (2004) argues that:*'The users of microfinance are generally those who are living within poverty lines, and those who are among the poorest in the society remain neglected and invisible by the microfinance. The requirement set by microfinance cannot be fulfiled by the poorest or extremely poor groups in the society'*. Microfinance is still exclusive to those who are living under the poverty line or extremely poor groups of people (*cf.* Hulme & Mosley 1996; Phitt & Khandaker 1996; Yunus 1999; Chowdhury & Bhuiya 2004; SMERU 2005; Obaidullah 2008). This conclusion has been identified by Slikkerveer (2007) who states :*'... as the result of recent efforts solely to implement the'institution-building approach' by private and public institutions, ... the poor remain largely excluded from the formal financial services of cooperative societies, NGOs and private entreprises, impeding the process of attaining overall financial sustainability…'*

In conclusion, Uphoff (2004) states that there are various reasons why local community institutions have not played more effective roles in community development. The overcentralisation of the government is one of the obstacles of the role of local institutions in development. The centralised governance renders local institutions unable to empower themselves and contribute to the community development.

2.3. Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Ethnoscience and Ethno-economics

The integration between culture and development has been acknowledged in society. Some development activities in society have been rooted in some particular cultures. In Indonesia, for instance, there is *Subak* in Bali Province, where there is a water management system based on the Balinese cosmology of *Tri Hita Karana*, where a balance between human, the spiritual world

and the earth should be considered in any development project in Bali. This water temple system is based on Hinduism beliefs; in one of their books, *Rajapurana Ulun Danu Batur*, which stated that: '*Because the Goddess makes the waters flow, those who do not follow her laws may not possess her rice terraces'* (*cf.* Lansing & Kremer 1993). Similarly, Japanese recovery after World War II, the Basque experience in Spain, Township and Village Enterprise in China, and India's Kerala model of development are some other examples of how cultural factors contributing to development progress. The next section attempts to explain the importance of Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Ethnoscience and Ethno-economics, as the theoretical framework used in this study (*cf.* Clammer 2005; Bateman 2010; Taramol 2014).

2.3.1. The importance of Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Development

Indigenous Knowledge (IK), or Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), is used to define the knowledge systems developed by an indigenous people and its community as a contrast to 'modern' scientific knowledge (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1999). This study refers to IK, the knowledge which indigenous people acquired from generation to generation, mostly based on their life experience with nature and influenced by their cosmological beliefs. IK is the basis for local people's decision-making in many rural communities and ethno-cultural groups of a society. Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) deal with specific systems of knowledge and practice, developed and accumulated over generations, often outside universities, research institutions and laboratories, which form the basis of local-level decision-making processes, and are as such unique to a specific culture or region (*cf*. Slikkerveer 1995). It has value not only for the culture in which it evolves, but also for scientists and development planners striving to improve the livelihood and well-being of rural communities. As Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) indicate, incorporating IK into development, including for instance climate-change policies, could result in the development of effective participatory and sustainable adaptation strategies which are suitable to the people (*cf*. Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Slikkerveer 1999). Furthermore, the Brundtland report states *"These communities are the repositories of vast accumulations of traditional knowledge and experience that link humanity with its ancient origins … It is a terrible irony that as formal development reaches more deeply into rain forests, deserts and other isolated environments, it tends to destroy the only cultures that have proved able to thrive in these environments … Hence the recognition of traditional rights must go hand in hand with measures to protect the local institutions that enforce responsibility in resource use. And this recognition must also give local communities a decisive voice in the decisions about resource use in their area*' (*cf.* WCED 1987: 114–16).

Marglin & Marglin (1990) have criticised the superiority of modern science that underestimates Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) as 'backward' by judging it as 'less scientific' because it promotes superstition, religious obscurantism or even barbarism. In addition to the critical views of the failure of modern scientists to perceive the traditional knowledge of particular cultural beliefs and practices within the larger context, there is a question to the modern science, which in fact also uses 'superstition' or 'beliefs' in their practices. For instance, traders in a capitalist society sometimes uses their feelings to predict the market and its changes. In this context, the view of modern, transitional or traditional science is in fact perceived as socially constructed (*cf.* Marglin & Marglin 1990; Slikkerveer 1999). Over the course of their history, indigenous peoples have maintained livelihoods and cultures which are intricately tied to nature. Their values, belief systems, and cosmological views have evolved to enable them to survive within the changing circumstances and environments.

According to Anaya (1996), the value of Indigenous Knowledge System is becoming recognised by scientists, managers, and policy-makers, and is an evolving subject of national and international law. Indigenous peoples themselves have repeatedly claimed that they have

fundamental rights to Indigenous Knowledge because it is necessary to their cultural survival, and this principle is increasingly being recognised in international law. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which was acknowledged by the UN Human Rights Council in 2006 states that indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect, and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literature, designs, sports, traditional games and visual and performing arts. While indigenous peoples have sometimes caused extinctions and degraded environments, they have often persisted for ages in their territories by using detailed adaptive knowledge. As regards the community institutional systems, indigenous knowledge system provides the cosmological basis to the people of how the institutions can be utilised and sustained in the community-based development (*cf.* Bergdall 1988; Posey 1999; UNDRIP 2007).

2.3.2. Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Ethnoscience

Ethnoscience can be defined as a way of learning and understanding how humans perceive their environment and how they make adaptations to their environment as reflected in their own daily words and actions. Thus, ethnoscience is a cross-disciplinary orientation of knowledge. It collaborates with the disciplines of social sciences and humanities, with mathematics and natural sciences (*cf.* Ingold 2000). Ethnoscience deals with the perspective of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) in contributing to society. Ethnoscience uses an emic perspective of science, which deals with how a 'native' or indigenous people, which has been implemented from generation to generation and has benefited people and the community. On the other hand 'modern' science uses a researcher's perspective which is mostly constructed from 'keeping a distance between a scientist and a scientific object'. Ethnoscience is a study of people's worldviews, knowledge and perception of the world as represented in their own use of language and action. Modern scientists are often critical of the value of IK except when it has been reshaped in 'modern' scientific terms, and may withstand IK with superstition, irrationalism, and tribalism (*cf.* Scott 1998). IK has often been regarded as unsystematic and incapable of achieving the objective development needs of the modern world. Modern societies have considered indigenous people and traditions as less progressive; as a result many groups of indigenous peoples, especially their younger generations, devalue their local cultures and tend to follow modern lifestyles and technologies. By consequence, IK have not been captured in a systematic way and are endangered. Recent studies on history, sociology and anthropology, as well as the philosophy of science, criticise the superiority of the term 'objectivity' in modern science by explaining how a community of scientists' shared commitment to presupposed metaphors and paradigms determines the status of observations and accepted facts. At the same time, there is increasing awareness that indigenous peoples do in fact have knowledge about the properties of the natural world which are important and valuable. The acknowledgement is behind the efforts of pharmaceutical industries to make acquaintance with traditional healers in the rainforests of the world, to study the healing properties of medicinal plants and their collection, including cultivation and preparation. It is also behind the attempts of the major seed companies and genetic engineers to study indigenous cultivated varieties from indigenous farming populations around the world (*cf* Rist & Dahdouh-Guebas 2006).

The incorporation of indigenous knowledge into science is called 'ethnoscience', because it is seen as essentially rational and rooted in a process of empirical research and scientific testing over many generations. It is 'ethnoscience' because it is context-specific in as much as it is expressed in the everyday languages of the people who developed the knowledge, and is shaped by their particular lifestyles and cognitive maps. As elaborated by Slikkerveer (2006), the field

of 'ethnoscience' developed from the discipline of cognitive anthropology in the 1950s as complementary to *science*, which is introduced on the basis of indigenous people's own ideas, perceptions, practices, experiences and wisdom; the continuation of the *emic view* of development studies, the use of the local people's language, their indigenous classification of plants, animals, religion and life, as well as their indigenous cosmologies and philosophies of nature and the environment are the subject of ethnoscience research (Slikkerveer 2016). As stated by Slikkerveer (1999), the debate on the discourse of ethnoscience has shifted from *'what is the value and usefulness of indigenous knowledge systems for sustainable development?'* to 'how can such knowledge systems be used to ensure equitable benefit sharing of the resources with the contributing communities?' (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1999). It moves from an ontological discourse to epistemology and axiology. There are numerous studies which have been demonstrating the evidence from ethnoscience research. The work of Warren, Slikkerveer and Brokensha (1995) documents more than forty indigenous knowledge-based development cases from various places in the world, particularly in Asia to Africa. In a Food for Work programme in Nepal, significant losses of food in the distribution system were reduced when the programme switched to the use of local technologies and networks. In Bali, the Water Management System has been implemented for centuries, which is based on Balinese cosmology. (*cf.* Marglin & Marglin 1990; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Agung 2005; WHO 2015)

Slikkerveer (1999) attempts to further functionalise ethnoscience into practices by proposing an important methodological approach in integrating culture and development by identifying interrelated factors that cause people's behaviour in the community. The methodology was established under the Leiden Tradition of Structural Anthropology, named the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach', which combines between people's perspective through 'Participant's View (PV)', a comparison analysis among different-comparable communities through 'Field of Ethnological Studies (FES)' and a historical analysis on the concept and practices of the subject of ethnoscience. This method will be elaborated further in Chapter III of this book. The approach perceives some evidences of how ethnoscience are applied in the community. Agung (2005) investigates how the Balinese Cosmology of *Tri Hita Karana* influences many activities of people in Bali. Leurs (2010) describes people's preferences towards traditional or modern institutions, on the use of MAC plants. Djen Amar (2010) and Erwina (2019) elaborate the practices of ethnocommunication in a rural area of Bandung, West Java. Ambaretnani (2012) discusses the role of traditional midwives in society. Chirangi (2013) describes the interprofessional collaboration on health care towards modern and traditional systems. Finally, Aiglsperger (2014) describes indigenous health care in rural Crete, Greece, and Erwina (2019) documents health information and communication systems in a Sundanese community in Bandung, West Java (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1999; Agung 2005; Leurs 2010; Djen Amar 2010; Ambaretnani 2012; Chirangi 2013; Aiglsperger 2014; and Erwina 2019).

2.3.3. Ethno-economics, Ethno-development and Sustainable Community-Based Development

As for economics, an emic view towards the economic activity of the people at the community level brings a different perspective of how development should be approached. While the mainstream economic approach, views economic problems from the perspective of the policy maker, the emic view suggests accommodating the voice of the people, particularly their understanding of their economic problems. It comprises knowledge pertaining to various economic activities. Ethno-economics deals with an economic activity which is implemented by indigenous or local people and local institutions, which is based on bottom-up approaches and involves local peoples' participation in the use of local resources. Unlike modern economics, which is driven by market theory and seeks to profit in any kind of transaction, ethno-economics

mainly deals with people's activities which is not only aiming to fulfil economic goals, but also socio-cultural objectives (*cf.* Umoh-Akpan 2000; Ovchinnikov & Kolesnikov 2006).
Furthermore, Ovchinnikov & Kolesnikov (2006) address some important characteristics of ethno-economics, as follows: 1) The prevalence of informal institutions; 2) The predominance of traditional forms of economic activity, mostly farming; 3) A combination of subsistence and small-commodity production, closed household economy, underdeveloped exchange and trading; 4) Immobile resources typical of the local habitat; 5) Empirical labour and economic experience, use of arts and crafts and cottage industries; 6) An extensive employment pattern based on a primary producing economic infrastructure and predominantly manual labour; and 7) Low social and geographical mobility of the population.

Uphoff (2004) states that the overcentralised governance towards the community, is one of the factors causing the inability of local institutions to contribute to sustainable community development. Ethno-economics provides the answer, by empowering the local institutions to participate in the process of development in the community. The use of ethno-economics in development brings the approach into the *'ethno-development'* paradigm. Ethnodevelopment refers to the right of local people, including ethno-cultural groups, to participate in the development process with their own approaches (Seymour-Smith 1986: 97). The work of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) is also based on this ethnodevelopment paradigm, in which a cultural dimension is integrated in the process of development. The term 'ethno-development' has been introduced by Stavenhagen (1986) to describe development which takes into account the need to maintain ethnic diversity as development takes place. According to Hettne (1995), there are four main aspects of ethnodevelopment which can be described as follows: 1) Territorialism: the spatial concentration of ethnic groups, such that decisions about 'development' are made within a particular territory based on the resources of that particular area; 2) Internal Self-determination: the ability for a particular ethno-cultural group to control collectively its destiny within the context of a nation-state; 3) Cultural Pluralism: the existence of and mutual respect for a number of cultures within one society; 4) Ecological Sustainability: the idea that development should progress with no significant destruction of the natural environment which would threaten future livelihoods (*cf.* Seymour-Smith 1986; Stavenhagen 1986; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Hettne 1995; Willis 2011).

There are numerous examples of how the practices of ethno-economics as well as ethno-development have contributed to sustainable community development. For instance, in Nigeria there are *Nka* and *Etibe* associations. They are both examples of traditional informal collective farming, organised on the basis of labour contributions among the neighbourhood members. In Indonesia, there is another example of how ethno-development has been implemented, *i.e Lembaga Perkreditan Desa* ('Village Credit Institution') in Bali, *Ijon* in West Java, *Gintingan* and *Andilan* in West Java, *Bojokan*, *Rewangan* and *Jimpitan* in Central and East Java, *Lumbung Pitih Nagari* in West Sumatra and many other similar institutions which integrate culture and development (*cf.* Partadiredja 1974; Okuneye 1985; Korten 1990; Irawan 1999; Seibel 2008; Umoh-Akpan 2000; Basa 2001; Wijaya 2010; Prasetyo 2012; Okuneye 1985; Umoh-Akpan 2000).

Chapter III RESEARCH METHODS AND ANALYTICAL MODEL

This chapter introduces the research methods used to investigate people's utilisation behaviour towards socio-economic institutions. This research follows the academic tradition of the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' to study people's behaviour, and this chapter describes the approach that allows a detailed study of the anthropological and geohistorical concepts of the 'Participant's View' (PV), the 'Field of Ethnological Study' (FES), and the 'Historical Dimension' (HD) which is introduced by Slikkerveer (1990; 1999). The present study adopts the so-called multivariate model of utilisation behaviour, which has been adapted from previous research conducted on applied ethnoscience and development, particularly on the patterns of behaviour in different sectors of the society and across a variety of geographical areas. By developing the research orientation, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods will be used through a 'sequential transformative approach' as both qualitative and quantitative approaches have the same quality in terms of its importance in explaining the study (Creswell 2014). The qualitative research involves participative and non-participative observations, interviews with the people, literature research as well as docummentation of primary data from the field. The fieldwork started with a preliminary study of secondary data and interviews with some key informants, which was then followed up by the qualitative research, where the participative and non-participative observations including in-depth interviews were implemented from March-April 2011, September-December 2011 and March – May 2012. The additional qualitative and quantitative data collection was also conducted later between 2013 to 2016 to update the findings. The qualitative research was followed by a household survey to describe the general picture among the communities where fieldwork was done. The general picture of the communities is important to be examined as an implementation of comparison in the context of the Field of Ethnological Studies in this research, where the villages are distinguished based on some similar factors. The quantitative research on household interviews was implemented from March-May 2012 by using a questionnaire, based on an adapted analytical model of Slikkerveer (1990) which has been applied in various topics of applied ethnoscience by other researchers, including Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019.). The technique used in the field is in-depth interviews and discussions with different community representatives and key informants, *e.g. village heads, kecamatan heads*, the Mayor of Subang, informal leaders, as well as other village-based institutions.

3.1. Research Methodology

3.1.1 The 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach'

The ethnosystems approach, the leading approach of this study, has its roots in the classical school of thought of sociology and sociolinguistics called 'ethnomethodology', which was introduced in the 1960s by Garfinkel (1964, 1967, 1974) and Cicourel (1964). The focus of ethnomethodology basically lies in the practical, everyday common-sense reasoning of community members connected to their lay methods (*cf.* Agung 2005). Although useful for the development of interaction research, ethnomethodology lost much of its support, due to the presentation of an over-ordered notion of everyday life, without providing an explanation of the social structures and constraints. In 1991, Slikkerveer reassessed the research methods and techniques available at the time to understand and explain local systems of knowledge, belief and

practices in a diachronic way from a comprehensive emic perspective and developed an advanced, more dynamic ethnomethodology appropriate to be operationalised within the context of sustaibale development. He based this applied-oriented appproach on an adapted combination of three principles of ethnoscience which he introduced as the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1991; Ibui 2007; Aiglsperger 2014).

The 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' has further been operationalised in policy-based research in projects on the African and Asian continents, studying complex systems of indigenous knowledge and practices, thereby further increasing the understanding and clarification of the interaction process between indigenous and global knowledge (*cf.* Adams & Slikkerveer 1996). The LEAD Programme of Leiden University adapted the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' as an advanced methodology to gain a comprehensive 'insiders view' in a wide variety of sectors of societies and communities worldwide. Later, Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995) documented that the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach'accommodates the analysis of processes of interaction between humans and their environment and that this methodology is capable of taking the significant patterns of use, management and conservation of biocultural diversity into account. In their studies, Agung (2005) and Ibui (2007) demonstrate that the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach'is useful for, respectively, the analysis of the conservation behaviour of the Balinese of their island's biocultural diversity and the analysis of the indigenous knowledge, beliefs and practices of wild plants among the Meru of Kenya. Similar studies in applied ethnoscience and development have also been conducted by Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019). This study in ethno-economics and ethno-development combines those previous researches by means of the ethnosystems approach with the utilisation of a traditional community institution in the Subang District of West Java, in contrast to the existing transitional and modern community institutions. The ethnosystems approach seeks to contribute to the establishment of a common ground for comparison and synthesising analytical principles by providing an interdisciplinary non-normative framework of emic, regional comparative and (pre-)historical analysis (*cf.* Slikkerveer & Dechering 1995). In a broader context, the ethnosystems approach can be used to analyse dynamic concepts such as beliefs, perceptions, practices and decision-making processes, and interrelate these dynamic concepts with the socio-economic development of various sectors of the communities involved (*cf.* Ibui 2007; Djen Amar 2010; Ambaretnani 2012; Chirangi 2013; Aiglsperger 2014).

The 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' encompasses three basic ethnoscience concepts: the Historical Dimension (HD), the Leiden concept of 'Field of Ethnological Study' (FES) and the Participant's View (PV). Each of the three basic concepts of the ethnosystems approach and their connected research methods and techniques will be discussed in the following paragraphs. The Historical Dimension (HD) facilitates the analysis of the historical dimension of development processes. In this study the focus of the historical perspective lies on those historical developments in sustainable community development and integrated community development in the Sunda Region of West Java, in particular in the Subang District. (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1999). The Leiden concept of 'Field of Ethnological Study' (FES) is the second basic concept of the ethnosystems approach. Indonesia, confining a wide variety of sub-cultures, can be regarded as a FES. FES is related to the later introduced concept of 'culture area' and is a reference to geographical and environmental regions in which cultural features can be compared among different ethnic groups within that same region (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1999). The determination of Indonesia as a FES evolved from the extensive ethnological fieldwork by Van Wouden (1935), who observed that a pan-Indonesian culture exists, characterised by similar comparative cultural traits, such as language, kinship and arts, as well as similar perceptions and practices in agriculture, forestry and medicine. This determination of Indonesia as a FES has been further substantiated by various structural anthropologists belonging to the 'Leiden Tradition', for

instance de Jong (1980) and Schefold (1988). FES being a regional comparative research tool shows to be more realistic and less normative than other approaches. FES has been a leading concept during the orientation and documentation phases of the literature study. The field work area for this study is restricted to the Subang District of the West Java province in Indonesia.

During the fieldwork period executed from 2011 to 2012 with some additional visits between 2013 to 2016, the participative observation research technique was used during the qualitative field work, rendering it possible for the researcher to recognise those aspects of the Sundanese society which are part of that pan-Indonesian culture determined by the structural anthropologists. The Participant's View (PV) is related to the anthropological concept of the 'emic view', a technique which pays special attention to the *in situ* aspects of indigenous knowledge. The local population's point of view on their own way of life, including their system of management, use and conservation of natural resources, has become a major guiding principle in policy planning and implementation at the local level (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1999, 2012; Ibui 2007; Chirangi 2013). The emic view, as opposed to the etic view, looks at cultures from within, allowing the researcher to conceptualise the community under study on the basis of local constructs and concepts. Consequently, the emic classifications are those drawn from the way local people perceive things through their own eyes and expressed within their own language, whereas the etic classifications are taken from the way the researcher perceives and classifies the world (*cf.* Martin 1995). In this study, PV is accommodated through qualitative ethnographic research carried out from 2011 to 2012 in the four villages of the Subang District of West Java.

3.1.2 Selection of the Research Setting

The researcher identified Subang as a target location based on an earlier literature study on *Gintingan* as one of the traditional mutual-aid institutions which is still implemented by local people in Subang. The researcher interviewed the author of the previous research, Mr. E. Irawan, prior to the selection of the location. Irawan (*pers.comm* 2011) recommended the researcher to implement this study in Subang, as the people in the area are still implementing *Gintingan*, the traditional institution in contrast to the available transitional and modern institutions. Other researches on *Gintingan* or *Gantangan* have also confirmed that Subang is a Sundanese area in West Java which is still implementing *Gintingan*. Based on those earlier studies on *Gintingan*, the researcher decided to take Subang as the research area for the population of the study. According to the latest statistics of Kabupaten Subang (2017), the District consists of 30 sub-districts and 253 villages. Most people in those sub-districts and villages are still implementing *Gintingan* as part of their culture with various reasons and forms of implementation. However, as explained by Mr. Irawan, most of them use the wedding or circumcision ceremony (*hajatan*) to implement *Gintingan* as the ceremony requires high amounts of money (*cf.* Irawan 1999; Wijaya 2010; Field Note 2011; Prasetyo 2012; BPS Subang 2017).

3.1.3 Selection of Respondents in the Survey

The questionnaire itself was developed since August 2011, and has been discussed several times during the qualitative field work. It uses the established instrument which was firstly introduced by Slikkerveer (1990) and has been used in several researches which are related to applied ethnoscience and development studies. After several adaptations of the questionnaire, particularly with regard to the research area, the questionnaire was finalised in March 2012 and ready to be distributed. The samples involved in the research accommodate the geographic distribution of Subang from the Southern to the Northern Areas of Subang.

Table 3.1 Distribution of the Questionnaire.

Village	Number of Questionnaires	Surveyor	Time of Interview
Sukamelang	100	Kurniawan, Wastim	15 March – 9 May 2012
Bunihayu	80	Mufti Farid, Ahmad, Suherman Hendra, Kurniawan	15 March – 9May 2012 15 March – 9 May 2012
Mayangan	90	Kurniawan, Wawan G Ahmad Solihin,Susanti Suherman,	15 March – 9 May 2012
Cimanglid	90	Kurniawan, Ahmad, Suherman,Mufti, Hendra	15 March – 9 May 2012
Total	360		

Source: Household Survey (2011-2012).

Although it has a different approach, the incorporation of Midle and Southern area of Subang contributes to the limitation of the study by Breman and Wiradi (2002) which only covered the Northern area of Subang. According to the interview with the Director of Regional Planning of Subang Municipality, the development of Subang should be divided into three geographical orientations: the Northern, Central, and Southern Areas of Subang (Field Notes, 2011). After some data cleaning and recategorisation, the remaining questionnaires ready to be analysed were 345 from 360 questionnaires. The other 15 questionnaires cannot be analysed further since they lack data input and many answers were left blank. Table 3.2 shows the final distribution of household samples used in the study.

Table 3.2 Final Distribution of the Questionnaire for the Analyses.

Name of Village	Type of Area	Geographic Area of Subang	Number of Sample Total Interviewed	% age %
Bunihayu	Highland/Rural (mountain)	Southern Area	79	22.9
Cimanglid	Highland/Rural	Southern Area	82	23.8
Mayangan	Lowland/Rural	Central Area	88	25.5
Sukamelang	Central/Urban	Northern Area	96	27.8
	Total Number of Samples		345	100

Source: Household Survey (2011-2012).

3.2 Complementary Qualitative and Quantitative Survey

3.2.1 Inventory and Preparation of Research Study

Prior to the fieldwork research, both qualitative and quantitative, the researcher made a preparatory selection of the villages, as well as the preliminary data collection. The researcher distinguishes the villages into three categorical areas: Southern area of Subang, Central area of Subang and Northern area of Subang. For the brief description of the villages, the researcher uses

the following: *Subang dalam Angka* (Statistical Figures of Subang) and *Buku Profil Desa/Kelurahan* (Profiles of the Villages). Those data supported the researcher to have a socio-demographic view of the villages, which helps the researcher to analyse the situation of the research areas. Other supporting data about Subang have been obtained from the public information available on the characteristics of the Subang District. In this context, the researcher stayed at the house of the community leader during the fieldwork. As underscored by Ozor & Nwanko (2008), the role of local leader is very important to be considered in the community development. The advantages of staying with the community leader has facilitated the researcher to gather various data about the villages, with regard to the research subjects.

3.2.2 Qualitative Study in the Four Villages

In order to obtain the aimed result, the study started with an exploratory study, as the initial steps to sharpen the research idea by means of understanding more about the reality of community development and community institutional systems as they were developed in the research area**.** Preliminary interviews were conducted to understand the case of the Subang District in terms of plural community institutional systems; four villages were initially considered in order to seek the most probable villages to answer the main question of the research. The qualitative study was accomplished in four villages in the Subang District from March 2011 until May 2012, with additional visits between 2013 to 2016.

The study analyses the utilisation of particular indigenous/traditional, transitional and modern community institutions. The methods used for the qualitative research include participative and non-participative observations, in-depth interviews and open-ended interviews with key informants, in combination with literature studies about the related themes. By means of a series of qualitative processes, an exploratory survey in the selected villages was conducted from March to April 2011, whereas the qualitative survey was conducted several times from September 2011 to February 2012, and from March to May 2012, including several additional observations from 2013 to 2016. Interviews were arranged with local community organisers, local figures, local institutions and some government institutions including the Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (BAPPEDA) or the District of Development Planning Body, and in particular, the head of *kelurahan* ('village government'): the *lurah* and *kepala desa*. The researcher had also participated in the activity of *Gintingan* and *Andilan*, the Traditional Community Institutions in the research area. Several in-depth interviews, field visits and discussions are also arranged to gain an understanding and obtain qualitative data about the respective villages related to issues/information about local history, village-based community development, local culture, the presence of local community groups, as well as the socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions. In doing the household survey, the author was assisted by some selected interviewers which are the members of local NGOs who are experienced in doing qualitative research as well as quantitative surveys. To ease the interview process, the team of interviewers also lived for a month in the villages prior to the household survey which they involved with.

3.2.3 Quantitative Study in the Four Villages

Regarding the quantification and the interpretation of results from the research which combines between qualitative and quantitative measures, some social scientists try to bridge this qualitative–quantitative divide by employing both approaches in a complementary fashion where each method lends support for the other. In this context, Creswell (2014) suggests a 'sequential transformative approach' in doing the data collection and data analyses as both qualitative and quantitative data are important in explaining the result of this study. The model for quantitative

research requires sampling, collection of impersonal data, and statistical analysis. Following the selection and construction of the research instruments and after discussing the concept of the questionnaire for a household survey with the promotor, in order to maintain methodological consistency, a pilot study was carried out in November-December 2011. The researcher did not conduct any specific test for the pilot study as the researcher uses the existing instrument which has been established by Slikkerveer (1989) and implemented in various researches by Agung (2005), Leurs (2010) Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019.)

Research using surveys usually draws a sample from a much larger population; the 'parent population' for this research is the population living in the four village communities of the Subang District. This study aims at collecting information on individual households rather than on communities at large, from which the sample has been drawn by targeting individuals who have taken assistance from the services of any of the institutions or organization within the framework of plural community institutional systems. The sampling is of the non-probability sampling strategy type; more precisely, it is purposive sampling with a specific clustering of four village samples. The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population of interest, which will best enable answering the predetermined research questions. The study involves three geographic areas and involves four village samples, using a purposive sampling method. The sample in this study is a representation of the parent population, which has been the service user of the Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS), as reported over the last year prior to the quantitative survey. (*cf.* Moser & Kalton 1971; Bernard 2002; Creswell 2014; Aiglsperger 2014).

3.3 Composition of the Conceptual Model and Statistical Analysis

Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller (2006) underscored the importance to use a community-based analysis to represent the development progress from a community perspective. Whether at the level of the individual or household or at the level of the state, according to Grootaert (1999), development outcomes cannot be explained fully by 'traditional' inputs such as labour, land, and physical capital. In this context, the emic view as suggested by Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995) is an important approach to conduct. Following Uphoff (1986) and Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), Grootaert (1999) stresses the importance of Community Institution in order to reap the full contribution to the sustainable community-based development. In relation to indigenous/traditional community institutions involved in the plural community institutional systems, the structure of the questionnaire which is adopted from a pioneering study by Slikkerveer (1990), is aimed at different targets compared to Grootaert (1999), and not for answering the question on how important the community institutions are.

The research is dedicated to inquiring what kind of characteristics of the local people, under particular circumstances, have their preferences in the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems. The preference, namely the utilisation behaviour, is determined by several factors which are characterising the people, the background, and how the background factors influence their decision on utilisation under particular circumstances. The design of the household questionnaire took its foundation from the conceptual model introduced by Slikkerveer (1990; 1999) which discusses the theory in particular on why the questionnaire is structured as such. The household questionnaire opens by firstly introducing the general background of the household. Before any respondent starts the interview, the interviewer asks if the respondent is the *kepala keluarga*, or the household head or *pasangan* or household spouse. In most families in rural West Java, the household head is the husband, except for a family of a widow where the mother becomes the head. If the household head/spouse is not present at the time of the

interview, the interviewer will go to another house, and will go back to the previous household when he or she is available. The respondent is the household head/spouse who was asked whether he/she had a major need and utilised at least one community institution to fulfil the need, within the past year. If so, then the interview continued. If not, then the interview stopped and move to another household.

Table 3.3 General Design Structure of the Household Questionnaire.

SECTION	BLOCK No	Variable Description
A.	General Background	
Background Information	0	General Information
B. Independent Variables		
B.1. Predisposing Variables	1	Socio-Demographic Variables
	2	Psycho-Social Variables
B.2. Perceived Needs Variables	3	Perceived Financial Needs Variables
B.3. Institutional Variables	4	Existing Community Institutional Variables
B.4. Enabling Variables	5	Enabling Variables
B.5. Environmental Variables	6	Environmental Location and Zonation Variables
C. Intervening Variables		
	7	Government Intervening Variables Private/Commercial Intervening Variables
D. Dependent Variables		
	8	Utilisation of Traditional Institutions
	9	Utilisation of Transitional Institutions
	10	Utilisation of Modern Institutions
E. General Questions		Additional Qualitative Data Specific Problems and Solutions

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

The second section represents an investigation to respondents' background of experiences, knowledge and opinions on particular elements of the study. It is a collection of 'Independent Variables', that encompass 6 blocks of variables, comprised of: predisposing socio-demographic variables; predisposing psycho-social variables; enabling variables; variables of financial perceived needs; environmental variables and institutional variables. The third section encompasses 'Intervening Variables', as an investigation towards experiences and opinions regarding policy and promotion intervention from the government or from commercial private institutions. The fourth section comprises 'Dependent Variables' that define the utilisation of traditional community institution, transitional community institution and modern community institution. The fifth section includes additional research materials for qualitative data and the identification of specific problems and solutions.

3.3.1 Construction of the Analytical Model

In constructing the analytical model, the important keyword of this study is utilisation behaviour, and indeed the utilisation of any services provided by an institution, particularly in the use of 'Community Institutional System'; an action resulting from a complex decision-making process. First of all, because decision-making relates to the personal-individual who represents the household perspective, the process cannot avoid the psychological and cultural aspects, and because it is about a variety of accessible community institutions and its services, the analytical model cannot avoid the economic perspective of the particular decision-making process. Hence, the multidimensional perspective is a necessity for constructing the analytical model for this

particular research. From another point of view, the theme of this research aimed to reflect a picture of the socio-cultural and development process, embedded with the processes of poverty alleviation by means of the integrated microfinance management approach (Slikkerveer 2007; 2012) and integrated-community-managed development perspective (2019), through the reflection of people who are participating in the practices of sustainable community development. This explanation strengthens multidimensionality for the construction of the analytical concept of the research, especially because sustainable community development as well as poverty itself are understood as multidimensional phenomena, consistent with Allen (2000) conception about development.

As reflected from the design structure of the household questionnaire, the assumptions of the research reveals that utilisation behaviour on 'Plural Community Support Institutions' applies a multi-dimensional perspective in order to explore and to describe, to explain and to analyse the complex processes of interaction among factors involved in the specific context of the Subang area. Within the agenda of the Indigenous Knowledge Systems, it is also applied to understand the knowledge system of the local villagers of Subang in relation to the decision-making process in the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems. To deepen the understanding and to unlock methodological problems, this multidimensional perspective corresponds to, and seeks solutions for the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach', particularly related to the 'Participant's View' (PV), 'Field of Ethnological Study' (FES) and 'Historical Dimension' (HD) (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Slikkerveer 1999). Within the same roots of the ethnosystems tradition, in his pioneering study of plural medical systems in the Horn of Africa, Slikkerveer (1990) provides approaches to unlock knowledge systems from a multidimensional reality of African plural medical systems, by introducing a conceptual model that distinguishes a set of categories at the individual level: the predisposing factors, enabling factors and perceived morbidity factors, and a set of factors at the system level. Slikkerveer's (1990) multivariate model provides a useful instrument to determine the relationship between the six blocks of factors forming the possible determinants of variation in different types of utilisation behaviour. The pioneering model is applied successfully by a number of researchers in several topics of applied ethnoscience, sustainable community development and conservation behaviour of bio-cultural resources and development, *i.e.* Agung (2005), Ibui (2007), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014) and Erwina (2019). The 'invisible factors' making up the psycho-social factors have been adapted by Leurs (2010) in her research on Medicinal, Aromatic and Cosmetic (MAC) Plants in Bali, Indonesia. The analytical model of transcultural utilisation behaviour by Slikkerveer (1990) is fundamentally integrating three main levels of 'blocks' of the independent, the intervening and the dependent factors. The analytical model of the ethnoscience approach has maintained the original three main levels of 'blocks' developed by Slikkerveer (1990) and has as such been adopted by Agung (2005), Ibui (2007), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014) and Erwina (2019).

3.3.2 Mutual Relations Analytical Model

Mutual Relations Analysis is a multivariate analytical model based on the significant variables in the multivariate analysis. It shows what variables in each block significantly influence people's utilisation behaviour in choosing a traditional community institution in comparison with transitional and modern ones. Figure 3.1 shows the Mutual Relations Analytical Model as initially developed by Slikkerveer (1999) and applied in various researches in applied ethnosciences.

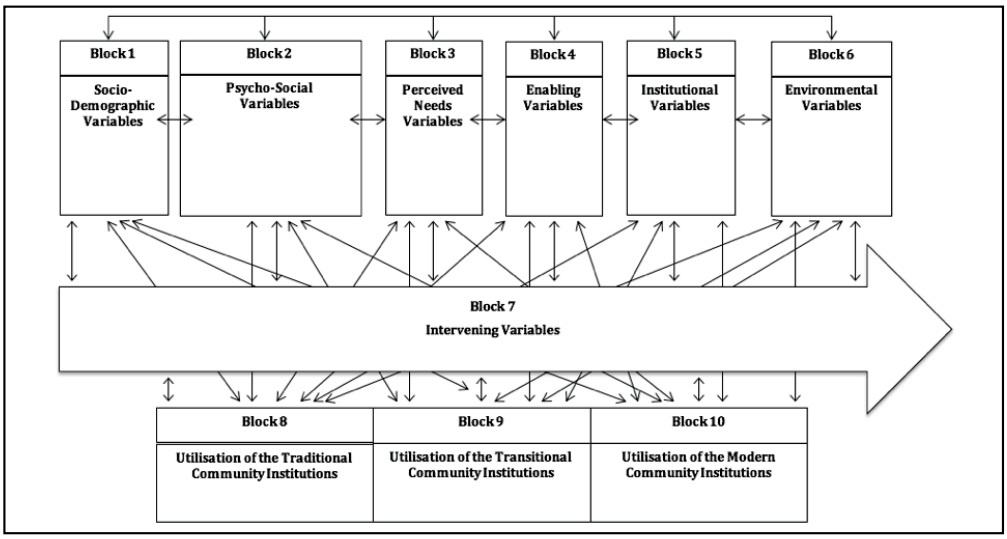


Figure 3.1 The Mutual Relations Analytical Model of Utilisation Behaviour.
Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1999).

3.3.3 Multivariate Model of the Utilisation of Traditional, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions

The combination of systematic methodologies to develop a multivariate model, as presented by the various researches, becomes the important reference to indicate and conceptualise the analytical model for the research on the utilisation behaviour of plural community support institutional systems in Subang, West Java. The central reference for developing the model in this research is, restrospectively, based on understanding the model developed by Slikkerveer (1990),which have been applied in several themes of applied ethnoscience by Agung (2005) and the others, incuding Ibui (2007), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019).

3.3.4. Operationalisation of the Multivariate Model of Utilisation

Independent Predisposing Factors
The independent variables refer to a series of socio-cultural background characteristics - a combination of socio-demographic and psycho-social factors, which operate at the level of individual respondents, representing the household samples (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1990; Ambaretnani 2010; Aiglsperger 2014). The concept of socio-demographic factors is represented by variables, such as 'gender', 'household composition', 'age', 'marital status', 'occupation', 'birth place', 'religion', etc. The 'soft' factors such as knowledge, perceptions, beliefs and opinions are best understood by means of quantitative household surveys as represented in the questionnaire which was distributed to the respondents in the four villages of the research area. Table 3.4 demonstrates the operationalisation of the concept of the block of socio-demographic factors into variables, indicators and categories.

Table 3.4 Block 1 - Predisposing Factors: Socio-Demographic Variables.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Socio-Demographic	Household type	Type of household	nuclear; extended, other
	Household Composition	Relationship to the household head	household head; spouse; son; daughter; father; mother; father in-law; grandfather; grandmother; grandson; granddaughter; brother; sister; cousin; nephew; niece; son-in-law; brother-in-law; sister-in-law; father-in-law; mother-in-law; other kin
	Sex	Gender	male; female; other
	Age	No. of years alive	less than 5; 6-10; 11-15; 16-20; 21-25;26-30; 31-35; 36-40; 41-45; 46-50;51-55;56-60; 61-65; 66-70; 71-75; 76-80; 81-85; 86+
	Marital Status	Present marital status	single; married monogamy; married polygamy; divorced/ separated; widowed; concubine; other
	Educational Background	Latest school attended with/without graduation	don't know; none; some grade school; primary; completed grade school; some elementary; completed elementary; some secondary; completed elementary; some university; completed university
	Religion	Adherence to religion	don't know; Islam; Catholic; Protestant; Buddhism; Hinduism Confusianism; other
	Profession	Current main occupation	don't know; unemployed; housewife; peasant; farmer, industrial; laborer; entrepreneur; government officer; private employee; security/defence; driver; retired; teacher; other
	Ethno-cultural Groups	Ethnic origin	don't know; Sundanese; Javanese; Minangkabau; Batak; Manado; Makassar; Chinese; other

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

Table 3.5. Block 2 - Predisposing Psycho-Social Variables.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Psycho-social variables	knowledge of indigenous/Sundanese tradition	level of knowledge of indigenous/Sundanese tradition	don't know/no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; individual level; very much
	knowledge of indigenous/Sundanese cosmovision;	level of knowledge of indigenous/Sundanese very much	don't know/no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; cosmovision;
	knowledge of *gotong royong* institution	level of knowledge of *gotong royong* institution;	no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; very much
	knowledge of existing traditional community institution	type of existing traditional community institution	no knowledge; *Gintingan*; perelek; lumbung ekonomi desa; gisahan; arisan

Table 3.5 (*continued*).

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
	knowledge of existing modern community institution	type of existing modern community institution	no knowledge; village/rural bank; cooperative; BMT; other;
	knowledge of existing transitional community institution	type of existing transitional community institution	no knowledge; village/rural bank; cooperative; BMT; other;
	knowledge of existing traditional community institution for local community support	level of knowledge of existing traditional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; very much
	kind of support of existing traditional community institution for local commmunity support	kind of support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support;
	form of financial support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	form of financial support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of medical support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	form of medical support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of educational support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	form of educational support of existing traditional community institution for local commuity support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of community support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	form of community support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of socio-cultural.support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	form of socio-cultural support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of other support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	form of other support of existing traditional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	knowledge of existing modern community institution for local community support	level of knowledge of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; very much
	kind of support of existing modern community institution for local community support	kind of support of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; finanical support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support;

Table 3.5. (*continued*).

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
	form of financial support of existing modern community institution for local community support	form of financial support of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of medical support of existing modern community institution for local community support	form of medical support of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of educational support of existing modern community institution for local community support	form of educational support of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of community support of existing modern community institution for local community support	form of community support of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms;
	form of socio-cultural support of existing modern community institution for local community support	form of socio-cultural support of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms;
	form of other support of existing modern community institution for local community support	form of other support of existing modern community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	knowledge of existing transitional community institution for local community support	level of knowledge of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; very much
	kind of support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	kind of support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support;
	form of financial support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	form of financial support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of medical support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	form of medical support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of educational support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	form of educational support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms

Table 3.5. (*continued*).

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
	form of community support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	form of community support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of socio-cultural support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	form of socio-cultural support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	form of other support of existing transitional community institution for local com. support	form of other support of existing transitional community institution for local community support	no knowledge; not applicable; money; goods; services of other forms
	belief in traditional Sundanese lifestyle as good for health and well-being	level of belief in traditional Sundanese lifestyle as good for health and well-being	no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; very much;
	belief in modern cosmovision lifestyle as good for health and well-being	level in belief on modern cosmovision as good for health and well-being	no knowledge; very little; little; average; much; very much;
	opinion on the community support/service of traditional institutions	level of opinion on the community support/service of traditional institutions	no opinion; very low; low; average; high; very high
	opinion on the community support/service of modern institutions	level of opinion on the community support/service of modern institutions	no opinion; very low; low; average; high; very high
	opinion on the community support/service of transitional institutions	level of opinion on the community support/service of transitional institutions	no opinion; very low; low; average; high; very high

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

Independent Perceived Needs Variables

Among community-based development practitioners, there is one factor which influences people's behaviour in the utilisation of available community institutions. This is the 'perceived needs' factor. It is an inherent variable within the people, which motivates them to behave with such a particular behaviour. According to Kizlik (2010), the assessment to this 'perceived need' comprises a systematic process for determining and addressing gaps or the disparity between current conditions and desired conditions or 'wants', or between the 'expected' and the 'perceived'. The following Table 3.6 presents the selected of perceived needs factors: Financial Needs, Medical Needs, Educational Needs, Communication Needs, and Socio-Cultural needs.

Table 3.6 Block 3 - Perceived Needs Variables.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Perceived needs and satisfaction variables for using financial service at individual household level	general perceived needs by local people in the community	type of perceived needs expected by local people in the community	don't know; no perceived needs for financial support; for medical support; for educational support; for community support; for socio-cultural support; for other support;

Table 3.6 (*continued*).

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
	general financial perceived needs by local people in the community	type of financial perceived needs by local people in the community	don't know; there are no financial needs; by support from traditional institutions; by support from modern institutions; by support from transitional institutions; by support from other institutions;
	general medical perceived needs by local people in the community	type of medical perceived needs by local people in the community	don't know; there are no medical needs; by support from traditional institutions; by support from modern institutions ; by support from transitional institutions; by support from other institutions;
	general educational perceived needs by local people in the community	type of education perceived needs by local people in the community	don't know; there are no educational needs; by support from traditional institutions; by support from modern institutions; by support from transitional institutions; by support from other institutions;
	general community perceived needs by local people in the community	type of community perceived needs by local people in the community	don't know; there are no community needs; by support from traditional institutions; by support from modern institutions; by support from transitional institutions; by support from other institutions;
	general socio-cultural perceived needs by local people in the community	type of socio-cultural perceived needs by local people in the community	don't know; no socio-cultural needs; by support from traditional institutions; by support from modern institutions; by support from transitional institutions; by support from other institutions;

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

Independent Enabling Variables

At the conceptual level, Slikkerveer (1990) has proven that factors at the individual level can be 'elevated' to the systems level to allow the comparative analysis between factors related to both individuals and systems *(cf.* Slikkerveer & Dechering 1995; Slikkerveer 2002; Quah & Slikkerveer 2003). The variables in the block of enabling factors are: family income, family expenses, and socio-economic status (SES), which is basically comprised of a compound of variables such as land ownership etc.

Table 3.7. Block 4 - Enabling Variables.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Variables of enabling factors of household at individual level	Household head income	total amount of the head's household income during the past year (monthly in rupiah)	don't know; less than 500 thousand; 500.000 – 1 million; 1.000.001 – 1.500.000 1.500.001 – 2.000.000; 2.000.001-2.500.000; 2.500.001 – 3.000.000 > 3.000.000
	Household wife /spouse income	total amount of household income during the past year (monthly in rupiah)	don't know; less than 500 thousands; 500.000 – 1 million; 1.000.001 – 1.500.000 1.500.001 – 2.000.000; 2.000.001-2.500.000; 2.500.001 – 3.000.000 > 3.000.000

Table 3.6 *(continued)*

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
	Other members' income	total amount of other members' income during the past year (monthly in rupiah)	don't know; less than 500 thousand; 500.000 – 1 million; 1.000.001 – 1.500.000 1.500.001 – 2.000.000; 2.000.001- 2.500.000; 2.500.001 – 3.000.000 > 3.000.000
	Socio-economic status by respondent	level of socio-economic status by respondent rich; very rich;	don't know; very poor; poor; average;
	Socio-economic status by interviewer	level of socio-economic status by interviewer rich; very rich;	don't know; very poor; poor; average;
	Cost to use traditional institution	cost level of using traditional institution	don't know; no costs; very little; little; medium; much; very much
	Cost to use modern institution	cost level of using modern institution	don't know; no costs; very little; little; medium; much; very much
	Cost to use transitional institution	cost level of using transitional institution	don't know; no costs; very little; little; medium; much; very much
	Transport cost to use traditional institution	transport cost level of using traditional institution	don't know; no costs; very little; little; medium; much; very much
	Transport cost to use modern institution	transport cost level of using modern institution	don't know; no costs; very little; little; medium; much; very much
	Transport cost to use transitional institution	transport cost level of using transitional institution	don't know; no costs; very little; little; medium; much; very much
	General spending of household	order of general spending of household	don't know; no costs; food & drink; clothes; shelter; school/education;
	Savings ability	answer to savings ability	healthcare; transportation; leisure/recreation; other

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

The enabling factors of socio-economic status are determined with subjective and objective perceptions; the objective ones are measured by a range of variables of ownership of material goods plus income and expenses, whereas subjective perceptions use the respondents' own opinions on their economic status in the community.

Independent Institutional Variables

The institutional factors are actually represented in the model to make available information on the nature of the ecosystem among institutions, especially related to the interaction of various financial institutions in the community. The specific variables presented in Table 3.8 are the types of existing community institutions available in the community, whether indigenous, transtitional or modern institutions.

Table 3.8. Block 5 - Institutional Variables.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Institutional variables at individual HH Level	Objective of traditional community institution	Type of objective of traditional community institution	don't know; no objectives; financial support; for medical support; educational support; communication support; socio-cultural support; for other support
	Type of objective of modern community institution	Type of objective of modern community institution	don't know; no objectives; financial support; medical support; educational support; communication support; socio-cultural support; for other support
	Objective of transitional community institution	Type of objective of transitional community institution	don't know; no objectives; financial support; medical support; educational support; communication support; socio-cultural support; for other support
	Age of traditional community institution	Year of existence of traditional community Institution	don't know; 25 years or older; 20-24 years; 15-19 years; 10 – 14 years; 5-9 years 0 – 4 years;
	Age of modern community institution	Year of existence of modern community institution	don't know; 25 years or older; 20-24 years; 15-19 years; 10 – 14 years; 5-9 years 0 – 4 years;
	Age of transitional community Institution	Year of existence of transitional community institution	don't know; 25 years or older; 20-24 years; 15-19 years; 10 – 14 years; 5-9 years 0 – 4 years;
	Organisational structure of traditional institution	Type of organisational structure of traditional	don't know; closed institution; open institution; other institution
	Organisational structure of modern institution	Type of organisational structure of modern	don't know; closed institution; open institution; other institution
	Organisational structure of transitional institution	Type of organisational structure of transitional	don't know; closed institution; open institution; other institution
	Input to support traditional institution	Source of input for traditional institution	don't know; members of traditional institution; members of the local community; professionals; others
	Input to support modern institution	Source of input for modern institution	don't know; members of modern institution; members of the local community; professionals; others
	Input to support for transitional institution	Source of input for transitional institution	don't know; members of transitional institution; members of the local community; professionals; others

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

Independent Environmental Variables

The Environmental factors are actually taken into the model to give information about the physical location of the village and how it is related to the presence of Community Institutional Systems in the community. Variables such as the environmental locations, zonation locations and family residential status in the community represents the relative location of the village and the respondent in regard to the presence of the nearest traditional institution, modern institution and transitional institution (*cf.* Table 3.9).

Table 3.9. Block 6 - Environmental Variables.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Environmental factors at the individual level	Environmental location	Type of environmental location of the village	don't know; rural; semi-rural/semi-urban; urban; other
	Zonation of the location	Type of zonation of the village	don't know; mountainous; plains; low-land; coastal; other
	Family residential status	Type of residential status in the village	don't know; indigenous; migrant/non-local other

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

Intervening Variables

These intervening factors actually depict the characteristics related to external dynamic interventions at the local community level. At the theoretical level, there are two most powerful players determining the dynamics of the development of a community: firstly the power of the state, represented by the intervention of the government; and secondly the power of the market represented by the intervention of the commercial private sector. Such dynamism is generally regarded as impacts on external factors or external agencies, at both the individual and system levels, which may influence or possibly create new behaviour which is different from the previous traditional ways of life (*cf.* Leurs 2010; Djen Amar 2010). The influx of interventions entering a community of villages is determined by the creation and implementation of policy, regulations and promotions from the sides of government and commercial private interventions. Details of the intervening variables, indicators and categories are represented in Tables 3.10.

Table 3.10 Block 7 - Intervening Factors.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Intervening Variables Using the institutions	government policy to influence traditional institution	level of government/ regulation/policy influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	government policy to influence modern institution	level of government regulation/policy influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	government policy to influence the use of transitional institution	level of government regulation/policy influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much

Table 3.10 *(continued)*

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
	government policy to influence the use of traditional institution	government influence in the use of traditional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	government policy to influence the use of modern institution	government influence in the use of modern institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	government policy to influence the use of transitional institution	government influence in the use of transitional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	government promotion to influence transitional institution	level of government promotion of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	government promotion to influence modern institution	level of government promotion of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	government promotion to influence transitional institution	level of government promotion of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	government promotion to influence the use of traditional institution	government influence in promotion of traditional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	government promotion to influence the use of modern institution	government influence in promotion of modern institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	government promotion to influence the use of transitional institution	government influence in promotion of transitional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	private regulation to influence traditional institution	level of private regulation of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	private regulation to influence modern institution	level of private regulation of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	private regulation to influence transitional institution	level of private regulation of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	private policy to influence the use of traditional institution	private influence in the use of traditional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support

Table 3.10 *(continued)*

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
	private policy to influence the use of modern institution	private influence in the use of modern institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	private policy to influence the use of transitional institution	private influence in the use of transitional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support ; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	private promotion to influence traditional institution	level of private promotion of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	private promotion to influence modern institution	level of private promotion of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	private promotion to influence transitional institution	level of private promotion of influence	don't know; none; very little; little; average; much; very much
	private promotion to influence the use of traditional institution	private influence in promotion of traditional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	private promotion to influence the use of modern institution	private influence in promotion of modern institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support
	private promotion to influence the use of transitional institution	private influence in promotion of transitional institution	don't know; financial support; medical support; educational support; community support; socio-cultural support; other support

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

The Dependent Variables

The following Tables 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13 represent Block 8, Block 9, and Block 10, which represent the main community institutions utilised during the course of the latest year before the research was conducted. The variables represent the existing community institutions, which were preferred to be chosen by the respondents, given the sets of their circumstances within the last one-year period from the date when the interview was conducted.

Table 3.11 Block - 8 Dependent Variable: Utilisation of Traditional Institutions.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Dependent factors of the main traditional institution used by the household	the main traditional institution is used as a community institution	the main traditional community institution in the last year	Yes; No

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

Table 3.12 Block - 9 Dependent Variable: Utilisation of Transitional Institutions.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Dependent factors of the main transitional institution used by the household	the main transitional institution is used as a community institution	the main transitional community institution in the last year	Yes; No

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

Table 3.13 Block – 10 Dependent Variable: Utilisation of Modern Institutions.

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Categories
Dependent factors of the main modern institution used by the household	the main modern institution is used as a community institution	the main modern community institution in the last year	Yes; No

Source: Adapted from Slikkerveer (1990).

3.4 Statistical Analyses

3.4.1 Bivariate and Mutual Relations Analysis

Based on the quantitative research of the household, the dataset from four village samples were formed. The dataset is the basis for the statistical analysis presented in this study, based on the number of households involved in the survey, in which the number (*n*) equals 345. The household database is the basis for the quantitative analysis of the four village communities in the Subang District of West Java, with regard to their experiences, knowledge, preferences and opinions related to the patterns of the utilisation of community institutions: the use of Indigenous/Traditional Insitutions, Transitional Institutions and Modern Institutions.

The dataset is used for descriptive cross-tab bivariate statistics, which are presented where appropriate to substantiate the qualitative findings in relation to the different topics presented in Chapters IV to VII. Descriptive and cross-tab bivariate or multivariate statistical techniques are used for the dataset derived from the household survey in four village communities of Bunihayu Village, Cimanglid Village, Sukamelang Village and Mayangan Village, in the Subang District. The bivariate analysis is used to examine whether one variable relates to another and more specifically what the shape, direction and strength of the relationship is *(cf.* Weinberg & Abramowitz 2002). The focus of a bivariate analysis is the association between two variables, and although it does imply co-variation, it should not be mistaken for causation *(cf.* Rosnow & Rosenthal 2005; Field 2009).

The cross-tabulation technique is used in this study to establish whether the difference observed in the cross-tabulation of the sample represented a real difference in the population as a whole. Pearson's Chi-square ($X2$) test of independence permits such a judgement; it allows determination of whether or not there is a statistically significant association between two variables *(cf.* Miller *et al.* 2002). The confidence level for this study is set at 95%, which could result in the mere dichotomy of 'significant' versus 'not significant'; hence, a differentiated assessment is used. In analysing the significance of statistical data, the researcher used the rules introduced by Agung (2005), Ambaretnani (2012) and Aiglsperger (2014), which are as follows:

Level of significance	Interpretation
$\chi^2 > 0.15$	not significant
$0.15 > \chi^2 > 0.10$	indication of significance
$0.10 > \chi^2 > 0.05$	weakly significant
$0.05 > \chi^2 > 0.01$	strongly significant
$0.01 > \chi^2 > 0.001$	very strongly significant
$\chi^2 < 0.001$	most strongly significant

Pearson's Chi-square can be suitably used for categorical data, which are by definition not continuous. Although Pearson's Chi-square does not rely on such assumptions as having continuous normally distributed data as most statistical tests, two important assumptions must always be fulfilled: firstly, each respondent can score only in one cell of the cross-tabulation and secondly, no expected frequencies should be below 1 and no more than 20% of expected frequencies should be below 5. As the two types of data scales, both ordinal and nominal, have been used, Cramer's V is used to provide additional examination of the level of statistical significance *(cf.* Field 2009). After the significant variables are identified, Mutual relations Analysis is applied in this study (*cf.* Figure 3.1). Mutual Relations Analysis is a multivariate analytical model which is built based on the significant variables in the bivariate analysis. It shows what factors in each block significantly influence people's utilisation behaviour in choosing a traditional institution in comparison with the transitional and modern ones.

3.4.2. Multivariate of Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlation Analysis: OVERALS

The conceptual model of the multivariate models of the utilisation behaviour in Plural Community Institutional Systems is based on some earlier empirical findings; there are various explanatory variables that influence people's behaviour in the utilisation of any available system. In this context, the relations between the explanatory variables, represented by the independent and intervening variables, with the dependent variables need to be addressed. There is a need to identify the relations between the blocks of variables in the system through a particular quantitative method *(cf.* Slikkerveer 1990; Agung 2005; Ibui 2007, Leurs 2010).

This study uses the multivariate analysis to analyse the utilisation of community institutions in the four villages in the Subang District. The multivariate analysis of the household dataset makes it possible to analyse the community members' behaviour in the patterns of the interrelationships of the large set of independent, intervening and dependent variables. When there are multiple independent and dependent variables in a particular design, which in this study include three dependent variables, the design is said to be multivariate *(cf.* Tabachnick & Fidell 2001). The multivariate analysis measures the association of all the relationships, which are by nature more complex, because of the multiple relationships of the predictor variables (independent and intervening variables) not only with the dependent variables, but also between and among the dependent variables. By using multivariate analysis techniques, it is possible to determine which variables have the strongest impact on the interrelationship of the variables. The classical multivariate analysis assumes that each variable has *a priori* quantification and can be treated as numerical data *(cf.* Van de Geer 1993; Aiglsperger 2014).

In this study, although some variables could be considered to be (quasi) interval data, treating all data numerically would have been an oversimplification of the complexity of this dataset. Therefore the non-linear multivariate analysis, which does not have the same *a priori* assumption of the classical multivariate analysis, is the appropriate analysis to use. In his study, Agung (2005) documented the link between the conceptual model and the Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlations or OVERALS multivariate statistical analysis. Following the example of

Agung (2005), Ibui (2007), Leurs (2010), as well as Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019) the OVERALS analysis is used in this study. The OVERALS analysis is a non-linear generalized canonical correlation analysis *(cf.* Van de Geer 1993), which allows the inclusion of variables with different measurement levels, including those with nominal and ordinal levels, in the analysis and allows different sets of variables to be worked with. In this study, the set of the independent and intervening variables form the first set, while the dependent variables form the second set.

3.4.3 Multiple Regression Analysis

The general purpose of the Multiple Regression Analysis is to learn more about the relationship between several independent or predictor variables and a dependent or criterion variable. Following the examples of Agung (2005), Ibui (2007), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019), a Multiple Regression Analysis is used on the basis of the individual OVERALS analyses between each block of variables with all other blocks of variables in the model. A specific Multiple Regression Analysis is used here to calculate the relative importance of the block of variables and the block of dependent variables. The most commonly used multivariate measures of associations can be expressed as functions of the 'eigenvalues' of the product matrix. In this analysis, the multiple correlation coefficients (ρd) of the individual OVERALS analyses will be used to measure the association. The multiple correlation co-efficient (ρd) is related to the 'eigenvalues' (Ed). The formula used to calculate the ρd is ρd = 2 x Ed-1 *(cf.* Van der Burg 1988).

The approach to the Multiple Regression Analysis respects the pre-defined block of factors presented in the multivariate model. This model, firstly introduced by Slikkerveer (1990) and later implemented in different studies of applied ethnoscience by Agung (2005), Ibui (2007), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019), widens the perspective on culture and also permits the assessment of the cognitive and behavioural components of particular groups or communities as 'systems' in a rather holistic mode, hence generating a value relation towards policy making. The Multiple Regression Analysis of the block of factors gives an indication on which aspects further policies should be developed and at which point policies should be concentrated in order to heighten the probability of positively affecting the intended change in the behaviour of the community.

Chapter IV RESEARCH SETTING: INDONESIA AND SUBANG

This Chapter presents an overview of the Republic of Indonesia, and the research area, Kabupaten Subang, and its geographic location within the West Java Province. It contains a brief description of the geographical and historical background of Indonesia, commencing from its geographic location and socio demographic figures, its ancient history, through to the Dutch period up to and after independence. While the details of the villages where the researh was carried out are elaborated in a separate chapter, this chapter will briefly introduce the sociography of Subang. This includes a description of the history and socio-demographic, economic development and cultural description of the municipality, including their people and the Sundanese culture, which influence the livelihood in the society.

4.1 Indonesia: A Developing Country at a Glance

This Section briefly elaborates the brief description of Indonesia as the country where the research has been done. The elaboration is divided into two parts: the geography and historical background, and the recent socio-demographic and socio-economic development of the country. Describing the history of Indonesia is rather difficult as the country itself, which has a huge geographical area and is heterogeneous in cultures, does not have a single narrative about its own history. There have been official histories, which play up nationalism and unity in ways that paper over the cracks in the national edifice. These are usually histories of state heroes and big events and do not say much about the experiences of ordinary Indonesians (Vickers 2013). However, to describe the history of Indonesia from an oral historical view is also uneasy as it has numerous angles to take and needs a longer time spent to consider it. As mentioned by Brown (2003), the use of the word 'Indonesia' in the historical view is quite problematic as the name probably did not exist until the mid-nineteenth century when the term was used in various ways. While a British geographer, James Richardson Logan, refers to Indonesia as the vast territory with many thousands of islands, many European writers refer to Indonesia as an extension of the Indian subcontinent, particularly from a cultural view, as the term might be retrieved from the two words of 'India' and 'nesos' (which means 'island' in Greek). The British also used the term 'Further India' to describe the region, while the Dutch named their colonial possessions as Nederlands Indië, meaning 'Dutch India' of 'Dutch Indies'. Only in the early twentieth century Indonesia starts to be recognised in the political and social area, both for the people in the territory who wish to get their independence, and also by the Dutch who occupied the regions for more than a century. Then, in the late 1920s, the nationalists were using the word 'Indonesia' as the name of their political parties, representing themselves as Indonesians and referring to their language – a modernized Malay – as Indonesian (*cf.* Brown 2003; Munoz 2006; Vickers 2013).

This Chapter considers the use of the word 'Indonesia', meaning a nation which was established after 1945 until the present time. In the context of the geographical, historical, and cultural meaning, the other names of Indonesia, *i.e.* Dutch Indies, Nusantara, Malay Archipelago, and Sundaland, are used interchangeably. The elaboration is then followed by a consideration of the physical environment within which the history of the nation and its people are located. It includes a brief discussion of the societies that were in existence in the region at the beginning of the Common Era, which dates back circa 2000 years ago.

4.1.1 Geography and Historical Background

Indonesia covers a huge geographic area. It has a total of 1,910,931.32 km2 of mainlands, spread over about 16,775 islands, of which more than 7,000 are uninhabited. The total area extends 5120 km from the east to the west and 1760 km from the north to the south, which covers a strategic geographic area, as it lies amidst the continents of Asia and Australia and the two oceans, the Pacific and the Indian. The sea territory of Indonesia is four times larger than its land territory, which is approximately 1.9 million square kilometres (including an exclusive economic zone) and encompasses about 81 % of the total area of the country. The total land is excluding the area of the sea, which consists of 284,210.9 km2 of the territorial sea, 2,981,211 km2 of the Exclusive Economic Zone and 279,322 km2 of 12-mile sea zones. It has borders with other countries, *i.e.* 820 km borderlines with Papua New Guinea, 2,004 km with Malaysia (in the Island of Kalimantan) and 269 km borderlines with Timor Leste in the Island of Timor, with a total length of coastline of 104,000 km, the second longest in the world, after Canada. The country is predominantly mountainous with approximately 400 volcanoes, of which 100 are still active. This brings it into a vulnerable situation of a possible disaster, while at the same time it also provides quality in its soils. It supports enormous types of plants and animals. Various rivers water the country and serve as useful transportation arteries in certain islands. The Musi, Batanghari and Indragiri in Sumatera are among the biggest rivers which are used for daily uses as well as transportation, similarly with the Barito, Kapuas, Rejang and Mahakam rivers in Kalimantan and the Digul and Memberano rivers in Papua. In Java, rivers such as the Bengawan Solo, Ciliwung, Citarum and Brantas are mostly used for irrigation and not for transportation (*cf.* Asiainfo 2010; BPS 2015)

The geographic location of Indonesia, which is between two continents and two oceans, makes Indonesia possess a cross-strategic position. Apart from that, the position at the equator line affects the tropical climate, with an average humidity of between 70 – 90%. It has two main seasons in Indonesia: dry season and wet season, and it alternates every six months. The wet season mostly occurs from September until February, while the dry season mostly happens from March to August. In such a geographically diverse country, it is not surprising that about 746 local languages and dialects are spoken by different ethno-cultural groups of the inhabitants. Those local languages are mostly used by people of various ethno-cultural groups in their daily life, apart from their lingua franca, '*bahasa* Indonesia', which is used mostly for education, business and official purposes. Economically, Indonesia became an international hub for trading and transportation (*cf.* Encyclopedia 2007).

Brown (2003) divides the history of Indonesia into eight historical periods: 1) The 'Rise of the States', which is dating back to the years 1 to 1500 AD; 2) The 'Age of Commerce', 1400 to 1700; 3) The 'Period of Economic Demise and Political Decline', 1600 to 1800; 4) The 'Establishment of the Empire', 1800 to 1900; 5) The 'Period of Times of Change', 1900 to 1945; 6) The 'Period of Revolution to Authoritarian Rule', 1945 to 1957; 7) The 'Period of Guided Pancasila Democracy', 1956 to 1998; and 8) The 'Reformation Period', also known as the 'Post-Suharto' era, 1998 until recent times. Although this Chapter will not elaborate each of these historical period of Indonesia, each of the historical period of Indonesia has contributed to the shape of Indonesia today, particularly to the Sundanese Culture. For instance, the religion and trade which were influenced by the first period of 'the rise of the states' while the local initiative was developed mainly during the Dutch colonialisation and Japanese occupation. For instance, indigenous institutions of *Gintingan* and *perelek* in West Java and *jimpitan* in East Java provinces are some examples of these bottom-up initiatives which were established during the colonialisation period of time. In addition to that, the 'Post-colonialisation' after 1945 has also influenced the socio-economy, and socio-cultural conditions of the country, including the establishment of *Pancasila*, the ideological and philosophical basis of the Republic of Indonesia,

which consists of five inseparable and interrelated principles. It was inspired by the urge for unity and for the achievement of common goals and for democracy, built upon the age-old Indonesian concepts of *Gotong Royong* ('Communal and Mutual Assistance'), *Musyawarah* ('Deliberation of Representatives') and *Mufakat* ('Consensus'). According to Brown (2003), the national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ('Unity in Diversity') was also established during the period of time of the revolution to authoritarian rule between 1945 to 1957. The great economic development under the military control happened during the period of time of 1957 to 1998, until President Suharto stepped down in 1998. The era after the fall of Soeharto is usually called the 'Reformation Era'. Between 1998 and 2014, the country has had five Presidents, namely: B.J Habibie (1998-1999), Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), Megawati Sukarnoputri (2001-2004), Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who has been elected for two terms (2004-2014), and Joko Widodo (2014-today). During President Habibie's short administration, political prisoners were released and some controls on freedom of speech were lifted. Elections for the national, provincial and sub-provincial parliaments were also held. In general, these periods of time of governancies have been highlighted as the democratisation era, as the voices of the people have been accommodated in the formal systems of the country. However, there are challenges to the livelihood of the indigenous knowledge, systems and practices. While the government has been trying to redevelop the country after the monetary crises in the late 1990s with the massive developments in various sectors, including huge projects on infrastructures, there are threats to the livelihood of indigenous knowledge, systems and practices as they have been considered in various cases as obstacles to the progress of development, which is in fact criticised in this study (*cf.* Ricklefs 2001; Brown 2003; Djen Amar 2010; Britannica 2017).

4.1.2. Administrative and Socio-Demographic Figures

Local Administrative System

In terms of administrative units, Indonesia has 34 provinces, 98 cities, 416 districts, 7,024 sub-districts, and 81,626 villages. About 12,827 villages or circa 15.61% are located in coastal areas while another 69,363 villages or circa 84.39% are located in non-coastal areas. The administrative structures were designed to ensure that the plans and policies set by the government will be executed effectively. Figure 4.1 shows the local administrative structure in Indonesia. Local Community in the Indonesian development refers to the administrative structure from the district level (*Kabupaten/Kota*) to the lowest level (*Rukun Tetangga* or RT). RT is a sub-group of households in the groups (*Rukun Warga* or RW) of a sub-village (*dusun*, *kampung*) or a village (*desa, kelurahan*). A sub-group (RT) is the lowest democratic system in the community in Indonesia. This sub-group was mainly established as a representative of the households to facilitate any interest which is related to the need of the people, from administrative matters, *i.e.* applying for identity cards, social gatherings among the nearest neighbourhood, as well as a democratic channel in which the head of the RT will bring the voice of the people to the higher administrative structure (RW). Although the roles of this group and sub-group are more voluntary, its important role in the community cannot be neglected. As the number of villages in Indonesia reach 80,000 villages, the number of sub-villages, groups, and sub-groups are therefore reaching hundreds of thousands. When the Indonesian government started to launch the community-based development Programme, the idea of the community empowerment approach was based on the local administrative structure connected to the central government. This approach is rather insufficient as the indigenous concept of local community was not accommodated as foreseen in the projects. *Lembaga Adat* and its indigenous structures which have existed in many ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia were not completely accommodated in the community approach used by the government.

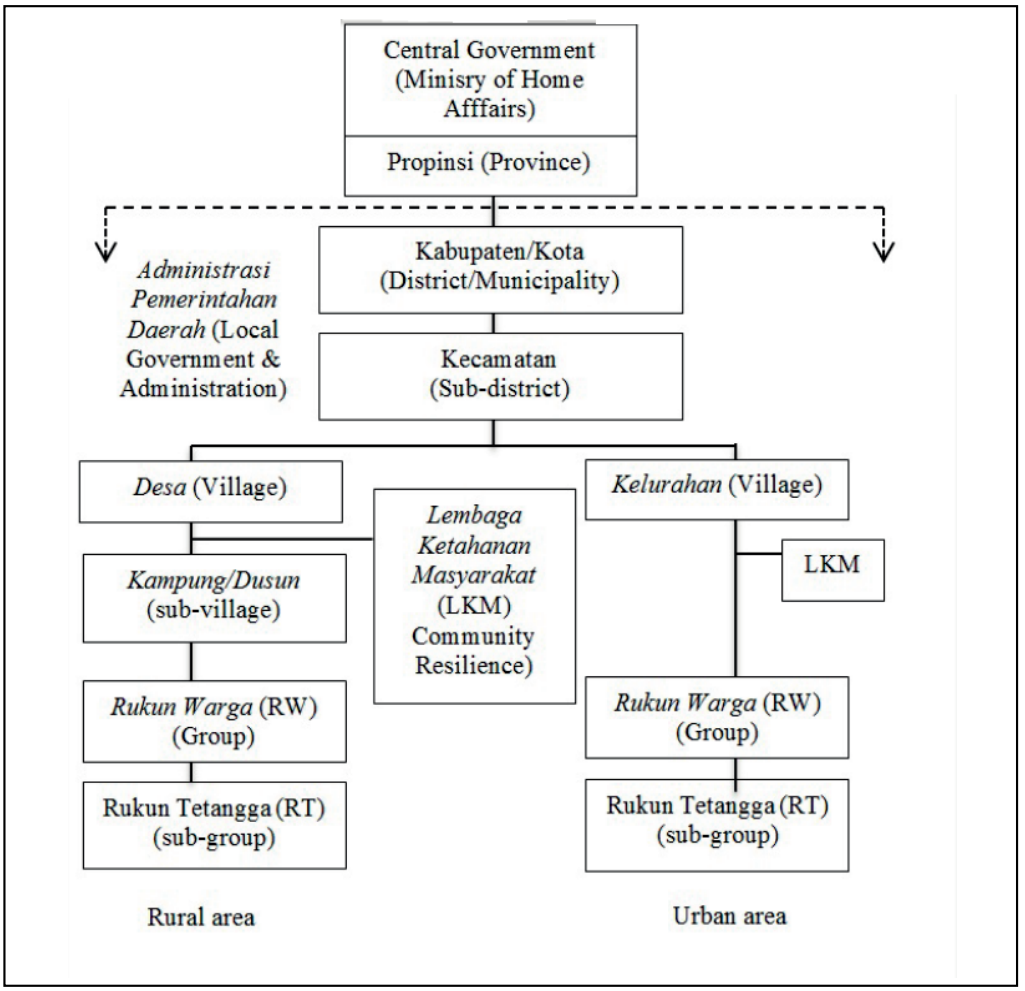


Figure 4.1 Local Administration in Indonesia.
Source: Fang (2006) and adapted from Indonesian Law N. 21/2001, No. 6/2014, No. 23/2014 and No. 47/2016.
Note: LKMD = *Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa* (Institution of Community Security at village level)

The use of a local administrative structure is important in understanding Indonesian development figures. As the country has been implementing regional authonomy since the early 2000s, the understanding about this structure would support any development planners to analyse the roles, policies and governances in each of the administrative levels. There are some areas in Indonesia which are granted to become a special area with an authority to implement its own culture or customary law. The Aceh and Yogyakarta provinces are examples of such areas, which are granted special administrative authority, as *Daerah Istimewa* (Special Administrative Area). The special authority allows the provinces to implement their customary law, in addition to the national law. The cultural dimension of the people is accommodated in various local regulations. For instance, Aceh province is allowed to implement Islamic law, whereas Yogyakarta province

implements a regulation regarding limited ownership of land, as there are some areas in the province which are subjected to the customary land owned by the Yogyakarta kingdom (*cf.* Fay; Sirait & Kusworo 2000; Fang 2006; Mulyono 2014).

Demographic Figures

Indonesia has about 255.46 million inhabitants consisting of 128,366.7 million males and 127,095 million females. Indonesia is facing a possible 'demographic dividend' or 'demographic bonus' in population, where the share of working-age groups of people in Indonesia (15 to 64) would be higher than the share of non-working-age groups of people, particularly from the year 2015 to 2030. During those periods, it is estimated that those working people in the total population would have the potential to be more productive and contribute to the economy significantly. The United Nations Populations Fund (UNPFA) states that this condition would boost the performance of the economy of the country (*cf.* UNPFA 2016). The possible 'demographic dividend' could be seen in Figure 4.2.

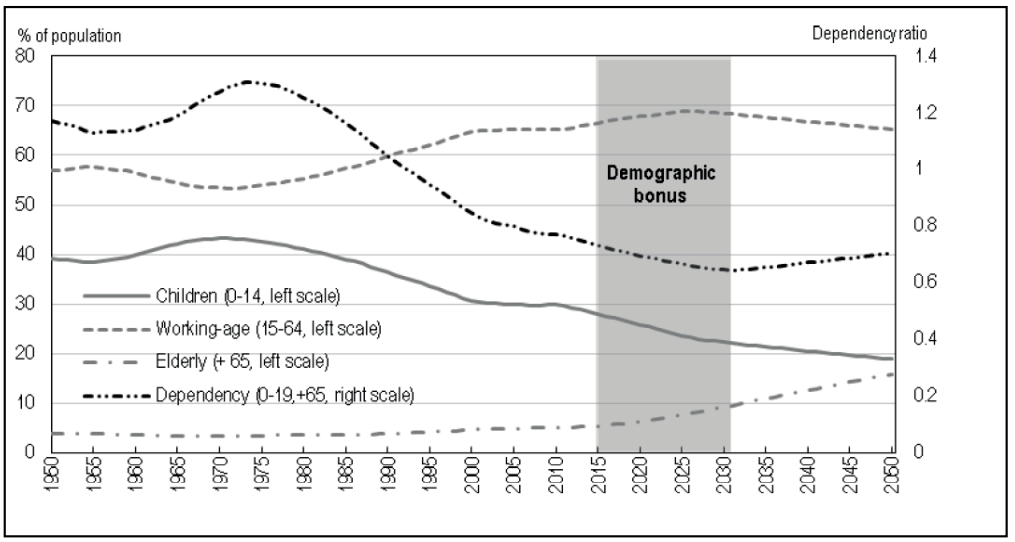
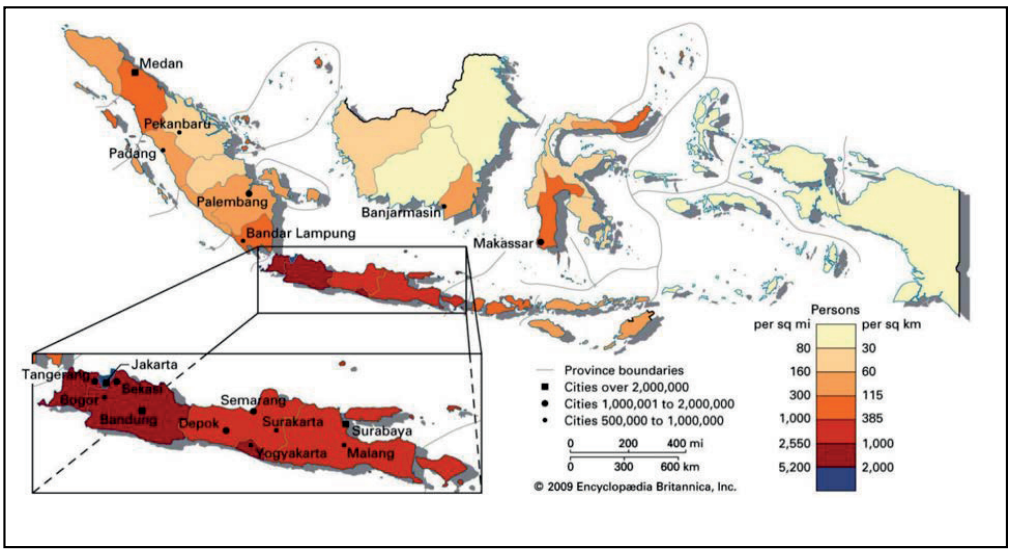


Figure 4.2 Demographic Dividend in Indonesia 2015-2030.
Source: OECD (2015).

The shaded area shows the 'demographic bonus' period in Indonesia, which is predicted to progress the economy positively; therefore, it is a challenge to the government of Indonesia to create jobs as well as for investments to provide the working-age people with jobs. However, the ongoing debates on the development policies between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches would challenge both central government and local government, in terms of job creation. The challenge would be in the question of whether the central government would empower local government to create job opportunities by accommodating local potential and resources, or on the contrary, the central government would decide what sectors should be empowered and what sectors should not (*cf.* Pike, Rodriquez-Pose & Tomaney 2006). In this context, Crescenzi and Rodriguez-Pose (2008) suggested an integrated approach to answer the challenge. For some huge development projects, e.g. infrastructure, transportation, etc, an intervention of 'top-down' policies would secure job creation in these sectors, as it would require a huge investment. However, for some local dynamics, a 'bottom-up' approach would not only create suitable job creation based on diverse local conditions, but it would also empower local people and

government to participate in the decisions of development plans and objectives for their situation (*cf.* Crescenzi & Rodriquez-Pose 2008). For Indonesia, which has been experiencing 'top-down' policies since its independence in 1945 until the monetary crisis hit the country in 1997-1998, when the big companies collapsed, the fact that small-medium enterprises could survive during the economic turmoil suggests 'bottom-up' policies. Thus, it is not surprising that since 2000, the country has applied local autonomy and governance, including local development. Estimated population numbers in 2015 were 255,461,462 with a mean population density of 133,5 inhabitants per square kilometer. Map 4.1 gives an illustration of the Indonesian archipelago and its population which shows an uneven distribution.



Map 4.1 Population Density in Indonesia.
Source: Encyclopedia Brittanica (2017).

The island of Java (red color) is the densest island, with a mean density of over 250 inhabitants per square kilometer. Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is the densest city in Java, with a density of 15,327 inhabitants per square kilometer. About 66.6% of the Indonesian population are urban. With the total number of the population at around 255 million inhabitants, Indonesia has various numbers of population density in its different regions, as shown in the geographic distribution of the inhabitants in Indonesia in Map 4.1. The average population density of Indonesia is 133,5 people per square kilometre. As shown in the map, Java (with red color) is the most dense island in Indonesia, with an average population density of more than 250 inhabitants per square kilometer. Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is the most dense city in Java, with a density of 15,327 inhabitants per square kilometer. Some cities and districts have inhabitants with more than 2 million people, i.e Bandung, Medan, Bogor, Surabaya, while some other regions have just under 30 to 80 people for every square metre (*cf.* MoH RI 2015; BPS 2016; Geospatial Information Bureau 2017; Encyclopedia Britannica 2017).

Lee, Mason & Miller (1998) state that a country with high population density followed by the rapid process of industrialisation is mostly challenged by various environmental problems, *i.e.* high level of poverty and deforestation due to the exploitation of natural resources as well as other ecological deterioration, particularly if the government has low-resource administrative governance. The poor are more likely to feel the impact of the pollution and the environmental

problems and natural disasters. Nevertheless, environmental disasters in Indonesia became more complicated after decentralization and the cost of the environmental degradation is considered high. For instance, the total economic losses due to limited access to safe water and sanitation problems in Indonesia are estimated at ca. 2% of GDP per year. Moreover, the annual spending to tackle air pollution problems reaches around $400 million per year. The administrative and regulatory framework in Indonesia cannot yet meet the requirements of sustainable development, in spite of a long history of support for policy and capacity development both from within the government and with international donor support. Indonesia's approach to improve the environment and natural resources management is rather difficult. There are two explanations for the difficulties: *Firstly*, despite the substantial investment in environment and natural resources policy and staff development, actual implementation of rules and procedures has been poor and slow due to weak commitment by sector agencies, low awareness in local departments and capacity challenges at all levels. *Secondly*, there is little integration of environmental considerations at the planning and programmatic levels, especially in the public investment planning process and in regional plans for land and resource use (*cf.* World Bank 2014; Indonesia-Investments 2016).

4.1.3. The Economy and its Socio-Cultural Context

Economic Figures of Indonesia

The Indonesian economy has achieved strong growth over the past few years. According to the report of the three major development agencies: the World Bank, the IMF, and the United Nations, with an annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 900 billion USD in 2016, Indonesia ranks as the 16th largest economy in the world. This achievement has been achieved by the firm's government policy, the growth of a young labour force, as well as the country's endowment towards natural resources. The growth was boosted by household consumption (56.5%), fixed investment (33%) and government spending (9.3%) (*cf.* Tradingeconomics 2017; CIA 2017).

Table 4.1. Sector contribution to the GDP of Indonesia 1967 – 2009 (in %age of GDP).

Sectors	Year				
	1967	1982	1996	1999	2009
Agriculture	51	23	17	20	16
Construction	na(a)	10	10	8	11
Manufacturing	8	13	26	26	27
Mining & Utilities	na(a)	17	8	9	11
Services	36	37	40	37	35

(a) In 1967 the combined share of construction and mining&utilities was 5%
Source: Adapted from Elias & Noone (2011).

The composition of the GDP of Indonesia shows that the country has developed mainly from the Service sector since 1982, followed by Agriculture and Manufacturing, Mining and Utilities, and Construction. Although the country has been known as an agricultural country throughout history, the figures in the last four decades show a different story. In the most recent data, the contribution of the agricultural sector in the year 2016 was estimated at only 13.7 %, in comparison with Industry (40.3 %) and Services (46%) (*cf.* Elias & Noone 2001; CIA 2017). Out of 125 million people of the labour force in Indonesia, about 32% work in the agricultural sector, 21% in the industrial sector, and 47% in the service sector. Unlike the service sector which is consistent with the contribution to the economy, the agricultural sector contributes to a lesser extent compared to the labour force in the sector. This condition indicates that there are gaps

between the general income, which is contributed by each sector, and the people's income based on sectors. On the other hand, this income gap reveals the poverty incidents in Indonesia. Using these two indicators, Indonesia has been struggling to reduce the number of people in poverty, based on headcount number and the GINI ratio (*cf.* The World Bank 2013; 2014; 2015; 2017).

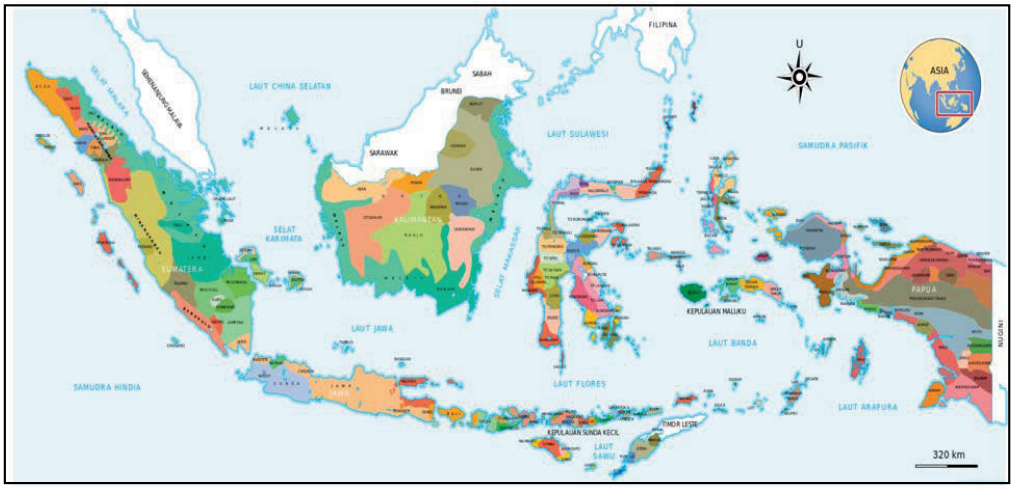
One of the causes of poverty is the inequality of opportunities. Children in the remote and rural areas of Indonesia tend to experience multidimensional inequality of opportunity. They are more likely than urban children to lack access to education, health, and transportation services. The other factor which also contributes to the condition of inequality is the infrastructure gap. About 41% of district roads and 24% of provincial roads throughout Indonesia are in bad condition. This poor condition of infrastructure contributes to poverty, particularly in the eastern provinces of the country. The condition hinders farmers in the rural area to access markets, and at the same time, imposes limitations in various opportunities, including access to public services. It is not surprising that the government of Indonesia, particularly in the period of the Joko Widodo presidency, has taken it seriously to build massive projects in infrastructures. The infrastructure development would contribute to the increased growth of the economy in Indonesia (*cf.* Cockburn *et al.* 2013; Aji 2015; IMF 2016; World Bank 2017)

The financial crisis in the late 1990s which halted the Indonesian economy has given an important lesson for the government of Indonesia. The 'top-down approach' of development has failed to reach equal distribution as well as towards the well-being of the people (Palumbo, Maynard-Moody & Wright 1984). The empowerment at the community level was also being neglected. The need for an alternative to the 'top-down approach' which has been failing to decrease disparities among the rich and the poor is inevitable. A 'bottom-up' approach which incorporates community participation in development should then be proposed. In this context, a community-based economy, which incorporates culture in the development plan and policies, is suggested. However, the huge diversities concerning the ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia challenge the government to determine which plans should be implemented to which particular cultures under various circumstances (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Davies 2008; Winters 2011; Budiantoro 2011; Latifah 2011).

Ethno-Cultural Figures

The majority of the ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia are Javanese. This comprises circa two-fifths of the population in Indonesia, followed by Sundanese (15.5%), Malay (3.7%), Batak (3.6%), Madurese (3.0%), Betawi (2.9%) and circa one-third from other ethno-cultural groups (*cf.* Britannica 2017). Each ethno-cultural group has its cultural identity and social structure. Understanding these cultural factors is necessary for the analysis of development in Indonesia. While Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) document these various cultural practices in different indigenous communities, including in Indonesia, Sumardjo (2010) divides the social structure in Indonesia into five different social structures. For instance, the ethno-cultural groups of Asmat, Flores, Minahasa and Nias are categorised into a 'dyadic' structure, while the Sundanese, Minangkabau, Bugis, and Batak groups are classified into 'triadic' or three-component social structures. Understanding these characteristics of ethno-cultural groups, their social structure and their knowledge and livelihood systems, then becomes a prerequisite to understand the country and its development.

As the second largest ethno-cultural group in Indonesia, the Sundanese people have influenced the population of Indonesia. The Sundanese people live mostly in the West Java and Banten provinces in Indonesia, although there are many who are also living outside of those two provinces, including abroad. One of the Sundanese regions in the West Java province is the Subang District.



Map 4.2 Map of Indonesia based on Ethno-Cultural Groups.
Source: Wikimedia (2017).

During the Dutch colonialisation, the area was known as Tjiasem and Pamanoekan, and Subang was only a sub-district with a lesser area in comparison with its present geographic area. Recently, Subang became one of the districts in West Java province in Indonesia. As this research focuses on the Subang District, the next section will introduce the district figures (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Posey 1999; Agung 2005; Sumardjo 2010).

4.2 Subang District and its Sociography

4.2.1 Geography and History

Kabupaten Subang is a district in the Northern area of West Java, which comprises the administrative regions of 30 sub-districts and 253 villages. It has about 1.477.483 inhabitants, of which 746,148 are males and 731,335 females. The area of Subang covers around 205,276.95 hectares or 6,34% of the total area of West Java province. The population density of Subang is about 714 people per km2. The Sundanese people are forming the most populated ethno-cultural group in the Subang District and the Sundanese language is used in daily conversation. Geographically, Subang is divided into 3 areas: the southern area, the middle area, and the northern area. The southern area of Subang is a highland while the northern part is a lowland. The southern area is known for its tea plantations, forests, and recreation areas, surrounded by natural resources, while the northern area is famous for fisheries and agriculture. The central area of Subang is known for some plantations, *i.e.* rubber, cane, tea and fruits, while the government agencies and industrial activities are also concentrated here (*cf.* BPS Subang 2016).

History of Subang
The history of Subang Regency was not only meant as a regional history in terms of an administrative region, but also part of the territory of West Java Province. The origin of Subang can be found in the story of the folklore and history of the traditional community of Subang. It has several historical views about its establishment (*cf.* Bappeda Subang 2004; Sihite 2007).

- *The first view of Subang history* originated from the name of a woman, which is found in the chronicle of Siliwangi, named *Subanglarang* or *Subangkarancang*. The story goes back to the history of the Padjadjaran Kingdom. In the history of Java, it is documented that in the area of Karawang – near Subang – there was an Islamic boarding school, led by Sheik Datuk Quro. A woman named Subanglarang or Subangkarancang was a daughter of Ki Damajan Jati who were sent to study to Sheik Datuk Quro;
- *The second view of Subang history* is traced back to the period of Dutch colonisation. Subang was a place near Kuningan which is famously known as Pamanoekan and Tjiasemlanden. In that place, there was a company named P & T Land, which was run by PW Hofland. The company ran a rubber plantation and business, also trading in coffee, tea and sugar cane. The employees were recruited from the land named Subang Kuningan. In the old map, the area was known as Pamanoekan and Tjiasemlanden;
- *The third view of Subang history* goes back to folklore where people in Subang believed that Subang was taken from the word *Suweng*. *Suweng* is an 'earring jewellery'. The word Subang is also believed to be taken from the word *Kubang* or a waterhole. From the story of the Subang people, there was a place named *Rawabadak* where there was a waterhole. The waterhole was used by rhino to soak in. There was possibly a slip in pronouncing *Suweng* and *Kubang*. So, instead of Subang as a different name, it was meant for *Suweng* or *Kubang*.
- *The fourth view of Subang history* goes back to the period of the Dutch colonialisation. This history was documented by De Haan (1912). He wrote: '*... as the treaty on October 5, 1705 between Mataram with the Dutch, Sunan Kartasura handed over the Governor-General de Jonge, the coastal areas of Java Island from West to East of mountain Dayiloer (Dayeuhluhur) to Mount Sumana or Subang…'* (*cf.* Bappeda Subang 2004)

From the chronological point of history, the establishment of the Subang District can be traced to thousands of years ago. It started from the pre-historic period of time, with Hinduism influence, in the Western colonialism period, the national movement, and after the independence of Indonesia. Each historical period has contributed to the picture of the Subang District today (*cf.* Meinanda 2005; Bapeda Subang 2004; Sihite 2007).

4.2.2 The Socio-Demography of Subang

Administrative Structure

According to the administrative structure, Subang has 30 sub-districts (*kecamatan*), 245 rural villages (*desa*), 8 urban villages (*kelurahan*), 1,808 household groups (RW) and 6,182 households sub-groups (RT). The administrative procedures are a combination between top-down policies and bottom-up initiatives. Most bottom-up initiatives are proposed by rural villages, household groups and household sub-groups, while the top-down policies are mainly disseminated by the government agencies at sub-district levels and urban villages.

Population and the Workforce

With an average population growth of 1.05%, the total population in the Subang District is 1,529,388 inhabitants, which comprises 772,416 males and 756,972 females. The average population density of Subang in 2016 is recorded as 745 people per km2, with the Subang Sub-district with the highest population density, with 2,916 people per km^2 and the Legonkulon Sub-district as the lowest population density with 304 people per km^2. The total number of households in Subang is 445,160 with an average household size of 3.44 inhabitants per households.

Illustration 4.1 A Dutchman meeting the Workers in the Tea Plantation in Subang (circa 1920).
Source: Tropenmuseum archive no. 600433293.

Concerning the age structure, the population of Subang consists of 24.55% aged between 0 to 14 years, 8.02% of inhabitants aged between 15 to 19 years old, 29.35% of the population aged between 20 to 39 years old, and 38.08% of the inhabitants aged 40 years and older. The labour force in Subang is 1,156,664 or about 75,6% of the population. Out of that labour force, about 10.04% are unemployed . The inhabitants are spread in 30 sub-districts (*kecamatan*), 245 rural villages (*desa*), 8 urban villages (*kelurahan*), 1,808 household groups (RW) and 6,182 household sub-groups (RT). The area is divided into three geographic divisions: the northern area, the southern area and the middle area, consisting from mountainous, flat and coastal area of the samples (*cf.* BPS Subang 2016).

Education and Health Care

Concerning the level of education, about 703,858 have finished school, varies from primary to secondary school or higher. Out of that number, about 402,781 have finished primary school, 136,669 have finished secondary school, and 164,408 have finished higher schools and tertiary education. Concerning health care, the Subang District has 51 medical doctors and 17 dentists, 442 nurses, 459 midwives, 40 pharmacies, 35 nutritious experts, 16 medical technicians, 44 sanitation experts and 64 public health officers. ISPA or *Acute Respiratory Infection* is the most common disease in the Subang District with about 48,542 cases reported in 2015, followed by *diarrhea* with 21,947 cases, *myalgia* with 17,421 cases, *essential hypertension* with 15,730 cases, *gastritis* with 14,471 cases, and *febris* with 14,047 cases recorded in 2015 by the Health department of the Subang municipality (*cf.* BPS Subang 2016).

Religion and Ethno-Cultural Groups
Concerning religion and beliefs, the majority of the inhabitants are Muslims with a total number of 1,510,916 followers, followed by 4,459 Protestants, 1,956 Catholics, 84 Hindi, 467 Buddhists and 36 from other denominations (including local religions). The number of religious buildings recorded are as follows: 5,975 mosques, 30 churches and 12 Catholic churches (*cf.* BPS Subang 2016).

Employment and Occupation
Subang has about 257,982 people working in the agricultural sector, 113,911 in the industrial sector and 308,846 in the service sectors. Although the service sectors now form the majority of the occupations of people in Subang, most people are actually farmers or farm labourers. The economy of Subang has been supported by the agricultural sectors. It is not surprising that the local government recently built a *leuyit* (Sundanese term for rice house) statue at the entrance to the Subang District. The people in the Subang District aim to make a major contribution of paddy rice to the country as acknowledged in the past, when Subang was called the '*lumbung padi nusantara'* (the rice stock for the country). Currently, the Subang District is the third largest supplier of paddy rice in the country, after the Indramayu and Karawang Districts.

4.2.3 The Economy of Subang

Agricultural Sector in Subang
As an agricultural district, the economy of Subang is mainly supported by agricultural products, *i.e.* rubber in the northwest, pineapples and tea gardens in the south. One of the famous pineapple varieties in Indonesia is *Nanas Madu (Honey Pineapples)* which come from the Subang region. This pineapple variety is well known as the sweetest pineapple, and could be found in the Jalancagak Sub-district, nearby Cimanglid, one of the villages where the research was conducted. Some other farmers are cultivating oyster mushrooms and fishing, *i.e* in the Cipunagara village. The total agricultural area of Subang is about 84,570 hectares, which covers almost 40% of the total area of the Subang District. Some other areas of Subang produce food crops, i.e corn which reached 1,243 tonnes in 2014, and cassava with 19,322 tonnes in 2014. With regard to the horticultural plants, the Subang District also produce vegetables. Chili is the most produced vegetable with 5,534 tonnes in 2015, followed by papaya with 1556 tonnes. Pineapples and bananas are still the most produced fruits in the Subang District. Both commodities have been produced by about 136,567 tonnes and 101,455 tonnes respectively in 2015. Some other areas of Subang live from animal husbandry, *i.e.* rabbits, catfish, cows, buffalos and others. There were about 1,038 cattle, 32,219 cows, 3,003 buffalos, 303 horses, 28,298 goats and 242,391 sheep in the Subang District in 2015. These animals were mainly used for the livestock of the people.

In addition to that, about 1,266,196 chickens, 61,400 hens, 7,814,870 broiler chickens, and 527,435 ducks were also recorded in the Subang District in 2015 (*cf.* BPS Subang 2016). In contrast to the southern area, the central area of Subang District is the area of business and industry, including the government offices, schools, public facilities, hospitals and supermarkets. The northern area of Subang heads towards the Java Sea. Besides farming, fisheries are another occupations of people in this area of Subang. There are about fifteen villages spread in the northern area of Subang, which covers 163.8 square kilometres. Ca. four-fifths of the region is a coastal area. The total number of inhabitants in the northern area is ca. 73,668 people, with an average population density of 459 persons/km2. Most of those who live in the coastal area work as farmers (53.71%), brackish-water aquaculture operators (4.23%) and fishermen (3.69%). The total production of marine fisheries is about 15,668 tonnes per annum, and from brackish-water aquaculture fisheries about 9,014 tons per year.

There are about 5 fish auctions for marine fisheries and 9 fish auctions for brackish-water aquaculture fisheries all over the Subang District. The total number of boats recorded is 826, owned by the fishermen (*cf.* BPS Subang 2016).

Trading, Commerce and Transportation
In addition to agriculture production, trading and commerce, particularly the service sectors are playing important roles in stimulating the economy of the Subang District. The total number of traders in Subang in 2015 was 6.438: 2.602 are small traders, 3.153 are middle enterprises and 683 are big merchants. In 2015, there were 15 *pasar lokal* ('local markets'), 28 *pasar tradisional* ('traditional markets'), 1 shopping mall, 4 modern markets, and 180 mini markets. These numbers exclude the number of *waroong* ('small markets'), which operate mostly in the neighbourhood. It was estimated that the number of these types of stores was about 4,514 shop houses, 2.012 *los* ('unrestricted vendors') and 1,179 *Pedagang Kaki Lima* (PKL) ('Street Vendors'). In the service sector, there are about 92 four-star hotels and 82 no-star hotels in the Subang District, wth a total number of 1,709 rooms and 2,211 beds. In terms of transportation infrastructure, about 45,33 km are state roads, 146,31 km are provincial roads and 1,054.50 are district roads. About 718,93 km of the roads use paved material and 116,41 km use concrete. More than one-fifth of the roads are in a damaged condition while nearly half the roads are in good condition. These roads are used on a daily basis for about 13,742 vehicles which are available in the Subang District (*cf.* BPS Subang 2016).

4.3 The Sundanese Culture in Subang

4.3.1 The Sundanese People in Subang

The majority of the people in Subange is Sundanese, and the Sundanese language is used in daily conversation. In the northern areas of Subang, people even communicate more in mixed language with the specific accent of *Dermayan*, or a mix of the Sundanese and Javanese language, with a Cirebon dialect. Mutual help and reciprocity of social interaction of the Sundanese people are marked in the social interaction by the people of Subang. *Gotong Royong* is used by the people of Subang in daily activities, from building houses to cultural events. It is not surprising that people uses *Gotong Royong* in their development philosophy. It says,*Subang gotong-royong Subang maju*, which means'(If) Subang implements *Gotong Royong*, Subang would achieve advancement in development' (*cf.* Illustration 4.2).

In the economic activity, the local government of Subang implements *Gotong Royong* in its policies and programmes. One of the Government Programmes which is supporting the implementation of *Gotong Royong* is the *Lumbung Ekonomi Desa* (LED) ('Village Economic Barn'). This Programme attempts to revitalise the Sundanese tradition of food-stocks hedging for future needs, named *Lumbung Padi* ('Rice Barn'). The government suggested to the people of Subang at the community level to refunctionalise this tradition. Each family is asked to save their rice stocks with the local institution, established by the village administration. The collected rice will only be used for food security in the future, particularly if there is a failure in the harvest period in the plantation (*pers.comm* 2012). Another example, which is elaborated thoroughly in this study, is *Gintingan* ('Traditional Communal and Mutual Support'). Unlike LED, *Gintingan* is a 'bottom-up' initiative by the local people of Subang, which has been implemented for decades by them. The institution is used during *Hajatan* ('Rituals or Ceremonies'), as a socio-cultural and reciprocal activity to support a family with an amount of rice, measured by a *Gantang* ('Wooden Vessel of Measured Rice'). This concept will be elaborated in Chapter VII.

Illustration 4.2 Reference to the Spirit of *Gotong Royong* at the Village Administration Building. *Source:* Saefullah (2012).

4.3.2 Traditional Arts and Foods in Subang

Subang has many traditional arts and cultural activities which are developed and practiced by the people in the community in their daily life on specific occasions or events such as wedding ceremonies and in celebration of the harvest period of the plantation. The influence of Sundanese culture has also shaped their traditional arts, for example: *Doger Kontrak*; *Gembyung*; *Ruwatan Bumi; Mapag Dewi; Sisingaan; Toleat;* and *Nadran*: 1) *Doger Kontrak. Doger Kontrak* is Subang folk art which began to grow and develop before the war of independence (1945), when the P&T Lands Company began their plantations in Subang; 2) *Gembyung. Gembyung* is a musical ensemble consisting of several *waditra* ('traditional jimbee') with traditional flutes. It is influenced by the Islamic tradition. These musical instruments are usually played during specific occasions such as new year ceremonies, or a new period of plantation, etc.
It is a symbol of how people express their appreciation to God; 3) *Ruwatan Bumi. Ruwatan Bumi* is a traditional ceremony of the Subang people, particularly in agriculture areas, in which the farmers show their expression of gratitude to God for giving them well being and prosperity during the harvest period of the plantation; 4) *Mapag Dewi Sri. Mapag Dewi Sri* is similar to *Ruwatan Bumi*. It is a traditional ceremony performed mostly by the people of Subang (farmers), as an expression of farmers' gratitude to God; 5) *Sisingaan. Sisingaan* is the most famous traditional dance of Subang. The tradition itself is usually shown during special occasions such as wedding ceremonies or a child's celebration of circumcision; 6) *Toleat. Toleat* is a kind of traditional flute (aerophone) in Subang. Usually this type of musical instrument is played by herdsmen in the field while waiting for their shepherd; and 7) *Nadran. Nadran* is a traditional ceremony of the Subang people who live in a coastal area, particularly when they are entering the fishery period. It is mostly practiced in the Blanakan village as an expression of gratitude by the people of Subang to their God.

In the view of indigenous people, food does not only represent a mode of survival. Furthermore, it represents people's cosmovision: how they observe themselves in relation to other human beings and the universe. Bangladeshi villagers say: *bhat, kapor on shonman niye shukhey thakbo* ('we live in happiness with rice, clothes and respect') (*cf.* White 2010). Traditional Sundanese foods, particularly in Subang, are mainly made by plants, consumed with the hands, and served by using leaves. There is a cosmological reasoning behind the practices. The philosophical background of Sundanese people, using plants and leaves, is based on its cosmovision towards nature and the environment. Sundanese people believe that humans cannot harm other beings, as the universe will give a bad return if humans do harm. As Sundanese people use plants and leaves for their foods, the usage will not harm the soil on earth, even if they throw the leaves into the ground. In fact, it would help the soil become fertile naturally.

Illustration 4.3 *Tape ketan* (Fermented Rice) of Subang.
Source: Saefullah (2012).

There are some foods which are known as coming from Subang, *i.a.* tape ketan (as seen in Illustration 4.3), *gurandil* ('soft bites made by cassava flour'), and *opak* (rice crackers). Most of the foods are made by rice and cassava flours. It is not surprising as the main occupation of people in Subang is in farming. Thus, the type of foods not only transpires through their philosophical foundations, but also through their profession.

CHAPTER V LIFE IN THE FOUR VILLAGES OF KABUPATEN SUBANG

This chapter describes the results of both the qualitative and quantitative research in the four sample *desa/kampung/kelurahan* ('villages') in different *kecamatan* ('sub-districts') of Kabupaten Subang. *Kabupaten* is a local name for a district, regency or municipality. This research uses the term *kabupaten*, district, regency, and municipality interchangeably with similar meanings. The field work was implemented from March to April 2011, and continued from September to December 2011, and followed up from March to May 2012. The additional qualitative and quantitative data collection was also conducted later between July-August 2013, and lastly in March-April 2016, in order to update the findings, and adjusted with some additional information. The study had started with a preliminary study of secondary data and interviews with some key informants, which was then followed up with the qualitative research, where the participant and non-participant observations including in-depth interviews were implemented.

The general picture of the communities is important to be examined as an implementation of the comparison between villages in the context of the 'Field of Ethnological Study'. In this context, the villages are distinguished based on some similar consideration factors. In addition to that, the comparison figure of this general picture of the communities would be beneficial for future policy considerations and development plans. The quantitative research on household interviews was implemented from March to May 2012 by using a questionnaire design based on an adapted analytical model of Slikkerveer (1990), applied in various topics of ethnoscience by other researchers, such as Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019). While the quantitative analyses of the people's behaviour on their preferences towards the Plural Community Institutional Systems will be elaborated in Chapter VIII and IX, this chapter focuses on the descriptive analysis from the qualitative research when the researcher did the fieldwork and collected the secondary data related to the information about the research area.

5.1 The Study Population and Sample Survey

5.1.1 The Study Population

Chapter IV has already presented a general description of Subang as a district/municipality in the West Java Province, Indonesia, where the research was conducted. This section describes the Subang District as a Study Population and how the villages were selected as the study samples both for qualitative field work as well as the household survey.

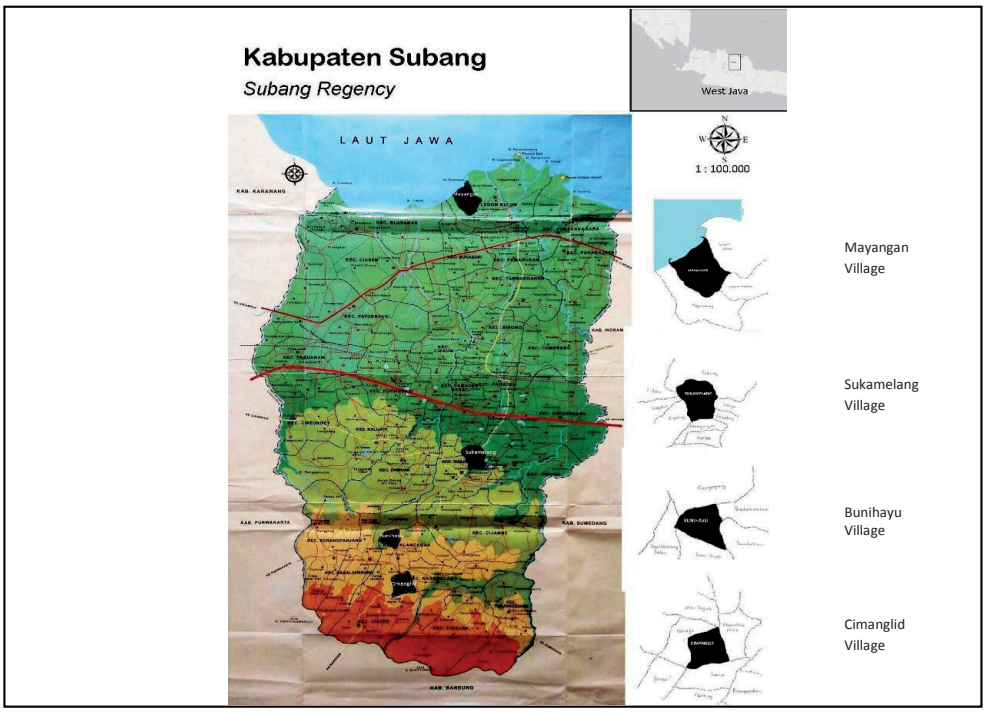
5.1.2 The Village Samples

The study was conducted in the four village samples of the Subang District. Based on the preliminary study, the researcher decided to do the field work in the areas which were representing the division of the geographic location, in which the local government of Subang has made its development plans and policies. The following Table 5.1 and Map 5.1 contain brief descriptions of the village samples.

Table 5.1 Village Samples.

No	Geographic area	Social Structure of the village	Village name	Zonation
1	North	Semi-Urban/Rural	Mayangan	Coastal/Lowland
2	Middle	Urban	Subang	Flat Area/Lowland
3	South	Semi-Urban/Rural	Bunihayu	Mountainous/Highland
4	South	Rural	Cimanglid	Mountainous/Highland

Source: Fieldwork (2011-2012).



Map 5.1 Map of the Four Villages in the Subang District of West Java, Indonesia.
Source: Adapted by the Author from various sources.

5.1.3. Profile of the Four Villages

This section describes the profile of the four villages, where the research was carried out of the ethno-economics and ethno-development, particularly using the recent approaches of Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) and Integrated Community-Managed Development (*cf.* Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah 2019). The four villages represent three different geographical areas of the northern, the central and the southern areas of the Subang District. The villages also represent the type of socio-environmental structures of urban, semi-urban, and rural regions, including zonation of coastal, flat and mountainous areas. Each of these villages has its own profile, which will be described in the following sections.

Sukamelang Village

Sukamelang is one of the villages in *Kecamatan* Subang ('Subang Sub-district') of *Kabupaten* Subang ('Subang District'). According to the interview with the *Lurah* ('Administrative Head of Sukamelang Village'), which was also documented in their development plan, the name 'Sukamelang' was taken from the history of the village, when the area was still under Dutch colonial rule. The village was known as a place where Indonesian *pejuang gerilya* ('local fighters') used to spent their time to rest, hide and conduct a guerrilla battle against the Dutch troops. By consequence, the fighters had to be aware all the time to prepare their guerilla attacks. The soldiers felt insecure, uncomfortable and anxious all the time. In the Sundanese language, the feeling of insecurity, discomfort and anxiety is called *melang.* As the feelings of insecurity, discomfort and anxiety were dominant during that period of time, it was named as *suka*, which means 'always'. Since then, the name 'Sukamelang' has a meaning of 'always feeling insecure, uncomfortable or anxious' (*cf.* Strategic Plan of Sukamelang Village 2011-2015).

Illustration 5.1 A House of the Poor in Sukamelang Village.
Source: Field Note (2011-2012).

Sukamelang Village was categorised administratively as a rural area until 1984, when it became an urban village as it is close to the Capital of the Subang District. The change of administrative status was indicated by the change of village name from *Desa* ('Rural Village') to *Kelurahan* ('Urban Village') in 1984. The change of the administrative status is not only indicating that the village has transformed from a traditional to a transitional or modern community, but it also indicates that the political and administrative system has also changed. While a leader of a *Desa* is elected through a 'bottom-up' election by the villagers, the leader of a *Kelurahan* is assigned by the higher local administrative government, known as the *Kecamatan* ('Sub-district Local Government') in this context. By consequence, the local governance in the village with a *Kelurahan* administrative status, cannot implement a fully 'bottom-up' approach of development, but also needs to consider any 'top-down' policies from the higher administrative government. Geographically, Sukamelang Village is bordered by some other villages. In the north, it borders with Jabong Village of the Pagaden Baru Sub-district, while in the south, it borders with Karanganyar village of the Subang Sub-district. In the east, the village borders with

Belendung village of the Cibogo Sub-district, and in the west, it borders with Dangdeur village of the Subang Sub-district. The area of the village covers about 602 hectares, consisting of about 215.8 hectares of homes and residences, 285.3 hectares of paddy fields, 87.5 hectares of general plantation, 6 hectares of cemeteries, 1.5 acres of gardens, 3.5 acres of public facilities, and 3.5 acres of general offices. The population number of this village is about 26,688 inhabitants with 14,522 males and 12,166 females and a total of 3,977 households. On average, there are 4 persons per household/family. During the fieldwork , the researcher was assisted by the community leader, Mr. Wastim and his family, including the interview with the people in the community, ranging from the administrative leader to the elderly poor. In addition to that, the fieldwork includes some regular discussions in the *Musyawarah* ('Community') and participated in the activities of *Gotong Royong i.e.* cleaning the river, farming, fishing, preparing the wedding ceremony of one or two households, using the community indigenous institution of *Gintingan*, and an involvement in a routine security guard in the village at night with the *Siskamling* ('Neighbours') (*cf.* Pemerintah Desa Sukamelang 2011).

As regards the religion in Subang, about 97% of the people are Muslim, while about 52 persons are Christian, 30 Catholic, and 4 are Hindu. In terms of ethno-cultural groups in the area, about 13.264 people are Sundanese, 52 are Batak from North Sumatra, 600 people are Javanese, 22 are from Madura, 4 people are from Bali, and 29 are from Padang in West Sumatra. On the education of the villagers, 4.949 people of Sukamelang have finished primary school, whereas 1.350 finished junior high school, 4.284 finished senior high school, and about 242 people completed a university degree with 8 people among the 242, who had completed their post-graduate studies. Table 5.2 shows the general number of years that people in this village spent on their schooling.

Table 5.2 Formal Education Completed by Inhabitants of Sukamelang Village.

Level of School	Male	Female	Total
Primary School (SD)	2,433	2,516	4,949
Junior High School (SMP)	740	610	1,350
Senior High School (SMA)	2,582	1,702	4,284
Undergraduate College/University	119	123	242
Post Graduate	6	2	8
Others	1	-	1
Total	5,881	4,953	10,825*

Source : Pemerintah Desa Sukamelang (2011).
*Note : Some inhabitants between the age of 7 to 18 years are still doing their schooling from Primary to High School.

The majority of the local people of Sukamelang village work as farmers and peasant farmers. Statistically, about 10.650 people are farmers, 1002 people are peasant farmers, 505 people are working as government officials, 136 are working in home industries, 15 are street traders, 64 are breeders, 29 work as housemaids, and 373 people are elderly pensioners who used to work as government officials, in the army and police officers. Only 17 people are still active in the army. In addition to that, there are 3 villagers who work as lecturers, 2 as architects, 20 as artists and 11 in private enterprises.

This village is the research area where the Promotor of the researcher, Prof. Slikkerveer and his wife, together with the former President of Leiden University, Mr. Vredevoogd and his wife came to pay a visit on the 14th of September 2011. Besides having a discussion with the local

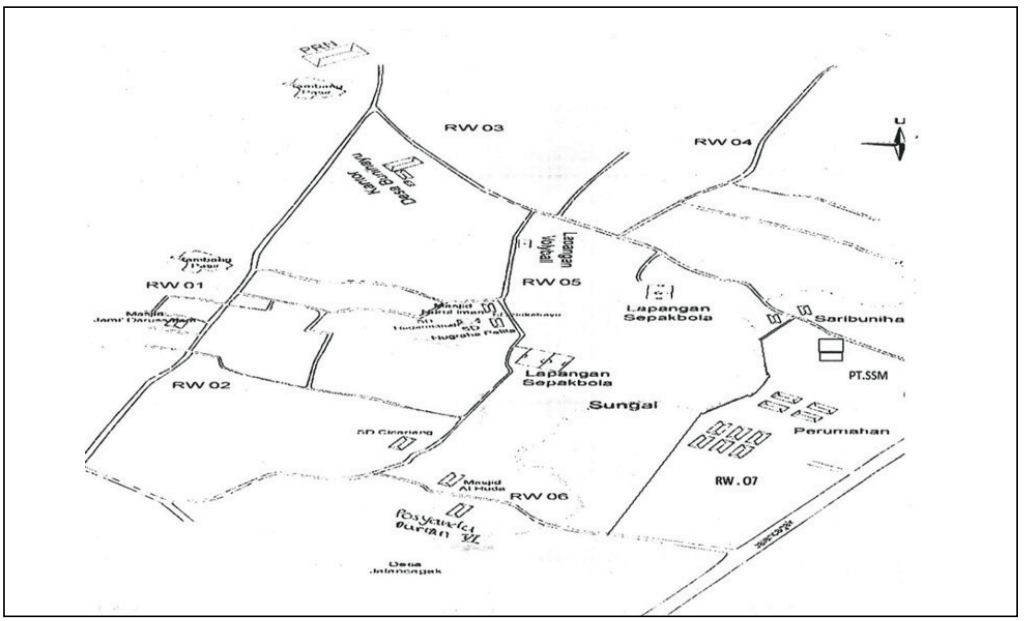
people in the community about the role of community institutional systems in the village, *i.e. Gintingan*, they also visited some community institutions, including schools, community health institutions, as well as the village administration office (*cf.* Illustration 5.2). Although the village is officially categorised as an urban village, the indigenous community institution of *Gintingan* is however still implemented by the local people. Based on the interviews with some older people, they feel that maintaining the tradition is the right way to interact socially with the people. So, those who are not implementing *Gintingan*, for instance, can be seen as 'asocial' members of the community.

Illustration 5.2 The Visit of Prof. Slikkerveer and his Wife, and Mr. Vredevoogd and his Wife to Sukamelang Village.
*Source :*Field Note (2011).

Bunihayu Village

The second village where the research has been carried out is Bunihayu Village. Bunihayu is part of the group of villages of the Jalan Cagak Sub-district. The name of Bunihayu came from the words *buni* and *hayu'*. *Buni* means hide or hiding and *hayu* means 'lets have', so literally, *bunihayu* means a place to hide. The name of the village recalls the history of the Dutch colonial rule, when this village was used as a place to hide for the Indonesian soldiers during the war against the Dutch. The place is full of trees and bushes, so those who hide in this area are difficult to be discovered. The village itself is located in an area of 20 km distant from a military center, which was established during the Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia.

Based on the geographic and environmental location, the people of Bunihayu village are categorised as semi-rural or semi-urban. Bunihayu Village has about 4.789 inhabitants, with about 2.392 males and 2.397 females. The majority of them are working in the agricultural sector. About 2.430 people are farmers and 401 are peasant farmers. The rest of them are working as government officials, or in micro- and small enterprises, as street traders, breeders and in nurseries.



Map 5.2 Social Map of Bunihayu Village.
Source: Pemerintah Desa Bunihayu (2015).

Concerning the education level, 537 of the people of Bunihayu have finished primary school, whereas about 343 have finished junior high school, 331 have finished senior high school, 201 have finished up to university level and 32 of them have graduated at the postgraduate level. About 685 members of the community did not go to school at all (*cf.* Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Formal Education Completed by Inhabitants of Bunihayu Village.

Level of School	Male	Female	Total
Primary School (SD)	247	290	537
Junior High School (SMP)	359	4	343
Senior High School (SMA)	325	6	331
Undergraduate College/University	113	88	201
Post Graduate	15	17	32
Others	5	-	1
Not completed (SD/SMP/SMA)	1254	1779	3033
Kindergarten	180	197	377
Under schooling Age	50	48	98
Never attend school	295	390	685
Total	2,843	2,819	5,662

Source: Pemerintah Desa Bunihayu (2015).

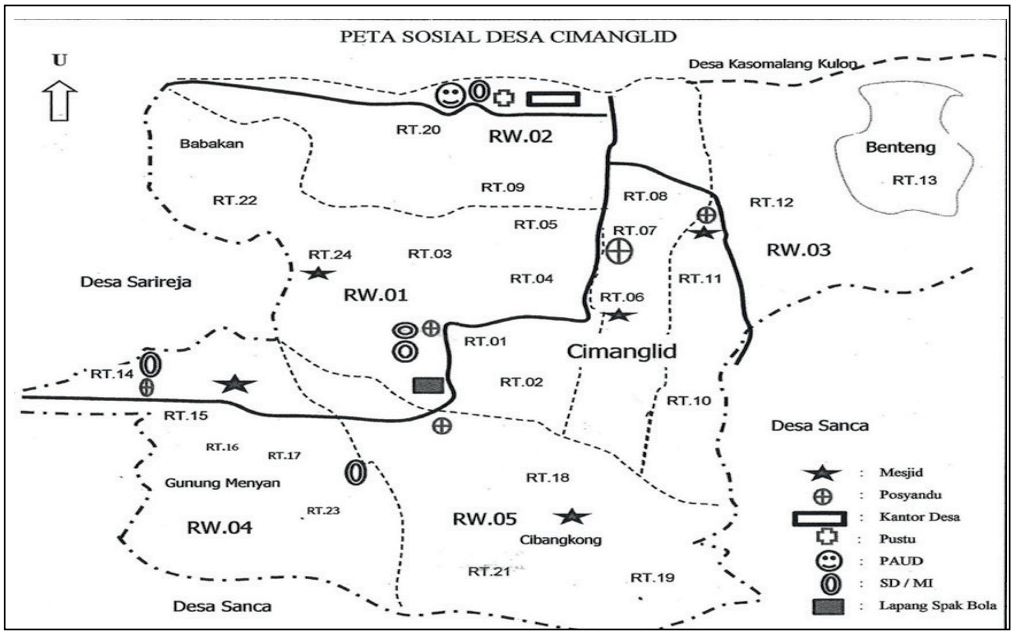
Although the majority of the people in Bunihayu are farmers, few of the inhabitants have their own land. According to an interview with a key informant, the land of the people has been taken over by an Indonesian-Chinese business man, known as Mr. *Ki Boon* who came to the village a few years ago and gradually bought land from the residents. After the researcher studied the long-term development plan of the Subang District, he found that the village area will be used in the future for a highway which will connect the Subang District with Purwakarta and other surrounding cities. Surprisingly, the local people did not feel 'being forced' by the business man as he was known as a generous person who has been helping the local people when they were in trouble. Many of the inhabitants also worked with him on his land, and people came to him to borrow money without any tight schedule of repayment, although the local people were asked to use their lands as collateral (*pers. comm.* 2012).

Illustration 5.3 Elders in Bunihayu Village.
Source: Field Note (2011-2012).

Cimanglid Village

The third village where the researcher conducted the fieldwork between September 2011 to May 2012 was Cimanglid Village. The village is located in the southern area of the Subang District, surrounded by mountains and covered by pineapple farms and tea plantations. Administratively, the village is part of the Kasomalang Sub-district of the Subang District. The name of Cimanglid means 'the water which flew under the *manglid* tree'. According to an interview with the informal leader, Mr. Wakil, the name was traced back to a mythical story of the villagers. According to him, there was a time in the past when the village was short of water supply. A pious villager did a meditation, searched the forest and found a tree named the 'manglid', which was producing water from the root of the tree so the people in the village could solve their water problem and used the water source for their living. Since then, the village was named Cimanglid, from the words *Ci* meaning 'Water' and *'Manglid'* referring to the name of a tree. Although the village is located in a remote area, the people of the village are considered hospitable villagers, in comparison with the other villagers where the study had also been conducted. The hospitality can be seen from the companion by the *kepala desa* ('administrative leader of the village') in the visits to some village elders, to the way of local people joined the

several meetings, including the experience of the indigenous ways of making *opak* ('indigenous crackers'), the participant observation with the community health-care institution of *Pos Yandu*, as well as the interview with the local home-based savings and borrowing institution which was managed by a housewife of the key informant. Cimanglid village covers the area of 292 hectares, with 95.5 hectares of housing and residential areas, 65.5 hectares of paddy fields, 23 hectares of plantation areas, 0.5 hectares of cemeteries, 86 hectares of gardens, 17.5 hectares of public facilities and 4 hectares of general village administration offices.



Map 5.2 Social Map of Cimanglid Village.
Source: Pemerintah Desa Cimanglid (2016).

The village has 3.002 inhabitants, with 1.479 males and 1.523 females, with a total of 1.054 households. The village has on average 3 people per household/family. As regards the religion and the ethno-cultural groups, 100 % of the inhabitants are Muslim and 98% of the people are Sundanese. Their education level shows that about 1.838 people have completed primary school, 98 completed junior high school, 29 of the villagers have finished senior high school, while 32 have completed a university degree with 8 people among the villagers who have post-graduate degrees (*cf.* Table 5.4). It is not surprising that in terms of occupation, most of the people of Cimanglid village are farmers, breeders and peasant farmers. About 1.250 of the inhabitants work as farmers, 423 as breeders and 180 as peasant farmers.

In addition, about 33 people were pensioners from the army and police officers, 3 are still active in the army, 53 work in micro- and small enterprises, 60 work in the private sector, 17 work in home industries, 5 work as housemaids, 2 work as midwive and nurse, and 5 work in government agencies (*cf.* Profil Desa Cimanglid 2016).

Table 5.4 Formal Education Completed by Inhabitants of Cimanglid Village.

Level of School	Male	Female	Total
Primary School (SD)	41	65	106
Junior High School (SMP)	21	35	56
Senior High School (SMA)	18	32	50
Undergraduate College/University	18	18	32
Post Graduate	-	-	8
Others	1	-	1
Kindergarten	70	81	151
School in progress (SD – SMA)	191	200	391
Total	360	431	791*

Source: Pemerintah Desa Cimanglid (2016).

The social system of *Gotong Royong* in this village is still practiced by the local people. During the fieldwork, the researcher was involved in several activities of *Gotong Royong, f.i.* when he helped to build a water supply for the community at the water fountain, and a house of a community member in the village as a different form of the indigenous institution of *Gintingan*. The villagers did not implement *Gintingan* in the original form anymore for the purpose of weddings or rituals, but they use the institution mainly to support the community members in housing and construction.

Illustration 5.4 *Gotong Royong* with the Cimanglid Housewife.
Source: Field Note (2011-2012).

Apart from the business and companies, most people in the village did not have a bank account for their personal and household use. The people in the village are afraid that the banking system will disrupt their social interaction as the banks implement impersonal ways on their transactions. However, a local micro-savings and borrowing institution exists in the village. It is run by wife of the key informant who was assisting the fieldwork in the village, Mrs. Rosmalia. The lady manages the savings and borrowings of the community members who were the clients. Based on trust and mutual understanding, she uses a personal approach in the implementation of

the institution. Although the institution is informally operated by an individual housewife, the institution has accommodated the needs of almost all the households in the village, and had about 700 clients (*pers.comm* 2012).

Illustration 5.5 The Administrative Office of Cimanglid Village.
Source: Field Note (2011-2012).

Mayangan Village

Mayangan is the fourth village of the fieldwork which was observed in this study. The village is located in the most northern part of the Subang District, which is characterised by a coastal area. Mayangan village is one of the seven villages in the Legon Kulon Sub-district of the Subang District. The other six villages are: 1) Legon Kulon; 2) Legon Wetan; 3) Pangarengan; 4) Tegal Mulya; 5) Bobos; and 6) Karang Mulya. The Mayangan and Legon Wetan villages are situated at the border of in the northern area of the Subang District. These two villages are separated by a river which flows into the sea.The total area of Mayangan Village is 502 hectares, comprising 67,7 hectares of housing and residences, 29 hectares of paddy fields, 122 hectares of embankments, 3,97 hectares of public facilities, and 279,9 hectares of forest. The total population of Mayangan Village includes 963 inhabitants, consisting of 481 males and 482 females with a total household number of 304 families. Concerning the religious beliefs, 100% of the people of Mayangan village are registered as Muslim. As regards the ethno-cultural groups, about 768 inhabitants are Sundanese, 193 people are Javanese, 1 person is from Madura, and 1 person is from West Sumatera (Padang). As regards education, 205 people have finished primary school, 33 have finished junior high school, 99 have completed senior high school, and 22 people have completed university level education (*cf.* Pemerintah Desa Mayangan 2011). The details of the educational profile of the population of Mayangan Village is shown in Table 5.2 .

The villagers of Mayangan work mostly as fishermen and fish farmers, while some work as farm labourers. Beside fisheries, the village is also famous as a tourist destination, particularly for the local tourists. *Pondok Bali* beach is very well known to locals. The main economy sources of the village are the sea and the land.

Table 5.2 Formal Education Completed by Inhabitants of Mayangan Village.

Level of School	Male	Female	Total
Primary School (SD)	76	129	205
Junior High School (SMP)	22	11	33
Senior High School (SMA)	89	10	99
Undergraduate College/University	16	6	22
Post Graduate	-	-	8
Others	-	-	1
Kindergarten	25	20	45
School in progress (SD – SMA)	151	252	403
Under schooling Age	9	8	17
Never attend school	47	46	93
Total	481	482	963*

Source: Pemerintah Desa Mayangan (2011).

According to an interview with the secretary of the village who has served the village for more than 10 years, the natural resources from the sea and the land have been utilised by the people for many generations and fishery has been the main profession of the people. The existence of *Tempat Pelelangan Ikan* ('Fish Auction Institution'), which is operated by the Village Cooperative Unit (KUD) of Mayangan, has been providing support as an intermediate institution between the fish buyers and the sellers, being the fisherman.

In addition to fisheries and fish auctions, the other economy source in Mayangan village is tourism with the existence of *Pondok Bali* Beach. The place was developed by the local government as a tourist destination since the early 1980s. It is known as one of the most visited tourist attractions in the West Java province. The village used to earn its livelihood from fisheries until 2004, when the village was hit by a huge flood. The flood, which is known by the villagers as a 'ROB flood', caused an abration to the land and diminished almost one-third of the area of Mayangan village. About 329 hectares of the paddy fields and fish ponds in the Mayangan village were flooded by sea water. Since then, this situation made a significant change to the daily profession and livelihood of the people in Mayangan village. The local sources of ponds, paddy fields, shops, and *Pondok Bali* Beach, which previously provided their main economic resources, are no longer able to support the livelihood of the people of Mayangan village. The sea abration has also affected the people of Mayangan village psychologically. The villagers who used to borrow some money from the Bank for their capital were no longer able to access any banking services, considering that they did not have any physical assets to be used as collateral. Some villagers have migrated to other villages to search for better livelihoods, while work as migrants to foreign countries has also become an alternative for the villagers. After the floods and the sea abration, the number of villagers who became migrant workers overseas tended to increase. According to an interview with the secretary of the village, the number of migrated people in 2012 was nearly one-fourth of the population. The number was rather high in comparison with the previous year, which was only about 58 people out of 400 households.

An interview with the secretary of the village explained that the numbers of emigrants is expected to increase in the future, particularly if the socio-economic and environmental conditions of the village do not show any signs of recovery. Some villagers were still optimistic with the situation and the conditions of their village.

Illustration 5.6 A House in Mayangan Village.
Source : Field Note (2011-2012).

However, a different perspective given by a trader of *jambal roti* fish ('salted fish'), Mr Ali, who was also interviewed. His business in fact, could survive during the incident of floods in the village. His business of selling salted fish was still in a high demand from the consumers. Furthermore, another interview with the community leader in the village, Abah Anwar, showed that the people in the village were motivated not to giving up with their livelihood in the village. The opinion was also supported by the secretary of the village, who said that the future of the village largely depends on the will of the villagers. If the people still have an optimistic spirit and the courage to rebuild the village, their livelihood will soon recover (*pers.comm* 2012).

5.2 The Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS) in the Four Villages

There are three types of Community Institutional Systems established in the villages where the research has been carried out. The institutions are categorised as traditional institutions, transitional institutions and modern institutions. A traditional - or indigenous - community institution refers in this context to an institution established informally in the society as part of their own local culture. The institution is initiated, built and operated through 'bottom-up' initiatives by the local people serving mostly the interests of the people and the community. It accommodates the participation of the people and has no profit orientation, but serves public needs. Examples of such traditional institutions are *Gintingan, Talitihan, Andilan, Gunem Catur, Gotong Royong,* etc. All those institutions are based on mutual voluntary assistance and cooperation. Transitional community institutions refer to institutions which are established collaboratively between local people of the community – insiders - and other parties, such as local government or private companies – outsiders. The transitional institution applies a combination of 'bottom-up' initiatives of the local people with 'top-down' enforcement – usually

from the government. The institution is usually established by the community but under the support of the local government, or *vice versa*. The government initiates a Programme and then involves the local people as participants. Some examples of this transitional institution are *Karang Taruna* ('Village Youth Association'), *Program Pembangunan Kecamatan* (PKK)*)* ('Household Welfare Association'), *Kelompok Tani* ('Farmers Group'), Village Credit Bank, *Bank Keliling* ('Rotation Bank'), *Koperasi* ('Cooperative Organisation'), and some community-based financial institutions, including *Koperasi Masjid* ('Mosque Cooperative') etc. The modern community institutions refer to an institution that is not established by the local people. Usually, the institution is introduced to the local people by an outsider of the community, and offers assistance to support the needs of the people. It is introduced and established either by the government or private entities. Examples of this type of institution are *Desa* ('Informal Village Administration'), *Kelurahan* ('Formal Village Administration'), *Unit Desa BRI* ('Village Unit of Bank BRI'), *Bank Perkreditan Rakyat* (BPR) ('Rural Bank'), as well as *Lembaga Perkreditan Kecamatan* (LPK) ('Sub-district Credit Bank').

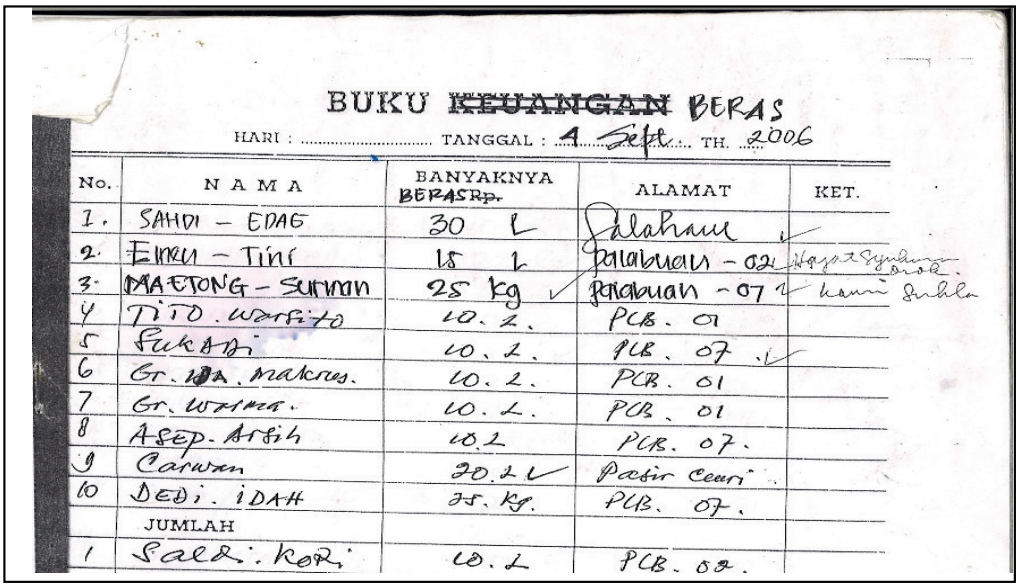
In Sukamelang village, almost all types of community institutions are available, whereas in Cimanglid, the modern community institutions such as banks were not operating for personal and household use. The local people of Cimanglid village tended to avoid any transaction with modern institutions, particularly the bank, in order to avoid any distraction to their social life and the culture of mutual assistance and cooperation. In the Bunihayu and Mayangan villages, a combination of the three types of community institutions was available and operating in assisting the livelihoods of the people.

5.2.1 The Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN)

Gintingan or Talitihan

The first indigenous/traditional community institution which is available and practiced by the people in the four villages is *Gintingan* or *Talitihan*. This is an institution which is established, based on a local initiative which aims to fulfil the need of the people through mutual voluntary assistance and cooperation. The institution is based on the contributions of every household in the community, which are collected by the community to be utilised by the households in need. The indigenous institution of *Gintingan* is implemented mostly by the people of Subang. This is confirmed by an interview with Mr. Dede Mulyono, an anthropologist from Padjadjaran University. He said that the typical indigenous institution of *Gintingan* is generally practiced in the northern area of West Java and similar institutions are also practiced in the Central and Eastern parts of Java, with similar mechanisms but with different names, *i.e. Bojokan, Rewangan,* and *Andilan*. According to him, those community institutions are mostly practiced in rural agriculture areas (*pers.comm* 2011). The activity of the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* uses the paddy rice as the form of contribution and ceremonies/rituals as the medium of contribution. The collected paddy rice, which is usually converted into money, will then be used by the family in need, to fulfil their needs. The interesting part about this institution is that the family who receives the contribution will record every single contribution in a special book, named *buku beras* (rice book). The family uses the book to acknowledge the contributions from all the community members, and will contribute to other neighbours in the future, with the same amount as they received from their neighbours.

According to Mauss (2002) this traditional institution is an example of a reciprocal exchange by local people to their community, as a positive return for what they already received. It is commonly practiced in agricultural societies. It is not surprising that similar institutions are also available in Indramayu District (named *Josan*), as well as in East and Central Java (*Rewangan* in Banyumas District and *Bojokan* in Boyolali District).



BUKU ~~KEUANGAN~~ BERAS

HARI : ..... TANGGAL : 4 Sept TH. 2006

No.	NAMA	BANYAKNYA ~~BERASRp.~~	ALAMAT	KET.
1.	SAHDI – EDAG	30 L	Jalahau	
2.	EMEN – TINI	15 L	Jalabuan – 02	
3.	MAETONG – SUMAN	25 kg	Jalabuan – 07	
4	TITO. WARSITO	10. L.	PCB. 01	
5	SUKADI	10. L.	PCB. 07	
6	Gr. [illegible]. MAKRUS.	10. L.	PCB. 01	
7	Gr. WAHYU.	10. L.	PCB. 01	
8	ASEP. ARSIH	10. L	PCB. 07.	
9	CARWAN	20. L	Pasir Ceuri	
10	DEDI. IDAH	25. kg.	PCB. 07.	
	JUMLAH			
1	SALI. KORI	10. L	PCB. 08.	

Illustration 5.7 A Page from the *Buku Beras* ('the Rice Book') of *Gintingan.*
Source: Field Note (2011-2012).

The basic activities of these institutions are also similar to the indigenous institution of *Gintingan*. It is a mutual assistance or contribution from the people in the community to other members of the community in fulfiling their needs. For instance, if one family is in need to build a house, all members of the community will contribute to the family by making various contributions, *i.e.* labour, rocks, bricks, cement, and any other contribution that the local people could give. The contributions of the people are written down by the 'in need' family. This mutual contribution is not only practiced in the housing sector. It is also implemented in wedding ceremonies, funerals and many other rituals. Such a traditional/indigenous institution of *Gintingan* is still practiced in the villages. However, the utilisation of the institution is different from one village to another. For instance, in the Sukamelang and Bunihayu villages, the practice of *Gintingan* uses rice and money as the mode of transaction and the institution is mainly practiced for a special ceremony such as weddings or circumcisions. The practice of *Gintingan* in Cimanglid village is meant not for weddings or rituals, but for housing developments, although the name of the activity is *Gotong Royong*. Further details about the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* are elaborated in Chapter VII.

Andilan

Another indigenous or traditional community institution which is established and practiced in the four villages is *Andilan*. This refers to a traditional/indigenous community institution which has similar principles of practice with *Gintingan* and *Talitihan*. However, the practice of *Andilan* is implemented by a specific coordinator from the community, usually the informal leader. There is a difference between the indigenous institutions of *Andilan* and *Gintingan*. While the practice of *Gintingan* is usually accompanied by a *hajatan* (ceremony/ritual), the practice of *Andilan* does not require any kind of *hajatan*. The difference in practice is similar to an informal savings institution where the money can be collected, saved, or borrowed anytime. In Central Java, there is a similar institution which operated on the same principle as Andilan. The name of the institution is *Sumbangan*.

Illustration 5.8 *Andilan* in Cimanglid Village.
Source : Field Note (2011-2012).

Traditional Water Reservoir System

In order to fulfil the needs for clean water, the local people of Cimanglid made an initiative to build a water reservoir system, which was adapted from an indigenous bamboo watering system. Due to the lack of bamboo supplies, the people of Cimanglid used a PVC pipe to build the water reservoir system (*cf.* Illustration 5.9). The implementation of this system uses the principle of 'water nature', which 'flows from a higher elevation to a lower one'. The practice of this institution uses *Andilan* as the mode of mutual-voluntary assistance. In the past, the institution is called *kuluwung.* Each of the households initiated to collect the contribution (money, food, etc) from the community members. The collected contribution is then used to buy PVC pipes which are used to distribute the water from the water source to every house in the village. For the purposes of maintenance, the local leader collects regular dues from each of the households. The local government only supported the process of *Gotong Royong* among the people. (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995).

Perelek and Gisahan

Perelek and *Gisahan* are traditional community institutions of mutual help in a local community, in which people in the community raise funds by collecting contributions from the community members to be utilised for mainly public community needs. In the institution of *Perelek*, every house in the community contributes a certain amount of money/rice into a money box, traditionally made of bamboo which is set up in front of every house. The informal leader of the community then establishes a committee who will collect the raised funds from each of the households periodically and then the collected money will be used for mostly public purposes.

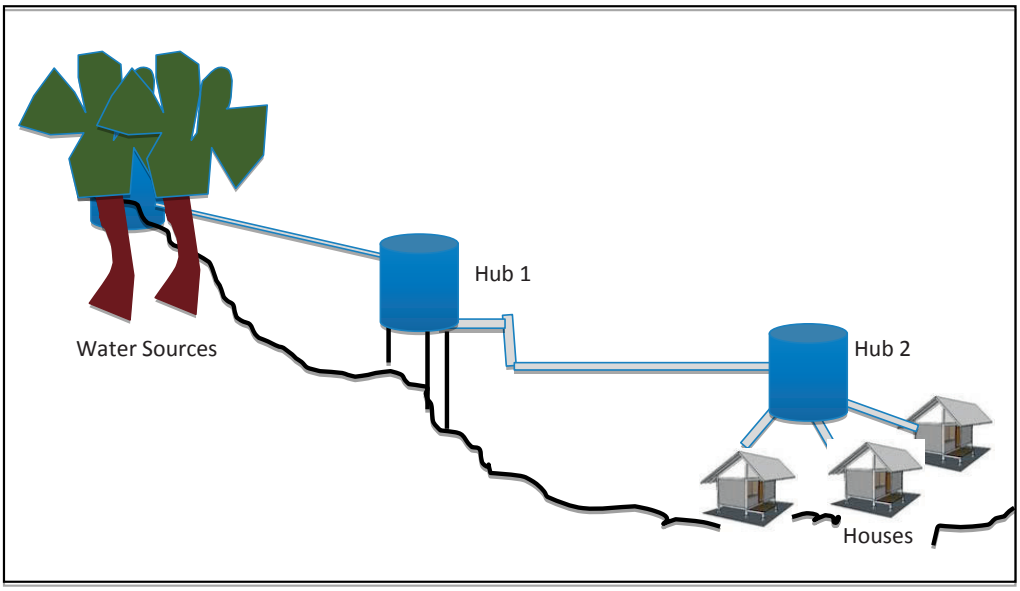


Illustration 5.9 Traditional Water Supply System in Cimanglid Village.
Source: Sketch by the Researcher (2018).

Although the local people in four villages knew of the practice of this institution, they no longer implement the institution, except for the activity of *sistem keamanan keliling* (a community security guardian schedule) in the Sukamelang village, while in the other villages, it is no longer available. However, there is a similar institution available in Cimanglid Village named *Gerakan Sodaqoh Harian* (*Gisahan*) ('Daily Charity Movement'). This bottom-up institution implements an adapted mechanism of the traditional institution of *Perelek*, with a change in the mode of contribution. Instead of collecting rice from house to house, the institution collects money from every household on a daily basis (about 1000 rupiah per day from each household). The result of this institution is rather impressive. It has successfully collected monetary contributions from the community members, which have been used for various purposes in the village, such as buying community land and helping the poor, including various assistance from education to health-care purposes.

5.2.2 The Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN)

Village Credit Bank

There is a transitional community institution in which the local people in the community initiate to build a savings and borrowing institution, but the local government stimulates the insitution by giving them some capital to start the operation. The institution's name is *Bank Kredit Desa* (BKD) or Village Credit Bank. Although the institution is mainly meant to provide services to the people of Mayangan village, the coverage of the activities has however reached the neighbouring villages, *i.e.* Legon Kulon, Bobos and Pangarengan villages.

Mobile/Circular Bank (Bank Keliling)

In Mayangan village, there is another transitional community institution named *Bank Keliling* or a Circular/Mobile Bank. The operation of this institution basically implements the principle of the credit institution. The operation of the institution was implemented by a person who travelled

around the village, to visit each of the households, offering credits/loans to the villagers. The activitiy is in fact similar to a loan shark, in which people who are in need will be contacted by a person and will be offered a loan. The difference between this institution and the loan shark is that the local people in the community are not forced to use the service, while the loan shark usually holds the power. The people could borrow the money from the loan shark with the collateral of the people's land for instance. The approach used by this institution is more personal and inclusive. This circular bank is categorised as a transitional community institution, as the government does not regulate this kind of institutional activity.

An interview with this circular bank could be held due to security reasons imposed by the person who operates the institution as it tends to avoid providing any information regarding its operations. One of the reasons is the Banking Law of Indonesia (1998), stating that no institution could collect and distribute money from the people for savings and borrowing purposes, except through the services of banking institutions. However, another interview was held at a similar institution in Cimanglid village. The practice of this type of institution in Cimanglid village was run by a woman who was trusted among the people in the community. She managed the informal institution, which has almost 700 household members from the village, including from outside the Cimanglid village.

Cooperative / Koperasi (KUD)

Koperasi Unit Desa (KUD) or Village Cooperative is an institution established by the people to provide services for the people through membership of the cooperative institution. The institution is categorised as a transitional institution because of a combination between a bottom-up initiative by the people and support by a government regulation (Law on the Establishment and Operation of Cooperative Organisations 1992). In the four villages where the study was carried out, one of the the existing cooperatives is the Fish Auction Cooperative in Mayangan village. The institution works under the Village Cooperative. The main activity of the institution is to conduct the selling and buying activities between the fishermen and the fish buyers. In Sukamelang village, also such village cooperative was available. The main activity of the institution is provide farmers with capital for farming as well as for livestock breeding.

Village Programmes Supported by the PNPM Mandiri

There is another transitional institution which also operates in the four villages where the study was conducted. The institution is the PNPM Mandiri programme, which supports various local development programmes, initiated by the local people. The programme itself was funded by the World Bank through a soft-loan scheme, distributed by the central government to the village level of administration. This type of institution is basically a combination between a bottom-up initiated programme by the community with funding support by the government, under the soft-loan scheme of the World Bank. The programme was conducted between 2008 to 2013, mostly allocated for building village infrastructure. The institutions were *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Perkotaan* (P2KP) or the Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme, Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project (NUSSP), and also the National Empowerment Programme (PNPM) Mandiri, all of which were supported by the World Bank (Bappenas 2013).

5.2.3 The Modern Community Institution (MDCIN)

During the fieldwork, the researcher also identified some existing modern community institutions operating in the villages. These include the Bank BRI through their institution of *Unit Desa* and the *Bank Perkreditan Rakyat* (BPR)(Rural Bank).

Bank BRI
Bank BRI is the biggest bank in Indonesia, which serves microfinance and microcredit at the village level. BRI *Unit Desa* or the Village Unit of BRI is the institution which has operated in the villages for various decades. The institution provides savings and credit to support the needs of the local people. In the four villages where the fieldwork was carried out, the village units of BRI are all available except in Cimanglid village. According to the interview with the staff of Bank BRI in Mayangan village, the institution has been trying to be more inclusive to the needs of the people in the community. The repayment scheme, for instance, has been adjusted to the harvesting seasons, which gives more flexibility to the farmers. This also applies to the period of the catching seasons of the fishermen.

BPR LPK / Rural Credit Bank
At a sub-district level, the modern community institution named *Lembaga Perkreditan Kecamatan* (Sub-district Rural Bank) also operates in the four villages where the research was carried out, except in Cimanglid village. The institution provides credit and savings facilities to the people as they implement the principles of microbanking and microfinance. The modern institutions provide the local people with loans and credit in the villages, except for Cimanglid village, where none of the individual households made contact with those modern institutions for their personal needs. Only households which run a business made transactions with the institution.

5.3 Other Institutions in the Four Villages

Apart from socio-economic institutions in the four villages where the researcher did the study, there are also some other existing institutions being implemented in the villages.

5.3.1 Socio-Cultural Institutions

There are some socio-cultural institutions operating in the villages, such as the traditional institution of *Arisan*, which is implemented mostly by housewives. The activity is basically similar to the practice of the system of the Rotation Saving and Credit Association (ROSCA). Housewives who implement *Arisan* initially implement the activity based on their economic motives. However, during the practice of *Arisan*, there are additional activities that follow up the financial transcations among the housewives, from educational discussions to health-care activities. The housewives share their knowledge and experiences in educating their children, providing treatment when a member of the family gets ill, and discussing various problems in their villages. This institution of *Arisan* was studied by Djen Amar (2010). Besides *Arisan*, there are also religious institutions in the villages, *i.e Dewan Keluarga Masjid (DKM).* The institution basically organises the management of mosques in the village and conducts various activities related to the maintenance of the religious pratices of the villagers.

5.3.2 Health-Care Institutions

Several health care institutions were identified in the research area, *i.e.:* 1) *Pos Yandu*: an institution mainly concerned with health care and schooling for early childhoods; 2) *Paraji*: a traditional healer who uses Medical, Aromatical and Cosmetic (MAC) Plants to treat the patient; *Paraji* is also known as the person who performs children's circumcision; and 3) *Bidan*: midwives who takes care of pregnant mothers, from the time a woman gets pregnant until the delivery process.

5.3.3 Social Security and Youth Institutions

Participant observation has also been carried out during the study through a community-based security guard institution named *Siskamling*, which refers to *Sistem Keamanan Lingkungan*. The institution is implemented by the people in the villages to guard the villagers and the village from any potential threats. The villagers set a particular schedule and each member of the households takes turns guarding the environment on a daily or weekly basis. The observation has also encompassed the involvement with a youth institution which is called *Karang Taruna*, This institution facilitates any youth activity in the community. The main objective of the institution is to facilitate the interests of the youth in the community and to establish any empowerment programme for the youth.

Illustration 5.10 An Office of the Youth Institution in Subang.
Source: Field Note (2011-2012).

CHAPTER VI SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

This chapter attempts to elaborate the evolutionary concept and practices of sustainable community-based development in Indonesia, starting from the elaboration of the progress of development in Indonesia and the country's struggle to alleviate poverty, including the critical examination of microfinance roles in development. The chapter then discusses the establishment of integrated microfinance management by Slikkerveer (2007; 2012), its approach and implementation in Indonesia and a further approach of an Integrated Community-Managed Development (Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah 2019).

6.1 The Progress of Development in Indonesia

6.1.1 Income and Disparities

Indonesia has been highlighted as a well-performing country, particularly among its neighbouring countries. Following a negative economic growth rate of -6.65% between 1998 and 1999, the country accelerated into positive economic trends, with an average economic growth rate of 4-5% between 2000 and 2009 and 5-6% between 2010 and 2016. The country has shifted dramatically from a mainly agriculture-based sector, to service and manufacturing-based sectors. Between 1950 and 1960, the agricultural sector was the largest in the development of the country with about 51%, followed by the service sector with 36% and the industrial sector with about 13%; this structure transformed into the industrial sector with 47% and the agricultural sector with 15%, while the service sector remained stable at 38% in its contribution to the country's economy. The country has successfully reduced the incidence of poverty, with a declining poverty level from about 40% (using the International Poverty Line) or 20% (using the Indonesia Poverty Line) in the year 2000, to respectively about 6.8 % or 10.2 %. Such progress has shown that the development of Indonesia can be considered to be on the right track (*cf.* Elias & Noone 2011; IMF 2016; Indonesia Investments 2018).

Economic growth of the country is increasing and the incidence of poverty has also successfully been reduced; however, income inequality is also rising. The disparities among the rich and the poor become larger. The Gini coefficient of Indonesia, which was around 0.30 in 2000, has increased to 0.41 in 2013, indicating that growth over the past two decades has benefitted only one-fifth of the richest people in Indonesia, leaving behind the remaining four-fifths of the population. As shown in the following Figure 6.1, a recent report by the World Bank of Asia and Pacific underscores that about one-third of the people of Indonesia are categorised as economically secure while the other two-thirds are categorised as vulnerable to poverty. One-third of the inhabitants are categorised as 'economically secure' and 'middle class' while the other two-thirds of the inhabitants are categorised as 'extremely poor', 'moderately poor' and/or 'economically vulnerable'. The World Bank 2014 Report on 'Public Perceptions of Inequality' concludes that most Indonesians felt that economic growth is only benefiting certain groups of people and that income is 'very unequally' or 'not equally at all' distributed. About two-thirds of the respondents were willing to accept a lower economic growth in exchange for higher equality in the economy (*cf.* Hofman, Rodrick-Jones & Thee 2014; World Bank 2014, 2017).

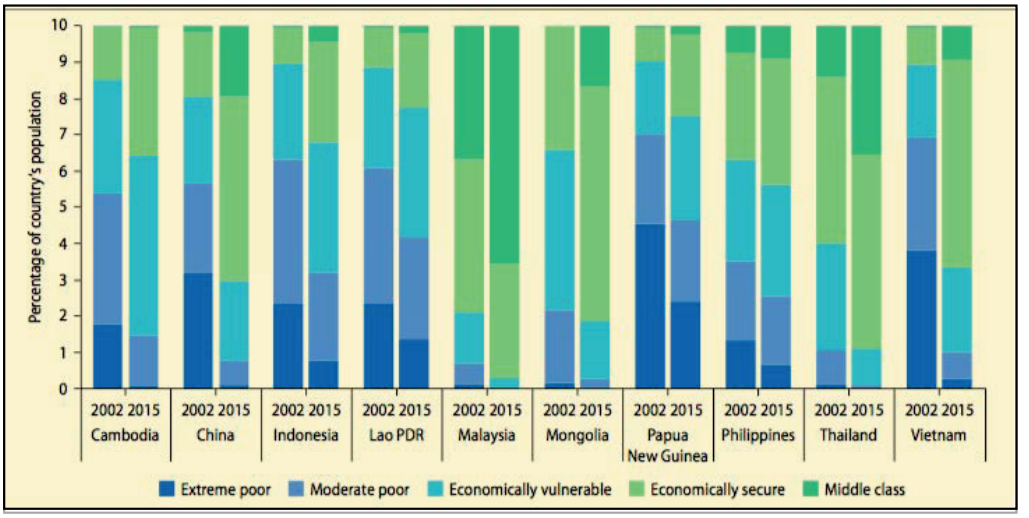


Figure 6.1 Population Distribution by Economic Classes and Countries, 2002 & 2015.
Source: The World Bank (2017).

6.1.2 The Alleviation of Poverty

Since development is a multidisciplinary phenomenon, approaching poverty requires more comprehensive views. It involves many aspects of the society, from economic to health services, education, as well as cultures (Morduch & Haley 2002). The recent definition of poverty by the World Bank extended the conventional definition of poverty with income measurement, to a more comprehensive notion, including lack of opportunities, capabilities, a sense of voicelessness and vulnerability to external shocks (*cf.* World Bank 2000). In Indonesia, poverty reduction was never explicitly discussed as a policy recommendation in any official documents before the end of the 1990s, particularly until the monetary crisis hit the country in 1997 and caused economic turmoil in Indonesia with a significant increase in poverty incidents. In 2001, the government of Indonesia formed the inter-ministerial Poverty Reduction Committee in order to implement holistic and integrated plans and actions in poverty reduction. Under the coordination of this committee, all the stakeholders at the national level prepared an Interim-Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP), a road map for the development of the *Strategi Nasional untuk Pengentasan Kemiskinan* (SNPK) or National Strategy for Poverty Reduction. Based on that paper, the government made poverty reduction a priority in the short-term and medium-term national plans. The *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah* (RPJM) or the Medium-Term Development Plan, for instance, provides a broad strategic direction for the government over the five years of the development programme. The RPJM incorporates the SNPK and addresses the growth-related aspects of poverty reduction. Across the history of the Indonesian economy, Indonesia has made significant progress in reducing poverty since the 1970s. The period from the late 1970s to the mid 1990s is considered one of the most 'pro-poor growth' episodes in the country's economic history. Through various development policies and programmes, such as better food security, agricultural development, investment in education, health services and infrastructure, the number of people living in poverty decreased from 54.2 million (40.1%) in 1976 to 34.5 million (17.7%) in 1996 (*cf.* Bappenas 2016).

Illustration 6.1 Housing Conditions of a Poor Family in Subang, Indonesia.
Source: Saefullah (2012).

Over the last 20 years, half of those who have moved out of poverty have done so by moving to non-agricultural work, primarily in urban areas. As elaborated earlier, the country has survived with poverty reduction, by decreasing the poverty level from about 40%, using the International Poverty Line in the year 2000, to about 6.8 % in the year 2016 (*cf.* Bappenas 2013, 2016; Indonesia Investments, 2018). However, as shown in Figure 6.1, the condition is still considered vulnerable. The rural area is the most vulnerable group of people, which are prone to poverty. Rural poverty in Indonesia is almost double that of the urban poor. As shown in Figure 6.2, about 14.72 % of the poor people live in rural areas, in comparison with 8.60 % living in urban areas. There are some challenges which are being faced by the government of Indonesia in reducing poverty: 1) High population growth; 2) Farmers without land; 3) The poor without collateral; 4) Migrant poor villagers; and 5) Marginalised people as caused by development projects.

The government has prepared comprehensive plans, policies and actions for poverty alleviation in Indonesia, starting by creating a Strategic Policy in the Middle-term Development Plan (RPJM), followed by a government policy for povery reduction, and implementing stages in the poverty reduction programmes. To implement such plans, the government of Indonesia has established *Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan* (TNP2K) ('National Team for The Acceleration of Poverty Reduction'), under the Presidential Regulation Number 5/2010. The team, which is coordinated by the Vice President of Indonesia, integrates many ministries which are related to the poverty reduction programmes, with aims to accelerate the attempts to reduce poverty in Indonesia through the following strategic programmes: 1) Enhancing social protection; 2) Improving access to basic services by the poor; 3) Community Empowerment; and 4) Inclusive Development.

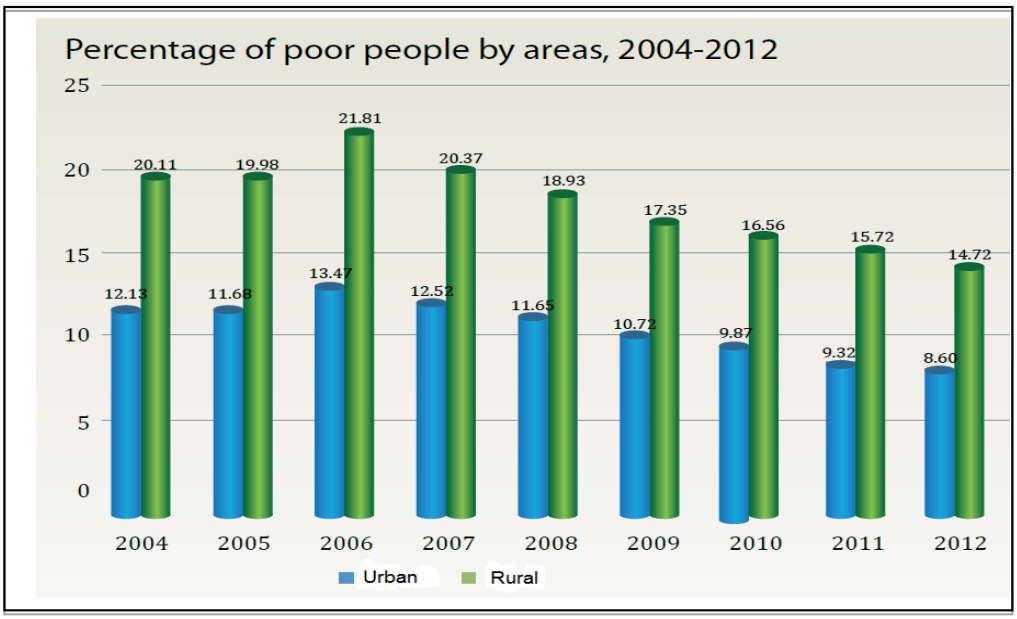


Figure 6.2 Percentage of Poor People by area in Indonesia 2004-2012.
Source: Bappenas (2016).

Concerning the Strategic Policy in the Middle-term Development Plan (RPJM), the Government of Indonesia has set up a 'Four-Track Development Strategy' which has four development agendas in poverty alleviation: pro-growth, pro-job, pro-poor, and pro-environment. To achieve the objectives of Indonesia's 'Four-Track Development Strategy', the government has also made a strategic policy related to the povery reduction programmes in Indonesia. There are two policies regarding the poverty alleviation programmes: 1) government policy for poverty reduction; and 2) affirmative policies for poverty reduction. Both policies are shown in Figure 6.3. Concerning the macroeconomic policy, the country divides the policy into four clusters of programmes: 1) Cluster 1, which focuses on the family-based social assistance programmes; 2) Cluster 2, which focuses on community empowerment through the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (PNPM) Mandiri or '*Mandiri* National Programmes for Community Empowerment' programmes; 3) Cluster 3, which focuses on the empowerment of small and micro-enterprises (SMEs); and 4) Cluster 4, which focuses on the pro-people programmes.

To support the macroeconomic policies, the government applies affirmative policies for each cluster: 1) Cluster 1 will be supported by an alleviation of economic burden and improvement of the life quality of the poor; 2) Cluster 2 will be supported by an increase in the capacity of the poor in their involvement in the development process; 3) Cluster 3 will be supported by the increasing savings and ensuring the sustainability of business; and 4) Cluster 4 will be supported by providing low-cost basic facilities for the poor through the implementation of coordinated sectoral activities in certain regions. The four clustering programmes in poverty alleviation programmes which are planned by the government of Indonesia are basically targeting the poorest, the poor and the near-poor households in the first cluster, poor communities of sub-districts in the second cluster, SMEs in the third cluster, and declining disparities among marginalised groups of people in various sectors in the fourth cluster (*cf.* Figure 6.3).

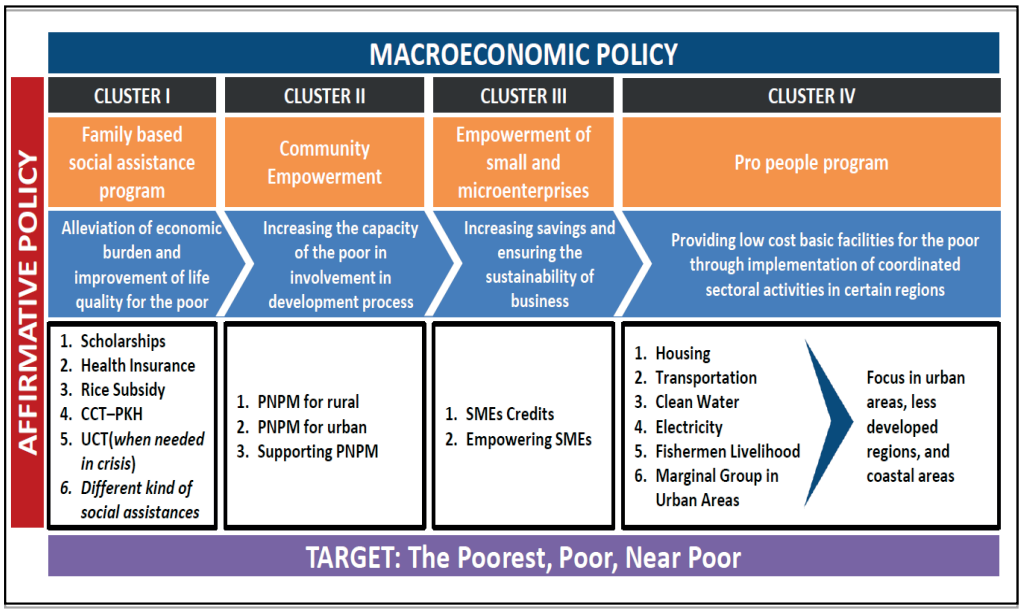


Figure 6.3 Government Policy for Poverty Reduction in Indonesia.
Source: Bappenas (2016).

6.1.3 Microfinance and Its Inadequate Roles in Development in Indonesia

The various programmes for poverty reduction in Indonesia have given rise to various institutions that contribute in the development programmes. One of the institutional contributions is the establishment and the operations of microfinance institutions. The role of microfinance institutions, in fact, has been recorded as contributing to the development of Indonesia, from the the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century, through the work of Schmit (1994). The paper elaborated the earliest role of microfinance in Indonesia from 1895 until 1935. The paper documented the 'people credit bank' which served microfinance services during that period of time, started by the establishment of People Priyayi Bank of Purwokerto by Rd Wiriaatmadja in 1895, a Javanese government official who first built the bank to help his friend out of debt. After the reorganization of the bank into a cooperative bank through Dutch administration in 1897, the institution then reached more people at the bottom line of the society. In the rural areas, the operations of the bank were assigned to *Village Bank* (Java) and *Nagari Bank* (Sumatra). After the independence of Indonesia, in 1946 the bank was tranformed into Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) and became a state-owned commercial bank in 1950 and its operations mainly serve rural people with micro and small capital, which then became a trademark of the bank. In 1984, the Village Units were restructured into more commercial institutions and independent management. Since then, the institution operated as a profitable institution and became one of the world's largest microfinance network systems, even though the village units are managed by commercial banks (*cf.* Schmit 1994; Ismawan & Budiantoro 2005). Microfinance institutions in Indonesia can be divided into two types, based on its organizational types and legal framework : Bank Institutions and Non-Bank Institutions. This type of a bank as a microfinance institution is supported by the Indonesian Law on Banks no 10/1998 which allows commercial banks to provide services in the community level. Futhermore, the 'non-bank institution' is divided into

two: formal institutions and non-formal institutions. The formal non-bank type of microfinance institutions are supported by the Indonesian Cooperative Law no. 25/1992 and the Indonesian Law No. 1/2013 on microfinance. Unfortunately, the informal type of non-bank microfinance institutions have no legal support in their operations (*cf.* Akatiga 2001; Ismawan & Budiantoro 2005; Saefullah 2011).

Some empirical researches have been done to evaluate the microfinance roles in poverty reduction in Indonesia. Some of those works were done by SMERU (2005) on the impact evaluation of the Sulawesi Agricultural Area Development Project (SAADP) in Central and Southeast Sulawesi, the documentation of Ismawan and Budiantoro (2005) on the linkage programmes during 1998 to 2001 between banking sector with NGOs, as initiated by the Central Bank of Indonesia (BI), Germany Development Agency of GTZ, BRI, and Bina Swadaya Foundation, the research by Rahmat, Megananda & Maulana (2006) on the role of microfinance in poverty reduction in Bandung, Indonesia, and the study of Brower & Bijkema (2002) on the evaluation a microfinance Programme by the Center for Community Services of Parahyangan Catholic University in the area of Bandung District. All those works have confirmed positive contributions of microfinance schemes in povety alleviation, particularly to the economically-active poor and micro and small enterprises.

However, those researches concluded that the poorest of the poor have not yet lifted up through the several microfinance-based programmes. The evaluation of whether those groups of people were lifted up with regard to their welfare had no strongl evidence. While microfinance seems to be successful according to its outreach in distributing microcredit and assistance, the impact analysis of the target groups however remained in question. Such positive impact assessment of the microfinance are criticized by Bateman (2010). The positive figure of the SAADP project as reported by SMERU (2005), for instance, criticised the existence of moral hazard in the assessment, considering that the SMERU Research Institute study on the SAADP assessment was funded by the World Bank who financed the SAADP project. Bateman (2010:35) stated that*"you do not bite the hand that feeds you"*. It is not surprising that the report of the SAADP project did not explain the conditions of the extreme poor group of people accommodated by the project. Microfinance then becomes 'exclusive' to poor people and failure in reducing poverty among the group of the poorest of the poor still remained neglected. The World Bank's publication in 2009, entitled *The Moving out of Poverty Study,* reveals the result of the study across fifteen countries in Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Latin America involving more than sixty thousand interviews with the poor. The study concludes that *'Microcredit can help the poor subsist from day to day, but in order to lift them out of poverty, larger loans are needed so that the poor can expand their productive activities and thereby increase their assets'*. The result is not convincing that microfinance could lift up the poorest of the poor. Concerning the sustainability of microfinance institutions, the study of Allen (2007) concluded that of the 100,000 MFIs currently estimated to be operating in the world, only 3-5 % were financially self-sustaining. The conclusion is similar to the findings by Seibel and Agung (2005) on their study of Islamic Microfinance Institutions in Indonesia. Their study concluded that, while Islamic banking tends to raise their assets, the performance of microfinance institutions tends to deteriorate. The Islamic Rural Bank tends to be stagnant while Islamic Cooperative Microfinance Institutions (BMT) decreased significantly. Out of 3000 institutions operating in the 1990s, only 20% of them were sustained in 2005. Nevertheless, Duvendack *et al.* (2011) concluded that various impact assessment methods of microfinance, including the use of *Randomized Control Trials* (RCT), *Pipeline Designs, Natural Experiments, and General Purpose Surveys,* surprisingly indicated that no convincing impact has been found of microfinance on the well-being of poor people. The study has also shown that there were low validity impacts of the change in well-being and any outcome variables. In addition to that, Karnani (2007) concluded that microfinance misses its mark. Karnani stated that microfinance

does not cure poverty, and in some instances microcredit makes life at the 'bottom of the pyramid' worse. Furthermore, Roodman (2011) stated that*"On current evidence, the best estimate of the average impact of microcredit on the poverty of clients is zero"*. Finally, the recent study by Banerjee & Jackson (2017) highlighted the critical evaluation in the role of microfinance as a form of poverty reduction. As for Indonesia, the study of Syahrizal & Machdum (2016) concluded that the credit repayment of the clients who borrowed their money from the government microfinance institutions is considered bad, and which is caused by internal and external factors of the clients. In response to the criticism, Slikkerveer (2015) points to the fundamental delusion in the current roles of microfinance for poverty reduction by drawing attention to the growing distance they engender between, on the one hand, microfinance as a commercialized industry focused on investing share-holder capital for profit in middle-class enterprises and business companies, and on the other hand, the poor and extremely poor, who, in fact, are marginalized and excluded from benefitting from these kinds of services as the 'non bankable' segment of the population. The failures of microfinance roles stem from the basic incompatibility between the neo-liberal ideology and the humanitarian solidarity movement and could only be bridged by the transformation towards a solidarity economy, based on approaches to increase peoples' quality of life mainly through humanitarian *not-for-profit* policies (*cf.* Seibel & Agung 2005; Karnani 2007; Bateman 2010; Duvendack *et al.* 2011; Roodman 2011; Slikkerveer 2015; Banerjee & Jackson 2017; Conversation 2018).

6.2 Integrated Microfinance Management and Integrated Community-Managed Development

6.2.1 Integrating Culture and Development

The exclusion of the poorest of the poor or the extreme poor from microfinance has been the major criticism on the microfinance role in poverty reduction, including in Indonesia. As highlighted by Woodley *et al.* (2006) as well as Loeffelman (2010), the absence of the 'cultural dimension of development' can be considered as the factor causing the unsuccessful roles of microfinance in poverty alleviation. The work of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) earlier documented empirical evidence of how various cases in Indonesia justified the importance of having an emic approach in development which is based on the incorporation of culture. For instance, in the irrigation system, indigenous people of Bali, Indonesia use an indigenous water management system, named *Subak,* which has been implemented for many centuries in Bali. *Subak* is an indigenous association of farmers in Bali, established by the community to manage the irrigation for paddy fields, guided by the Balinese cosmology of *Tri Hita Karana*.

The implementation of the system involves three dimensions of development: social, cultural and material. The cultural dimension involves the norms, values, as well as ways of thinking, which are used by the Balinese in the implementation of *Subak*. *Hinduism* and Balinese *Tri Hita Karana* are the basic norms which are used by the Balinese. It can be seen in the existence of small temples on the paddy field, which has philosophical and religious meaning as well as some kind of function in the *Subak* system. The cultural dimension in the *Subak* system confirms the importance of cultural inclusion in the development plans and processes (*cf*. Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995). The social-economic dimension of *Subak* involves the social and economic activities related to the implementation of *Subak*. It supports the production of paddy in an indigenous way by maintaining the social interactions among the people, in this context farmers and indigenous traditions (*lembaga adat*).

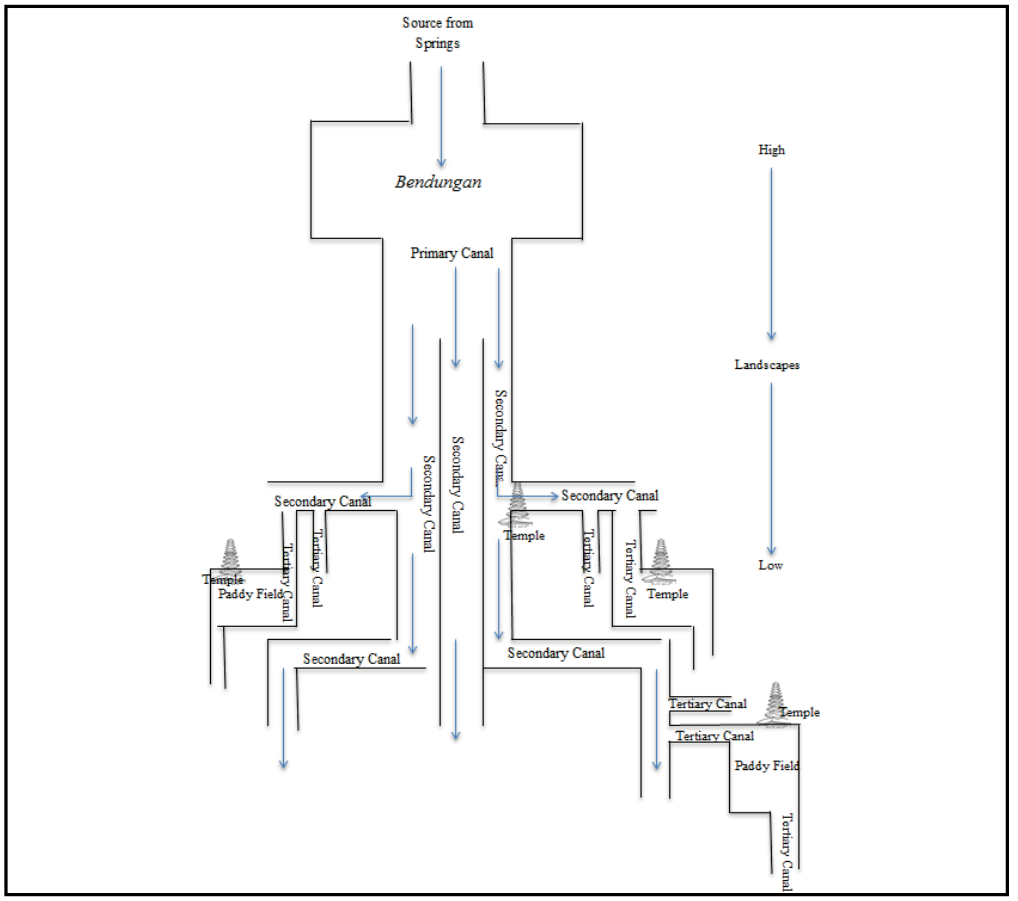


Figure 6.4 Illustration of the *Subak* system in Bali.
Source: Illustrated by Saefullah (2017).

The material dimension of the system involves the management of natural resources in *Subak*. Water, paddy and soils including landscapes are managed to implement Subak in such a way as to be guided by cosmological beliefs. As mentioned in *Rajapurana Ulun Danu Batur* Vol. II, 24 28 b.1: *'Because the Goddess makes the waters flow, those who do not follow her laws may not possess her rice terraces'*. This principle follows the law of nature of water which flows from a higher landscape to the lower ones. The incorporation of the landscape principle has also been accommodated in different ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia. It is also known from history that the Sundanese culture in West Java has also been influenced by Hinduism from Bali (*cf.* Geertz 1983; Soebadio 1985; Lansing & Kremer 1993; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Sunaryasa 2002; Lansing, Schoenfelder & Scarborough 2006). The example has shown that the cultural dimension cannot be omitted in the development programmes in Indonesia. Article 32 of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, *Undang-undang Dasar 1945*, explicitly stated that 'the State shall develop the National Culture of Indonesia'. The National Culture of Indonesia in this context is the culture that emerges as a product of the minds of all the people of Indonesia, including hundreds of indigenous people and cultures in Indonesia (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Baharudin 2018).

6.2.2 The Newly Approach of Integrated Microfinance Management and Integrated Community-Managed Development

As elaborated in Chapter II, the paradigm of Sustainable Community-Based Development highlights the importance of the people of a society to develop themselves with their institutions to manage and utilise their resources in order to reach human well-being in a sustainable way. Also it underscores the strong indigenous institutional roles in the plans, policies and implementations of sustainable development at the community level (*cf.* Bergdall 1988; Korten 1990; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995). The absence of integrated approaches in the implementation of modern institutional programmes such as microfinance, have contributed to the slow improvement in poverty reduction and development in Indonesia, including the reduction of inequalities among the people. As an effort to achieve Sustainable Community-Based Development, Slikkerveer (2007) highlights the importance of approaching poverty reduction with a new perspective based on integration. By integreating various aspects, Slikkerveer (2007) argues that there are 4 strategies which need to be implemented in combating poverty. They are as follows: 1) There should be an integration process of community initiative in the microfinance management and development, policies and regulations. The involvement of local institutions, agencies from the economy, education, and health care services should be taken into account; 2) There should be comparative research in different countries and regions in the effectiveness of the MFI in alleviating poverty, to understand more about the lack of bottom-up approaches in microfinance; 3) There should be a model development of all integrated factors in microfinance to create more inclusive microfinance roles, which includes social, medical, and educational facilities together with the cultural dimension of the society; and 4) There should be a development project on education and training in which an innovative curriculum on integrated microfinance management can be delivered to the new cadre of microfinance managers and players. It is expected that those cadres will be building inclusive financial institutions in Indonesia, rendering the realisation of alleviating poverty and empowering people more effectively.

While Ledgerwood (1998) has divided two approaches in poverty reduction – the minimalist (financial) approach and the integrated (financial and non financial) approach – Slikkerveer (2007; 2012) further substantiated the integrated approach by introducing the concept of 'Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM)' which aimed at the integration of all services provided by the local institutions which operate the development in various related sectors (economy, socio-culture, communication, education and health) by accomodating local people's perspectives and participation. According to the IMM approach, the traditional community institutions will be functionalised to act as a local centre from where the various envisaged community-based services will be planned, implemented, monitored, as well as guided to the needs of the local population, particularly the poor and low-income families. The integrated microfinance manager represents the manager of these local institutions, as he or she comes from the communities. The IMM Manager will also play the role of mediator between local, regional and national policies, projects and programmes, which encompass the participatory provision and referral of the 5 interrelated sectors of community-based services: inclusive finance, health, education, communication and socio-cultural services. According to Slikkerveer (2012), the IMM Manager will basically play a leading role in sustainable community-based development (*cf.* Figure 6.6). Linking up with the experience of various forms of community development which have been initiated over the past decades, such as the *Integrated Rural Development* (IRD), the *Community Learning and Development* (CLD) and the *Community Capacity Building* (CCB), as well as the recent approaches of the *Community-Driven Development* (CDD), the IMM approach proposes to give more power to local decision-making processes and control over the local resources management to indigenous peoples and communities with a view to

incorporating peoples' participation in sustainable community-based development. Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) have amply illustrated that embarking on the integration of indigenous knowledge systems as the expression of the cultural dimension of development in various settings promotes local participation as a major prerequisite for attaining sustainable community-based development, which is considered as a form of an integrated community-based poverty reduction (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Slikkerveer 2012).

$$IMM = f\,(2 + 3 + 5)$$

IMM = integrated microfinance management strategy
2 = the major themes: poverty reduction and empowerment
3 = the principles of output, quality and outcomes
5 = the community-based services: 1) inclusive finance, 2) health, 3) education, 4) communication, and 5) socio-cultural services

Figure 6.5 The IMM Formula.
Source: Slikkerveer (2012).

It is not surprising that after the financial turmoil of the late 1990s, the government of Indonesia made an effort to empower rural communities in order to tackle the problem of poverty in an integrated and sustainable manner by the introduction in 1998/1999 of a national programme implemented at the community level. The programmes were the *Program Pengembangan Kecamatan* ('Kecamatan Development Programme') (KDP) focusing on community development in the rural areas and the *Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan di Perkotaan* ('Urban Poverty Programme') (UPP) which were focusing on community-based development in the urban areas, and lately the National Programme of Community Empowerment (PNPM) Mandiri. Those programmes, funded by the World Bank (2015) in the form of a soft loan to the Government of Indonesia, have been planned as poverty alleviation programmes by empowering the community and promoting participation in development. However, some studies have also highlighted the various shortcomings in the implementation of the programmes (*cf.* Bappenas 2013; World Bank 2015).

The community-driven development or community-based development has given opportunities to community institutional systems to contribute to the development process at the community level. While the Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) approach is largely focused on poverty reduction through the provision of a comprehensive set of integrated community-based services, encompassing not only inclusive financial, but also medical, educational, communication and socio-cultural services, the new approach of Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD) is dedicated to attaining sustainable development through the integration of local and global systems of knowledge and technology, including plans, policies and practices among all sectors of the community through capacity building and participation at the village level. Both IKS-oriented approaches are rather innovative as they embark on strategising the often disregarded indigenous systems and institutions in order to strengthen their shared objectives of community participation, capacity building and local governance (*cf.* Slikkerveer 2016; Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah 2019).

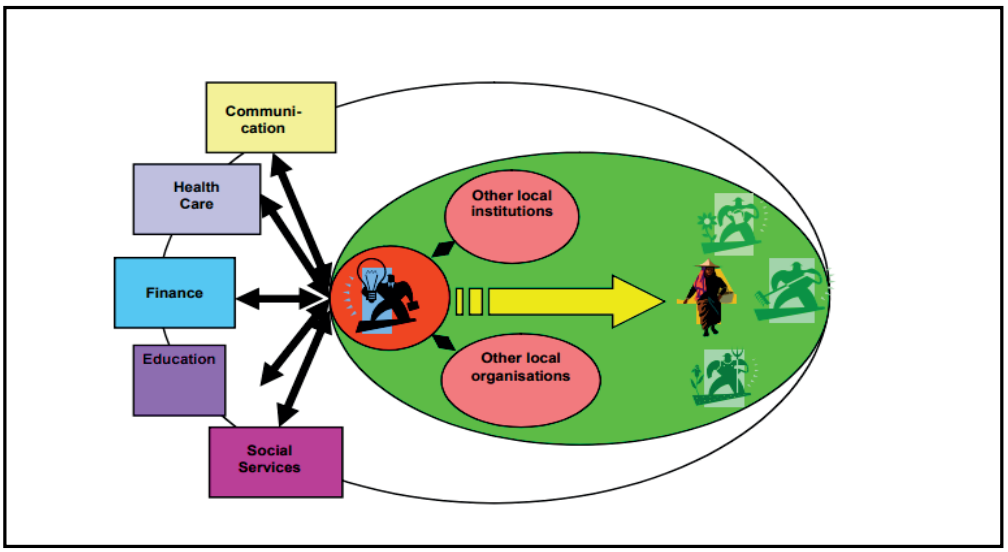


Figure 6.6 A Schematic representation of the IMM Manager.
Source: Slikkerveer (2012).

6.3 The Practice of Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS)

As elaborated in Chapter 2, the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) are playing an important role in development. The community-based type of institutions, which are mostly operating at the local level, provide local participation in the development of Indonesia. These Community-based Institutions have also played important roles in reducing transaction costs in the economy, improving services to people, empowering people through entrepreneurship, as well as in attempts aimed at poverty alleviation (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Seibel 2008; Eicher & Garcia-Penalosa 2006). This section will elaborate some practices of the existing Plural Community Institutional systems in Indonesia, which have contributed to the development of Indonesia, including the poverty alleviation programmes.

6.3.1 The Practice of Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN)

As the country has hundreds of ethno-cultural groups across more than seventeen thousand islands, Indonesia has numerous indigenous community institutions, which have been contributing to the local developments of the country. Some of them are as follows.

Lumbung Pitih Nagari
Lumbung Pitih Nagari (LPN) is an indigenous institution at village level (*nagari*) in the West Sumatera province, practiced by the people of the *Minangkabau* ethno-cultural group. The institution is initiated, built and operated by the local people to improve the socio-economic condition of the people in every *nagari* (village). The establishment of LPN was supported by the local government Law No. 13/1983. The assets of LPN are collected from the people in the community at village level, and the money accumulated is used for the socio-economic purposes of the nagari people. The implementation of LPN is supported by the leader of *nagari* by involving himself as *non physical collateral/intangible collateral*. As reported by Basa (2001),

the progress of LPN has grown rapidly as the instutions have improved the socio-economic conditions of the people. There were about 521 LPN established in West Sumatra out of 543 *nagari* in 2001. However, the progress was challenged by the implementation of the new banking regulation in 1998. According to the law, the institution should adopt the banking system. As a result, all the existing LPN have to be transformed into 'BPR-LPN'. Since then, only 20 out of 521 LPN are still operating and only 51 out of 71 'BPR LPN' are still self-sustained, since the institution has problems in the new operations (*cf.* Basa 2001).

Gintingan

Gintingan is implemented mostly by the people of Subang in West Java and other people in the northern area of West Java. The details of this institution will be elaborated separately in Chapter VII, in relation to the Sundanese people, cosmology, culture, and practices.

Perelek and Jimpitan

Perelek is a traditional mechanism of mutual help in the local community where people in the community raise funds for public/community needs by asking each household to contribute by giving a certain amount of goods/money periodically. Initially, every house in the community will put a money box (made by bamboo) in front of their house. The result of this mechanism is rather impressive since the institution has already been recorded as a successful story. The study of Kasumaningrum & Saefullah (2018) has recorded that the institution of Perelek has successfully improved the redistribution process of peoples' resources and increased the well-being of the people through its contribution to various social needs. A similar institution to Perelek is *Jimpitan* and *Sumbangan*, implemented in Central and Eastern Java (*cf.* Kasumaningrum & Saefullah 2018).

Lembaga Perkreditan Desa (LPD)

Lembaga Perkreditan Desa (LPD) is an indigenous microfinance institution which is owned and governed by the customary village (*desa adat,desa pakraman*) and is fully integrated into Balinese culture. The integration is governed by the provincial law of Bali which is owned, financed and governed by the customary village (Siebel 2008). LPD is owned and operated by the customary village which means that all the activities held by LPD including the transactions between residences of the village with the LPD are part of implementing their religious beliefs and cultural conservation. The operation of LPD has almost similar practices with LPN in West Sumatra; however, the LPD has a stronger attachment with the customary/local tradition (*adat*). The *bendesa* really involves the head of the village as well as the board of LPD. It means that when the people in *banjar* or *pakraman* have certain socio-economic problems, LPD will intensively take care of the problems by assisting them. The same case applies with the problem of repayment. The *bendesa* as the head of the village will also be involved in solving the problems to make sure that the LPD will sustain it in the long term. The sustainability of LPD will affect the sustainability of the village. In general people will feel ashamed if they could not perform well with the LPD. The tradition has made the LPD one of the success stories of indigenous institutions which could integrate the economic activities with the socio-cultural activities of the people in the community (*cf.* Seibel 2008).

Indigenous Water Management of Subak

As elaborated in an earlier section, *Subak* is an indigenous water management system in Bali, based on the indigenous cosmology of the Balinese people, *Tri Hita Karana*. The system has been practiced by the Balinese for many generations and is sustainable in supporting the water irrigation system of the farmers and preserving the biodiversity in Bali (Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995).

6.3.2 The Practice of Transitional Community Institutions (TSCIN)

Cooperative Organisation
A Cooperative Organisation is a local institution which is established by the people, managed by the people, and the activities are focused to fulfil the needs of its members. The institution is categorised as a transitional institution as it combines a bottom-up initiative by the people with the law which is regulated with the establishment and the operation of a cooperative organisation. The operation of a cooperative organisation is under the regulation of the Ministry of Cooperative, Small and Medium Enterprises of Indonesia.

Bina Swadaya
Bina Swadaya is a community-based institution established by Bambang Ismawan in the 1970s, and has been supported as a community-based institution all over Indonesia. *Bina Swadaya* is an acronym of *Badan Pengembangan Swadaya Masyarakat* referring to a *Community-based Mutual Aid Organisation*, and is one of the largest Non-Government Organisations (NGO) in Indonesia. As an organisation which supports the empowerment of communities, the main purpose of its establishment has been the initiation of a 'bottom-up' development approach, which provides various services to many self-reliant communities, particularly farmer communities in the rural areas (*cf.* Ismawan & Budiantoro 2005; Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah, 2019).

Kopontren and Baitul Maal wat-Tamwiil (BMT)
The *Koperasi Pondok Pesantren* ('*Kopontren*') and *Baitul Maal wat Tamwil* ('*BMT*') are two Islamic cooperative institutions, which integrate two financial institutions based on Islamic values, involving the daily practices of Muslim Indonesians. While the *Kopontren* was a unique institution in Indonesia as its operations relate to the operation of *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School), the *BMT* was an adapted form of the *Baitul Maal* institution which evolved during the Islamic expansion of the 7th century, with an additional role of *Tamwil* ('Investment'). Both institutions have contributed to the development of Indonesia, particularly in the Muslim communities, and describe the history and development of both institutions. According to Islamic law, the operation of *Kopontren* and *BMT* should follow the ideal of the social order of brotherhood and solidarity (*cf.* Dhofier 1982; Inkopontren 1997; Saefullah & Effendi, 2019).
KDP, UPP and PNPM Mandiri
The *Kecamatan Development Programme* (KDP) and the *Urban Poverty Programme* (UPP) were both community-based institutions which were combining the 'bottom-up' initiatives of the people in the community with supporting funds and supervision from the government. The programmes were implemented after the crisis of 1997 and continued until 2008. The programmes were then replaced by the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (PNPM) Mandiri, with a similar idea to the earlier institutions until 2013 (*cf.* Bappenas 2013; Slikkerveer & Saefullah, 2019).

6.3.3 The Practice of Modern Community Institutions (MDCIN)

There are some examples of modern community institutions in Indonesia. They are as follows:

BRI Unit Desa
As mentioned earlier, *Bank Rakyat Indonesia* (BRI) is the oldest banking institution in the country. Established as a modern institutional bank, encompassing *Unit Desa* ('Village Unit') and *Badan Kredit Desa* ('Village Credit Unit'), the bank has served the communities for more than a century, supporting the people of Indonesia, particularly in the rural areas and agricultural sectors. The description of *Unit Desa (*UD) as a well-known unit of BRI which has provided

credit services to the micro-enterprises since the 1970s, shows that the unit later became formalised through cooperation with the Government of Indonesia with the aim to support the *Revolusi Hijau* ('Green Revolution') programme to achieve self-sustained food security through increased agricultural production. The evolutionary process of BRI is described from its original objective of providing services to local communities, particularly in the rural areas, to its present global orientation on the financial markets, like most other large commercial banks today (*cf.* Feekes 1993; Rachmadi 2002; Seibel 2005; Saefullah & Mulyana, 2019).

Bank Perkreditan Rakyat

The *Bank Perkreditan Rakyat* (Rural Bank) is a community micro-banking institution which operates at a sub-district level. The operation of BPR is regulated by the Indonesian Banking Law. The main activities of the rural bank are providing savings and borrowing services to the people in the community. The principle of operation of the rural bank is similar to the practice of the commercial bank; however, the scope of its operations is limited to the sub-district level.

Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LPM)

The *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (LPM) is the community institution which is established by the administrative government at the village level. The main function of LPM is to prepare short-term, middle-term and long-term development plans for the village. The structure is determined by the village administration based on the annual election. The proposal of the development plan will be brought by the administrative leader of the village (*Lurah/Kepala Desa*) to the higher level to be negotiated with the higher level of the administrative government through a mechanism named '*musyawarah perencanaan pembangunan* (musrenbang)' (special meeting for development planning). At the meeting, the proposal for the development programmes of the village will be determined for approval. If the proposal is approved, then the central government will allocate the budget to support the proposed programmes.

CHAPTER VII *TRITANGTU* AND *GINTINGAN*: SUNDANESE COSMOLOGY, CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

This research focuses on the role of indigenous institutions in sustainable community-based development of the Subang District of West Java, Indonesia. Particular attention has been placed on the study of the utilisation behaviour of local people of Subang, towards their preferences for utilising Community Institutional Systems, in four village samples, where the study has been conducted. As the majority of inhabitants in the Subang District are Sundanese in terms of ethno-cultural background, the influence of the Sundanese cosmovision and culture is rather substantial as to understand how the people in Subang show their behaviour in the process of sustainable community development. This chapter attempts to describe the Sundanese people, their history and culture, their cosmology as well as their institutions, using the particular example of the indigenous institution of *Gintingan*, which is still existent and practiced by the local people of Subang.

7.1 History and Culture of the Sundanese People

While Sumardjo (2011) raised an intriguing question about the identity of the Sundanese and the importance of this question, Ekadjati (1984) also mentioned earlier about the difficulties to define the Sundanese people as an ethno-cultural group in Indonesia. There are various approaches in defining and understanding the Sundanese people as one of the ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia. The question is rather interesting as defining the Sundanese people in the context of a changing environment is quite dynamic. In terms of physical anatomy, it is difficult to distinguish the Sundanese in comparison with the Dayak, Javanese, Batak, and the other hundreds of ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia. The Sundanese people are usually called *Urang Sunda* or the people of Sunda. This refers to the origin of Sundanese people which is based on blood and socio-cultural perspectives (*cf.* Warnaen *et al.* 1987). The Sundanese are defined through their geographical locations. Currently, about ninety percent of the Sundanese people live in the West Java and Banten provinces. However, there are some parts of these two provinces where the people do not agree to be considered as Sundanese. For instance the *Batawi* ethno-cultural group: most members of this group live in Jakarta and its surrounding areas, including the districts of Bekasi and Tangerang. Geographically, Bekasi is part of West Java while Tangerang is part of the Banten province. Some Sundanese people live in Central Java, the province where most of the inhabitants belong to the Javanese ethnocultural group. Some Sundanese people live in some sub-districts, *i.e.* Bantarkawung of the Brebes District, Pasir Batang of the Purwokerto District and Sidareja of the Cilacap District. People who live in those sub-districts are known to use the Sundanese language in their daily life. As most of the current Sundanese people live in the West Java and Banten provinces, this section is limited to the elaboration of the Sundanese who live in both provinces (*cf.* Ekadjati 1984; Sumardjo 2011).

From a semantic point of view, the term 'Sundanese' is taken from the word *Sunda*, which literally means 'Good', 'White', 'Pure', and 'Shine'. The name 'Sunda' was also mentioned by the Sunda Empire in 536 AD. Sundanese people are historically influenced by syncretism, hinduism, and lately by Islam. The term 'syncretism' in this context refers to the old belief system of the Sundanese people, which is believed to be the original religion of the Sundanese people which is called *Sunda Wiwitan* in Baduy in the Banten Province or *Agama Djawa Sunda* (ADS) in Cigugur Kuningan of West Java. The belief system has an influencing combination from the Javanese and Sundanese people (Qodim 2017). The belief system of the Sundanese views that a harmonious life could only be achieved if human beings make a harmonious

relationship with nature, the gods/spirits and among human beings. The indigenous Sundanese people believe that spirits inhabit any objects in the universe, *i.e.* rocks, trees and any other objects in nature. Therefore, the indigenous Sundanese people believe in the concept of *'taboos'* (forbidden things) in their livelihood, which refers to the way human beings treat the spiritual world, the earth and human beings (*cf.* Wessing 1978; Qodim 2017; Iskandar & Iskandar 2011). From the geographical history, the area inhabited by the Sundanese people in the West Java and Banten provinces is called the 'Sunda Land'. The area is covered and surrounded by mountainous and highland areas with beautiful and sacred scenery. The Sundanese people believe that those types of places are like the places of the Gods. It is not surprising that the Sundanese view the area like the place of God(s) or the place of Spirits. That is why the Sunda Region, particularly in the area of Sumedanglarang (including Subang), Garut, Tasikmalaya and Ciamis (which used to be named *Galuh*) is also named *Priangan*, *Preanger*, or *Parahyangan*. *Para* means *'a place in the top/roof/highland'* while *hyangan* is taken from the word *hyang* which means 'God/Spirits'. Therefore, *Parahyangan* can be defined as a 'Place of God/Spirits'. From a geo-historical perspective, the Sundanese lands are spread from Sumatra, Bali, Bima, and Sumbawa, which refer to the period of time of the influence of Hinduism. It was believed that the word *Sunda* was also taken from the word *suddha* (Sanskrit) which is used to name a mountain in the higher lands. The meaning of *suddha* was used to represent the colour of the surface of the mountain which is seen from a distance as a white-grey area. For many generations, most Sundanese people have lived in the area of the West Java and Banten Provinces. They are known as food gatherers and lately as farmers. The area where the Sundanese people live has long been known as the *lumbung padi* ('grenade') of Indonesia. The districts of Cianjur, Subang, Karawang, Garut, and Sukabumi are known as the grenade areas in the West Java province (*cf.* Haan 1910, 1912; Wessing 1978; Ekadjati 1984, 2014; Djen Amar 2010; Mustapha 2010; Iskandar & Iskandar 2011).

7.1.1 History of the Sundanese People

Early History of the Sundanese People

The history of the Sundanese people is rather difficult to elaborate in the context of Indonesia, as there are fewer records describing the origins of the Sundanese people, particularly the Sundanese people in the past who believed in 'syncretism'. It is because the name of Indonesia itself was not known until the 18th century, while various sources on Sundanese history documented that the name of the Sundanese people was established many centuries ago. The name of Indonesia was firstly introduced in 1850 by the work of a British ethnologist, George Windsor Earl (1813-1865), in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia (JIAEA). *Indunisians* or Indonesia was used to name the East India archipelago, together with the name of Melayunesia. However, a Scot named James Richardson Logan (1850) in the same journal proposed for the first time the name of Indonesia to represent the Indian Archipelago (*cf.* Earl 1850; Logan 1850; Anshory 2004).

In contrast, various sources on Sundanese history mention that the term 'Sunda' which refers to the existence of the Sunda Kingdom as well as its society was firstly mentioned in the Nagarakretabhumi inscription dating back to the period between 669 to 724 AD. However, the first Sundanese literary work, *Caritha Parahyangan* (The Story of Parahyangan'), is believed to have been written in the year 1000 AD. According to this history, the Sunda Region existed for many centuries before the formation of Indonesia. The term Sunda which refers to the western area of the Island of Java which was firstly mentioned in the 9th century (*cf.* Kartodirjo *et al.* 1975; Atja & Ayatrohaedi 1986; Ekadjati 1984, 2014).

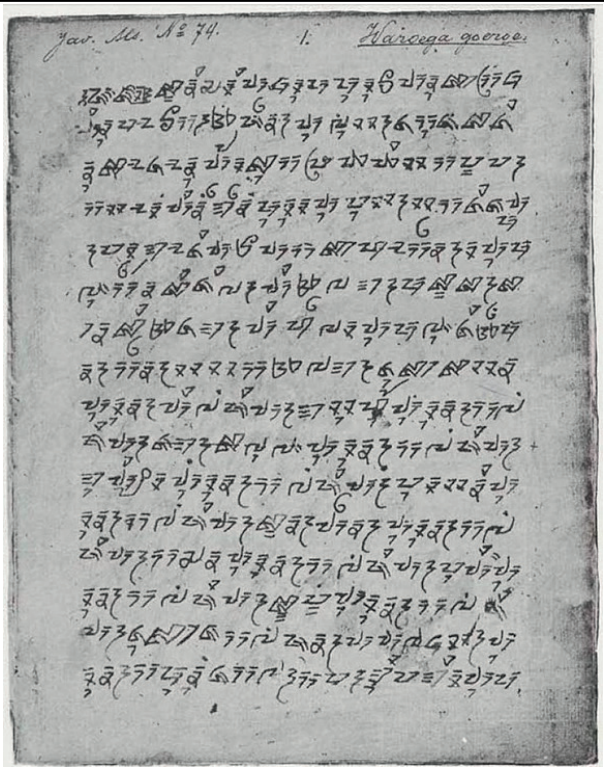


Illustration 7.1. Illustration of a Sundanese script on the Story of Waroega.
Source: http://www.wikiwand.com/su/Basa_Sunda (2017).

In addition to the early documentation about the Sunda Region in the western part of the island of Java, Vlekke (1959) also mentioned the existence of the Sunda Region in West Java in the 14th century during the period of the Padjadjaran Kingdom which ruled until the mid of the 15th century when the Demak Kingdom from Central Java penetrated the area in the year 1540. Its King, Raden Patah, who was the first King of the Islamic Kingdom of Demak to seek the power in West Java and found that the people in the area were more open to accept Islam than those who were in Central and East Java. The Islamic influence on the Sundanese people also happened while Sunan Gunung Djati, the first Sultanate of Banten, ruled this Kingdom and the region.

The Sundanese people were famous as food gatherers (*ladang* and *huma* systems) until the Central Javanese people migrated to West Java circa 1750 after the penetration of the Demak and Mataram Kingdoms into West Java. The people introduced the '*sawah* (wet paddy) system' initially in Sumedang, and then expanded to Rancaekek, Tasikmalaya; the irrigation system was established among the Sundanese people. In the Banten area, the *sawah* system was firstly introduced after the Padjadjaran Kingdom fell, replaced by the Sultanate of Banten. In addition to that, the arrival of the Dutch in the Indonesian Archipelago incited not only some wars between the Dutch and the Kingdoms in several areas, but also the control over the land and its resources. Apart from the Javanese people who migrated to West Java, the Dutch arrival to Indonesia after the 16th and 17th century influenced the Sundanese people to change their

agroecosystem from a *huma* (food gatherer/shifting cultivation) system to a *sawah* (paddy farmer) system through the policy of the '*cultuurstelsel*' ('forced plantation') which was implemented by the Dutch. The local farmer was forced to plant paddy and the output of the harvest was taken by the Dutch while the local farmer could only receive one-third maximum of the harvest to consume and to keep them surviving. In one of the conversations with the elder villagers, the limited income generated from the harvest caused the initiative by the local people to establish *gotong-royong* (mutual voluntary assistance) community institutions, *i.e*. the indigenous institution of *gintingan, perelek,* and other *gotong-royong*-based institutions. The institution became the solution to the household economic problem when a community member has an important need to be fulfiled (*cf.* Terra 1953; Vlekke 1959; Adiwilaga 1975; Ekadjati 1984, 2014; Roger 1999; Iskandar & Iskandar 2011; Saefullah *pers.comm* 2013; Hays 2015).

7.1.2 West Java and Banten as Sundanese Homeland

The current indigenous Sundanese people live in several areas in the West Java and Banten Provinces. The Sundanese people are known as *Urang Sunda* or *Urang Priangan*, which means 'people of the Sunda Region' or 'people of the Priangan Region'. In terms of ethno-cultural groups, the Sundanese people show several similarities with the Javanese people in East and Central Java, although the Sundanese people are considered to be less feudalistic in comparison with the Javanese people. According to the history, after the Sunda Kingdom fell in 1579, the Sundanese lands spread into Sumedanglarang (including Karawang and Subang), Banten, Cirebon, Galuh (Ciamis and Banjar). Sumedanglarang and Galuh lately became one area named 'Priangan' while the former area of the Sunda Kingdom was named 'Pasundan'. Thus, Priangan and Pasundan are known as Sundanese areas in the West Java and Banten provinces, and most Sundanese people live in those two provinces, characterised by their language usage, livelihood and institutions (*cf.* Ekadjati 1984, 2014; Iskandar & Iskandar 2011).

The use of 'West Java' and lately 'Banten' as the Sundanese homeland have changed throughout the history of the Sundanese people in Indonesia. The name of 'West Java' was firstly used in the last 17th century by Prince Wangsakerta to differentiate the area with Eastern Java although the originality of the history is still in question. Some Sundanese people prefer to use 'Pasundan' to name their homeland rather than 'West Java'. This can be traced back to the *Staatsblad* No. 285 & 378 year 1925 article 1, which mentioned that some Sundanese people asked the Dutch during 1924-1925 during the development of West Java province to name the land as *Pasoendan'* rather than '*Jawa Barat*' (West Java) to distinguish them from the Javanese people. However, the request was not accepted by the Dutch. The Ducth said that both terms are similar.*'*… West Java, in inheemsche talen aan te duiden als Pasoendan*,'which means that Jawa Barat (West Java), in the Sundanese language refers to the Pasoendan land'.* Since then, the use of West Java (including Banten) is more popular to refer to the Sundanese homeland. Only after the year 2000, when Banten became an independent province, did the Sundanese homeland refer to the provinces of West Java and Banten (*cf.* Mustapa 2010; Iskandar & Iskandar 2011; Ekadjati 1984, 2014).

7.1.3 The Sundanese People, Culture and Traditions

The Sundanese people are called *Urang Sunda* (People of the Sunda Region). According to Warnaen *et al.* (1987), *Urang Sunda* refers to anyone who claims themselves or is claimed by others as belonging to the Sundanese people. It refers to genetic and socio-cultural factors. According to the genetic factor, *Urang Sunda* is someone who was born from Sundanese parents, wherever the parents live or grew up. Taking the socio-cultural considerations into

account, *Urang Sunda* is someone who lives in the Sundanese socio-cultural and environmental setting and practices their livelihood based on the Sundanese culture. While Ekadjati (2014) accommodates both perspectives, Rosidi (1984) only acknowledged the term 'Sundanese' from the second perspective, which refers to the life and practices using Sundanese culture and insitutions. As the Sundanese people are influenced mainly by the indigenous religion of *Sunda Wiwitan*, Hinduism and Islam, including the influence of modernisation and globalisation, the Sundanese people can also identify their culture based on all those influences. In the Sundanese culture, similar to the Javanese culture, the language has distinct status styles, or registers: '*kasar*'(informal), '*halus*' (deferential), and '*panengah*' (a middle style). The use of these levels of Sundanese language mainly refer to the usage between elder people to younger ones or from the perspective of formality and informality (*cf.* Rosidi 1984; Ekadjati 1984, 2014; Iskandar & Iskandar 2011; Mustapa 2010).

The Sundanese people believe that the human being will live in several stages in their life: the life in this world and the life after this world or hereafter. The life of humans in the world and hereafter is subject to what they do in their life in this world. It is similar to the concept of *karma* in Hinduism which refers to a causal system where beneficial and harmful effects are derived from past beneficial and harmful actions, creating a system of actions and reactions throughout a soul's reincarnated lives forming a cycle of rebirth. The causality also refers to our thoughts, words, actions and other people's actions (*cf.* Brodd 2003). The Sundanese people categorise their life into stages: the stage of birth, the stage of entering adolescence, the stage of marriage, and the stage of death. The transformation from one stage to another will depend on the human actions during their life, and the secret discretions from the spiritual beings/God(s). Because each of the life stages is valuable, the Sundanese people praise life through rituals or ceremonies (*cf.* Wessing 1978; Mustapha 2010).

Hajatan and Life Stages in the Sundanese Culture

The Sundanese people believe that in order to have a happy life and achieve well-being, they place importance on rituals or ceremonies (*hajat*) in each stage of life. As mentioned by Wessing (1978), most Sundanese observances center around the household and the core of most observances consist of a ritual, named *hajat*. *Hajat* literally means 'a communal meal'. The term has evolved from its origins as well as its functions. Originally, *hajat* is an Arabic word meaning 'big needs/primary needs'. In Islam, a *shalat hajat* (*hajat* prayer) is suggested if a person or household is having 'big/primary needs'. The ritual or the prayer is meant to ask the Spirits/God to give His/Her blessings to the person who is praying, to fulfil 'the primary/big needs'. It is not surprising that the term *hajat* in the Sundanese language has the meaning of 'rituals'. The rituals suggest to share people's fortune with other human beings, as an expression of being thankful. One of the forms of being grateful for what the person or household has received in their life is by sharing with others what they have.

If *hajat* means 'rituals', then *hajatan* means 'having rituals'. It is then understood that *hajat* generally means 'communal meals'. It is because, communal meals usually symbolise the practice of *hajatan*, although the basic meaning of *hajatan* is 'having rituals'. The Sundanese people believe that apart from their daily needs, the life stage is a 'primary life event' for which they have to be grateful at any time of their life: when the person is born, when the person enters adulthood, when the person gets married including having babies, and when the person dies. The Sundanese people believe that having *hajatan* or rituals in every stage of their life will bring happiness and well-being, which in the Sundanese language is called *Salamet* (Safe and Sound). It is not surpising that the term *hajatan* is used interchangeably with *salametan*. Both terms have the same meaning of 'having rituals'. The term *salametan* is also used by the Javanese people to express the same meaning with *hajatan*, In general, the Sundanese people have the *hajatan* (rituals) for the following life stages:

- During pregnancy, the Sundanese people have a ritual named *tujuh bulanan* (a ritual when the term of the pregnancy reaches 7 months)
- During birth, the Sundanese people have a ritual named *hajat lahiran* or *ekahan* (from the Arabic term of *aqiqah* – the ritual during the baby's birth)
- Entering adulthood: the Sundanese people have the ritual to celebrate the entering into adulthood by having a circumcision (mainly for a boy), a ritual named *hajat sunatan* ('circumcision ritual')
- During marriage, the Sundanese people have a ritual named *hajat nikahan* or just *hajatan* (a marriage/wedding ritual)
- On death: the Sundanese people have a ritual named *hajat kematian* or 'ritual for the dead person', commonly using the term *tahlilan* (*cf.* Illustration 7.2).

The practice and implementation of *hajatan* is not only limited to those life stages. *Hajatan* could also be conducted to purify their life from any bad spirit, named as *tolak bala*, or any other occasions which require rituals to be conducted. The Sundanese people believe that the rituals on those five life stages or life cycles is necessary to have a happy life and well-being. In the past, the Sundanese people who lived in the agricultural areas as food gatherers, paddy farmers or fishermen, considered the rituals related to the life stages as their big needs.

Illustration 7.2 A *Dukun* performing the Ritual for a Community Member in Sukamelang village who passed away.
Source: Photograph by K. Saefullah (2012).

The pressure of the Dutch in engaging in agriculture activities as well as the limitation of the local people to get the plantation results from the harvest led to the local initiative to conduct mutual voluntary-based assistance among themselves. One of the examples of this 'bottom-up' initiative is the indigenous institution of *Gintingan*, which is studied in this book. Later, it is explained that the practice of both *hajatan* and 'indigenous institution of Gintingan' for instance, are related to one another. Their belief is influenced by their cosmological views which influenced their way of thinking, acting and interacting (*cf.* Wessing 1978; Irawan 1999; Mustapha 2000).

7.2 The Sundanese Cosmology of *Tritangtu*

The term 'cosmology' is used interchangeably with the concept of worldviews. Suseno (1997: 84) defines worldview as: *'the frame of reference in relation to which man comprehends the various elements of his experience*'. Haverkort (1995: 456) furthermore states that:*'The concept of cosmovision thus refers to the way a certain population perceives the world or cosmos: It includes the assumed interrelationship between spirituality, nature and mankind. It describes the roles of super powers, the way natural processes take place, the relationship man-nature and it makes explicit the philosophical and scientific premises on the basis of which intervention in nature (as is the case in agriculture and health care) takes place*'. Obviously, these definitions show that the concept of 'cosmovision' refers to beliefs and cosmologies which have impacts on the use of natural resources and human interventions in life and the natural environment.

The Sundanese cosmovision can be represented through the thoughts, the acts and the ways of their interaction within their society and their environment. It can be represented through their artefacts *i.e.* houses, handicrafts, weapons, musical instruments as well as their poets, enchantments, or their life traditions *i.e.* farming systems, rituals, etc. The Sundanese cosmovision entails a specific consideration about the world order with special reference to the cosmovision's mystical, spiritual and theological characteristics. According to the Sundanese cosmology, the good or the bad things in life will be determined by the people's observance of the taboos (life restrictions). Human beings could reach their well-being or welfare only by harmonising their life with the spiritual world or the spirits and the universe. The thought and the act of the Sundanese people should be based on their cosmovision to ensure that their life will reach well-being and happiness (*cf.* Wessing 1978; Sumardjo 2010; Ekadjati 2014).

7.2.1 The Sundanese Cosmovision of *Tritangtu*

In the discourse of culture and development, it is understood that people's cosmology will influence their behaviour and livelihood. Therefore, well-being as the objective of development can be understood by analysing local peoples' cosmovision. As a country with hundreds of ethnocultural groups, the cosmologies of the people also vary. This can be understood through their social structure. It represents the dynamic relationship between the people and the societies as well as their environment. In analysing Sundanese culture, *Tritangtu* ('Three Realms') is known as the Sundanese cosmology. *Tritangtu* represents the three (triadic) structures of being, according to the worldview or cosmology of Sundanese sagacity *Tri* means 'Three' and *Tangtu* means 'Realms'. So *Tritangtu* is also named as *Buana* in the Sundanese language while in Balinese the term *buana* is named as *Bhuwana* which also means world/realms. In terms of livelihoods, the Sundanese people believe that there are three realms which should be treated harmoniously. Specifically, the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* distinguishes the three realms as follows:

1) *Buana nyungcung/mayapadha* or upper realms, representing the sacred/spiritual realms/God(s);
2) *Buana panca tengah/madyapadha* or middle realms, representing the human realms or human beings; and
3) *Buana raring/arcapadha* or the lower realms, representing the earth and the environment.

The Sundanese cosmology of *Tri Tangtu* or *Tritangtu* [1)] views that happiness, well-being and welfare can only be achieved if human beings live in harmony within the three elements: the human itself, the spirits (spiritual beings, including god/gods), and the universe. The life of the

Sundanese people should pay any form of respect to each of the those realms. The first realm is the *buana nyungcung or mayapadha or* the upper world, which represents the sacred/spiritual realms or the heaven. Human beings should give respect to the spirits/spirutal world as they represent the sacred realms/beings which invisibly contributes to the harmonious balance to the earth/universe and human beings. The second realm is the *buana panca tengah or madyapadha or* the middle world, which represents the place for human beings. Humans should pay respect to other humans and the other realms in order to have happiness as well as welfare both individually and socially. The third realm is the *buana rarang or arcapadha* or the lower world, which represents the earth and the universe, including animals and plants. Human beings should also pay respect to the earth and the universe as they have been serving humans with all kinds of natural resources which have been utilised by humans. If human beings would like the earth and the universe to keep serving them with all the beneficial resources, human beings should also treat the earth and the universe harmoniously and responsibly. Furthermore, Sumardjo (2010) argues that the first realm (*buana nyungcung*- upper world) and the third realm (*buana rarang* - underworld) represent the concept of 'heaven' and 'hell'. The indigenous Sundanese concept does not recognise such a 'destination afterlife'. The 'heaven and hell' is what humans experience in their life in the world, which is determined by their actions within the context towards the other realms, both the spiritual realms and the earth/universe. Humans will experience 'heaven' if the earth/universe provides them with anything that is needed by them and brings them happiness. Conversely, humans will experience 'hell' if the earth/universe harms the life of the humans. However, the benefits or harms which will be imposed by the earth/universe towards humans will be subjected to the way humans treat the earth/universe. In this context, spiritual realms or spirits give hints to humans to behave responsibly towards the earth and the universe as Sundanese cosmology views that every being in the world has its spirits. Plants, animals, stones, and lands are not merely representing resources which provide humans with all their needs, but also something which needs to be taken care of. The spirits in the earth/universe teach humans that the reaction by the earth/universe is subject to the action of the human. It means if humans act positively, then the earth/universe will react positively too, and vice versa.

The concept of causal action and reaction between the realms is used in the indigenous Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* within the context of their traditional beliefs and livelihood. Human beings (*Middle Realm*) should maintain a harmonious relation with the spiritual realms (*Upper Realms*) as they bring spiritual energy towards humans and the earth, and the harmonious relationship between these two realms, named in Sundanese terms as the concept of *Silih Asah* ('reciprocal learning'). Similarly, human beings (*Middle Realm*) should also maintain a harmonious relationship with the earth and the universe (*Lower Realms*) as both realms have relationships of causal actions and reactions in the utilisation of natural resources, provided by the earth and the universe. In the Sundanese language, it is named as the concept of *Silih Asih* ('Reciprocal Love'). Eventually, the state of *Silih Asih* can be achieved if human beings maintain a harmonious balanced relationship with both the spiritual realm and the realm of earth and environment. The achievement of such an overall state of harmony is reflected in the concept of *Silih Asuh* ('Reciprocal Care') in the Sundanese cosmology. The concept of the 'triadic' structure of Sundanese cosmology has similarities with both the Balinese cosmology of *Tri Hita Karana* ('Three Foundations of Well-being') and the Javanese cosmology of *Triloka* ('Three Foundations of Happiness'). Both cosmologies also believe that well-being can only be achieved if humans make a harmonious life balance with the spiritual world and the earth/universe or the environment. Figure 7.1 shows a schematic representation of the Sundanese cosmovision of *Tritangtu*, which shows a clear similarity with the traditional Balinese cosmovision of *Tri Hita Karana* and the Javanese worldview of *Triloka.*

The triadic structure of *silih asah-silih asih-silih asuh* is known as the Sundanese indigenous wisdom, which inspires and motivates every Sundanese individual to behave harmoniously within their livelihood in the society. It affects the life and behaviour of Sundanese people in their thoughts, acts, arts and institutions (*cf.* Wessing 1978; Irawan 1999; Sumardjo 2010; Djunatan 2011; Agung 2005; Setyani 2018).

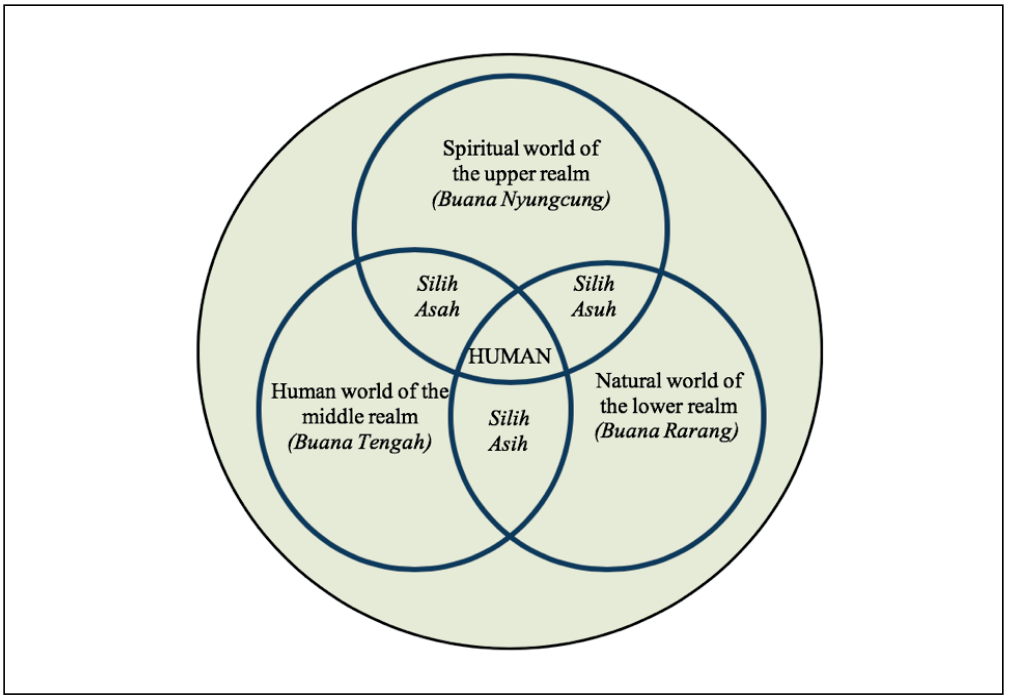


Figure 7. 1 A Schematic Representation of the Sundanese Cosmology of *Tritangtu.*
Source: Saefullah (2018a).

7.2.2 The Influence of *Tritangtu* on the life of the Sundanese People

The new perspective of integrating cultural dimension with development as discussed in the pioneering study of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) has been implemented by the Sundanese people through their cosmology of *Tritangtu*. The indigenous cosmology inspires and reflects the livelihood of the Sundanese people. Their cosmovision can be seen from the way the Sundanese people arrange their landscape, housing and residences, ecological arrangements, tools and equipment, including their landscape area; for instance, the Sundanese people divide the landscape based on the three divisions: *tonggoh/girang* ('upper landscape'), *tengah* ('middle landscape'), and *lebak/landeuh/hilir* ('lower landscape'). The nature of the water flow from the higher position to the lower ones explains the reason why the Sundanese people divide the land into those three landscapes, where every landscape has its own purpose and function. The beginning of the water flows of the river usually start from the water spring in the *tonggoh/girang/hulu* ('upper landscape') and then the water flows to the *tengah* ('middle landscape'*),* the lower landscape where humans usually live, and finally to the *lebak/landeuh/hilir* ('lowest area'), which in some cases ends up in the sea. The water from the higher landscape represents 'pure and clean water' as it is represented in *Tritangtu* with the

sacred/spiritual realms. The upper realm should be kept 'clean and pure' without any harm by the human. In the indigenous Sundanese cosmology, humans are not allowed to build houses or residences in the upper area. This is to avoid any contamination in the area which will affect the livelihood in that area as well as the lower area. Therefore, the indigenous Sundanese people preserve the upper area as a 'sacred area' or 'a place for spiritual beings'. In Sundanese terms known as '*Parahyangan*' or 'the place of the spirits and gods'. Human beings should build their residences in the lower area, or at least in the *tengah* ('middle landscape'), where the people could consume the clean water without disrupting the source. By consequence, the lowest area (*landeuh/lebak/hilir*) is meant for any human activity which does not require clean water but still consider the environmental sustainability. By using an example of Bandung as a city in Indonesia, the Dutch used to build the factories in the past in the lowest landscape in the southern area of Bandung. The waste which was produced by the factory would not harm the life of the people as they were mostly living in the higher areas than the factory. Although the Dutch have arranged the landscape management by following the Sundanese principle of landscape division, the pressure of the population growth however has changed the water management of Bandung city in recent times. The division of the landscape is not used anymore in modern Bandung. Some areas in northern Bandung have been disrupted by the massive construction of houses, residences as well as hotels. It is not surprising that in the last few years the city has been challenged by floods, which was the result of the disruption in the upper area of Bandung. Similarly, the quality of water in Bandung is also considered 'bad and unhealthy' as it cannot be consumed directly for the daily use of the households. Research by Al-Kamsi (2017) concluded that the water quality in Bandung contains *Escherichia Coli (E-Coli)* bacteria, which threatens people with various related diseases, including *diarrhea* (*cf.* Jabarprov 2015; Pikiran Rakyat daily 21/03/2018; Al-Kamsi 2017).

Another example of how the indigenous cosmology of *Tritangtu* is utilised in the livelihood of the Sundanese people is in the Sundanese architecture through the construction of Sundanese places of residence. In general, the Sundanese building is divided into three layers: 1) *ambu luhur/para* or the upperside of the house (rooftop); 2) *ambu tengah/pangkeng* or the middle side of the house where the rooms are built; and 3) *ambu handap/kolong*, or the lower/groundside of the house (*cf.* Illustration 7.3). The upper side of the house or rooftop (*ambu luhur/para*) is usually kept empty and meant as a roof. It is basically representing the sacred/spiritual world where the Sundanese people believe that the spirits will keep the people safe. The Sundanese people believe that if they consider the spirits/God(s), the spirit/God(s) will take good care of the people. The shape of the roof of the house represents the philosophy of the upper realm (*buana nyungcung*) which represents the first realm of the indigenous cosmology of *Tritangtu*. The shape of the roof is usually a 'triangle' in a trapesium form where the corner of the roof is directed to the sky, which in the Sundanese language is named *nyungcung*. The middle part of the house (*ambu tengah/pangkeng*) is usually built as the area where people live and do their daily activities. The middle area represents the second realm of the indigenous cosmology of *Tritangtu*: *Buana Panca Tengah*. The middle part of the house will usually be divided into several rooms which separate the front room and middle room (where the living room and the bedrooms are located) and the *kolong* ('bottom side of the house') is usually meant for any activity which the family members do in their daily life. It is also meant for the family members to give rooms for other creatures such as their pets to live. The *hareup imah* ('front room') is meant to be used by the Sundanese family to interact with the outer world such as with a guest or visitor. The *tengah imah* ('middle side') is meant to be used by the Sundanese family to do their daily activities for themselves and their family. And lastly, the *tukang imah* ('backside') is where the *dapur* ('kitchen') and *goah* ('storage room') are located.

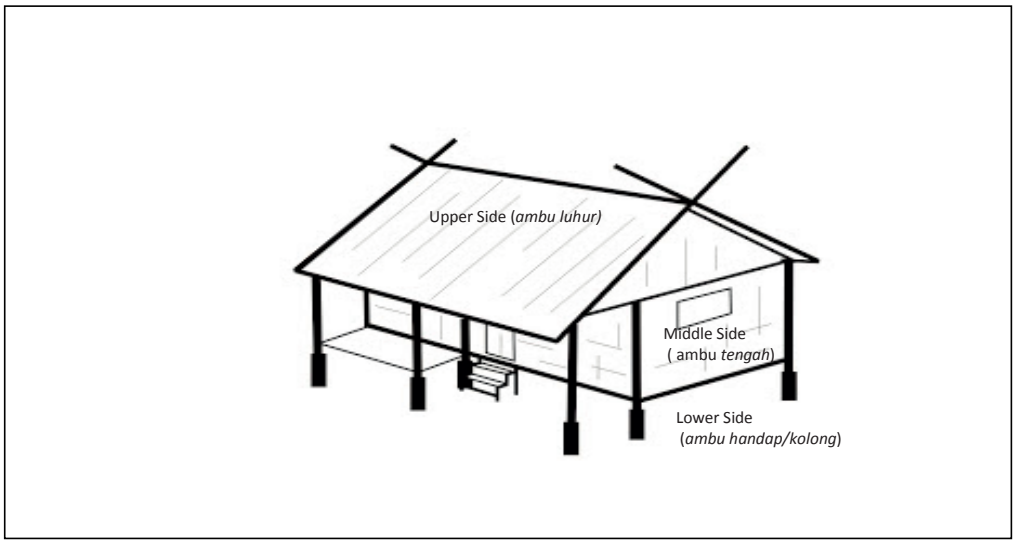


Illustration 7.3 A Sundanese House based on the Sundanese Cosmovision *of Tritangtu*.
Source: Adapted from Nugraha (2012).

According to the Sundanese cosmology, the backside of a house is meant only for limited members of the family who are responsible for the domestic activities such as cooking and preparing daily meals. In this context, the housewife is usually responsible for doing the domestic activities of a Sundanese family, while the household head works outside. In Sundanese culture, the woman is responsible to manage any activity in the backside of the house while the household head (man) is responsible to manage any activity which relates to the outer world, including guests or visitors. The middle part of a house is used together between the man and woman, or household head and housewife (*cf.* Nugraha 2012; Fauzi 2014).

In practice, there are various types of Sundanese houses built for different Sundanese people, depending on their area of living: 1) *Julang Ngapak* (birds which flap their wings), is a Sundanese house which is used by Sundanese people in Kampung Naga of Tasikmalaya District and Kampung Dukuh of Kuningan District in West Java. Some of the buildings of the Bandung Institute of Technology are also built by using this type of Sundanese house; 2) *Tagog anjing* ('the sitting dog') is a Sundanese house which is used by Sundanese people in Kampung Dukuh of Garut District in West Java; 3) *Badak heuay* ('the yawned rhino') is a Sundanese house which is used by the Sundanese people who live mostly in the Sukabumi District of West Java; 4) *Jolopong house* (droop, is a Sundanese house which is used by Sundanese people who live in the Tomo Sub-district of Sumedang District and Kampung Dukuh of Garut District of West Java; and finally 5) *Perahu kumereb* ('the prone boat') is a Sundanese house which is like a prone boat and used by the Sundanese people who live in Kampung Kuta in Ciamis District and Galuh District in West Java. The indigenous houses of the Sundanese people are made mostly of wood, bamboo and palm fiber. Illustration 7.4 shows one of the examples of such types of houses.

In the construction of the water reservoir system, the Sundanese culture has an indigenous institution of *Kuluwung*, a water reservoir which distributes the water from the water source to the area which the people use the water for their daily activities, from irrigation to household consumption. The implementation of *kuluwung* also uses three divisions of the pipelines: 1) *cai tonggoh* or the water source in the upper landscape; 2) *cai panampungan* or the water shelter in the middle landscape; and 3) *cai panganggoan*, or the water usage in the lower landscape, which is used by the people for their daily activities (*cf.* Illustration 5.9 and Illustration 7.5).

Illustration 7.4 An example of the *Parahu Kumereb* type of a Sundanese House in Subang. *Source:* Saefullah (2016).

Concerning the implementation of *Tritangtu* in the social interaction of the Sundanese people, the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* guides peoples' behaviour and attitudes in the society through the three moral principles which are needed to be implemented by the people: 1) *Tritangtu* on ourselves or *tata salira (jati diri*) which consists of how Sundanese people should behave as individuals. In this principle, humans should behave on the basis of their understanding of the first realm: the spiritual/sacred belief. The actions of this behaviour are named *silih asah* ('reciprocal learning/empowerment') and are represented in their individual ritual and behaviour; 2) *Tritangtu* on others or humankind or *tata nagara* (*jati nagara)* which consists of how Sundanese people should behave and interact socially as members of the community. Humans should behave in the society on the basis of their understanding of the second realm: respect for other human beings. The actions of this behaviour are named *silih asih* ('reciprocal love'); and 3) *Tritangtu* on earth/the universe or *tata buana (jati kusumah)* which consists of how Sundanese people should behave and interact responsibly with other beings in the universe. In this principle, humans should show care to other beings on the basis of a balanced life with the environment for the preservation of nature for future generations. The actions of this behaviour are named *silih asuh* ('reciprocal care').

The triadic principle of the human interaction among the Sundanese people, also known as the Sundanese local wisdom of '*silih asah-silih asih- silih asuh*' is well-known as mentioned earlier. *Silih* in the Sundanese language means 'reciprocal interaction'. It means that the Sundanese principle of human interactions and its society regard 'reciprosity or mutualities' as the important factor. Humans cannot be appreciated by others if they do not appreciate others. In practice, the Sundanese people adhere to the triadic indigenous wisdom which is expected to be implemented in any social interaction: *hirup nu hurip, hirup kudu nyontoan jeung picontoeun* and *hirup kudu neundeun jeung ninggalkeun*.

Illustration 7.5 An Old Indigenous Water Reservoir of *Kuluwung.*
Source: Tropenmuseum Collection No. 60052148.

The first one, *hirup anu hurip,* means that life concerns efforts and relates to questions of how to make life beneficial for the life of others, the social environment, the nation and religion, thereby emphasising the self-development of social obligations. The second one, *hirup kudu nyontoan jeung picontoeun*, means that any Sundanese individual should become a role model to other people in their thoughts and acts. The third one, *hirup kudu neundeun jeung ninggalkeun* means that any Sundanese individual should leave a positive image in their life through any good deeds which they might do, so that other people including future generations would follow their positive inheritance (*cf.* Erwina 2019).

7.2.3 *Tritangtu* and Community Institutional Systems

Concerning the community institutional system and how institutions play their role in sustainable community based-development, the utilisation behaviour of the institutions by Sundanese people are also influenced by the indigenous cosmology of *Tritangtu.* According to Irawan (1999), *Tritangtu*, an institution which serves the community, should follow three principles of Sundanese wisdom:

- *Akur jeung dulur sakasur* (should live in harmony with our blood)
- *Akur jeung dulur sasumur* (should live in harmony with our neighbor)
- *Akur jeung dulur salembur* (should live in harmony with our community)

The concept of harmony, used within the context of 'harmony with our blood, harmony with our neighbour, and harmony with our community', reflects the foundation of the Sundanese cosmovision of *Tritangtu*, which includes the triadic structure of how human beings should act accordingly with their cosmovision in social interaction by utilising any form of institutions. As further mentioned by Djen Amar (2010), the Sundanese Community Institutional System in general follows the criteria of *Paguyuban (*'Gemeinschaft') which according to Tonnies (1960) has the following characteristics: bottom-up initiative, common will and uses an emic approach in the principle and operations of the instituions. Similarly, Slikkerveer (2019) has also

mentioned that indigenous institutions in Indonesia, particularly among the Javanese and Sundanese people, follow the principle of *Gotong Royong*. Based on those criteria, it is not surprising that some community institutions such as *Gintingan, Perelek, Arisan*, as well as *Lumbung Padi/Leuyit*, use the criteria of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gotong Royong*, and are influenced by the indigenous cosmology of *Tritangtu* (*cf.* Dalton 1967).

7.3 *Gintingan*: Institution and Practices

7.3.1 The Concept of *Gintingan*

The Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* influences people's livelihood from socio-cultural activities to economic transactions. One of the Sundanese institutions which represents the integration of economic activities and socio-cultural events is *Gintingan*. It is a socio-cultural institution, which is based on communality in terms of joint participation of individuals to provide a collective contribution to their community and of individual assistance to fellow villagers in need, known as *Gotong Royong* in the Javanese culture. *Gintingan* is practiced as a local initiative by people in the community when a particular household, which has a *Hajat* ('important need'), receives contributions from the community members through the provision of a *Gantangan*, a vessel of rice with a content of about 10 litres. In contrast to the modern institutional system, *Gintingan* is a typical representation of an indigenous community-managed institution, based on the local people's cosmovision of *Tritangtu* which influences their livelihood practices. In this way, this institution maintains the harmonious balance among the villagers during socio-cultural events known as *Hajatan,* including weddings, circumcisions, rituals, etc (*cf.* Saefullah 2018; 2019).

The term *Gintingan (cf.* Irawan 1999) or *Gantangan* (*cf.* Prasetyo 2012) originates from *Ginting* or *Gantang*, which refers to a particular wooden vessel that contains a special amount of rice. *Gantan*g itself is known not only in the agricultural areas of Indonesia, but also in some other parts of South-East Asia, despite the different scales of measure indicated. While in Indonesia, *Gantang* contains in general 10 litres of rice according to Irawan (1999), while in The Philippines, the equivalent of one *Gantang,* known as *Ganta,* contains about 3 litres of rice. The United Nations (1966) estimate the contents at 8.38 – 8.57 litres of rice, while in Sabah and Sarawak, Malaysia, such a measure indicates 2.42 kg of rice. In Brunei, similar vessels contain 3.63 – 4.55 litres of rice. In addition to the above-mentioned capacities of the *gantang* in Indonesia, the scale measures are varying per region from 4.91 litres in Palembang; 9.59 litres in Batavia during the colonial period of time; 5.01 to 7.49 litres in Makassar; to 13 litres of rice in Kalimantan. Illustration 7.6 shows a wooden *Gintigan* ('vessel') of 10-litre capacity from West Java (*cf.* Saefullah, 2019).

The concept of *Gintingan* has been described by several authors, such as Irawan (1999), who defines *Gintingan* as: '*Pola hajatan dengan penggunaan sistem arisan'* ('the practice of a ceremony using the rotation system of mutual help'). While the socio-cultural motivation dominates the implementation of *Gintingan*, there is also an economic aspect involved of mutual assistance and reciprocity at the community level, albeit not in an obligatory sense. Indeed, participation in the *Gintingan* is voluntary, and not restricted to any membership or particular time frame of regular meetings. The social purpose of this institution of strengthening the spirit of communality and mutual assistance is reinforced by the cultural events of the above-mentioned ceremonies. As documented by Saefullah (2019), the *Sisingaan* ('traditional dance') of Subang is performed by families during the *hajatan* or ceremonies in praise of the celebration. Such dances have also been reported elsewhere in the Subang Region by Irawan (1999) and Wijaya (2010).

Illustration 7.6 A *Gintingan* Vessel from West Java, which contains 10 litre of Rice.
Source: Temuan Galeri (2012).

Unlike the above-mentioned authors, Prasetyo (2012) defines *Gintingan or Gantangan* as: '*Sistem ekonomi tradisional berupa simpanan kredit beras melalui hajatan* ('a traditional economic system, using the exchange of rice, and implemented through ceremonies'). His interpretation focuses on the economic aspects of reciprocity assuming that in practice, the institution creates the concepts of 'debtor' and 'creditor'. The community members who contribute to the family in need act as a 'creditor', while the receiving family acts as a 'debtor'. The receiving family makes a record of any contributions from their relatives and neighbours in a special book, known as *buku beras* ('rice book') or *buku gintingan* ('*gintingan* book'). The book is similar to a cash-flow book, as it records the in- and outflow of the contributions. The contributions include mainly rice, money, or other valuable materials. The recent qualitative observations and in-depth interviews, complemented with quantitative household surveys in four villages in the Subang District clearly show the socio-cultural motivation of the local people in their intergenerational practice of the traditional institution.

The research findings underscore the overall objective of the traditional institution to preserve the social cohesion and communality among the members of the community. It represents the view of the local people on their relationship with their human, natural and spiritual world, based on their traditional cosmology. Wijaya (2010) relates the term *Gintingan* to *Gentenan*, which means 'Reciprocity'. In the Sundanese language, the term *Silih* refers to 'Reciprocity', and is also expressed in the philosophical foundation of the social interaction of the Sundanese people as mentioned earlier. The social aspect of this traditional institution is also observed in the way in which the obligation which follows the transaction is functioning.

Although there is an economic aspect underlying the transaction through the contribution of a certain amount of rice among the people, and this contribution is also recorded in the above-mentioned *buku beras,* there is, however, no finite period of time of repayment set in terms of a reciprocal contribution system, or a formal sanction in the event of a late recompensation or failed reciprocal return of a contribution (*cf.* Harris 1997; Irawan 1999; Agung 2005; Wijaya 2010; Djunatan 2011; Prasetyo 2012; Saefullah 2018; 2019).

Illustration 7.7 *Sisingaan*: The Traditional Sundanese Dance in Subang.
Source: Saefullah (2012).

7.3.2 The Practice of *Gintingan*

The practice of *Gintingan,* as documented in the Subang Region, can be explained as follows: If one household in the community has an important *Hajat* ('primary need'), they will inform the community leader about their need for contributions from their fellow villagers. Since the contributions will be collected, the community leader then informs all community members about the upcoming *Hajatan* ('Ceremony'), and the voluntary obligation to fulfil the related needs of the household concerned, such as a wedding ceremony. Thereupon, the household sets the date of the ceremony in consultation with the community leader and the community members. Usually, the leader establishes an organising committee, *i.e.* a community-managed institution, which arranges the plans and preparations, as well as the implementation of the ceremony.

The organising committee then divides the tasks among the members of the community, such as collecting and administering the contributions, organising the rituals, and preparing the cultural events surrounding the rituals and ceremonies which the household would like to conduct. The informal organising committee then will send out invitations to all households in the community (*cf.* Illustration 7.9). Thereafter, the people in the community will then make their contribution to the needy household in the form of rice, money or other valuable materials, with a specific measurement. Considering that the *Gintingan* institution mainly uses rice as the form of contribution, a *Gantang* ('Vessel') is used to measure the volume of rice. Although in the Subang Region, the *gantang* contains 10 kg of rice, people could use this scale or contribute more if they wish. The total of such contributions could easily amount to rather large quantities of rice or money. If, for instance, 200 households in the community adhere to the *Gintingan* to contribute to a needy household, and each household contributes one *Gantang* of rice, the needy household will receive at least 2,000 kg of rice.

Illustration 7.8 Community Members in Subang collecting the Contributions of Rice in a *Gintingan* Vessel.
Source: Saefullah (2012).

If a conversion is made of the total amount of collected rice with a price of 1 kg at 10,000 Rupiah, the total amount of collected rice would be worth about 20 million Rupiah, equivalent to about 1,500 USD (2017). The collected *Gantang* of rice from the community is used by the needy households for the organisation of the rituals and ceremonies of the event, including the support of the needs which follows after the event. The needy household makes a record of every single contribution by the community members in the *buku beras* ('rice book') or *buku gintingan* ('*gintingan* book'). The book is used by the household members to document how much rice or other *Gintingan* contributions they have received, in the case when they should contribute to a similar need for another household in the community in the future.

Interestingly, while there is no finite period of time to return a contribution, the reciprocal recompensation can only be done in a similar way if the other household has a similar need or problem. According to Mauss (2002), this type of traditional institution is a form of reciprocal exchange, implemented by local people in a community as a positive return for what they have already received. Similar traditional institutions are also operational in other parts of the Subang Region, albeit under a different name, *Andilan*. In Indramayu, the institution is known as *Josan*, while in East and Central Java, it is called *Rewangan* in Banyumas, and *Bojokan* in Boyolali (*cf.* Harris 1997; Mauss 2002).

The practice of *Gintingan,* is based on the principle of mutual assistance through a reciprocal transaction, which is directly related to the pan-Indonesian institution of *Gotong Royong* and its parallel institutions of A*ndilan* in the Sunda Region of West Java and *Metulung* in Bali. Irawan (1999) compares the practice of *Gintingan* with *Arisan,* being a Rotating Savings and Credit Association (ROSCA). The main difference is that *Gintingan* is not held regularly at particular dates and that recompensation of the received contributions is not confined to a limited period of time.

Illustration 7.9 An Example of an Invitation for *Gintingan* in Subang (2016).
Source: Saefullah (2012).

As regards the obligation of reciprocity, the household which receives the contribution from its community members should only 'repay' in the case when another household with a similar need is proposing to activate *Gintingan* for their planned ceremony. As an example of a traditional institution which is also based on the principle of reciprocity, there is compliance with the characteristics of the related category of: 1) absence of the need for immediate return; 2) absence of a systematic calculation of the value of the service and products exchanged; and 3) an overt denial that a balance is being calculated, or that the balance must come out even (*cf.* Geertz 1956; Harris 1997; Van den Brink & Chavas 1997).

The practice of *Gintingan* has been implemented in various forms. In Sukamelang of the Subang District, for instance, the community can contribute more than one *Gantang*, or in other forms such as money or goods which are needed by the household concerned. In the case when the needy household receives a contribution in money, then they also have to repay in the form of money. The same applies to other forms of such contributions. The custom of collecting money is also not merely used for rituals or ceremonies, and in some cases observations have been made that a household allocates some money to buy land for farming or to pay for the cost of schooling, etc. Also, in the case of Cimanglid in the Subang District, *Gintingan* is not practiced for the purpose of a wedding, but for building a house.

There are different opinions on the practice of *Gintingan*. The proponents of the practice of *Gintingan* argue that the tradition is not only providing specific economic support for needy households from the community, but it is also demonstrating the benefits from the principle of mutual assistance of *Gotong Royong*, where personal communication and social cohesion among the members of the community are maintained and reinforced. The opponents, however, point to the burden which is somehow put on some people who are not able to return a similar contribution in the future. They advocate the idea that the contributions should not be provided on the basis of expected returns, but be based on a social obligation. This perspective has found

support from the recent research by Saefullah (2019) in the Subang District, where in the village of Bunihayu a poor woman held a wedding ceremony for her daughter. As she had no money to conduct the wedding ceremony, the members of her community supported her through the practice of *Gintingan* in various ways, ranging from material contributions to the actual execution of the event. In her case, the people in the community did not expect her to repay their contributions; the case further substantiates that *Gintingan* is indeed a traditional socio-cultural institution without any pursuit of profit or economic gain characteristic for economic institutions (*cf.* Saefullah 2019; Slikkerveer 2019.).

The origin of *Gintingan* itself is also a subject of discussion. Irawan (1999) for instance states that it was established during the 1970s, while Wijaya (2010) supports the notion that it has been practiced since 1978. Prasetyo (2012), however, does not mention any argument on the beginnings of *Gintingan* in West Java, particularly in Subang. An anthropologist Mulyanto (*pers. comm* 2011) from Universitas Padjadjaran in Bandung supposes that *Gintingan* could have a long history, as he relates its origin and similar practices in different areas of Indonesia, as well as in other neighbouring countries. In his view, the various similarities of the institution in Indonesia and in other countries, such as the comparable use of the terms of *Gantang* or *Ganta*, the principle of mutual assistance, and the type of the communities where the institutions are practiced, might even represent a common Austronesian heritage.

7.3.3 Sundanese Cosmology and *Gintingan*

Gintingan provides an excellent example of how the three harmonies of *Silih Asah, Silih Asih,* and *Silih Asuh* are put into practice by the people of the Sundanese community in Subang. In this context, *Gintingan* indeed fulfils the underlying principles as follows: 1) the community leader represents the first element in the *Buana Nyungcung* ('Spiritual World') of *Tri Tangtu* as the community leader who puts the spiritual belief into practice by taking care of the people in the community; 2) the household, or the individual member of the community in need, represents the second element in the *Buana Tengah* ('Human World') of *Tri Tangtu,* where they are interacting with each other on the basis of reciprocity; and 3) the rice, money or any other material which are contributed within the practice of *Gintingan* represent the third element of *Buana Rarang* ('Natural World') of *Tri Tangtu*. The traditional principle of the voluntary provision of a 'contribution' to community members or the community as a whole has been an important part of the Indonesian culture, and is not only practiced in the Sunda Region, but also in other regions of the country. It is interesting to observe that the principle of the harmonious balance among the three realms of the cosmology has also recently been taken into account in the current development paradigm based on the concept of *endogenous development* through the re-conceptualisation of 'human well-being' as the objective of sustainable development. As it is now intensively discussed among development scholars, the 'materialist-economic' view of development has been criticised as its approach and implementation are lacking the inclusion of the important cultural dimension. For a long time, the development of the people and the community has only been analysed on the erroneous basis of the outsiders' perspective, and not from the insiders' view. Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) were among the first scholars who criticised the dominance of the outsiders' perspective in socio-economic development. Their strategy, implemented in the 'bottom-up' approach, was soon followed by others including Chambers, Pacey & Thrupp (1989), Richards (1985), Posey (1999), Woodley *et al.* (2006) and Loeffelman (2010).

The practice of *Gintingan* has not only improved the life and well-being of local people in terms of financial material circumstances, but also in terms of their social and human interactions. The traditional institution of *Gintingan* continues to maintain personal communication and social interaction among the local people in the community, where banking

transactions, for instance, seek to replace the personal dimension to become impersonal and commercially-oriented. By consequence, the local people in the communities tend to become alienated from their fellow humans, neighbours and other members of their communities, living together, but like strangers; in the words of a Bangladeshi villager who defined the philosophy of 'ideal well-being': '*bhat, kapor on shonman niye shukhey thakbo*' ('we live in happiness with rice, clothes and respect') (*cf.* White 2010). Thus, *Gintingan* can be considered as a traditional institution which can actively make an important contribution to the newly-proposed community-managed development efforts in order to achieve a state of well-being for all participants in the community - including the poor and marginalised families and individuals - and as such provide a major impetus to the achievement of sustainable community development. The traditional community institution of *Gintingan* has become crucial as an integrated community-managed development institution where people in the community are not only able to fulfil their material needs, including the cost of housing, food and education, including the performance of ceremonies and rituals, but also their spiritual needs of fullfilment towards a happy life, helped by other members of their community, and mutual respect by maintaining their culture of 'taking care' of all members - rich and poor - in the community (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Woodley *et al.* 2006; White 2010; Loeffelman 2010; Saefullah 2019).

Note:

1) There are two ways in writing the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu*. While Djunatan (2011) and Rusmana (2018) write it as one word, Sumardjo (2010) and Iskandar (2011) write it in two words. Both ways have the same meaning in terms of the Sundanese cosmovision.

CHAPTER VIII BIVARIATE UTILISATION PATTERNS OF TRADITIONAL, TRANSITIONAL AND MODERN COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

This chapter elaborates the behavioural pattern of the household respondents from the four village samples in which the household survey was conducted. The result which is identified through a qualitative approach has provided rich findings on the role of Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) in Sustainable Community-based Development in the Subang District, particularly in the village areas where the study was conducted. Moreover, the quantitative data which were collected during the study reveals a broader perspective of the community members on their preferences on the utilisation of the available Community Institutional Systems. There are three types of alternative Community Institutions available in the villages: Traditional Institutions, Transitional Institutions and Modern Institutions. This research uses the terms which were introduced by Slikkerveer (1990; 2016) as well as Uphoff (1986) and Leurs (2010), which define those types of Community Institutional Systems as they were elaborated in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. While the Traditional Institution is classified based on the bottom-up approach and the Modern Institution is defined based on the 'top-down' institution, the 'Transitional Institution' is classified based on the combination between the 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approach in its planing, establishment and operations.

It is indicated that the more community members are socially attached among each other, the more Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) are in their preferences in terms of utilisation. Inversely, the more community members are socially detached from the others, the more Modern Community Institutions (MDCIN) are in their favor for utilisation. In general, about 47.5 % of the respondents preferred to utilise the Traditional Community Institutions, 32.5 % preferred the Transitional Community Institutions (TSCIN) and only 20% of the respondents preferred Modern Community Institutions (MDCIN). The circumstances which determine their utilisation behaviour are explained in this chapter, where the psycho-social variables dominate in the independent variables, influencing the utilisation behaviours. Moreover, the intervening variables which are represented by the policy and promotion of the private and government institutions are also influencing the utilisation behaviour of the respondents from the four villages in Subang. The quantitative survey has been applied in this study to emphasise the analyses of the utilisation behaviour by collecting the quantitative data in the villages using a constructed questionnaire which was developed by a pioneering study by Slikkerveer (1990).The questionnaire of this study was developed from December 2011 to March 2012 and distributed from March to May 2012. This report reveals the descriptive results of the survey. The model and method used in this research are adapted from the multivariate model of utilisation behaviour, introduced by Slikkerveer (1990), which has been adapted and implemented in various researches on applied ethnoscience and development, *i.e.* Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012) and Aiglsperger (2014). In analysing the significance of statistical data, the significance rules are used, which have also been implemented by Agung (2005), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013) and Aiglsperger (2014).

The analysis of the behavioural patterns of utilisation behaviour is divided into two chapters of Chapter VIII and Chapter IX. While this Chapter VIII focuses on the bivariate and mutual relations analyses of the behavioural patterns of utilisation, the Chapter IX will elaborate the multivariate analyses of the study of the utilisation behaviour.

8.1 Preparation of the Data Set

8.1.1 The Structured Database of the Household Survey in Subang

The samples collected in this study accommodate the geographical distribution of the Subang District, which is divided into three areas: Northern Subang, Central Subang and Southern Subang. The accommodation of three geographical areas in this research contributes to an additional analysis from an ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment perspective to the earlier study by Breman and Wiradi (2002), which only covered the Northern area of Subang. As mentioned by the Head of the Regional Planning of the Subang District, an analysis of three geographical areas of Subang is necessary to be examined (*pers. comm* 2012). The instrument was developed between November-December 2011 and finalized in March 2012 and distributed in the four villages of the Subang District between March to May 2012. The total number of questionnaires distributed to the respondents were 360 questionnaires as shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Distribution of the Questionnaires over Four Villages of Subang, also indicating the Time of the Interviews.

Village	Number of Questionnaires	Interviewers	Time of Interview
Sukamelang	100	Kurniawan Wastim	15-March – 9 May 2012
Bunihayu	80	Mufti Farid Ahmad Solihin Suherman Hendra Kurniawan	15-March – 9 May 2012
Mayangan	90	Kurniawan Wawan Gunawan Ahmad Solihin Susanti Suherman	15-March – 9 May2012
Cimanglid	90	Kurniawan Ahmad Solihin Suherman Mufti Farid Hendra	15-March – 9 May2012

Source: Fieldwork Survey by Saefullah (2012).

The collected data from the samples were then tabulated in the spreadsheet file with MS.Excel. The tabulated data were then examined through the processes of data cleaning and re-categorisation of some variables, according to the analytical model. Out of 360 questionnaires collected, only 345 questionnaires were ready for further analysis as the other 15 questionnaires were incomplete. The final distribution of the data samples which were analysed in this study are thus as shown in Table 8.2.

Tabel 8.2 Distribution of the Household Samples based on the Villages over the Geographic Area of the Samples and the Number of Distributed Samples.

Name of the Village	Type of Area	Geographic Area of Subang	Total Number of Samples Interviewed	
			N	%
Bunihayu	Highland/Rural	Southern Area	79	22.9
Cimanglid	Highland/Rural	Southern Area	82	23.8
Mayangan	Lowland/Rural	Central Area	88	25.5
Sukamelang	Central/Urban	Northern Area	96	27.8
	Total number of samples		345	100.0

Source: Fieldwork Survey by Saefullah (2012).

8.1.2 Selected Determinant Variables of the Utilisation of the Community Institutions

This research uses a multivariate analytical model which is adapted from the pioneering study by Slikkerveer (1990). The same model has been used for various researches in applied ethnoscience, which have been carried out by Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014), and Erwina (2019). The multivariate model is the basis for the statistical analyses of the quantitative data collected about the utilisation behaviour of the community members in the four village samples in this study, with a focus on the utilisation of the indigenous/traditional community institutions including *Gintingan*, in contrast to the other existing transitional and modern community institutions. Although the qualitative approach through interviews and historical analysis as suggested by the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' (Slikkerveer 1990) has been implemented to describe the utilisation behaviour of the people from the four village samples, additional analyses have also been carried out to generalize the conclusion of the study. It includes the general picture of the dynamic patterns of the utilisation behaviourby the respondents in the village samples with a view to explain the individual relationships between the block variables and the quantitative approaches through bivariate, multivariate and multiple regression analyses. This shows the interrelated interactions between all the independent, intervening, and dependent variables of the patterns of the utilisation behaviour of the traditional, transititonal and modern community institutions.

The significant variables are included in the quantitative analyses of the bivariate, mutual relations analyses, multivariate and multiple regression analyses. Adapted from the multivariate analytical model of Slikkerveer (1990, 1999), there are several variables which are determining peoples' behaviour in the utilisation of the community institutional systems in the four villages of Subang District in West Java. The model emphasises the interactions between dependent variables of utilisation behaviour and the determinants of the independent and intervening variables, which are as follows: 1) Independent Variables: Pre-Disposing Variables including Socio Demographic and Psycho-Social Variables, Perceived Variables, Enabling Variables, Institutional Variables, and Environmental Variables; 2) Intervening Variables; and 3) Dependendent Variables.

The results of the univariate explorative analyses of each of the variables (N=345) demonstrates that some of the variables are statistically insignificant to be included in any of the bivariate or multivariate statistical analyses. For instance, while it was expected that the Socio-Economic Status (SES) of the respondents was statistically significant in explaining the utilisation behaviour of the samples, however, the quantitative result shows that the variable is

statistically insignificant. This result can also explain why preferences of the community members to utilise the indigenous institution of Gintingan in the four villages of Subang are not determined or limited by their SES. The involvement of the community members in the practice of Gintingan is not determined by their SES. The result was also confirmed by an interview with the Secretary of the Village Administration (*pers. comm.* 2012). Furthermore, the result is also supported by the study of Manstead (2018) which mentions that SES has less influence on the individual behaviour which is rooted in one's socio-demographic background or related to their socio-cultural orientation. Similarly the other insignificant variables which were elaborated in Chapter III are omitted for further analyses. It does not mean that those variables are not influencing the utilisation behaviour of the respondents. However, the statistical evaluation of the data shows insignificant results for the context of the four village samples (*cf.* Field 2009; Aiglsperger 2014).

Based on the statistical evaluations towards the variables in the determination of the utilisation behaviour from the four village samples towards the community institutional systems, there are 27 significant variables in Block 1 to Block 7 from the total 83 variables of the questionnaire. The other 56 variables are statistically insignificant, according to the range of significance value in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Range of Significant Value and its Interpretation.

Significancy & Asymp Signicancy value ($\chi^{2)}$	Interpretation of value
$\chi^2 > 0.15$	non significant
$0.15 > \chi^2 > 0.10$	indication of significance
$0.10 > \chi^2 > 0.05$	weakly significant
$0.05 > \chi^2 > 0.01$	strongly significant
$0.01 > \chi^2 > 0.001$	very strongly significant
$\chi^2 < 0.001$	most strongly significant

Source: Agung (2005); Leurs (2010); Djen Amar (2010); Ambaretnani (2012); Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014) and Erwina (2019).

Using the above criteria, this study concludes that there are 3 significant independent variables under Block 1 of the 'Socio-demographic Variables', followed by 10 significant independent variables under Block 2 of the independent 'Psycho-social Variables', 4 significant independent variables under Block 3 of the 'Perceived Needs Variables', one significant independent variable under Block 4 of the 'Enabling Variables', 4 significant independent variables under Block 5 of the 'Institutional Variables', 3 significant independent variables under Block 6 of the 'Environmental Variables' and two significant variables under Block 7 of the intervening variables (*cf.* Table 8.4).

Table 8.4 List of the Selected Significant Variables and Variable Labels based on Blocks of Determinant Variables, indicating their Significance Values with the Dependent Variables.

Variable name	Variable label	Significance value
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Block 1: Socio-Demographic Variables		
Household relationships	*hhrel*	.000
Sex	sex	.000
Profession	*prof*	.005
Block 2: Psycho-Social Variables		
Knowledge about local/Sundanese tradition	*knowt*	.046
Knowledge about local/Sundanese cosmovision	*knowcos*	.001
Knowledge about *Gotong Royong* principles and practices	*knowgot*	.001
Knowledge about existing traditional institution	*ktradinst*	.009
Knowledge level about existing traditional institution	*ktrad*	.064
Knowledge level about existing modern institution	*kmod*	.032
Form of Financial Support of the existing modern Institution	*fmodfo*	.055
Form of Medical Support of the existing modern Institution	*mmodfo*	.084
Beliefs in Sundanese Tradition for well being and good life	*tsundblf*	.018
Beliefs in modern cosmopolitan life style for well being/good life	*mblf*	.010
Block 3: Perceived Needs Variables		
Perceived needs of Financial support	*fpercv*	.000
Perceived needs of Medical support	*mpercv*	.019
Perceived needs of Educational support	*edpercv*	.018
Perceived needs of Socio-Cultural support	*spercv*	.055
Block 4: Enabling Variables		
Saving Ability	*monsav*	.054
Block 5: Institutional Variables		
Objective of Traditional Community Institutional System	*ob_tinst*	.001
Objective of Modern Community Institutional System	*ob_minst*	.001
Objective of Transitional Community Institutional System	*ob_trins,*	.026
Organisational Structure of Modern Institutions	*orgmod*	.065
Block 6: Environmental Variables		
Environmental Locations of the Community	*enloc*	.002
Zonation Locations of the Community	*zonaloc*	.000
Residential Status in the Community	*resstat*	.066
Block 7: INTERVENING VARIABLES		
Infuence of government/public promotion on the utilisation of modern institution	*gprom_m*	.074
Influence of commercial/private regulation on the utilisation of modern institution	*pre_m*	.087
DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Block 8: Utilisation of Traditional Institutions	*Ut_Trad*	
Block 9: Utilisation of Transitional Institutions	*Ut_Trans*	
Block 10: Utilisation of Modern Institutions	*Ut_mod*	

Source: Computation of the Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

8.2 Quantitative Analysis and Interpretations

8.2.1 The General Level of the Behavioural Patterns of the Utilisation of Community Institutions

Based on the data analysis towards the quantitative household surveys of 345 respondents from the four village samples, Table 8.5 indicates the preferences of the community members in four villages in their utilisation behaviour towards the Community Institutional Systems in the village samples. In general, the respondents from the Bunihayu and Cimanglid villages prefer to utilise the transitional institutions as their first preference and the traditional institutions as their second preference, while the respondents from the Mayangan and Sukamelang villages prefer to utilise the traditional institutions as their first preference and the modern institutions as their second preference. None of the respondents from the four village samples prefer to utilise the modern institutions as their first preference. However, in the total preferences, the respondents from the four villages prefer to utilise the traditional institutions as their first preference as shown in Table 8.5. In general, about 47.5% of the respondents prefer to utilise traditional institutions, followed by about 32.5% who prefer to utilise transitional institutions. Only 20% of the respondents prefer to utilise modern institutions in comparison with the traditional and transitional ones.

Among the respondents who utilise traditional institutions, the majority of the respondents from Sukamelang village utilises traditional institutions the most, with about 65.6% preferring it. Among the respondents who use transitional institutions, the majority of the people of Bunihayu prefer to utilise transitional institutions. Lastly, among the respondents who utilise modern institutions, the majority of people who utilise this modern type of institution are people who come from the Sukamelang Village.

Table 8.5 Distribution of the Sample Villages over the Dependent Variable of the Utilisation of the Available Community Institutions (N=345).

Sample Village Variable	Utilisation of the Community Institutions							
Village Name	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bunihayu	23	29.1	45	57.0	11	13.9	79	100.0
Cimanglid	28	34.1	44	53.7	10	12.2	82	100.0
Mayangan	50	56.8	18	20.5	20	22.7	88	100.0
Sukamelang	63	65.6	5	5.2	28	29.2	96	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0

(Pearson χ^2= .000 & Cramer's V = .000)
Source: Computation of the Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

The schematic model in Figure 8.1 shows the overall preferences of the respondents from the four village samples in the Subang District towards their utilisation of traditional, transitional and modern institutions. Figure 8.1 confirms that the overall distribution of the utilisation behaviour of the respondents of their preferences in the institutions is 47.5% for the traditional institutions, 32.5% for the transitional institutions and 20% for the modern institutions. This distribution is reflected in the subsequent bivariate, mutual relations, multivariate and multiple regression analyses of the data.

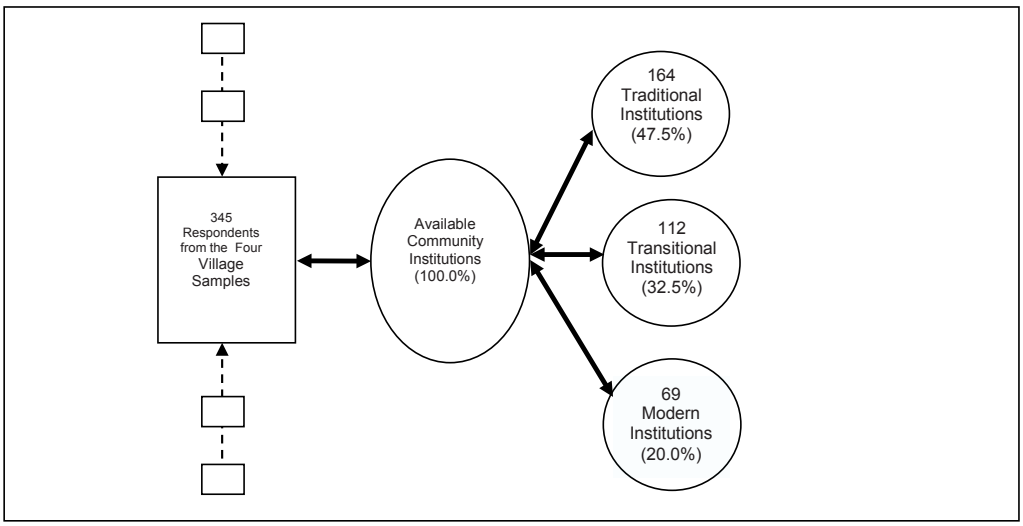


Figure 8.1 The Schematic Model of the 345 Household Respondents on Their Reported Utilisation Patterns of the three available Community Institutions in Subang.
S*ource*: Adapted from the Computation of the Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

8.2.2 Bivariate Analysis of the Selected Variables

The statistical validation of the bivariate analysis is calculated by the use of the IBM-SPSS Software Programme version 22 of the restructured data files for the number of respondents from the four village samples. The inferential statistics which were carried out in the study are based on the bivariate analyses which are appropriate to the type of data involved, mainly a non-dichotomous categorical data or statistically named as nominal data. The other remaining questions are categorised as ordinal data which were adapted from the nominal data. The bivariate analyses examine whether one variable relates to another: more specifically what the shape, direction or strength of the relationship is (*cf.* Weinberg & Abramowitz 2002; Leurs 2010). The bivariate analysis is meant to measure the association between two variables and not the causation analysis. The results of the bivariate analyses used in this research are presented in the following tables which consist of:

- the observed counts and percentages of the cross-tabulation,
- the values of Pearson's Chi-square (χ^2) with the statistical critical measures, and
- the corresponding measures of association in Cramer's V with the statistical critical measures.

The expected counts required to calculate Pearson's chi-square test have been performed but are not presented in the tables (*cf.* Miller *et al.* 2002; Field 2009). The data which are used in the statistical analyses are those generated by means of the household survey of the dataset in which N equals 345, which corresponds to the 345 household heads, represented by either the household head or the spouse. Three division levels of measurements are used in the statistical analyses in the SPSS pre-defined data set. They are:1) the nominal level of measurement; 2) the ordinal level of measurement; and 3) the scale level of measurement, which combines the interval and ratio levels determined in general statistics.

Bivariate analysis of the Socio Demographic Variables

Socio-demographic variables indicate the characteristics of a society based on indicators *i.e* age, sex, education level, income level, marital status, occupation, religion, birth rate, average size of a family, as well as their social-economic status. It refers to a group defined by its sociological and demographic characteristics. Social sciences use socio-demographic variables to describe the profile of a particular group of sample or population. This is used to explain peoples' behaviour towards particular circumstances (*cf.* Esu 2005; Manstead 2018).

Table 8.6 Distribution of the Socio-Demographic Variables over the Dependent Variables in the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institutions							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Relationship ofHousehold								
Household Head	124	50.8	63	25.8	57	23.4	244	100.0
Househould Spouse	40	39.6	49	48.5	12	11.9	101	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 = .000 & Cramer's V = .000)								
Sex of Respondents								
Male	121	50.8	61	25.6	56	23.5	238	100.0
Female	43	40.2	51	47.7	13	12.1	107	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 = .000 & Cramer's V =.000)								
Profession/Occupation of Respondents								
Unemployed	5	62.5	2	25.0	1	12.5	8	100.0
Housewife	13	43.3	16	53.3	1	3.3	30	100.0
Peasant Farmer	44	35.2	54	43.2	27	21.6	125	100.0
Farmer	29	59.2	13	26.5	7	14.3	49	100.0
Industrial labourer	8	50.0	5	31.2	3	18.8	16	100.0
Entrepreneur	34	52.3	10	15.4	21	32.3	65	100.0
Government Officer	8	53.3	5	33.3	2	13.3	15	100.0
Private Employee	3	75.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	4	100.0
Retired	3	60.0	0	0.0	2	40.0	5	100.0
Teacher	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	2	100.0
Fisherman	16	61.5	6	23.1	4	15.4	26	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.005 & Cramer's V = .005).								

Source: Computation of the Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

Within the socio-demographic variables, there is a *most strongly significant* correlation between the relationship of household to people's behaviour in the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems (Pearson χ^2 = .000 & Cramer's V= .000). It is indicated that in the case of 'relationship to household', a marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'household head' in the family, in relation to the 'utilisation of traditional institution' (50.8% in comparison with 47.5% respectively). Although in the Sundanese cosmology, woman is symbolised as an inspired figure (*cf.* Nurmila 2016), however, the culture of patriarchy also happens in various household decisions, including the economic decisions of a family. This is also confirmed with the sex variable. There is a *most strongly significant* correlation between the sex of respondents with people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 = .000 & Cramer's V= .000). It is indicated that in the case of 'sex of respondents', a marked

deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'male' in relation to the 'utilisation of traditional institution' (50.8% in comparison with 47.5% respectively). Surprisingly, it is also indicated that in the category of 'female' in relation to the 'utilisation of transitional institution', a marked deviance of this general picture of distribution also appears (47.7% in comparison with 32.5% respectively). In addition to that, there is a *most strongly significant* correlation between occupation of household head to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson's χ^2 = .000 & Cramer's V= .000). It is indicated that in the case of 'profession/occupation of respondents', a marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'private employee' in relation to the 'utilisation of traditional institution' (75% in comparison with 47.5% respectively). The figure indicates that the private employees, who usually work for profit-motivated activities, prefer to utilise traditional institutions. According to the interviews with the elder people in the Sukamelang village, one of the main reasons why people utilise '*Gintingan*' is that they can preserve the social cohesion among the members in the community. Similarly, in Cimanglid village, the elder person said that 'the threats to social cohesion' become the reason why they avoid the use of modern institutions, such as banking institutions (*cf. pers. comm* 2012; Djen Amar 2010; Ambaretnani 2012; Nurmila 2016).

Bivariate analysis of the Psycho-Social Variables

Psycho-social variables explain the 'invisible reasons' why people act in certain behaviours. For instance, concerning the 'knowledge and beliefs' variable of the respondents, it is difficult to visibly understand how people behave in specific situations, based on their knowledge or beliefs. However, based on their knowledge and beliefs, people could trace the reasoning behind their knowledge and beliefs.

Table 8.7 Distribution of the Psycho-Social Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Knowledge of Local/Sundanese Tradition								
Very Little	43	47.8	30	33.3	17	18.9	90	100.0
Little	71	47.7	44	29.5	34	22.8	149	100.0
Average	5	29.4	6	35.3	6	35.3	17	100.0
Much	43	52.4	31	37.8	8	9.8	82	100.0
Very Much	2	28.6	1	14.3	4	57.1	7	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0

(Pearson χ^2 =.046 & Cramer's V = .046)

Table 8.7 *(continued)*

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Knowledge of Sundanese Cosmovision								
Very Little	33	52.4	17	27.0	13	20.6	63	100.0
Little	84	45.4	59	31.9	42	22.7	185	100.0
Average	3	15.8	13	68.4	3	15.8	19	100.0
Much	42	59.2	22	31.0	7	9.0	71	100.0
Very Much	2	28.6	1	14.3	4	57.1	7	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0

(Pearson χ^2 =.001 & Cramer's V = .001)

Table 8.7 (*continued*)

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Knowledge of *Gotong Royong*								
Very Little	36	47.4	28	36.8	12	15.8	76	100.0
Little	51	47.2	27	25.0	30	27.8	108	100.0
Average	9	42.9	3	14.3	9	42.9	21	100.0
Much	66	50.0	52	39.4	14	10.6	132	100.0
Very Much	2	25.0	2	25.0	4	50.0	8	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.001 & Cramer's V = .001)								
Knowledge of Existing Traditional Institutions								
Know 1 trad institution	11	64.7	3	17.6	3	17.6	17	100.0
Know 2 trad institutions	68	42.2	70	43.5	23	14.3	161	100.0
Know 3 trad institutions	50	48.1	26	25.0	28	26.9	104	100.0
Know 4 trad institutions	29	55.8	11	21.2	12	23.1	52	100.0
Know 5 trad institutions	6	54.5	2	18.2	3	27.3	11	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.009 & Cramer's V = .009)								
Knowledge Level of Existing Traditional Institutions								
Very Little	28	50.9	19	34.5	8	14.5	55	100.0
Little	69	54.8	29	23.0	28	22.2	126	100.0
Average	26	36.6	34	47.9	11	15.5	71	100.0
Much	37	44.0	27	32.1	20	23.8	84	100.0
Very Much	4	44.4	3	33.3	2	22.2	9	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.064 & Cramer's V = .064)								
Knowledge Level of Existing Modern Institutions								
Very Little	46	51.1	33	36.7	11	12.2	90	100.0
Little	48	50.0	31	32.3	17	17.7	96	100.0
Average	61	47.3	33	25.6	35	27.1	129	100.0
Much	9	30.0	15	50.0	6	20.0	30	100.0
Very Much	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2.032 & Cramer's V.032)								

Source: The Computation of the Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

Knowledge poses an important factor in human decisions. As Table 8.7 shows, there is a *strongly significant* correlation between 'knowledge about local/Sundanese tradition' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.046 & Cramer's V = .046). It is indicated that in the case of 'knowledge about local/Sundanese tradition', a marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'much knowledge of local/Sundanese tradition' in the household in relation to the utilisation of traditional institution (52.4% in comparsion with 47.5%). There is also a *very strongly significant* correlation between 'knowledge about local/Sundanese cosmovision' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.001 & Cramer's V = .001). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'much knowledge of Sundanese cosmovision' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (59.2% in comparison with

47.5%). This result indicates that local people's cosmovision becomes an invisible factor that guides local peoples' behaviour (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Irawan 1999; White 2010). In addition to knowledge of local culture and Sundanese cosmovision, there is a *very strongly significant* correlation between 'knowledge of gotong-royong' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.001 & Cramer's V = .001). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'much knowledge of gotong-royong' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (50% in comparison with 47.5%). There is also a *very strongly significant* correlation between 'knowledge of existing traditional institution' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institution (Pearson χ^2 =.009 & Cramer's V = .009). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'know 4 or more traditional institution' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institution (55.8% in comparison with 47.5%).

Table 8.8 Distribution of the Psycho-Social Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Form of Fin. Support on Existing Modern Institutions								
Money	138	50.7	81	29.8	53	19.5	272	100.0
Services	26	35.6	31	42.5	16	21.9	73	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 = .055 & Cramer's V =.055)								
Form of Med. Support on Existing Modern Institutions								
Not Applicable	146	42.3	105	30.5	67	19.4	318	92.2
Money	18	5.2	7	2.0	2	0.6	27	7.8
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100
(Pearson χ^2 =.084 & Cramer's V= .084)								

Source: Computation of the Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

Nevertheless, there is a *weakly significant* correlation between 'knowledge level of existing traditional institution' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institution (Pearson χ^2 =.064 & Cramer's V = .064). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'little knowledge of existing traditional institution' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institution (54.8% in comparison with 47.5%). Lastly, there is a *strongly significant* correlation between 'knowledge levels of existing modern institutions' (Pearson χ^2.032 & Cramer's V.032). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'very little knowledge of existing modern institution' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institution (51.1% in comparison with 47.5%). Surprisingly, a marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'very much knowledge of existing modern institution' in relation to the utilisation of modern institution (0% in comparison with 47.5%).

Apart from the knowledge variables, 'form of supports' by the community institution has also influenced people's behaviour in the utilisation of the community institution. For instance, people might show different behaviour if the form of support comes from money rather than tangible goods or vice versa, as depicted in Table 8.8. There is a weakly significant correlation between 'form of financial support on existing modern institution' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.055 & Cramer's V = .055). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'money form of financial support on existing modern institution' in relation to the utilisation of traditional

institutions (50.7% in comparison with 47.5%). The result provides strong evidence that local people's practice in using traditional institutions *i.e. Gintingan* is not driven by money or any commercial reasons. It is driven more by non-economic motives. In addition to that, there is also a *weakly significant* correlation between 'form of medical support' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institution (Pearson χ^2 =.084 & Cramer's V= .084). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'money form of medical support on existing modern institution' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (5.2% in comparison with 47.5%).

Table 8.9 Distribution of the Psycho-Social Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Beliefs in Sundanese Traditions for well-being & good life								
Very Little	28	53.8	18	34.6	6	11.5	52	100.0
Little	47	56.0	15	17.9	22	26.2	84	100.0
Average	28	47.5	19	32.2	12	20.3	59	100.0
Much	58	42.9	51	37.8	26	19.3	135	100.0
Very Much	3	20.0	9	60.0	3	20.0	15	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.018 & Cramer's V = .018)								
Beliefs in Modern Traditions for well-being & good life								
Very Little	45	52.9	32	37.6	8	9.4	85	100.0
Little	47	49.5	31	32.6	17	17.9	95	100.0
Average	60	47.6	33	26.2	33	26.2	126	100.0
Much	10	31.2	15	46.9	7	21.9	32	100.0
Very Much	2	28.6	1	14.3	4	57.1	7	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.010 & Cramer's V = .010)								

Source: Computation of the Data Set from the Field Work (2012).

The last part of the psycho-social variables which influence people's behaviour on the utilisation of community institutions are beliefs in traditions, either traditional or modern. Table 8.9 above depicts evidence from the research. There is a *strongly significant* correlation between 'beliefs in Sundanese tradition for well being and good life' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.018 & Cramer's V = .018). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'little beliefs in Sundanese tradition for well being and good life' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (56.0% in comparison with 47.5%). The fact indicates that, although 'the belief' is weak, people still show preference towards the traditional institution. There is also a *strongly significant* correlation between 'beliefs in the Modern Tradition for well being and good life' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.010 & Cramer's V = .010). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of 'very much belief in the modern tradition for well being and good life' in relation to the utilisation of the modern institutions (57.1% in comparison with 20.0%). This is consistent with the category of 'very little belief in modern tradition for well being and good life' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (52.9% in comparison with 47.5%).

Bivariate Analysis of the Perceived Variables

Table 8.10 shows the perceived variables which have significantly mutual relationships with the utilisation of microfinance institutions. There are four variables indicated in the Perceived Variables which have significant correlation with people's behaviour on the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems: perceived needs of financial support; perceived needs of medical support; perceived needs of educational support, and perceived needs of socio-cultural support.

Table 8.10 Distribution of the Perceived Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Perceived needs of Financial support								
No need of fin support	36	42.4	28	32.9	21	24.7	85	100.0
Support from trad inst	73	60.3	27	22.3	21	17.4	121	100.0
Support from mod inst	30	42.9	26	37.1	14	20.0	70	100.0
Support from trans inst	17	37.8	27	60.0	1	2.2	45	100.0
Support from other inst	8	33.3	4	16.7	12	50.0	24	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 = .000 & Cramer's V = .000)								
Perceived needs of Medical support								
No need of med support	93	53.1	50	28.6	32	18.3	175	100.0
Support from trad inst	32	45.1	24	33.8	15	21.1	71	100.0
Support from mod inst	31	43.7	24	33.8	16	22.5	71	100.0
Support from trans inst	8	61.5	4	30.8	1	7.7	13	100.0
Support from other inst	0	0.0	10	66.7	5	33.3	15	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.019& Cramer's V = 0.019)								
Perceived needs of Educational support								
No need of educ support	99	51.8	55	28.8	37	19.4	191	100.0
Support from trad inst	33	50.8	23	35.4	9	13.8	65	100.0
Support from mod inst	17	42.5	12	30.0	11	27.5	40	100.0
Support from trans inst	8	40.0	11	55.0	1	5.0	20	100.0
Support from other inst	7	24.2	11	37.9	11	37.9	29	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.018 & Cramer's V = .018)								
Perceived needs of Socio-Cultural support								
No need of socio-cult support	117	51.8	67	29.6	42	18.6	226	100.0
Support from trad inst	28	45.9	18	29.5	15	24.6	61	100.0
Support from mod inst	4	33.3	5	41.7	3	25.0	12	100.0
Support from trans inst	8	50.0	8	50.0	0	0.0	16	100.0
Support from other inst	7	23.3	14	46.7	9	30.0	30	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.055 & Cramer's V =.055)								

Source: Computation of Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

There is a *most strongly significant* correlation between 'perceived needs of financial support' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.000 & Cramer's V = .000). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of

‘support from traditional institutions of the perceived needs of financial support’ in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (60.3% in comparison with 47.5%). There is also a *strongly significant* correlation between ‘perceived needs of medical support’ to people’s behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.019 & Cramer’s V = 0.019). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of ‘support from transitional institutions of the perceived needs of medical support’ in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (61.5% in comparison with 47.5%). The preference towards transitional institutions for medical assistance is supported by the study of Ambaretnani (2013) and Chirangi (2014) who underscore the importance of interprofessional collaboration between traditional and modern health workers, which could be categorised as transitional in the health care sector. As for educational support, there is a *strongly significant* correlation between ‘perceived needs of educational support’ to people’s behaviour in the utilisation of the Community Institutional Systems (CINS) (Pearson χ^2 =.018 & Cramer’s V = .018).

A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution appears in the category of ‘no need of educational support of the perceived needs of educational support’ in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (51.8% in comparison with 47.5%). This evidence supports the findings from the interview with the people in the four villages where the research was done. Although *Gintingan* could be used by people for any purpose, it is however rarely found that people use *Gintingan* for educational purposes. Lastly, there is a *weakly significant* correlation between ‘perceived needs of socio-cultural support’ to people’s behaviour in the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems (Pearson χ^2 =.055 & Cramer’s V =.055). There is a marked deviance of this general picture of the distribution process in the category of ‘no need of socio-cultural support of perceived needs of socio-cultural support’ in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (51.8% in comparison with 47.5%).

Bivariate analysis of the Enabling Variables

Table 8.11 shows the enabling variable that is significantly having a mutual relationship with the utilisation of community institutions. It is surprising that only saving ability has significant correlations with the utilisation of microfinance institutions of the respondents. The ability of saving money has a *weakly significant* correlations with the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems with the statistical measures of Pearson χ^2 = 5.855 (asymp. significance level at .054) and Cramer’s V = .130 (significance level at .054). A marked deviance of this general picture of the distribution was noticed in the category of ‘not able to save’ in the saving ability in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (50.0% in comparison with 47.5%).

Table 8.11 Distribution of the Enabling Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Saving Ability								
No/Not able to save	94	50.0	51	27.1	43	22.9	188	100.0
Yes/Able to save	0	44.6	61	38.9	26	16.6	157	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0

(Pearson χ^2 =.054 & Cramer’s V= .054)

Source: Computation of Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

Bivariate Analysis of the Institutional Variables

Table 8.12 shows the institutional variables that significantly have mutual relationships with the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems. There is a *very strongly significant* correlation between 'objective of the traditional Community Institutional System' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems (Pearson χ^2 =.001 & Cramer's V =.001). A marked deviance of this general picture of the distribution is noticed in the category 'for financial support on the objective of traditional community institution', in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (57.0% in comparison with 47.5%). Similarly, there is a *very strongly significant* correlation between 'objective of modern Community Institutional System' to people's behaviour on the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems (Pearson χ^2 = .001 & Cramer's V =.001). A marked deviance of this general picture of the distribution is observed in the category of 'there are no objectives of the modern community institution' in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (83.3% in comparison with 47.5%).

Table 8.12 Distribution of the Institutional Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Objective of Traditional Community Institutional Systems								
There are no objectives	8	57.1	5	35.7	1	7.1	14	100.0
For financial support	94	57.0	50	30.3	21	12.7	165	100.0
For medical support	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
For educational support	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
For communicational support	12	52.2	9	39.1	2	8.7	23	100.0
For socio-cultural support	50	35.2	47	33.1	45	31.7	142	100.
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.001 & Cramer's V =.001)								
Objective of Modern Community Institutional Systems								
There are no objectives	5	83.3	0	0.0	1	16.7	6	100.0
For financial support	64	56.6	22	19.5	27	23.9	113	100.0
For medical support	44	49.4	26	29.2	19	21.3	89	100.0
For educational support	17	27.0	33	52.4	13	20.6	63	100.0
For communicational support	32	45.1	30	42.2	9	12.7	71	100.0
For socio-cultural support	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0.0	3	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 = .001 & Cramer's V =.001)								
Objective of Transitional Community Institutional Systems								
There are no objectives	7	53.8	4	30.8	2	15.4	13	100.0
For financial support	114	53.8	63	29.7	35	16.5	212	100.0
For medical support	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	2	100.0
For educational support	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
For communicational support	11	50.0	9	40.9	2	9.1	22	100.0
For socio-cultural support	31	32.3	35	36.5	30	31.2	96	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.026 & Cramer's V= .026)								

Table 8.12 (*continued*)

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Organisational Structure of Traditional Institutions								
Closed Institution	30	44.8	28	41.8	9	13.4	153	100.0
Open Institution	134	48.2	84	30.2	60	21.6	190	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 = .125 & Cramer's V = .125)								
Org. Structure of Modern Institutions								
Closed Institution	69	45.1	60	39.2	24	15.7	153	100.0
Open Institution	93	48.9	52	27.4	45	23.7	190	100.0
Other	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.065 & Cramer's V =.065)								

Source: Computation of Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

In terms of the organisational structure of the Community Institutional Systems, there is an indication of a significant correlation between 'organisation structure of traditional institution' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 = .125 & Cramer's V = .125). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution is revealed in the category of 'open institution' on the organisational structure of traditional institutions in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (48.2% in comparison with 47.5%). As for the organisational structure of modern institutions, there is a *weakly significant* correlation between 'organisation structure of modern institutions' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems (Pearson χ^2 =.065 & Cramer's V =.065). A marked deviance of this general picture of the distribution is observed in the category of 'other types of organisational structure of modern institutions', in relation to the utilisation of traditional community institutions (100% in comparison with 47.5%).

Bivariate Analysis of the Environmental Variables

Table 8.13 shows the environmental variables that significantly have mutual relationships with the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems. There are three significant environmental variables influencing people's behaviour in the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems: 'environmental locations', 'zonation' and 'residential status in the community'. There is a *very strongly significant* correlation between 'environmental locations of the community' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.002 & Cramer's V =.002).

Table 8.13 Distribution of the Environmental Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Environtmental locations of the community								
Rural	120	45.8	94	35.9	48	18.3	262	100.0
Semi Urban	44	55.0	18	22.5	18	22.5	80	100.0
Urban	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	3	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.002 & Cramer's V =.002)								

Table 8.13 (*continued*)

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Zonation locations of the community								
Mountainous	28	32.8	48	55.2	11	12.6	87	100.0
Plains	41	57.7	11	15.5	19	26.8	71	100.0
Low-Land	34	63.0	4	7.4	16	29.6	54	100.0
Coastal	45	57.7	17	21.8	16	20.5	78	100.0
Others	16	29.1	32	58.2	7	12.7	55	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.000 & Cramer's V =.000)								
Residential Status in the community								
Indigenous/Local Resident	145	49.2	97	32.9	53	18.0	295	100.0
Migrant/Non Local Resident	19	38.0	15	30.0	16	32.0	50	100.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.066 & Cramer's V= .066)								

Source: Computation of Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution is seen in the category of the 'semi-urban and urban' environmental location in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (55.0% and 45.8% in comparison with 47.5%). There is also a *most strong significant* correlation between 'zonation' locations of the community to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.000 & Cramer's V =.000). A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution is seen in the category of the 'low-land' zonation of the community in relation to the utilisation of traditional institutions (63.0% in comparison with 47.5%). Nevertheless, there is a weak significant correlation between 'residential status in the community' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions. A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution is seen in the category of 'indigenous/local resident' in relation with the utilisation of traditional community institutions (49.2% in comparison with 47.5%).

Bivariate Analysis of Intervening Variables

Table 8.14 shows the intervening variables that significantly have mutual relationships with the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems. There is a weak significant correlation between 'influence of government promotion on the utilisation of modern institution' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions (Pearson χ^2 =.074 & Cramer's V =.074).

A marked deviance of this general picture of distribution is seen in the category of 'none' in relation to the utilisation of traditional community institutions (57 % in comparison with 47.5%). As for the private/commercial community institutions, there is a weak significant correlation between 'influence of private/commercial regulation on the utilisation of modern community institution' to people's behaviour in the utilisation of the community institutions. A marked deviance of this general picture of the distribution is obseved in the category of 'few' influences of private/commercial regulation in relation to the utilisation of traditional community institutions (73.1% in comparison with 47.5%).

Table 8.14 Distribution of the Intervening Variables over the Dependent Variables of the Utilisation of the Three Types of Community Institutional Systems (N=345).

Variable	Utilisation of Community Institution							
	Traditional		Transitional		Modern		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Influence of Govt/Public Promotion on the utilisation of Modern Institutions								
None	57	57.0	24	24.0	19	19.0	100	100.0
Very few	9	26.5	15	44.1	10	29.4	34	100.0
Few	30	42.3	26	36.6	15	21.1	71	100.0
Average	68	48.6	47	33.6	25	17.9	140	100.0
Many	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Very Many	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 =.074 & Cramer's V =.074)								
Influence of Private/Commercial Regulation on the utilisation of Modern Institutions								
None	39	55.7	16	22.9	15	21.4	70	100.0
Very few	18	33.3	23	42.6	13	24.1	54	100.0
Few	19	73.1	5	19.2	2	7.7	26	100.0
Average	21	42.0	18	36.0	11	22.0	50	100.0
Many	66	45.8	50	34.7	28	19.4	144	100.0
Very Many	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	164	47.5	112	32.5	69	20.0	345	100.0
(Pearson χ^2 = .087 & Cramer's V = .087)								

Source: Computation of Data Set from the Fieldwork (2012).

8.2.3 Mutual Relations Analysis of the Selected Variables

Based on the bivariate cross-tab analysis among the independent, intervening and dependent variables, the study could indicate the mutual relations analysis, which shows the significant variables that influence the behavioural patterns of the people in the utilisation of community institutions in the four village samples. The following paragraph shows the mutual relations analysis from this study. The abbreviation of each variable includes the statistical significance measures written in *italics*. Based on the model, we could generally conclude the following:

1. in terms of the socio-demographic variables, there are four significant variables that have mutual relations with the intervening variables on their influence in the utilisation of traditional community institutions in contrast to transitional and modern community institutions. The significant variables are 'household relationship' (*hhrel/.000*), 'gender of the respondents' (*sex/.000*) and 'the profession of the respondents' (*profession/.005*);
2. in terms of the psycho-social variables, there are ten significant variables that have mutual relations with the intervening variables on their influence in the utilisation of traditional community institutions in contrast to the transitional and modern community institutions. The variables are 'knowledge of Sundanese/local tradition' (*knowt/.046*), 'knowledge of Sundanese/local cosmovision' (*knowcos/.001*), 'knowledge of *gotong-royong* principles and practices' (*knowgot/.001*), 'knowledge of types of existing traditional institutions' (*ktradinst/.009*), 'knowledge level of the existing traditional institutions' (*ktrad/.064*), 'knowledge level of the existing modern institutions' (*kmod/.032*), 'form of financial support of the existing modern institution' (*fmodfo/.055*), 'form of medical support of the existing

modern institution (*mmodfo/.084*)', 'beliefs in Sundanese tradition for well-being and good life' (*tsundblf/.018*), and 'beliefs in modern cosmopolitan life style for well-being and good life' (*mblf/.010*);

3. in terms of the perceived variables, there are four significant variables that have mutual relations with the intervening variables on their influence in the utilisation of traditional community institutions in contrast to the transitional and modern community institutions. The four variables are 'perceived needs of financial support' (*fpercv/.000*), 'perceived needs of medical support' (*mpercv/.019*), 'perceived needs of educational support' (*edpercv/.018*), and 'perceived needs of socio-cultural support' (*spercv/.055*);
4. in terms of the enabling variables, only 'saving ability' (*monsav/.054*) has a mutual relations with the intervening variables on their influence in the utilisation of traditional community institutions in contrast to the transitional and modern community institutions;
5. in terms of institutional variables, four variables have mutual correlations with the intervening variables on their influence in the utilisation of traditional community institutions in contrast to the transitional and modern community institutions. The significant variables are 'the Objective of Traditional Community Institutional Systems' (*ob_tinst/.001*), 'the Objective of Modern Community Institutional Systems' (*ob_minst/.001*)', 'the Objective of Transitional Community Institutional Systems' (*ob_trins/.026)*, and 'the Organizational Structure of Modern Community Institutions' (*orgmod/.065*); and finally
6. in terms of the environmental variables, three variables have mutual relations with the intervening variables on their influence in the utilisation of traditional community institutions in contrast to the transitional and modern community institutions. The variables are 'Environmental Location of the Community' (*enloc/.002*), 'Zonation Location of the Community' (*zonaloc/.000*) and 'Residential Status in the Community' (*resstat/.066*).

The intervening variables in this model indicate the mutual relations to the independent variables as well as its influence in the utilisation of the traditional community institutions, in contrast to the transitional and the modern ones. The significant variables are 'the Infuence of Government/Public Promotion on the Utilisation of the Modern Community Institutions' (*gprom_m/.074*) and 'the Influence of the Commercial/Private Regulation on the Utilisation of Modern Community Institutions' (*pre_m/.087*).

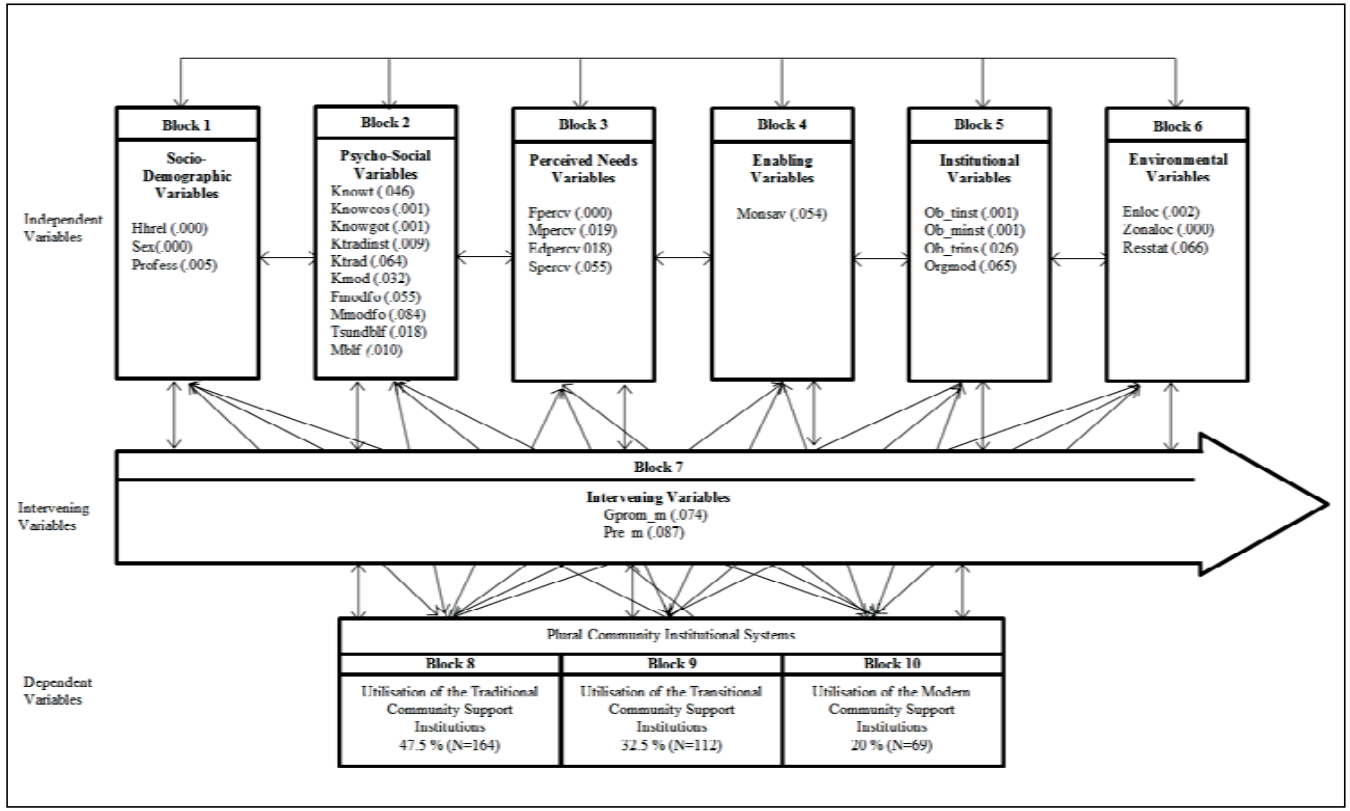


Figure 8.2 Model of the Mutual Relations Analysis of the Blocks of Variables.
Note: Variables which are statistically significant are presented in the block with the significant value in parentheses.
Source: Computations based on the Fieldwork Survey (2012).

CHAPTER IX MULTIVARIATE UTILISATION PATTERNS OF TRADITIONAL, TRANSITIONAL AND MODERN COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

9.1. Multivariate Utilisation Patterns of the Plural Community Institutional System

9.1.1 Multivariate Analysis of the Variables by OVERALS

The multivariate model used in this research is meant to identify the behaviour pattern of the respondents from the four village samples, towards their utilisation of traditional, transitional and modern community institutions. Although the term 'multivariate analysis' is not used consequently in social sciences, strictly speaking, multivariate analysis provides simultaneous analysis of multiple independent and dependent variables *(cf.* Tabachnick & Fidell 2001). The most common multivariate analysis techniques for categorical data, the type of data involved in this study, are: '*the 'basic correlation analysis' to measure the general relationship among variables, 'cluster analysis' to assess similarities or dissimilarities among variables, Principal component analysis' to determine variance among variables, and 'regression analysis' to establish quantitative relationships among variables and prediction*' (*cf.* Agung 2005, Leurs 2010).

In addition to the bivariate analysis in the previous section, this study is also conducting a multivariate analysis. The multivariate analyses are examined by implementing optimal scaling: the Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlation Analysis, which is known as OVERALS. It has been developed by the Data Theory Scaling System Group (DTSS) of Leiden University in the Netherlands. Similar studies which have used OVERALS have been done by Slikkerveer (1990), Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), and Ambaretnani (2012) with various topics on Ethnoscience and Development. As for the quantitative analysis of the data in this study, the analysis implements Categorical Components Analysis with optimal scaling for data reduction when the variable is categorical (nominal and ordinal with only small numbers of values, each of which corresponds to a specific category value/label). The categorical data cannot be normally distributed as they are not continuous data (*cf.* Field 2009; 2013). Categorical Component Analysis is concerned with identifying the underlying variables from the set of variables while maximizing the amount of variance accounted for in those items by the principal components. The analysis fits in as it does not assume linear correlations among the numeric data nor does it require assuming multivariate normal data. In optimal scaling, it is an advantage as the researcher specifies the chosen level of measurement, according to earlier research. The reduction technique run in IBM PASW 22.0, mainly in two dimensions with the exception of one variable, requires multiple runs in a block of variables as shown in the analytical model.

In this multivariate analysis, the study applies multiple regression and canonical correlation analysis, while at the same time OVERALS is also applied to indicate the relationship of sets of variables which are independent of each other. Seven blocks of independent variables, including one intervening variable, are used to analyse its influence on three dependent variables in the utilisation behaviour on Community Institutional Systems. As shown in Table 9.1, the dependent variables are 'Utilisation of Community Institutional Systems', divided into three types of institutions: traditional institutions, transitional institutions and modern institutions.

Table 9.1 Distribution of the Component Loadings of the 27 Variables of the Utilisation of the Community Institutions (Traditional, Transitional, Modern) by Respondents in Four Villages of Kabupaten Subang (N=345).

Set (Block)	Variable	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
1	hhrel[a,b]	.307	.124
	sex[a,b]	.302	.128
	prof[a,b]	-.285	-.178
2	knowt[b,c]	.048	.129
	knowcos[b,c]	-.067	.128
	knowgot[b,c]	.133	.199
	ktradinst[b,c]	-.255	-.180
	ktrad[b,c]	-.007	-.126
	kmod[b,c]	.175	-.080
	fmodfo[a,b]	.171	-.078
	mmodfo[a,b]	-.080	.175
	tsundbf[b,c]	.228	-.081
	mblf[b,c]	.044	-.278
3	fpercv[a,b]	-.079	.194
	mpercv[a,b]	.224	-.173
	edpercv[a,b]	-.070	-.219
	spercv[a,b]	.035	.145
4	monsav[a,b]	.171	.099
5	ob_tinst[a,b]	.044	-.434
	ob_minst[a,b]	.387	-.055
	ob_trins[a,b]	.071	-.291
	orgmod[a,b]	-.007	-.141
6	enloc[a,b]	-.049	-.293
	zonaloc[a,b]	-.615	-.120
	resstat[a,b]	-.008	-.199
7	gprom_m[b,c]	.077	-.034
	pre_m[b,c]	.006	.099
8	Ut_Trad[a,b]	-.677	.576
9	Ut_Trans[a,b]	.893	.113
10	Ut_Mod[a,b]	- .190	- .857

a. Optimal Scaling Level: Multiple Nominal
b. Projections of the Multiple Quantified Variables in the Object Space
c. Optimal Scale Level: Ordinal
d. Projections of the Single Quantified Variables in the Object Space
Source: Computations based on Fieldwork Survey (2012).

The OVERALS component loading values, corresponding eigenvalues in the available dimensions, and the component loading plots are obtained as the results of the preceding analysis of this study. Table 9.1 shows the distribution of the component loading with two dimensions in the OVERALS analysis, as examined in this research. The shaded variables are the variables which appeared statistically strong, as they have greater values than the remaining variables, both in negative and positive value. The table shows a distribution of the component loading of 27 variables in the set of 345 respondents.The component loadings are equivalent to Pearson's Correlations between the quantified variable and object scores. For instance, by considering the outcome of individual variables in every block, it is shown that among the socio-demographic

variables, 'Type of profession or Occupation' ('prof') is the strongest in terms of the correlation rate (.307 on dimension 1). As for the strongest correlation in the independent variables, it is environmental locations, represented by 'Zonation Location' ('zonloc') with the correlation rate of -.615 in dimension 1. Similarly, the strongest correlation rate in dimension 2 is 'Objective of Traditional Institutions' ('ob_tinst') with a correlation rate of -.434. Based on Table 9.1, there are five leading independent variables in dimension 1 and in dimension 2, as shown in Table 9.2, which explains the strongest correlation to people's behaviour on the utilisation of community institutional systems, among traditional, transitional and modern community institutions. As for the analysis, the 'Zonation' ('zonaloc') variable of the environmental variables in dimension 1 is the strongest correlation to 'People's behaviour in the Utilisation of the Community Institution' (correlation score of -.615). People in the low-land areas are still implementing the '*Gintingan*' tradition with the original form of the institution.

Table 9.2 Distribution of the Strongest Correlated Variables to People's Behaviour in the Utilisation of Traditional, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions by Respondents in the Four Villages of Kabupaten Subang (N=345).

Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Zonaloc	*Ob_tinst*
Ob_minst	*Enloc*
Hhrel	*Ob_trinst*
Sex	*Mblf*
Prof	*Edpercv*

Source: Computation from the Fieldwork Survey (2012).

Furthermore, people who live in the mountainous or high-land areas are also implementing the tradition. However, the form of the tradition has been adapted to the available natural resources in the area. While in the low-land area, people are still implementing *Gintingan* by making contributions of any natural resource which they have (paddy rice) for ceremonies and rituals as the researcher witnessed in Sukamelang village, the people in the highland area are still mainly implementing the tradition for building houses as has been observed during the fieldwork in *Cimanglid* village. The significant correlation of 'Environmental Variables' is also strengthened by the environmental variable ('enloc') in dimension 2 with a correlation score of -.293). People in the rural area tend to utilise traditional institution in contrast with people in the urban ones. This finding is supported by the work of Petkovic (2007) which states that rural people would in greater percentage state attitudes which are in line with the traditional institutions and sometimes with traditional social values in comparison with the urban ones. In addition to that, 'Psycho-social Variables' are also dominantly correlated with 'People's Behaviour in the Utilisation of the Community Institution'. Four out of 10 dominant variables in dimensions 1 and 2 which are among the strongest correlations of peoples' utilisation behaviour are representing 'Psycho-social Variables': 'Knowledge the Objective of the Modern Institution Support Services' ('ob_minst') in dimension 1, 'Knowledge of the Objective of the Traditional Institution Support Services' ('ob_tinst'), 'Knowledge of the Objective of the Transitional Institution Support Services' ('ob_trinst') and beliefs in Modern Cosmopolitan Life for Well-being and Good Life' ('mblf') in dimension 2. As depicted in Table 9.2 above, there are five variables in dimension 1 ('zonaloc', 'ob_minst', 'hhrel', 'sex', and 'prof') and five variables in dimension 2 ('ob_tinst','enloc','ob_trinst', 'mblf', and 'edpercv') dominantly correlated to people's behaviour in the utilisation of traditional institutions, transitional institutions and modern institutions.

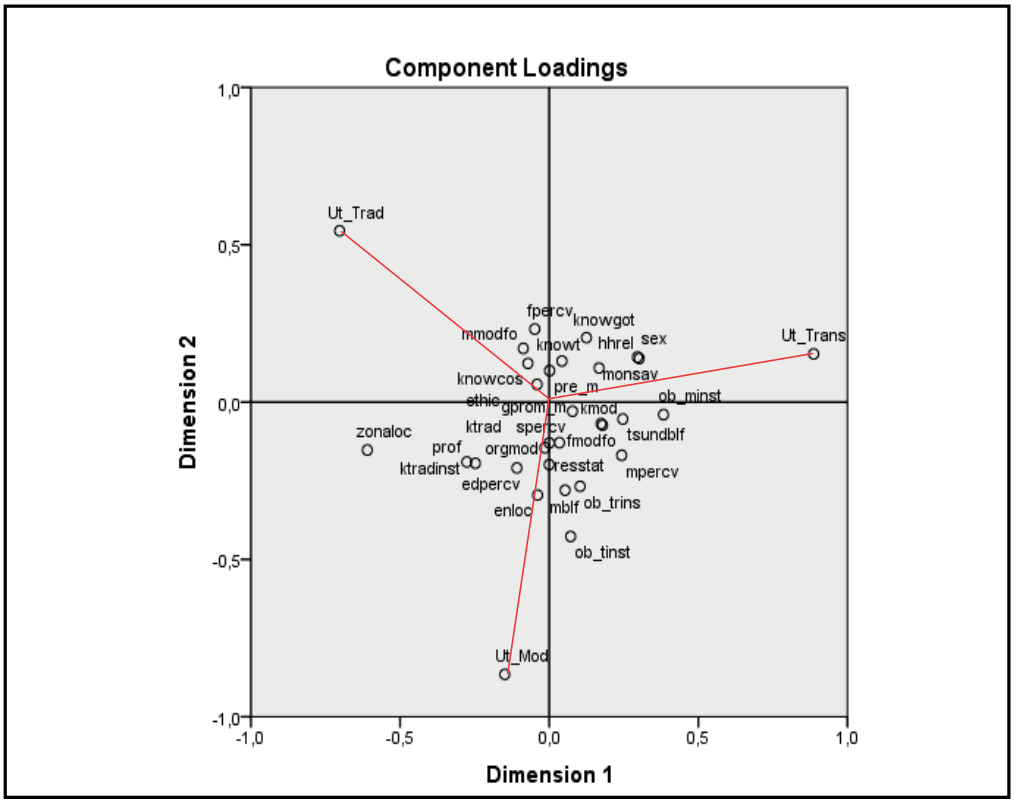


Figure 9.1 Plot of Component Loading Analysis (OVERALS) of the Utilisation of the Community Institutions in Subang.
Source: Computations based on Fieldwork Survey (2012).

As presented, the component loadings of all variables are presented graphically in the centroid plot of Figure 9.1. The distance from the origin to each variable point approximates the importance of each variable. Both the relationship and direction scores among variables can be explored as they appear in the plot. When there are no missing data, the component loadings are equivalent to Pearson's correlation between the quantified variables and the object scores. The three dependent variables are plotted with three straight lines from the center of the graph to distinguish them from the independent and the intervening variables. The line also explains the closest influences of each of the independent and intervening variables to the related dependent variables. For instance, the 'zonation location' variable, which is shown between the dependent variables of 'utilisation of traditional institutions' ('Ut_Trad') and 'utilisation of modern institutions', explains that the zonation location of the people living in the village influences people's behaviour in their preference to utilise the traditional institutions in comparison with modern institutions. People in Cimanglid village, which is located in a mountainous area, show greater preference to utilise traditional institutions than people in Sukamelang Village, which is located in the low-land and flat area of Subang District. Similar explanations can be applied to the 'environmental location' variable of people in the villages. People in the Sukamelang village, who live in a semi-urban area, show more preference to utilise modern institutions than people in Cimanglid village, which is located in a rural area of the Subang District.

9.1.2 Multiple Regression Analysis of Blocks of Variables

After examining the correlations between one variable and another in the bivariate analyses and the interaction among variables in the mutual relations analysis in Chapter VIII, the stepwise analysis is further undertaken to compare the various blocks of variables in the model with each other in order to determine the relative strength of interaction, known as the multiple regression analysis. The multivariate analysis can be extended to develop an explanatory, analytical model of utilisation behaviour towards the Plural Community Institutional Systems: Traditional, Transitional or Modern Community Institutions. It measures the correlation between the different blocks of variables identified in the model. While bivariate and multivariate analyses have so far illustrated the relationship between different variables in the model, this section seeks to calculate the maximum correlation between blocks of the variables (*cf.* Agung 2005; Leurs 2010; Chirangi 2014; Aiglsperger 2014).

The relationship between the different blocks of variables is measured by means of multiple regression analysis. In other words, multiple regression analysis estimates the significance of the overall model by comparing the observed values to the predicted ones for each dimension, represented by a multiple correlation coefficient (r). Following earlier analysis of all the variables, the following ten blocks of variables were specified for multiple regression analysis:

Blocks of Independent and Intervening Variables

1. In the blocks of socio-demographic variables, the variables are 'Household Relationship' *(hhrel)*, 'Gender of the Respondents' (*sex)*, and 'Profession of the Respondents' (*profession);*
2. In the blocks of psycho-social variables, the variables are 'Knowledge of Sundanese/Local Tradition' (*knowt*), 'Knowledge of Sundanese/Indigenous Cosmovision' (*knowcos*), 'Knowledge of *Gotong Royong* Principles and Practices' (*knowgot*), 'Knowledge of the Types of Existing Traditional Institutions' (*ktradinst*), 'Knowledge Levels of the Existing Traditional Institutions' (*ktrad*), 'Knowledge Levels of the Existing Modern Institutions' (*kmod*), 'Form of the Financial Support of the Existing Modern Institutions'(*fmodfo*), 'Form of the Medical Support of the Existing Modern Institutions' (*mmodfo*), 'Beliefs in the Sundanese Tradition for Well-being and Good Life' (*tsundblf*), and 'Beliefs in the Modern Cosmopolitan Life Style for Well-being and Good Life (*mblf*)';
3. In the blocks of perceived variables, the four variables are 'Perceived Needs of Financial Support' (*fpercv*), 'Perceived Needs of Medical Support' (*mpercv*), 'Perceived Needs of Educational Support' (*edpercv*), and 'Perceived Needs of Socio-cultural Support' (*spercv*);
4. In the blocks of enabling variables, the variable is 'Saving Ability' (*monsav*);
5. In the blocks of institutional variables, the four variables are 'Objective of Traditional Community Institutional Systems' (*ob_tinst*), 'Objective of Modern Community Institutional Systems' (*ob_minst)*, 'Objective of Transitional Community Institutional Systems' (*ob_trins)*, and 'Organisational Structure of Modern Institutions' (*orgmod*);
6. In the blocks of environmental variables, the three variables are 'Environmental Locations of the Community' (*enloc*), 'Zonation Locations of the Community' (*zonaloc*), and 'Residential Status in the Community' (*resstat*); and finally,
7. In the blocks of the intervening variables, the variables are 'Infuence of Government/Public Promotion on the Utilisation of Modern Community Institutional Systems' *(gprom_m)* and 'Influence of Commercial/Private Regulation on the Utilisation of Modern Community Institutional Systems' *(pre_m).*

Blocks of the Dependent Variables

8. The block of utilisation of the Traditional Community Institutional System (*Ut_Trad*);
9. The block of utilisation of the Transitional Community Institutional System *(Ut_Trans*);
10. The block of utilisation of the Modern Community Institutional System (*Ut_Mod*).

In order to calculate all the possible correlations between the blocks of variables and to distinguish the associations, multiple regression analysis is applied. It uses the eigenvalue (E_d) of each correlation, which is derived from the individual OVERALS analyses of all possible combinations of the blocks of variables. OVERALS provides an eigenvalue for each dimension (E_d) of the calculation, and forms the basis for the subsequent calculations of the multiple correlation coefficients (r) for each dimension. The formula is applied to the calculation of the multiple correlation coefficients using the 'eigenvalue' with the following formula of '$r = 2 \times E_d - 1$' (*cf.* Van der Burg 1988; Agung 2005; Ibui 2007; Leurs 2010; Djen Amar 2010; Ambaretnani 2012; Chirangi 2013; Aiglsperger 2014; Erwina 2019).

Table 9.3 depicts a list of all multiple correlation coefficients, which have been calculated separately for all the possible combinations of blocks of variables for each dimension. A stepwise regression analysis by the use of the 'eigenvalue' as the multivariate measure of interactions among all the variables concerned is conducted with the assistance of the statistical software of IBM PASW version 22 as the result of the Dimension-Reduction Optimal Scaling statistical technique. The optimal scaling of each of the two blocks of variables is scaled in different levels and an optimally quantified component loading number with dimensions. The first column of Table 9.3 to the left highlights the numbers of the respective blocks of variables, to which an OVERALS analysis is applied. Hereafter, the second column indicates the dimension of the solution, for which the multiple correlation coefficient is calculated. The formula which is used to calculate the multiple correlation coefficient is presented in the third column from the left and is reconstructed for each correlation using the corresponding eigenvalues. As suggested by Cohen (1988, 1992), the values of ρ are presented for each dimension in the last column to the right, whereby the value of $r = .10$ reveals a weak correlation effect, the value of $r = .30$ reveals a moderate correlation effect and the value of $r = .50$ reveals a strong correlation effect. Any correlation coefficients between those values will be interpreted in between the categories. For instance, if the correlation coefficient is .40, the correlation effect can be interpreted as moderate to strong, while the correlation coefficient of .0.25 can be interpreted as a weak to moderate correlation effect. In more detail, Calkins (2005) categorised the coefficient correlations as very highly correlated for r between 0.9 to 1.0, highly correlated for r between 0.7 to 0.9, moderately correlated for r between 0.5 to 0.7, weakly correlated for r between 0.3 to 0.5 and little or hardly correlated for r less then 0.3 to 0 (*cf.* Calkins 2005; Field 2013, Aiglsperger 2014, Erwina 2019).

In general, the eigenvalue reveals that for each dimension, the extent of the correlation between two blocks of variables can be explained by the model as opposed to having occurred by chance. In this respect, the sum of the eigenvalues on both dimensions of each correlation refers to the total 'fit' of the model to the respective variables, whereby a perfect 'fit' equals the number of dimensions chosen (*cf.* Van der Burg 1988; Field 2013; Aiglsperger 2014). Table 8.17 reveals that there are different correlation effects between the independent, intervening and the dependent variables. In practice, these correlations could explain the connections between Community Institutional Systems. For instance, '*Gintingan*' is a traditional community institution, implementing a bottom-up approach in the planning and implementation processes. Local people of the Subang District generally utilise '*Gintingan*' for various purposes by using the *hajatan* (ceremonies/rituals). Its implementation is correlated with a transitional community institution, *i.e.* farmer's cooperative organisation. Paddy rice, which is collected by a 'family in

need' through the '*Gintingan*' institution, will be sold to the farmer's cooperative organisation. This farmer's cooperative organisation can be categorised as a 'transitional institution' as it implements a combination between 'bottom-up' and 'top down' approaches. The initiative of the establishment of this cooperative usually came from the farmers themselves. However, as a cooperative organisation, the farmer should follow the national regulations, which regulate the operation of any cooperative organisation as it is regulated under the Indonesian Laws No. 25/1992 and No. 17/2012.

Table 9.3 List of the Multiple Correlation Coefficients calculated by means of Multiple Regression Analysis of the Ten Blocks of Variables on Two Dimensions (N=345).

Block < -- >Block			Dimension	Calculation ($r = 2 \times E_d - 1$)	Multiple Correlation Coefficients (r)
1	< -- >	2	1	r = (2 x 0.746) – 1 = 1.492 -1 =	0.492
			2	r = (2 x 0.643) – 1 = 1.286 -1 =	0.286
1	< -- >	3	1	r = (2 x 0.684) – 1 = 1.368 -1 =	0.368
			2	r = (2 x 0.631) – 1 = 1.262 -1 =	0.262
1	< -- >	4	1	r = (2 x 0.638) – 1 = 1.276 -1 =	0.276
1	< -- >	5	1	r = (2 x 0.826) – 1 = 1.652 -1 =	0.652
			2	r = (2 x 0.605) – 1 = 1.210 -1 =	0.210
1	< -- >	6	1	r = (2 x 0.868) – 1 = 1.736 -1 =	0.736
			2	r = (2 x 0.513) – 1 = 1.026 -1 =	0.026
1	< -- >	7	1	r = (2 x 0.808) – 1 = 1.616 -1 =	0.616
			2	r = (2 x 0.594) – 1 = 1.188 -1 =	0.188
1	< -- >	8	1	r = (2 x 0.609) – 1 = 1.218 – 1 =	0.218
1	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.652) – 1 = 1.304 -1 =	0.304
1	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.621) – 1 = 1.242 -1 =	0.242
2	< -- >	3	1	r = (2 x 0.845) – 1 = 1.690 -1 =	0.690
			2	r = (2 x 0.738) – 1 = 1.476 -1 =	0.476
2	< -- >	4	1	r = (2 x 0.655) – 1 = 1.310 -1 =	0.310
2	< -- >	5	1	r = (2 x 0.705) – 1 = 1.410 -1 =	0.410
			2	r = (2 x 0.675) – 1 = 1.350 -1 =	0.350
2	< -- >	6	1	r = (2 x 0.739) – 1 = 1.478 -1 =	0.478
			2	r = (2 x 0.657) – 1 = 1.314 -1 =	0.314
2	< -- >	7	1	r = (2 x 0.724) – 1 = 1.448 -1 =	0.448
			2	r = (2 x 0.612) – 1 = 1.224 -1 =	0.224
2	< -- >	8	1	r = (2 x 0.664) – 1 = 1.328 -1 =	0.328
2	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.677) – 1 = 1.354 -1 =	0.354
2	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.701) – 1 = 1.402 -1 =	0.402
3	< -- >	4	1	r = (2 x 0.597) – 1 = 1.194 -1 =	0.194
3	< -- >	5	1	r = (2 x 0.693) – 1 = 1.386 -1 =	0.386
			2	r = (2 x 0.651) – 1 = 1.302 -1 =	0.302
3	< -- >	6	1	r = (2 x 0.720) – 1 = 1.440 -1 =	0.440
			2	r = (2 x 0.561) – 1 = 1.102 -1 =	0.102
3	< -- >	7	1	r = (2 x 0.681) – 1 = 1.362 -1 =	0.362
			2	r = (2 x 0.606) – 1 = 1.212 -1 =	0.212
3	< -- >	8	1	r = (2 x 0.615) – 1 = 1.230 -1 =	0.230
3	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.693) – 1 = 1.386 -1 =	0.386
3	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.649) – 1 = 1.298 -1 =	0.298
4	< -- >	5	1	r = (2 x 0.626) – 1 = 1.252 -1 =	0.252
4	< -- >	6	1	r = (2 x 0.612) – 1 = 1.224 -1 =	0.224
4	< -- >	7	1	r = (2 x 0.587) – 1 = 1.174 -1 =	0.174
4	< -- >	8	1	r = (2 x 0.527) – 1 = 1.054 -1 =	0.054

Table 9.3 (*continued*)

Block < -- >Block			Dimension	Calculation ($r = 2 \times E_d - 1$)	Multiple Correlation Coefficients (r)
4	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.562) – 1 = 1.124 -1 =	0.124
4	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.542) – 1 = 1.084 -1 =	0.084
5	< -- >	6	1	r = (2 x 0.902) – 1 = 1.804 -1 =	0.804
			2	r = (2 x 0.580) – 1 = 1.160 -1 =	0.160
5	< -- >	7	1	r = (2 x 0.882) – 1 = 1.764 -1 =	0.764
			2	r = (2 x 0.595) – 1 = 1.190 -1 =	0.190
5	< -- >	8	1	r = (2 x 0.667) – 1 = 1.334 -1 =	0.334
5	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.658) – 1 = 1.316 -1 =	0.316
5	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.645) – 1 = 1.290 -1 =	0.290
6	< -- >	7	1	r = (2 x 0.901) – 1 = 1.802 -1 =	0.802
			2	r = (2 x 0.580) – 1 = 1.160 -1 =	0.160
6	< -- >	8	1	r = (2 x 0.658) – 1 = 1.290 -1 =	0.290
6	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.721) – 1 = 1.442 -1 =	0.442
6	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.636) – 1 = 1.272 -1 =	0.272
7	< -- >	8	1	r = (2 x 0.565) – 1 = 1.130 -1 =	0.130
7	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.552) – 1 = 1.104 -1 =	0.104
7	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.561) – 1 = 1.122 -1 =	0.122
8	< -- >	9	1	r = (2 x 0.830) – 1 = 1.660 -1 =	0.660
8	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.740) – 1 = 1.480 -1 =	0.480
9	< -- >	10	1	r = (2 x 0.667) – 1 = 1.334 -1 =	0.334

Source: Computations based on Fieldwork Survey (2012).

It is not surprising that, as shown in Table 9.3, the correlation effect between Block 8 of the 'Utilisation of Traditional Institutions' and Block 9 of the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions' can be categorised as a 'strong' correlation effect as the correlation coefficient is .660, while the correlation between Block 8 of the 'Utilisation of Traditional Institutions' and Block 10 of the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions' is considered as a 'moderate' correlation effect as the correlation coefficient is .480 while the correlation between Block 9 of the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions' with Block 10 of the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions' is considered as a 'moderate' correlation effect with a correlation coefficient of .334. The results reflect the tendency of local people in the village samples concerning their preferences, to utilise the Traditional Community Institutions as their first preference, followed by the Transitional Community Institutions and lastly the Modern Community Institutions (*cf.* Field 2013; Aiglsperger 2014).

The relationship between Block 5 of the 'Institutional Variables' and Block 6 of the 'Environmental Variables' produces the highest sum of the eigenvalue and strong correlation coefficients on the first dimension, with a correlation coefficient of .804. The second highest sum of eigenvalue and strong correlation coefficients is the relationship between Block 6 of the 'Environmental Variables' and Block 7 of the 'Intervening Variables' on the first dimension, with a correlation coefficient of .802. The third highest sum of eigenvalue and strong correlation coefficients is the relationship between Block 5 of the 'Institutional Variables' and Block 7 of the 'Intervening Variables' with a correlation coefficient of .764. Meanwhile, the relationship between Block 1 of the 'Socio-demographic Variables' and Block 6 of the 'Environmental Variables' produces the fourth highest sum of the eigenvalue and strong correlation coefficient on the first dimension, with a correlation coefficient of .736. The fifth highest sum of the eigenvalue and strong correlation coefficient is the relationship between Block 2 of the 'Psycho-social Variables' and Block 3 of the 'Perceived Variables'.

The relationship between Block 1 of the 'Socio-demographic Variables' and Block 6 of the 'Environmental Variables' produces the lowest sum of the eigenvalue and low correlation coefficient on the second dimension, with a correlation coefficient of .026. It is followed by the second lowest sum of the eigenvalue and lowest correlation coefficient on the relationship between Block 4 of the 'Enabling Variables' and Block 8 of the 'Utilisation of Traditional Community Institutions' with a correlation coefficient of .054. Meanwhile, the relationship between Block 4 of the 'Enabling Variables' and Block 10 of the 'Utilisation of Modern Community Institutions' produces the third lowest sum of the eigenvalue and lowest correlation coefficient, with a correlation coefficient of .084. Nevertheless, the relationship between Block 7 of the 'Intervening Variables' and Block 9 of the 'Utilisation of Transitional Community Institutions' produces the fourth lowest sum of the eigenvalue and correlation coefficient of .104 at the first dimension while the relationship between Block 3 of the 'Perceived Needs Variables' and Block 6 of the 'Environmental Variables' produces the fifth lowest eigenvalue and fourth lowest correlation with the correlation coeffient of .102 at dimension 2 (*cf.* Table 9.2).

9. 2 Analysis of the Model and Interpretation of the Findings

9.2.1 Preferences on the Utilisation of the Community Institutional System

Figure 9.2 shows the overall result of this research, which shows that the roles of Traditional or Indigenous Institutions in Sustainable Community Development in the Subang District of West Java Province of Indonesia have been widely accepted in the preferences of the local people in the study area. The results concluded, from the quantitative analyses of the data collected during the household surveys, that the local people in the four villages of the Subang District of West Java prefer to utilise Traditional Community Institutions, in comparison with the Transitional and the Modern ones. Out of the 345 respondents who were interviewed during the research, 47.5% of them (N=164) have utilised traditional community institutions, whereas 32.5% (N=112) utilised transitional community institutions and only 20% (N=169) prefer to utilise the modern community institutions. The result is somehow similar to the pioneering study by Slikkerveer (1990) in terms of the tendency towards the utilisation of transitional community institutions. Although the overall result from the four villages shows which of the local people in the village samples prefer to utilise traditional community institutions, there are however some people in the village samples, *i.e.* local people of the Bunihayu and Cimanglid villages, who prefer to utilise the transitional community institutions rather than the traditional and modern ones (*cf.* Table 8.5). However, the other two villages show indications that the traditional institutions, particularly in the utilisation of the indigenous institutions of '*Gintingan*' and *Talitihan*, are more to their preference. This finding is also supported by the work of North (1990) as well as Prasad (2003) of the importance of considering Institutional Variables in Development Programmes and Policies (*cf.* Slikkerveer 1990; North 1990; Prasad 2003).

From the approach of the multivariate analysis, Figure 9.2 reveals the multivariate correlations of local people's preferences to utilise the Community Institutional Systems, which is influenced by the six blocks of independent variables and 1 block of intervening variables. The numbers on the arrows are the correlation coefficients, representing each of the correlations, as presented in Table 9.5 earlier. It reveals how each block of variables correlates to another block of variables, particularly to the dependent variables, by means of multiple regressions, which result from a stepwise regression analysis through the Dimension-Reduction Optimal Scaling statistical technique as mentioned earlier. The higher the correlations' coefficient, the higher the strength of its correlation among the block of variables as categorised by Cohen (1988, 1992), Calkins (2005) and Field (2013).

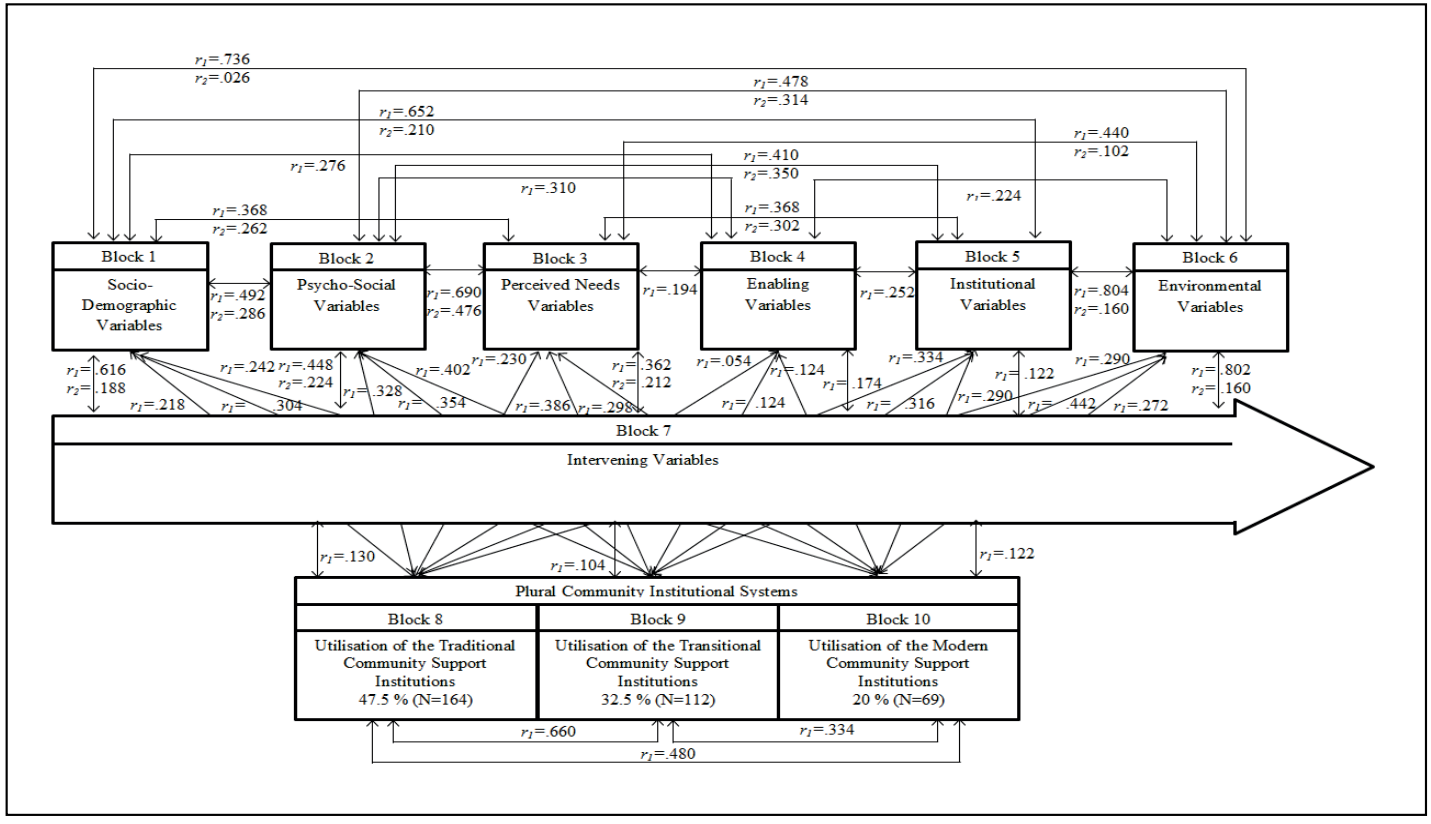


Figure 9.2 The Final Model of the Utilisation Behaviour of Community Institutional Systems indicating the Strength of the Correlations between the Blocks of Variables, based on the Multiple Regression Analysis.
Note: The indicated figures represent *'r'* = the correlation values between the variables.
Source: Computations based on Fieldwork Survey (2012).

2.2 Determinants of the Utilisation Behaviour of the Community Institutional System

As presented in Figure 9.2, the general aim of this research seeks to answer the utilisation behaviour of the local people in the village samples towards Plural Community Institutional Systems, which are represented by the respondents from the four villages in the Subang District of West Java, by looking at the categories of the people under particular circumstances, showing their preferences on the utilisation of Community Institutions. As depicted in Figures 8.2 and 8.4, the 'Utilisation of Traditional Community Institutions' in the four villages of Subang District of West Java, are determined by the independent and the intervening variables. From the 'Socio-demographic Variables', it shows that 'Household Relationship', 'Sex' and 'Profession' of the respondents have influenced people's behaviour in the Utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional Systems.

By using the criteria mentioned in Field (2009), these 'Socio-Demographic Variables' have a 'moderate' correlation to the 'Utilisation of Plural Community Institutional Systems', with a correlation coefficient of .218 with the 'Utilisation of Traditional Community Institutions', a correlation coefficient of .304 with the 'Utilisation of Transitional Community Institutions' and a correlation coefficient of .242 with the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions'. Similarly, from the 'Pyscho-social Variables, 'Knowledge about Local/Sundanese Traditions', 'Knowledge of Cosmovision', 'Knowledge about *Gotong Royong* Principles and Practices', 'Knowledge about the Existing Traditional Institutions',' Knowledge Levels about the Traditional Institutions', 'Knowledge Levels about the Modern Institutions', 'Form of Financial Support of the Existing Modern Institutions', 'Form of Medical Support of the Existing Modern Institutions', 'Beliefs in the Sundanese Tradition for Well-being and Good Life', and 'Belief in the Modern Cosmopolitan Life Style for Well-being and Good Life', influence local peoples' behaviour in the four village samples, in the Utilisation of Community Institutional Systems.

The 'Psycho-social Variables' have a 'moderate' correlation effect with a coefficient correlation of .328 with the 'Utilisation of Traditional Institutions, a correlation coefficient of .354 with the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions' and a correlation coefficient of .402 with the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions'. Considering the correlation between the 'Perceived Need Variables' and 'Utilisation Behaviour', the study reveals that 'Perceived Needs of Financial Support', 'Perceived Needs of Medical Support', 'Perceived Needs of Educational Support', and 'Perceived Needs of the Socio-cultural support' influence people's behaviour in the 'Utilisation of the existing Community Institutional Systems, with an indication of a 'moderate' correlation effect. The correlation coefficient between perceived needs variables and the utilisation of traditional institutions is .230, whereas the correlation with the transitional Community Institutional Systems is .386 while it is .298 with the modern institutions.

Concerning the determinant factor of the 'Enabling Variables', only the 'Saving Ability' variable statistically significantly influences peoples' behaviour in the 'Utilisation of Community Institutional Systems'. The 'Enabling Variables' has a 'low' correlation effect with the 'Utilisation of the Community Institutional Systems', with a correlation coefficient of .054 with the 'Utilisation of Traditional Institutions', a correlation coefficient of .124 with the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions' and a correlation coefficient of .084 with the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions'. As for the 'Institutional Variables', the correlation between the determinant variables, which are represented by 'The Objective of Traditional Community Institutions', 'The Objective of Modern Community Institutions', 'The Objective of Transitional Community Institutions', and 'The Organisational Structure of Modern Community Institutions', with the 'Utilisation Behaviour of the Local People, in the 'Utilisation of Community Institutional Systems', are considered as a 'moderate' correlation effect, with a correlation coefficient of .334 with the 'Utilisation of Traditional Institutions', a correlation coefficient of .316 with the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions' and a correlation coefficient of .290 with the 'Utilisation

of Modern Institutions'. Nevertheless, the last block of independent variables, the 'Environmental Variables', which are represented by the variables of 'Environmental Locations of the Community', 'Zonation Locations of the Community', and 'Residential Status in the Community' have 'moderate' correlation effects to the 'Utilisation of the Traditional Institutions' and the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions' but a 'strong' correlation effect with the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions'. The correlation coefficient between the 'Environmental Variables' with the 'Utilisation of Traditional Institutions' is .290 and .272 respectively with the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions', whereas the correlation coefficient between the 'Environmental Variables' with the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions' is .442.

The Intervening Variables are also influencing peoples' behaviour in the Utilisation of the Community Institutional Systems. However, the correlation coefficient is considered as a 'low' correlation effect, as the correlation between the 'Intervening Variables', which are represented by 'The Influence of Government/Public Promotions on the Utilisation of Modern Institutions' and 'The Influence of Commercial/Private Regulations on the Utilisation of Modern Institutions' are .130 with the 'Utilisation of Traditional Institutions', .104 with the 'Utilisation of Transitional Institutions' and .122 with the 'Utilisation of Modern Institutions'. There are also correlations among the independent variables as well as the intervening and the dependent variables, which are depicted in detail in Figure 9.2. The relationship among the dependent variables is also identified in the model. The correlation between the 'Utilisation of Traditional Community Institutions' and the 'Utilisation of Transitional Community Institutions' is considered a 'very strong' correlation effect with a correlation coefficient of .660 while the correlation between the 'Utilisation of Traditional Community Institutions' and the 'Utilisation of Modern Community Institutions' is considered as a 'strong' correlation effect with a correlation coefficient of .480. Meanwhile, the correlation between the 'Utilisation of Transitional Community Institutions' and the 'Utilisation of Modern Community Institutions' is considered as a 'moderate' correlation effect with a correlation coefficient of .334. There is a tendency that people in the village samples prefer to utilise the traditional community institutions as their first priority, followed by the transitional community institutions and lastly the modern community institutions.

Overall, these findings support the results gained through the bivariate analysis, the mutual relations analysis in Chapter VIII, as well as the multivariate analysis in this Chapter, which illustrate the sum of eigenvalues and the correlation coeffients between the blocks of variables in the utilisation behaviour model of the Plural Community Institutional Systems. The Figure 9.2 presents the final analytical model of the Plural Community Institutional Systems. The groups of variables, which have been identified as determinants of patterns of behaviour, are shown in the respective block of variables, while the correlations (r) between the different blocks of variables, which have been identified during the multiple regression analysis, are illustrated accordingly. In this way, the correlations displayed in the model highlight the validity of the multivariate model, which is applied to the present data, and hereby produces the final, explanatory model of the utilisation preferences towards the Community Institutional Systems, for the sample population of Cimanglid, Sukamelang, Bunihayu, and Mayangan villages.

9.2.3 The Influence of the Qualitative Study on the Behavioural Patterns

The result of the research is rather interesting. In terms of the 'Socio-demographic Variables', it is observed from the field that although the household head poses as the decision maker in the family, where it concerns the utilisation behaviour in the 'Utilisation of Community Institutional Systems', both household head and spouse decide together. Similarly, although the gender factor as represented by the 'sex' variable influences the utilisation behaviour, the local people in the village samples cooperate with each other in the 'Utilisation of the Community Institutional

Systems', through a mechanism called '*Gotong-Royong*' ('Communal and Mutual Assistance'). In the practice of '*Gintingan*', for instance, the male and female are both involved in all the activities: from the meeting activities to the collection of the paddy contribution from the neighbour and also the involvement in conducting the rituals/ceremonies which are related to the implementation of the indigenous institution of '*Gintingan*'. The influence of *Gotong Royong* on the Utilisation of Community Institutional Systems supports the earlier work by Geertz (1983) as well as Teffo (2012) and Slikkerveer (2019), which both elaborate that *Gotong Royong* not only motivates the people in supporting the community members, but also became a specific local culture, which the local people would like to preserve. It is not surprising that the elder people in Cimanglid village for instance, said that the risk of 'losing social cohesion' and 'impersonal communication' are the reasons why the people tend to avoid any transaction with Modern Community Institutions, *i.e.* banking institutions, credit unions and insurance companies (*cf.* Geertz 1983; Teffo 2012; Slikkerveer 2019).

The result of this study also reveals that the utilisation of traditional institutions is also predominantly determined by the 'Environmental Locations'. People in the rural areas are mostly showing their tendency to utilise the traditional institutions more so than the urban ones. In this research, about half of the sample in the rural area preferred to utilise the 'Traditional Community Institutions', while more than half in the semi-rural/urban preferred to utilise 'Traditional Community Institutions' rather than modern ones. This result supports the work of Victor & Hope (2011) and Teffo (2012) which reveals that local people in the rural area of Africa, where kinship and community ties are still extensively practiced, tend to work with the traditional or local institutions. An earlier study of '*Gintingan*' in the Binong Sub-district of the Subang District of West Java Province of Indonesia by Wijaya (2010) also indicated a similar result. People in the rural area are showing their tendencies to utilise traditional institutions in the Subang District. Similarly, places close to the mountainous and coastal areas are more likely to utilise traditional institutions rather than modern ones. This could also be observed from the four village samples. People in Cimanglid village for instance prefer to utilise traditional institutions, *i.e.* the indigenous institutions of '*Gintingan*' and '*Andilan'*, rather than the modern institutions, *i.e.* Banking, Credit and Insurance Institutions. In Cimanglid, people prefer to utilise *'Andilan'* and *Gotong Royong* in building houses, rather than utilise any banking product to get housing credit or mortgages (*cf.* Wijaya 2010; Victor & Hope 2011; Teffo 2012). The utilisation behaviour of the people in the four village samples was also influenced mostly by the 'Psycho-social Variables' as mentioned earlier. Knowledge, Perceptions and Beliefs, including Cosmovision, are still influencing peoples' behaviour in the villages, which also motivates them to have preferences in the utilisation of 'Plural Community Institutional Systems'. As indicated by Wijaya (2010), the implementation of *Gintingan* was also led by the fact that people in the rural area of Subang are still implementing their religious beliefs in their daily life and activities. According to the interview with the representative of the elder people of Sukamelang Village, the reason why the community members are still using traditional institutions is because of their knowledge of the institutions which were introduced and practiced by them from one generation to another. The traditional institutions contribute not only to solve their economic problem, but also to preserve social interaction among the community members. The practice of the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* maintains the 'care' factor among the neighbours and becomes part of the representation of the Sundanese cultural wisdom of the *silih asah* (reciprocal learn), *silih asih* (reciprocal love) and *silih asuh* (reciprocal care). This belief was also mentioned earlier by Irawan (1999) in his study of how *Gintingan* could preserve the Sundanese arts in the Subang District. In addition to that, the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* influences the practice of *Gintingan* as it has been elaborated in the earlier chapter. It maintains the harmonious relationship between the people, the gods and the universe (*cf.* Irawan 1999; Wijaya 2010; Saefullah, *pers. comm* 2012).

Nevertheless, the 'Institutional Variables' have also influenced the utilisation behaviour of the community members in the four village samples of the Subang District. It relates to the objective of the establishment and the practice of the institutions for the people in the community. During an interview with the informal leader of Cimanglid Village, he stated that the ability of traditional community institutions to maintain social cohesion and to preserve personal interactions in the neighbourhood are the main reasons why the local people prefer to utilise the traditional institutions (Saefullah, *pers. comm* 2012). Unlike modern institutions which - in general - accommodate the needs of the people through impersonal transactions and professional interactions, traditional institutions tend to appreciate the social aspects of the people and their activities. Therefore, the traditional institutions fulfil not only the material needs of the people, but also the spiritual and the social needs. This is also similar to the explanation by the community leader in the villages of Sukamelang, Mayangan and Bunihayu. The results support the work of White (2010) who promotes the redefinition of the concept of well-being as an objective of any development programme, particularly in developing countries, including Indonesia. Although the economic needs might be the initial reason of the people to utilise traditional institutions, the interviews with the key informants, the participative observations during the fieldwork, as well as the practices of the indigenous institution of *Gintingan* indicate quite the contrary, that the role of traditional institutions is beyond the fulfilment of any material need. This is why this research has a different conclusion with the earlier research of Irawan (1999) which defined *Gintingan* as a rotation system of mutual help, such as *Arisan* (mutual rotation system of saving and borrowing), or the conclusion by the study of Prasetyo (2012), which defined *Gintingan* as a traditional economic system. This research indicates that 'Traditional Community Institutions', *i.e. Gintingan* is a socio-economic and cultural institution, implemented through mutual voluntary assistance, and aims to preserve social cohesion and communality among community members. It represents an example of how the local people in the village samples maintain a harmonious balance between the human, natural and spiritual world, based on their indigenous cosmology (*cf.* Agung 2005; Sumardjo 2010; Prasetyo 2012).

It is not surprising that concerning the 'Enabling Variables', Socio-Economic Status (SES) is found to be statistically insignificant in the utilisation behaviour of the people. People in the four village samples who are involved in the practice of '*Gintingan*' are coming from various socio-economic backgrounds. As indicated in the interview with the local community leader in the four village samples, although the practice of '*Gintingan*' could help the poor through the *Gotong-royong* activity, the involvement of *Gintingan* is more likely caused by the motive of social cohesion. This is confirmed through the interview with the *Lurah* of Sukamelang village, who explained that peoples' utilisation of *Gintingan* is led by cultural and customary reasons, and is not dominated by economic reasons, although it involves the use of material goods, *i.a.* paddy rice and money. However, the *kelurahan* (local administrative government) is not involves in any practice of *Gintingan*. Concerning the influence of the 'Intervening Variables' to the utilisation behaviours towards the utilisation of Traditional, Transitional and Modern Institutions, only two variables are indicated as statistically significant in influencing peoples' utilisation behaviour: 'The Influence of Government/Public Promotion on the Utilisation of Modern Institutions' and 'The Influence of Commercial/Private Regulation on the Utilisation of Modern Institutions'. One of the reasons why the local people do not want to utilise the modern institutions is because complicated bureaucracy and the rather detailed administrative procedures are required in the practice of Modern Institutions (Saefullah, *pers. comm* 2012). The study has also found a confirmation of the results between the quantitative survey with the qualitative explanations during the field work, through both participative and non-participative observations, in-depth interviews, including with some previous researchers as mentioned before.

Chapter X CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Conclusions

This final Chapter presents the conclusions and implications of the study of the behavioural patterns of the utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) and the contribution of Indigenous/Traditional Community Institutions for Sustainable Community Development in Subang of West Java, Indonesia. It includes the description and explanation of the significant factors influencing the behavioural patterns of the respondents from the four village samples in the utilisation of the Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN) of *Gintingan*, in comparison with the alternative existing Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN) and Modern Community Institution (MDCIN), forming together the plural configuration in the study area, and the identification of the possible contribution to sustainable community development, as an implementation of the emic approach in development.

Furthermore, the implications of the research findings are revealed to encompass the theoretical and practical innuendos, as well as to provide support for the development of an empirical model of the integration of Indigenous, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions as a planning tool for realising the enactment of Presidential Decree no. 59 Year 2017, on the implementation and the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Indonesia. It accommodates the bottom-up development process which involves all stakeholders, particularly people's participation in development, integrating economic opportunity and sustainable livelihoods within the context of cultural diversities and answering global challenges.

The general aim of this study is to assess and document, study and analyse the utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) by the local inhabitants in the Sunda Region of West Java, particularly those living in the four villages of Subang. The study encompasses the identification, documentation and analysis of significant factors influencing the related utilisation behaviours, differentiated over the three related Indigenous, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions at the community level. In particular, the study has the purpose to examine the knowledge and practice of Gintingan from the emic point of view in the context of the ongoing process of globalisation, and to gain a deeper insight into the interaction among different categories of factors and their influence on peoples' behaviour. The research focuses on the assessment of the 'knowledge-belief-practice' complex of local communities and their indigenous knowledge systems as they have evolved over many generations in the study area of Subang. In other words, this study embarks on finding an answer to the basic question: What are the characteristics of the members of the community on the implementation of the traditional community institution of Gintingan which are showing a particular form of behaviour on their preferences to utilise community institutional systems and sustainable community-based development in the Sunda Region of West Java, Indonesia? In order to embark on the conclusion of the answer to the general aim of this research, an overview is presented below of the conclusions, sub-divided into a number of specific objectives which have been accomplished and can be elaborated as follows:

Firstly, Following the Introduction in Chapter I which provides the background of the research, the theoretical elaboration of the new field of applied ethnoscience in economics which has been supporting the establishment of Integrated Microfinance Management and Sustainable Community-based Development is presented in Chapter II. The discourse in development studies

has highlighted that the role of culture in development is inevitable to achieve and improve human well-being as the ultimate goal of any development programme. While poverty is measured by multidimensional factors, approaching poverty for its reduction requires a multidimensional approach. This also applies in the context of Indonesia. While the country perfomed well in terms of economic growth, it is also followed by the increased trends in income inequality. This condition is a result of development policies, which did not incorporate peoples' participation in development through a bottom-up development plan and programme. There is a need for an integrated approach in development, particularly in the improvement of human well-being at the community level. Peoples' knowledge, beliefs and experiences which are embodied in their livelihood cannot be neglected in any development policy and programme.

The threat of the extinction hanging over the local cultures and indigenous institutions has attracted growing concern among people all over the world and conservationists have been busy raising public awareness of the likelihood of substantial cultural losses of traditions with the future generations around the globe. The interests became the focal point of the establishment of ethnoscience and particularly its branches of ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment. The subject of both ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment emphasise how science can be more applicable in solving the life problems of local people. The ethnoscientific paradigm brings local people as an active participant in the development plan and programmes. In this context, peoples' knowledge, beliefs and institutions are becoming important in explaining sustainable community-based development. In this context, the approach would accommodate the bottom-up initiatives of the local people in the development process, while at the same time, the role of institutions which integrate the existing Plural Community Institutional Systems would support the achievement of the development goals.

The study of the Plural Community Institutional Systems examines and provides theoretical support to the peoples' behaviour in the utilisation of a community institution. Here, the importance of the cultural dimension of development is inevitable. The critical examination of only the economic approach such as microfinance roles in poverty reduction brought an important message that reducing poverty without considering the cultural factors is insufficient. It is suggested that any development policy and programme should incorporate culture and should integrate any form of change which is planned, designed and implemented by the local people and institutions. The literature as presented in Chapter II has shown that while culture is taken into account in the development policy, an understanding of the knowledge and experience of local people is rather important. Indigenous people are influenced by their cosmological perspective on humanity, earth and spiritual beings. It brings a critical examination towards the mainstream paradigm of development which often marginalises local people and culture. In addition, a distinction is made between traditional, transitional, and modern institutions to distinguish the characteristic of one from another. The distinction will ease development planners and policy makers to follow up any positive idea on the subject matter. The role of traditional community institutions in this context would need to be incorporated in the bottom-up approach of development. This would give an optimistic perspective on the revitalisation of the Traditional Community Institution and Sustainable Community-based Development in the Subang District of West Java. While some people believe that modern institutions would provide better services, the local people of Subang would rather have a community institution which has a positive social impact and interaction rather than impersonal relations. Alternatively, as suggested by Leakey (2016), policy makers and development planners should consider to accommodate the best from both worlds (traditional, transitional and modern institutions). In short, the theoretical orientation on the role of the Integrated Community Institutional System on Sustainable Community-based Development supports the reasoning and the findings of the research, which are in favor of the analysis.

Secondly, the selected research methodology in Chapter III, which is based on the pioneering study of Slikkerveer (1990; 1999) has been followed by different scholars in different subjects of applied ethnosciences. It follows the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' which is used to gain better understanding and explanation of indigenous perceptions, practices, beliefs, values and philosophies associated with the concept and practice of the 'Plural Community Institutional Systems' (PCINS) among the respondents in the four village samples in the Subang District of West Java, which represents the combination between the northern, central and southern geographical areas and between highland-lowland, coastal-mountainous as well as rural-urban zonation and environmental areas. The approach includes the 'Participant's View' (PV), associated with the ethnographical and anthropological concept of the emic view of cultures from within as contrasted to the etic view from outside of the community of the village samples. In addition, the Field of Ethnological Study (FES), rooted in the Leiden Tradition of Structural Anthropology, refers to the later introduced concept of 'Culture Area', rendering Indonesia, regardless of its diversity of sub-cultures, as one culture area. Finally, the Historical Perspective or Dimension (HD) is used to facilitate the historical analysis of the complex contemporary patterns, including religion, agriculture, cultural and natural resource preservation in the research area of Subang District of West Java.

Complementary to the qualitative data which was collected through some in-depth interviews with the key informants, and combined with the participative and non-participative observations and study of literatures in the related subjects, a quantitative survey has been executed to gather a general picture of the people's behaviour in the utilisation of the community institution. The collected data was then analysed through the stepwise Bivariate, Mutual Relations Analysis, Multivariate and Multiple Regression Analyses and presented in such a way that the utilisation behaviour of the respondents from the four village samples can be explained comprehensively in a general picture, which could contribute to the work of other scholars and policy makers, in order to implement the correct development approach for numerous development problems.

The 'new' ethnoscience which considers local-global and traditional, transitional and modern systems of knowledge and practices within a more dynamic context of processes of development and change allows the analysis of the utilisation process of the distinct traditional, transitional and modern community institutional systems. The appropriate conceptual model is then constructed on the basis of the Transcultural Utilisation Model, developed by Slikkerveer (1990; 1995, 2012) allowing the assessment of the cognitive and behavioural components of particular groups or communities as 'systems' in a rather process-oriented mode. The research uses a multidimensional approach towards ethno-economics and cultural dimensions on sustainable community-based development, which is based on the significant evidence that an individual's behaviour is affected by a number of factors *i.e.* socio-demographic, psycho-social, perceived needs, enabling, institutional, environmental and intervening variables.

Thirdly, a brief description about Indonesia and Subang as the research area provide an important explanation about Indonesia as a country which has thousands of ethnocultural groups, including the Sundanese people. This fact is indeed in favour of the implementation of the 'bottom-up' approach and emic view of development, particularly in the Subang District of West Java. A description of the research setting is presented on the basis of qualitative research in the form of the sociography of Subang in the Sunda Region of West Java, in Indonesia as a developing country in South-East Asia. This part of the study is presented in Chapter IV. Here, a short overview is presented of the research setting in Subang, encompassing Indonesia as a country, and Subang as a district in the province of West Java.

Fourthly, the brief description of the profile of the four villages brought forth the conclusion that the local people have great potential to maintain their own local culture as they have been living in a rich cultural and natural heritage with promising human resources. This could provide an excellent opportunity to reach sustainable community development by recognising and revitalising traditional institutions by integrating local peoples' knowledge, practices, beliefs and institutions. The impact of such traditional institutions in the modern world, particularly with the challenges of globalisation, are invaluable. The possibility to integrate between traditional, transitional and modern community institutions is also discussed. An emic perspective is provided in the life of the researcher in the four villages in the Sunda Region of Subang of West Java, located in rural, semi-rural, semi-urban and urban areas of the study area. It combines the field experiences of life in the highland, midland and lowland, including the mountainous and coastal areas. This part of the study embodies the general background of the research, presented in Chapter V. The complementary qualitative and quantitative surveys in the study area provided such relevant information about the study population and the sample survey of the four selected villages, each representing a differentiation in the environmental settings. They are: Cimanglid (a rural community), Bunihayu (a semi-rural community), Mayangan (a semi-urban community) and Sukamelang (an urban community). This information is fleshed out with a description of the major foundations of the people's traditional way of life which includes the modern village administration, the formal administration at the community level.

Fifthly, the evolutionary description of the Sustainable Community-based Development in Indonesia is presented in Chapter VI, underscoring the inadequate financial and economic approach to community development, followed by the important roles of culture and community institutions in development at the community level. Following the qualitative survey, in which special attention is paid to the methodology of the Ethnosystems approach which paves the way for the study of local structures from an emic perspective, the 'Participants' View' (PV) of local phenomena is used to assess variables at the household level; the perspective of the 'Field of Ethnological Study' (FES) interprets these phenomena comparatively within the cultural area concerned; and the 'Historical Dimension' (HD), which explains the evolutionary process of how the Plural Community Institutional Systems play their roles in sustainable community development and how the indigenous/traditional institutions have been contributed to the development at the community for many generations. The Chapter elaborates the descriptions of the development policies and progress in Indonesia, including the fragmental figures between income levels and inequalities, leaving the critical evaluation of the policies in poverty reduction and the struggle to achieve sustainable development goals. In this context, the absence of the cultural dimension in the development policies has been evaluated as one of the possible causes of the inequality. During the past development plan, the inclusion of traditional institutions, such as *Gintingan*, was not a priority of the development policies by the government. The central government did not decentralise certain functions like indigenous cosmology and local wisdom supporting sustainable community development, including the effort of the government to achieve sustainable development goals (SDGs). It has to consider an appropriate mix of centralised and decentralised functions, responsibilities and authority to meet its best policy objectives. Therefore, this Chapter has also highlighted different community institutional systems, particularly the traditional community institution, giving some examples of their contributions to the sustainable-community based development.

Sixthly, as a study of ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment, which is based on the socio-cultural analysis towards the economic and development activities at the community level, the history of the Sundanese culture and the Sundanese cosmovision of *Tritangtu* have been elaborated in Chapter VII. It provides the Sundanese principle of a harmonious balance in life

between the world of humans, gods (spirituals) and the universe, which ensures the achievement of well-being. This cosmovision is important in the incorporation of culture in development as the practice of the emic approach, accommodating the peoples' participation in the development plans and policies, as suggested in the pioneering study of Slikkerveer (1990), Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), Slikkerveer (2012) and the later work of Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah (2019). The Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* has inspired the Sundanese people in their livelihoods, arts, culture and institutions. It transpires from their socio-cultural activities to their economic transactions, *i.e.* landscape settings, buildings, as well as their social interactions and institutional roles. One of the examples of how the Sundanese cosmology influences the social interaction and institution is the practice of *Gintingan*. It is a socio-cultural institution, which is based on communality in terms of joint participation of individuals to provide a collective contribution to their community and of individual assistance to fellow villagers in need, known as *Gotong Royong* in the Javanese culture. *Gintingan* is practiced as a local initiative by people in the community when a particular household, which has a *Hajat* ('Important Need'), receives contributions from the community members through the provision of a Gantangan, a vessel of rice with a content of about 10 litres (*cf.* Saefullah 2018; 2019). The institution is very well known by the local people of Subang, considering that the tradition has been practiced for many generations. The research findings reveal that the 'knowledge and beliefs' among the psycho-social variables of the people of Subang mainly influence the utilisation behaviour, irrespective of the socio-demographic and economic background of the respondents. This means that, although the traditional institution has been supporting the local people economically, the socio-cultural motives are more dominant in the practice of the traditional institution of *Gintingan*. Subject to the environmental factors, the practice of the traditional institution of Gintingan has evolved and been adapted into various forms, including building houses and water reservoirs, people in the rural areas tend to maintain the practice of the traditional instution, while people in the central and urban areas tend to utilise different kinds of institutions, due to the availability of the community institutions.

While the modern people nowadays should have to implement tight savings plans or buy mortgages for many years when they would like to own houses, the local people of Subang, particularly in the Cimanglid village, have been implementing the traditional institution of *Gintingan* with adapted forms of contribution for housing development. Instead of utilising the traditional institution of Gintingan for wedding ceremonies or any similar rituals, the local people tend to utilise the institution to build houses or water reservoirs. Interestingly, people are motivated to maintain the practice of this tradition in order to preserve the social cohesion among the people in the villages; as having transactions with modern institutions such as banks would deteriorate their social interractions.

Seventhly, in the context of Sustainable Community-based Development in Indonesia, the complicated process of interaction among the various factors determines the behavioural pattern in the utilisation of traditional community institutions in contrast to transitional and modern ones. The quantitative investigation of the household survey conducted in this study helped enormously to explain current configurations against the background of the long-term processes of sustainable community-based development in the research area. This approach assisted specifically to identify, examine and explain the role of 'invisible' factors in the emerging patterns of the utilisation of the traditional community institutions by the respondents. Here, an analysis is presented in Chapter VIII of the complicated process of the interactions between the independent and intervening variables and their role in the determination of the utilisation behaviour on the traditional community institutions in the four village samples in Subang, in comparison with the transitional and modern ones. The results of the research confirm the theoretical analysis and the earlier empirical evidence, which explain that local peoples'

cosmology of *Tritangtu* influences their livelihood, including the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems, where the local people from 345 respondents of the village samples of Subang prefer to utilise traditional community institutions (47.5 %), in comparison with existing transitional community institutions (32.5%) and modern community institutions (20%).

The results of the stepwise cross-tab bivariate and the mutual relations analyses of the quantitative data are presented in Chapter VIII while the multivariate analysis through non-canonical correlations with OVERALS and multiple regression analysis are presented in Chapter IX. The analyses are showing and explaining the differential relationship of the significant variables in relation to the local people's utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) in Subang, sub-divided into Indigenous/Traditional, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions (TRCIN, TSCIN and MDCIN) in four village samples of Subang. As the analyses are focusing on the utilisation of the local peoples' utilisation behaviour of the Traditional Community Institutions, in comparison with the Transitional and Modern Community Institutions, an empirical basis is provided for the determination of some significant factors influencing such behaviour by the implementation of the analytical model, which was developed by Slikkerveer (1990;1995).

The results of the research reveal the various levels of significance – or no significance – of the correlation between the independent and intervening variables to the dependent variables. A summary of these results is provided below as follows:

Independent Variables

Block 1: Predisposing Socio-Demographic Variables:
- Household Relationships: 'most strongly significant'
- Sex or Gender of the Respondents: 'most strongly significant'
- Profession of the Respondents: 'strongly significant'

Block 2: Predisposing Psycho-Social Variables
- Knowledge about local/Sundanese tradition: 'weakly significant'
- Knowledge about local/Sundanese cosmovision: 'very strongly significant'
- Knowledge about *Gotong Royong* principles and practices: 'very strongly significant'
- Knowledge about existing traditional institution: 'weakly significant'
- Knowledge level about existing traditional institution: 'weakly significant'
- Knowledge level about existing modern institution: 'strongly significant'
- Form of Financial Support of existing modern Institution: 'weakly significant'
- Form of Medical Support of existing modern Institution: 'weakly significant'
- Beliefs in Sundanese Tradition for well being and good life: 'strongly significant'
- Beliefs in modern cosmopolitan life style for well-being/good life: 'strongly significant'

Block 3: Perceived Needs Variables
- Perceived needs of Financial Support: 'most strongly significant'
- Perceived needs of Medical Support: 'strongly significant'
- Perceived needs of Educational Support: 'strongly significant'
- Perceived needs of Socio-Cultural Support: 'weakly significant'

Block 4: Enabling Variables
- Saving Ability: 'strongly significant'

Block 5: Institutional Variables
- Objective of Traditional Community Institution: 'very strongly significant'
- Objective of Modern Community Institution: 'very strongly significant'
- Objective of Transitional Community Institution: 'strongly significant'
- Organisational Structure of Modern Community Institution: 'weakly significant'

Block 6: Environmental Variables

Environmental Locations of the Community: 'very strongly significant'

Zonation Locations of the Community: 'mostly strongly significant'

Residential Status in the Community: 'weakly significant'

Intervening Variables

Block 7: Intervening Variables

Influence of government/public promotion on the utilisation of modern institution: 'weakly significant'

Influence of commercial/private regulation on the utilisation of modern institution: 'weakly significant'

The subsequent Mutual Relations Analysis shows the dominating influence of the block of psycho-social variables (10) on the dependent variables, followed by the block of the perceived needs variables (4) and institutional variables (4), concluded by the other blocks of, respectively, socio-demographic variables (3), environmental variables (3), intervening variables (2) and enabling variables (1).

The results of the Non-Linear Generalised Canonical Correlation Analysis (OVERALS) reveal that the predisposing psycho-socio variables contribute most to the dependent variables. 'Knowledge and Beliefs' influence the behavioural pattern of the local people of Subang in the utilisation of community institutions. As elaborated in Chapter VII, the practice of Gintingan has been influenced by the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu*. As shown in the results of the research, both the variables of 'Knowledge about local/Sundanese cosmovision' and 'Knowledge about *Gotong Royong* principles and practices' have a statistical evaluation of 'very strongly significant'. This confirms the earlier researches by Wessing (1978), Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), Agung (2005), Kendie & Guri (2008), and Slikkerveer (2019) which explained the relationship between cosmology and institutional practices. The practice of Gintingan which is based on gotong-royong (communality and mutual assistance) has also been confirmed in this research whereby most of the respondents are involved in Gintingan because of their knowledge of *Gotong Royong* and its importance in social interaction. As highlighted by Magni (2016): *'Indigenous peoples are actors of their knowledge; therefore, separating indigenous knowledge from its socio-cultural context is very dangerous for its understanding as it becomes meaningless and may lead to misleading interpretations'*.

The perceived needs variables have also strongly influenced the utilisation of community institutions. 'Perceived needs of Financial, Medical, Education, and Socio-Cultural Supports' mainly became the reasons for the utilisation of community institutions, whether traditional, transitional or modern institutions. While *hajatan* or any ritual related to birth, marriage and death were the major needs for the rural people in the agriculture area – as explained by Wessing (1978) as well as Mustapa (2010) – the needs for health-care services, schooling as well as other basic needs became the major needs of the people in recent times. Although the indigenous institution of Gintingan is a socio-cultural institution in its establishment, the usage of the collected money through the institution is however used for various purposes, particularly the major needs as indicated above. Similar to the psycho-social variables, the institutional variables are also found to correlate with the utilisation behaviour of the people in the village samples. The objectives of the community institutions are '*strongly* and *very strongly significant*' to the utilisation behaviour while the organizational structure is indicated as 'weakly significant'. According to some interviews with the older people of Cimanglid village, the community members of the village are afraid to deal with modern institutions such as banks, as they believe that the objective of the bank has only based on commercial motives while the people themselves are afraid of being commercialised. They are afraid that the social cohesion among the community members will be disrupted once they make any transaction with a modern institution.

The analysis further confirms that the environmental variable correlates with the utilisation of community institutions. The 'residential status' of the respondents was statistically indicated as *weakly significant*; however the interview with the key informant in Sukamelang village concluded that the participation of the people in the indigenous institution of Gintingan does not depend on the residential status, whether the people are of local origin or migrant members. All the people, despite their origins, participate in the tradition. However, in conclusion, the participation depends *strongly* and *most strongly* on the 'environmental and zonation location' of the respondents. People who live in the rural areas are more likely to participate, more than urban dwellers. Similarly, people who live in the mountainous area will have the tendency to participate, more than the people who live in the coastal area.

Furthermore, the correlation of the predisposing socio-demographic variables is also indicated, with strong correlations to the utilisation behaviour of the respondents. Although in the Sundanese cosmology, a woman is symbolised as an inspired figure (*cf.* Nurmila 2016), the culture of patriarchy also occurs in various household decisions, including the economic decisions of a family. This is also confirmed with the 'sex' variable. There is a *most strongly significant* correlation between the 'sex of respondents' with people's behaviour in the utilisation of community institutions. Nevertheless, this study also documents that the 'profession/occupation of respondents' has a *strongly significantly* influence on the utilisation behaviour. Surprisingly, it indicates that private employees, who usually work for profit-motivated activities, prefer to utilise traditional institutions. According to an interview with one of the elder members of Sukamelang village, one of the main reasons why people utilise *Gintingan* is because they can preserve social cohesion among people in the community. Similarly, in Cimanglid village, an older person said that 'threats to social cohesion' become the reason why they avoid the use of modern institutions such as banks (*cf.* Saefullah *pers. comm* 2012). Nevertheless, 'saving ability' is the only enabling variable which 'strongly significantly' influences the utilisation behaviour. It is not surpising that the 'saving' factor determines people's preference in the utilisation of community institutions. The participation of the community members in gintingan, for instance, depends on the availability of their saving of 'paddy rice'.

Eightly, The multivariate analysis further underscores the correlation between the intervening variables and the 'utilisation of traditional, transtitional and moden community institutions'. Likewise, the 'influence of government/public promotion on the utilisation of the modern institution' and the 'influence of commercial/private regulation on the utilisation of the modern institution' were found to 'weakly significantly' influence the utilisation behaviour. The multiple regression analysis which implements the Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlation Analysis (OVERALS) technique is used to assess not only the correlation between variables, but also the correlation between the different blocks of variables identified in the model, *i.e.* the interaction between the blocks of independent, intervening and dependent variables. These calculated correlations show the relative value of interactions between the blocks and hereby highlight the validity of the multivariate model. In this context, it is appropriate for measuring the coherence among all ten categories or blocks of variables, leading to the conclusion for this study in Subang, that the initial conceptual model of the study had been successfully developed into the final multivariate model of utilisation behaviour of the institutional preferences. Certainly, the above-mentioned multiple regression analysis did enable the determination of the relative importance of each of the six blocks of independent variables and one block of intervening variables, in relation to the dependent blocks of utilisation behaviour of the community institutions, through the calculation of the related multiple regression coefficients.

Ninthly, the theoretical and practical conclusions and implications of the study are presented in Chapter X, and finalised with the development of a strategic model of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) as a planning tool based on a 'bottom-up' development approach, in order to provide a contribution to the improvement of sustainable community-based development for the people of Subang in particular, and for Indonesia in general.

However, this study also concludes with some limitations. As this study is based on four village samples, the conclusion of the study can only be analysed and suggested for further recommendation, as it is limited in terms of the research area. For any other area, specific research should also be conducted to verify whether the result will be in support of this study or if it will draw a different conclusion.

10.2 Implications

In addition to the above-mentioned conclusions of the study in Subang, the major implications on a theoretical, methodological and practical level are presented below, as this study's contribution to the body of knowledge in community institutional systems and sustainable community-based development from the ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment perspective of the local people in the four village samples of Subang.

10.2.1 Theoretical Implications

The theoretical implications of the results of this study in Subang support the ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment theory which is based on the emic approach, and the importance of incorporating culture in development, as suggested by the pioneering studies of Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995), Slikkerveer (1999) and Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah (2019) in the context of Sustainable Development. Hiemstra (2008) and Millar, Apusigah & Boonzaaijer (2008) follow the pioonering work of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) by introducing the theory of Endogenous Development, which emphasises cultural inclusion in development and the importance of forging development through 'growing from within the people'. Later, these works have also been followed by other scholars, including Sillitoe, Bicker & Portier (2002) on the importance of people's participation in Development, Vazquez-Barquero (2006), White (2010), and Hiemstra,Verschuuren & Subramanian (2011) on the importance of measuring well-being beyond economic and material indicators.

As highlighted by Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller (2006) on the importance of studying community as the subject of development, this study supports the importance of applying a multidisciplinary approach in development. As mentioned by Ingold (2000:406-7): 'Ethnoscience is based on increased collaboration between social sciences and humanities (*e.g.,* Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, and Philosophy) with natural sciences such as Biology, Ecology or Medicine. At the same time, ethnoscience is increasingly transdisciplinary in its nature.' This study implies the importance to study development from an ethnoscience perspective by looking at indigenous people's knowledge, beliefs, and institutions in the development process within the community. The practice of the indigenous institution of Gintingan shows an evidence-based study on how local people utilise their institution and perceive their own history and their relations with their environment within the context of their Sundanese cosmology. The importance of the indigenous/traditional/local institution has also been highlighted by the works of Uphoff (1989), Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), Marsh (2003), Watson (2003), as well as Subramanian, Hiemstra & Verschuuren (2011). In particular, this study has shown that the practice of an indigenous institution of Gintingan contributes to the sustainable community-based development in the Sunda Region of Subang, West Java, Indonesia.

The theoretical implications of the results of this study in Subang support the ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment theory which is based on the emic approach and the importance of incorporating culture in development as suggested by the pioneering study of Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995), Slikkerveer (1999) as well as Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah (2019) in the context of Sustainable Development. Hiemstra (2008) and Millar, Apusigah & Boonzaaijer (2008) follow the pioonering work of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) by introducing the Endogenous Development theory, which emphasises cultural inclusion in development and the importance of having development through 'growing from within the people'. By consequence, a specific approach which accommodates not only the inclusion of cultural factors and development, but also incorporates the different types of community institutions applicable in the socio-cultural and political administration context of Indonesia, should be developed. The approach will contribute to the new development paradigm which is suitable in the Indonesian context, to guide and manage both the provision of financial and non-financial services as well as to implement the newly-developed alternative strategies of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS)-based poverty reduction for sustainable community-based development. The approach has been introduced by Slikkerveer, Baourakis & Saefullah (2019) through an Integrated Community-managed Development (ICMD) approach. The approach consists of two elements of 'Integrated Microfinance Management' and 'Integrated Community-Based Management'. The approach links up with the earlier works by Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) on the integration between culture and development, the work by Ledgerwood (1998) on the approaches between the minimalist (finance) and the integrated (finance and non-finance), the work by Robinson (2001) on the combination schemes in the financial provision to the poor, the work by Antlov & Eko (2012) on the hierarchical structure of the administration and governance in Indonesia (from National to Community levels), the work by Frietzen & Brassard (2007) which divides different approaches in governance, and the work by Slikkerveer (2012) through Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM), which suggests the integration between culture and development as well as the integration between different types of local institutions to support community-based development. This study has found an example of practical evidence for such Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD) through the implementation of the indigenous institution of Gintingan in Subang.

10.2.2 Methodological Implications

From the methodological approach, this study has proven that the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' introduced by Slikkerveer (1990; 1999) and Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) provides strong empirical evidence of the importance to use a combined methodological approach in studying applied ethnoscience and development. This study has shown that the combined research methods, both qualitative and quantitative, involving the 'Participant View (PV)', 'Field of Ethnological Study (FES)' and 'Historical Dimension (HD)', have given support to explaining the utilisation behaviour of local people in Subang. In addition to that, this study links up with the pioneering work by Goodenough (1957), Conklin (1957) and Horton (1967). In their work to document traditional peoples, knowledge and their livelihood, these scientists took a more multidisciplinary and collaborative position, not only with the participants, but also with their colleagues from among other disciplines.

Therefore, this study also supports the earlier studies of Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014) and Erwina (2019), which have implemented the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' in several applied ethnosciences. As defined by Hardesty (1977), 'Ethnoscience' is: *'the study of systems of knowledge developed by a given culture to classify the objects, activities, and events of its universe'*. This study shows the importance of using people's perspectives or the 'Participant View (PV)' in sustainable

community-based development. This approach has also been suggested by numerous anthropologists through their ethnographic approach. The historical analysis of the subject enhances the historical explanation and evolutionary elaboration regarding the findings from the field area. Furthermore, the quantitative household survey which involves different categories of research areas (including rural-urban, mountainous-coastal, etc) in the four village samples has highlighted the dynamics behaviour of the people regarding their involvement in sustainable community-based development. It underscores the importance of making specific generalisations from the research samples, for creating future policies in development. Therefore, this study supports the importance of using mixed methodologies in research, combining subjective conclusions through in-depth study of the field, with the objective generalisations through household surveys in the research area.

10.2.3 Practical Implications

The results of this study in Subang strongly underscore the proposition that at the community level, indigenous or traditional community institutions play an important role in the process of sustainable community-based development. Local people particularly in the rural area prefer to utilise traditional institutions more often, in comparison with any other existing community institutions, including transitional and modern ones. People's preference for the utilisation of the 'Plural Community Institutional Systems' are subject to the influences of several independent variables of socio-demographic, psycho-social, enabling, perceived needs, institutional, environmental, as well as intervening variables. The practical implications of the study concern the Traditional, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions in Subang, and can be further elaborated as follows:

As regards the Traditional Community Institution, an important implication of the study refers to the active support of the older people who do not only introduced the practice of the indigenous institution of Gintingan in Subang, but also taught other people about the Sundanese cosmology, culture and historical background, which have motivated the people to practice and utilise the institution. Such backgrounds also include the traditional art of Sisingaan which has always been accompanying the *Gintingan* practices. The art performance of Sisingaan is still very popular among the local people of Subang, and has been acknowledged as the special art performance of Subang. It shows not only the local people's festivity, but also the cooperation among the people in conducting the performance which is symbolised as the practice of gotong-royong or voluntary mutual assistance among the local people, as concluded by the study of Irawan (1999). The art performance of Sisingaan has shown to be rather effective in involving the public on the practice of the indigenous institution of Gintingan.

The general practical implications of the positive function of the Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) in the research area as part of the Sundanese culture need to be maintained and supported in the society in general, and particularly in Subang, so that the positive culture of *Gotong Royong* through the indigenous institution of Gintingan will not become extinct due to the recent processes of globalisation and modernisation. As regards the Transitional Community Institutions (TSCIN), the practical implication of the study is that the combination form of the 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approach in sustainable community-based development, such as in the practice of the village cooperative unit and several programmes which are based on the community-driven development (CDD) approach, should emphasise the initiative of the programmes more to the people, rather than being 'set up' by the government. This would help the sustainability of such programmes in the future. Nevertheless, the general practical implication of the Modern Community Institution (MDCIN) in the study shows that the modern form of institution should consider the environmental factors in its implementation. Any modern

community institution is more applicable to the people who live in the urban area than people in rural areas. Another practical implication refers to the role of women in the practice of indigenous institutions like Gintingan as well as other bottom-up initiatives in the community. The study shows that it is mainly the women who contribute in the practice of Gintingan. Through such existing local institutions, including Posyandu (Community Health-Care Institution) and indigenous mutual rotation credit and savings activity or Arisan, the women significantly support the successful practice of Gintingan. Therefore, the integration between the practice of Gintingan with the other local institutions will support the sustainability of those bottom-up institutions.

10.3 Recommendations

The last part of this Chapter provides some recommendations based on the conclusions and the implications of the study. As for the evidence-based policy, this study has concluded that the Indigenous Knowledge Systems have influenced local people's utilisation behaviour of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS). One of the major findings of this study is the fact that although there are three different community institutions, *i.e.* Indigenous/Traditional, Transititonal and Modern Community Institutions operational in the research area, the study found that the psycho-social factors, which are dominated by people's knowledge and beliefs, predominantly influence the utilisation behaviour of the community institutions. In this context, the evidence supports the earlier Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) IKS-based Integrated Model (IKSIM) of the Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD) (cf. Slikkerveer 2012; 2019). Belonging to the Sundanese people, the respondents were influenced by their knowledge, beliefs and practices about Sundanese cosmology and cultures. The study also found that respondents who came from a rural area reported mostly the utilisation of Indigenous/Traditional Community Institutions while those who came from an urban area reported mostly the utilisation of Modern Community Institutions. In addition, both the respondents from rural and urban areas reported equally the utilisation of Transitional Community Institutions. The utilisation behaviour of local people of the Indigenous Institution of *Gintingan* is mainly influenced by their belief that social cohesion among the people is more important than economic and commercial motives. Similarly, the local people believe that communality and mutual assistance among the people in the villages should be maintained in order to have a harmonious balance in life. Therefore, this study has shown a practical example of the Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD) in which the utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) supports Sustainable Community Development which aims to achieve human well-being.

10.3.1 Towards a Model of Integrated Community Institutions (INCIN)

Based on the results of the study on the utilisation behaviour of community institutions of the people in Subang, a new model is proposed for an Integrated Community Institution (INCIN) to attain Sustainable Community-Based Development. This model is adapted from the newly development approach of the Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) and the Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD). Both models are based on the 'bottom-up' orientation and emic approach of development at the community level, where the people are mostly influenced by their Indigenous Knowledge, Systems and Practices. Within the complex and dynamic circumstances of local people and culture, including the global challenges to the local cicrumstances, the utilisation behaviour of the community institutions will relate to socio-cultural factors and other existing institutions. In this context, Integrated Community Institutions

would be preferable. The model suggests an integration of all local resources and institutions to ensure that human well-being could be achieved within their socio-cultural context. The Figure 10.1 illustrates the proposed model of the Integrated Community Institutions (INCIN) within the framework of the Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS).

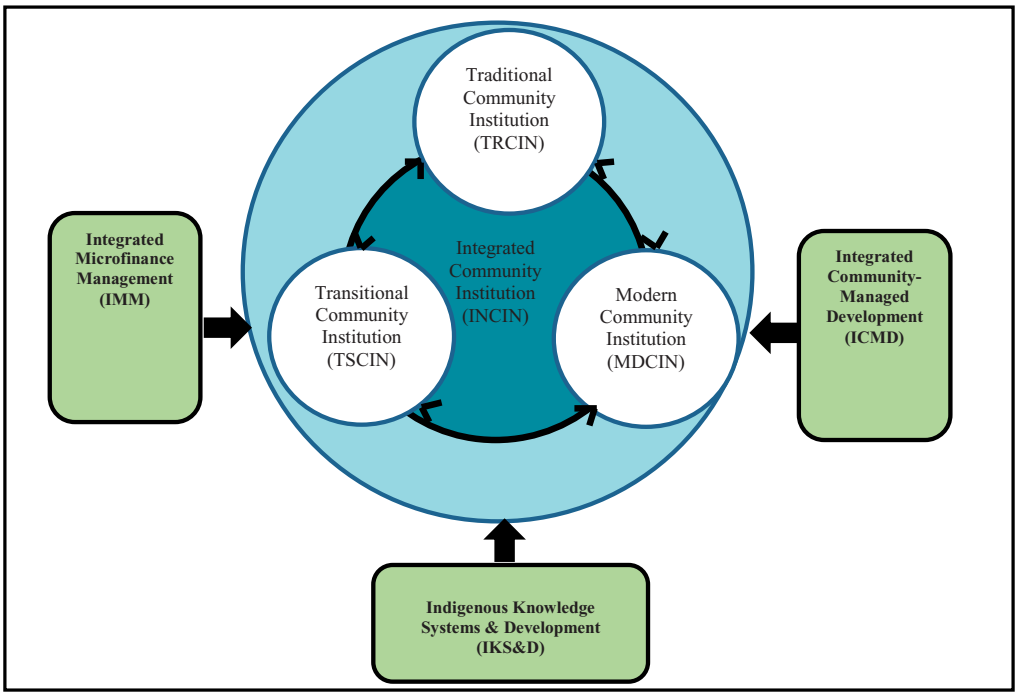


Figure 10.1 A Schematic representation of the proposed Model of the Integrated Community Institution (INCIN).
Source: Designed and Adapted from the Models of Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) and Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICM) by Slikkerveer (2012; 2019).

The model, which is represented by the light-blue circle, represents the integration among the existing community institutions (traditional, transitional and modern institutions). It provides local peoples' preferences to utilise the Plural Community Institution System (PCINS), in order to support the achievement of their needs. The integration is influenced by an integration among existing local institutions in different sectors of the community, including socio-cultural, financial, medical, educational and communicational, represented by the Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) approach. In addition to that, the integration is also based on an active bottom-up participation from the local people as a reflection of their cosmological view to contribute to the harmonious balance in life in particular, in the utilisation of community institutions. This bottom-up participation is the representation of the Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD) approach (*cf.* Slikkerveer 2012, 2019). Nevertheless, both approaches (IMM and ICMD), together with the Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development, which is reflected by the vertical arrow to the top, influence the proposed model of Integrated Community Institutions (INCIN).

The influences of IMM, ICMD and IKS&D together influence the integration of community institutions, while the interactions among the community institutions are reflected by the circular arrows. The proposed model of the Integrated Community Institutions (INCIN) consists of three existing community institutions: 1) Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN); 2) Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN); and 3) Modern Community Institution (MDCIN). The dynamic interaction between the community institutions is represented by the dark-blue circle with arrows, which covers the three community institutions. The Integrated Community Institutions provide the approaches which explain the preferences of local people in the utilisation of the available community institutions. The integration of the existing community institutions explain the dynamic processes of the people in their decisions in the utilisation of community institutions, which aim to increase human well-being in the community. The proposed model of integration would not only extend the possibilities for the local people to access and acquire appropriate guidance and supervision concerning a wide range of household needs in the research area, but also to facilitate the process of local decision-making regarding the peoples' utilisation behaviour of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS). Nevertheless, ethnoscience studies, particularly ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment studies in Subang, have paved the way for the utilisation of the available systems based on the principle of 'the utilisation of the best of both worlds' as suggested by Leakey (2016). This suggestion links up very well with the Sundanese culture of the local people in Subang. It is hoped that the above proposed model of the Integrated Community Institutions (INCIN) as a planning tool will be developed with a view to making a contribution to the improvement of the local people's level of human well-being, and as such to Sustainable Community-Based Development in Indonesia.

10.3.2 Policy Recommendations for Sustainable Community-Based Development

Realising their great significance, as also underscored by the present study in Subang, the Ministry of National Development and National Development Plans (Bappennas) of Indonesia should evaluate their present development policies and programmes, particularly the programmes which are related to the community-based development and the efforts to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Indonesia. Furthermore, this study suggests that the government consider incorporating cultural factors of the society to be integrated in the development plans, policies and programmes. A 'top-down' approach is not always effective, particularly when there are heterogenous problems in different communities.

The results of this study imply that any development policy should consider the cultural diversities and the important roles of traditional community institutions which are based on 'bottom-up' approaches in development. The uniformity of development policies with a 'top-down' development approach should not be continued, particularly in the development policies for rural area. The 'bottom-up' approach which accommodates cultural differences and local people's participation should be suggested within sustainable community-based development, not only to involve local people's initiative, but also to empower the potential and capabilities of the local people to achieve and improve human well-being at the community level. This implies that any development planners and policy makers should be aware that development policies and programmes should incorporate the heterogeneities of the communities. A single panacea for all development problems in Indonesia could not be used in a country which has hundreds of ethno-cultural groups, spread over thousands of islands. As psycho-social variables are predominantly influencing people's behaviour, this study recommends the development planner and policy maker to acknowledge any cosmological factor which is related to cultural heterogeneities. Development planners and policy makers should be aware of 'what is important' in the development plan, policy and programme, based on 'the eye of the people' and not only from 'the eye of the development planner or policy maker'. This would relate to several indicators of

well-being, which would be achieved as the objective of development. The culture of communalities, reciprocities and voluntary mutual help and assistance, which have transpired in the tradition of *Gotong Royong* should be incorporated in the development plans, policies and programmes. As poverty reduction becomes the major development programme of the country, the government of Indonesia should incorporate the emic approach in their long-term development programme, known as the *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang/RPJP*.
Since indigenous knowledge systems and local wisdom have shown to contribute significantly in this study, the future national development plans, policies and programmes should undertake the local people's participation to ensure that the development objectives can be achieved effectively. The ethno-economics and ethnodevelopment approaches will involve development planners and policy makers in the development plan, policy and programme which accommodate not only the cultural dimension of development as suggested by Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), but also consider the need of future generations by the implementation of sustainable community-based development. This would give a strong policy of sustainable community-based development especially in Subang, and generally in all regions of Indonesia. The practical evidence of the indigenous institution of Gintingan in Subang provides a unique system of how the practice of such an indigenous institution has been influenced by the indigenous cosmology, the people, as well as its principle in social interactions; therefore, similar institutions which are existing in various communities in Indonesia should be accommodated in the community-based development.

The indigenous institution of Gintingan in Subang has shown a unique example of how indigenous cosmology and its practice as a community institution interact on various aspects of life in the Sunda Region of West Java. Since the study shows that the indigenous community institution and practice reflect the rich heritage of the Sundanese people of Subang, the policy recommendation of the study is also to suggest to any development planner and policy maker to identify, document and accommodate these indigenous knowledge systems with a view to integrating them into sustainable community-based development policies in the near future. In this context, the knowledge and practice of the Sundanese cosmology and culture will remain the key factors for the continuation and improvement of the local peoples' well-being for many generations in the future.

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Summary

Science and development are two subjects which have attracted the attention of scholars, students and the general public since the positive contribution of 'modern' science has accommodated the development process of a region or country. Science has provided many solutions to numerous problems of humankind and society, while development is a multifaceted and complex process of how people can achieve well-being, both individually and socially. Within this context, both science and development have similarities in terms of their objectives and their contributions to human well-being. Development discourse encompasses a variety of themes, ranging from different economic approaches to anthropological descriptions of people living in various communities and different countries.

In reaching its objectives, development has two main approaches: the 'exogenous' and the 'endogenous'. Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995) name the 'exogenous' approach as the etic view and the 'endogenous' approach the emic view. The exogenous approach of development refers to external intervention among people and society to work out how development should be measured, planned and implemented. In this approach, progress in the development of a society or community is determined by the 'outsider'. It can be a 'top-down' intervention from a central government to local communities, or an 'external intervention' on the local communities, concerning how they should progress in development. One of the examples of how the progress of development is measured by external parties is income level. The World Bank categorises countries in the following way: high-income, upper-middle income, lower-middle income, and low-income (The World Bank 2018). The progress of development, based on these categories measures the changing progress of a country from the lower to a higher level. In this etic approach, the progress of development can be examined from the ability of a society to shift from one stage to another: from a lower to a higher-income stage. This model is criticised by many authors, *i.e.* Kaplan (2012), De Bekker (2016) & Slikkerveer (2019), particularly from the point that 'developed' countries are mainly influenced by modernisation. Although they suggest to apply a more comprehensive measurement many countries are still using the etic approach. Their development policies and plans adopt the advancement of western societies, ranging from educational advancement to public infrastructures. It is not surprising that in many cases, as criticised by Kaplan (2012), the positive progress of economic growth in some countries is also followed by the increase in inequalities, environmental disasters, as well as inadequate health-care services. This means that development does not progress for the benefit of all people in a country. While some people could have better life conditions, others might find themselves in worse-off situations. This argument can also be evaluated within the context of Indonesia. The positive progress of the development of Indonesia in terms of its economic growth - which is based on income measurement - in the decades after the monetary crisis in the late 1990s has also been followed by trends of increasing inequality based on income discrepancies. However, the development progress of Indonesia with thousands of islands spread over 34 provinces and numerous communities requires a more comprehensive approach which could accommodate both the discrepancies and diversities.

Considering the above-mentioned criticism, the second approach of endogenous development, based on the emic view, is recently suggested to development planners. This emic perspective emphasises how development should be measured, planned, implemented and evaluated by the community itself. Communities in this context cannot be easily distinguished by the usual categories of 'developed', 'developing' or 'under-developing'. Endogenous development suggests that the progress of development should be implemented and evaluated within the community itself (*cf.* Hiemstra 2008). The pioneering work of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) has made a strong case to implement this emic view in development. The work suggests that development policy makers and planners should incorporate the socio-cultural aspects of a

community for which development programmes are planned. The emic view underscores that the development policies and plans should be based on local peoples perspectives and involve their participation in the entire development process. While the etic view forms the base of a 'top-down' approach, the emic view pertains to a 'bottom-up' approach in the development process. Therefore, the emic view of development should consider the heterogeneities among societies in any country. As Hill (2014) discusses, development models in South-East Asian countries should be distinguished from those models applied in European, African or any other country, due to their forms of diversity, particularly in terms of the socio-cultural differences. In fact, any development model which applies to a particular country should be differentiated from models used for other countries. In this context, the pioneering work of Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), and the later work of Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller (2006), have raised the important question of how culture and communities should be accommodated in the development objectives, policies, plans and implementations. The use of the emic approach is very important to identify and propose any development policy or plan which is based on the communities' cultural settings. The emic view provides a deeper understanding of the culture of the communities 'from within' and their decision-making processes, which are most relevant to the introduction and adoption of changes which would fit better within the development in a local context. Since particular cultures illustrate how the emic view can distinguish one community from another, the related development approaches should also be similarly different.

The discourse on development approaches has recently brought the concept of 'culture' back to the central stage of development, especially as a result of the obvious failures of conventional approaches in economic growth and social transformation based on a incomplete measurement of the development process. Howard (1994) underscores that this discourse has a strong relation to the debates on the contribution of science and ethnoscience to development. While (modern) science represents numerous contributions to all societies, based on the evolutionary processes of modernisation, secularisation and liberalisation in the thinking and political conditions of western societies, ethnoscience accommodates the contributions which are based on the perspectives of indigenous peoples and their knowledge systems in development, particularly at the community level. While modern science requires positivistic and empirical evidence-based arguments to be considered as scientific discoveries and contributions, ethnoscience accommodates the indigenous knowledge systems as a base for sustainable socio-economic development. Ethnoscience does not make a distinction between 'modern' and 'traditional' as both terms have been developed through evolutionary processes in their *contribution* to human societies. Indeed, as Bronowski (1981) argues: *'the practice of science, including belief and magic, forms a fundamental characteristic of all human societies*' . The recent adoption of the emic view on development has had important consequences on the general discourse in development theories. The concept the objective and the indicators of development should be approached not only from the outsider's point of view, but also from the insider's point of view, *i.e.* from the local people themselves, in order to achieve sustainable development.

This new orientation has recently led the topics of ethnoscience and development towards new approaches, known as 'ethno-economics' and 'ethno-development'. In this context, the socio-cultural factors of the society can no longer be ignored or left out of any development project (*cf.* UNESCO 1994; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995). Attention to the cultural dimension of development has also pertained to the concept of 'community development' which started in the late 1960s, referring to a process of development which is based on the initiative, the participation and the implementation by the community. It incorporates the knowledge systems, cultures and institutions of a community to be included in the process of development. The important role of the community in development has given rise to two implications: 1) development policies should incorporate both the economic and non-economic aspects of the community, and 2) development policies towards the community require a special approach

which is subject to the particular characteristics of the community, and which can vary from one community to another. Some factors which have been neglected in development, such as socio-cultural, psycho-social and ecological factors, have gradually been incorporated in the concept of community development. Furthermore, when the sustainable development approach was introduced in the late 1980s through the Brundtland report (WCED 1987) and the cultural dimension of development was proposed by Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), the attention to 'community development' was then extended to the concept of 'sustainable community development' as proposed by Toledo (2001). The approach of sustainable development which includes economic, social and environmental factors has led the development approach to follow more sustainable pathways. Eventually, the involvement of local people in development processes has been identified as a crucial factor in the successful implementation of development. Ignoring the cultural factor in development has shown to lead to the failure of the achievement of the development objectives (Woodley *et al.* 2006). Therefore, the recent approach of endogenous development introduced by COMPAS (2007), which supports the sustainable community development perspective, involves a continuous process of adaptation and innovation in development at the community level. It starts from within the local community and seeks to achieve the improvement of local peoples' well-being by incorporating their indigenous culture, knowledge, cosmologies and institutions in development. In this framework, in the universe of humankind, the closely interrelated human world, the natural world and the spiritual world are all observed so as to keep livelihoods in balance. In such a configuration, the effectiveness of development cannot be measured only by material progress, but it also has to be evaluated from the spiritual gains and environmental conditions (*cf.* Hiemstra 2008).

The role of the local culture and the peoples' participation are two major key concepts brought up in today's discourse on the cultural dimension of development (*cf.* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Slikkerveer 2012). These concepts are directly related to the conceptualisation of the community and to the way in which sustainable development should be implemented at the community level. Within this context of sustainable community development, it is inevitable that the roles of local institutions which have functioned in the communities over many generations have to be taken seriously into account in any development programme. The term 'institution' includes a general categorisation of activity or a particular human-constructed arrangement, which is formally or informally organised, and also includes organisations, conventional knowledge, regularised practices, indigenous knowledge, systems and practices. Moreover, it also includes the written and unwritten rules, norms, values and restrictions which guide humans to reduce uncertainty and to control their environment. The inclusion of both formal and informal institutions, including the various norms and local practices of community-based development programmes, have led to the roles of the Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS) in sustainable community development, which refer to a system of various formal and informal power structures, institutions, activities, and their utilisation, implemented at various levels of the community. Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS) have been contributing to development as they provide people in the community with many services which are needed by the community members. It encompasses local economic, socio-cultural, health-care, education, as well as communication services. The distinction between the emic and etic views of the development approaches classifies PCINS to encompass Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN)', Transitional Community Institutions (TSCIN) and Modern Community Institutions (MDCIN)'. This distinction requires a special methodology to analyse PCINS from both the emic and etic views. While the Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN) has been identified as a 'bottom-up' institution which involves local people's initiatives in its establishment and operation, the Modern Community Institution (MDCIN) can be identified as a 'top-down' institution which accommodates the external

influences on the establishment of the institution and its operations. The Transitional Community Institution (TSCIN) in this context is defined as an institution which adopts a combination of both 'top-down', external influences on the community with 'bottom-up', internal initiatives by the local people themselves. Although each institution plays a different role in the community, the Traditional Community Institution (TRCIN) has provided the local communities with sustainable development for many generations (*cf.* Uphoff 1986; Keohane 1988; Watson 2003; Marsh 2003; Menard & Shirley 2005; Agung 2005; Leurs 2010; Aiglsperger 2014; Slikkerveer (2019). Slikkerveer (2007, 2019) provides an advanced contribution to the implementation of the 'bottom-up' approach in sustainable community-managed development with the concept of integration through the introduction of the concepts of 'Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM)' and 'Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD)' in order to achieve sustainable community development in Indonesia. The integration approach which has been mentioned by Ledgerwood (1998) and operationalised by Slikkerveer (2007; 2012; 2019) seeks to support ways in which people's perspective can be accommodated in development policies, plans and projects, while at the same time, the existing community institutions are functionalised in an integrated way in order to achieve the community-oriented development objectives.

In this approach, the balanced global-local configuration which according to Leakey (2016) accommodates the principle of '*the best of both worlds'* in the development process, will also be accommodated through this integration process. The emic perspective on the concept of balance is important as it relates to the harmonic relationships between the three perceived worlds of the indigenous cosmologies in which humans take a central position. In Indonesia, there are hundreds of ethno-cultural groups spread over the Archipelago, each with its own particular form of indigenous worldviews. These sub-cultures are largely rooted in their cosmologies, in all of which the concept of balance between the human, the natural and the spiritual worlds is playing an important role in their daily life. Interesting examples of such generations-old indigenous institutions are documented by the study of Agung (2005) on *Tri Hita Karana* ('Three Foundations of Well-Being') of the Balinese worldview as well as the present study on *Tritangtu* ('Three Realms of Life'*)* of the Sundanese cosmovision in West Java, in which the harmonious balance between the three worlds represents the state of the well-being of the local population.

The general aim of this research is to assess and document, study and analyse the utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) by the local inhabitants in the Sunda Region of West Java, particularly those living in the four villages of Subang. The study encompasses the identification, documentation and analysis of significant factors influencing the local peoples' utilisation behaviours, differentiated over the three related Traditional, Transitional and Modern Community Institutions at the community level. Apart from the dynamic configuration of the utilisation behaviour of the local people of the Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS) in the Sunda Region of Subang, this study also found that the indigenous knowledge, belief and practices as part of their cosmologies are often harboured and preserved among the poor and low-income groups in the rural communities, rendering the protection and improvement of these often vulnerable members most urgent in development programmes and projects (*cf.* Sumardjo 2010; Siregar 2010; Djen Amar 2010; Aiglsperger 2014).

The research findings of this study also reveal that the knowledge and beliefs of the people of Subang tend to dominate their utilisation behaviour, irrespective of the socio-demographic and economic background of the respondents. This means that, although the institution has been supporting the local people economically, the socio-cultural motives are however more dominant in the practice of *Gintingan* as a typical form of an indigenous Sundanese institution. There are, however, also certain discrepancies in the practice of *Gintingan*, based on the different villages where the study has been conducted, due to its environmental locations. Similarly, while the practice of *Gintingan* has evolved and adapted into various forms, including the building of

houses and water reservoirs, people in the rural areas tend to maintain this indigenous institution while people in the central and urban areas tend to utilise different kinds of institutions, depending on their availability. While modern people nowadays need to save money very hard or take out a mortgage for many years if they would like to own a house, the local people of Subang, particularly in the Cimanglid village, have been implementing *Gintingan* with its adapted forms, also known as *Andilan*. Instead of utilising *Gintingan* for a wedding ceremony or any other ritual, the local people prefer to utilise the institution to build houses and water reservoirs. Interestingly, the people are eager to maintain the tradition to keep social cohesion among the people in the village; having transactions with modern institutions, such as banks, which – in their perspective – would result in a deterioration of their social relations. These findings confirm the theoretical analysis and earlier empirical evidence, which explain that the local peoples' cosmology of *Tritangtu* influences their livelihood, including the utilisation of Community Institutional Systems, where the local people prefer to utilise Traditional Community Institutions (47.5 %), in comparison with existing Transitional Community Institutions (32.5%) and Modern Community Institutions (20%). This result provides an optimistic perspective on the revitalisation of the Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) in Subang, which, in turn would facilitate the process of sustainable development.

The theoretical implications of the results of this study on the role of Integrated Community Institutions (INCIN) on sustainable community development are supported by the evidence-based findings of the research. The utilisation behaviour of the local people of the traditional community institution is irrespective of the current processes of globalisation and modernisation. In this context, the local people adhere more in having a balanced livelihood, particularly within the community and their environment. The theoretical implications strengthen the results of this study, which documents that the local people tend to prefer to utilise traditional community institutions, rather than the available alternative transitional and modern institutions. The results of this study also reveal that the cultural dimension of development as suggested by Warren, Slikkeveer & Brokensha (1995) is crucial in Subang, where people are still implementing their cultural traditions and integrating the functionalisation of the indigenous institutions within their daily life and livelihoods. Thus, the findings of this study in Subang, where both the role of the traditional community institutions in sustainable community development, as well as the related implementation of the ethnoscience-based methods and techniques to assess the indispensable emic perspective, crucial for achieving sustainable community development, go against the few critical views on the success of the integration of culture within the development process.

Realising the great significance of such socio-cultural context, as is also underscored by the present study in Subang, the Ministry of National Development and National Development Plans (Bappennas) should consider further in their policies how to accommodate and integrate the cultural dimension in their development policies, plans and programmes. This study also implies that future development policies should consider cultural diversity as discussed in the theory in conjunction with the supporting evidence from this research. The uniformity of development policies with a 'top-down' development approach should not be continued; at the very least, they should be integrated with the sustainable orientation towards the 'bottom-up' initiatives at the community level. This requires a 'bottom-up' approach to incorporate and to empower local people to improve their well-being by participating in the local development process through Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD). Furthermore, the psycho-social factors involved in indigenous knowledge practice of indigenous institutions are recommended so as to further contribute to the creation of more environmentally and socially sustainable forms of development. Since local wisdom and experience have shown–to survive as part of the local culture of a community, in which indigenous institutions such as *Gintingan* play an important role in facilitating socio-cultural and economic development, they should be taken into consideration in future national processes of policy planning and implementation.

While Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) have been utilised by the people of Indonesia over many generations, Modern Community Institutions (MDCIN) and Transitional Community Institutions (TSCIN) have later been introduced into the communities through various development policies and supporting schemes. Nevertheless, the Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN) have also benefitted from the process of globalisation, including the expanded use of media, where traditional knowledge and practices are disseminated among many people outside the respective community. The resulting Plural Community Institutional System (PCINS) in the Sunda Region of West Java provides an interesting phenomenon which needs further study in order to provide additional support for the future of community institutional policies and practices, focusing on the improvement of the overall well-being of the people at the community level.

This study has accomplished the envisaged objectives as follows:

Firstly, the theoretical orientation has been presented in Chapter II on the role of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) on sustainable community development, placing special emphasis on the role of Traditional Community Institutions (TRCIN), including a description of the impact of globalisation on this system in Indonesia, and how ethno-economic and ethno-development perspectives are operational in global-local interactions. The discourse in development studies in Chapter II further underscores the fact that the cultural dimension of development cannot be ignored in the achievement of human well-being as the core objective of any development programme, including any attempt of poverty alleviation. Approaching poverty reduction by using just the economic-financial approach would not only lead the effort to failure, but would also leave the target group of the people in the community left out, as they are not involved in the development processes. While poverty is measured by multidimensional factors, there is a need for an integrated approach in development, particularly in the improvement of human well-being at the community level, including the incorporation of people's participation in the development policies, plans and programmes. The theoretical orientation on the role of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) in sustainable community development supports the arguments and findings of the present study. The utilisation of traditional community institutions by the local people seems to be unrelated to the globalisation and modernisation processes, where they tend to prefer maintaining a balanced livelihood, particularly within the community and the environment.

Secondly, the selected research methodology of the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach' used in this study is elaborated in Chapter III. It is based on the pioneering study of Slikkerveer (1989; 1990) which has also been followed by other researchers in several themes of applied ethnoscience and development, such as the studies by Agung (2005), Leurs (2010), Djen Amar (2010), Ambaretnani (2012), Chirangi (2013), Aiglsperger (2014) and Erwina (2019). This research method is used to gain a better understanding and explanation of the indigenous perceptions, practices, beliefs, values and philosophies associated with the concept of the Plural Community Institutional System among the respondents in the four villages of the Subang District of West Java, which represents a combination of northern, central and southern geographical areas. These areas include highland-lowland and coastal-mountainous regions, as well as rural-urban zonation and environmental areas.

The complementary combination of qualitative and quantitative data is used to have not only an in-depth explanation about the subject, but also to have a general picture of the spread of the local people's behaviour in the utilisation of the co-existent community institutions. The quantitative data, collected through a household survey, has been conducted from March to May 2012, in addition to the ethnographic field work study which was implemented between March

2011 to early 2012. This research was supplemented with some additional visits between 2013-2016, in order to ensure that the collected data of in the study were up to date. The appropriate conceptual models used in this study for the analysis of the data are constructed on the basis of the Transcultural Utilisation Model, developed by Slikkerveer (1990; 1995, 2012), allowing the assessment of the cognitive and behavioural components of particular groups or communities as 'systems' in a rather process-oriented mode. The research uses a multidimensional approach towards ethno-economics and the cultural dimensions of sustainable community development, based on the significant evidence that an individual's behaviour is affected by a number of factors, *i.e.* socio-demographic, psycho-social, perceived needs, enabling, institutional, environmental and intervening variables.

Thirdly, the general profile and the sociography of the research area are described in Chapter IV, including the socio-economic development of the region, and overview of the (socio-economic) development policy of Indonesia, West Java and the Subang District. The brief description of Indonesia and Subang as the research area provides a significant insight of Indonesia as a country with thousands of ethno-cultural groups, including the Sundanese people. A description of the research setting is largely presented on the basis of qualitative research in the form of the sociography of Subang in the Sunda Region of West Java in Indonesia. The sociography also describes the historical background of the socio-economic development in the area, including economic activities and several existing Plural Community Institutional Systems at the community level, particularly the indigenous institution of *Gintingan,* although the details of the institution are further elaborated in Chapter VII.

Fourthly, the profiles of the four villages where the study has been conducted are described in Chapter V, including their socio-demographic and socio-economic profiles. It also includes the elaboration of the concept and the implementation of an existing Plural Community Institutional System and its role in sustainable community development in the research area. Applying the participatory emic approach, the researcher spent several months living with the local people in the four villages in the Sunda Region of Subang of West Java, which are located in rural, semi-rural, semi-urban and urban areas of the study area. They include *Cimanglid* (a rural community), *Bunihayu* (a semi-rural community), *Mayangan* (a semi-urban community) and *Sukamelang* (an urban community).

Fifthly, the concept and approaches of sustainable community development in Indonesia are elaborated in Chapter VI, which provide an examination of the recent development progress as well as the need to incorporate the community institutional system in the approach, particularly the traditional community institutions. The elaboration underscores the inadequate financial and economic approaches to community development, followed by the important roles of culture and community institutions in development at the community level. It is shown that Indonesia has been struggling to improve its development progress which goes beyond financial and income measures. The inclusion of an indigenous institution such as *Gintingan* has been neglected in past development policies, plans and programmes by the local government. The central and local government did not accommodate the important cultural dimension of indigenous cosmologies and local wisdom which support sustainable community development, although the government does realise the importance of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations (2015).

Sixthly, the description of the Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* and its influence~~s~~ on the livelihood of the Sundanese people, particularly in the research area of Subang, is elaborated in Chapter VII. The Sundanese cosmology provides the Sundanese principle of a harmonious

balance in life among the human world, the gods and spirits, and the universe, which ensures the achievement of a state of well-being. The Sundanese cosmology of *Tritangtu* influences the Sundanese people in various activities of their livelihoods, arts, culture and institutions. In this way, *Gintingan* shows the example of how the Sundanese cosmology influences the social interactions and institutions in the daily life of the Sundanese people, particularly in terms of their socio-economic and cultural activities. The institution is based on the communality and joint participation of individuals and households, and is well-known by the local people of Subang, considering that the tradition has been practiced for many generations. Although the practice of the traditional institution of *Gintingan* has evolved and adapted into various forms, the local people in the rural areas tend to maintain the practice of the traditional institution, while people in the central and urban areas tend to utilise different kinds of institutions, due to the availability of modern community institutions. The local people are motivated to uphold the practice of this institution in order to maintain social cohesion among the people in the villages; while engaging in transactions with modern institutions such as banks would deteriorate their social interactions.

Seventhly, the quantitative results of the study through the analyses of the stepwise bivariate and mutual relations analyses from the household surveys are elaborated in Chapter VIII, showing the differential relationships of significant factors in relation to the utilisation behaviour of the Traditional, Transitional and Modern Community Institutional Systems by the local people in Subang. The results of the research confirm the theoretical analyses and the earlier empirical evidence, which explains that the indigenous cosmology of *Tritangtu* of the local people influences their livelihood, including their utilisation of the Community Institutional Systems, where the local people, represented by 345 respondents among the village samples of Subang, report to prefer to utilise the traditional community institution (47.5 %), in comparison with the existing transitional community institution (32.5%) and the modern community institution (20%). The factors influencing their behavioural patterns in the utilisation of the community institutions are the following: Independent Variables: 1) Pre-disposing Socio-demographic Variables, *i.a.* Household Relationships, Sex or Gender of the Respondents and Profession of the Respondents; 2) Pre-disposing Psycho-social Variables, *i.a.* Knowledge about local/Sundanese tradition, Knowledge about local/Sundanese cosmovision, Knowledge about *Gotong Royong* principles and practices, Knowledge about existing traditional institutions, Knowledge level of existing traditional institutions, Knowledge level of existing modern institutions, Form of Financial Support of existing modern institutions, Form of Medical Support of existing modern institutions, Beliefs in Sundanese tradition for well-being and good life, and Beliefs in modern cosmopolitan lifestyle for well-being/good life; 3) Perceived Needs Variables, *i.a*. Perceived needs of Financial Support, Perceived needs of Medical Support, Perceived needs of Educational Support, and Perceived needs of Socio-Cultural Support; 4) Enabling Variables of Savings Ability; 5) Institutional Variables, *i.a.* Objective of Traditional Community Institutions, Objective of Modern Community Institutions, Objective of Transitional Community Institutions, and Organisational Structure of Modern Community Institutions; and 6) Environmental Variables, *i.a.* Environmental Locations of the Community, Zonation Locations of the Community and Residential Status in the Community. There are also two Intervening Variables which also influence the utilisation behaviour: Influence of government/public promotion on the utilisation of modern institutions, and Influence of commercial/private regulation on the utilisation of modern institutions.

Eighthly, in addition to the bivariate & mutual relations analyses, the multivariate & multiple regression analyses of the quantitative data are also examined in Chapter IX, explaining the dynamic relationship between the block of variables of the socio-demographic, psycho-social, &

perceived needs, as well as the enabling, institutional, environmental and intervening factors which are influencing the behavioural patterns of the respondents from the village samples in the utilisation of the community institutions. The analyses are meant to propose a strategic model of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS) as a planning tool in order to provide a contribution to the improvement in the local people's well-being, together with their participation in sustainable community development. The multiple regression analysis which implements the Non-Linear Generalized Canonical Correlation Analysis (OVERALS) shows the relative value of interactions between the blocks and hereby highlights the validity of the multivariate model. The model shows that the utilisation behaviour of the respondents from the four village samples has shown their preference for the utilisation of the indigenous institutions, in comparison with the other existing transitional & modern institutions. Indeed, the initial conceptual model of the study has been successfully developed into the final multivariable model of the utilisation behaviour of the institutional preferences in the research area.

Finally, the conclusions, implications and recommendations are presented in Chapter X in order to draw the overall picture of how the research was conducted, how the research objectives and aims have been realised, In addition, the potential is underscored of the theoretical, methodological and practical implications which strengthen the results of the emic approach of the applied ethnoscience research through the 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach', which is successfully implemented in this study. The chapter also proposes a strategic model of Integrated Community Institutions (INCIN) which is based on the combination of the two initial models of Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) and Integrated Community-Managed Development (ICMD) introduced by Slikkerveer (2007; 2012; 2019). The model has been developed as the result of the analyses of the behavioural patterns of the local people in the utilisation of the Plural Community Institutional Systems (PCINS), as a planning tool based on a 'bottom-up' development approach. Its purpose is to provide a contribution to the improvement of sustainable community development for the people of Subang in particular, and for Indonesia in general.
It is hoped that this study will not only contribute theoretically to the development of applied ethnoscience in socio-economic development and practically to the realisation of sustainable community development in Indonesia through the functionalisation of community institutional systems, but also with a view to develop a successful policy planning and implementation process on the base of the valuable input of a revitalisation of indigenous institutions in different cultural settings in Indonesia, particularly in the Sunda Region of Subang in West Java.

Samenvatting

Wetenschap en ontwikkeling zijn twee onderwerpen die de aandacht hebben getrokken van wetenschapppers, studenten en het publiek sinds de bijdragen van wetenschappelijke methoden onderdeel uitmaken van de ontwikkeling van een land. Wetenschap levert bijdragen aan vele problemen die voortvloeien uit mens en maatschappij, terwijl ontwikkeling het gelaagde en complexe proces behelst waarmee de mensheid zowel individueel als collectief haar welzijn probeert te bereiken. Binnen die context zijn er overeenkomsten aan te wijzen tussen wetenschap en ontwikkeling als het gaat om hun doelen en bijdragen aan menselijk welzijn. Het ontwikkelingsdebat omvat vele themata die uiteenlopen van verschillende economische benaderingen tot anthropologische beschrijvingen van de verscheidenheid in samenlevingen.

In de benadering van het begrip ontwikkeling kan men onderscheid maken tussen twee dominante stromingen, de 'exogene' en de 'endogene' invalshoek. Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995) benoemden deze twee invalshoeken respectievelijk als de ‘etic’ en de ‘emic‘benadering. De exogene benadering gaat uit van externe interventies naar mens en maatschappij om te bepalen hoe ontwikkeling gepland, geïmplementeerd en gemeten moet worden. In die zin wordt de vooruitgang in ontwikkeling bepaald door de waarneming van buitenaf. Dat kan gebeuren door een interventie van boven af door een centrale regering, of door een interventie van buitenaf in lokale gemeenschappen. Een van de manieren waarop vooruitgang wordt gemeten van buitenaf is het inkomensniveau, hetgeen door de Wereldbank (2018) voor landen in vier categorieën wordt ingedeeld; *high-income, upper-middle-income, lower-middle income*, en *lower-income*. In deze etic benadering wordt de mate van ontwikkeling van een samenleving vastgesteld aan de hand van de verschuiving langs deze schaal van laag inkomen naar hoog inkomen. Hoewel deze benadering al door meerdere auteurs als te eenzijdig werd bekritiseerd, *i.c.* Kaplan (2012), De Bekker (2016), Slikkerveer (2019, met name omdat deze uitgaat van een westerse visie op vooruitgang en modernisering, wordt deze nog door veel landen gehanteerd. Hun beleid en ontwikkelingsplannen worden gespiegeld aan die van westerse landen, uiteenlopend van de verspreiding van onderwijs tot de publieke infrastructuur.

Zoals Kaplan (2012) al vaststelde, is het niet verwonderlijk dat de economische vooruitgang vaak vergezeld gaat van een grotere interne ongelijkheid, ontoereikende gezondheidszorg, of milieurampen als gevolg van overexploitatie. Zo beschouwd is een dergelijke economische ontwikkeling eenzijdig en komt niet alle inwoners in gelijke mate ten goede. In het geval van Indonesië is dit eveneens aantoonbaar. De vooruitgang in economische groei in de decennia na de monetaire crisis van de jaren 1990, gemeten naar inkomen, heeft eveneens geleid tot grotere inkomensongelijkheid. Daarnaast heeft deze groei geleid tot meer roofbouw op het milieu. De duizenden eilanden verspreid over 34 provincies, met het grote aantal lokale gemeenschappen, vereisen een meer omvattende benadering die ruimte biedt aan de inherente ongelijkheid en diversiteit (Lucas & Warren 2011, Wereldbank 2014).

Gezien deze redeneringen komt de tweede invalshoek, ofwel de endogene of emic benadering ter overweging van de ontwikkelingsplanners. De benadering gaat uit van het gezichtspunt ten aanzien van ontwikkeling van de leden van die betreffende gemeenschap zelf. Vanuit deze benadering is het niet langer mogelijk om onderscheid te maken tussen bestaande categorieën van 'ontwikkeld', 'in ontwikkeling', of 'minder ontwikkeld'. De mate van ontwikkeling kan dan alleen maar worden vastgesteld aan de hand van de normering die de gemeenschap zelf heeft aangelegd (*cf* Hiemstra 2008). In het pionierswerk van Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) is deze emic benadering in extenso beschreven. Hun werk toont aan dat het integreren van de socio-culturele context in het ontwikkelingsbeleid essentieel is. Hun benadering toont ook aan dat de participatie van de lokale bevolking in het ontwikkelingsproces een voorwaarde is voor een succesvol beleid. In tegenstelling tot de etic benadering (van bovenaf en van buitenaf), gebruikt de emic benadering de invalshoek van onderaf en van binnenuit. Deze emic benadering

van ontwikkeling, zoals beschreven door Slikkerveer & Dechering (1995), gaat uit van de inherente heterogeniteit van samenlevingen. Er is geen eenduidige wijze van de benadering van de ontwikkelingsproblematiek op wereldniveau. Zoals Hill (2014) betoogt, moeten ontwikkelingsmodellen in Zuid-Oost Azië onderscheiden worden van de Afrikaanse of Europese modellen, juist vanwege de diversiteit in socio-culturele verschillen. Bovendien zou zelfs onderscheid gemaakt moeten worden tussen ontwikkelingsmodellen per land. Het pionierswerk van Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), evenals als het latere werk van Shaffer, Deller & Marcouillier (2006) bieden aanknopingspunten voor de wijze waarop de lokale culturele context verdisconteert kan worden in de doelstellingen en implementatie van ontwikkelingsplannen.

De emic benadering is in staat om de lokale cultuur te begrijpen en het besluitvormingsproces en gemaakte keuzes te doorgronden en toe te passen, met name om veranderingen in het kader van ontwikkeling van de lokale gemeenschap te begeleiden. Het toont aan hoezeer culturele verscheidenheid ten grondslag ligt aan de diversiteit in de benadering van ontwikkeling. Het betoog omtrent ontwikkelingsstrategieën heeft recentelijk het belang van de rol van de lokale cultuur opnieuw centraal gesteld, naar aanleiding van het tekortschieten van de conventionele benaderingen ten aanzien van economische groei en sociale transformatie, die gebaseerd zijn op een gebrekkige meetbaarheid van daadwerkelijke ontwikkeling (*cf* Clammer 2005). Howard (1994) benadrukt, dat dit debat een sterke relatie vertoont met de bijdrage van *science* en *ethnoscience* aan ontwikkeling. Terwijl de (moderne) wetenschap vele bijdragen heeft geleverd aan alle samenlevingen die gebaeerd zijn op de evolutionaire processen van modernisering, secularisatie en liberalisering in de filosofie van westerse samenlevingen, heeft *ethnoscience* vooral een bijdrage geleverd op basis van het perspectief van de inheemse bevolking en hun kennissystemen over ontwikkeling, in het bijzonder op het niveau van de lokale gemeenschappen. Terwijl de 'moderne' wetenschap zich op positivistische en empirische argumenten baseert, zoals wetenschappelijke ontdekkingen en bijdragen, gaat de *ethnoscience* uit van lokale kennis systemen als op ervaring beruste bewijsvoering voor duurzame socio-economische ontwikkeling. *Ethnoscience* maakt daarin geen onderscheid tussen 'modern' en 'traditioneel' aangezien beiden ontwikkeld zijn door de evolutionaire processen die een bijdrage aan gemeenschappen hebben geleverd.

Zoals Bronowski (1981) vaststelt, dat: '*de toepassing van wetenschap, inclusief geloof en magie, vormt een fundamentele eigenschapp van alle menselijke samenlevingen'*. De recente overname van de emic visie op ontwikkeling heeft belangrijke gevolgen gehad voor het algemene debat over ontwikkelingstheorieën. Zowel het concept, de doelstellingen, alsook de indicatoren van ontwikkeling zouden niet alleen maar vanuit de visie van 'outsiders' benaderd moeten worden, maar ook vanuit de visie van de 'insiders', t.w. vanuit de lokale bevolking zelf om zo een proces van duurzame ontwikkeling te bereiken.

Deze nieuwe orientatie van socio-economische ontwikkeling heeft een nieuwe benadering van de onderwerpen van *ethnoscience* en ontwikkeling teweeggebracht, die bekend is geworden als *ethno-economics* en *ethnodevelopment*. Dat betekent, dat socio-culturele factoren niet langer in ontwikkelingsprogramma's en projecten buiten beschouwing kunnen worden gelaten (*cf* UNESCO 1994; Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995). De groeiende aandacht voor de 'culturele dimensie van ontwikkeling' heeft ook de belangstelling gewekt voor het begrip van *commmunity development.* Deze benadering begon in de zestiger jaren en richtte zich op een ontwikkelingsproces dat gebaseerd is op initiatief, deelname en toepassing door de gemeenschap zelf. De benadering van het nemen van het initiatief, de participatie in- en de implementatie van het proces door de bevolking zelf is hierbij centraal. Het incorporeert de kennissystemen, culturen en instituties van de lokale gemeenschap in het proces van ontwikkeling.

De belangrijke rol van de lokale gemeenschap in ontwikkeling heeft twee implicaties: 1) het ontwikkelingsbeleid dient zowel economische- als niet-economische factoren te incorporeren; en 2) ontwikkelingsbeleid voor lokale gemeenschappen dat afhankelijk is van de speciale

kenmerken van de gemeenschap, die onderling tussen de gemeenschappen kunnen varieren. Sommige factoren die in het ontwikkelingsbeleid waren verwaarloosd, zoals de socio-culturele en ecologische factoren, zijn langzamerhand in het bredere concept van *communiy development* opgenomen. Vervolgens werd nadat de benadering van 'duurzame ontwikkeling' die in de tachtiger jaren was geintroduceerd door Brundtland (WCED 1987), en daarna gevolgd werd door de introductie van het concept van de 'culturele dimensie van ontwikkeling' door Warren Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995), de aandacht voor *community development* verder uitgebreid naar het concept van *sustainable community development,* zoals voorgesteld door Toledo (2001). De benadering van 'duurzame ontwikkeling' dat economische, sociale en ecologische factoren omvat, heeft ertoe geleid dat de benadering van ontwikkeling meer duurzaam werd opgevat. Uiteindelijk wordt de betrokkenheid van de lokale bevolking in het ontwikkelingsproces als een cruciale factor beschouwd in de succesvolle toepassing van 'duurzame ontwikkeling'. Het verwaarlozen van de culturele factor heeft geleid tot het falen om de doelstellingen van ontwikkeling te bereiken (*cf* Woodley *et al* 2006). Vandaar dat de recent door COMPAS (2007) geintroduceerde benadering van 'endogene ontwikkeling' die de visie van *sustainable community development* ondersteunt, zich richt op een voortgaand proces van adaptatie en innovatie in ontwikkeling. In dit kader wordt het universum waarin de nauw met elkaar verbonden menselijke, natuurlijke en spirituele werelden zo opgevat worden om de relaties in een harmonieuze balans te houden. In een dergelijke configuratie kan de effectiviteit van ontwikkeling niet alleen maar door materiele vooruitgang beoordeeld worden, maar ook vanuit de geestelijke verworvenheden en omstandigheden van de leefomgeving van de bevolking (*cf.* Hiemstra 2008).

De rol van de lokale cultuur en de participatie van de bevolking in ontwikkeling omvatten twee belangrijke concepten in het huidige debat over de 'culturele dimensie van ontwikkeling' (*cf* Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha 1995; Slikkerveer 2012). Beide concepten zijn direct verbonden met het begrip van de gemeenschap, en de wijze waaop duurzame ontwikkeling op het niveau van de gemeenschap geintroduceerd zou moeten worden. Om *sustainable community development* te bereiken is het onvermijdelijk om de rol van de lokale instituties die in de gemeenschappen gedurende vele generaties hebben gefunctioneerd, daadwerkelijk bij elk ontwikkelingprogramma te betrekken. De term 'institutie' omvat een algemene indeling van activiteiten die formeel of informeel georganiseerd zijn, evenal organisaties, conventionele kennis, gereguleerde gebruiken en inheemse kennis systemen en praktijken. Bovendien omvat een institutie ook de geschreven en ongeschreven regels, normen, waarden en beperkingen die de mensen begeleiden om onzekerheid te reduceren en hun milleu te beheersen. De incorporatie van zowel formele als informele instituties, inclusief de verschillende normen en lokale gebruiken van op de gemeenschap gebaseerde ontwikkelingsprogramma's hebben geleid tot de belangrijke rol van het 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) in *sustainable community development* dat verwijst naar een systeem van formele en informele machtsstructuren, instituties, activiteten, en de utilisatie daarvan, toegepast op verschillende niveaus van de gemeenschap. De 'Plural Community Institutional Systems' (PCINS) hebben aan duurzame ontwikkeling bijgedragen doordat deze de bevolking van de lokale gemeenschap van veel diensten hebben voorzien waaraan de leden behoefte hebben. Het omvat zowel de lokale economie, de socio-culturele en medische voorzieningen en onderwijs, alsook communicatie-middelen.

Het onderscheid tussen de emic en etic benaderingen van ontwikkeling classificeert de 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) in het 'Traditional Community Institution' (TRCIN), het 'Transitional Community Institution' (TSCIN) en het 'Modern Community Institution' (MDCIN). Dit onderscheid vereist een speciale methodologie om 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) vanuit het emic en etic perspectief te analyseren. Terwijl het 'Traditional Community Institution' (TRCIN) wordt beschouwd als een 'bottom-up' institutie,

waarbij de initiatieven van de lokale bevolking in de vestiging en werkwijze daarvan betrokken zijn, kan het 'Modern Community Institution' (MDCIN) worden beschouwd als een 'top-down' institutie dat betrokken is bij de externe invloeden op de vestiging en werkwijze daarvan. Het 'Transitional Community Institution' (TSCIN) wordt gedefinieerd als een institutie die een combinatie vormt tussen enerzijds de externe 'top-down'invloeden op de gemeenschap met anderzijds de interne 'bottom-up' initiativen van de lokale bevolking zelf. Hoewel elk systeem een andere rol in de gemeenschap speelt, blijkt het 'Traditional Community Institution' (TRCIN) de lokale bevolking al generaties lang van de meest duurzame ontwikkeling te hebben voorzien (*cf* Uphoff 1986; Keohane 1988; Watson 2003; Marsh 2003; Menard & Shirley 2005; Agung 2005; Leurs 2010; Aiglsperger 2014; Slikkerveer 2017, 2019). Vervolgens geeft Slikkerveer (2019) een geavancerde bijdrage aan de uitvoering van de 'bottom-up' benadering in *sustainable community-managed development* met de introductie van de concepten van 'Integrated Microfinance Management' (IMM) and 'Integrated Community-Managed Development' (ICMD) om 'duurzame ontwikkeling ' in Indonesie te realiseren.

Deze geïntegreerde benadering, zoals verwoord door Ledgerwood (1998) en verder geoperationaliseerd door Slikkerveer (2007, 2012, 2019), tracht manieren te ondersteunen waarop het perspectief van de lokale bevolking betrokken kan worden bij het beleid, en de plannen en projecten van ontwikkeling, terwijl tegelijkertijd de bestaande instituties van de gemeenschap worden gefunctionaliseerd op een geintegreerde wijze, teneinde de doelstellingen van op de lokale gemeenschap gebasseerde ontwikkeling te bereiken. In deze benadering wordt een gebalanceerde 'globale-lokale-configuratie' gecreëerd, die volgens Leakey (2016) ruimte biedt aan '*the best of both worlds'* in het ontwikkelingsproces, dat verder versterkt zal worden door een dergelijk integratieproces. Het emic perspectief op het concept van balans is belangrijk aangezien het verband houdt met de harmonische relaties tussen de drie gepercipieerde werelden van de inheemse cosmologieën, waarin de mens een centrale poisitie inneemt.

In Indonesie komen honderden etno-culturele groepen voor die over de Archipel verstreid zijn, elk met hun eigen specifieke vorm van inheemse cosmologie. Deze sub-culturen zijn grotendeels gefundeerd op hun cosmologieën, in elk waarvan het concept van balans tussen de menselijke, natuurlijke en spirituele werelden een belangrijke rol in hun dagelijks leven speelt. Interessante voorbeelden van dergelijke generaties-oude inheemse instituties worden gegeven door het onderzoek van Agung (2005) naar *Tri Hita Karana* ('Three Foundations of Well-Being') van de Balinese cosmovision, evenals door dit onderzoek naar *Tritangtu* ('Three Realms of Life'*)* van de Sundanese cosmovision in West Java, waarin de harmonieuze balans tussen de drie werelden verwijst naar het welzijn van de lokale bevolking.

De algemene doelstelling van dit onderzoek is om de utilisatie van het 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) door de lokale bewoners in de Sunda Region van West Java te bestuderen, zoals dat met behulp van de steekproeven in de vier dorpsgemeenschappen is onderzocht. De studie omvat de identificatie, documentatie en analyse van de significante factoren die het utilisatiepatroon van de lokale bevolking beinvloeden, verdeeld over de drie met elkaar verbonden traditionele, transitionele en moderne instituties op het niveau van de lokale gemeenschappen. Apart van de dynamische configuratie van het utilisatiegedrag door de locale bevolking van het 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) in het onderzoeksgebied toont dit onderzoek ook aan, dat de inheemse kennis, geloof en praktijken als deel van hun cosmologie voornamelijk door de armen en groepen met een laag inkomen in de lokale gemeenschappen worden behouden en gepreserveerd, waardoor de bescherming en verbetering van deze dikwijls kwetsbare leden van de gemeenschap zeer urgent is in ontwikkelings-programma's en projecten (*cf.* Sumardjo 2010; Siregar 2010; Djen Amar 2010; Aiglsperger 2014). De resultaten van dit onderzoek tonen ook aan dat de kennis en overtuigingen van de bevolking de neiging vertonen om het patroon van hun utilisatiegedrag te domineren, boven de socio-demografische en economische achtergrondsfactoren van de respondenten. Dat betekent

dat hoewel de ’Modern Community Institutional System’ (MCINS) de lokale bevolking economisch heeft gesteund, de socio-culturele motieven dominant blijken te zijn in de praktijk van *Gintingan* dat zich ontwikkeld en aangepast heeft tot verschillende vormen, zoals het bouwen van huizen en waterreservoirs als een typische vorm van een inheemse Sundanese institutie. Deze studie laat echter ook zien, dat zekere discrepanties in de praktijk van *Gintingan* zijn geëvolueerd en aangepast op basis van de verschillende loacaties van de vier dorpen waar het onderzoek is uitgevoerd.

Zo vertonen de mensen in de rurale gebieden waar de praktijk van *Gintingan* zich heeft ontwikkeld en aangepast naar verschillende vormen, inclusief het bouwen van huizen en waterreservoirs, dat zij de neiging hebben om deze inheemse instituties te handhaven, terwijl de mensen in het centrale en urbane gebied andere vormen van beschikbare instituties gebruiken.
Terwijl mensen in de urbane gebieden tegenwoorig geld moeten sparen of een hypotyheek voor vele jaren moeten nemen als zij een huis willen bezitten, prefereert de lokale bevolking van Subang, met name in het dorp, een aangepaste vorm, bekend als *Andilan*. In plaats van de utilisatie van *Gintingan* voor een huwelijksceremonie of rituelen geeft de lokale bevolking er de voorkeur aan om deze inheemse institutie te gebruiken om huizen en waterreservoirs te bouwen. Interessant is, dat de bevolking graag de traditie wil handhaven teneinde de sociale cohesie onder de leden van de gemeenschap te behouden.

In hun opinie zouden transacties met moderne instituties, zoals banken en MFIs eindigen met de afbraak van hun sociale relaties. Deze onderzoeksresultaten ondersteunen het beschikbare theoretisch bewijs, dat verklaart dat de cosmologie van de lokale bevolking van *Tritangtu* niet alleen hun leven beinvloedt, inclusief de utilisatie van ‘Community Institutional Systems’ (CINS), maar ook dat de lokale bevolking hun voorkeur uitspreekt voor de utilisatie van de Traditional Community Institution (47.5 %), in vergelijking met de bestaande Transitional Community Institution (32.5%) en de Modern Community Institution (20%). Dit resultaat geeft een positief perspectief op de revitalisering van de ‘Traditional Community Institution’s (TRCIN) in Subang, die op hun beurt het proces van *sustainable community development* zou versterken.

De theoretische implicaties van de resultaten van dit onderzoek naar de rol van de voorgestelde ‘Integrated Community Institutions’ (INCIN) in *sustainable community development* worden ondersteund door de op bewijs gebaseerde resultaten uit het onderzoek. Het relatief hogere utilisatiegedrag van de lokale bevolking van de ‘Traditional Community Institution’(TRCIN) en de ‘Transitional Community Institution’ (TSCIN) staat los van de huidige processen van globalisering en modernisering in het onderzoeksgebied. In dit verband vertoont de lokale bevolking de neiging om meer waarde te hechten aan de handhaving van een harmonieus gebalanceerd leven, met name binnen hun gemeeschap en milleefmilieu.

De resultaten van deze studie versterken de theoretische implicaties van de op bewijs gebaseerde gegevens dat de lokale bevolking er de voorkeur aan geeft om de traditionele gemeenschaps-instituties te gebruiken, eerder dan de beschikbare alternatieve transitionele en moderne instituties. De resultaten tonen ook aan, dat de benadering van het emic perspectief een bevestiging is dat de rol van de 'culturele dimensie van ontwikkeling' zoals geintroduceerd door Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha (1995) ook van cruciaal belang is in de regio van Subang, waar de bevolking nog steeds hun culturele tradities toepassen en de functionalisering van de inheemse instituties intregreren in *sustainable community development,* evenals de daarbij betrokken toepassing van de op de *ethnoscience* gebaseerde methoden en technieken om het onmisbare emic perspectief te onderzoeken. Deze zijn immers cruciaal om *sustainable community development* te realiseren, hetgeen in sterke tegenstelling staat tot de weinige kritieke visie op het succes van de integratie van cultuur binnen het ontwikkelingsproces.
De reealisering van de grote betekenis van een dergelijke integratie van de socio-culturele context in het ontwikkelingsbeleid zoals dit in dit huidige onderzoek wordt onderstreept, zou het

Ministerie van Nationale Ontwikkeling & Planning (BAPPENNAS meer aandacht te schenken aan de wijze waarop de 'culturle dimensie van ontwikkeling' geintegreerd zou kunnen worden. Bovendien impliceren de onderzoeskresultaten ook, dat toekomstig ontwikkelingsbeleid rekening houdt met de culturele diversiteit zoals deze besproken is in de theoretische orientatie in samenhang met het ondersteunende bewijs van dit onderzoek. De uniformiteit van de ontwikkelingsbeleid met een focus op de 'top-down' benadering van ontwikkeling zou niet voortgezet moeten worden, en deze zou tenminste geintegreerd moeten worden met de duurzame orientatie naar realistische 'bottom-up' initiatieven op het niveau van de gemeenschappen. Een dergelijke reorientatie vereist een 'bottom-up' benadering om de lokale bevolking zelf daarbij te betrekken en macht te geven om te beslissen op welke wijze zij hun welvaart willen verbeteren door te participeren in de lokale ontwikkelingsprocessen van dergelijke innovatieve strategieën van 'Integrated Community-Managed Development' (ICMD). Bovendien wordt aanbevolen om met de psycho-sociale factoren betrokken bij inheemse kennis, geloof, praktijken en instituties rekening te houden teneinde verder bij te dragen aan het creëren van milieu- en sociaal duurzame vormen van ontwikkeling.

Aangezien lokle wijsheid en ervaring hebben aangetoond, dat zij overleven als een integraal onderdeel van de lokale cultuur en de daarmee verbonden cosmologie van een gemeenschap waarin inheemse instituties zoals *Gintingan* een dergelijk belangrijke rol spelen, deze in overweging zouden genomen moeten worden in toekomstige nationale processen van planning en toepassing van beleid. Terwijl de 'Traditional Community Institution' (TRCIN) gebruikt zijn door de bevolking van Indonesië over vele generaties, zijn de 'Modern Community Institution' (MDCIN) en de 'Transitional Community Institution' (TSCIN) later in de gemeenschappen geintroduceerd, hoofdzakelijk door de 'top-down' benadering van ontwikkelingsbeleid en ondersteunende schema's. Desalniettemin hebben de 'Traditional Community Institutions' (TRCIN) ook geprofiteerd van het proces van globalisering, inclusief het toegenomen gebruik van de media, waarmee traditionele kennis, geloof en praktijken onder de vele mensen buiten de gemeenschappen verspreid worden.

Het resultaat van het 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) in de Sunda Region van West Java voorziet in een interessant fenomeen, dat verder onderzoek behoeft teneinde aanvullende steun te verlenen voor de toekomst van beleid en praktijken voor gemeenschapsinstituties, die gericht zijn op de verbetering van de algehele welvaart van de bevolking op het niveau van de gemeenschap.

Deze studie heeft de beoogde doelstellingen als volgt bereikt:

Ten eerste: de theoretische oriëntatie wordt in Hoofdstuk II gepresenteerd, waarin de rol van de 'Plural Community Institutional Systems' (PCINS) in *sustainable community development* wordt uiteengezet, met speciale nadruk op de rol van 'Traditional Community Institution' (TRCIN). Het omvat een beschrijving van de invloed van globalisering op dit systeem in Indonesië, en op welke wijze de perspectieven van de ethno-economie en ethno-ontwikkeling operationeel zijn in de global-local interacties. Het debat in ontwikkelingsstudies onderstreept in Hoofdstuk II het feit, dat de 'culturele dimensie van ontwikkeling' niet kan worden verwaarloosd bij de pogingen om welvaart te bereiken als de centrale doelstelling van elk duurzaam ontwikkelingsprogramma, inclusief de pogingen om armoede te verlichten. Pogingen tot de reductie van armoede door alleen de economisch-financiele benadering zou niet alleen leiden tot mislukking, maar zou ook deze doelgroep van de bevolking in de gemeenschappen buitensluiten, indien zij niet betrokken worden in het algehele ontwikkelingsproces. Terwijl armoede momenteel gemeten wordt aan de hand van multidimensionele factoren, bestaat er behoefte aan een geintegreerde benadering van de verbetering van welvaart op gemeenschapsniveau, inclusief de incorporatie van de participatie van de bevolking in het beleid, en de plannen en programma's van ontwikkeling. De theoretische

orientatie op de rol van de 'Plural Community Institutional Systems' (PCINS) in *sustainable community development* ondersteunt de argumenten en resultaten van de huidige studie. De utilisatie van de traditionele gemeenschapsinstituties zoals door de lokale bevolking is gerapporteerd lijkt tamelijk onafhankelijk van de processen van globalisering en modernisering, waarbij zij de voorkeur vertonen om een gebalanceerd leven te handhaven, in het bijzonder binnen hun gemeenschap en leefomgeving. Deze gebieden omvatten niet alleen de regio's van hoog- en laagvlakten, maar ook rurale en urbane zones en milieugebieden.

De complementaire combinatie van kwalitatief en kwantitatief onderzoek is niet alleen gebruikt om een beter begrip van het onderwerp te verkrijgen, maar ook om een algemeen beeld te krijgen van de spreiding van het utilisatiegedrag door de locale bevolking van de naast elkaar bestaande gemeenschapsinstituties. De kwantitatieve gegevens zijn met behulp van huishoud surveys verzameld tussen maart en mei 2012 in aansluiting op het ethnografisch veldwerk dat uitgevoerd is in maart 2011. Het onderzoek is aangevuld met enkele bezoeken aan het gebied tussen 2011 en 2016, teneinde te verifiëren of de verzamelde gegevens van het onderzoek up-to-date waren.

De geschikte conceptuele modellen die in dit onderzoek voor de analyse van gegevens zijn gebruikt, zijn gebaseerd op op het 'Transcultural Utilisation Model', dat is ontwikkeld door Slikkerveer (1990, 1995, 2012), en dat de evaluatie mogelijk maakt van de cognitieve en gedragsmatige componenten van gedrag van specifieke groepen of gemeenschappen als 'systemen' in een speciaal op processen gebaseerde wijze. Het onderzoek maakt gebruik van een multidimensionele benadering van *ethno-economics* en de 'cultural dimension' van *sustainable community development*, 'gebaseerd op het belangrijke bewijs dat het gedrag van een individu wordt beinvloed door een aantal factoren, t.w. socio-demographische, psycho-sociale, gepercipieerde en in staat stellende behoeften, institutionele, en milieufactoren, en interveniërende variables.

Ten derde, het algemene profiel en de sociografie van het onderzoeksgebied worden beschreven in Hoofdtuk IV, inclusief de socio-economische ontwikkeling van de regio, en een overzicht van het socio-economische ontwikkelingsbeleid van Indonesië, West Java en het Subang District. De korte beschrijving van Indonesië en Subang als het onderzoeksgebied verschaft een belangrijk inzicht in Indonesië als een land met honderden ethno-culturele groepen, inclusief de Sundanese bevolkingsgroep. Een beschrijving van de situatie van het onderzoek wordt grotendeels gepresenteerd op basis van kwalitatieve onderzoeksgegevens in de vorm van de sociografie van Subang in de Sunda Region van West Java in Indonesië. De sociografie beschrijft de historische achtergrond van de socio-economische ontwikeling in het gebied inclusief de economische activiteiten en de verschillende aanwezige 'Plural Community Institutional Systems' (PCINS) op het niveau van de gemeenschap, met name de inheemse institutie van *Gintingan,* alhoewel de details van deze institutie verder in Hoofdstuk VII worden uitgewerkt.

Ten vierde, de specifieke profielen van de vier dorpen waar het onderzoek is uitgevoerd worden beschreven in Hoofdstuk V, inclusief hun socio-demografische en socio-economische profielen. Het omvat ook de uitwerking van het concept en de toepasssing van het bestaande 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) en de rol daarvan in *sustainable community development* in het onderzoeksgebied. Door toepassing van de participatore emic benadering heeft de onderzoeker verscheidee maanden bij de bevolking in de vier geselecteerde dorpen gewoond in de Sunda Region van Subang in West Java, die gelegen zijn in rurale, semi-rurale, semi–urbane en urbane gebieden in het onderzoeksgebied. Dat betreft *Cimanglid* (een rurale gemeenschap), *Bunihayu* (een semi-rurale gemeenschap), *Mayangan* (een semi-urbane gemeenschap) and *Sukamelang* (een urbane gemeenschap).

Ten vijfde: het concept en de benaderingen van *sustainable community development* in Indonesië wordt uitgewerkt in Hoofdstuk VI, dat zowel een evaluatie van de vooruitgang van het ontwikkelingsproces, alsook van de behoefte om het 'Community Institutional System' (CINS) in deze benadering te incorporeren, met name de traditionele gemeeschapsinstituties. De uitwerking toont de ontoereikende, vooral beperkte financiele en economische benaderingen aan van *community development*, dat gevolgt wordt door een nadruk op de belangrijke rol van de cultuur en de gemeenschapsinstituties in ontwikkeling op het niveau van de geenschap. Er wordt aangetoond, dat Ind Indonesië ermee heeft geworstelt om de vooruitgang in het ontwikkelingsproces te verbeteren, dat verder gaat dan alleen maar financiële en inkomensgerichte maatregelen. De betrokkenheid daarbij van een inheemse institutie zoals *Gintingan* in beleid, plannen programma's is door de regering verwaarloosd. Zo heeft de centrale en locale regering nauwelijks rekening gehouden met de belangrijke culturele dimensie van inheemse kennis systemen (IKS), en cosmologieën, evenals met locale wijsheid, ondanks het feit de regering zich bewust is van het belang om de *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) van de United Nations (2015) te bereiken.

Ten zesde: de beschrijving van de Sundanese cosmologie van *Tritangtu* en de invloed daarvan op het levensonderhoud van de Sundanese bevolking, in het bijzonder in het onderzoeksgebied van Subang, wordt uitgewerkt in Hoofdtuk VII. De Sundanese cosmologie omvat het traditionele principe van het handhaven van een harmonieuze balans in het leven tussen de werelden van mensen, goden en de natuur als onderdeel van het universum dat gericht is op het bereiken van een hoge staat van welzijn. De Sundanese cosmologie van *Tritangtu* beinvloedt de locale Sundanese bevolking in de verschillende activiteiten van hun leven, kunst, cultuur en instututies. Op deze wijze vertegenwoordigt *Tritangtu* een voorbeeld hoe de Sudanese cosmologie de sociale interactries en instituties in hun dagelijks leven beinvloedt, met name hun socio-economische en culturele activiteiten. De inheemse institutie is gebaseerd op gemeenschapszin en participatie. Dit is bekend bij alle individuen en huishoudens van de locale bevolking van Subang, waarbij wel rekening dient te worden gehouden dat deze traditie reeds vele jaren wordt toegepast.

Hoewel de traditionele institutie van *Gintingan* zich in verschillende vormen ontwikkeld en aangepast heeft, vertoont de locale bevolking in de rurale gebieden de neiging om de dit type traditionele institutie te handhaven, terwijl de bevolking in de centrale en urbane gebieden andere typen van instituties gebruiken, voornamelijk vanwege de beschikbaarheid van moderne gemeenschapsinstituties. De locale bevolking wordt gemotiveerd om de praktijk van deze inheemse institutie aan te houden teneinde de sociale cohesie onder de bevolking in de dorpen te handhaven, terwijl zij ervan overtuigd zijn dat het aangaan van transacties met moderne institutions zoals banken en MFIs nadelig zou zijn voor hun sociale interacties.

Ten zevende: de kwantitatieve resultaten van het onderzoek door de analyse van de stapsgewijze *bivariate* en *mutual relations analyses* van de household surveys worden in Hoofdstuk VIII uitgewerkt, en tonen de differentiële relaties van significante factoren aan in relatie tot het gerapporteerde utilisatiegedrag van de 'Traditional, Transitional en Modern Community Institutional Systems' door de locale bevolking in Subang.

De resultaten van het onderzoek bevestigen de bestaande theorie en eerder empirisch bewijs dat de inheemse cosmologie van *Tritangtu* van de locale bevolking hun leven en levensonderhoud beinvloeden, inclusief hun utilisatie van het 'Community Institutional System' (CINS), waarover de locale bevolking, vertegenwoordigd door 345 respondenten uit de steekproeven van de dorpen in Subang rapporteert, dat zij er de voorkeur aan geven om gebruik te maken van de traditionele gemeenschapsinstitutie (47.5 %), in vergelijking tot de bestaande transitionele gemeenschapsinstitutie (32.5%) en de moderne gemeenschaps-institutie (20%).

De factoren die het meest van invloed blijken te zijn op de utilisatiepatronen betreffen: 1) de socio-demografische variabelen; de relatie tot het huishouden, geslacht, en het beroep van de respondent; 2) de psycho-sociale variabelen; kennisniveau van bestaande tradities en gebruiken; kennisniveau van moderne instituties gerelateerd aan financiële dienstverlening en medische zorg; het geloof in Sundanese levensstijl, en het geloof in een cosmopolitische levensstijl; 3) de gepercipieerde behoeften; respectievelijk de financiële behoefte, medische zorg, onderwijs, en tenslotte sociale ondersteuning vanuit de gemeenschap; 4) de in staat stellende variabelen; de mogelijkheid om te kunnen sparen; 5) de institutionele variabelen; respectievelijk het doel van traditionele instituties; het doel van moderne instituties; het doel van transitionele instituties; en tenslotte de organisatiestructuur van moderne instituties; 6) de omgevingsvariabelen; de natuurlijke omgeving van het dorp; de geografische zones van het dorp; de residentiele status in het dorp; 7) de interveniërende variabelen, waarvan er twee van invloed bleken te zijn, t.w. de publieke promotie van moderne instituties; de commerciële organisatie en de regulering van moderne instituties.

Ten achtste: de stapsgewijze analyse van de kwantitatieve data wordt voortgezet in Hoofdstuk IX, waarin de dynamiek van de relaties tussen de bovengenoemde zeven blokken van variabelen verder wordt uitgewerkt naar een model voor de toepassing van het systeem van 'Plural Community Institutional Systems' (PCINS). De uitwerking moet leiden tot een strategisch bruikbaar instrument om duurzame ontwikkeling op lokaal niveau, en een participerende rol daarin van de bevolking te bereiken. De multivariate regressieanalyse, die gebruik maakt van een non-lineaire canonische correlatie analyse (OVERALS) op grond van de kleinste kwadraten methode om de waarde van relaties tussen de genoemde blokken te laten zien, toont daarmee ook de validiteit van het utilisatiemodel aan. Het model laat verder zien, dat de respondenten uit de vier dorpen een voorkeur hebben voor de traditionele instituties, ten opzichte van de utilisatie van transitionele en moderne instituties.

Tenslotte: de conclusies, implicaties en aanbevelingen worden gepresenteerd in Hoofdstuk X, en geven aan op welke wijze het onderzoek is uitgevoerd en beantwoordt aan de betreffende doelstellingen. Verder wordt aangegeven in hoeverre de theoretische, methodologische en praktische implicaties kunnen worden teruggevoerd op de validiteit van de emic benadering en de in dit onderzoek toegepaste 'Leiden Ethnosystems Approach'. Het hoofdstuk presenteert daarnaast een strategisch model van 'Integrated Community Institutions' (INCIN), dat is voortgekomen uit de voorafgaande modellen van 'Integrated Microfinance Management'(IMM), en het recente 'Integrated Community Management Development' (ICMD), die zijn geïntroduceerd door Slikkerveer (2007, 2012, 2019). Het model is gebaseerd op de analyse van de gedragspatronen in de utilisatie van het 'Plural Community Institutional System' (PCINS) door de locale bevolking en moet dienen als een instrument voor een 'bottom-up' benadering van ontwikkeling.

Het is de verwachting dat het model zal bijdragen aan de uitbreiding van de toegepaste *ethnoscience* voor ontwikkelingsvraagstukken, en als ondersteuning zal dienen voor beleidsmakers die zich richten op duurzame ontwikkeling. Zo zal het model een bijdrage leveren aan het bereiken van duurzame ontwikkeling op lokaal niveau, met name voor de bevolking van Subang, en uiteindelijk voor geheel Indonesië.

Curriculum Vitae

Kurniawan Saefullah was born on the 22nd of May, 1974 in Bandung, Indonesia. He is the second child of Asep Djadja Saefullah and Ehoy Nurhayati Saefullah. He is the second among five siblings, including Ratnasari, Satianugraha, Pahlasari, and Hikmawan. Married to Vina Adriany Ahmad and has three children: Iqbal Saefullah, Hanfa Saefullah and Tsalitsa Saefullah. After finished from high school, he continue his undergraduate study in Padjadjaran University in 1992 and graduated in 1997 with a degree of Sarjana Ekonomi, with a major in Cooperative Management. He then continue to do his master at the International Islamic University Malaysia and graduated in 2002 with a degree of Master of Economics.

His acquaintance with Leiden University, started when he joined the Integrated Microfinance Management (IMM) project for Poverty Reduction and Development in Indonesia in 2009, under the International Consortium of Integrated Microfinance Management (ICIMM), initiated by the Leiden Ethnosystems and Development Programme (LEAD) of Faculty Science, Leiden University with the members of Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung Indonesia; Meditteranean Agronomic Institute of Chania (MAICH), Crete of Greece; and Indonesian Association for Microfinance Empowerment (GEMA PKM) Indonesia.

He then started to join the Ph.D programme under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Dr.(H.C) L. Jan Slikkerveer in 2010, although during 2010 until 2012 he was supporting the implementation of the IMM Project, from the module development, tutor training, prepared the proposal of the establishment of M.IMM Programme at Universitas Padjadjaran, including giving lectures and workshops for the new students of M.IMM Programme. During the implementation of M.IMM Project, he managed to do his fieldwork in four villages of Kabupaten Subang in West Java Province, focusing on the role of an Indigenous Institution of *Gintingan* in Sustainable Community Development of the People in Subang.

When the IMM Project has ended in 2013, he then continued his Ph.D research at Leiden University under the support of the LEAD Programme, Faculty of Science, Leiden University. During his PhD research, he participated in several projects and programmes, workshops, seminars as well as tutors, *i.e.* European Union's Over The Counter (OTC) Projects in 2011-2012, International IMM Workshops and Seminar from 2012 to 2018, Executive Training on Higher Education Management in 2014, International Workshop on Ethnoeducation in 2017.