

# Towards Sustainable Rural Development : An Ethnographic Approach to Crafts Development Projects in West Java, Indonesia

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Doctoral Degree Thesis

Towards Sustainable Rural Development: An Ethnographic  
Approach to Crafts Development Projects in West Java,  
Indonesia

持続可能な地域開発のための民族誌的アプローチ—  
インドネシア西ジャワの工芸品開発プロジェクトを事例に

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## **ABSTRACT**

The crafts development project has played a crucial role in improving socio-economic situations in Indonesia at the local, regional, and national levels. Amid this general trend, a top-down development project adopted by the government to reach grassroots crafts practitioners has resulted in an overlap of development systems among parties across the past three decades. Yet, these attempts to develop the industries inevitably interfere with the preservation of producers' skills and customs. As the outcome of the ethnographic field research, this study found many missing links in the idea of "developing crafts" for involved parties. Different visions among the project stakeholders and the craftspeople as the targeted subjects have resulted in a dichotomy in the way the crafts themselves are valued. By choosing the West Java bamboo crafts industries as its field of ethnographic research, this study aims to acknowledge the meaning of the traditional and industrialized crafts for the craftspeople, the intermediaries, and the local-to-national stakeholders in regard to the development works in the past and present. This study will propose the ethnographic and participatory approaches as well-honed tools to understand and to bridge the broken thread of the development project cycle in respect to the understandings of subject-object relations and the method of project ethnography in crafts-producing activities. The result is expected to be advantageous for all parties involved in future crafts development projects.

**Keywords:** ethnographic approach, participatory, crafts development projects, bamboo crafts industries, West Java

## 論文要旨

工芸品開発プロジェクトは、ローカルなレベルから国家レベルまでインドネシアの社会・経済的状況を向上させるうえで重要な役割を果たしてきた。しかしながら、政府による草の根の工芸実践者たちへのトップダウンのプロジェクトは、過去30年にわたりさまざまな異なる組織間の開発システムが重複する事態を招いている。また、このような工芸産業の発展に向けた取り組みは、必然的に生産者らの技術や慣習の維持を妨げている。本研究は、民族誌的フィールドワーク調査に基づき、それぞれの関係団体における「工芸品開発」という理念に乖離—ミッシングリンクがあることを明らかにした。事業を担う各ステークホルダーと開発の主たる対象となる生産者たちの間で異なるビジョンが存在するために、工芸品の価値づけを二極分化させ混乱が生じている。本研究の目的は、西ジャワにおける竹製工芸品を事例に、過去と現在における開発事業に関して、生産者や仲介者、また地方自治体から政府レベルに至る各ステークホルダーにとっての伝統的/現代的な工芸品の意義を検討することである。本研究では、工芸品生産活動における主体と客体関係の理解およびプロジェクトエスノグラフィーの手法を参照しながら、開発事業のサイクルにおいて途切れたリンクを結びつけるための有効な手段として民族誌や参与観察といった方法を示す。本研究の成果として、今後の工芸品開発プロジェクトに関わるすべての人々や組織にとって有益なものとなることが期待される。

**キーワード：**民族誌的アプローチ、参加型、工芸開発プロジェクト、竹製工芸品、西ジャワ、インドネシア

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Community development is an important topic in many sectors of national, regional, and local discourse in Indonesia. Many stakeholders from the government officials and non-government agencies to the local intermediaries, are commonly in charge of so-called “development projects” or works in a similar vein. The issue of crafts-based development works has also been long established in previous decades, although it has become a game of socio-political football, since the idea of the “creative economy” has been growing recently. The concept of crafts-based development projects varies at different levels, however, and overlaps across development parties resulting in misconceptions about the projects among the craftspeople who are targeted by them.

The stagnant state and ineffective spending of the development projects are the starting point of this study. The lack of understanding of the targeted subjects and areas for the development projects has been also an obstacle to making the projects sustainable and progressive. What, how, why, and whom to develop; where should the development strategy be started? These questions have been aimlessly addressed in the development projects system.

As a result, the varied projects cause disorientation at the grassroots levels of the projects and result in the distrust of the idea of “development project” for the crafts producers. Meanwhile, the bamboo crafts industries have taken root separately from the top-down development movements in the socio-economic spheres of craftspeople, both for traditional products such as everyday utensils and traditional packaging made of bamboo, and for the industrialized bamboo crafts business. Different visions and



missions between the government officials and the craftspeople construct a dualism in developing the social, cultural, and economic conditions in the local crafts sectors in Indonesia. Taking the bamboo industry in West Java as its subject, this study aims to find a new system for the crafts industries development projects that has mutual benefits for all the parties involved, from the craftspeople and the stakeholders at the local, regional, and national levels to the local communities that are often involved in the crafts projects.

### **1.1 Research Overview**

The long connections of bamboo material, West Java people, and related collective behaviors such as farming and daily utensil making have been rooting in the historical background of this area. The Galunggung Mountain eruptions in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries have transformed the soil in West Java into more fertile so that they have abundant natural materials including bamboo. Since then, the southeast of West Java such as Tasikmalaya and Garut regencies have been famous for their craftsmanship activities. Following the changes in the socio-economic situations, the craftspeople expanded their skills in fulfilling their everyday needs into the commodification objects which shape their environment into bamboo cottage industries until nowadays.

West Java's crafts and handicrafts sectors have made significant contributions to the process of developing the socio-economic state of Indonesia. Most producers are involved with the local market chains and business owners from outside the production areas, but the industry's processes are all fulfilled by West Java's craftspeople. However, these craftspeople see a very minimal amount of profit compared to their businesses partners, who sell the products to their markets in big

cities. The skilled craftspeople are placed at the very bottom of the economic chains in the bamboo crafts industry, while their knowledge is stated at the top.

The global trend in the creative industries has been affecting micro, small, and medium-size enterprises in Indonesia. This situation gives a new sense of chaos in attempts to preserve the existing crafts traditions and in following the “creative” crafts. To make products that are considered part of the “creative economy” categorization, there must be added values—either in the concept of the products or in the transformation of traditional forms. The creative economy concept has been reaching practitioners at the national and regional levels, but many of the local crafts industries have continued with their existing markets. Regarding the ongoing trend in the markets, the regional and local governments of West Java see that transforming the traditional crafts into hybrid or modified traditional products (Larasati, 1999; Nugraha, 2005) is a means to raise the economic situations in the local crafts industries. The regional government in West Java has structured crafts-based development projects for the local craftspeople since the 1990s. The ideation of the projects is centered in the national government, but in practical terms the projects are run by regional and local government officials through the annual craft industries project. Yet, not all the crafts industries in West Java are industrialized bamboo industries. Many are skillful in producing traditional products but their numbers are decreasing owing to regeneration problems among the craftspeople.

Following the pioneering research of the 1960s (Arenberg & Niehoff, 1964; Goodenough, 1963; Spicer, 1952; 1976 in Nolan, 2002), the common ideas of the dualism between the development movement and the long-preserved traditions (Hoben & Timber, 1980 in Cernea, 1985) also have the discussion for the research related to community development in the 1980s (Cernea, 1985; Hoben, 1982;

Rondinelli, 1983). Previously, Chambers (1997; 2005) had also examined the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in the 1990s in work that was grounded in the rural development approach he had begun to develop in the 1970s. Although research in sociology and anthropology in the western world has acknowledged the obstructions and evolution of development works, the ethnographic approach has been used to a very minimal degree for the crafts-based development project in Indonesia, and it has been neglected as a crucial factor in their success.

Ethnographic research is seen as an important component of the crafts development works cycle since the object of the projects is to mediate the long-preserved crafts-making customs that are related to the everyday lives of the producers. The classic works of Evans-Pritchard (1940) and Hoskins (1993) revealed that ecological and human factors are interrelated and shaped people's ideas and cultural practices. By looking to the studies for means to "develop" the crafts industries, the development agencies should respect the long-established routines in the cottage industries where the crafts are produced.

This dissertation investigates the research background and problems through the following questions: 1) What are the present conditions of the development projects for the crafts industries in Indonesia? 2) How do the new technologies affect local crafts industries in West Java? 3) What are the present problems of the crafts development projects of Indonesia and how can solutions be arrived at? 4) How will the ethnographic approach potentially improve the development projects in West Java?

The discussion about the national, regional, and local development projects in West Java addresses the first question at the beginning of Chapter Three. The layers of stakeholders and their varied visions in "developing" bamboo crafts will also be

explained there. In relation to the second question, Chapters Three and Four provide information about two major types of bamboo cottage industries in West Java: the traditional and the industrialized bamboo cottage industries. By considering the theoretical framework set out in Chapter Two and the findings in the field discussed in Chapters Three and Four, Chapter Five will address research questions three and four, which accord with the goal of this study: to serve the needs of the crafts development project and produce benefits for all the subjects involved in the project, whether the work is done by the government officials or non-government parties in the future. Considering the findings from the ethnographic approach adopted in anthropological research in the past, the development works in many sectors of social studies, the importance of participatory projects in the project arenas, and the notions of subject–object relations in the MaP framework (Mohan & Douny, 2021), this dissertation expects that the results of this study will contribute to and propose a new approach for the future of the crafts development projects in Indonesia.

## **1.2 Research Locations and Subjects**

Normally for their activities to produce bamboo crafts, craftspeople in West Java live communally in bamboo cottage industry areas that are scattered across the northern Garut Regency (Selaawi subdistrict), western Tasikmalaya Regency (Salawu, Leuwisari, Padakembang, and Singaparna), and northern and western Tasikmalaya City (Indihiang and Mangkubumi). Other than the aforementioned areas, there are a few daily utensil producers in Tasikmalaya Regency, such as in Sukaratu and Cisayong and two or three families of bamboo curtain producers in Cigalontang, but this study will focus on the areas that might be taken to be representative for their producing activities as whole villages and historically consequential for the bamboo

crafts in West Java. To locate the bamboo crafts producers, the following are maps of Indonesia, Western Java, Garut Regency, Tasikmalaya Regency, and Tasikmalaya City.

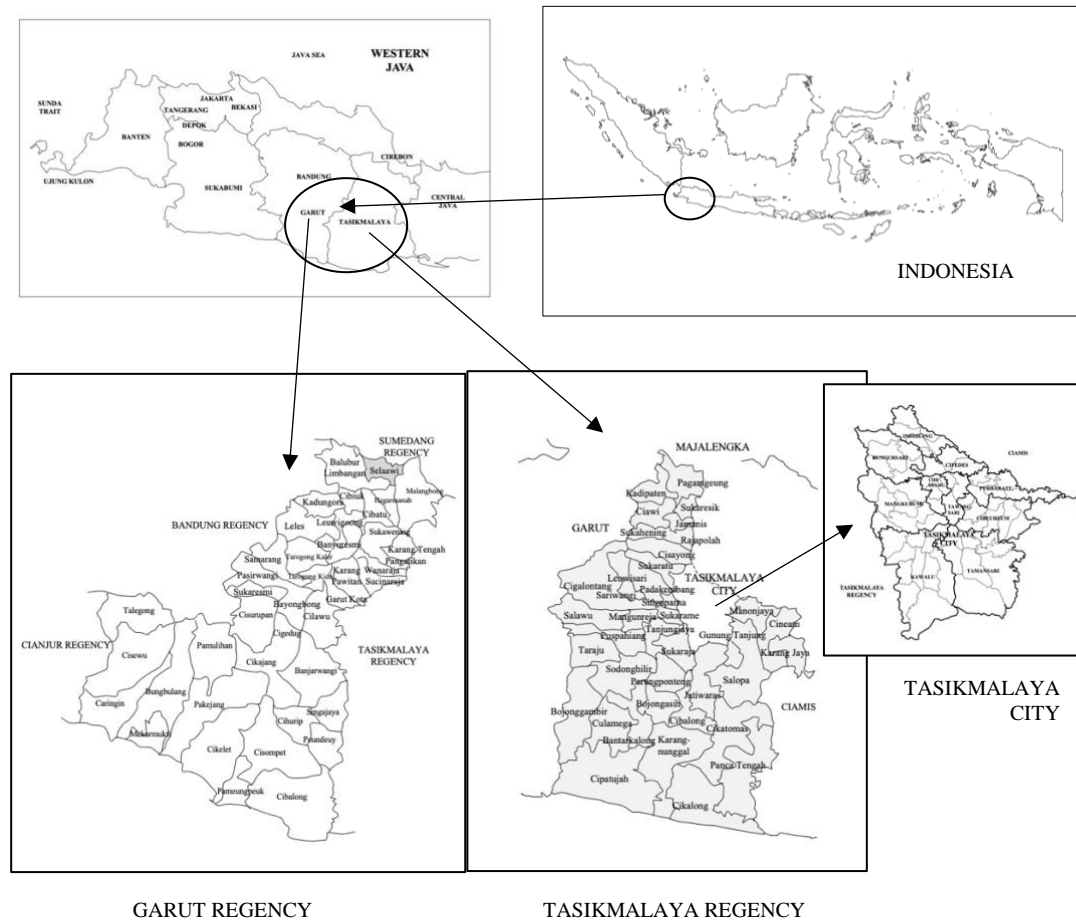


Figure 1 Map of Indonesia, Western Java, Garut Regency, Tasikmalaya Regency, and Tasikmalaya City.

Source: Author (traced)

To reach an understanding of all the research subjects at every level of the development project in West Java, this study has conducted interviews and made observations at the regional and local (city and regency) government levels; among non-government parties (local communities and creative economy committees); and

among a variety of crafts producers and artisans spread across Tasikmalaya Regency, Tasikmalaya City, and Garut Regency. The following is the highlighted information about the research subjects for this dissertation (see Appendix I for the detail of the material).

Table 1 Research subjects' information

NO	NAME
<b>Government Officials (National Level)</b>	
1	<b>Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy</b> (Kemenparekraf) 2019–2024
2	<b>Ministry of Cooperation, Small, Micro, and Medium-Size Enterprises</b> (KemenkopUKM)
3	<b>Ministry of Industry</b> (Kementerian Perindustrian)
4	The old “Baparekraf” or <b>Bekraf</b>
<b>Government Officials (Regional Level)</b>	
5	<b>Department of Tourism and Culture</b> (Disparbud Jawa Barat)
6	<b>Department of Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises</b> (DisKopUMKM Jawa Barat)
7	<b>Department of Trade and Industry of West Java</b> (Disperindag Jawa Barat)
<b>Semi-Government Official (Regional Level)</b>	
8	<b>KREASI</b> (Creative Economy Committee for West Java Crafts)
<b>Government Officials (Tasikmalaya City)</b>	
9	<b>Department of Industry and Commerce</b> (Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan, PERINDAG Kota Tasikmalaya)
10	<b>Department of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism</b> (Dinas Kepemudaan, Olahraga, Kebudayaan, dan Pariwisata Kota Tasikmalaya, DISPORABUDPAR Tasikmalaya Kota)
<b>Government Officials (Tasikmalaya Regency)</b>	
11	<b>Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small and Medium-Size Enterprises, and Labor</b> (Dinas Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, dan Tenaga Kerja, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya)
12	<b>PLUT–KUMKM the center of the integrated local businesses</b> (Pusat Layanan Usaha Terpadu Koperasi, Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah)
13	<b>Village Office in Salawu</b> (Kantor Desa Salawu)
<b>Local Communities (Tasikmalaya City &amp; Regency)</b>	
14	<b>URG TSK</b> (the Urang Tasik Local Community)
15	<b>TCIC (Tasikmalaya Creative &amp; Innovation Committee)</b>
<b>Government Officials (Selaawi, Garut Regency)</b>	

16	<b>The Subdistrict Office of Selaawi</b> (Kantor Kecamatan Selaawi); <b>BUMdes</b> (Village-Owned Enterprise)	
<b>Local Communities/Association/Foundation (Selaawi, Garut Regency)</b>		
17	<b>Yayasan Selaawi Raksa Mandiri</b> (Foundation)	
18	<b>Lambung Benih Bambu and Lambung Desa</b> (Independent Community)	
<b>All Craftspeople in West Java</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Regency/City</b>	<b>Producers' Areas</b>
19	Tasikmalaya City	Situbeet Mangkubumi; Parakanhonje
20	Tasikmalaya Regency	Cikiray Hamlets; Mandalagiri-Leuwisari; Padakembang
21	Garut Regency	Nagrog; Samida

Source: Author

The discussion of the research subjects will be organized into two main parts: Chapter Three will provide the information about all the government officials from national to local levels, as well as a depiction of current situations in the traditional bamboo cottage industries; Chapter Four will then present the situations of the industrialized bamboo cottage industries in West Java.

This dissertation also places emphasis on the potential harm caused to the interviewees and research subjects who assisted the author during the field research in Indonesia. Following the Principles of Professional Responsibility in the AAA (American Anthropological Association) Statement on Ethics, the original names of the research subjects will be mentioned as pseudonyms. This especially applies to those who are in the traditional and industrialized bamboo cottage industries and individuals who gave the author information regarding local and regional government craft development projects. This dissertation retains the real names for the information pertinent to the ministries of Indonesia, the West Java governor, and the local community members in Tasikmalaya; these ministries and individuals both allowed and preferred their names to be mentioned for academic purposes

### **1.3 Research Methodology**

The processes of field observation, data collection, and research for this study were conducted in three separated periods: first, the preliminary research for doctoral study in February–March 2019; second, in the first year of study in July–September 2019; third, the main fieldwork in the second year of the doctoral degree, in September 2020–March 2021. During the fieldwork in the bamboo cottage industries and bamboo crafts-related locations in West Java, the qualitative approach (taking notes, pictures, audio recordings, and videos) and ethnographic study methods were adopted following the practice of anthropology. Interviews were conducted during the data collections and observations in the local and regional government spheres in the development projects and at the government offices. In-depth interviews with individuals and the local communities in Tasikmalaya, Garut, and Bandung were also done during the field observations. Through sharing all the situations, local beliefs, and understandings of “the field” that were bridged by the local communities whose support has been a blessing for this study, they have helped the author to network with government and non-government parties for the development projects in West Java.

In addition, previous studies, literature data, and online sources of information (the governments’ official websites, pages for the “creative economy” agencies at the national, regional, and local levels, and other related information) were also gathered. Further, online data collection was also done for the study through Zoom webinars in regard to the literature references, the development projects, and the creative economy movements. Some interviews were also done online to confirm the assessment results to the related development parties. Finally, all the collected physical data and the recorded audio and visual data are gathered and extracted into materials and findings in this dissertation.



#### 1.4 Research Scope and Limitations

Considering the varied development movements for the bamboo crafts industries and their related sectors, this dissertation will examine West Java as a case study, an area also specified as a pioneer of the crafts industries by the central government of Indonesia, and potentially support socio-economic development in the future.<sup>1</sup> “Bamboo crafts” are diverse, but this study limits itself to discussing the “traditional” and “modernized” *woven* bamboo crafts which between them potentially cover the discourse at the cultural, social, and economic layers. The weaving techniques appear in traditional products such as everyday utensils and woven baskets made of bamboo that have been produced for more than 100 years in West Java and also feature in modernized bamboo products nowadays. Woven bamboo crafts could also represent the “traditional” image of “West Java material culture” that provides the information for subject–object relations, where the human body and materials have direct interaction in the process of producing woven bamboo products. By taking the category of woven bamboo products as its focus, this study further traces the meaning of making bamboo crafts for the craftspeople and offers an understanding of one characteristic of the bamboo-producing area.

Moreover, the various types of bamboo crafts producers are grouped and termed as: (a) “traditional bamboo cottage industries” which consist of daily utensils producers in Cikiray Hamlets in Tasikmalaya Regency and Cikakak in Selaawi, Garut Regency; and “industrialized bamboo cottage industries,” represented by the modernized producers in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari of Tasikmalaya Regency, Situbeet Mangkubumi and Parakanhonje in Tasikmalaya City, and Nagrog in Selaawi, Garut

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<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by the former minister of Kemenparekraf, Wishnutama, at the inauguration event of the Creative Economy and Innovation Committee in West Java (Kreasi), June 19, 2020.

Regency. The term “traditional” is used for the discussion of producers who do not employ advanced machinery but only tools for their bamboo crafts, and the term “industrialized” covers the producers who have engaged themselves to the use of advanced machinery and artificial materials for their production processes.

### **1.5 Outline of the Dissertation**

To answer the research purpose of this study, the dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the research background; research aims and questions; research subjects and locations; research methodology; and research scope and limitations. In Chapter Two, the explanation of the theoretical framework is discussed. Chapters Three and Four are arranged to describe the bamboo crafts industries in West Java as well as the related development movements in each area. Chapter Three focuses on crafts development at local, regional, and national levels which is related to the traditional cottage industries, while Chapter Four looks at the influence from the academic development projects in the past on the industrialized bamboo cottage industries. After a discussion of the theoretical framework, the current state of the development projects, and the conditions of bamboo crafts industries in West Java, Chapter Five provides a discussion about the findings and analyzes parts of this study. Finally, Chapter Six is intended to wrap up the ideas and the conclusion of this dissertation by answering the research questions and suggesting future crafts development works in Indonesia.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Taking up the objective of this study from the research overview, subjects and locations, methodology, and limitations outlined in Chapter One, this chapter is devoted to understanding interconnected perspectives to help rethink the ideal approach for crafts development projects. Literature reviews related to the recent conditions of development project agencies in Indonesia are presented to provide material for analysis and discussion in Chapters Five and Six.

### 2.1 Overview

To begin the discussion of this chapter, the ethnographic approach and development studies are investigated before the practical situation in the bamboo crafts villages is explained. How crucial are the roles of anthropological knowledge and the duty of anthropologists to the processes of introducing ideas about the developmental work to the people in rural areas? How do the participatory projects assist in effectively negotiating the mission in the development projects? And how are the economic, social, and political situations shaped by one another in the targeted arena?

Embodying the practices of woven bamboo crafts producers of West Java, the point of view of *Matière à Penser* (MaP) is regarded as the main tool for recognizing the relations between subjects and objects in the process of crafts-producing activities. This subsection will explain the key terms of woven bamboo-producing activities and the power of “materialities” in shaping subjectivities in the everyday lives of craftspeople. It is important to explore and deploy the terms “subjectification” and “materialities” to analyze further the view of material culture studies in this

dissertation. At the end of the subchapter of subject–object relations, we highlight points to help identify the dynamic of subjectification and the understanding of the meaning to produce local crafts in bamboo industry.

## **2.2 Understanding the Perspective of Ethnographic Approach for Development Work**

The pioneers of anthropology—such as Geertz (1973; 1977), Hanson (1989), and Levi-Strauss (1961 [1955]; 1972)—have initiated a respectable tradition and defined the respective ethical and methodological issues involved in their works. New approaches have been brought forward by subsequent scholars that focus on specific social problems regarding research-grounded solutions through social works. Distinctively, the classical ethnographical work of Evans-Pritchard (1940) enlightened social anthropology through its detailed description of the Nilotic (Nuer) people and investigation of how “oecology” factors shaped people’s ideas which essentially gave cattle such high value, which leads them to such unique—and intriguing—systems in their society (cultural, political, lineage, and age-set). Likewise, the works of Hoskins (1993) have brought another mindset to understand how time has been invented and constructed within the cultural system in one particular society, that of the Kodi people of Sumba in Eastern Indonesia. Importantly, a highlight of Hoskins’s study was a dynamic exchange of cultural objects in the present with interrelated connections in the past which leads us to rethink historical processes of the social life of objects and how society gives value to them. In addition, Gupta and Ferguson (1997) have also introduced the knowledge of conducting field research to the field of anthropology. By looking at the important outcomes of earlier ethnographic studies, this dissertation examines the ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the bamboo crafts cottage

industries. The ethnographic approach aims to understand a particular society via all the complex sociocultural systems that people have which connect them to objects that they produce day by day throughout time.

The interwoven essence of people in a community or ethnicity in identity and customs is shaped by the past and remains in the present. People make alterations continuously in the inner and outer circles of society and tackle the evolution of their culture. From the 1950s to the 1960s, anthropologists did work in community development (Arenberg & Niehoff, 1964; Goodenough, 1963; and Spicer, 1952). Subsequently, in the 1970s to 1980s, more developmental works became the focus for both anthropologists and sociologists. Concepts such as “target group” and the “poor” were brought to bear upon project strategies. With these came the need to define the target group, the social actor, and the beneficiaries of development (Cernea in Cernea, 1985: 1–41). In what follows, the recognition of social cultures in development interventions is part of the shift in the direction of people-centered development projects. Cernea, moreover, stated that in the 1980s the tremendous increase of published papers in anthropology and sociology raised public concerns about environmental protection and sustainable development, and gave rise to public criticism of development allocations wasted on half-baked programs and inept, backfiring interventions; these factors contributed powerfully to employing more behavioral scientists to improve the quality of development work. Starting from the 1990s, anthropologists and sociologists became more confident in their work related to development projects. Yet, development anthropology is an incipient profession and field of study rather than an academic subdiscipline in its own right (Hoben, 1982: 349–375). The development could be also represented as a fundamental transformation of society from “traditional” forms, which constrain economic growth,

to “modern” forms, which promote it and which resemble our own, rather than as an economic phenomenon (Bendix, 1967: 292–346). In this sense, the process of modernization entails the deterioration of traditional values, institutions, and practices which are substituted by more rational, scientific, and efficient ones. Moreover, Hoben (1982) specifies that:

“Traditional institutions such as the extended family, kinship-based organizations, and communal control over natural resources are viewed as stifling individual initiative, experimentation, and accumulation through their collective orientation. Traditional behavior is thought to be governed by custom and tradition.” (p. 352)

However, for anthropologists, the challenge of making an effective contribution to bureaucratic strategies is to translate the solution in the findings of academic anthropology into the language and practices of other professionals in development projects. Even after the rise of anthropological work since the 1980s, development works never stop to evaluate development anthropology scholarship in order to gain more insights after projects are completed. In the sense of crafts development projects that this dissertation examines, the anthropological point of view could illuminate the real situations of the targeted group in the development works, as well as catch the dynamics of the rural communities. Further, anthropologists can reveal the differences in power, honor, and wealth that are of the utmost significance to members of the community, that play a vital role in determining who will have access to new developmental resources and who will reap the benefits, and that are far removed from the old customs and long-preserved traditions (Hoben & Timber, 1980). They should experience the change wrought by new markets and new situations in the

area. In addition, regarding Rondinelli (1983),<sup>2</sup> the main problem for development stakeholders and policymakers is to translate policies into action programs that are effective alternatives. By contributing their knowledge in the field, anthropologists are necessarily involved in meeting the real needs of the targeted subject in the developmental works.

Development projects have been conducted for decades in Indonesia. In West Java, they started vigorously in the 1990s, yet the pace remains stagnant as a consequence of political, economic, social, and cultural circumstances. Woven bamboo crafts industries have shaped themselves from local to international levels via mass production and transformed traditional crafts products into modern crafts thanks to design interventions (Nugraha, 2005). In the process of expanding the skills used in producing bamboo crafts from traditional to advanced, a process of hybridization has taken place (Larasati, 1999) which is classified variously into “modified traditional,” “combination,” and “adaptive advanced” types. The combinations of manual and machinery processes with design interventions and pre-processed bamboo are called “hybrid,” a term that will be used in this dissertation. The term for “hybrid” techniques of producing bamboo products were originally invented through the academic research of Larasati (1999) in the wake of the many academic collaborative works from the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) with groups of craftspeople in the 1990s. One of the development works was researched by Mr. (Pak) Ayi who worked in the interior design department at ITB, and his wife (the details of which will be discussed in Chapter Four) in Mandalagiri-Lewisari. Similar projects have continued in collaborative works such as in Tasikmalaya City, by Larasati, Ihsan, and Syarief, from

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<sup>2</sup> Rondinelli (1983) *Development Projects as Policy Experiments: An Adaptive Approach to Development Administration*. Specifically in the part of the analysis of projects as public policy vehicles in social experimentation, explored from Cernea (1985: 7).

the industrial design department at ITB, in 2010. After that several collaborative works happened in Tasikmalaya until 2013, but now ITB tends to focus its collaborative works in Garut Regency. This is one of the reasons that collaborative works from academic institutions have shaped significant change in the bamboo development process in West Java, which is why this dissertation takes Tasikmalaya and Garut as an appropriate field of study to trace the bamboo industries in West Java from past to present. This fact could also be a ground for seeing academics as the expert intermediaries (Gibson, 2015) in advocating development projects in the future.

Despite the complex systems and the varied versions of “crafts development projects” in the real situations of West Java, this dissertation tries to determine what causes the complicated situations in the field. Why do the development projects from local to national levels oftentimes not sustain themselves and prove ineffective? How should the projects be managed so that they can be sustained, appropriated for the target of the project, and provide mutual benefits for all the agencies involved? These questions were kept in the author’s mind during the period of study, especially while observations were being conducted in the field.

By understanding the importance of the ethnographic approach’s perspective as well as the implementation of knowledge from anthropologists in development work, we are able to conceptualize how to conduct field research as the outsider of the project arena—to comprehend the local habits and to hear the people seriously. The next section will discuss the framework provided by preceding studies related to the manner to conduct a development project in rural areas.



### 2.3 Negotiation Process of Participatory Projects in Rural Areas

In contemporary woven bamboo crafts sectors, it is inevitable that cultural objects (crafts) tend to be involved in the capitalist sphere, which has developed from the early Dutch capitalist influence in Indonesia. In development thinking and practice, the most urgent theoretical and political need is to challenge the uncontrolled “rule of the market”; to do this is to take the course of social development (Booth, 1994). Cultural perspective, socio-economic behaviors, and lifestyle have been embedded in the systems of rural capitalists in southeast Asia (Rutten, 2003). In this sense, we could say that in West Java local customs and behaviors or beliefs (as well as religious practices) inevitably shape daily routines and socio-economic systems. In the commodification of bamboo crafts, the makers as small-scale rural producers are involved in a new strand of rural development. Participatory methodologies become “expert-stance, supply-driven, top-down, and modernization-oriented” as the basic concept of developmental work (Gould, 1996). It could be extrapolated from Gould’s idea, in the development interventions, that there should be greater collaborative engagement, working with researchers to bring the “outside” insights to the locals. But along with that, there is also a need to enlarge the space for local intellectuals to engage with the dynamic processes of the interventions.

In a similar vein, Robert Chambers has delved into the approach of participatory projects in development studies starting in the 1970s. In *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last* (1997), Chambers highlights his idea that challenging it is to “put the first last” after he introduced “putting the last first” in his earlier work (Chambers, 1983). Those Chambers termed “the first” are the powerful at many levels of society. These powerful parties have to step down, sit, listen to, learn from, and empower those who are weak and “last” (Chambers, 1997). Chambers has explored

both Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).<sup>3</sup> Social anthropologists helped other development professionals to appreciate the greater richness and validity of rural people's knowledge and to distinguish the etic (the outsider's mental frame, categories, and world view) and the emic (those of the local insider) (Chambers, 1997: 109). When policies and practices are the focus, both the powerful (uppers; North) and the weak (lowers; South) become sensitive. On the one hand, all sides have power, but all power deceives, and exceptional power deceives exceptionally (Chambers, 1997: 76). On the other hand, all parties are also vulnerable in their own worlds.

The play of power and patronage in the development projects becomes more complex when the discussion of realities is brought to the surface. The uppers blame the lowers, the professionals are imprisoned in their realities, the powerful are trapped behind their desks in their offices, and the local people are blamed for the environment. Following Chambers, the development works are long tasks and involve many parties. In this sense, consistency in field practice and ethics, as well as participatory training, are important to achieve the synergies which deliver empowerment to all levels. The attitude in participatory practices in RRA and PRA provides a precious insight for this study: "hand over the stick," "they can do it," "unlearn," "sit down, listen, and learn," "ask them," "embrace errors," "fail forwards," "celebrate diversity," (Chambers, 2005: 149) "be optimally unprepared," "use your own best judgement at all times," and "be nice to people" (Chambers, 1997: 216).<sup>4</sup> The participatory approaches and methods are meant to empower and disempower all the parties, learning from errors that progressively decrease across time to create a better future.

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<sup>3</sup> See the discussion of the RRA and PRA in Chambers (1997): *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*, and the expansion of the ideas in Chambers (2005): *Ideas for Development*.

<sup>4</sup> See the three pillars in Chambers (1997: 212–216; 2005: 149; 192) for greater understanding of behaviors and attitudes to the field.

Since the late 1970s, Chambers's work has influenced many scholars and is discussed in the development studies and related backgrounds, especially for the development practitioners' world. Until recently, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex in Brighton, has served as the center for many countries for PRA and PRA-related networks. Chambers's professorships in the IDS have been influential to the institution, as well as to the spread of the idea of conducting participatory projects and similar approaches in development works. In Cernea (1985), Chambers contributes his "collection of social data," which is placed after Kottak's discussion on "evaluation" and Uphoff's "participation: fitting projects to people." The discussions presented by Cernea or Chambers in *Putting People First* are the fundamental framework for varied fields of studies by sociologists, anthropologists, and social scientists. Chambers has taken an important place in the massive growth of the participatory approaches to development, and particularly in the application of participatory methods in development research and appraisal (Cornwall & Scoones, 2011). His approach, from monitoring and evaluation to institutional and professional training, has shaped the revolution in development thinking which raised the vulnerability, poor and poverty, and uppers discussions in each rural development project.

Regarding the project reports by the World Bank and the US Agency for International Development (USAID), Kottak (1985, in Cernea, 1985) sees the importance of social strategies (people in the first place) for economic development. Each development project must have a socially informed and culturally appropriate design and implementation strategy which prioritize "people" in the first place. This matter is also related to the social life of making (Carr & Gibson, 2015), and the change in crafts and manufacturing in the targeted cottage industries. Furthermore, Kottak

(1990; 2004; 2014) sees the essentials of culture in the economic development projects. The role of anthropological methods occupies a crucial place in the process of strategizing ecology, nature, and culture in the field for sustainable results. In other words, prioritizing people as participants in each project means sustaining the unpaid monitoring and evaluation team who live with the results of the developmental work after the agents and consultants have left the site. As a result, the development agencies, consultant agents, intermediaries, and local development agencies could see the effectiveness of development projects as providing benefits for everyone.

Running a participatory project and working with local citizens must be a challenge. Local people may themselves be highly skeptical as to whether it is worth investing their time and energy in development projects, while the existing market continues. The inhabitants (citizens) might not participate, but that does not mean they cannot be engaged in a participatory project (Fischer, 2000). Which policy domains and activities are appropriate for the people, and what is needed to bridge different ideas in the participation in crafts development projects? While preparing participatory developmental projects, it is necessary to consider local knowledge (Nugroho, Carden, & Antlov, 2018). The complicated chains linking policymakers at local to national levels, intermediaries, and the locals could be simplified once communication between the practitioners involved in the field has begun to flow healthily. One perspective on understanding the ability to “negotiate” with the government will be taken from Salacuse (2008). Salacuse brings us to understand why negotiation with government is very tactical and what makes it different to negotiations with anyone else. Further, the discussion about knowledge hierarchies in the policy-making process and the process of communicating knowledge related to policymaking should also be carried out in the case of crafts development projects so that the local’s knowledge is heard at

the top. The need to value craftspeople's knowledge in the crafts development project is one finding in this dissertation.

The discussion of how to conduct development projects is rarely easy. The participatory approach raises constraints in the practical world which are viewed contradictorily by other groups in development studies. They try to promote the voices of practitioners and those outside the establishment. Cooke and Kothari (2001) gather witness statements of how participation works practically in the field along with perspectives on social change in their book *Participation: The New Tyranny?*

Hickey and Mohan (2004) in their *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* expand on the idea of the "tyranny" of participation that arose with the "transformative participation." Focusing on citizenship, agency of development, and culture, Cleaver (in Hickey & Mohan, 2004: 271–277) highlights that there are possibilities for participatory action such as the notion of active citizenship (proposed by Hickey and Mohan), and looks at the varying forms of agency and decision-making with a rigorous and differentiated scrutiny of different actors (Vincent, Henry, and Masaki in Hickey & Mohan, 2004). In the closing chapter, Bebbington mentions his idea of "rethinking participation" and Cornwall's suggestion about "ethnographies of participation" as practiced has great value in illuminating the workings of power in development interventions (Bebbington in Hickey & Mohan, 2004: 281). Such a way of thinking is to embrace the complexities of a multi-level perspective and to tackle the need for structural change in the interests of transformation of inequality (Cleaver in Hickey & Mohan, 2004: 271). Rather than seeing the participatory as tyrannical, the concern is with the partiality of agency and inequality and patriarchal structure.

Many countries, institutions, and professionals that have conducted development projects in many fields have been influenced by the participatory approach-nuanced ideas. Yet, the spread of the participatory in Indonesia's crafts development projects lags behind. Rethinking the new crafts development system means changing the institutions that are involved in the industry at all levels. Even after the critique of participation, Hickey, Mohan, and Cornwall's ideas on the participatory resonate with Chambers's attitudes and proposed behaviors on conducting the development approach (Bebbington in Hickey & Mohan: 281). In a similar vein, Nolan (2002) sees that Chambers is one of the most influential thinkers in development practice today<sup>5</sup>. Chambers has moved between the worlds of academia, the development industry, and the grassroots. In reference to Chambers (1997: 232), Nolan stated that: "It is not the poor and powerless who have been wrong in development, Chambers says; it is us: 'Perhaps the most neglected aspect of development is the personal psychology of what powerful professionals believe and do'" (Nolan, 2002: 275–276).

Indonesia has no specific development agency for crafts industries that are centered at the national level nowadays—it was once established as Bekraf<sup>6</sup> but was disbanded in 2019. There is never a single "development agency" but the functions are separated between divisions in regional and local government structures. In the process of rearranging the development concept, the grand human project called "development project" anthropology will play a central and critical role, but only if anthropologists themselves are equal to the challenge (Nolan, 2002: 280). Through an ethnographic approach anthropologists can engage in both the goals and the methods

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<sup>5</sup> See mini-case 11.1: We have met the enemy and he is us: The wit and wisdom of Robert Chambers, in Nolan, 2002: 274–279.

<sup>6</sup> Detailed discussion of Bekraf, national "creative economy" movements, and regional to local levels is provided in Chapter Three.

of professional training, and at the same time the ethical fundamentals of the project are safeguarded. In this sense, development ethnographies help to connect the practice in the field and in theory (ibid.).

Similarly, Nolan's "project ethnography" (ibid.: 213–215) has similar nuance to Chambers's RRA and PRA—understanding the field through a participatory approach. Through the notion of "development ethnography," Nolan moreover sees that understanding project failure and learning during project implementation are essential to monitoring and evaluating a project in the pre-, during, and post- phases. Nolan highlighted that the roles of anthropologists in a project are to examine the context in which development projects facilitate the uncovering and examination of the concepts and premises underlying the project design, and to look at the issues of organizational culture and how agencies learn or fail to learn.

This study expects to contribute to Nolan's ideas on "project ethnography" which he did not elaborate further in his study. "Project ethnography" is expected to consist of detailed, long-term analyses of how projects develop and operate on a day-to-day basis to produce the outcomes that will be summarized in the developmental projects' reports. The development reports are necessary for each project, so that lessons can be learned for future ones. In this regard, the view of anthropology encounters the core process of development itself, not limited to the "project implementations" or "policy formulation" as the end of one period of the project.

As formally discussed, anthropologists' roles in developmental work are expected to help the project unit to understand the targeted subject and object in the field. Nolan (2002) has outlined a framework for the assessment of projects to improve decision-making during the project by helping planners cope with inevitable surprises

arising during the project implementation. To assess the development project, the following points are drawn from Nolan derived from the context-based assessment:

1. Establishing assessment criteria by the timeline: project startup, mid-project, project end, and post-project are interconnected as a single development project cycle. The linked cycle will help future projects and produce the evaluation results (p. 206);
2. Defining the typical project assessment criteria based on: effectiveness, efficiency, appropriateness, adequacy, side effects, learning, replicability (pp. 207–208). More effectively, to define the criteria to assess project components are mapped in the following table:

Effectiveness	How well does it work? Do project technologies, procedures, and arrangements actually function to produce the intended results? If there are problems with producing results, why is this? What could be done to fix things?
Efficiency	How much does it cost? If results are forthcoming, how expensive are they in terms of the various resources (time, money, personnel, equipment, and so on) that must be used? Are these levels of cost sustainable?
Appropriateness	Do people like it? Are the results of the project acceptable to all stakeholders? Any stakeholders? If they are not, why not? Could the results be made acceptable? How?
Adequacy	If the project is producing benefits, how are they distributed? Do all stakeholder groups benefit? Do all



	benefit equally? Are any groups left out? If so, why is this occurring? Can it be corrected?
Side Effects	In addition to anticipated project benefits, are there other, unanticipated consequences of the project? Are these positive or negative? Who is affected by these, and why? Should corrective action be taken? If so, what?
Learning	What new knowledge has been gained through the project? Who has learned what, and why is this important or significant? How will this learning be used in the future?
Replicability	Given the experience of this project, can it be done again elsewhere? If so, what if anything should be changed or improved? If not, why not? Do better project models or options exist?

3. And, learning project lessons: during the project, for the next project, and understanding project failure (pp. 210–213).

To assess, evaluate, and monitor the project from the start is to safeguard the implementation and execution of the plan in order to achieve the project goals. In a specific case, how can a crafts development project be assessed? Who should monitor and evaluate the project? What kind of ethnographic approach should be adopted in the context of crafts industries? In what way should the lowers and the uppers take part in the participatory project? Grounded in the notions of development studies, this study takes the view that there should be a specific way to implement the participatory

and ethnographic approaches for the crafts world, not only so as to understand the development movement as a single system, but also to look into the details of craftspeople's everyday lives, where local people interact with their environment. The goals of conducting the assessment during the "project ethnography" processes are:

1. To find what works and what does not in specified contexts.
2. Assessment during the project improves decision-making by helping planners cope with the inevitable surprises in project implementation. Assessment during the project also helps planners and stakeholders understand the relationship between efforts and outcomes. There are at least four aspects to be evaluated: *framing* (decoding what to look at, how, and why); *implementation* (collecting the data); *analysis* (turning the data into information); and *use* (applying what has been learned) (Nolan, 2002: 201).
3. The results of the assessment could be used for decision-making purposes. How the results will be transformed into learning and recommendations for future projects (ibid.: 203).

However, many concerns face problems during the framing, management, and assessment stages. The understanding of project failure during the assessment process is expected to help track project performance, so that the initiator of the project will receive necessary feedback in order to improve the management of future projects. And as a result, each project would be able to generate the situations progressively.

## 2.4 Subject–Object Relations in Crafts-Producing Activities

Material culture has been a focus for study by many scholars all around the world since the 1950s. In the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1979) and Jean Baudrillard (1968, 1996) developed their researches grounded in a Marxist point of view (the process of consumption defines social class and the critique of modern society). More recently, studies of consumption have been growing in English-speaking countries, in the wake of non-English-language studies by Michel de Certeau (1980, in Mohan & Douny, 2021; de Certeau, 1984); and Jean-Pierre Warnier and Céline Rosselin-Bareille (1996, in Mohan & Douny, 2021). Michel de Certeau's focal point was that consumption is the production of meanings through a creative practice in which consumers culturally appropriate and misappropriate objects. Later, related to Michel de Certeau's work, the study of everyday life spotlighting objects in daily activities and their relations to the process of shaping social class, kinship, and gender relations was expanded in the research of Chevalier (1992), Lefebvre (1974; 1984; 1991), and Kaufmann (1992). Along with the expansion of the discussions in material culture studies, courses on materiality and its bodies and their relationships to objects have been developed by, for instance, Bateson (1936; 1972), Bateson and Mead (1942), Gell (1998), Appadurai (1986), Miller (1987; 1998), Löfgren (1996), Rowlands (2002), Bayart (2007), Argenti (2007), and, most recently, Rosselin-Bareille (2017).

In the 1990s, a research group at the University Paris-Descartes consisting of anthropologists such as Marie-Pierre Julien, Céline Rosselin-Bareille, Agnès Jeanjean, and Jean-Pierre Warnier inaugurated *Matière à Penser* (MaP), which literally translates into English as “thinking through material culture.” Initially, this informal research group developed to study subjects around Mauss's core paradigm, *The*

*Technique of the Body* (1936 [2006]), and added the perspectives of material culture as an essential component of bodily conduct in society. To them, as a “subject,” the human body is the object of a person’s actions as well as an entity subjected to the actions of a network of other subjects. They explored these ideas in French-speaking countries originally, but scholars such as Buchli (2004), Tilley et al. (2006), and Hicks (2010) examined their ideas as the roots of their own discussions. However, the most recent publication from MaP came in 2021. In *The Material Subject, Rethinking Bodies and Objects in Motion*, the MaP scholars from the University Paris-Descartes (Céline Rosselin-Bareille, Agnès Jeanjean, Jean-Pierre Warnier, Marie-Pierre Julien) and others such as Mélanie Roustan, Laurence Douny, Romain Bertrand, Myriem Naji, Urmila Mohan, Hervé Munz, Geoffrey Gowlland, and Nathan Schlanger contributed their writings. Each chapter provides many ways of discussing “materiality” through the study of social habitus, cultural politics, religion, subjectivities, bodily conducts toward materials, and the transmission of knowledge. Rooted in MaP methodologies, this study explores approaches towards crafts development projects via an understanding of the subjects of study as essential to the discussion of developing a society, in this case, that of the crafts makers.

Moreover, MaP is used in this study to bridge the understandings of practices in the many layers of woven bamboo crafts makers and as a tool to examine categories of actions that are difficult to grasp for the public or people who are not involved in crafts activities, including some crafts development agencies, crafts enthusiasts, academic institutions, and local communities as the proximate environment between the officials and the grassroots levels. MaP can be a ground to reveal the action of the subjects (bamboo producers), on the self, and the “return” of actions in the process of making connections between subjects and objects in crafts-producing spheres.

Regarding the ideas in the book *Material Subject* (Mohan & Douny, 2021), MaP's approach is possibly best defined in terms of opening a dialogue between multiple schools of thought, to address cross-culturally the question of the subject's formation in society, and to maintain a focus on the subject's relationships to the material world. Rather than focusing on the objects, MaP claims that the main point of the discussion of material and cultures is specifically grounded in the subject, not the object, as cultural technologists often suggest.

Through seeing the subject as the focus, this study expects to define the subject in relations to objects via bodily conducts (the process of incorporation and disincorporation between subject and object), including movements, gestures, senses, and affects, that is, "the subject, his or her body and their objects in action" (Warnier 2009a:151, in Mohan & Douny, 2021: 5). In this sense, in making bodily conducts, subjects process the ways they are thinking, perceiving, feeling, and moving their bodies and which are interconnected with their environment, where they make relations to other aspects such as objects, materials, and substances. In short, as the emphasis of MaP, the term "subjectification" is the process of incorporation and disincorporation between the subject with its body and object(s) with its/their components or materials. This idea is derived from Mauss's "Total person," Bourdieu's "Habitus," and Foucault's "Subjects on object, and object on the subject" (ibid.).

To explore the ideas and particular terms of MaP, the following subsections provide detailed discussions of revealing the subject–objects relations in the process of making a cultural object in this study.

#### 2.4.1 The Power of “Materialities” in Shaping Subjectivities in Everyday Life

To begin the discussion, the term “materialities” is applied to encompass the artefact-in-emergence, raw materials, and tools in the dynamic interactions with the materiality of the moving, visceral, experiencing, and feeling body of a subject that is ontologically incomplete without materiality (Warnier, 2007). The process of bodily conduct and the effects on objects and from objects in the process of making involves many factors, not separately termed “humans,” “objects,” and “environmental,” but interconnected with each other. In what follows, bamboo products play roles in the society of bamboo crafts makers in West Java that affect their definitions of their everyday lives. For example, in the production sphere, woven bamboo products play the role of social and cultural objects, as in structuring caste or social layers in the society. People may recognize a person through their output from crafts-producing activities and categorize them as having high, medium, or low social status by their skills in producing bamboo products. In another case in the consumption sphere, woven bamboo products are crucial for *seserahan* (gifts) for the bride, and they also take on the role of bridge in sending food on special occasions such as Quran recitation events and similar religious ceremonies. We could make a comparison with Mauss’s *The Gift* (1950; 1954; 1966; 1990; 2002), where an object delivers meanings in one society (to another).

All everyday utensils made of bamboo and any categorization of bamboo crafts are products of human action. They involve direct contact that requires feelings from the beginning of the producing process until the end (the finished products)—skills and emotions are involved as the synchronization of one’s abilities through a lifetime experience. To see the knowledge of subjectivities, it is crucial to define “humans” under the terms of the existing studies. The study by Mohan and Warnier discussed

the distinction between “individual,” “actor,” and “subject” in their discussion about the *Bodily-and-Material Cultures of Religion* (2017: 375–377). The following table is an extract from a discussion (Mohan & Warnier, 2017) by which this dissertation defines humans in the following sections.

Table 2 The terms for defining “human” in the existing studies.

	Frameworks	Notions
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Western notion of one human as “individual”</li> <li>- Neoclassic economic science</li> <li>- Sociological theory</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “A human being personally responsible for his or her salvation and actions.”</li> </ul>
Actor	ANT Framework: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Latour (1985; 1991; 1992; 1999; 2005)</li> <li>- Latour and Woolgar (1986 [1979])</li> <li>- Latour and Lemonnier (1994)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Embodiment” and “the body” are not the essential elements.</li> <li>- Human and non-human actors do not have a “body” but more into technical objects that have “organic body.”</li> </ul>
Subject	Bodily techniques, subject–object relations, object–subject relations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mauss (2006[1936])</li> <li>- Foucault (1981; 1988; 2001)</li> <li>- De Certau (1986; 1987)</li> <li>- Žižek (2000)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The body is the first of our tools, the means of our actions, and the focus of other people’s actions on ourselves.</li> <li>- Bodies go along with emotions, perceptions, drives, affects, intelligence, and unconsciousness.</li> </ul>

Source: Author, extracted from Mohan and Warnier (2017)

Regarding the preceding studies discussing humans as the main focus of discussion, this dissertation takes “individual” to be a general term and a lack of ability to find the body as an essential property of humans. The term “individuals” identically

describes large numbers of people in society, where a group of people consists of many individuals and the sociological theory refers to this term often. On the other hand, Actor Network Theory (ANT) researchers tend to see the organic body of object as the same as the organic body of humans, so that every object or subject is an actor in one set of environments. In addition, “actor” is not a proper candidate for exploring the relations between humans and their cultural objects. In the sense of underpinning the factors in the process of producing crafts, this study sees the organic components (environment) and social components in the process of subjectification (incorporation and disincorporation of the body and material in one setting). Entrenched from the view of the importance of the process of subjectification, this study refers to the paradigm of “bodily-and-material culture” in MaP as a perfect tool to define and reveal one’s understandings and meanings toward crafts-producing activities. In sum, the “subject” (not the individual nor the actor) is shaped, subjected, and subjectified by its embodied material culture (Warnier, 2011: 372).

Everyday utensil-producing activities are not limited to “weaving” performances but also encompass all the processes from collecting bamboo to the finished products, as well as the trading processes. Under the MaP notion, it is suggested that attention should be paid to the Foucauldian “subject” as distinct from the Latourian “actor,” the individual of the mainstream sociological tradition, and the “person” of Mauss or the “self” of the psychological tradition. This is where “subjectification” focuses on the subject, whereby the objects are brought into the subject’s dynamic incorporation by a process of the “embodiment” between the two. The term “embodiment” itself is linked to Warnier’s *The Pot-King: The Body and Technologies of Power* (2007). By transporting the idea of “materialities” to reveal the interwoven connections between subject and object in crafts-producing processes, we



should understand and realize that developing a craft village is not just a matter of introducing new ideas and techniques but also of being engaged in the whole system of the craft producers' everyday lives as well as their household activities.

#### **2.4.2 Subjects Constituted by Objects and Other Subjects**

To frame the ideas of customs among the craftspeople as well as their objects in their daily spheres, this study treats the importance of defining the attachments between humans and non-humans in one environment as an important unit. Taking up an idea of Mauss (2007), Julien and Rosselin (2009) stated that persons, individuals, and agents are subjects that are constituted by objects and other subjects in one setting where material culture is turned *inside out* by a combination of object and subject dynamics (Rosselin-Barielle, 2017, in Mohan & Douny, 2021: 11). The fact that a group of craftspeople interweaves their routines with material culture means that subject and other subjects share the same values and cherish objects in the production realm of woven bamboo products.

Related to the division of labor, this dissertation takes up Mauss's views about the sexual labor division of techniques of the body (1936 [2006] in Schlanger, 2006)<sup>7</sup> to describe the bamboo cottage industry in West Java. In other words, women and men have different physio-psycho-sociological assemblages. These particular views of the division of work in bamboo-producing activities were not exposed to a separation between "male work" or "female work," as the orthodoxy had it, but more into the customs and long persistent ideas. Likewise, this dissertation relies on Mauss's writing,

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<sup>7</sup> Mauss, M. (1936 [2006]), "Les techniques du corps," *Journal de psychologie*, 32: 271–293. Translated by B. Brewster and reproduced in M. Mauss, *Techniques, Technology and Civilisation* (edited and introduced by N. Schlanger), 77–95, Oxford: Berghahn books.

specifically in chapter two of the book, where he stated that the techniques of the body could be classified according to their efficiency such as the results of training.

The two-way connection between a subject—with its bodily conducts (senses, movements, gestures, senses, and affects)—and its social sphere subconsciously shapes a society in the approach of “socio-psycho-biological” studies (Naji, M. 2009; 2021; Julien & Rosselin, 2009; Warnier 2009a; Warnier 2011; and Galliot 2015).<sup>8</sup> Thus, this Maussian notion in seeing the relations of the subject, other subjects, and involved objects too, will help this dissertation to define the complex system of the past, present, and futures of craftspeople’s society during the development movement in order to preserve the existing making culture.

### **2.4.3 The Notion of Governmentality Through the Development of Material**

While taking a different approach through material culture studies, MaP believes that Foucault’s “technology of the self” and Mauss’s “techniques of the body” are essential to envisioning the “technology of the subject” idea that MaP has proposed. First of all, the term “governmentality” was introduced by Foucault as “the art of government,” which concerns subjects and institutions using techniques of power. The idea was originally the contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self (Foucault, 1988, in Martin et al., 1988: 19). Warnier (2006) moreover states that, different from Cartesian phenomenology, Foucault’s “governmentality” makes the point that power rests on the agency that is given to technologies of power. Materiality can also be seen as social identities, as it shapes the ideas or characteristics

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<sup>8</sup> For further ideas about Maussian parlance, see *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1950; 1954; 1966; 1990; 2002).

of one society in the modern world that could trace the past through Foucault's philosophical concept of the "auto."

Next, many scholars who focus on the process of making (Naji, M., 2009; Naji and Douny, 2009; Warnier, 2009a; Ingold, 2000a; 2013) follow the idea of subjectification/subjectivation in this sense, and see making one object as the process of incorporation and disincorporation of material culture dynamics in the subject's body while in movement (Mohan & Douny, 2021: 13). In addition, the body used in the process is explored by Céline Rosselin-Bareille (2017). In short, the making process shapes one's identity and action, through the subject's identification in their examination of "power" or "empowerment" as a material process engaged in bodily praxis or actions mediated by objects. However, regarding Warnier (2001), "governmentalities" could be described as two aspects that are linked because one's action is related to other subjects. The action on other people's actions defines the space of power and, when organized, assumes the shape of historically construed as "governmentalities." In this sense, Warnier has described governmentalities more clearly than Foucault. As Warnier also sees, Foucault's "subject," "subjectivation," "technique of the self," and "governmentality" are biased owing to Foucault's background as a historian and a philosopher, and other related factors (see Warnier 2001: 11–12). The ethnography of the technique of the self will make more sense in relation to Warnier if we read Mauss's technique of the body or more precisely to Schilder's ideas on "the image of the body" (Schilder, 1923; 1935).

Warnier (2001) also stated that what Foucault means by being a subject is being subjected to given governmentalities. This dissertation identifies the works of Warnier as having a significant impact in expressing "subject" and "governmentality." In the case of discussing a bamboo maker as a subject who has "sensori-affectivo-

motori” practices in his/her world, the “container” concept (Warnier, 2006) will be taken as the starting point to examine “governmentalities” in the crafts world. An investigation of “sensori-affectivo-motori” symbolization helps us to integrate the anthropology of sensoriality, passions, and motricity in cultural and political analysis (Warnier, 2001: 19). A crafts maker, the smallest unit among other bigger layers in the crafts villages and the crafts world outside, conducts power, plays captivating roles, and controls their society through their psycho-motoric abilities (producing bamboo products). At the higher level, one cottage industry is another layer of container; and wider than the cottage industry, the governmental offices take place as the outermost containers, where they engage the crafts development projects. In particular, Warnier (in Mohan & Douny, 2021) discussed how the political matters were connected to the philosophical and ethnographic methodology, thus the space of power does make sense through the historical factors Weber, Mauss, and Foucault previously used for their studies. Through taking this view, this dissertation expects to consider an ideal approach to sustain local identities through revealing the connections between the material culture in the woven bamboo crafts world and how all the systems of society are also subject to the political matters.

#### **2.4.4 The Dynamic of Subjectification and Understanding the Meaning of Woven Bamboo-Producing Activities**

Analyzing subjectivity is a means of revealing a historical point of view on politics and power in bamboo crafts sectors. Taking its core approach from the MaP’s framework, this study will investigate three cruxes to define the meaning of producing bamboo through the perspective of craftspeople as the main subject, with related factors in the process of subjectification: first, the power of materiality in

craftspeople's everyday lives; second, the connections that are shaped in the essence of techniques of the body in producing bamboo products; and third, the "governmentality" of oneself and the power from the outer sides of embodiments in one crafts-producing environment. Thus, the "bodily-and-material" concept is to delve into one's resistance (body and mind) as well as the materiality (pain and energy) to improve and better oneself. Attention to techniques and practices (of making, material manipulation usage, ecological interactions, movements, and techniques of the body through crafts and the producing activities) is to be used to grasp the identity of one cottage industry.

Over time, the dynamic of subjectification or the process of negotiating the relations between subjects and objects will be defined. This is to preserve the long-term culture, in the sense of developing its conditions through the socio-economic cycle in the development process or projects by the outer environment. After all, this study is designed to bridge the values that are maintained by the craftspeople as the target of one crafts development project to protect and preserve the making culture. The MaP is a "cloud of ideas" that prepares the ground for an ethnography of objectification, but focuses on the anthropology of subjectification (subjectivation) and governmentalities via material culture.

## **2.5 Summary: The Multeity of Notions on Conducting One Developmental Work**

This chapter presents a literature that looks at participatory projects in rural areas, the ethnographic approach for developmental works, and subject-object relations in crafts-producing activities, analyzed with the situation of the craft development agencies from the national to the local levels in Indonesia.

First, the interconnection of the concepts of subject–object relations in the crafts-producing areas shaped the approach of an ethnographic study that is conducted in the bamboo cottage industries. Having knowledge and the characteristics of crafts in the targeted areas would help the negotiation process among the practitioners in the field, so that communication should be bridged within the subjects (parties) in the development project.

Second, the communication between two ideas of participatory projects and the notion of “governmentality” and embodiment of technology (crafts-producing areas, city or regency, province, and so forth), opens a dialogue to describe a new vision of authority and power through the rigidity of the regulations at the official levels. The discussion will bring the philosophical notion of “governmentality” in contact with what was found from the participatory projects (local knowledge, local people or citizens, and local culture). Finally, the following figure illustrates the linkage of the main idea from the discussed literature data to grasp the flow of thinking logically to different schools of thought that are referred to.

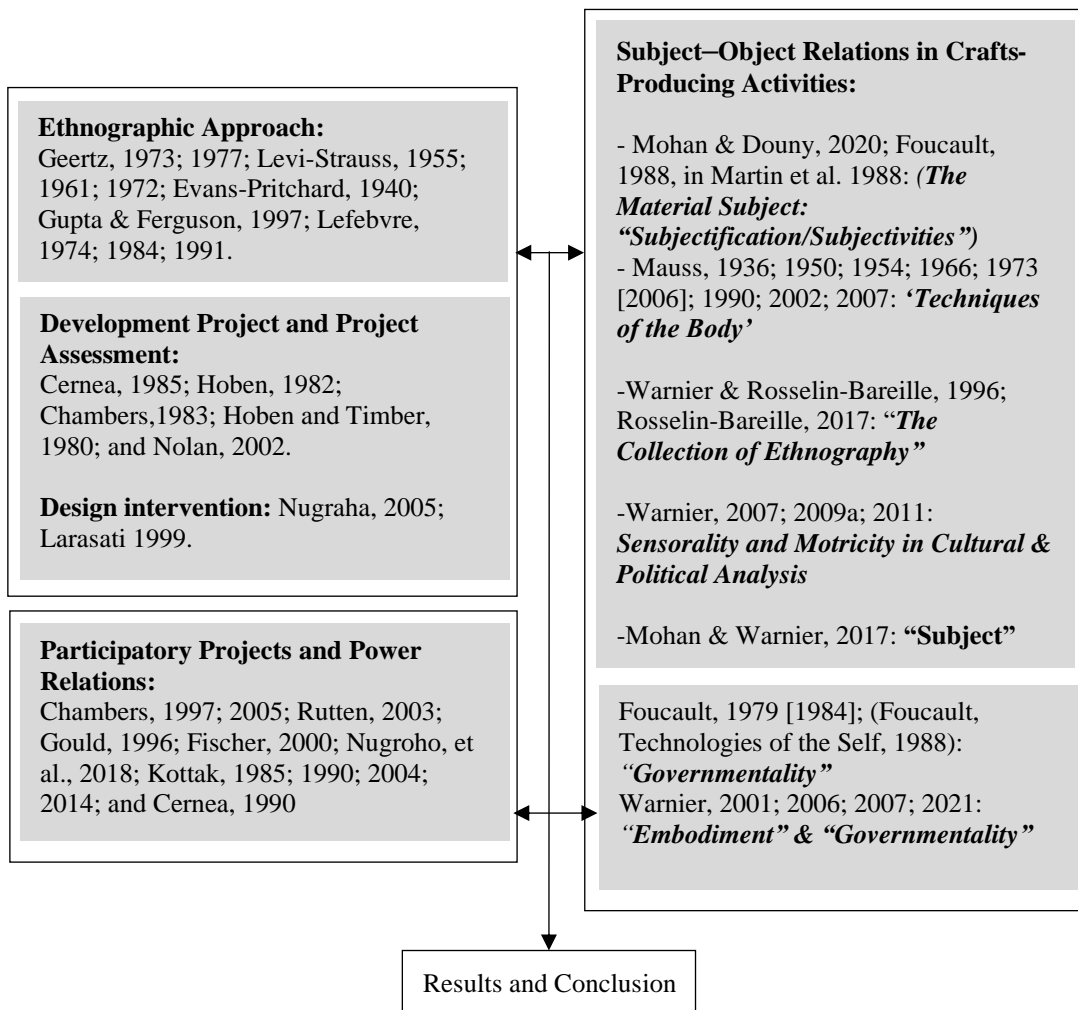


Figure 2 The linkage of literature data

## **CHAPTER THREE: THE TRADITIONAL BAMBOO COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN WEST JAVA**

Before we delve into the West Java traditional bamboo cottage industries in this chapter, we begin by investigating the present conditions of development agencies in the area. By understanding the systems and regulations that characterize the craft development agencies from national to local levels, this study hopes to propose a new system for development projects for crafts industries that will have mutual benefits for all the actors involved. The rest of the chapter will examine the research areas in West Java and the bamboo crafts-producing hamlets, as well as their everyday routines and their relations with bamboo material. The material for the discussion is drawn from the field data collected by the author in fieldwork conducted in 2019 and 2020. The discussion about recent crafts development projects in Indonesia will start with the ideas of creative industries at the national level, then proceed to the development movements at the regional level, and end with the works that are conducted annually at the local level of the bamboo crafts industries.

### **3.1 The Craft Development Agencies: From the National to the Local Levels**

To understand the development ideas at each level of the crafts-producing environment, we will discuss matters at the widest level to specific cases in the cities and regencies of West Java. This section and those that follow it focus on the situations of developmental projects which are echoed at the local, regional, and national levels in Indonesia. The vision for the development projects is not centralized and involves many agencies with diversified visions, which oftentimes proves confusing at proximate and grassroots levels. To begin the discussion, the following section



provides information about the creative economy in Indonesia that will be followed by the national to local agencies for the development projects.

### **3.1.1 Overview of the Cultural Development Projects and the Creative-Economy Concept at the National Level in Indonesia**

Policy-making for the creative economy, cultural industries, creative industries, cultural creativity and innovation, and related industries has been discussed in many forums worldwide.<sup>9</sup> Regarding the UNESCO report of 2016<sup>10</sup> about the important role played by culture in sustainable development in Indonesia, the values of culture have become a platform for strengthening diversity, unity, and social reconstruction. Indonesia still faces challenges to take the dynamic action to achieve the dignified and ideal goals through sustaining the development projects from year to year. Many sectors that need to be developed for the diversification of culture force stakeholders to make wise decisions and even regulations to provide a win-win solution.

As many deficiencies were noted in the UNESCO report, this dissertation can highlight some of the identified shortages such as: a lack of understanding among stakeholders about the role of culture in sustainable development; a lack of sustainable planning at the ministerial level; a lack of statistical data; a lack of law enforcement in breaches of laws and regulations; a lack of support for the sustainability of culture-related businesses owned by minority groups; a lack of shared knowledge about existing policies and measures; and a lack of participation in the evaluation of cultural

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<sup>9</sup> See the reports from a collaborative effort from UNCTAD and UNDP special unit for South-South cooperation and many experts in UN agencies—UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, WIPO, and ITS: Creative Economy Report 2008; Creative Economy Report 2010 (Creative Economy: A Feasible Development Option); Creative Economy Report 2013 (Special Edition) Widening Local Development Pathways. Also see similar discussions and reports: Creative Economy Outlook (Trends in International Trade in Creative Industries, 2002–2015).

<sup>10</sup> UNESCO, Indonesia 2016 Report. Accessed August 2021, from <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/monitoring-reporting/periodic-reports/available-reports-30>

policies and measures. Many suggestions were also made in the report, one of which was to improve the effectiveness of the direction, coordination, and support among ministries and governmental agencies.

More than five years have passed in the process of observation and study for this dissertation, and still, practically, the deficiencies remain here and there among the governmental agencies in regard to what was suggested in the UNESCO 2016 report. The lacks have more than a structural shape; they are there in the understanding of the terms themselves. Vague boundaries between “creative economy,” “cultural industries,” “creative industries,” and “cultural creativity and innovation” have shaped many understandings among the agencies, at the national, regional, and local levels. These (mis)understandings have shaped many overlapping regulations at ministries and in regional and local departments for stakeholders to be able to lead their areas under the formal terms of governmental offices. As a result, practitioners at the local and grassroots levels have misinterpreted the ideas, as well as the periodic changes to them. Rather than believing in the new in the development movements, they tend to choose and believe in the long-preserved customs which the top-to-down regulations have glorified.

The establishment of Bekraf (Creative Economy Agency) was also noted in the UNESCO 2016 report. Bekraf was expected to serve as the strategic motor in developing culture industries through the creative economy (Report of Creative Economy of Indonesia, 2015). As the report indicates, the central government believed that providing a special mandate to a specific agency in a non-ministerial form would enable better growth in and strengthen the creative industries, via support in the development of the national creative economy system.<sup>11</sup> But the political situation has

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<sup>11</sup> UNESCO, Establishment of the Creative Economy Agency (Badan Ekonomi Kreatif—Bekraf).

been changing in Indonesia and Bekraf was merged into a ministry, which represents a setback for Bekraf as an independent agency which is now submitted to regulations developed to serve the tourism sector.

From the beginning of the first period of President Joko Widodo's time in office (2014–2019), the Indonesian government had separated the Ministry of Tourism from aspects related to the creative economy and launched a creative economy agency (Badan Ekonomi Kreatif, or Bekraf) as an independent unit under the supervision of the central government. But since 2019, Bekraf has been moved under the control of the Ministry of Tourism and renamed Baparekraf, and the central government has changed the ministry's own name to the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf).<sup>12</sup> Ministries and departments of Indonesia's central government have been customized in accordance with the president's rulings from time to time, so that the regulations from national to local levels also adjusted for presidential terms (five years). As a result of the changing regulations, it has been a struggle for regional and local departments in particular to maintain such development projects.

Kemenparekraf helps the president to reach the goals of national development in the tourism and creative economy sector. The present minister, Sandiaga Uno, has led the ministry since 2020 after the one-year term for the former ministry, Wishnutama. There have also been changes of regulations before and during Uno's term that have affected the crafts industries in Indonesia. Under Uno's term, Kemenparekraf has focused on the tourism sector as well as on concerns about the environmental factors related to tourism systems *strengthened* by the creative

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Accessed August 2021, from <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/policy-monitoring-platform/establishment-creative-economy>

<sup>12</sup> Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif, Profil Lembaga. Accessed on August 29, 2021, from <https://kemenparekraf.go.id/profil/profil-lembaga>

economy sectors. The creative economy has been attached to local and international business and divided into subsectors: games; architecture; interior design; music; fine arts; product design; fashion; cuisine; movies, animations, and videography; photography; visual and communication design; radio and television; crafts (*kriya*); advertising; performance art; publishing; and software and apps<sup>13</sup>. The crafts sector has been cited as one of the elements supporting the creative economy, and Kemenparekraf has been a provider of support to each sector, collaborating with designers, small and medium-size enterprises, and manufacturers. As stated on its official website, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy views the creative industries as those that could potentially be high value, engage in mass-production, and be attached to tourism and business collaborations. Nevertheless, the ministry's information and descriptions about craft in the creative economy sector are still very limited and unclear. During the period of research and writing of this dissertation, the author collected information from many sources through interviews conducted at the regional and local levels<sup>14</sup>. Kemenparekraf has direct connections with the regional-level agencies that support the development of the creative industries; the regional committee in West Java is one of the most significant pioneers.<sup>15</sup>

Before Bekraf was merged with the Ministry of Tourism, it had been executing collaboration projects (IKKON) with creative economy practitioners including designers, anthropologists, choreographers, ethnomusicologists, business developers, photographers, and videographers. Any of the practitioners in those aforementioned sectors needed to register themselves at the beginning of the project which would last

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<sup>13</sup> Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif, Subsektor Ekonomi Kreatif. Accessed on August 29, 2021 <https://www.kemenparekraf.go.id/layanan/Subsektor-Ekonomi-Kreatif>

<sup>14</sup> See the following subsections about Creative Economy agencies in West Java.

<sup>15</sup> Mentioned by the former minister of Kemenparekraf, Wishnutama in the inauguration event of the Creative Economy and Innovation Committee in West Java (Kreasi), June 19, 2020.

for a total of a year. Those selected were divided into groups consisting of six to 10 people with varied backgrounds. They were then involved in all stages of the project, divided into preparation (mapping the potentials of the targeted areas), designing the concepts for the final exhibition, prototyping, and, finally, the exhibition or performance presented by each group of IKKON.<sup>16</sup> During the stages of the project, the participants had to conduct participatory observation or preliminary research in the targeted area separately for each group at least two or three times depending on the plan of the group. The IKKON participant who gave the information to the author went to Dompu Regency, in the eastern part of Sumbawa, to explore the area's potential as their responsibility in the IKKON 2017 project. It can be seen from the annual IKKON projects that it is feasible to bridge the many agencies in a national collaboration project by focusing on mutual benefits. Despite the lack of a possibility to evaluate the IKKON projects since they have not been continued since 2019, we can propose IKKON as a successful project that encourages people with different backgrounds to get involved together to develop rural areas in Indonesia.

Two other ministries at the national level have also carried out development projects that connect them directly to the regional and local levels. First, the Ministry of Cooperation, Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises (KemenkopUKM) focuses on developing enterprises by implementing their policies in the field of cooperatives and micro, small, and medium-size business sectors, and enterprises. The ministry has been engaging with ideas of entrepreneurship in order to embrace business owners in local and regional layers and develop their businesses gradually and so raise Indonesia's economic level. Second, the Ministry of Industry also

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<sup>16</sup> Interviews with one of the participants (an interior designer) in IKKON Bekraf in 2017, July 28, 2019.

provides many development projects and policies related to industrial sectors, and many crafts industries have been involved in the projects. The Ministry of Industry has the power to implement such programs and forms of supervision for small- to large-scale industries in many sectors by carrying out research and development programs that are able to catch the smallest participants such as craftsmakers and artisans who run their own enterprises. However, when we look through the real situations in the crafts sectors as a part of cultural industries, the top-down regulations have been translated variably and often push grassroots participants to being subject to the governmental movements and a state of being overwhelmed.

Through the understandings of agencies at the national level, we could depict the present state of the central government's concerns for creative industries, especially the crafts sector. Although overlapping regulations and development projects from ministries at the national level have produced domino effects at the regional level, this dissertation will explore the potentials for academic ideation to provide forms of management that might be beneficial for many layers of crafts practitioners in Indonesia.

### **3.1.2 Regional and Local Development Projects for Craft Industries**

Among the lower layer of the governmental sectors, the Department of West Java Industry and Commerce (Perindag Jabar) and the West Java Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises (UMKM Jabar) have long been established at the regional level in West Java. From time to time, they follow what ministries at the national level propose, as well as responding to the changes in political, economic, social, and cultural conditions in Indonesia. As regional stakeholders, they have the responsibility to manage plans and regulations to keep practitioners in particular sectors under

control. The long-standing governmental sectors have typically rigid systems whereby they rule in the provinces, yet they also incline to fixed governance rather than being flexible to the new and being open to reshaping their structures. In what follows, this study reveals the kinds of roles they play in the process of regional development as the stakeholders between the national and the local levels. Practically, in what ways do they encourage the practitioners to adopt their regulations in the region? How does the grassroots level view the approach of the governmental office? These questions were the starting point for understanding governmental roles in the crafts development projects in West Java.

### **3.1.2A The Department of West Java Industry and Commerce (Perindag Jabar)**

Perindag Jabar has been coordinating the regional and local layers in relation to the industry and commerce sectors in the West Java region. Interviews were conducted with the chairs of the Department of Industry and Commerce in Tasikmalaya City. According to an interview with one policy-maker for the crafts industries in Tasikmalaya City, they categorized eight small and medium-size enterprises among 2,996 small industries in Tasikmalaya (Rahardiani, 2021: 93). In quite a short period in 2011–2013, the department also did collaborative work with academic institutions (ITB) to conduct a design project by studying crafts-producing development and innovation in Tasikmalaya City. As the formal intermediaries, the department encouraged local communities to become involved. The local communities have enjoyed close connections with the makers in the craft industries, so the department was able to open their engagement with the grassroots level.

To be fair, Tasikmalaya City and Regency have been the priority and received many funds from the governmental offices in West Java to support their crafts

industries. To cite one case of the infrastructure fund, the West Java provincial government supported Tasikmalaya City to build “A Center for the Development Crafts Industries.” The construction processes were completed by the end of 2020 although the initial timeline was 2019. However, the building started to function as a center for the newly inaugurated creative economy agency for Tasikmalaya (Tasik Creative and Innovation Center, TCIC). During the interview,<sup>17</sup> the head of the division named many projects and funds that it has examined to give support to the crafts makers, such as machines and tools for the leaders of the craftspeople in the area, but these often did not seem to be the right answer to assist with the struggles of the craftspeople. On the one hand, the government officials understood that the available supports might not apply to craftspeople’s problems: for instance, regeneration could not be achieved simply by providing an airbrush machine for the wooden umbrella industry. On the other hand, the wooden umbrella makers in Indihiang<sup>18</sup> explained that although they had no idea how to address the problems of regeneration, the government help could not be used, since they had no need of machines, such as airbrush or paint machines, during the process of producing a handmade wooden umbrella.

The case of the wooden umbrella shows that there was still a lack of understanding between the stakeholders and the craftspeople which needed resolution. The authorities should have power in the region to support local craft industries, and understanding of the needs of craftspeople is required from the stakeholders (as well

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with the head of the Department for Cooperatives, Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises, in Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan, Kota Tasikmalaya (the Department of Industry and Commerce of Tasikmalaya), March 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Interviews with wooden umbrella (*payung geulis tasik*) household industries in Indihiang Tasikmalaya City, October 2020.



as the local communities involved) if development through official levels is being conducted.

### **3.1.2B The Department of West Java Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises (UMKM Jabar)**

Project-based development was also conducted in Tasikmalaya City by the provincial-level Department of West Java Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises (UMKM Jabar), specifically the Department of Cooperative and Entrepreneurial Education and Training. The UPTD P3W project was intended to support crafts makers in West Java, and Tasikmalaya City was chosen as the site for August 2019's workshop since it was seen as the center for handicrafts. The department decided to hold a training and workshop event for the bamboo and knitting sectors after discussion with the local community. The bamboo sector was led by a master of bamboo crafts who was engaged by the local community (see Chapter Four about Situbeet Mangkubumi), and the knitting sector was led by a master and owner of a small knitting industry. There were about 20 participants drawn from each sector and all were invited by the relevant leader. The project's objectives were to transfer crafts-producing skills to the younger generations and other people who were not already familiar with the industries, and to offer a chance for the government officers to communicate with the practitioners in the crafts industries so that the latter could learn how to register their businesses formally with the government office and also to help them understand the regulations relating to running crafts enterprises in West Java.



Figure 3 The activities of the August 2019's project, held by the Department of West Java Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises (UMKM Jabar).

Source: Author, August, 2019

The first day of the project was used for introductions, briefings, discussions, and training; the second day was for the finishing process of the final prototype of the furniture (see Figure 2), and a closing session from the government officers. Such one-time projects offer a good chance for participants, masters, and government officers

to share knowledge. Often, the project's governmental organizers are responsible for providing participants with accommodation and for managing the whole event's finances, but the event did not work as an opportunity to "collect" grassroots opinions in the crafts sectors. The regulations were shaped by a top-down approach and neglected two-way communication between the agents in the crafts industries. If the development project was a moment for participants to understand each other's struggles, it could have been shaped as a training session and a forum rather than a one-way, top-down workshop. Such an approach would be one way to create mutual understanding between the development agents and practitioners.

Training and workshop events are usually held for all sectors in an area once every one to two years. In Tasikmalaya's case, this year it might be the bamboo sector's turn, but other years it will be the turn of other sectors such as mendong grass, wooden umbrellas, etc. Considering the material collected in the observations and interviews for this study,<sup>19</sup> it could be summarized that the goals of each project have been different, without connections being made to present or future projects. This could be one of the reasons that the effects of the workshops organized by the governmental offices did not prove to be advantageous for most of the participants. The latter were interested in getting one-time benefits such as fees for joining workshops or luxury accommodation, which was provided without need (because the workshops were held near their houses). Rather, the workshops or training projects could be conducted at the working sites of the craftspeople so that the budget could be spent more wisely on producing (sustainable) mutual benefits for the agencies involved.

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<sup>19</sup> In-depth interviews with the local community in August 2019, October 2020, December 2020; an interview with a governmental officer of the UMKM Jabar in the UPTD P3W Project in August 2019; and an interview with the Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small and Medium-Size Enterprises, and Labor in December 2020.

At the local level, the Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small and Medium-Size Enterprises, and Labor (Dinas Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, dan Tenaga Kerja, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya) conducted a project in July 2020. This was intended to develop one specific bamboo crafts makers' area in Tasikmalaya Regency so that it would become more engaged in making modern bamboo crafts rather than continuing to serve only the everyday utensils industry. The questions for this project were: Who should be selected for development? Which skills should be preserved and which skills should be substituted, and why? As a result of the project, might the original skills of the craftspeople disappear? If so, is the substitution of new skills for traditional ones a positive or rather a negative change? The details of the local development project in Tasikmalaya Regency will be further examined in the latter part of the Cikiray Hamlets, Salawu Subdistrict, Tasikmalaya Regency section below (3.3.5 Craft Development Project from the Official Level to Cikiray Craft Village).

### **3.1.2C The Creative Economy and Innovation Committee in West Java (Kreasi Jabar)**

Under the supervision of the provincial government of West Java, the Creative Economy and Innovation Committee in West Java (Kreasi) was formally established on June 19, 2020.<sup>20</sup> The committee was inaugurated by the governor of West Java, Ridwan Kamil; the head of the Department of Tourism and Culture for West Java (Disparbud Jabar), Dedi Taufik; and the former minister of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf), Wishnutama; it was led by Tita

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<sup>20</sup> The event was held online on the Zoom platform between the national and regional governments, and open to the public who registered beforehand for the limited seats.

Larasati, the general secretary and one of the founders of Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) and the chair of the Bandung Creative Economy Committee. Harry Mawardi has been executive director for Kreasi Jabar until the present (2021). Kreasi Jabar was created to serve as the center of activities related to the creative economy sectors in West Java, which specifically encourages practitioners to connect and collaborate, and to commercialize their creative, innovative products.

Kreasi Jabar has a similar arrangement to manage the creative economy sectors in West Java to Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf (national government).<sup>21</sup> Bamboo crafts belong to “craft” and “product design” among the “creative economy” sectors. About the categorization of products among the creative economy sectors, Mawardi stated<sup>22</sup> that a product can be classified as being part of the creative economy when it has added either tangible or intangible values that differentiate it from other commercial products in the market. At the present time, Kreasi Jabar is actively connecting many creative economy practitioners, which they call an “ecosystem of the creative economy”, and sits at the center of the system. Formally, Kreasi Jabar collaborates with local brands in West Java that have registered their businesses with the Kreasi Jabar committee. By connecting themselves with Kreasi Jabar, the brands obtain privileges that allow them to connect their enterprises and gain access to partnership opportunities that are provided by Kreasi Jabar. Fewer than 10 brands out of 130 in the “crafts” sector that are related to bamboo crafts are listed on the official website of Kreasi Jabar.

In terms of its vision, Kreasi Jabar has a goal of developing the creative industries by approaching one village to another in West Java (Desa Kreatif Juara), a similar approach to that taken by IKKON Bekraf at the national level until 2019. In

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<sup>21</sup> See the categorization of “creative economy” sectors in West Java and basic information about the committee on the official website of Kreasi Jabar: <https://kreasijabar.id>

<sup>22</sup> Interviews with Harry Mawardi (the executive director of Kreasi Jabar) on October 22 and November 2, 2020, at the office of Kreasi Jabar, Bandung.

particular, Kreasi Jabar envisions that it will engage formal institutions (academic and governmental officials) to be involved in a period of a development project. As a result, Kreasi Jabar expects the Desa Kreatif Juara development project to open new markets through advertising and promotion using connections with the governmental and non-governmental layers. After identifying the potential in a targeted village, it plans to redesign and prototype promising possibilities into commodity products. A recent research and development project was carried out by a research group from Kreasi Jabar in November 2020<sup>23</sup> to map the potential of the creative economy all around West Java. The results and recommendations from the research group were:

1. The crafts sector was one of four sectors that are categorized as “strong” and have good potential;
2. Tasikmalaya was one of the areas in West Java that has a good “creative economy ecosystem” and can potentially actively contribute to the creative economy sectors; additionally, it has a creative hub in the city;
3. Marketing of local products should be digitized since there is low ability to buy the crafts products in the production areas;
4. The term “creative economy” should be clearly defined from regional to local levels so that practitioners are not confused by the term;
5. Research and development should be a crucial responsibility at the local level of the creative economy committee, and community forms could be an effective way to bridge and engage the idea of a “creative economy” in the future since gatherings among communities in one city/regency are a trend in many areas in West Java;
6. Creative economy committees in cities and regencies should strengthen their connections with each other;

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<sup>23</sup> The meeting to discuss the results of analyzing and mapping the creative economy potentials in West Java (*Hasil Analisa Pemetaan Potensi Ekonomi Kreatif di Jawa Barat*), November 9, 2020, at the headquarters of the Department of Tourism and Culture for West Java (Disparbud Jabar), Bandung.

7. A lack of statistical data is still found in the governmental offices in the city and regency, and it should be optimized to help and shape the future of the creative economy sectors.

In a similar vein to what was discussed regarding the suggestions from UNESCO, the creative economy has not been a concept at the regional and local levels in West Java. After discussions with and about many layers of government in West Java, we grasped that each department has different concerns and goals in relation to “developing” local crafts industries. First, the Ministry and the Department of Tourism and Creative Economy tend to say that cultural industries should have “added values” in order to differentiate themselves from the more commercialized commodities on the market; without them, the products should not be counted as either creative or as having economic value.

Second, the Ministry and the Department of Industry and Commerce (Perindag) gravitates toward engaging all the practitioners in the crafts industries to having a systematic procedure in running crafts businesses. They see that if all the levels from local to national understand the ethics in the industrial sectors, they would have a great industrial environment in Indonesia as a whole. And third, the Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises for West Java and Tasikmalaya would cherish the development of micro to medium-size enterprises and, as a result, local and regional enterprises could express the authenticity of their culture in actively producing crafts as well as in raising economic levels. However, craftspeople who have been the target of many kinds of projects are often confused by the differing visions of each department and favor joining the project if it profits them for a short term and if they believe that it would not harm them and their businesses.

To close this discussion about the creative economy at the regional and local levels in West Java, the final case to be mentioned is a freshly inaugurated creative economy committee in Tasikmalaya City.

Local communities in Tasikmalaya consisting of the creative industries (significant practitioners in the local crafts, cuisine, photography, music, art, advertising, and lifestyle) are connecting themselves convergingly as a single unit. As mentioned earlier, Tasikmalaya received infrastructural support from the West Java government but practically this not been effectively exploited.<sup>24</sup> At the end of 2020, preparations to make a creative and innovative community in Tasikmalaya reached their peak. In October 2020, the governor of West Java visited Tasikmalaya and encouraged people to engage with the creative and innovative spirit; at the same time, the governor also promised that the proposed infrastructural support (the so-called Creative and Innovation Center) would be finished at the end of the year. People at all levels in Tasikmalaya were inspired to involve themselves in the movement after the governor's visit. Officially, in March 2021, the Tasik Creative and Innovation Committee (TCIC) was inaugurated. They believe that the committee should provide creative and innovative activities in Tasikmalaya that could also encourage practitioners specifically and Tasikmalaya people more generally. Accordingly, the committee considered that they would have a great creative and innovative environment in Tasikmalaya, yet, the TCIC has many missions and a great deal of groundwork to do since the committee has formally constructed for months. As additional information, the TCIC has not connected directly with Kreasi Jabar as a

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<sup>24</sup> Interviews with: Urang Tasik Community (Adith and Ujung); the head of Tasik Creative and Innovation Committee (Roni); Ibu Rukmini Affandi (a senior artist and the wife of the vice mayor of Tasikmalaya City); and the head of the Department of Tourism, Culture, Youth, and Sports for Tasikmalaya City. Observations and data collection processes were conducted along with several meetings with the informally structured committee of TCIC and the governmental offices in October and December 2020, in Tasikmalaya City.



similar committee at the regional level, but is more linked with the provincial government of West Java and the city government of Tasikmalaya.

By looking at the conditions in the city or regency spheres, we can find many movements and development projects for the cultural and crafts industries in West Java. We should also consider matters from the perspective of the home industry or artisans who are not involved in the “creative” industries in particular regions (such as the producers of traditional bamboo products). The overlap between the rigid systems of the government offices and the movements from the non-governmental sector such as local communities has caused chaos since there is a lack of understanding about the “creative economy” itself. The idea of developing West Java through the creative economy sectors sounds promising all the same, yet practically it remains a controversial issue and a political football among the practitioners.

### **3.2 Overview of the Hamlets of the Daily Utensils Producers**

From the historical point of view, daily utensils made of bamboo were naturally invented by the people who lived in the area of Tasikmalaya and Garut where they have natural resources around them. It is a natural instinct for them to create daily utensils made of bamboo along with their activities related to household and community, and it has developed into the activity of selling woven bamboo products. The people kept up their collective behaviors, such as farming and daily utensil production, shaping the southeast of West Java famous for their abundant natural materials and craftsmanship. In the present times, it is also difficult to find the everyday object-producing behaviors as ordinary events in one whole village nowadays such as in the everyday utensils producers’ villages but more into separated home-based craft industries.

Geographically, Tasikmalaya and Garut have distanced around 55 km. In the southeast of the West Java area, the soil can sustain agricultural plant growth based on the soil fertility that is made from the volcano eruption of Galunggung, lastly in 1982<sup>25</sup>. Since then, the pattern of producing daily utensils and farming or ranching kept taking place for the local people. As time goes by, some agricultural lands are also dredged into residential or public facilities. This affects the original nature of people in the area also shifted (they lack bamboo in their surroundings which influences their bamboo production activities nowadays). This thesis took two places that have significant activities of producing daily utensils made of bamboo as research objects since the side-by-side producing and farming activities are reducing and difficult to be found in other places.

Several factors cause the continuity of daily utensils production in the areas, but because bamboo craft has many intangible aspects, daily utensils producers who master all the weaving techniques are commonly in their 50s to 60s, or even their 70s. The older generations worry that the younger generation is not interested in learning more advanced techniques and they only have a small chance to transfer their skills and knowledge of bamboo crafts to their descendants. In this sense, problems from many different spheres (such as ecological factors, transferring knowledge processes, and socio-economic changes) are interconnected. They each contribute to the cultural change of everyday activities to make a living (producing crafts and farming). In the next subchapter, the profile of the hamlets and how they make connections with bamboo around them through their daily activities will be discussed.

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<sup>25</sup> The history of Galunggung (*Masa Kabuyutan Galunggung*) in the Report Book of Tasikmalaya Regency 2014: *Sejarah Pemerintahan Kabupaten Tasikmalaya dari Masa ke Masa*, pp. 1-20.

There are two main hamlets for daily utensils producers made of bamboo in West Java as the case study for this dissertation. One is the Cikiray Hamlets, placed in the Salawu Subdistrict, Tasikmalaya Regency and the connections of subjects and objects in this village will be described and highlighted through their everyday activities (to make a living) and in the harvesting weeks in November 2020. Cikiray hamlets had their first experience of joining the craft development project from the regional government in July 2020. Through conducting the ethnographic research in this village, the subchapter about Salawu Subdistrict also will shed the impression and the aftereffect from the craft project by collecting the data by the in-depth interviews with 32 craftspeople who were joining the event. Second area is the Cikakak Hamlet, in Selaawi District, Garut Regency, where people in this hamlet are specialized in producing daily utensils but also having the optimistic hope to develop their skills in producing bamboo utensils into other types of bamboo crafts and collaborate themselves with any innovative projects from outside of the hamlet.

People in the aforementioned hamlets have the main occupation as the bamboo weavers, while people have other related activities such as working as a seasonal laborer in agricultural lands, and some of them may also be local food peddlers. Following the socioeconomic changes of the people, the craftspeople expanded from the producing of everyday objects into the commodification of woven bamboo products. Responding to the material around them, the local inhabitants have developed relationships with bamboo since antiquity, and the masters have turned to producing daily utensils from it as their main livelihood. Skills related to producing farming bamboo are handed down from parents to their children, such that it is common in this society to consider these skills an intangible heritage.

The inhabitants have different patterns of producing crafts and farming activities regarding the change of the weather. They make routines depending on ecological factors. In Cikiray hamlets-Salawu Subdistrict, people adjust both their bamboo production routines and agricultural activities to the *usum halodo*<sup>26</sup> (dry season) and *usum ngijih* or *usum hujan*<sup>27</sup> (rainy season). One scenario from some groups of people in Cikiray hamlets is that, starting from morning, they start to slice the cut bamboo, put in a row the sliced pieces in front of their houses, and let them dry until in the noon to afternoon. While waiting for the sliced bamboo to dry, they go to the agricultural lands around them, mostly as *gacong*<sup>28</sup> (seasonal laborers). They back to their houses in the afternoon to have a lunch break together with people in their groups. During lunchtime, they go back and forth checking and collecting the dried-sliced bamboo while waiting for the meal cooked in the kitchen. Some of them may come back to the lands and the others may stay at home and continue producing daily utensils activities. The specific infrequent actions such as performing bamboo production while conducting seasonal farming activities are found only in one or two particular areas around the southeastern part of West Java during the harvesting weeks since crafts producing and harvesting are usually separated due to the geographical factors and social systems of other villages.

### **3.3 Cikiray Hamlets, Salawu Subdistrict, Tasikmalaya Regency**

Salawu Subdistrict is placed in Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java Province. It is about 98 kilometers from Bandung, the capital city of West Java. Salawu is surrounded by the mountains of Cikuray and Galunggung. Salawu Subdistrict has 12

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<sup>26</sup> *Usum halodo*: dry season

<sup>27</sup> *Usum ngijih* or *usum hujan*: rainy season

<sup>28</sup> *Gacong*: seasonal labor activities in other people's agricultural lands and getting a tenth of the harvest.

villages: Margalaksana, Serang, Sukarasa, Salawu, Jahiang, Karangmukti, Neglasari, Sundawenang, Kawungsari, Tanjungsari, Kutawarangin, Tenjowaringin. Regarding the bamboo producers in Salawu Subdistrict, they live in Cikiray One and Cikiray Two hamlets that are placed in the Salawu village. Salawu village has 6 hamlets: Salawu One, Salawu Two, Nangerang, Cisudang, Cikiray One, and Cikiray Two.

Among the 5,239 people living in Salawu village over a total area of 234,99 ha., only Cikiray One and Cikiray Two actively produce bamboo products, with more than 90% of the total inhabitants (1,302 people) being daily utensils producers. In one week, a family can produce 20–60 bamboo daily utensils, counted as 1–3 *kodi*<sup>29</sup> with the average expenditure for that family being about 600,000 rupiah in one week<sup>30</sup>. Amid their crafts-producing activities, Cikiray inhabitants are often busy with agricultural in the paddy fields (the rainfed rice field, named *sawah guludug* in local terms), especially in the farming and harvesting periods that happen once or twice a year depending on the annual rainfall. The distance between the farming and the harvesting weeks is commonly around three to four months depending on the weather.

During the one peak week of each farming or harvesting period, craftspeople take the opportunity to perform seasonal labor in the paddy fields owned by landowners from outside of the hamlets. To be highlighted, none of these craftspeople owns the paddy field; they potentially receive one-tenth of the rice as their daily wages. Some of the craftspeople own small agricultural land around their houses in which to plant vegetables for their everyday meals, such as cassava, potatoes, and some green vegetables. None of these agricultural products are sold; they only rely upon bamboo-producing activities for their main income.

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<sup>29</sup> *Kodi*: a unit for 20 pieces of products. It is usually used for bamboo products.

<sup>30</sup> Based on the interview with the head of the Cikiray Two Hamlet, November 2020.

Table 3 Number of inhabitants in Cikiray One and Cikiray Two hamlets

<b>Cikiray One Hamlet</b> <b>(In 5 Neighborhood Associations)</b>		<b>Cikiray Two Hamlet</b> <b>(In 4 Neighborhood Associations)</b>	
Number of Household <sup>31</sup>	Number of Individual	Number of Household	Number of Individual
226	646	241	656

Source: *Punduh* (head) of Cikiray One Hamlet, November 2020

The inhabitants in Cikiray One and Cikiray Two work as woven bamboo producers, mainly daily utensils products. Other 10% of the people are not bamboo producers and have occupations as food peddlers, wage laborers, PNS (public servants), or children under the age of elementary school. It is very common for Cikiray inhabitants to start learning skills of producing woven bamboo products from the age of 5 or 6, and it is counted as the beginning of start helping their parents or other family members in the house when they start school. The children usually help at the finishing processes such as roping the frame of the woven bamboo products and collecting the finished products into one stack (one *kodi*). Each family works, whether at the front or behind their houses, makes the children familiar with the bamboo-producing environment. It is not uncommon to see children make toys made of bamboo around their houses such as a kite or small tents.

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<sup>31</sup> Household number, abbreviation in local *KK*: *Kepala Keluarga* (Head of family)



Figure 4 Access to Cikiray One and Cikiray Two Hamlets through Salawu–Cikiray Alley from Garut–Tasikmalaya main street.

Source: Author, October 2020

There is only a narrow asphalt alley—Salawu Cikiray Alley—allowing access both hamlets. The alley is surrounded by small bamboo forests and agricultural lands. It takes 20 minutes to reach Cikiray One from the main street, Garut–Tasikmalaya, and around 30 to reach the center of Cikiray Two by motorcycle or *ojeg*<sup>32</sup>. Local people usually walk or drive their motorcycles to go around the village or to commute outside it. The road will only allow one car—typically the business pickup trucks used to deliver and collect the bamboo products.

Cikiray area in Salawu Subdistrict is divided into two hamlets, Cikiray One (Cikiray *Satu*) and Cikiray Two (Cikiray *Dua*). These hamlets are placed in the same area that is separated by some agricultural lands and valleys. Cikiray One in the north

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<sup>32</sup> *Ojég*: motorcycle for the conveyance of passengers (from *ongkos ngajégang* in Sundanese), Ojek (Bahasa Indonesia)

(*kaler*<sup>33</sup>) and Cikiray Two in the south (*kidul*<sup>34</sup>) of Salawu subdistrict have a significant place in the bamboo daily utensils industry in West Java.

The hamlets became the production area for everyday utensils made of bamboo, as the hereditary skills and behaviors toward natural materials around them are their nature. In this way, agricultural and bamboo-producing activities become harmonious with the hamlets. Due to the demand from the markets, the commodification trends in the bamboo industries urge them to take roles as significant producers in the Tasikmalaya Regency. With regard to the geographical factors, Cikiray One and Cikiray Two have different socio-economic conditions. Cikiray One is located nearer to the Garut–Tasikmalaya main street (see Appendix XVIII). There are larger houses—those made of bricks as well as empty huge houses that belong to the outsiders—in Cikiray One. Many large everyday utensils’ middlemen storehouses and public facilities—such as schools and local community buildings—are also placed around common craftspeople’s houses made of woven bamboo. More buildings are made of concrete or bricks in Cikiray One. On the contrary, houses in Cikiray Two are generally made of woven bamboo. However, despite the physical differences between the geographical factors of Cikiray One and Cikiray Two, the craftspeople in Cikiray hamlets have similar activities throughout the village systems. They participate in communal activities, such as constructing the Salawu–Cikiray alley in October 2020: this was done under the title of the “Cikiray people” as a whole rather than under the title of their respective locations. In the following section, the everyday activities performed in Cikiray hamlets will be explained in detail.

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<sup>33</sup> *Kaler*: translation of “north” from Sundanese, *utara* (Bahasa Indonesia)

<sup>34</sup> *Kidul*: translation of “south” from Sundanese, *selatan* (Bahasa Indonesia)



### **3.3.1 Cikiray Hamlets' Everyday Activities**

To understand the characteristics of craftspeople and types of bamboo crafts in each target area of crafts development movement, the approach of ethnography in the field was done during September and November 2020, and March 2021. Starting from highlighting the aspects in their everyday routines, this study captures the relation between the crafts producing activities and their household activities. By looking at the patterns of their routines as the focal point, it is hoped that understanding the routines of craftspeople is crucial in the process of developing the bamboo crafts along with the existing customs on producing bamboo crafts without neglecting and then removing the persistent values that craftspeople have along with their everyday lives. The following section highlights producing bamboo crafts and household activities in the normal season. And the seasonal laboring activities around 1–2 weeks in the harvesting season as the exceptional case will be discussed in the next subchapter (the manner in the harvesting seasons).

Taking vegetables and farming activities that are related to household activities and producing daily utensils out of bamboo are the main activities of the Cikiray craftspeople. People from outside the village might have a stereotypical image of a bamboo producer having very specific daily routines, all pertaining to processing bamboo products. However, when we dig deeper into their everyday lives, there is a lot to unfold about the ineffable behaviors of bamboo craftspeople. The Cikiray craftspeople are often busy with other activities, such as going to the paddy fields during the harvesting periods, taking meals together or potluck lunch breaks with neighbors, cooking traditional sweets from the palm trees nearby, or listening to entertainment coming from the big speakers in their houses, which keeping them

awake at night until dawn. In light of this, the everyday lives of craftspeople in Cikiray hamlets form one system of interconnected activities.



Figure 5 Daily utensils producers working in a group and gathering for lunch after collecting the dried bamboo slices in between *gacong* activities

Source: Author, November 2020

The patterns of living activities such as producing crafts and farming activities or the gathering within the community for one household to another are diverse. Cikiray people essentially have routines related to the weaving activities based on the family sphere. Some may start their producing activities from morning to late afternoon or evening, some start in the afternoon to the late evening, some others may start from the evening to dawn. But the morning to late afternoon or evening would be the common pattern for people in Cikiray. To see the inseparable household activities and bamboo-producing activities in each house, the following is one representation of one household in Cikiray to depict their daily routines.

Table 4 Daily routine of Cikiray craftspeople

<b>Morning to Evening Pattern (case: Undang and Swasti<sup>35</sup>)</b>		
<b>Time</b>	<b>Household Activities</b>	<b>Bamboo-producing activities</b>
5.00–6.30	Clean the house; cook for breakfast; wash clothes; have breakfast; get ready for the day	Sometimes finishing yesterday's work: <i>ngiket/nalikeun</i> (bind the frame)
8.00–12.00	Hanging the washed clothes outside; harvesting grass; take firewood from forest nearby; bamboo working	<i>Motong</i> (cut); <i>ngahua</i> (cut into smaller pieces); <i>raut</i> (slice); dry the sliced bamboo in front of the house
12.00–13.30 (Dhuhr and lunch break <sup>36</sup> )	Cook for lunch; pray Dhuhr; have lunch with family and some neighbors; take care of neighbor's son; clean up after lunch	-
13.30–15.30	Go to the field for farming; bamboo working	<i>Raut</i> (slice); collect the dried-sliced bamboo; <i>wengku</i> (framing)
15.30–16.30 (Asr <sup>37</sup> break)	Pray Asr; socialize with neighbors	-
16.30–18.00	Bamboo working; socialize with neighbors; prepare for dinner	<i>Motong</i> (cut); <i>ngahua</i> (cut into smaller pieces); <i>raut</i> (slice)
Maghrib <sup>38</sup> and Isya <sup>39</sup> break	Pray Maghrib and Isya; have dinner; rest	-
19.30–21.00~	Bamboo working; rest	<i>Nganyam</i> (weave), done by Swasti
<b>Additional case: continue to work-to-dawn pattern</b>		

<sup>35</sup> Family members: Undang (55) husband, Swasti (50) wife, sons: Riki (25) Kasep (17)

<sup>36</sup> Dhuhr: The midday Islamic prayer

<sup>37</sup> Asr: The late afternoon Islamic prayer

<sup>38</sup> Maghrib: The dusk Islamic prayer

<sup>39</sup> Isya: The evening Islamic prayer

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(Case: Abah Suprana and Osah<sup>40</sup>)

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8.00–12.00 13.30–15.30	Bamboo working; cook in the afternoon; cook sweets	<i>Motong</i> (cut); <i>ngahua</i> (cut into smaller pieces); <i>raut</i> (slice); dry the sliced bamboo; <i>wengku</i> (framing)
21.00–00.00 (When having high demand: work until dawn)	Bamboo working	<i>Nganyam</i> (weave); <i>wengku</i> (framing); <i>ngiket/nalikeun</i> (bind the frame)

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Source: Author

Table 4 shows the basic daily activities of inhabitants in Cikiray from morning to evening. In an additional situation when they have high demand, they continue producing the woven bamboo products until dawn. Looking through the types of “bamboo-producing activities” column in the table, the work that need to be supported by sunlight will be done within the morning to afternoon, such as: *motong* (cut); *ngahua* (cut into smaller pieces); *raut* (slice); dry the sliced bamboo in front of the house. Other producing activities such as: *nganyam* (weave), *wengku* (framing); *ngiket/nalikeun* (bind the frame), would be done in the morning or after the sun goes done. The crucial process of producing bamboo products is to have dried-sliced bamboo to be woven so that they can make a good quality of the products. For any reason in high demand condition from the markets they are in, they would not be able to do such producing activities that should be done in the afternoon and move it in morning or evening. In the dry season, they have more time to dry the sliced bamboo than in the rainy season, and thus the latter may lead to obstacles in producing daily

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<sup>40</sup> Family members: Abah Suprana (65) husband, Osah (±57) wife, son: Aa (±30)

utensils. Even so, the bamboo quality is the best in the rainy season. By looking through the typical daily activities in Cikiray, it is illustrated that they put the bamboo-producing activities and their household routines together and become their patterns that related to nature throughout the time.



Figure 6 Cikiray Two people starting the day

Source: Author, November 2020

Cikiray craftspeople start their days outside at 7.00 am when the sun fully rises. As depicted in Figure 6, after they get ready for the day and do some household activities such as wash their clothes, they hang the washed clothes while pile up the sliced bamboo that has not completely dried—they take a great chance to do such household and producing activities during a sunny day. Nature is necessary for the daily performance which involving producing activities as their main occupation. Scarcity of sunlight is a real challenge for Cikiray people, as they depend on both their income and daily activities on the weather daily. As in the bright day, people also go

to the agricultural field such as taking grass to feed their cattle, collecting firewood for the old stove called *hawu*<sup>41</sup> they use, and after 1–2 hours, they go back to their houses to back to producing daily utensils when the sliced bamboo completely dried. But on a rainy day, people will completely stay inside of their houses. If they do not have enough dried-sliced bamboo for the materials for producing bamboo products, they would not be able to process anything.

Before the sun goes down, at around 17.00 pm, most producing activities will be stopped and they take an afternoon bath after finishing their day. It is such an advance to own a toilet in Cikiray hamlets. Most of the inhabitants go to the river to take bath or to go to the toilet. And it is also free to take the water from the river. People said it as “*bade ka lebak*<sup>42</sup>” (Sundanese) which literally means “I am going to the lower land (river)”. For at least two times in good weather days—in the morning and the late afternoon—most people come to the *lebak* area. People who have houses in *lebak* area rarely come to the higher-level land near the main street (*tonggoh*<sup>43</sup>), but people who live in *tonggoh* and do not own toilets themselves in their houses come to *lebak* every day. It takes around 20 minutes to walk to the river from the main asphalt street in Cikiray. They control and stop their working activities in the late afternoon to hurry and have cleaning routines at the river before the sun sets so that it is hard for them to walk to the lower lands. Once they walk down to the river, effectively, they bring some water in the jerry cans back to their houses in case that they need to go to the toilet while they are staying around their houses in the afternoon or the middle of the night. They close the day and continue their routines inside the house in the evening.

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<sup>41</sup> *Hawu* (Sundanese): the hearth. A place for cooking, using the wooden stove.

<sup>42</sup> *Lebak*: the lower level of land between fields or between hills and gutters; where there is a river.

<sup>43</sup> *Tonggoh*: the higher-level land in the area



Figure 7 Left to right: the way to go to the river; plastic jerry can for water container, taken from the river.

Source: Author, November 2020

The producing and house activities of family members in one household will be shaped by their occupations as well as their economic condition. People who live in front of the main street, are considered wealthier than the ones who live near the river. It is because the price of the lands near the main street is also more expensive.

Other than the make-living activities at the family level, people's routines must be related to families and neighbors living around them. The tight connections between neighbors are depicted along with strong bond that is created either through blood relationships or relatives by marriage. These existing connections shape society by using bamboo, plants, and natural water sources around them as the major source of life. By filling their needs in the socio-economic sphere, people play their roles in society. Starting from the closest layer in their nuclear families, the main actors of the

producers in the family are the husband and the wife. They will divide the work from taking the bamboo from the forest or the bamboo sellers until the finished products. One family that has big numbers of demand from the collector will hire their neighbors to help them with the works. The hired neighbors may perform the work in their houses and later send the parts to the family who hires them, or work in their neighbors' houses.

They commonly live near their families even after they got married. One house is composed of one nuclear family or one extended family (grandparents, married offspring, and grandchildren). The wife does not need to follow their husband's place of residence, and oftentimes the husband can also follow their wife's place of birth to live. On one hand, people who originally live in Cikiray is possible to move out from the area and on the other hand, some people come and live in Cikiray after they got married to one of the Cikiray people. In this regard, people who come living in Cikiray commonly started to learn skills and techniques for producing bamboo crafts following their partners' occupation as bamboo utensils producers. Especially for women, being married is an official step for them to start making money. As in Cikiray the most typical way to earn money is to be a bamboo producer, and women that are skillful to make woven bamboo products are counted as ready to get married since they ready to make money by themselves. Even further, that would be unusual for a married woman not to have skills in producing bamboo products or be looked at as immature. This shows how the social status is related to the skills in producing bamboo products they mastered as well as to men.

In the following sections, I will illustrate the variety of daily patterns of Cikiray people regarding their household activities and bamboo-producing routines in the



harvesting weeks as the unique case throughout the year, captured in the first and second week of November 2020.

### **3.3.2 The Manner in the Harvesting Seasons**

The planting and harvesting have been important occasional events for Cikiray inhabitants as the opportunities come rarely throughout the year. Cikiray craftspeople take the opportunity to get rice back home by engaging the seasonal labor in the paddy fields around that are owned by people such as from Salawu and the neighboring villages. The connections between Cikiray people and their environment have been shaping their routines in producing bamboo crafts as well as performing agricultural works in the planting and harvesting seasons. As the result, their beliefs in conducting day-to-day routines are related to their environment constructing a social structure in their society.

Regarding the collective activities in Cikiray such as going to the paddy field, the customs formed by farming are similar to those of crafts-producing. People commonly go to the paddy field or work on agricultural land inside the village in groups. Each group consists of the same people as those who make crafts. They go to their agricultural lands, or labor in lands, owned by other villagers and bring one-tenth of the rice home as their wage (*gacong*). In the peak of the harvesting season. People mostly average generation at the age of their 30s to 50s, tend to have agriculture activities than weaving activities as their daily routines. The event in harvesting weeks is not a yearly routine to them since the rice filed in Cikiray is the rainfed type. One way or another, reaching the opportunity of getting the rice yields from *gacong* (seasonal labor), Cikiray people mix the producing bamboo activities with the agricultural performances. The following is the table to illustrate the adjustment within

a group of craftspeople who usually make crafts and have farming activities together in several days during one to two weeks of harvesting days (see Table 4 to see basic daily activities in regular/non-harvesting seasons as a comparison).

Table 5 The representation and adjustment of daily routines in harvesting periods

<b>Morning to Evening Pattern (case: Nirmala, Hasanah and Ami<sup>44</sup>)</b>		
<b>Time</b>	<b>Household Activities</b>	<b>Bamboo-producing activities</b>
5.00–7.00	Do the household activities and preparation before go to the paddy field: Clean the house; cook for breakfast; wash clothes; have breakfast; get ready for the harvesting activities	<i>Motong</i> (cut); <i>ngahua</i> (cut into smaller pieces); <i>raut</i> (slice); dry the sliced bamboo in front of the house
7.00–12.00	Agriculture activities in the paddy fields	-
12.00–13.30 (Dhuhr and lunch break)	Back to their houses, take a break; cook for lunch; pray Dhuhr; have lunch with family and neighbors; take care of neighbor's son; clean up after lunch	Check or take the sliced bamboo that completely dried to their houses
13.30–15.30	Dry the yields (unpeeled rice) in front of their houses and in a communal area nearby	Collect all the dried-sliced bamboo in their houses
15.30–16.00	Pray Asr; wrapping up the agricultural activities; back to their houses	-
16.30–20.00	Household activities; rest	-
20.00–21.00~	Rest; go to bed	

Source: Author

People go to the paddy field in groups starting from 7.00–8.00 am, or earlier if the lands are far from their houses. They bring their lunch to the field and tend to have

<sup>44</sup> Hasanah, Nirmala, and Ami have communal routines for bamboo-making and farming activities together as a group (work with neighbors)

lunch together rather than go back home—it is a waste of time for them to walk back and forth. In the case of the agricultural lands close to their houses, they could go back to their houses and have the potluck lunch with the same people of the rice field group. The agriculture activities in the field fully finish at around 15.00–16.00 pm when the Asr prayer time comes. They walk back and rest after the whole day spent in the paddy field. Some of the daily utensils’ producers expressed that:

“The day we spent on the field is mostly tiring, we would not be able to work such as producing bamboo utensils or even to just weave after that. However, we are able to do those (bamboo weaving activities) again in the other days, it is very basic routines for us.” (11/19/2020)

The good weather and sunny day were a good opportunity to either do agriculture and drying up sliced bamboo for the craftspeople who do the seasonal laboring activities. As illustrated in Table 5 all the bamboo-producing activities are all about cutting and drying the bamboo without other producing performances such as weaving, forming, or framing. As in the case of Hasanah, Nirmala, and Ami, they take advantage of the sunny day to prepare bamboo so that they could do other producing activities on the other days when they do not busy with the seasonal labor activities that drain their energy in a day.



Figure 8 Agriculture activities in the paddy fields of Cikiray One

Source: Author, November 2020

Throughout the year, there is an exceptional case that was found during the harvesting weeks. For one to two times a year (this year was only in November), the infrequent actions are found in Cikiray hamlets when most groups of the craftspeople expand their communal activities in the paddy fields while also keep producing bamboo crafts. Craftspeople perform to cut or weave the bamboo stripes while safeguarding the rice yields in front of them. In other bamboo craft villages in Tasikmalaya Regency such as Paniis or Mandalagiri (which will be discussed in Chapter Four), there are outside activities along with bamboo craft-producing, equal to fishing or cattle farming in the individual sphere which is characteristically separated in the sense of place to do the venture. But in Cikiray people bring their bamboo works to the agricultural fields, or vice versa, they bring the rice to their houses as they need to dry the rice yields.

At the peak of the harvesting week, the demands of *tampir* (huge flat trays) are high, both from the villages around Cikiray hamlets and from the cities (through the

demand from the middlemen to the daily utensils producers). The producing activities could not be stopped even though most people go to the agricultural lands and feel exhausted after the full day of working outside. To people who do both producing activities and seasonal labor, the harvesting weeks are the busiest season for them. But some other group of people would have none of bamboo producing activities during the day of the paddy-working day and continue the cycle of bamboo-producing in another day.



Figure 9 Daily utensils producers engaging in crafting and farming activities in the harvesting week. Safeguarding the rice yields while weaving.

Source: Author, November 2020

On the harvesting weeks the trays with the rice yields inside are put everywhere: in front of their houses, at their backyards, and not surprisingly on the street. To those who pass by the main street, they need to ask the owner of the trays to

put aside while they pass through with their motorcycles or pick-up cars—this condition does not cause a conflict between one to another since it is the habit and mutual understanding for the people. Customarily, people occupy the empty lands around their houses such as on one's field that it is counted as “public” for them. During the sunny day, rice yields must be protected from the roosters around their houses that are owned by them or their neighbors, for the rice are the roosters' favorite. In contrast, when the rain comes—that usually in the late afternoon to evening in the harvesting period—people would immediately stop all their crafts production and farming activities outside. The rain is a sign for them to close their day whether or not they continue some of the weaving or producing crafts activities inside.

Even though it is common for Cikiray people to do both agriculture and weaving activities together, some people do not engage seasonal labor during the harvesting days. They lean to the bamboo-producing activities and buy rice from their neighbors who do seasonal labor in the hamlets or get from the markets.

After looking at the everyday routines and some arrangements in the harvesting weeks of Cikiray craftspeople, in the following subchapter, I explore the varieties of the crafts producing style in Cikiray as the industry of daily utensils made of bamboo.

### **3.3.3 Type of Bamboo Daily Utensils Producers**

This subchapter aims to examine the diversity of attitudes on producing daily utensils made of bamboo with various products as well as the styles of producing the bamboo crafts in the hamlets that shape people into some customs or manners that is related to the quality of the products. By understanding the view on this section, the varied types of bamboo utensils in Cikiray will be shed light as the starting point of

expanding the markets in the future for bamboo crafts made in Cikiray. To begin, the categorization depending on markets will be explored.

In the Cikiray hamlets, the most trusted way to spread information is through verbal communication. Notably, the older generations do not own phones or smartphones. They connect themselves with family members and neighbors around their houses. This lack of phone ownership does not affect the marketing of their bamboo products, since they sell them by walking or peddling to other villages nearby (*ngampung*) or by sending them directly to the market in Tasikmalaya City (in Pasar Cikurubuk) every week or two. Other groups of people may have business connections with collectors or middlemen in the hamlets, so the craftspeople do not go outside of the village to sell their products and the risk of selling them at a lower price.

Table 6 Ways to market bamboo products in Cikiray

No	Types of producers	Markets	Associated with
1	Shoulder Carrying Pole ( <i>ngampung</i> )	Neighboring Villages	-
2	Individual Producers	Markets in Tasikmalaya City	-
3	Wholesale producers for village middlemen	Varied markets outside of the village (local markets and shops)	Village middlemen
4	Wholesale producers for outside middlemen	Varied markets outside of the village (local markets and shops)	Outside middlemen
5	Customized products producers	Niche market for the projects	Local or regional projects

Source: Author

Cikiray hamlets bamboo producers reach various markets from the household level to the local markets outside of the village. There are at least five ways of selling their products to the markets. People have their preferences to sell the products they make and practice them for a long time which are followed by the whole family. For such a case, people with *ngampung* style will not receive the demand from the middlemen, collectors, or local projects outside since they wanted to keep the quality of the products so they have more satisfaction to be able to sell the products at a higher price. The *ngampung* or individual types of craftspeople tend to say their products to be having quality over quantity. The types of the producers will be described below starting from the *ngampung* and the individual seller by taking Abah Suprana, Abah Ilmi, and Abah Oman as the case, and in the next part, the middlemen cycle will be discussed.



Figure 10 Abah Suprana with Osah prefer *ngampung* to sell their products

Source: Author, November 2020 & March 2021

First, for *ngampung*, Abah Suprana starts the bamboo-producing activity from collecting bamboo until selling the finished products. He walks and shoulders the



products using the carrying pole to other villages such as Cikalong, Taraju, Ciodeng, Deudeul, and Mandala. The farthest areas to sell the products are to Cikalong and Taraju (about 15 km, one way), and the nearest one is Mandala (about 10 km, one way). It takes him one day in total, hours to move to the spots, hours to peddle around the area, and go back to his house in Cikiray Two hamlet. He goes *ngampung* selling once in two or three days depending on the finished products he and his wife produced. He usually takes tenths of the varied products in his carrying poles such as *tampir* (huge trays), *boboko* (rice containers), *nyiru* (medium–big flat trays), *tolombong* (square-based containers), and *hihid* (cooking fans). Even though it is tough and pushes his physical ability a lot to *kampung* selling, he gets used to having this pattern and feels satisfied with the income he earns. Moreover, Abah Suprana said that:

“We prefer *ngampung* selling rather than selling our products to the middlemen. I know that sounds very tough but I get used to it since the very long time started when I was younger, so that is not a big deal and I feel healthy with what I do. The satisfaction comes from the chance to sell our handworks right to buyers’ hands and so that I like to keep the quality of our products best. We would lose some values that we keep if we sell the products to the middlemen that concerning the numbers. We can also keep our pattern and follow our daily routines rather than depending on the demands from the middlemen.” (11/17/2020)

Allude to the uncertain situation in big cities in the pandemic situation since the beginning of 2020 in Indonesia, woven bamboo industries have also been affected by the condition especially to those who relate themselves to the markets in the city. For Abah Suprana and Osah, the pandemic is not a bad deal to them since Abah Suprana relies upon the bamboo products selling to the neighboring villages which are the same as usual for him. The needs in the kitchen and farming activities remain the

same and he is a producer and all the buyers are not related to the market chains outside of the area. Abah Suprana has another occupation as a *hansip* (village security official) every Sunday evening as his side job. He previously wage-labored taking grass to feed buffalo harvest, but not in the recent times. Selling to the middlemen is possible for Abah Suprana and Osah but that would be the very least option because they do not want to keep many products in front of their houses, they call it “*heurin*,” literally meaning as “narrowing” spaces around their house.

Second, slightly different from the *ngampung* selling, some people prefer to sell their products straight to the local market in Tasikmalaya City (individual producers in Table 6). Some of them sell by themselves the products using the carrying pole, some others sell to the kiosks in the markets. What makes differences between those who sell by themselves and those who sell to the kiosks are the selling price and the time they need to spend in the market. They spend one day selling the products in Tasikmalaya City, starting from carrying the bamboo products to Garut–Tasikmalaya main street at around 4 am for about an hour from their houses in Cikiray hamlets, and then take *angkot*<sup>45</sup> or *élep* (the bigger *angkot*), use the carrying pole. It takes about one hour to get to the market in the city from the Garut–Tasikmalaya main street.

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<sup>45</sup> Angkot the acronym of “Angkutan Kota” (Bahasa Indonesia), share taxi or public transportation by car



Figure 11 Abah Ilmi and Abah Oman as individual producers

Source: Author, November 2020

For Abah Ilmi and Abah Oman, selling to the markets directly will keep them producing high-quality products so that they can sell every single product at a higher price, and have a better flow to work while having other routines in their houses. Both send the products by themselves using the shouldered carrying pole to Salawu main street and take the public taxi to the city (*angkot*) every one month. They usually take 3 to 4 *kodi* (about 60–80 pieces) of woven bamboo products and do peddling in Cikurubuk Market or sell to the kiosks in the market when they cannot finish the stocks they bring. The payment and profit they gain in the market will be their asset to buy bamboo, rattan rope, and other needed tools for producing bamboo products for the next month. To conclude, typically the high-skilled producers tend to sell their products individually to the markets or directly to the buyers in the neighboring villages since they have mastered skills to produce high-quality products and wanted to keep the quality of the products. Although they make a big effort to move to the marketplace, the preferences are related to their income, so that they also get their satisfactions in any aspects for them compared to selling to the village middlemen or outside middlemen.

Third, the wholesale producers for village middlemen and outside middlemen, and customized products producers mentioned in Table 6 will be depicted in the following paragraph. The wholesale types differ from the middlemen or collectors who pick the products from the producers' houses. Some collectors are from outside of the hamlets such as business owners in Tasikmalaya city (outside middlemen) and the other ones are small collectors in the hamlets that have connections with parties outside (village middlemen). However, both types have the same pattern in the production process. For this wholesale types, Abah Efendi and his family will be taken to illustrate the case for this house sells their products to both village middlemen and outside middlemen.



Figure 12 Abah Efendi and his family (left to right: Abah Efendi explaining rice containers; Ma Anika slicing bamboo in front of the house; working place in front of the house; semi-finished and finished trays)

Source: Author, October & November 2020

This extended family lives in two houses next to each other. There are mainly 12 people who live in the houses and the others temporarily living here because they have other jobs outside of Cikiray. They work in groups and start the producing activities from 7.00 to 23.00–24.00 depending on the demand from the middlemen and have breaks at noon, late afternoon, and evening as following the Islamic prayer times. All the family members habituate themselves with the work pattern that is set hereditary. Abah Efendi and Abah Suprana are siblings but they live separately after they got married and have different preferences on selling their bamboo products. Reflecting Abah Efendi and his wife's connections with the middlemen, their daughters as well as the husbands and grandchildren are involved to the same market to produce bamboo products. The one who manages the numbers of order and the workflow in these houses is their daughter, Ibu Ninih with the help of her sister and sister-in-law, Cucun and Yuna.

They do not prefer to sell to other parties such as sell to the markets or individually sell to the buyers. At least they connect with 10 middlemen that distribute the products to Singaparna, Garut, Bandung, Karangnunggah, Tasikmalaya City, Ciawi Regency. The collectors pick the finished products every Wednesday, but the payment could be every two weeks or one month. In the current pandemic situation in 2020, the delays of the payment happened to two months or paid in installments which affects their production cycle. In some opportunities, the middlemen also loan the cash to the wholesale producers and will be paid back by the bamboo products.

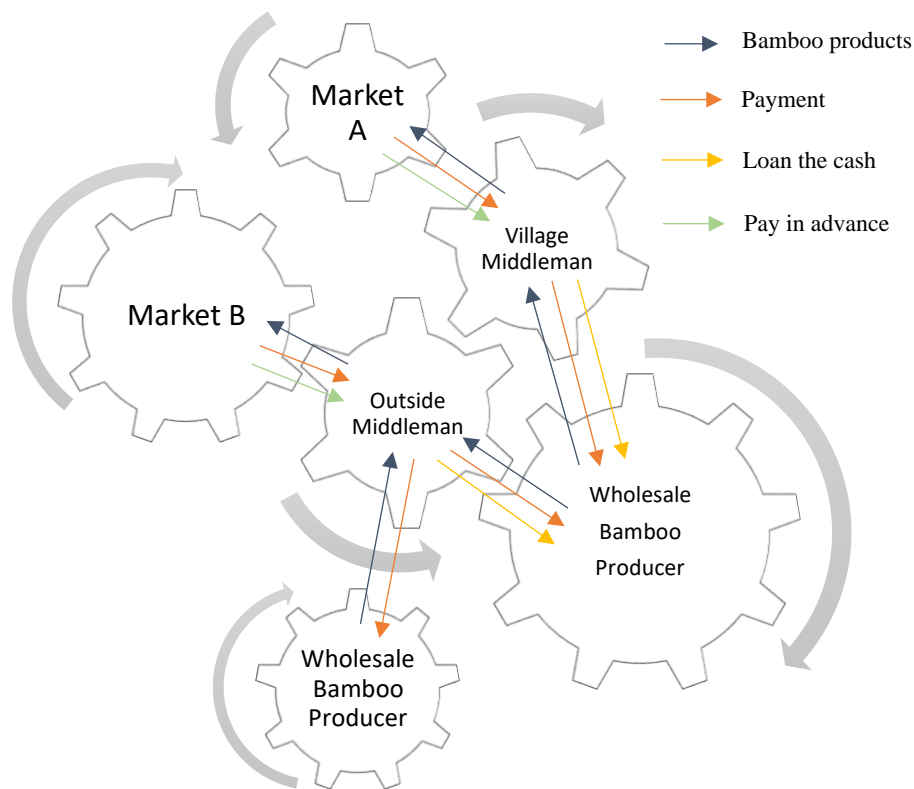


Figure 13 Scheme for middlemen and bamboo producers in Cikiray.

Source: Author

It took years—and even decades—for a craftspeople family to become middlemen in the hamlet. This often resulted from the generations of parents or grandparents who began to gather and sell their neighbors’ finished products to the outside markets. In the present time, the husband and wife in the nuclear family would continue their ancestral connections with the potential sellers in the cities or the bigger middlemen outside of the Salawu village. Closely related to the capital system in the area, there are also political concerns in the middlemen cycle. This constructs fierce competition among the local middlemen. Small middlemen—such as the leaders in the hamlets or named Pak RT (head of neighborhood association)—start small by managing the production cycle between the neighbors or collecting from the wholesale

producers in their domain. In regard to the political positions in the hamlets, the middlemen who have higher status in the socio-economic sphere have the power to control bamboo producers around their houses. This long-established and fixed cycle has more power than the top-down movement from outside of the village and the attempts to engage with the hamlets.



Figure 14 A storehouse of a collector in Cikiray One

Source: Author, October 2020

The wholesale producers such as the Abah Efendi family are involved in the capital system in the bamboo industry for decades. They follow the ups and downs of the demand from middlemen that are related directly to the markets in the cities and regencies. Dissimilar to the sellers who individually trade their products to the consumers, when the demand high, the wholesale sellers earn a high income and the demand low, they must struggle in producing woven bamboo products and find other middlemen to buy or loan them the cash to keep their cycle alive.

In the high demand, the Abah Efendi family could produce 150 *kodi* (3000 pieces) of many products such as *nyiru* (medium-big flat trays), *aseupan* (rice

steamers), *tampir* (huge flat trays), *ayakan* (food sieves), *tolombong* (square-based containers), *dudukuy* (peasant hats), *cecempeh* (small flat trays), *cireung* (circular-formed baskets), *hihid* (cooking fans), and *jodang* (huge food sieves). Almost all kinds of daily utensils are made of bamboo this family produces, even rare products such as tall *tolombong* that is called *kojong* (the high squared based containers). In the harvesting season, the demand for *tampir* (huge flat trays) would reach hundreds in one day from Karangnunggah area. In one experience they needed to rent a business pickup truck to *Pa Haji*<sup>46</sup> to deliver the products. In other specific orders such as wedding ceremonies, a set of all types of woven bamboo products will be ordered by the groom as *seserahan*<sup>47</sup>. On some other occasions, Abah Efendi often gets orders other than woven bamboo products, such as musical instruments made of bamboo called *angklung*.

Finally, bamboo utensils producers that are involved in the customized type are generally the ordinary producers that have connections with local or regional projects executors such as the Department of Trade and Industry of Tasikmalaya City (Disperindag Kota Tasikmalaya). The customized products typically follow daily utensils form such as *aseupan* (rice steamers) or *boboko* (rice containers) but in smaller sizes or requested with additional colors.

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<sup>46</sup> Pa Haji: A famous nickname to men who performed Hajj in Macca (pilgrimage in Islam); most common image for wealthy men and play important roles in local businesses.

<sup>47</sup> Seseherahan (Sundanese): Presenting a wedding gift for the bride.





Figure 15 A customized producer in Cikiray One (left to right: customized rice containers; and colored rice steamers).

Source: Author, October 2020

More familiar with the common forms and sizes of daily utensils, there are only a few craftspeople who produce the customized products in Cikiray. The customized products are produced for souvenirs or decorations purposes rather than for kitchen needs. The use of chemical paints for aesthetic purposes is contradict the usual daily utensils production in Cikiray. The disprove of using chemical colors for kitchen and farming utensils is related to the health issues that craftspeople believe. The chemical reactions because of the heat during the process of cooking or harvesting may cause the food inside the utensils to be contaminated.

In short, among five types of ways to sell woven bamboo products in Cikiray, the wholesale sellers are the most popular ones. Daily utensils producers are engaged to sell their products (semi-finished and finished ones) to the middlemen or collectors. Even though the price for one *kodi* is very low, the daily and weekly demands from the markets as well as from the middlemen are reliable for Cikiray people.

### 3.3.4 Type of Products, Existing Skills, and Techniques

After exploring the types of markets and the way to sell the bamboo products by daily utensils producers in Cikiray, also their preferences in selling that are related to their abilities in producing the products, there are needs to further recognize the type of products that are associated with the existing skills and the techniques of producing daily utensils. This section aims to understand the relations between the values that craftspeople keep while they are producing bamboo crafts along with their specific customs and preferences in each family.

To create daily utensils and crafts made of bamboo, craftspeople in Cikiray hamlets start from the very beginning, even harvesting or buying bamboo trees and cutting them into shorter lengths. People in the city or outside of the hamlets unfamiliar with the process in order to make woven products, bamboo craftspeople must possess the strength to shoulder the harvested bamboo trees as well as mastery of weaving techniques. It takes some time to finally achieve the finished products, yet the market price of bamboo utensils is not equal to the effort required to create them (the price of each daily utensil is around 3,000–20,000 rupiah (IDR)/26.29–175.24 JPY).

The craftspeople in the Cikiray hamlets tend to live and work with their nuclear families in one house. Each house has a particular work system. They may share the work between husband and wife (without help from their children), cooperate between parents and children, or involve all the extended family members. There is also variety in the kinds of products produced. Only some households are masters that are able to produce such high-skilled products as *boboko* (rice containers), *ayakan complong* (fish sieves), and *tolombong* (square-based containers).

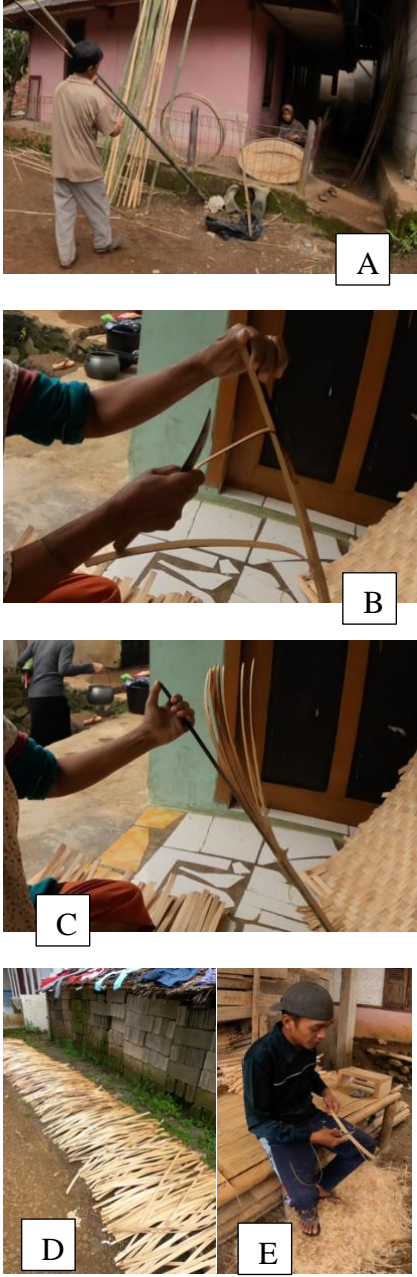







Figure 16 Production process of daily utensils made of bamboo

Source: Author

The processes of producing bamboo products starts from getting the bamboo either from the nearby forest or from the bamboo sellers in the hamlets. This process is usually done by men (the head family of the house). Some daily utensils producers own their bamboo forests, but most of them buy from the bamboo shoots collectors. They buy bamboo 10,000–15,000 rupiah for one piece, or with the cheaper delivery costs for one pick-up order to the bamboo collectors (around 40 pieces) at the rate of 50,000–75,000 rupiah per delivery. After receiving the bamboo shoots in their houses, the next process is to cut or slice the bamboo into smaller pieces. Below is the table for the details of processing bamboo after they get the material, equipped with the name of each process and technique from the local people:

Table 7 Process of splitting, weaving, and finishing the bamboo products

No	Processes	Visual	Techniques
1.	Splitting		<p><i>Dibeulah:</i> Vertically cut one bamboo pole from top to bottom into 6–8 sections. Split into rough strips.</p> <p><i>Ngahua:</i> splitting into thinner strips; separate the inner layer from the outer layer.</p> <p><i>Dicetok:</i> separating split pieces from the nodes.</p> <p><i>Dijemur:</i> drying process, taking 2–3 days until the thin strips fully dried.</p> <p><i>Diraut:</i> slicing the fully dried strips until it has a smoother surface.</p> <p><i>Siap dianyam:</i> Finished strips, can be woven.</p>
2.	Weaving		<p>Weaving on their lap for rounded products such as <i>boboko</i>, <i>tolombong</i>, <i>aseupan</i>, and <i>dudukuy</i>.</p> <p>Weaving on the flat surface or</p>



		 <p style="text-align: right;"><b>B</b></p>	<p>floor for flat products, such as <i>nyiru</i>, <i>ayakan</i>, <i>hihid</i>, <i>cecempeh</i>, and <i>tampir</i>.</p>
3.	Finishing	 <p style="text-align: right;"><b>A</b></p>  <p style="text-align: right;"><b>B</b></p>  <p style="text-align: right;"><b>C</b></p>	<p><i>Wengku</i>: Framing process; fitting the woven surface into the circular frame made of rough strips.</p> <p><i>Dipapas/dirapihkeun</i>: cutting the excess surface parts at the edge of the frame from the framing process.</p> <p><i>Nalikeun</i>: Binding the frame using rope “<i>hoé</i>” to tighten the woven surface with the frame). There are 2 types of “<i>hoé</i>”: “<i>hoé gunung</i>” (rattan rope) and “<i>hoé koneng</i>” (plastic rope).</p> <p>Finished products.</p>






Source: Author




There are at least 10 types of bamboo daily utensils in Cikiray hamlets based on the field data collection process in November 2020. The products will be

categorized as high-skilled products, medium-skilled products, and low-skilled products following the discussions on each interview with the daily utensil producers.

Table 8 Daily utensils made of bamboo in Cikiray Hamlets

No	Name	Visual	Description
<b>High-skilled woven bamboo utensils</b>			
1.	<i>Boboko</i>		Rice containers: A container to keep the rice. Also used for processing rice before it is cooked such as to wash and to sieve. <i>Boboko</i> equipped with or without the lid. Other terms and types of this container: <i>boboko tutup</i> ( <i>boboko</i> with lid), <i>boboko alit</i> (small sized <i>boboko</i> ), and <i>boboko ageung</i> (big sized <i>boboko</i> ).
2.	<i>Ayakan</i> <i>Complong</i>		Fish sieves: A sieve to catch fish from ponds or from containers in the local markets. In Cikiray, <i>ayakan complong</i> are styled with the second frame, practically to make the sieves stronger.

3.	<i>Tolombong</i>		<p>Square-based containers: A concave round container, shaped square at the base level and rounded at the upper level.</p>
<b>Medium-skilled woven bamboo utensils</b>			
4.	<i>Aseupan</i>		<p>Rice steamers: A cone-shaped woven bamboo usually used to cook rice and be put on the top of <i>langseng</i> (a steaming tool made of brass or zinc).</p>
5.	<i>Dudukuy</i>		<p>Peasant hats: Usually used by the peasants in the paddy field. In West Java, also used in all kinds of harvesting activities.</p>
6.	<i>Nyiru</i>		<p>Medium-Big flat trays: A flat-circular-shaped tray, usually used to separate rice and its husks. Also used as kitchen tools.</p>
7.	<i>Ayakan</i>		<p>Food sieves: A sieve made of bamboo. A multifunction tool in the kitchen with the primary function to separate cooked food from water or oil. Also known as <i>ayakan biasa</i> (regular size), <i>ayakan daging</i> (a sieve for meat products), and <i>ayakan</i></p>

			<i>lauk/complong</i> (a sieve for fishes).
8.	<i>Hihid</i>		Cooking fans: A tool for wag; woven bamboo fan with the rectangle form and has a bamboo stick on the side for the handle.
<b>Low-skilled woven bamboo utensils</b>			
9.	<i>Cecempeh</i>		Small flat trays: A flat-circular-shaped woven bamboo tray, usually used for food containers.
10.	<i>Tampir</i>		Huge flat trays: A tool to dry up rice or rice yields. Formed circular similar to <i>nyiru</i> , but the bigger size. Usually used outside.

Source: Author

The classification of high- to low-skilled products takes into account the levels of difficulty and the production times required for each piece. In the following passage, the details of processing each product will be examined and ordered from the high-skilled products to the low-skilled products starting from the weaving process to the finished products. Woven bamboo daily utensils in the Cikiray hamlets have a basic pattern—square base-diagonal (See Figure 17). Another type of product, *ayakan complong* (fish sieves) is woven with a certain distance between each strip. The type of framing used with a woven bamboo surface is called a *wengku* in Sundanese. Below



are pictures of the patterns found in the Cikiray hamlets' daily utensil production process, derived from the weaving technique classification book by Mulyadi (2009)<sup>48</sup>. The book was referred to during the fieldwork in West Java when tracing skills and weaving techniques.

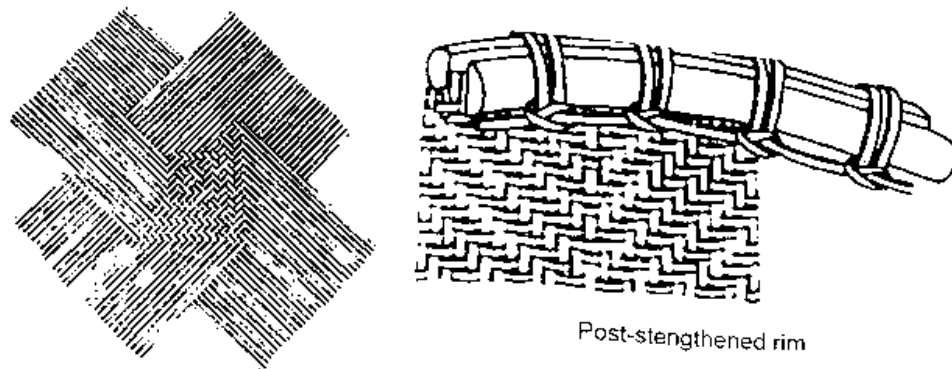


Figure 17 Left to right: Square-base diagonal pattern weaving technique; post-strengthened rim (framing; *wengku*).

Source: Mulyadi (2009)

With many variations of bamboo products forms in Cikiray, the square base-diagonal weaving technique is used for most of the products, but what makes them having different forms are the patterns between each thin strip. There is also the count for steps in producing the weaving patterns made by the local weavers such as “one-step of thin-strips” *langkah satu* (in Sundanese; Bahasa), “two-steps of thin-strips” *langkah dua*, and “three-steps of thin-strips” *langkah tilu/tiga*. The difference of steps, technically shape different forms of the woven bamboo products, as well as the tension in each angle in one product.

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<sup>48</sup> Details of the patterns and weaving edges: Mulyadi (2009) in *Pelatihan Teknik Desain dan Diversifikasi Produk* [Technical Training and Product Diversification (for woven products)]; Mulyadi (2009) in *Dasar Perancangan Produk Anyaman* [Total Design Technique for Woven Products]. In collaboration with the Department of Small, Micro, and Medium-Size Enterprises of Indonesia.

The details of techniques and patterns for each product will be defined in the following section. The products are listed regarding the classification of skills that are mastered by the craftspeople in Cikiray, starting from *boboko* (rice containers) that is considered the most difficult bamboo daily utensil (there are also quite a few people producing the product), to the very common products that are produced and have a lot of producers in the hamlets (such as *cecempeh* and *tampir* the trays).

1. High-skilled product: *Boboko* (rice containers)

The rice container is categorized as a high-skilled product regarding the complicated skills and weaving techniques to produce compared to other utensils made of bamboo. This product requires the change of weaving patterns from the bottom to the upper part, which makes people find it difficult and often avoid make daily. It also takes much time and very specific bamboo (the long one) on producing *boboko*. Most bamboo daily utensils producers (especially the wholesale type), tend to produce products that are easy to make so that they will have many numbers to be sold to the middlemen every day. For the individual seller such as Abah Suprana who also makes and sells *boboko* daily, it is a satisfaction for him and his wife to produce high-quality products than focusing on the quantity since Abah Suprana also meets his customers directly when selling the products. The customers could give him feedback when buying the products so the quality is the most important aspect for Abah Suprana. For the details of producing *boboko* processes, see Appendix II.



Figure 18 The finished *boboko* with plastic rope finishing in Abah Suprana's house.

Source: Author, November 2020

Abah Suprana and Osah (Suprana's wife) mastered the skills of producing *boboko* since they were young. They got the skills from both of their parents, keep continuing producing it, and be one family of few people who produce *boboko* in Cikiray nowadays. Even though people in the hamlets say it is hard to master producing *boboko* techniques, Abah Suprana and Osah said they get used to producing it and it becomes repetitive to them so they do not consider it as something difficult. While interviewing them, I once tried to make the woven surface following the *boboko* pattern and it was also difficult for me to understand the changes of patterns that are related to shaping the form of the product. Osah was the one who taught me the patterns and she often said "no, this looks wrong, you miscalculated the patterns." and she showed me the calculation. The *boboko* pattern: 2-2-3-2-1-2-1-2 (*bilik* type) could also be different when we make different sizes of the *boboko*. Osah and Abah Suprana were hard to describe verbally and they rather showed me by actions and pointed the finished patterns line per line. The movement in producing *boboko* and other bamboo products may be common knowledge between the two of them, and they

only perform the actions to sell their products, not in the purpose to teach the patterns to anyone. Since the bamboo-producing techniques are usually transferred to the descendants in the family but their sons could not be continuing their skills, they tend to act upon it in the present rather than teach people verbally.

Considered as high-skilled products in the village, Abah Suprana and Osah have special places in society among other producers. When I asked other craftspeople nearby about *boboko*, such as “do you also master and produce *boboko* daily?”, most of them refused to answer my questions, and straightly pointed Abah Suprana and Osah’s house. Although the number of people who master *boboko* decreases day by day, the demand for the products is always high from both neighboring villages or people in the local market in the city.

By observing at Abah Suprana’s case, the use of *hoé gunung* (rattan rope) and *hoé koneng* (plastic rope) on producing *boboko* matter to them and those also depend on the demand from the buyers. But it was common for producing *boboko* with plastic rope than the rattan rope after they followed the trend since around 2005. The rattan rope’s price is also more expensive and needed to manually be shaved before it is used. As Abah Suprana and Osah the famous *boboko* producers in the village, stated:

“It depends on the customers; rattan may last longer but need to be shaved beforehand, the plastic one is easy to use and slick. We prefer producing *boboko* using rattan rope for the sake of quality, feel also satisfied with the visual, but the plastic rope is more practical in terms of producing time, so we can finish and sell them faster. Anyway, both ways are fine to us.” (10/8/2020)

In the ups and downs of producing daily utensils made of bamboo, Abah Suprana and Osah believe that *boboko* production is still needed either with the plastic rope or rattan rope finishing. To them, *boboko* is an essential product of household

utensils. Even though Abah Suprana and Osah prefer to sell their products individually, they often get many requests from some middlemen who have the demand of the product, since there are only a few people who produce the finished *boboko*. But oftentimes, they put their priority to the *ngampung* selling than sell their products to the middlemen regarding the profit they get. After all, they are aware that the skills of producing *boboko* are disappearing in the hamlets, but at the same time, they could not do anything about that and have no concern in transmitting the knowledge with all the customs they have to any possible candidates in the family, as long as they can make a living by what they master at the moment.

2. High-skilled product: *Ayakan Complong* (Fish Sieves)

*Ayakan complong* is the only product that has a different process from other daily utensils products in Cikiray. It is recognized that there was only one house in Cikiray Hamlet One that was well-known for producing *ayakan complong*, Abah Oman and his wife, without the help of their children. One of the factors that there are not many people producing *ayakan complong* is that it is necessary to slice each strip of bamboo perfectly, using the outer layer of bamboo (the green side) that takes much time to produce. Other than that, to weave with the gaps between small strips of bamboo precisely is also important to be used as a sieve for fish that have some weight (see Appendix III for the details of the process of producing *ayakan complong*). Avoiding the details of the process in producing this product, craftspeople produce low-skilled products with high numbers instead of producing high-skilled products that take long time to produce such as *ayakan complong*. Other factors such as owning *dulang*<sup>49</sup> for the forming process; and finding very specific bamboo conditions as the

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<sup>49</sup> *Dulang*: a wooden kitchen utensil for processing rice; a rounded wooden container to smash or to put

main material are also avoided by other craftspeople who are not producing this product. However, along with the declining numbers of *ayakan complong* producers in society, the demand from the markets is also not high since people nowadays are not familiar with this product. Abah Oman and his wife were aware of the condition but had no tendency to preserve it and they did not find it crucial for them to keep the knowledge on producing this product. It is as simple as they could produce when there are demands in the markets so they could earn money by producing *ayakan complong*.



Figure 19 The finished *ayakan complong* made by Abah Oman and his wife

Source: Author, November 2020

The sieve *ayakan complong* required a strong structure within the frame and the woven surface as practically it will be facing some weight of fish when it is used. The first frame (at the top of the product) is made of the cut thick-rough strips of bamboo the diameter of which is adjusted with the diameter of *dulang*. By having the first frame as having the *wengku* process done, the product has basically been finished, but Abah Oman added the second frame as their trademark of their *ayakan complong*, which practically makes the sieve's structure stronger. The second frame is attached

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rice.

between the first frame and around the upper part of the woven surface, and both frames are connected by rattan ropes to keep still the structure of the frames.

*Ayakan complong* appeared as quite rare products in the hamlets. Along the way when I brought the finished *ayakan complong* from Abah Oman's house to the head of Cikiray Hamlet One's house where I lived with all the family members, craftspeople who I passed by adored the *ayakan complong* that I brought. People were interrogating: "such a long time I did not see this *ayakan complong*!", "where did you get this product? It is beautifully crafted!", or "may I touch this? Wow, Abah Oman and his wife are talented, we could not make this kind of thing." I was not expecting that even the local craftspeople in the hamlets adored the *ayakan complong* a lot and they looked at the product astonishedly. Although they recognized that there is a product named *ayakan complong*, and it is often said by some of the craftspeople in Cikiray, they have never seen the appearance of the product daily. The story was showing that the *ayakan complong* is disappearing these days, and only Abah Oman and his wife who were able to produce the product.

To sum up about *ayakan complong*, with all the details in the process of producing *ayakan complong*, the number of people who master this product—especially that is produced by using the outer layer of bamboo (skin part) and required detail finishing—is decreasing, as well as the demand from the markets (the markets are now not familiar with the type of sieves, *ayakan complong*). Many alternatives such as fish sieves made of plastics or fishing nets are picked instead of the ones made of bamboo. The producers such as Abah Oman sell the product to the local markets in Tasikmalaya city (an individual seller) once in one week or every two weeks to get a higher income than selling the products they produce to the middlemen or collectors in the hamlets. It is to reach the customers directly to reapproach the less-known

*ayakan complong* these days in the markets. The way they sell reflects their abilities to produce high-quality bamboo utensils which are also rare in society and rarely requested by the typical middlemen in the hamlets.

3. High-skilled product: *Tolombong* (Square-Based Containers)

Similar to *boboko*, *tolombong* has a square form base but is not equipped with any support at the bottom side such as *soko* in *boboko*. The standard size of *tolombong* has a diameter around 30 cm and some bigger sizes: 35 cm, 37 cm, and 40 cm. *Tolombong* in Cikiray is also well-said as *tolok* (local name for *tolombong*). It is grouped as a high-skilled product since the change of the weaving pattern (from the base to the body and upper parts) is required, and not so many people have mastered the weaving techniques. The products such as *boboko* and *tolombong* are avoided to make by most of the craftspeople in the hamlets regarding the requirements of producing it such as the need for long bamboo and the *pengkorkeun* technique in the weaving process. Despite the fact that there are a few producers in Cikiray who master skills to make *tolombong* regularly—although many producers master the technique but seldom make the *tolombong*—the demand for this product from the markets is high.

The process of producing *tolombong* started from the weaving process as the most important part of producing *tolombong*. The bamboo strips are woven for the base part (the form looked like a cross, see Figure 20) and are later collected before the woven basic part is folded to make the body part (*dipengkorkeun*). The flow of the process is not long, but the most difficult part is the forming (*dipengkorkeun*) process, which is the shifting of weaving techniques from producing the four-edged base to the body part that has a circular framing shape. Each process is done step by step, in a bunch number of products.





Figure 20 The woven base of *tolombong* (*tolok*) that are collected before the forming process (*dipengkorkeun*).

Source: Author, November 2020

A family that is famous for their *tolombong* production, that is taken as a representative of *tolombong* producers is Pak Safiq's family (see Appendix IV for the details of the processes). They produce hundreds of *tolombong* in one period of producing. The finished *tolombong* are usually picked up from their house by middlemen every three weeks or one month along with the transaction between Pak Safiq and the middlemen. Pak Safiq's wife is originally from a neighboring village. She started to master the skills to make bamboo products around 10 years ago after she got married and moved to Cikiray. Since then, they make a new system in their family to produce *tolombong* and be one of the active ones. By the means of mastering the techniques along with making money, Pak Safiq's wife could help her husband who masters most of the types of daily utensils made of bamboo. All the techniques

and skills that Pak Safiq's wife mastered were taught by Pak Safiq and were also from Pak Safiq's mother.

In a different circumstance, a very rare *tolombong*, *tolombong jangkung* (the taller type of *tolombong*) is also mentioned by Abah Efendi<sup>50</sup> but has never been found during the fieldwork. He got the influence of producing the *tolombong jangkung* by an exchange skills process with someone from Sumatra Island (it is called *kojong* in Sumatra). In what follows, the influence from outside of the village does not make any significant change in the hamlets. *Tolombong* which are produced in Cikiray follow the common custom in the hamlets—the short-height *tolombong* with many sizes (diameters) —that is categorized as less common to be produced regarding the complicated technique of weaving and other technical factors.

After looking through three products that are made by high-skilled craftspeople in the hamlets (*boboko*, *ayakan complong*, and *tolombong*), the following are five daily utensils made of bamboo that are categorized as medium-skilled products.

#### 4. Medium-skilled product: *Aseupan* (Rice Steamers)

To begin the discussion about medium-skilled products, *aseupan* is presented regarding the decreasing number of the people who make good quality of the product in the hamlets. Cikiray may have many *aseupan* producers who sell their products to the middlemen but they are concerning numbers rather than quality. Most of them produce the product with the wider *suakan* (the wide of bamboo strips) the strips of which are roughly woven (*abragan*). In the sense to understand the value in each process of producing *aseupan*, Bu Endah is taken as a representative *aseupan* producer with specifications to produce high-quality *aseupan* with the smaller *suakan*.

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<sup>50</sup> See Abah Efendi in the Wholesale Type seller in this chapter.

To start the weaving process, Bu Endah must have small-wide strips made of the inner part of bamboo as to-be-woven material. By having *suakan alit* as strips, the tighter woven bamboo is made and considered as high quality compared to *aseupan* with wider strips. She was taking precise steps for each level of the woven surface. The cone-shaped woven bamboo part is divided into two sections: the upper part and the center to the lower part. The top of *aseupan* as navel, is woven with gaps for the air circular when the product is used as a steamer. The center to the lower part of *aseupan* is woven without gaps to functionally hold the rice inside. The weaving process is continued and done until the desired height of the *aseupan*. After combining the woven surface and the frame (made of thick-rough bamboo strips), all the process of producing *aseupan* is finished. Bu Endah was having done the framing process, by herself, which is commonly performed by men at most of the other *aseupan* producers' houses around.

Bu Endah has mastered many techniques (including the high-skilled ones) in producing bamboo daily utensils since she was a young adult, but nowadays she has a more passive source of income from owning a small grocery shop in front of her house and do not put bamboo-producing as her main job and take the pace slow. When there are demands to make such special-requested products—not from middlemen—she would be glad to perform it such as the one from the in-depth interview process. She was urged to perform the “right way” to make the *aseupan* as I previously took one semi-finished *aseupan* with big-*suakan* from another producer's house which is about 300 meters from her house. By explaining the use of small *suakan*, how the measurement should be done to make the perfect-cone-shaped *aseupan*, she was then satisfied with what she performed (see Appendix V for the details of producing *aseupan*'s steps).



Figure 21 Weaving process of producing *aseupan* performed by Bu Endah

Source: Author, November 2020

It is very rare for the producers who concern much about the quality, as one high-quality *aseupan* can be done only several numbers in one day, while the *abragan* ones can be finished 20 to 30 pieces (2 *kodi*) in one day. The demand from the middlemen and the local markets did not require such good quality but only numbers. But people such as Bu Endah and Bu Osah (as mentioned as *boboko* producer above) concern about the details and quality (*leukleuk*), so when they produce bamboo utensils, they tend to make it with the best quality as they also sell their products individually.

##### 5. Medium-skilled product: *Dudukuy* (Peasant Hats)

The second product from the medium-skilled product is *dudukuy* (peasant hats). Visually, the peasant hats look similar to *aseupan* (rice steamers), but *dudukuy* has a different weaving pattern and width following the function of the product—a hat (see Appendix V, VI, and Figure 22 for the comparison). The diameter of the product is bigger than *aseupan* and the pattern of weaving has a difference since there is no need

to make such gaps between the strips on the top part for *dudukuy*. Functionally, the gaps in *aseupan* are intended for the circulation during the steaming process of the rice while in *dudukuy*, the function of gaps is not needed. In more detail, the inner part in *dudukuy* that is made of a rounded rough-thick bamboo strip is attached to place our head inside. After the woven surface is finished, the finishing process such as framing and knotting is done and all the processes of producing the *dudukuy* are completed.



Figure 22 *Aseupan* (left) and *Dudukuy* (right) have different techniques in producing and sizes.

Source: Author, July 2021 & November 2020

For example, Abah Ilmi (a *dudukuy* producer representation in Appendix VI) makes the product since he was young and became well-known with his skills in producing medium-to-high skilled products among the craftspeople around his house who generally make low-skilled products. Abah Ilmi is able to make the *dudukuy* from the beginning to the finishing process. When the request from the customers is quite a

lot, Abah Ilmi is helped by the entire family members: his wife, and their daughters. In addition, Abah Ilmi and his family prefer to use the rattan rope for the finishing process of their products, including the *dudukuy*. Although it is categorized as a medium-skilled product, *dudukuy* producers are in a few numbers regarding the low demands from the markets and there are substitute products that are functioned as hats in the farming activities. Adhere to *dudukuy*, the producing process of *nyiru* the medium-big flat trays will be explained from Abah Ilmi as well in the following section.

6. Medium-skilled product: *Nyiru* (Medium-Big Flat Trays)

There are three types of flat trays in Cikiray: small flat trays (*cecempeh*), medium-big flat trays (*nyiru*), and huge flat trays (*tampir*). *Nyiru* is considered a medium-skilled product by the craftspeople since it is necessary to have precise strips and the form is deep-set from the frame part to the center of the product. The weaving pattern of *nyiru* is named as *anyam bilik* (the pattern of woven bamboo wall) with smaller sizes of strips than for producing the bamboo wall (see Appendix VII for the detail of the producing process).

In the weaving process of *saatos pihuntuanana*, each *nyiru* producers could have different patterns as the trademarks of their bamboo products. As mentioned in the previous part of producing *dudukuy*, Abah Ilmi and his family tend to make all the types of bamboo daily utensils that they produce have the “natural” nuance also for *nyiru*. Moreover, he stated:

“Using plastic ropes makes the bamboo products losing their natural soul, it looks mixed in the sense of colors and materials, in our house we get used to those beliefs so that we can feel satisfied with the finished products. Don’t you think so?”

(11/18/2020)



Figure 23 Manual measurement made of bamboo stick to make *nyiru*.

Source: Author, November 2020

This becomes an idea in this family following Abah Ilmi's principles on producing bamboo products since he was young. Considering the satisfaction and their ideas, Abah Ilmi also feels it is more worthy to sell his family products at higher prices in the local markets. The manual measurements using bamboo sticks that were carved using a sharp knife to set the diameter of *nyiru* and other rounded-frame products such as *cecempeh* and *tampir* have become their family benchmark as well. These very uncommon customs show that each family in Cikiray has its own manners and tendency to produce bamboo utensils products on their own.

#### 7. Medium-skilled product: *Ayakan* (Food Sieves)

Stepping out from Abah Ilmi's perspective in producing bamboo utensils, some producers are captured to make *ayakan* in this section. At the very beginning process of producing *ayakan*, it is the key to make such high-quality products by concerning very fine bamboo strips. Regarding the function of the product, it is also necessary to put focus on the durability and strength of the material when producing *ayakan*.

Accordingly, the outer layer of bamboo (skin part of bamboo) is chosen to produce this product type. Each strip should be formed and sharpened straightly at both sides manually.



Figure 24 Processing bamboo strips for producing *ayakan*. Left to right, first row: shaping the sides of strips; collecting the finished strips. Left to right, second row: the outer layer of bamboo (inner part, green and yellowish colors); the inner part of the outer layer of bamboo; woven strips for (big-sized) *ayakan*.

Source: Author, November 2020

Most people in their 50s and more have this concern about producing the bamboo utensils—the fine strips. Considering a long time of processing the strips (*leukleuk*), most people avoid producing *ayakan*, and tend to produce other lower-skilled products. It needs quite much time, year by year, to finally have such sense in



sharpening the thin bamboo strips neatly. In Cikiray One there are also some producers in their 30s producing *ayakan* and following the required details in producing the bamboo sieves. The detail of processes on producing small-sized and medium-sized *ayakan* that collected from four producers in different places is depicted in Appendix VIII.

The craftspeople in Cikiray keep honing the existing skills such as the complicated knots in *ayakan* the skill of which is getting disappear these days. For the finishing process, the craftspeople usually rope the *ayakan* applying the *beulit biasa* (regular knot) as the standard quality, either using rattan rope or plastic rope. Since it also takes time and material to produce *ayakan* with the *beulit kacang* (complicated knot), customers or middlemen need to request beforehand to the producers with higher prices compared to the standard one. In general, daily utensils made of bamboo with complicated knots are also rarely found in the commercial markets. Regular people who buy *ayakan* in the market do not understand fully the difference between one knot in one product to another, so it is also a not necessary thing for them to find high-quality *ayakan* when they need any sieve from the markets. This is one of the interesting findings that there is an interconnection between the demand and the existing skills in one bamboo producers' village. The disappearance of skills of producing bamboo crafts is a product of the situations in the economic sphere in society.

#### 8. Medium-skilled product: *Hihid* (Cooking Fans)

Different from most types of daily utensils in Cikiray that are used as containers or trays, weaving manner to make *hihid* requires folding technique or called *lépé*. This technique is applied to flip the directions of the bamboo strips or stop so that the

product will have a rectangle shape without framing all sides of the woven surface. *Wengku* or framing is put on one side and is functioned as a handle. To represent the details of producing *hihid*, the table in Appendix IX explains all the processes of producing a medium-sized *hihid* (length: 20 cm, width: 15 cm) from the beginning to the finished product.

The double-layered *hihid* is sold more expensive than *hihid* that only has one layer (the square woven surface). Technically the double-layered one will give more strength when it is used as a cooking fan where the second layer also functions. Both the single-layered and double-layered *hihid* are produced in Cikiray. Other than the medium-sized *hihid*, there are variations of it: the small-sized *hihid* and the big-sized *hihid*, too.

After viewing the details of the medium-skilled products in Cikiray, the following section is intended to describe two low-skilled products in Cikiray: *Cecempeh* (small flat tray) and *Tampir* (huge flat trays) as the last part of the description of daily utensils that are produced in Cikiray hamlets. The low-skilled products are commonly distributed to the middlemen rather than individually sold. When people are “in the need of money,” they produce *cecempeh* or *tampir* since there will always be markets for this product and it takes a shorter time to produce tens compared to other bamboo daily utensils. Most women who raise their kids and tend to work at home will choose to produce *cecempeh* or *tampir*. Even though the price of one piece of *cecempeh* or *tampir* is low, producing easy-skilled products with high quantities is more preferred than producing few high-quality products since they make bamboo products while breastfeeding or taking care of their kids (it is often paused and distracted).

9. Low-skilled product: *Cecempeh* (Small Flat Trays)

Among all daily utensils made of bamboo, Cikiray people categorize *cecempeh* as low-skilled and most frequently demanded from the market. All the bamboo utensils producers surely master skills to make *cecempeh* since it is very basic for them to learn the skills when they were kids—at least for binding the frame's ropes. Once they master to make *cecempeh* from the beginning to the end, it is considered that they are mature and ready to make money on their own. Many layers of generations are involved in *cecempeh* production spheres. Kids that are able to help their parents or the youth that produce themselves after they got married in their early 20s, or the older generations who want to make money regularly without having much pressure on making the details of bamboo products.

Originally functioned as a flat tray that is used in the kitchen, *cecempeh* is also utilized for decorations on some special occasions in West Java such as for residential gates in Indonesia's Independence Day (every August 17). When in the high-demand season, people produce even more numbers than their daily flow of producing the product. It is not uncommon that *cecempeh* will be hard to be found in the markets although people in the crafts producers village such as Cikiray keep producing the products. For the details of *cecempeh*'s producing process, below is a case of Ehsan (21 years old) who produces the product daily along with his wife and his family. The details of producing *cecempeh* are explained in Appendix X.

For *cecempeh*, the *hoé konéng* (plastic rope) is often used considering the low price of the selling on each product. The more advanced knots such as *beulit biasa dobel* (regular knot with double knotted) or *beulit kacang* (complicated knot) are not applied since the more materials and time they need to produce such advanced finishing process. Ehsan and his family commonly produce 1–2 *kodi* a day (20–40

pieces). The collectors pick up the products every week or every two weeks, depending on the numbers that are ready to be sold, and Ehsan also gets paid. It is interesting to find a case of Ehsan in his age, which tells that *cecempeh* producers encompass all the generations and regardless of the gender separation to produce low-skilled daily utensils.

#### 10. Low-skilled product: *Tampir* (Huge Flat Trays)

The process of the last bamboo product from Cikiray hamlets, *tampir* is explained in detail in Appendix XI. Having huge diameters, the outer layer of bamboo is required to produce *tampir*, both for the woven surface and the frame, and the inner layer of bamboo is less firm. *Tampir* is intended to be an outdoor product (to dry up food under the sun) so that it is risky to use plastic rope considering the heat of the sun when it is used. Specifically for the framing process of *tampir*, on one hand, it is preferred to be done by men. The huge size and the outer bamboo layer require strong muscle to process each product. On the other hand, the weaving process is usually done by women (disregarding their ages). Once a woman *tampir* producer declared:

“Yes, as you can see, *tampir* has such a huge diameter, also we use the outer layer of bamboo to make it. You can imagine that it is a challenge for me to even cut down a strip using the big knife. It is just my husband’s part to do that (the framing process). ... After the framing part is done, the binding process can be finished by us (her daughter and herself) where kids are also commonly helping in our hamlets. It is an easy work (to bind).” (10/8/2020)

As the low-skilled products are easier to be mastered by the whole of craftspeople in Cikiray, the numbers of people who produce the low-skilled products are the highest among the other two types (the high and medium-skilled products).

Kids, adults, and older generations are often involved in a process of producing *cecempeh* or *tampir*, especially the finishing process. In sum, the easier the skills to make bamboo utensils, the more people get involved in the production process, compared to people who produce high-skilled products (*boboko*, *ayakan complong*, and *tolombong*). It has never been a story for them to have kids producing high-skilled products or even to help their parents with it. In this sense, direct contact with people with their materials is a lifetime experience. The more they get involved and dig the skills, the more they master all the techniques: low, medium, and high-skilled daily utensils types. An additional finding from the *tampir* industry, two men who are visually impaired (see Appendix XI: the framing and forming processes/*wengku*) are involved in the production for their families as well as helping their neighbors—when needed. Their whole lifetime experience since they were kids brought them the ability to be able to make money by producing bamboo products (especially *tampir*).

In one path, the level of knowledge that people have about their livelihoods, whether that is producing daily utensils or other activities such as farming, is tied to their social strata and income. The deeper their skill is in producing bamboo products, the more people know about them. This awareness is directly related to their capabilities. People recognize the social status of one craftsman starting from the smallest level, the family sphere, to the bigger circle, neighborhood, and village system. The business relationships between the craftspeople with their neighbors represent the social connections that are also shaped by bamboo-producing activities.

In today's struggle for global change, local craft industries have been undergoing transformations. Youth in the Cikiray hamlet's village are being encouraged to continue their bamboo-producing activities as well as laboring as farmers or harvesting near their houses, given that many income-generating

opportunities have been reduced in the global pandemic (2019–present, 2021). Since they have had the skill in producing bamboo daily utensils from their childhood, producing bamboo products becomes a primary job for them rather than other occupations such as selling *cuanki*<sup>51</sup> or wage laboring in the cities. Younger people from age twenty to fifty often use crafts-producing as their source of income. They usually master techniques that require only low to medium skill, such as simple weaving or tying up the rattan knots on bamboo products' frames.

Although it is a good sign for the older generations to have younger generations in daily utensils producing activities these days, there still be a problem to keep preserving the existing skills in producing bamboo crafts in their village. The problems such as the skills of producing bamboo utensils that are not successfully transferred to the youth from the senior crafters are related to the issue of declining excitement in the rising generation. There are also gaps in education levels that are related to the choices of the younger generations who have a higher degree than their parents and work outside of the village. But in fact, the positive senses in earning a higher degree make it difficult for their local culture continuation. Admitting the decreasing number of the people who master high and medium skills in producing bamboo daily utensils, people have nothing to do with the changing situations. As long as they can make money for their life in Cikiray, it would be enough for them.

### **3.3.5 Crafts Development Project from the Official Level to Cikiray Craft Village**

After looking at the characteristics of Cikiray people and their bamboo crafts with all the tangible and intangible aspects related to their livelihood activities, we could discuss the recent development project that was intended to expand the ideas of

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<sup>51</sup> Meatball soup served with noodles, steamed tofu, fried tofu, and fried dumplings.

the craftspeople to sell their bamboo products through the wider markets in the future. The case of the development project and the results and the compatibility with the style of producing bamboo in Cikiray will be elaborated in Chapter Five.

In July 2020, Cikiray craftspeople were involved in one craft development project from the Tasikmalaya Regency Government, Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small and Medium-Size Enterprises, and Labor (*Dinas Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, dan Tenaga Kerja, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya*). From many small and medium-size enterprises in Tasikmalaya Regency, Cikiray hamlets of Salawu Subdistrict were chosen for their first time in the 2020 development project. The consideration for choosing Cikiray hamlets as the target for the project was that the government had a plan to develop craft industries in line with the request from the local stakeholder in Salawu to improve their economy related to their main livelihood: producing bamboo daily utensils. The development project was not a yearly event for bamboo crafts since there are many other sectors in Tasikmalaya to be concerned as well such as mendong grass and wooden craft sectors. It is also related to the yearly budgeting in the government office. In regard to picking Cikiray to be involved in the project, the government sees that there should be *skills* “improvement” to expand their knowledge. For such other bamboo industry that has developed in terms of product development, the government reaches the marketing sides of the industry.

Bamboo crafts in Cikiray were just revealed to be showing in a development project, while in some years before the government was concerned to the Leuwisari area in Tasikmalaya as the well-known area for the bamboo industry in Tasikmalaya Regency. The bamboo industry in Leuwisari will be discussed along with other areas

in West Java in Chapter Four. Specifically, for the 2020 project, Ibu Dini<sup>52</sup> (the head of the division of the development project and PLUT), mentioned that there has been a certain concern from both the local and regional governments for the bamboo sectors in Tasikmalaya. The vice governor of West Java Province, Uu, Ruzhanul Ulum, wanted to develop the bamboo industry in Salawu after visiting the villages.

Moreover, Ibu Dini said that the main intention of the government to hold this project was to motivate the craftspeople in Cikiray, for there are more variations of bamboo products other than daily utensils. Most bamboo productions of either daily utensils or bamboo crafts practically happen in Tasikmalaya (Regency and City), but unfortunately, Tasikmalaya has less power to take advantage of the skillful craftspeople to increase their socio-economic spheres since the customers of Tasikmalaya crafts are in bigger cities. Most famous local product brands that have an approach for local crafts often have connections with Tasikmalaya craftspeople and prefer to process the production in Tasikmalaya, but they market the products in the big cities such as Jakarta, Bali, or Bandung. In this regard, Tasikmalaya craftspeople have less dominance and profit but also cannot fully withdraw themselves from the crafts industries either. Closing her statement, Ibu Dini stated that despite huge potentials they have in the crafts industries all around Tasikmalaya Regency, the government only be able to take roles in supervising and motivating the practitioners through some of the efforts such as the development projects.

The policy coordination between the Tasikmalaya Regency and the Tasikmalaya City in developing the local crafts industries has been also taking place. Under the Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small and Medium-Size

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<sup>52</sup> Ibu Dini (pseudonym). An interview with the head of the division of the development project and PLUT (the center of the integrated local businesses), in the Tasikmalaya Regency government office in Jalan Mayor Utarya No. 1, Tasikmalaya City, December 22, 2020.



Enterprises, and Labor, there is a unit and the center of the integrated local businesses (PLUT) at the local levels. Such integrations between local and regional levels are intended to maintain the shared visions to make Tasikmalaya and widely in West Java developed in socio-economic and cultural aspects in the society. Below is the chart for the involved stakeholders in the crafts development projects in Tasikmalaya Regency.

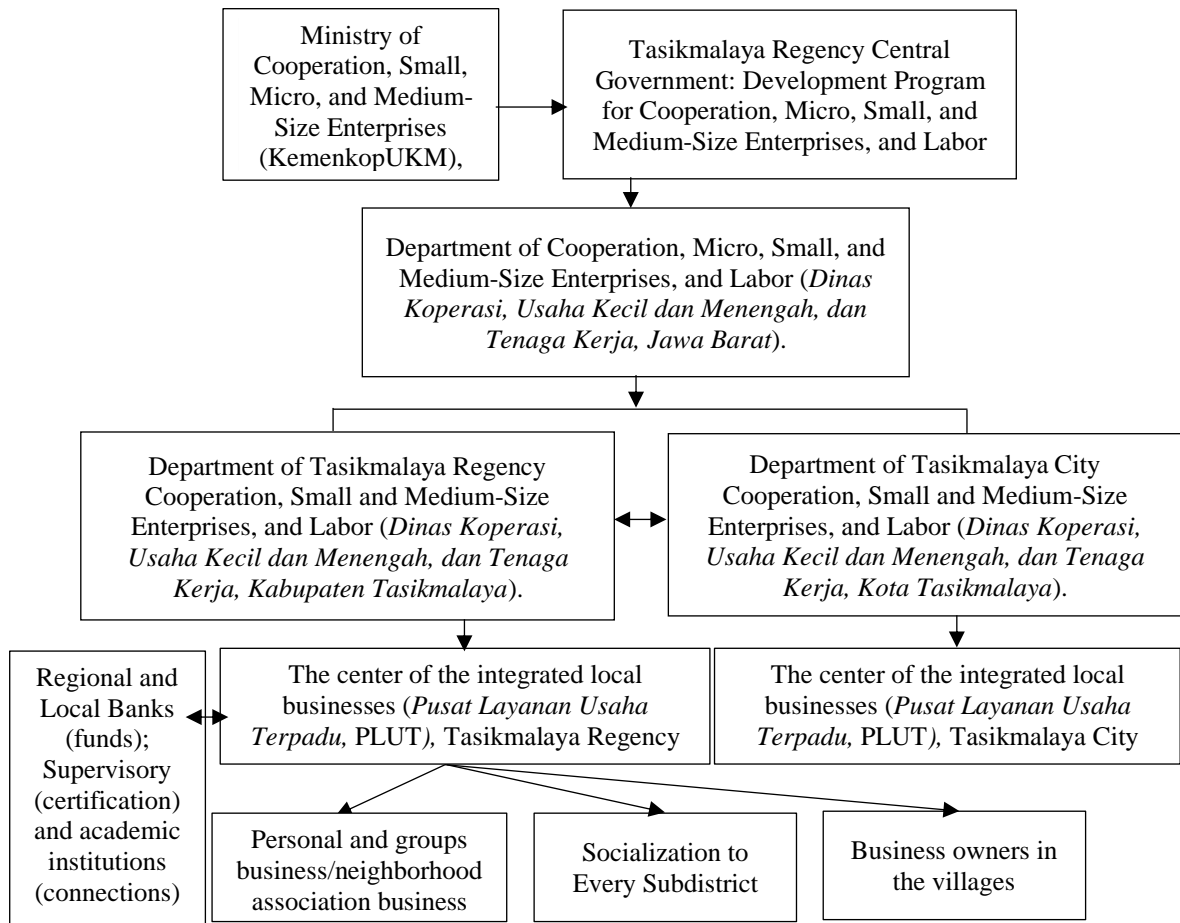


Figure 25 The coordination and instruction flow and the involved stakeholders in the West Java Crafts Development Projects

Source: Author, through interviews with the governmental offices and PLUT Tasikmalaya Regency

PLUTs in the regency and the city of Tasikmalaya were invented through the national ministry project to develop the enterprises in the local sectors. By having

smaller units in the specific areas, PLUT is intended to be a unit and a center that focuses on the very micro sectors in the hamlets and villages that are integrated with the village offices. But practically, it is quite complicated for the grassroots levels to understand the position between the local stakeholders (village offices and PLUT) and the regional stakeholders in making roles in their economic sectors (such as daily utensils or bamboo crafts).



Figure 26 Crafts Development Project from the Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises, and Labor (*Dinas Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, dan Tenaga Kerja, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya*), July 2nd–4<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

Source: Instagram, [urgtsk\\_bamboodept](#)

The July 2020's craft development project was held in Tasikmalaya city. The event was divided into a three-day workshop for 32 craftspeople from Cikiray (including two heads of the hamlets and one PLUT staff who is also a village officer of the Salawu Subdistrict). From 2017, Urang Tasik Community was involved in the development projects by the regional and local governments for bamboo crafts and was contributed to the local crafts event such as the yearly Tasikmalaya Oktober Festivals. The community is headquartered in Tasikmalaya city and has connections to bamboo craftspeople in the city. For the July 2020's workshop, the division of bamboo crafts from Urang Tasik Community was chosen to be the mediator between the craftspeople in Tasikmalaya City and Tasikmalaya Regency (in this regard, Cikiray craftspeople). Introducing such "advanced" skills to Cikiray craftspeople is the goal of the workshop. It is hoped that Cikiray craftspeople could develop their daily utensils products in the future.

Cikiray craftspeople moved to the Tasikmalaya city from the hamlets using pickup trucks which was organized by the village officers and they stayed at the hotel for two nights where the event was held. The event organizers were the staff from the local government and the Urang Tasik Community. For the three-days event, all the facilities and accommodations were also provided by the budget from the local government. The craftspeople from Cikiray were positioned as participators and two bamboo crafters from Tasikmalaya city introduced some new skills for Cikiray people in producing bamboo crafts. Other than the facilities, all the participators and the masters of the crafts received daily wages for joining the events.

The crafts development projects started from the 1990s for the craftspeople in Tasikmalaya City and Regency in many kinds of forms—from government-based projects to projects with academic institutions in West Java. The development projects

usually brought and introduced new markets to make modern products such as interior or fashion commodities. As depicted in July 2020's craft development project, the daily utensils' forms were modified to be other interior products such as lamps and wall panels. The transformations of the forms would be the new thing for Cikiray craftspeople since they are shaped to function their bamboo products to be kitchen and farming utensils that are close to their everyday lives.

To sum up, the project was a good opportunity to them since they experienced new knowledge (techniques of framing), but it could not be applied as their way to produce bamboo products since the new technique require such new materials such as glue (made of Cyanoacrylate Etil) that is not available around their hamlets. The technique is also not applicable to process daily utensils as they are functioned to have direct contact with food—the glue is not food-grade. However, to expand their markets to sell other kinds of bamboo products, there is a need to approach new markets. Most of the participators with whom I interviewed tend to simply continue their productions in producing daily utensils that they get used to with the existed markets rather than exploring the new skills that they got from the craft development project. The demand from the neighboring villages and the local markets in the cities are continuing and that would be an interfere for them to *only* spend their time for experimenting new products. They would be interested when the markets look promising to them, but this is still a big transition for Cikiray people presently. Nevertheless, groups of Cikiray craftspeople are also open for innovative products out of producing daily utensils as their extra income as long as the new market and new skills on bamboo crafts exploration are not restraining their persistent customs and their existing markets.

There was also an intention to make a community in Cikiray continue and develop producing bamboo skills that are initiated by the head of the Cikiray Hamlet

Two and some of the craftspeople who joined July's crafts development project. They were enthusiastic to have a "stimulus" group that is intended to spread the new knowledge to all craftspeople in Cikiray and moreover to engage the interest in expanding their bamboo creation other than daily utensils. From the interviews that I conducted, the people in Cikiray Hamlet One spoke that they would be interested if there is once a week gathering for producing innovative products, two ways sharing, and similar community activities to explore their skills. On the other hand, they also focus on their existing demand from the market daily that gets used to and interwoven to their everyday activities. To negotiate the old skill and the new, there should be further discussions regarding the evaluation and the continuation of the development projects in the craftspeople's daily routines in producing crafts. During my fieldwork in Cikiray (in October and November 2020, and March 2021), I have met and collected feedback about the bamboo craft development project in July 2020 from 32 craftspeople who were joining the event. The collected data and the assessment of the projects will be analyzed moreover in Chapter Five.

After discussing Cikiray Hamlets craftspeople's everyday activities (household and producing crafts related), their manners in the harvesting seasons, types of the products they produce as well as the skills and techniques, and the related development project to the hamlets, the following section examines Cikakak craftspeople in Garut Regency, who are also specialized in producing daily utensils but is taken as another example of bamboo craft hamlet, for they have different perspectives and ideas about crafts development projects and its related activities even though geographically Tasikmalaya and Garut are closed to each other. Daily utensils from Cikakak are typically the same as the products from Cikiray, but Cikakak have less types and have some other customs that are related to producing bamboo utensils.

### 3.4 Cikakak Hamlet, Putrajawa Village, Selaawi Subdistrict, Garut Regency

Geographically placed near to each other, there are unique differences in terms of perspectives of the craftspeople in both Cikiray Hamlets in Tasikmalaya and Cikakak Hamlet in Garut. Go straight 62 km to the east from Bandung the Capital of West Java, there is an area that is popular for its bamboo crafts, Selaawi Subdistrict that is in Garut Regency. Among the 6,093 people living in the Selaawi Subdistrict in a total area of 2,287,587 M<sup>2</sup>, there are only 3 villages out of 7 villages in the Selaawi Subdistrict where the people are specialized in producing bamboo products and crafts: Selaawi, Mekarsari, and Putrajawa. Selaawi village is well-known for the weaving and laminating bamboo processes, while Mekarsari is popular for their bird-cage-producing, and Putrajawa is famous for their daily utensils (especially *nyiru* the big flat trays, *tampir* the huge flat trays, and *ayakan* the food sieves). The following section discusses mainly Cikakak Hamlet in Putrajawa village, Selaawi.



Figure 27 Access to Cikakak village from Selaawi main street

Source: Author, August 2019

It is a common idea for Selaawi people that “Selaawi” stands for “*disela-sela nyo’o awi*” which literally means: “local people have bamboo-producing activities in their spare times”. In the olden times, people started to make a creation based on their everyday needs, and commodification changed the manners in producing bamboo crafts. In the change of ways of bamboo-producing, other areas such as Mekarsari area shifted to bamboo birdcage industry, and the daily utensils industry has disappeared. People in other areas as in Selaawi village or Nagrog tend to apply new techniques such as laminating and coiling to their bamboo products. The changes of skills in producing crafts and bamboo products also shaped craftspeople’s social compositions. As bamboo crafts industries, business connections, and markets make crafts producers work in groups between neighbors (house-to-house systems) in Selaawi and Mekarsari, but in Cikakak village, the workflow follows the persistent customs where they tend to work with their nuclear families. People in Cikakak keep the daily utensils producing activities since there are demands from the local markets nearby. After all, Cikakak people do their producing activities as their main way of livelihood which comes along with their farming and cattle farming routines.



Figure 28 Houses and cattle farms in Cikakak village

Source: Author, August 2019

Located at the borderline of the western part of the Selaawi Subdistrict, Putrajawa village has 50% of their inhabitants that put daily utensils production made of bamboo as their main income.<sup>53</sup> The other 50% of the population put weaving as their part-time working, such as children who help their parents for the finishing process, or men who do cattle farm or work in the cities as their main job. For the systems of producing bamboo products, women take most of the process of them. Even though producing bamboo is not the main occupation for most men in the village, the producing-with-family system keeps matters to them where men's roles are important to each family since taking bamboo from the forest and framing are not common to be done by women.

Most of the bamboo producers work in family spaces and they sell the finished products to the middlemen who usually come to their village to pick up the bamboo utensils. There are 5 middlemen who come to the village in total, but at least 3 of them pick up the products daily and bring the bamboo utensils to several local markets in Garut. Some of the craftspeople also bring their products individually to the nearby markets in Selaawi or to outside of the village such as to Bandung, twice a week. Those who individually sell their products to the outer village leave the village in the morning and back in the late afternoon (one day trip riding their motorcycles). They distribute the products to some areas in Bandung such as Ciroyom Market, some shops in the Cimahi area, and kiosks in the Jatinangor area.

Bamboo production is *bitter-sweet* for Cikakak people, but despite the bitter part, the producing activities are routines for them for they were familiar with those activities through their upbringings. Amid changes for producing bamboo crafts all

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<sup>53</sup> Regarding the interview with the head of the Cikakak village, August 29, 2019.



around Selaawi Subdistrict, people in Cikakak have been waiting for the development project to their area. Moreover, the head of the village stated:

“We are so enthusiastic to develop our daily utensils products. Perhaps, there would be any chance such as in other villages, where they got machines or adjust to new skills that they got from academic institutions or the village office. I believe that we can expand the markets with the potentials and skillful people we have. We really look forward to the opportunity. I think other than the bamboo industry, our village can start from being a ‘*desa adat*’ or a ‘representative of the traditional village’ and “touristic sightseeing place” in Selaawi, so we have quite a unique branding that later we can get along with the changes nowadays.” (8/29/2019)

Viewing the statement from the head of the village, the inhabitants see that the innovation and the new skills are the thing that they look forward to. They also compared the conditions of their village to the others that seem more “advanced” by being involved in the development projects either from the subdistrict office or organizations in the village. It also looked promising for them to change their villages into tourist spots in the future. This talk has been an issue that they heard from the subdistrict officers who communicate with some villagers.

The following parts are the details of the bamboo-producing practice as well as the related acts; types of the products, existing skills, and techniques; and related development projects from the local stakeholders in Cikakak.

#### **3.4.1 Daily Activities, Type of Products, Existing Skills, and Techniques**

Other than producing bamboo products, inhabitants in Cikakak have livelihood from farming, cattle farming, or wage laboring outside of the village. Most of the

people start their days in the early mornings (when it is the time for Fajr prayer<sup>54</sup>) and start their livelihood activities from 9 am. Men and women spend their days differently; while men could be taking bamboo from the forest or bamboo collectors to their houses and cattle farming or working outside of the village, women take bamboo-producing activities in their workshop area in the house (commonly in their kitchens or in front of their houses). Men support their wives' work on making bamboo which needs more energy or muscle which women in this area might not be able to do. They believe that regarding the location of their villages, it is quite a challenge to take the bamboo from outside of the village if it is done by women. As well as the forming and framing process (*wengku*), it is a custom in this area that men should be involved in this since they specialized in producing trays and sieves which are considered as big-sized products.



Figure 29 Bamboo-producing workshops as well as kitchen area in Cikakak's people houses

Source: Author, August 2019

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<sup>54</sup> Fajr: The dawn, before sunrise Islamic prayer

Remarkably, women start the bamboo-producing process from cutting, splitting, and slicing bamboo (*ngabeulah*, *ngahua*, and *ngaraut*); weaving; and lastly binding the frame (*nalikeun*). Not requiring much energy on it, the work of binding the frame of bamboo products is helped by children in the house from the age of 6 or 7, and they get their pocket money from having the bamboo products done (*buburuh*). All the inhabitants commonly finish all the livelihood activities at around 4 pm and take rest after, where it is the time for Asr prayer and the sun starts to set.

This division of labor of work could be different from one village to another. The neighboring village, Nagrog, have a different division of labor in producing bamboo since the products that they produce are also different from one to another. Among the innovation of bamboo products, some groups of people in the Nagrog area keep producing *boboko* (rice containers) and small *ayakan* (food sieves). To sum up the classification in producing bamboo products in Cikakak and Nagrog villages as a representation of daily utensils producers in Selaawi Subdistrict, below is the table of the details of the process in producing bamboo with the classification in working divisions in both villages. The description in Sundanese will be defined same as the description for the process in producing daily utensils in the previous subsection for Cikiray hamlets as follow:

- A. Splitting, *Dibeulah*: vertically cut one bamboo pole from top to bottom into 6–8 sections; split into rough strips. *Ngahua*: splitting into thinner strips; separate the inner layer and the outer layer.
- B. *Dijemur*: drying process until the thin strips are fully dried.
- C. *Diraut*: Slicing the fully dried strips until they have smoother surfaces.
- D. *Siap dianyam*: finished strips, can be woven.
- E. Finishing, *wengku*: forming and framing process; fitting the woven surface into the circular frame made of rough strips.

F. Finishing, *dipapas/dirapihkeun*: cutting the excess surface parts at the edge of the frame from the framing process.

G. Finishing, *nalikeun*: binding the frame using rope *hoé* to tighten the woven surface with the frame. two types of *hoé*: *hoé gunung* (rattan rope) and *hoé koneng* (plastic rope).

H. Finished products.

Table 9 Process of producing daily utensils and the division of work in the Cikakak and Nagrog villages in Selaawi Subdistrict

Cikakak Village, products: <i>Nyiru</i> (big flat trays), <i>tampir</i> (huge flat trays), and <i>ayakan</i> (food sieves)			
No.	Process	Techniques	Division of Work
1.	Splitting	<i>Dibeulah</i> (splitting 1) <i>Ngahua</i> (splitting 2) <i>Dijemur</i> (drying) <i>Diraut</i> (slicing) <i>Siap dianyam</i> (finished strips)	Men Women Women Women Women
2.	Weaving process		Women
3.	Finishing	<i>Wengku</i> (forming & framing) <i>Dipapas/dirapihkeun</i> (cutting the edge of frame) <i>Nalikeun</i> (binding)	Men Men Women and Men
Nagrog Village products: <i>Boboko</i> (rice containers) and small <i>ayakan</i> (food sieves)			
No.	Process	Techniques	Division of Work
1.	Splitting	<i>Dibeulah</i> (splitting 1) <i>Ngahua</i> (splitting 2) <i>Dijemur</i> (drying) <i>Diraut</i> (slicing) <i>Siap dianyam</i> (finished strips)	Men Women Women Women Women
2.	Weaving process		Women
3.	Finishing	<i>Wengku</i> (forming & framing) <i>Dipapas/dirapihkeun</i> (cutting the edge of frame) <i>Nalikeun</i> (binding)	Women Women Women

(Classification through the process of interviews and observation in both villages)



Figure 30 Women in Nagrog performing *wengku* (framing) to make *ayakan* (food sieves).

Source: Author, August 2019

In the finishing steps of Nagrog people who produce rice containers and small food sieves, the processes are all done by women. The classification and routines in producing bamboo utensils are customs and justifications among families in every village, which are also related to the types of products they produce daily. More discussions about the bamboo industry in Nagrog village will be discussed in Chapter Four as the change of the commodification of bamboo products categorized as bamboo craft industries rather than daily utensils productions.

For producing three kinds of products from Cikakak, there are two basic patterns that the craftswomen skilled: the two steps of thin-strips (*langkah dua*) and one-step of thin-strips (*langkah satu/hiji*). These two basic patterns are essentials and typical for woven bamboo patterns in West Java especially for daily utensils and traditional products such as woven bamboo walls and panels. The two steps of thin-strips made of the inner layer of bamboo which had the outer layer of bamboo (the skin) at the center part of the woven bamboo surface (*pihantuanana*). As for the sieve

that functionally needs strength and gaps between the strips, the outer layer of bamboo is necessarily used as the thin strips for the one-step of thin-strips pattern for *ayakan*.

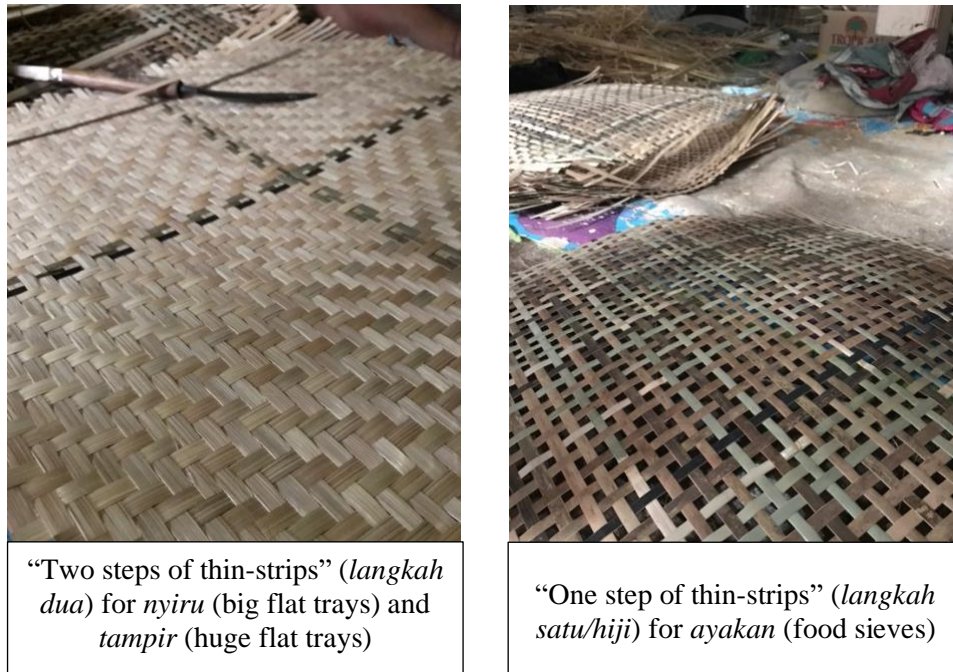



Figure 31 Two types of weaving techniques in Cikakak: *Anyaman Nyiru* (two steps of thin-strips) and *Anyaman Tampir* (one step of thin-strips).

Source: Author, August 2019

The hereditary skills are being mastered by craftswomen in their 30s to 60s in this village. Besides, the younger generation of women also try to help their parents in producing bamboo products but not as their main occupation. In the pessimistic sense of continuing traditional skills in Selaawi because of the lack of interest for bamboo crafts for youth in neighboring villages, the head of Cikakak village believed that the youth in their village have their enthusiast for their bamboo productions as well as other persistent beliefs for the bamboo crafts industry in their villages.

Regarding the details of the process of producing *ayakan* that applies one step of thin-strips (*langkah satu/hiji*) is taken to represent the steps on producing three of the products that are produced in Cikakak below.

Table 10 The process of producing *ayakan* in Cikakak village

	<p>Preparation process: Bamboo shots were brought and then being cut in front of the house. The cutting process:</p> <p><i>Dibeulah</i>: Vertically cut one bamboo pole from top to bottom into 6–8 sections. Split into rough strips.</p> <p><i>Ngahua</i>: splitting into thinner and shorter strips; separate the inner layer from the outer layer.</p> <p><i>Dicetok</i>: separating split pieces from the nodes.</p> <p><i>Dijemur</i>: drying process, taking 2–3 days until the thin strips are fully dried.</p> <p><i>Diraut</i>: slicing the fully dried strips until it has a smoother surface.</p>
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Weaving process, the pattern: one-step of thin-strips (*langkah satu/hiji*), with gaps between bamboo thin strips. Starting from making the center *pihuntuana*—one-step of thin-strips.

Continuation from the center part, until the woven surface, has the desired lengths: typically 50 to 70 cm.

The outermost part of the woven surface is continued using the inner layer of bamboo (light yellow-colored), with two steps of thin-strips (*langkah dua*) pattern.





Framing and forming process (*wengku*):

Bamboo sticks for the frame part are cut following the desired diameter.

The measured sticks are curved to a circular shape; making the inner and outer rough strips pin the woven surface.

The forming process is along with the framing process as the deep-set will be formed after some adjustment when attaching the frame to the woven surface.



	<p>Forming the <i>ayakan</i> by stepping on the woven surface to make sure the frame is well attached.</p> <p>Finishing process:</p> <p>The plastic rope (<i>hoé konéng</i>) is tied at the encounter point as a stopper before it is fully roped.</p> <p>The excess woven surface is cut using a sharp knife.</p> <p>Binding the frame: The process (<i>nalikeun</i>) using plastic rope (<i>hoé konéng</i>), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.</p>
	<p>Finished products: <i>ayakan</i>, with <i>hoé konéng</i> (plastic rope) finishing. The woven surface and framing are made of the outer layer of bamboo. Strips at the center of the woven made of the outer layer of bamboo for patterns (squared and green-colored), the woven surface near the frame made of the inner layer of bamboo (light yellow-colored).</p>

*Ayakan* that has been tied (finished) are collected into piles and sold in several *kodis* (175,000 rupiah/20 pieces/*kodi*). The producers of *ayakan* said that local

middlemen who need *ayakan*, *tampir*, or *nyiru* usually order the products from Cikakak since they are the only ones who produce such products in the area.

The number of people who produce “traditional” techniques of producing bamboo functioning as daily utensils are decreasing in the Selaawi Subdistrict. The change of the demands for bamboo products to the subdistrict also shift the area into a more “advanced” bamboo industry which involves machines and artificial materials and new techniques in the process of producing bamboo products. In fact, nowadays crafts producers in Selaawi characteristically tend to open to the new and are leaving their old style in producing bamboo products. The shifting process appears as “hybrid” products made of bamboo. The term “hybrid” describes the change of basic forms of daily utensils into new shapes and sizes and they transformed into a new function. For example, the weaving technique in producing *ayakan* (food sieves) is shifted into the containers for souvenirs and gifts.



Figure 32 Expansion of techniques of producing *ayakan* into gifts containers in Cikakak.

Source: Author, August 2019

The spread of the skills become common from one village to another in Selaawi Subdistrict, since the demands from the markets also are increasing for the hybrid products. Looking at the change and the high demand for hybrid bamboo production, Cikakak craftspeople see the new techniques as fresh air for them. But in some sense, they also worry that they will lose the existing skills in their village as happened all around the neighboring villages. To keep open with the new one and change of economic situation around their village, the so-called “*desa adat*” concept or a “representative of the traditional village” for their village from the subdistrict office sound promising to the Cikakak people since they seemed to be wanting to keep producing daily utensils along with preserving the skills they have at the moment. Despite the decreasing number of bamboo producers, they feel grateful that they can make money while nurturing their livestock and raising their kids.

Through adapting to the skills they master, Cikakak craftspeople felt that they can develop variations on producing bamboo with any demands from the markets. But commonly, the ideas of making “new design” always come from outside of the villages such as the projects from the subdistrict office or persons from the local community who have relationships with business owners outside.

In the production process of daily utensils made of bamboo, Cikakak people basically process bamboo with manual techniques (without machines). It is unnecessary for them to have machines and advanced tools to produce daily utensils, and it is also unessential to receive such support from the subdistrict office or developmental projects from outside through receiving machines as other villages which received to produce their bamboo crafts. What they need is more support for ideas on producing crafts and the revitalization of their village so that they can improve their income.

Further discussions about the development projects and policy from the subdistrict office to Cikakak and broadly in Selaawi will be discussed in the following subchapter.

### **3.4.2 Craft Development Project from Official Level: Subdistrict Offices and Village-Owned Enterprises in Selaawi, Garut Regency (BUMdes Selaawi)**

Selaawi Subdistrict Office is the center of stakeholder in all villages in the Selaawi Subdistrict. Under the monitor of the central stakeholder, there is a village-owned enterprise named BUMdes (*Badan Usaha Milik Desa*) that was first intended to supervise each village through the capital loan for the villagers. BUMdes had several phases in Selaawi Subdistrict since it was established in 2015. After idled for around two and a half years, BUMdes Selaawi has been active again after the new leader of BUMdes was chosen at the end of 2017. One period of leadership commonly will be 5 years. The present leader, Bu Ratih will finish her term of office in 2022. During her first year, she went through struggles since BUMdes is a new form of organization that was invented by Indonesia's Ministry of Village for all villages in Indonesia and the fund and control are centered at the national level since 2015. Practically, there are struggles for Bu Ratih in the sense of socializing the function of BUMdes among the village offices as well as villagers as the main target of BUMdes. Bu Ratih stated that<sup>55</sup>:

“After 2 years of our struggles on adjusting the administrations and connections to the villagers, we finally have “place” in the villages and subdistrict. We need to put our attention to villagers’ needs for their business cycles, motivate them, and give many explanations of our programs and goals to them. It was quite a long way for us. The

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<sup>55</sup> Interview with Bu Ratih in the BUMdes office, August 29, 2019; and in the Nagrog area during the observation with UNPAR (Parahyangan University), August 30, 2019.

villagers in Selaawi sometimes thought that BUMdes was initiated to give such grant fund to the villagers (*dana hibah*) for them without any requirements or claim in the beginning. But finally, the villagers now become understand our position right now.”  
(8/29/2019)

Bu Ratih had the feeling of lacking the ability to manage every part in BUMdes, Bu Ratih decided to be involved in the Association of BUMdes in Garut Regency. There are at least 100 leaders of the BUMdes there. They share the obstacles in their villages and help each other, so that they put the association as a support system among the BUMdes leaders. After all, the main goal of BUMdes all around Indonesia is to raise the economic situation by focusing on village-based local businesses. In Selaawi, the divisions of BUMdes are divided into four: waste management, trading, handicrafts, and convection sector. To be fair, Bu Ratih said the hardest one to handle is the handicrafts sector. The main reasons of struggles to handle handicrafts sector according to the BUMdes staffs were:

- a. It is a challenge to engage craftspeople and shift their ideas from producing traditional products to innovative ones.
- b. The craftspeople were able to make innovative products but they often refused to change their customs in adjusting their skills to the new ideas, such as laminated bamboo and constructions, although the price of each hybrid product made of bamboo is much higher than bamboo daily utensils.
- c. Even though the craftspeople could produce high numbers of innovative and hybrid products, there are only some niche markets to sell the products, and it should be based on very specific demands that are quite unstable for craftspeople.
- d. It takes time to produce innovative and hybrid products since there are some

adjustments in the process of producing them and it requires advanced and expensive materials, such as producing laminated bamboo products.

- e. Due to unstable markets for selling hybrid products made of bamboo, craftspeople in Selaawi tend to choose the stable markets that have been established since long years ago, such as producing daily utensils (in Cikakak and Nagrog villages) and the birdcage industry (in Mekarsari village).
- f. BUMdes has been receiving requests and demand from some institutions or local banks to produce new things such as glass made of bamboo and other hybrid bamboo products but it is also a struggle to persuade and manage the craftspeople as resources that Selaawi has. As the consequence, many projects are being delayed.

To bridge the obstacles between the endeavors, BUMdes keeps engaging craftspeople to make hybrid products but in small amounts and sizes to reduce the production costs. The finished bamboo hybrid products that are processed by chemical finishing could also defect in some ways since they are made of natural material. The products such as small glasses, trays, or teapots are the most common bamboo hybrid products in Selaawi Subdistrict. In this regard, BUMdes keeps also finding new types of hybrid products made of bamboo other than laminating processes, such as printed on laminated bamboo, coiling and coating, and mixed materials (bamboo on cloth).

BUMdes collected some products from the craftspeople all around Selaawi Subdistrict in their office by purchasing them and they processed the coating process to the printing, embossing, or painting industries. Some of the patterns of the coating had marks that are written “Selaawi,” to claim and show that the bamboo hybrid products were made in Selaawi Subdistrict. Other than “Selaawi” marks, the

customers or organizations that ordered through BUMdes, often request to add their company's marks. That is also possible for BUMdes to do such demands. By having the additional colors, marks, and coatings, BUMdes could make the bamboo products have higher price, so that they will also share the profits to the craftspeople.



Figure 33 Hybrid products made of bamboo in BUMdes Office, Selaawi Subdistrict.

Source: Author, August 2019

Other than handicrafts made of bamboo, nowadays, a few craftspeople have also received offers to do some interior and constructions projects and put bamboo as the main material for the decorations. The urge on producing laminated products made of bamboo and construction projects were intended from the Selaawi Subdistrict Office. Such budget is also allocated for developing the bamboo craft industries in Selaawi through innovating bamboo hybrid products from the Village office (that is

sourced from the fund from the Indonesia Ministry of Villages). The fund (PA Des, *Penghasilan Asli Desa*) can be received by the villagers or craftspeople who own their businesses by submitting a proposal to the Subdistrict office through BUMdes, and after the villagers get the money, they need to share their profits 40% to the Subdistrict office. Even though BUMdes and the village officers are still in the process of communicating the regulations of supports to the villagers in Selaawi, the number of people who agree and be involved in the system is increasing since it is more profitable for them to receive such profits from the officials in Selaawi than borrow the startup capital from the local bank or the moneylender. The biggest obligation for BUMdes from the official levels in local to national is also to empower and embrace the villagers through their enterprises. BUMdes cannot allow the use of the fund to the villagers to help their businesses other than four sectors that are concerned in Selaawi (waste management, trading, handicrafts, and convection sector). There should be a claim and accountability that the roles of BUMdes must be activated among the systems of developing the villagers' economic situations that are intended from the national and regional official levels.

BUMdes Selaawi has been participating in many kinds of crafts exhibitions and workshops that were held by *Pemerintah Daerah Garut* (the local government) and *Pemerintah Daerah Jabar* (the West Java government) to sell bamboo products from Selaawi. In the public events, BUMdes got many offers to collaborate from the Department of Community and *Dinas Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Desa*, DPMD (Village Empowerment of Garut Regency), the Garut Regent, or BJB the local bank, but oftentimes BUMdes has lack of power to engage the craftspeople to be involved in the projects. Only some groups of craftspeople that have partnership connections with BUMdes (named *mitra*) finally engaged in. Craftspeople who have connections



with BUMdes do not put the projects from BUMdes in the first place since their markets have more urgent demands. Therefore, it is also hard to bring the visions of craftspeople come along with the local development projects for handicrafts in Selaawi Subdistrict. That would be overlapping missions with different goals and intentions between one craft party to another (producers, middlemen, and the business runners) that are being involved in the Selaawi bamboo crafts sector which cost confusion to the local crafts producers.

Closing her statement in the interview, Bu Ratih pointed out that the main goal of BUMdes now is to manage the waste in Selaawi well with the combustion engine they purchased. Along the way, they will also keep undertaking ways to develop the more complicated sector such as bamboo handicrafts sectors. Rather than only focusing on business sectors, BUMdes Selaawi works on the empowerment of the villagers. Many overlapping development projects have been going on to support craftspeople in Selaawi with different missions and goals. Other than BUMdes, some other caretakers and agencies appeared and willing to help craftspeople to develop their crafts, such as private foundations or local institutions (*Yayasan*), and academic institutions that have relations with some craftspeople. Whether or not being involved with the local and regional projects, BUMdes only hoped that principally the economic situations in all sectors in Selaawi Subdistrict could be better in the future.

### **3.5 Reflections on Traditional Bamboo Cottage Industries**

In this chapter, the correlations between the objects and subjects in the traditional bamboo cottage industries in West Java as well as the related crafts development projects to the villages have been discussed. By looking through many perspectives in many levels of bamboo daily utensils productions in Tasikmalaya and

Garut, we can recognize many factors that should be considered in developing the local crafts. It is also fundamental to understand the characteristics of the people with their behaviors in producing bamboo crafts that are related to their everyday activities and ecological factors. During the process of producing bamboo products—from cutting and slicing to the finishing process—daily utensils producers put in such activities of farming or household and raising kids as one system. Especially amid the harvesting period, the farming activities are the extras for the craftspeople who tried to also involve themselves to get some yields from the seasonal laboring activities. The interwoven daily routines and bamboo-producing manners can illustrate the crux of intangible values of the craftspeople’s living in the traditional bamboo cottage industries.

By discussing the process of producing each bamboo daily utensil, including their variations from one to another, we can understand that very particular differences in technique have practical implications related to the function of the product. Considering the tangible factors of the bamboo utensils as objects of study, mastering skills in bamboo production matters when defining one’s status in crafts-producing society. The more craftspeople master techniques—moving from low- to high-skilled products—the more others respect them. As a consequence of the commodification process, the knowledge used for production transforms the production processes into livelihood rather than simply fulfilling their everyday needs for farming and kitchen tools. However, many parties are involved in the bamboo utensils industry. The relationships between the demand from neighboring villages and local markets in consumption space—subjects in the trading process—and craftspeople in the production sphere of the villages manifests into one inseparable system.

To involve the craftspeople from these traditional bamboo cottage villages in the development projects would be challenging. The rigid and long-established cycles have been preserved as part of the local people, and they are related to their routines. Approaching and understanding the nature of the people in each target area should be attempted before, during, and after implementing development projects for the sake of sustainability and the improvement of socio-cultural and economic aspects of the crafts industries. Otherwise, values would be forgotten and disappear unintendedly through the process of negotiation between the new and the old in the crafting villages. Oftentimes, the past development projects were not sustained due to the lack of understandings of the targeted fields and the characteristics of the crafts in the area. After the innovation was approached, the local craftspeople tend to keep continuing their existing customs in producing daily utensils made of bamboo where the demands of the markets were also higher than the niche markets from exploring the hybrid products that also took some time to produce.

Long persistent customs and traditions, both tangible and intangible, in the bamboo producers' villages are preserved alongside modern values, such as the change of technology and new materials in the everyday life of the crafts producers. This preservation is crucial for sustaining cultural values and performing everyday activities in crafting villages. Otherwise, behaviors such as producing daily utensils from bamboo will gradually disappear from villages as current trends of modernity and industrialization take us further from tradition. Furthermore, in the process of global change and development movements from outside the village, people in a craft-producing area should be aware of their potentials and the identity behind their crafts, allowing them to protect their values from development projects that are intended to prevent the disappearance of craft-producing skills in the first place.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: THE INDUSTRIALIZED BAMBOO COTTAGE**

### **INDUSTRIES IN WEST JAVA**

This chapter delves into the diversity of industrialized bamboo cottage industries in West Java, the present conditions, and the adjustments made by bamboo crafts producers influenced by bamboo crafts enthusiasts from outside. Data collection was conducted in 2019 and 2020 through in-depth interviews in each place of study: Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, Tasikmalaya Regency; Situbeet Mangkubumi and Parakanhonje, Tasikmalaya City; and Nagrog village in Selaawi, Garut. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part explores the influence of development projects from academia that have been producing impacts on the characteristics of bamboo crafts in the industries; the second part illustrates styles of business shaped by historical factors without changes to their trademark bamboo-craft characteristics.

As described in the previous chapter, the creation of bamboo products started with acting to fulfill their needs for cooking or farming activities. Bamboo crafts started to develop in the 19th century in the West Java area, where skillful bamboo producers were inspired to make customized products for the colonial officials using local natural resources. Since then, the industry has kept expanding in terms of markets and purposes, not only creating products for souvenirs but also for special occasions and for more specialized design audiences. By exploring the many factors causing the development and diversification of the bamboo industry, it is possible to frame a negotiation between old customs and new skills to forge ideal development projects to serve crafts industries in the future.

#### **4.1 Overview the Bamboo Crafts Industries**

The ups and downs of the bamboo industry in West Java have shaped the production environment as well as the social structure of the craftspeople. The state of the bamboo industry at one moment might appear promising but at the next it could be seen as stagnant and a poor way to generate income. The supply-and-demand dynamics of the bamboo industry matter since both the production and consumption spheres tug within the trading processes of the bamboo crafts business. Most craftspeople run their businesses by themselves and sell their products directly to customers, while in some cases craftspeople also have business relations with the local and regional stakeholders who run local projects that produce mutual benefits.

Even in an area where advanced bamboo crafts are influential, there are some bamboo producers who continue to produce everyday utensils and sell them to local middlemen. However, the people who produce traditional products are involved in the cycle of the industrialized bamboo businesses, especially for the semi-finished woven parts. There are workshops and industries that have long made hybrid (nontraditional) products, have access to the bigger markets in the cities, and organize craftspeople in the area to work with their businesses. Depending on the types of the industries, craftspeople based nearby could work separately in their houses and sell semi-finished parts to the business owners or work in workshops owned by the bamboo crafts business.

The following sections describe in detail the types of business and environments in each industry, starting with those that were strongly influenced by projects by the regional government or academic institutions.

## 4.2 Development Projects from Academic Institutions

To begin discussions about development projects toward craftspeople in West Java, some institutions took action by collaborating with craftspeople based on academic projects. Throughout the period of data collection in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, Tasikmalaya Regency, and Situbeet Mangkubumi, Tasikmalaya City, craftspeople often mentioned academic projects that they were involved in so that they gain new experiences to explore and expand their skills in producing bamboo craft objects. In the case of the areas mentioned above, influences from ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) brought them new knowledge which they have continued to adopt and adapt in producing their crafts.

In the 1990s, one academic from ITB, Hadiyat, known as Pak Ayi, and his wife, Ibu Rini, came to Mandalagiri, Paniis, and the nearby villages. These areas were famous for their skillful bamboo crafts producers. Pak Ayi was leading a development project and researched the characteristics of bamboo crafts in Tasikmalaya. He, Ibu Rini, and the craftspeople explored ways to expand the existing skills which were restricted to the production of everyday utensils at the time. During the project, Pak Ayi invited three craftspeople from Mandalagiri to join workshops in Bandung. They exchanged knowledge with each other so that they learned new forms and techniques. They modified daily utensils such as *boboko* (rice containers), *nyiru* (big flat trays), *aseupan* (rice steamers), *ayakan* (food sieves), and *pipiti* (squared baskets) or *beseke* (rectangular baskets)<sup>56</sup> into other forms and functions. Being a lecturer and researcher, respectively, in the interior design department at ITB, Pak Ayi and Ibu Rini explored the application of everyday utensils forms in interior products such as lighting and

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<sup>56</sup> Woven baskets made of bamboo. Most *pipiti* or *beseke* producers in Tasikmalaya Regency are centered in the Leuwisari subdistrict. *Pipiti* is the squared woven basket that has the same length and width, but *beseke* is the rectangular woven basket that has a different length and width.

decorative lamps in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari at the beginning of the project. Without intending to make the projects sustainable, remarkably the new style of producing skills and techniques have continued in use until today. Craftspeople find that the development and advances in style are useful, especially in improving their economic level. They preserve the skills they have in order to make money, and along with that, they widen their markets and run their businesses independently without depending on demand from middlemen or local markets. The positive effects produced by Pak Ayi and Ibu Rini's was often mentioned during the interviews with owners of bamboo crafts businesses in Mandalagiri and Paniis,<sup>57</sup> although the projects finished in the late 1990s. Ibu Rini still orders small amounts of products from Usman Bambu nowadays.

Expanding the range and variety of bamboo crafts, Mandalagiri-Leuwisari craftspeople also adapt their skills to make bamboo crafts using other natural materials such as mendong grass novel artificial materials, such as polyethylene strips. The owners of the businesses are mostly skillful craftspeople who were involved in academic projects in the past and who have continued to introduce new skills and techniques from the projects into their businesses. The next section will discuss two cases of bamboo workshops in the Mandalagiri-Leuwisari and Padakembang subdistricts, Tasikmalaya Regency, as the areas are widely known as being part of the bamboo industry. The first case is the Usman Bambu Craftspeople Association in Mandalagiri, Leuwisari, Tasikmalaya Regency; the second is Situbeet, Tasikmalaya City and Nagrog village, Garut Regency.

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<sup>57</sup> Interviews with Usman Bambu owners in Mandalagiri and Pak Toriq in Padakembang.

#### 4.2.1 Mandalagiri-Leuwisari Subdistrict, Tasikmalaya Regency

There are two significant bamboo workshops in the area, and one of them that will be discussed in detail is Usman Bambu. The workshop has currently been shaped into a craftspeople association and it runs an integrated business along with the craftspeople in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari. Usman first run a family business in 1987 and it gets bigger with high demands from many layers of individual customers to governmental levels. When the demand is too high, Usman hires many craftspeople as well as his family members in a working system and the orders are centered in his place in the Paniis area in Mandalagiri. More than 50 craftspeople become partners with Usman and contribute to work producing parts which are gathered in the central workshop for the finishing process (mostly framing, assembling, and polishing or coloring). Usman manages his business with his son, Yandi. Both take huge roles in receiving orders from customers, dealing with academic and non-academic projects, and managing working systems with the craftspeople. Usman Bambu hires 10 people in the central workshop for the finishing process. Usman and Yandi control the quality and work with the craftspeople from time to time.

They start the producing activity in the central workshop at 9 am and mainly finish at around 4 pm. There is also a very flexible schedule for the craftspeople who work in the central workshop. The schedule could be changed from time to time depending on the demand and the availability of other craftspeople involved, as well as the condition of nature. Moreover, for the details of the working schedule, Usman stated:

“We are not strict too much with the time, if they (the hired craftspeople in the central workshop) want to work until late that is fine, we let the workshop open whenever they want to work. Sometimes we also work until 2 am or 3 am. We have a bundle system (*borongan*) to pay the craftspeople here, so we count their works per piece, not per day.” (12/21/2020)



When they get orders to their workshop from customers, Usman and Yandi discuss with 3 responsible persons among 10 craftspeople, whether or not they can finish the request from the customers. When Usman, Yandi, and the responsible persons agree to finish the project within the desired time and its workability, the deal will be made, and the payment process from the customers will be processed after that. Most of the time, 50% or 100% of the down payment is paid at the beginning of the deal, and along with the process the materials will be sent by the customers from their places, and Usman Bambu provides services with their skills in producing the crafts as requested. Frequently, Usman or Yandi never met their customers face to face, but they talk through a messaging platform (such as Whatsapp or Line Messenger) to negotiate the price and the requests from the customers. They usually get the desired forms and dimensions (measurements) through pictures or files from the customers and later discuss with the responsible persons in the central workshops. During the process of prototyping at the beginning of one project, it is also possible to adjust and re-request the technical aspects such as forms, sizes, or colors. The changes might have happened regarding the feasibility of materials and skills of the craftspeople before the requested product is mass-produced.

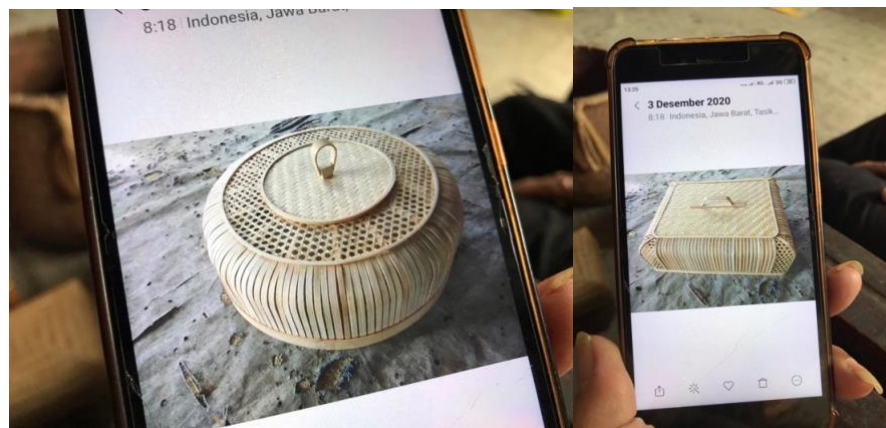


Figure 34 Dealing process within Usman and the customers through Whatsapp

Source: Author, December 2020

Usman or Yandi at first looking at the feasibility to produce the requests regarding the timeline they are having. They may have other projects and reject some orders due to the deadline of the projects. When it seems possible for them to receive a project, they consider the technical things such as the characteristics of the products and the ability of the craftspeople in their place. But if the requests from the customers are not realistic to them or the time does not suit the work cycle in the workshop, they reject the order. Below is the illustration for the division of work in Usman Bambu and the flow or coordination with the craftspeople in the central workshop as well as craftspeople who work afar at their houses.

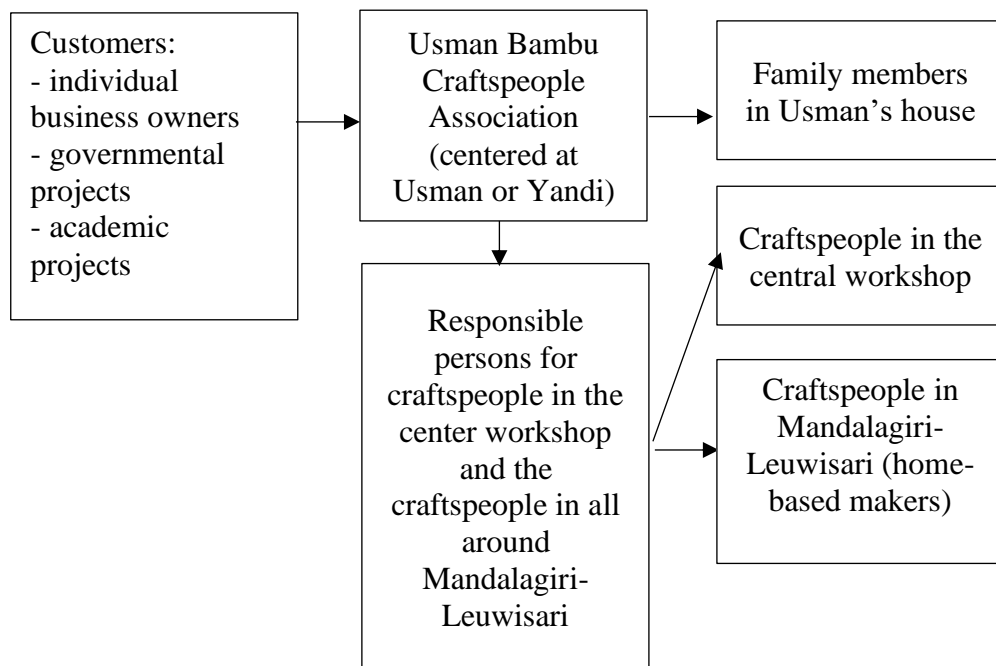


Figure 35 The division of work in Usman Bambu Mandalagiri-Leuwisari

In one round of a project, craftspeople will be paid at the beginning of the process for their works. Some customers may provide the material, but in another case, it is also possible for the customers to ask Usman Bambu to provide it by

themselves. Other than bamboo, Usman Bambu also receives orders using other materials such as mendong grass, woods, or even artificial materials recently. All the materials (either sourced from the customers or Usman Bambu workshop) are managed and distributed by Usman or Yandi to the responsible persons, and they oversee the distribution to craftspeople that involved in the project. Responsible persons also manage the quality of the parts to make the products that are requested and collect the parts from the craftspeople in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari by picking them up to craftspeople's houses.

The semi-finished parts commonly said as *bahan*, literally means “material” in Bahasa Indonesia and Sundanese, but technically *bahan* is the woven surfaces. People from Usman Bambu request *bahan* to be set in specific measurement to the *bahan* producers so that it will be assembled particularly following the design in the central workshop. During the producing process, the involved weavers only follow orders from the responsible persons and give them tens of *bahan* when it is finished, without having ideas of what kind of finished products they are producing. After the basic woven surface parts are collected, the finishing process will be done with such advanced machines in the central workshop.



Figure 36 The collection process from the craftspeople around Mandalagiri-Leuwisari by the responsible persons to the central workshop.

Source: Author, December 2020

Involved in many projects and orders in these years, Usman Bambu has received many supports from the regional government or stakeholders related to the crafts industry. Along with the mission from the local or regional government in Tasikmalaya to support local businesses, Usman administratively is proposed support from them and as a result, Usman Bambu has received many supports such as funds or machines for his workshop. Since 2020, Usman Bambu has been shaped into a “craftspeople association” and considered as a stimulus and a center to encourage the economy in the area through producing bamboo crafts. Since then, Usman has had more responsibilities to run their business along with the welfare of the craftspeople around his workshop. Such systems may involve many people and they feel positive about them.

Despite the responsibilities Usman Bambu has been having, since the beginning of the business, Usman Bambu business pay wages higher to the craftspeople involved than other workshops, Usman said. It is also one of the factors that Usman Bambu has been chosen by the governmental office as an

associate in the area, since they have such a good system to manage local craftspeople with the running business. Raising up in a bamboo crafts producers family, Usman and his sisters were learning bamboo-producing skills from their parents. All the siblings have been continuing the bamboo crafts business until today, but Usman has grown his business bigger than his sisters. His sisters who are specialized in weaving techniques and living nearby are also involved in his business and have their own enterprise and connections with the customers outside. After all, the woven parts from his sisters' works are assembled in the central workshop (Usman Bambu workshop).

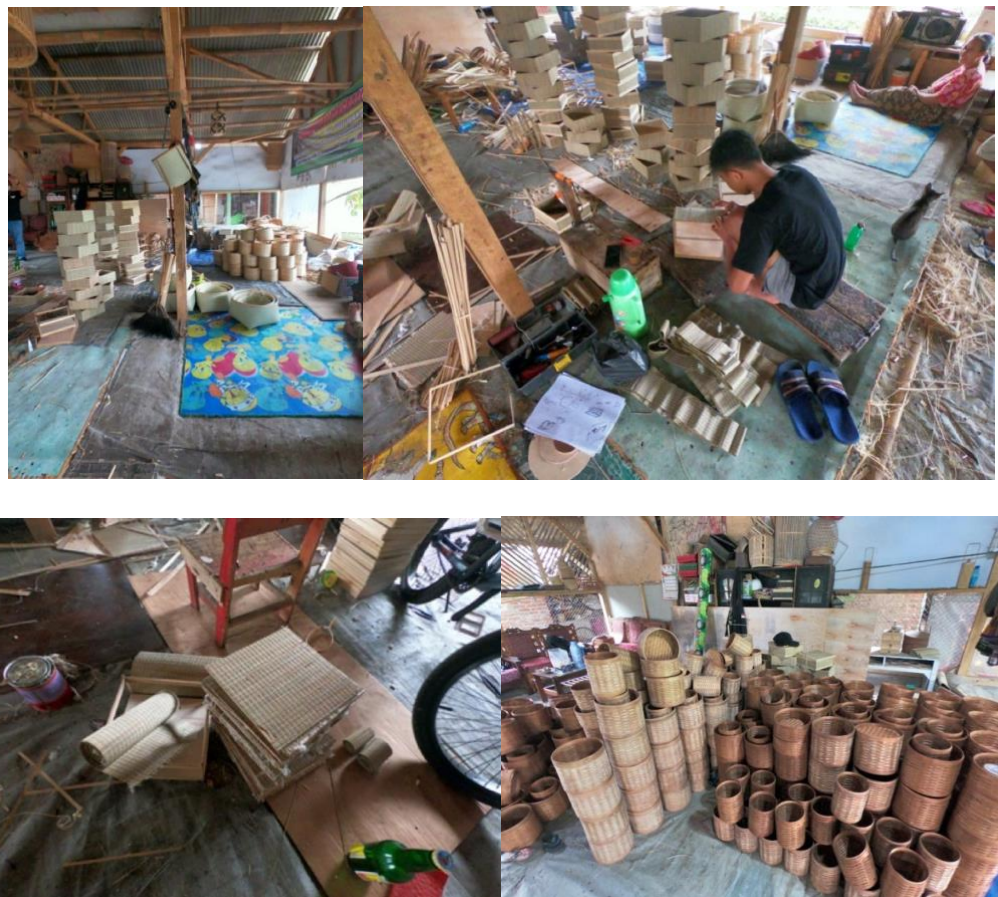


Figure 37 The processes of assembling, framing, and finishing in Usman Bambu Workshop.

Source: Author, December 2020

After the finished products are collected, they either be picked up by the customers to the central workshop or being sent by Usman or Yandi to the Tasikmalaya City where the central train station placed. Usually, Usman Bambu sends their products through the package services (Herona Express) that are provided by the train company (PT. Kereta Api Indonesia). It takes around an hour from their workshop to the train station, and they deliver the products by regular cars or pick-up trucks. The customers who order to Usman Bambu are varied not only from the West Java Area but all-around Indonesia, and once to the Netherlands in 2018. Several projects are also connected to international businesses which are centered in the big cities. But most of the time, Usman and Yandi got orders from the big cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Cirebon, Tasikmalaya City, Malang City, etc.

Although both Usman and Yandi have been involved in the development projects from the local and regional governments, they have been actively invited by the governmental projects in the city, such as workshops and training for craftspeople related to the strategy for marketing and trading. Regularly they are invited as participants, but on other occasions such as sharing about small and micro businesses, Usman is often pleased as a speaker for the events such as in Jakarta or Jambi (central Sumatra). He was also summoned by the governmental project in Central or East Java, to exchange and teach the skills in producing bamboo crafts together with craftspeople there.

Related to the regeneration issue in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, Usman has proposed to the Regional Crafts Council for Tasikmalaya Regency (Dekranasda Kabupaten) to hold such seminars or training, related to the strategy for preserving the bamboo crafts business for the youth. Many times, Dekranasda often makes orders to Usman Bambu for souvenirs or regional projects that are related to bamboo crafts.

Other than Dekranasda, Usman Bambu has a good connection with the Department of Industry and Commerce for Tasikmalaya Regency (Perindag Kabupaten). Usman Bambu has often been involved in the regional exhibitions and events held by the regional department (Perindag Provinsi). Having strong connections with the governments, Usman Bambu has received Industrial Business Permit under the legal entity from the Perindag Kabupaten No. AHU—0001xxx.AH.01.07, year: 2020<sup>58</sup>.

Detached from the type of weaving for daily utensils, Mandalagiri-Leuwisari has also weaving patterns (*anyam*) for their crafts such as *anyam bilik*, *anyam kepang*, *anyam sasag*, *anyam tarawangan*, *anyam matai itik*, and *anyam mata kebo*. Craftspeople become less familiar with some patterns because they lack varied demands but only produce several types of *anyaman* during their producing activities. As an essential part of the woven products, Mandalagiri-Leuwisari has many weaving patterns that cannot be found in any other areas in Tasikmalaya City and Regency. Unfortunately, the types of weaving patterns that are commonly produced in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari are lessened day by day. Weavers who master many weaving patterns for crafts in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari are in their 40s and 50s. A small number of weavers in their 60s are actively involved in the bamboo industry. The fewer patterns for producing bamboo crafts that are produced in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari could be a problem in the bamboo industry in the sense of losing their original skills and techniques because most of them are shifted to produce non-traditional products which require simpler weaving techniques in nowadays industry. Younger generations may have no interest as well in the bamboo industry which could be another problem to preserve the traditional techniques in producing bamboo products. Craftspeople

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<sup>58</sup> 0001”xxx” indicates the censorship of the original registered number to avoid the harm to the bamboo business.

who actively produce bamboo products only hope that there would be the next generation to continue their bamboo industry but at the same time, they do not enforce their descendant to be involved in the bamboo industry.



Figure 38 Variations of bamboo crafts' weaving patterns in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari combined in one panel.<sup>59</sup>

Source: Author. December 2020

New skills and techniques that have been spread in the Mandalagiri-Leuwisari bamboo industry force the craftspeople to keep adjusting themselves to the happening trends in the markets. The influences to process bamboo in such advanced processes are mainly brought from outside of the subdistrict by some craftspeople who joined bamboo-crafts-related workshops or academic and non-academic projects in the big cities such as Bandung. As mentioned, the influence from Ibu Rini in the 1990s, started the new ways of producing bamboo crafts in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari through forming the circular framing using bending (heat) techniques instead of using rattan ropes as the craftspeople familiar with producing daily utensil products (*wengku*).

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<sup>59</sup> See appendix XV for the details and the names of the variations.



Resulting from the new visuals that have a modern and minimalist look for the bamboo products, they have approached the new markets since then. The bending technique requires the use of glue made of plastics to attach the inner and outer lines of the frames. The new skills of shaping frames through bending techniques are applied until today. Another big influence of the technique from outside was also brought by academia and students from ITB and ITENAS (universities in Bandung) who tried to make a prototype using bamboo as the main material. Started in the 2000s, the coiling technique was invented among the academia and bamboo crafts producers who are invited to the university workshops in Bandung. Since the invention of the coiling technique, it became a new trend for the craftspeople when they back to their areas (Tasikmalaya and Garut) after the workshops. Through the new experiences, craftspeople gained new knowledge from the one-time workshop in Bandung and they have been applied the coiling technique to their businesses, departed from the academic projects.





Figure 39 Products that applied bending and coiling techniques for framing

Source: Author, December 2020

Significantly, the new techniques that are brought from the former academic projects focus on framing skills. With the substitutions of rattan ropes to the plastic glue, there were some adjustments that craftspeople made and jumped out of their repeated skills in producing bamboo products (daily utensils, packaging, or souvenirs). The ideas of producing bamboo crafts are expanded then to combine non-natural material such as plastic glue which gave craftspeople more spaces to advance their existing and new skills. Some forms that are unable to produce such as shaping squared framing because of the characteristics of bamboo that tend to be formed rounded, are now able to offer for producing the bamboo crafts. Most packaging made of bamboo now has curves at some angles of the product. As the consequence, there are uncounted types of products until today after the development project from the 1990s, and it keeps expanding following the demands from the customers that have been explored and offered by the craftspeople.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The growing types of bamboo crafts in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, is provided in Appendix XII to give more information about products that were developed from the daily utensils in the past and were captured in the Usman Bambu central workshop during the field observation in 2020.

Popular for the skillful craftspeople with many variations of weaving patterns and objects, Mandalagiri-Leuwisari areas have developed to have diverse types of products that refer to daily utensil products as their original characteristic of producing bamboo products. Nowadays, craftspeople are divided into two types: first, groups of people who produce traditional daily utensils, and second, groups of people who only produce modified bamboo crafts. Before the influence of expanding industrialized techniques for daily utensils (with machinery and artificial materials), craftspeople also had been making variations of bamboo crafts such as baskets for souvenirs, or fruit and gift baskets, to which more variations of weaving patterns are applied. In addition, craftspeople who produce daily utensils may be involved in the crafts business as weavers, but craftspeople who only produce bamboo crafts usually do not perform any of daily utensils producing activities.

Craftspeople who produce daily utensils and contribute to the bamboo crafts industries as weavers often get orders from the bigger bamboo crafts business runners such as Usman Bambu in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari. They are required to follow the requests from Usman Bambu until the woven surface are made (as semi-finished products). As mentioned above, the semi-finished woven surface (*bahan*) will be modified and finished in the central workshop of Usman Bambu. The following section will illustrate the types of craftspeople who are involved in Usman Bambu business and people who are not involved and have their markets.



Figure 40 Semi-finished products (*bahan*) formed following daily utensil principles (Left: *boboko*, rice containers; right: *surumbung*, filter for ponds) in a middleman's house that was ordered by Usman and after the modifications of the *bahan*.

Source: Author, December 2020

Most producers in the higher-level land in the area (*tonggoh*) produce daily utensils as their main livelihood. Usman Bambu often orders some *bahan* from one middleman in the area and buys the middleman's finished products to be modified in the central workshop (in Paniis). The finishing techniques are the main part of the modification that cannot be done in most daily utensils producers' houses since they do not own any of the machines, and are not familiar with the plastic materials and the advanced techniques. The advanced materials such as glue or other decorations for the hybrid bamboo products are purchased in Bandung or Tasikmalaya City as the key for Usman Bambu business, so that they generate such unique and particular products that are connected to the requests from the customers. As the result of the repeated orders from the bigger business runners, craftspeople expand their skills from only producing traditional framing to also able to form their bamboo products with the new-styled framing. However, the finished products also often spread to the craftspeople who make *bahan*, and as a result, they followed the framing techniques and copied the visuals although the quality may be lower than the ones who are controlled in the

bigger business workshops, and that is how the new knowledge spread in the Mandalagiri-Leuwisari area.

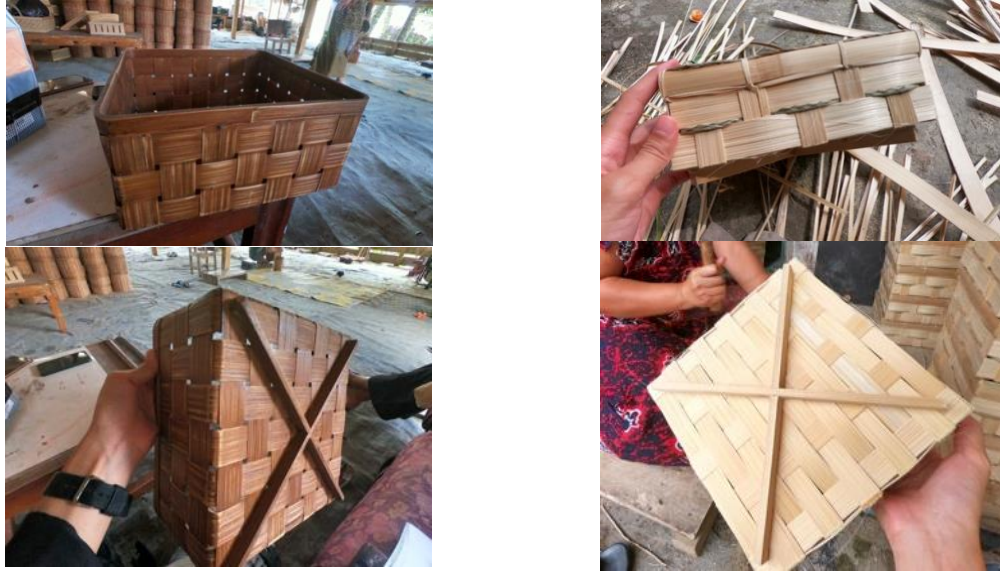


Figure 41 Left: Comparison of the squared baskets for packaging in Usman Bambu workshop after the finishing process of *bahan* from the nearby craftspeople; Right: and the spread technique with lower quality (*abragan*).

Source: Author, December 2020

Even though the lower quality products are produced by the craftspeople around the area, they can sell through demands from other types of markets in the cities. Not all customers require such high-quality bamboo packaging regarding the less budget they have. After all, the spread of knowledge day by day for producing bamboo crafts in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari promotes the expansion of the markets to sell bamboo products, regardless of the variations in quality. Craftspeople have many options to produce traditional products that only use bamboo as the material, and to produce non-traditional (hybrid) products that require industrial materials as well as the skills to finish it. As the adjustment, efforts to buy non-natural materials such as

plastic glue and nails that only can be found in industrial shops in the city are needed when they are willing to produce the non-traditional products. Sometimes craftspeople tend to produce traditional products because they easily find bamboo around them, so that they do not depend on the materials that should be purchased outside. The scarcity of industrial materials is called *susah bahan* by the craftspeople in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari.

Besides the 10 types of daily utensils in Chapter Three as representation as discussed earlier in this chapter, there are two additional types of woven bamboo baskets (*pipiti* and *beseke*) that are only commonly found in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, and Paniis. Two of the *pipiti* and *beseke* producers are brought to visualize the products in this study. In the process of producing the *pipiti* and *beseke*, there is a folding technique (*lépé*) that is required as framing so the framing using separated bamboo sticks are not necessary. The *lépé* technique is similar to the technique to make a fan (*hihid*) in the previous chapter but is placed at different places and resulting in different forms. *Pipiti* and *beseke* function as food containers. For many special events in West Java, *pipiti* or *beseke* are used to distribute cooked food for the participants of wedding ceremonies or gathering for Quran recitation events (*pengajian*). Until today, the production and demand of *pipiti* and *beseke* are high since the use of the products often take place in society (the details of the producing processes for *pipiti* and *beseke* are described in Appendix XIII).



Figure 42 *Pipiti*, squared (left) and *bese*k, rectangular-shaped (right) comparison

Source: Author, December 2020

*Pipiti* and *bese*k have similar weaving patterns, but what makes them significantly different for the craftspeople is the patterns at the beginning of the process. To make *pipiti*, it is called *bujal* as the center of the weaving pattern to make the squared-form base. But to make *bese*k, the central pattern at the beginning is called *mata* or so-called *pihuntu*an(*nana*) all around West Java. Common measurements for *pipiti* are 10x10 cm, 15x15 cm, and 20x20 cm, and for *bese*k are 15x25 cm and 15x20 cm. Most people who produce *pipiti* and *bese*k in the Sukatani area in Manadlagiri tend to produce traditional products made of bamboo since it is a familiar skill for them, but they are also interested to sell the woven surface (as their specialization) to the bigger workshops such as Usman Bambu and let them do the framing (*wengku*) process. Many women interviewees stated that products such as *pipiti* and *bese*k are simpler than other types of daily utensils since they do not have to finish the products with efforts for the framing. As also discussed in Chapter Three, the manual framing process that uses hard rough-strips of bamboo requires strong tension that is usually done by men. Therefore, craftswomen nuanced producing *pipiti* and *bese*k as women-friendly products. In another way than having relations with crafts industries,

craftspeople in Sukatani also deal with middlemen in the area to sell their bamboo products based on some demands from Jakarta, Bandung, and huge numbers from Garut areas.

Many types of craftspeople in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari run bamboo crafts production businesses. People who have no connections with big workshops get demand from many markets. The most common products that are demanded from this area are packaging and container for gifts. In the high demand for bamboo products, the residents have become hectic with the bamboo-producing activities, such as dry up the bamboo slices on the road and in front of their houses. But only recently, many craftspeople in this area also use preservative and whitening liquid (or so-called HO) in the process of finishing. This idea was first intended to outsmart the low quality of bamboo that has rotten visuals and colors. Sometimes it is also hard for craftspeople around to find bamboo of good quality during the rainy season. The finished products are dipped into the chemical liquid and it affects the bamboo to have brighter colors and are long-lasting than natural bamboo without the chemical treatment. But as the consequence, the products that use this type of finishing should not be used for food containers since the chemical on the woven bamboo strips would transfer into the food.







Figure 43 The process of dip, drain, and dry the finished woven bamboo products to the preservative and whitening liquids.

Source: Author, December 2020

The product with chemical finishing, sometimes is misused by customers in the markets who do not understand the differences between the products that use chemical finishing or not, which may cause health problems to them. Anyhow, in the production process, craftspeople who finish their products with chemical liquids only follow the demands from their customers or buyers. The products such as *pipiti* and *bese*k that are intended as food containers, ideally do not get through such chemical process for the finishing, but oftentimes the craftspeople only stated: “We totally understand the consequences, but some customers such as those who ordered this only prefer the brighter color so they could sell better the *pipiti* and *bese*k”. These unfortunate situations may be found when the producers are involved in their business and demands without considering the possible cause in the trading and consumption spheres.

To close the discussion about the situations in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, one additional case of producing crafts in Usman Bambu has also expanded to artificial materials. Strips made of polyethylene are being used following the principles of

producing woven products. With similar techniques and patterns, Usman Bambu had been managing one project which involved many weavers in the area to support the production process.



Figure 44 Producing processes with artificial materials: weaving process (left) was done by weavers nearby; the framing and finishing process (right) was done in the central workshop.

Source: Author, December 2020

To be highlighted, during the weaving process, craftswomen use additional tools such as chisels and a hammer to help them make the weaving patterns without gaps. Such additional tools are not needed when they weave using bamboo strips since bamboo strips are naturally stuck to each other in weaving patterns. There are some other adjustments such as they skip the preparation process for the material (cut, slice, and dry up the material), and the body movement and gestures to treat the polyethylene strips must be also different. The polyethylene characteristic is slick, less flexible, hard to bend, and precise, but bamboo is naturally more flexible and more fragile than the plastic ones.



Figure 45 The customer sent the polyethylene strips for the next batch production while picking up the finished artificial products.

Source: Author, December 2020

At this project, Usman Bambu received the raw materials from the customer but the workshop provided additional material for the framing process by themselves. For the additional materials, Usman ordered from Bandung as he could not find them in Tasikmalaya Regency and the nearby areas. The additional case of using artificial materials in the bamboo craft industry is interesting to be brought in this study since it is the part of the development of the industry where they expand their producing crafts skills into other materials, but at the same time, it is also a thread for their bamboo industry. As many cases of using industrial and artificial materials in the area show, craftspeople often shifted to the new industry that looks promising at the present

time and following the recent trend. In the production process, again, craftspeople depend on the trend and demands from the customers. After all, they must survive their businesses when the bamboo production weakens, and use their intangible skills (producing crafts) to make the industry alive by using artificial materials. But the more people prefer to shift fully to substitute bamboo with other materials, the more bamboo will be forgotten as tangible and crucial aspect in the bamboo industry, and that could be seen as a weak point to preserve their existing routines in producing crafts.

In Tasikmalaya Regency, there are similar cases as Usman Bambu that are brought as the case study in this section, which has given big influence in their area. In Padakembang, one of the neighboring areas of Usman Bambu Workshop, there is one big workshop owned by a skillful craftsman, Toriq, who also concerns with producing hybrid bamboo products. Both Usman and Toriq have experienced academic projects and workshops many times in Bandung (with academia from ITB). He runs his business with his family members and hires many craftspeople around Padakembang. But different from Usman Bambu, Toriq has one fixed contract with one brand that is centered in a big city, and he has less flexible to receive orders than Usman's crafts business. With the diverse manners and types of customers, Usman may have a bunch of alternatives to receive orders without being contracted fixedly with any party. In some sense, Toriq does not receive any other orders that jump out from bamboo materials, but only use some advanced skills such as new ways of framing (*wengku*) to his products. Toriq and the brand owners have dealt with the style to run the business together, so that he also should compromise with the brand owners for any changes in his workshop. The skills that Usman and Toriq got the influence from the academic projects have been spread to their business as well as to the craftspeople nearby since their businesses get bigger day by day. By exploring the

types of the bamboo crafts industry in this section, we can see that there are areas in Tasikmalaya Regency that the craftspeople in the areas have expanded their skills in producing bamboo from producing daily utensils in the past. They have been broadening their range of skills from only having traditional crafts such as souvenir and gift baskets, to the other possible new styles of producing crafts in the bamboo industry nowadays.

Next, Nagrog village as one of daily utensils producers in Selaawi, Garut, this area will be described in the next section as the closing for this subchapter. A discussion about this village is managed to be put in the development project from academic institutions' section since groups of craftspeople who originally produce daily utensils have slowly started to produce laminated bamboo as one of the influences from ITB that was then approached by the village-owned enterprises of Selaawi (BUMdes) to this village.

#### **4.2.2 Nagrog Village, Selaawi Subdistrict, Garut Regency**

Among all bamboo industries in West Java, the Selaawi subdistrict in this chapter is presented as the people in Selaawi have different ideas about innovation and the approach toward new knowledge in producing crafts compared to other areas such as Tasikmalaya as described in the previous parts of this chapter. Since 2015, several academic institutions from Bandung have been actively approaching the Selaawi subdistrict as their target area for their development projects.



Figure 46 Access to Nagrog village from the main street; and a bamboo forest area for the “nature sightseeing spot” in front of Iman’s house.

Source: Author, August 2019

One area in the Selaawi subdistrict, Nagrog village, has been known for its daily utensil products for a long time among all areas in the Selaawi subdistrict. Surrounded by bamboo forests and paddy fields, nowadays Nagrog has developed their areas through the skills in producing bamboo crafts that go along with the grown of “nature sightseeing spots” at one spot of the top of the bamboo forests slope. Most craftspeople here produce *boboko* (rice containers) and small *ayakan* (food sieves) for their livelihood and start to trial and error themselves to produce laminated bamboo. Started from around the 2010s,<sup>61</sup> craftspeople in this area, especially the younger generation, followed a trend in the Selaawi subdistrict to make birdcages, since the demand was high at that time. But historically, the first move of birdcage production started in 1970 when few craftspeople tried to explore the technique out of the woven bamboo products.<sup>62</sup> While keep following the ups and downs of new styles of

<sup>61</sup> Based on interviews with Nina (Iman’s wife), at their workshop, Nagrog village, August 2019

<sup>62</sup> The historical of birdcage making in Luffiansyah, P. (2019: 71–78), Dissertation Report: Resilience in Social Design Activities: Understanding the Rebounding Process of Crafts and Design Practice in

producing bamboo crafts in the Selaawi subdistrict, Nagrog craftspeople have been continuing to produce *boboko* and small *ayakan* as their main income, especially the old generation who keeps on producing daily utensils rather than being involved in the new styles of producing bamboo crafts.

One of the craftspeople from Nagrog, Iman, became one of the BUMdes' partners among all craftspeople in the Selaawi subdistrict. Since 2017 when BUMdes started their programs to engage local industries again, Iman was often involved in development projects held by the Selaawi village office together with academic institutions (ITB, ITENAS, UPI, or UNPAR). Regarding the bamboo industry in Selaawi, ITB has had a big influence on this area since 2015. One of the techniques that have been spread among the craftspeople in Selaawi subdistrict was the manners to process laminated bamboo crafts. After joined the project, Iman gained new knowledge in producing bamboo crafts and be encouraged by the BUMdes to keep continuing the new skills that he got to his own business with his family.



Figure 47 Laminated and other innovative bamboo products in Nagrog village.

Source: Author, August 2019

The change of commodification of daily utensils in Nagrog village has been expanded to non-woven bamboo crafts such as bamboo birdcages and souvenirs made of bamboo poles. The process of sanding the bamboo surfaces is crucial for the innovative bamboo products to reach the sleek and modern look of the products. Such characteristics of clean and polished visuals never be reached without the touch of advanced machines and chemical materials that are attached for the finishing processes. Basically, bamboo material for the innovative bamboo products appears as “skin” and “case” of the products (see Figure 47 for the example of bamboo innovative products). The principles in constructing structure and tension by weaving the bamboo strips for traditional products are not needed in the process of producing the innovative ones. By attaching bamboo strips with some “traditional” patterns on the products such as helmets, smartphone cases, shoes, or bags is intended to nuance the industrial products made of other materials to be looked “natural” without lessening the function of the original products. Naturally, people have ideas to treat bamboo since they are surrounded by bamboo forests around their houses, and so they have particular behaviors from generation to generation. The skills to treat the new materials with their characteristics were also new things for craftspeople who usually deal with bamboo on a daily basis. But along with the trend, craftspeople got an urge to also “learn” new skills which were departed from weaving skills they have as many of their neighbors were slowly involved in the new markets of the bamboo products (without requiring weaving skills).

Customarily, at first, bamboo strips are attached to the surface of the products by gluing them roughly. The next step is to sand the surface of the attached bamboo stripes evenly before the coating process. A chemical liquid made of resin is used to glaze the outer part. In the final process of finishing, the resin surface is sanded with



a machine tool as well as the polishing process right after it is sanded evenly. Finally, the innovative product is finished after it has been polished well using some soft clothes.

Iman taught the technique to Nani as well, and they developed and expanded their market since they felt confident to sell innovative products. Their business grew and clients ordered some products from them. When they have high demand, they need their neighbors and parents for help. The process of involving other craftspeople who usually produce traditional woven products to the advanced technique may take some time, but that is the time the knowledge of creating such advanced technique for bamboo products spread. In this sense, Iman and Nani supervised their neighbors, and day by day, craftspeople learned new skills to innovative products while producing bamboo daily utensils as their main income. Until the interview period in 2019, a family business of Iman and Nani was the one that leads the production of the innovative products in Nagrog village. They hire and work together with the craftspeople nearby, and their neighbors do not sell the advanced products independently since the finishing process only can be done in Iman's place.



Figure 48 Craftspeople gather to make *ayakan* (sieves) and innovative products in front of Iman and Nani's house (as a gathering place for the craftspeople around the area).

Source: Author, August 2019

Craftspeople produce their bamboo crafts either together with their families or neighbors as one community. They put 9 am to 4 pm as the basic period for working in the gathering place. Craftspeople come and go anytime and the sense of working together brings more joy to them than working individually at their houses—they could share things happening in their lives through conversations. Although they bring their own work to the place, they could get some sense of a supportive system if they work together. As one example, a woman (as depicted in the rightest picture of Figure 48), came to the gathering spot in the afternoon to frame several *ayakan*, she brought all her stuff and worked from her house by walk. She then finished to perform producing bamboo at around 3.30 pm and went back to her house for household activities.

To be highlighted by bringing up Nagrog village as a case helps us to illustrate the fact that the influence from outside of the village, in this case, academic institutions, provides the craftspeople in Selaawi to expand their skills in producing bamboo crafts. The way to spread the knowledge was by choosing craftspeople from some villages in Selaawi to be an agent to teach other craftspeople in their villages/areas. BUMdes and coordinator of development for local industry from the Selaawi village office hoped that by approaching bamboo craftspeople with new techniques and advanced materials in producing bamboo crafts, they could broaden their markets and by that, they could raise their economic situations fast through their local industries.

However, the band wagoning effects of spreading the skills to make innovative products within Selaawi craftspeople could be brought as a representation to describe one society that adjusts themselves quickly than staying in the stagnant state of the traditional bamboo craft industry. By the tendency to be open to the new, people followed the trend of markets in their local industry such as bamboo craft, and does

not see the new as a threat for them. As consideration, looking through another perspective, there are fewer people who produced woven bamboo crafts as their original day by day throughout the process of advancing and shifting the techniques in producing crafts. The old generations tend to stay with what they feel familiar with (daily utensil production) rather than follow the trend that is glorified by the younger generation as well as the local stakeholder in Selaawi. As the result, craftspeople are grouped by what they produce in the industry. People who are involved in the new types of bamboo industry (birdcage making, laminated bamboo, coiling, and other types of innovative products) are separated socially from the rest of the people who produce daily utensils. For some reason, people who also tend to stay with traditional products disconnect themselves from the new industry in Selaawi since they have a different pace to work.

On all accounts, the influence from the academia and academic institutions through collaboration works related to the bamboo matter to shape the craftspeople's manners in producing crafts nowadays. Through adjustments of processing new knowledge, craftspeople are able to expand their markets using the skills and encouragement from the outer environment and jump out from their traditional crafts to such innovative crafts. Typically, craftspeople who are influenced by the development projects or collaboration projects with academic institutions shifted their bamboo crafts characteristics, from daily utensils to innovative products.

#### **4.2.3 Situbeet Mangkubumi, Tasikmalaya City**

This area is intentionally be presented following the previous subchapter as the contrast of the situation that happens in Tasikmalaya City. As having the characteristic to produce twinning and decorative bamboo crafts products, craftspeople in Situbeet

Mangkubumi keeps following their style until today but with some adjustments through the development of the society such as the industrial materials for coloring, and the decrease of the number of craftspeople caused only small numbers of artisans live in this area. By introducing types of artisans in the bamboo crafts industry, this section aims to also highlight the differences in the working cycle and manners of the individual producer and producers who work in groups as well as the factors of constructing the characteristics of the crafts as the results.

Although most bamboo craftspeople who are influenced by academic projects live in the regency areas of Tasikmalaya, there are two craftsmen who live in the Tasikmalaya City and are often involved in many of regional government crafts development projects nowadays in Tasikmalaya. Father and son, Muhtar and Nana, live in Situbeet Mangkubumi (will be mentioned as only “Situbeet” to the following sections), Tasikmalaya City. Only recently, Nana has moved to another area in Tasikmalaya after he got married, followed his wife’s family domicile. Originally he is from Situbeet and is mastering many techniques producing bamboo crafts, Nana started to make money through bamboo-producing activities in his new place. Although he is single-handed in producing bamboo crafts, he enjoys his works and built his workshop made of bamboo by himself near his main house to focus on his projects. Starting from the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, Muhtar and Nana were often invited by the regional government and academic institutions’ projects, and since then they gained many experiences. In these days, they are often invited as speakers and coaches in the events related to bamboo crafts. There are not many craftspeople left in Situbeet. Only less than 20 people—out of 400 heads of family—are actively producing baskets and packaging made of bamboo, and most of them sell their products to the local middlemen in Situbeet and associated in Situbeet Crafts

Association (Parkesit). Only Muhtar and Nana independently produce bamboo crafts with maintaining connections from outside of Tasikmalaya City.

Situbeet craftspeople were historically well-known for their specialization in producing twinning woven bamboo crafts after one person named Samri was graduated from the Ambachtschool (a handicrafts school for local people invented by the Dutch colonization government) in 1948. He influenced people in Situbeet with the skills he learned from the school. Since then, bamboo handicrafts in Situbeet was at peak until 1995. It kept falling off until now due to the inhabitants' interest in bamboo crafts that comes along with the change of nature around Situbeet. In the past, Situbeet was surrounded by mountains and bamboo forests, and people could easily get bamboo nearby their houses. The developing process of the infrastructure of the city affected Situbeet which is placed near the center of the city where many buildings and roads were built. Looking at the historical factors, Muhtar is related to Samri, as Samri was a brother of Muhtar' in-laws. Muhtar learned a lot from Samri who mastered skills and techniques to make bamboo crafts and taught Nana. Popular for their skills, since the beginning of the 2000s, academic institutions were interested to collaborate their works and events related to bamboo crafts with Muhtar and Nana.



Figure 49 Nana's workshop in Tasikmalaya City.

Source: Author, December 2020

Nana then was on personal contract with one academia in STISI Bandung from 2008 to 2013, and independently joined several projects from ITB and individually sold bamboo products to his clients in some crafts kiosks and traditional markets in Tasikmalaya, Bandung, and Jakarta until 2017. He was idle for bamboo crafts producing activities in 2017 after his workshop was in fire accident and had lost contact with his clients. Although, he actively joined some local projects with Urang Tasik local community to decorate and build bamboo construction for Tasikmalaya Oktober Festival (TOF) every year from 2015–2019. He was the main bamboo concept maker together with Muhtar and Adith (from the Urang Tasik community). After being involved in the Tasikmalaya Oktober festival since 2015, Nana got several projects to make bamboo installations in public spaces such as restaurants and interior decorations in Tasikmalaya City. Along with the ups and downs of the bamboo industry in his life, Nana only has had one occupation since he was graduated from junior high school. To him, bamboo production is his passion despite the complicated techniques in processing bamboo crafts. Being engaged in academic projects is also special to him since he could gain much new knowledge and get insights through learning new forms and designs related to bamboo. Moreover, describing his perspective about bamboo crafts, he stated that:

“To be a craftsperson in the bamboo industry, it is a struggle for us to process bamboo from zero to the finished products. We start from taking the material from the forest or buy from the bamboo middlemen to process it with all the techniques. It is so much different from such as rattan or pandan leave industry that they can get the materials easily and adjusting their skills with it after. Preparing the materials is also hard and it takes a long time for us to get money. We need so much patient as well to master many skills in producing bamboo crafts. But I get used to all the challenges in producing bamboo crafts, and it is my passion that gets along to make a living, gaining new knowledge, and learn about design and crafts through

bamboo crafts production. Education levels are also an important factor to decide to start to be a bamboo crafts producer. The more we don't get alternatives to seek jobs based on our education levels, the more we simply use our skills (in producing crafts).” (12/23/2020)

There are many types of techniques in processing bamboo material, and it usually comes from different area or region, even in Tasikmalaya. Nana found many different specialties for example in his area (Situbeet) and other areas such as Parakanhonje. He may master some techniques from outside of the area, as well as others, but there must be a skill or technique that only can be mastered by people from that place. During the in-depth interviews and observations, we know that Nana has mastered both traditional and advanced techniques for bamboo crafts. Nana stated that once craftspeople master the basic patterns and weaving techniques, they could adjust their skills to the innovations that possibly they face in the future. During the in-depth interviews, Nana and I discussed weaving techniques that were drawn in one book of weaving technique classification by Mulyadi (2009) as mentioned earlier in Chapter Three (See Appendix XIV for the result of exploration of the weaving techniques). Although mastering almost all the skills of producing bamboo crafts (traditional and non-traditional), Nana tends to explore modern and advanced bamboo crafts and refers to both traditional and non-traditional skills rather than producing traditional products (gifts and souvenir baskets that originally from Situbeet) or daily utensils only.



Figure 50 Nana producing bamboo crafts at his workshop

Source: Author, October, December 2020

As for the development projects that have been held by the regional or local governments in Tasikmalaya, he sees the projects do not sustain well as expected to the craftspeople because of many factors. Nana was one of the speakers and trainers in the July 2020's project with Cikiray craftspeople and affirmed:

“Somehow it is hard to sustain the innovation introduced in any of the development projects because most of the craftspeople went back to their own markets and the repeated habits in producing crafts. I understand that it could take time to adjust new skills with what we usually practice daily. Especially for the one that has been done in July 2020 before, Cikiray hamlets craftspeople are specialized in producing daily utensils. So, it must be hard for them to suddenly change their habits in producing crafts by only two-day event without any other look-up process after the event.” (12/7/2020)

The types of artisan bamboo producer such as Nana have different ideas from the craftspeople who work in groups or family. People such as in Cikiray work in the family cycle because they get used to divide the division of labor in their families and follow the customs in their area. Differently, Nana processes bamboo from the very beginning to the end all by himself and he does not work with his family members at







all. He has idealism and quality control throughout his experiences in bamboo crafts. As the result, he explores the skills and techniques by himself and finds the quality that he wanted for producing crafts. When he is not in his busy days for the demands from his clients, he could go to his workshop late at night until he felt tired. At that moment, he felt that it is his time to explore many techniques for bamboo crafts and feel inspired for the next day and come up with a new thing. Normally he works in his workshop from 8 am or 9 am until around 4 pm. But when he is in the state of having high demands, he could work from 7 am to 1 am the next day. To him, it is not a big deal to have such flexible time to work since he works by himself, and it is his preference. For a little cases, he has someone to help in the daytime only to support him producing some parts. Or in other cases, he ordered semi-finished woven surfaces (*bahan*) from his working relatives in Tasikmalaya Regency such as from Mandalagiri-Leuwisari or Padakembang. But at the end of the process, he must assembly the parts himself in his workshop.

Nowadays, after Nana moved out from Muhtar' house, Nana and Muhtar do not work together on their projects unless they are being invited together for one event or project related to bamboo crafts. As artisans, both have their ideals to make bamboo crafts themselves as well. When working on one project, they could have different views for technical issues to treat bamboo, which often happened in constructing big installations such as for the yearly TOF events. When the artisans work together, they must compromise with each other despite the principles they usually have for bamboo-producing activities on their own.

Nana and Muhtar unfold many stories about the techniques that originally developed from Situbeet or some more that Situbeet people mastered in the past. The types of weaving techniques that are day by day forgotten were also explained by Nana

and Muhtar during the interviews for this study. Situbeet craftspeople are specialized in exploring dimensions and decorations for their bamboo crafts.

Table 11 Types of *Anyam Lilit* in Situbeet

Visuals	Name	Types of strips
	<p><i>Anyam Lilit (Oray)</i></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;"> <p>Decorations (volumed strips at the second layer)</p> </div>	<p><i>Iratan gilit</i></p> 
	<p><i>Kunang-kunang/simeut meuting/pelangi</i></p>	<p><i>Iratan gilit</i></p>  <p><i>Shaved at both sides for highlights</i></p>
<p>Visual not available</p>	<p><i>Anyam Lilit (Ombak Banyu)</i></p>	<p>(unknown, the skill has become a verbal history in the area)</p>

The *anyam lilit* (twinning) style influenced by Samri the trendsetter of producing bamboo in the past became a trademark for Situbeet craftspeople. Before the chemical paints exist (around the 1980s) for the bamboo industry in Situbeet, they use natural coloring such as gambir leaves for red and orange, turmeric and some unknown flowers for yellow, suji leaves for green, the combination of gambir and suji

leaves for purple. The purple color could be turned to a darker hue when they burn the coloring materials and let the strips heated above the woodstove (*hawu*). When they needed black color, the strips were also treated as the process of producing darker purple (as depicted in *anyam lilit oray* in Table 11) but it was made of sap of *papagan salam* that is combined with charcoal (*oyan*). In addition, the style of treating bamboo in Situbeet is to remove the skin of bamboo (they remove the green color of bamboo/*hinis*), so that they could color the bamboo strips as intended for decorations. To make the color long-lasting, they put natural preservatives made of mashed salam leaves on bamboo surfaces and add some coconut oil for coatings. Typically, craftspeople who process bamboo for decorations use the part of bamboo that is close to the skin (*hinis*) and do not use the rest of the inner part of bamboo or sell it to craftspeople in other areas.

The old techniques of coloring may not be able to be found nowadays since the craftspeople have fully shifted to artificial paints for coloring. One other area that is famous for the decorations and colored bamboo strips in Tasikmalaya City is Parakanhonje which will be explained in the next subchapter about business owners and personal projects. Nowadays Parakanhonje craftspeople have also fully shifted to the chemical paint for coloring.

### **4.3 Bamboo Business and its Historical Factors: A Case of Parakanhonje (Parhon), Tasikmalaya City**

Among bamboo industries in Tasikmalaya Regency, Tasikmalaya City, and Garut Regency, there is an exceptional case of bamboo crafts business which runs independently since Parakanhonje area (Parhon) had been famous for their aesthetics bamboo crafts since the olden times. Parhon is specialized in producing thin-sliced

bamboo which can be treated as paper and formed into wearable products instead of utensils, baskets, or souvenirs. They process the thin-sliced bamboo manually so that the very particular skills are only appeared and are well-known as “parhon bamboo products” until now.

Parhon is placed in the northwestern part of Tasikmalaya City, and a part of the Sukamajukaler subdistrict. In the Dutch colonization, Parhon was well-known for their fine woven bamboo products that were marketed worldwide when the bamboo industry was at its peak and many people were involved. The bamboo industry in Parhon is no longer alive as it has been glorified by the local and regional governments and Tasikmalaya people. Unfortunately, there is only one business left in Parhon which is owned by Ibran and his wife, Sani, continuing Sani’s parents’ crafts business in the past. They started their business formally as Bineka Jaya at the beginning of the 2000s and have related to clients or business partners from time to time. Ibran and Sani collaborate with 50 weavers in Parhon, who are skillful to make the fine woven bamboo surface (*anyaman halus*) as the semi-finished materials (*bahan*) Ibran’s family support raw material (bamboo) to the weavers and later the semi-finished materials are assembled in Ibran’s workshop.

Since their business is popular for the fine woven bamboo crafts and is the only one in the area, Ibran is often invited to many collaborative workshops held by governmental offices or industrial companies. For the government projects, he was often chosen to be a tutor and speaker for collaboration projects by the Department of Industry and Commerce Tasikmalaya City. He also joined training programs from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of Indonesia (Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan), for managing the waste of bamboo leaves and renewable energy from bamboo charcoal. One industrial company, PT. Astra Group, invited him to join a

training for quality control in the technical systems, called “a group that controls quality control of the products” or “*gugus kendali mutu*” training and workshop at the beginning of the 2000s. For the future, he envisions Parhon could be a central of the bamboo industry which is integrated with the system of other tourist spots in Tasikmalaya City, and be the initiator of bamboo crafts area that concerns about the environmental issues during the bamboo crafts production. He believes that the bottom-up approach could be best for Parhon economic development. His confidence was brought along with the trust from the Department of Industry and Commerce Tasikmalaya City to manage Parhon shortly through Parhon’s local industries. Bineka Jaya has also received support from the local government by providing the business with machines to support local businesses.

Ibran leads their business cycle from managing the work cycle of the craftspeople up to the negotiation processes with their clients. He would need to calculate the feasibilities to fulfill the order from the customers since there are many technical factors for producing fine woven bamboo products. The following figure depicts the cycle of Ibran’s business.

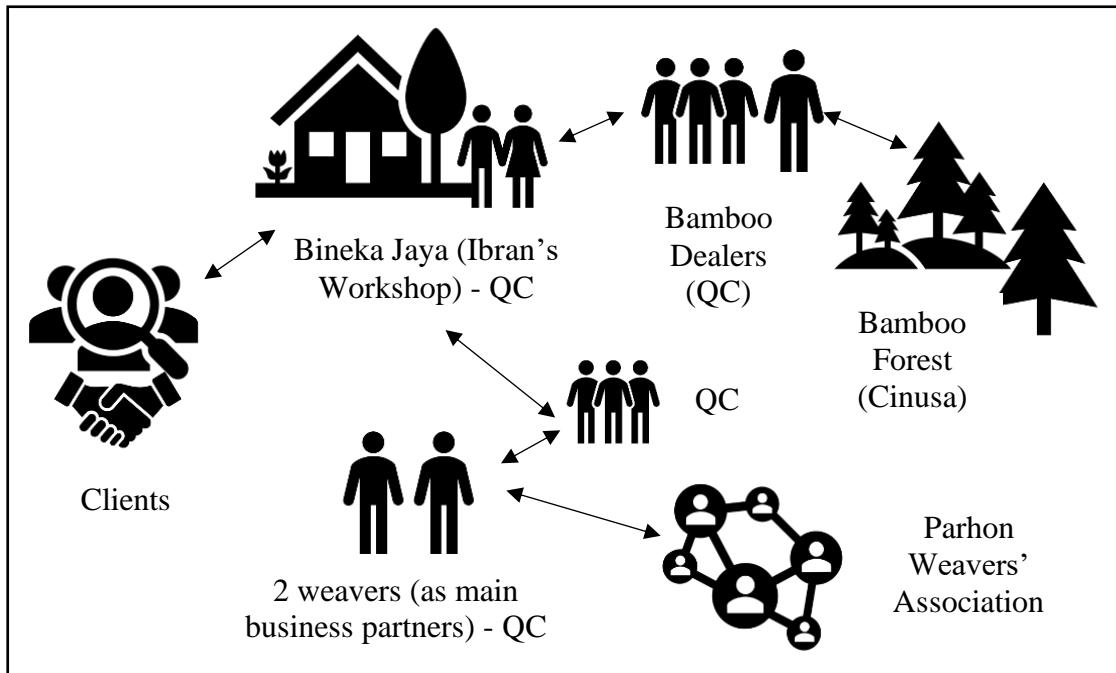


Figure 51 The cycle of Ibran's business in Parhon, (QC: Quality Control process)

Bamboo poles are taken only from the forest in Cinusa, Tasikmalaya Regency. Only specific bamboo that has a length of more than 50 cm and less than 1 year can be used to make the fine woven crafts. The particular bamboo should be taken from the mountain slope in the bamboo forest so that they can find good quality ones. Bamboo poles that are taken from Cinusa are more expensive than the other bamboo dealers' offer (at least 4–5 times higher than bamboo that has lower qualities) since it is quite challenging to get bamboo from the forest. Ibran's business never used bamboo from the building materials stores in the city since they only sell the old ones and have a low quality of bamboo. It is necessary to get young bamboo poles as the main material in the business for the flexible strips are needed. For his business, Ibran relates to 3 bamboo dealers who usually come to the Cinusa area and find the best bamboo poles following all the requirements. Only 10 nodes-length out of 20 can be used since the upper and lower parts are out of the requirements. Ibran and the bamboo

dealers let the local villagers around the bamboo forests use the unused parts of the bamboo poles (it is usually utilized for fuel for firewood). In addition, the peak season of good quality bamboo is from July to September, and the hardest season to get bamboo is in November to April (since bamboo has got old at these months—more than one year). One-year-old or older bamboo poles are usually taken from the forest by the bamboo dealers to craftspeople in Singaparna, Tasikmalaya Regency. The more bamboo gets older, the more it has less flexible for raw materials of fine woven bamboo, and it should be great for construction.

After getting the bamboo poles from Cinusa, Ibran and his workers in the workshop process the selected bamboo into slices manually. They work precisely and only take 4 mm deep from the outer part (skin) of bamboo and slice it again to make it *thinner* than paper. When the bamboo slices are ready, they are delivered to 2 weavers (in their 60s) who are usually involved in Ibran's business. The two weavers manage the working cycle among other weavers in Parhon in the association. Once the bamboo strips are woven, the quality controllers check the quality of the woven surfaces and turn back the bad quality ones to the weavers, so the weavers also tend to make good quality woven surfaces/ropes (*bahan*). The weavers will be paid depending on the number of *bahan*. The price that the weavers get from their works is 600 rupiah/meter to make woven ropes (*pita cucuk/gerigi*); 2000 rupiah/meter for woven ropes (*pita tujuh*); and 8000 rupiah/piece for uncolored woven surface (45x48 cm). The woven surface types will be purchased higher than the rope ones. After the two weavers collected *bahan* from the nearby weavers, they hand it to the runner (quality controller) from Ibran's workshop. The *bahan* from the wavers then are processed according to the design from Ibran and Sani (formed, stitched, whitened,

dipped to the preservative liquids, and colored). The finished products are stored, packed, and delivered from Ibran's workshop to the customers.



Figure 52 Raw-thin-sliced bamboo material (left); woven ropes (right) for fine woven bamboo crafts (Parhon's trademark).

Source: Author, December 2020

Bineka Jaya started to explore their characteristics and out from their comfort zones to make souvenirs in 2002, after Ibran got a chance to exchange knowledge of producing crafts with two academia from ITB Deni Willy and Dodi Mulyadi (the writer of weaving technique classification book, Mulyadi 2009) together with craftspeople from Situbeet (Nana and Muhtar). Since then, Ibran produces many wearable products such as many types of hats, bags, interior products, and decorations. In many cases, the customers ordered new forms for Ibran and Sani that they have not produced before. Using the knowledge from academia, he started to be confident producing new forms that customers may request through exploring the new technical manners in producing the fine woven bamboo crafts, without being involved in any contracts with any parties outside or continue to run the business independently.





Figure 53 Left to right, first line: fashion hats, handbags, varied baskets with the “*tumpal*/combination” weaving pattern; left to right, second line: glass mat, dining table mat (square), dining table mat (rectangle); third line: *keping serong* and *keping malang* woven surfaces.

Source: Author, December 2020

Although many craftspeople made contracts with some academia or local brands, Ibran tends to keep his business independent. Until today he received orders from one client to another and preferred not to have long-term contracts with any parties. Instead, he maintains the repeated orders from several local brands from big

cities and prefers to sell the products in a bunch for one batch delivery. Many local brands request Ibran not to put Bineka Jaya's name on the product and let them unnamed, so they could attach their brands in their headquarters before they sell them to their markets. However, Ibran does not mind following the requests from the brand since he gains enough profits from the sold products. Moreover, Ibran added:

“We (Bineka Jaya) simply sell the finished products from our workshop and count them per piece. Whether the customers request not to put our name or ‘Tasikmalaya’ in general, it does not matter to us. Our business has our systems, and the customers respect it. For example, if we sell one product for 250,000 rupiah, but then the brand (our client) will sell the product with the price of 500,000 rupiah, it is their business, and we have enough profit by setting the price 250,000 rupiah. In addition, I think you can imagine if you see a woven bamboo product having a label ‘made in Bali’ somehow it is more attractive than a product with a ‘made in Tasikmalaya’ label. Anyway, we do not feel confident too to put ‘made in Tasikmalaya’ label.” (12/19/2020)

Without putting “Tasikmalaya” or “Bineka Jaya” logos on their products, in fact, Ibran's products have been spread around Indonesia and being used by famous figures such as in many fashions show events, national-scale exhibitions, or further exported worldwide. Ibran has even more confidence when his products are sold everywhere and have wide connections with people outside rather than popular in local level's label such as being labeled as “*sentra industri anyaman bambu*” or translated as the central of woven bamboo industry among other areas in Tasikmalaya City. The fact that the Tasikmalaya City government labels some areas' names by putting huge gate but Ibran felt that would be a shame if, in the real situations, the labeled areas have no such producing crafts activities as the inhabitants' way to make living.

Through the uniqueness of their bamboo characteristics (thin and flexible), the techniques of producing wearable products from Parhon are remarkable among other bamboo crafts in West Java. During the field data collection, there were weaving patterns that only can be found in some literature and only Parhon has them. Several patterns are named and showed some moments in the olden times such as Gelang Yuliana that was inspired by the pattern of Yuliana's bracelets (a famous Dutch Queen at that time). Below are the patterns that were found in Parhon in December 2020.

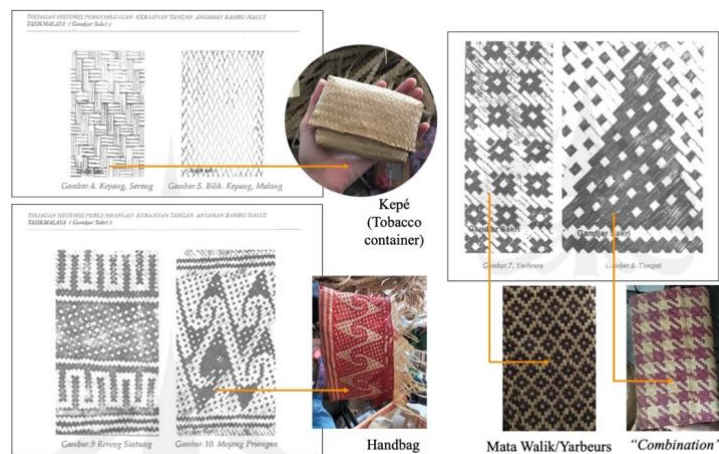


Figure 54 Weaving patterns in Parhon. Cross-checked with a literature review of Sakri (2009).<sup>63</sup> Source: Author

<sup>63</sup> Gandjar Sakri. 2009. [Reviews Historical Development Process of Woven Bamboo Crafts Subtle in Tasikmalaya]. Jurnal Dimensi Seni Rupa dan Desain, 7(1).

It is past a decade from the process of writing this dissertation (2020–2021), since the only academic paper about fine woven bamboo crafts in Tasikmalaya by Sakri (2009) was written. The paper was brought to the craftspeople by the author to be re-checked during the field study in Tasikmalaya. That was quite long for the author to finally get a chance to see the “glorified characteristics” of bamboo crafts all around Tasikmalaya in the process of seeking “real” products of what is depicted in Sakri’s writing. Luckily, this study could record—quite confident to say as—all Parhon’s weaving patterns as shown in Figure 54: *Mata Walik (Yarbeurs)*, *Joher*, *Gelang Yuliana*, *Mata Itik*, *Mojang Priangan*, *Lurik*, *Lurik Kombinasi*, *Lurik Kombinasi Pelangi*, *Terawang Brukat (Truntum)*, and *Anyam Kepang Dua (Polos and Kombinasi)*. Ibran mentioned there is one more pattern in Parhon, named *Katuncar Mawur* but regrettably it has disappeared (and it was impossible to find one weaver who can perform this pattern nowadays). Six patterns were found in Parhon as written in Sakri (2009) as “Kepang, Serong” and “Bilik; Kepang, Malang” were found in a tobacco container (*kepé*). It was said that the tobacco container was one of the products that were famous during the Dutch colonialization and it was considered as a high-end product at that time. The trend for the tobacco container was started when the Tasikmalaya people were wage laboring in the agricultural lands and the landowners (the Dutch) were interested in what the local people made and that has been long-lasting until now. The only pattern in the literature that could not be found during the observations in Parhon was *Rereng Sintung* which Ibran stated has a similarity with what is written as “*Tumpal*” or nowadays name “Combination.”

After discussing all the types of bamboo crafts industries in West Java for this study, we could see many possible ways to approach craftspeople through projects of development by understanding their tendency as well as their crafts characteristics as

one inseparable unit. Along with their historicity and ecological factors, it can also be said that the changes and variations of the crafts' characteristics happened during the development and exploration processes of Tasikmalaya and Garut's craftspeople in crafts-producing behaviors throughout the time. In other words, the new aspects such as knowledge and ways to make crafts are not always antagonistic in one development project that results in the craftspeople to be alienated from their long-customed behaviors in producing crafts.

#### **4.4 Summary of the Bamboo Crafts Industries in West Java**

By looking at many kinds of bamboo craft industries with all the different circumstances, historical factors, and development processes, this chapter captured the growth of the bamboo industry in West Java across time. In summary, there are three important factors that define bamboo crafts' characteristics in each area in West Java: forms and weaving patterns; skills and techniques; and raw materials.

##### ***First Factor: Forms and Weaving Patterns***

Looking at the cases from Mandalagiri-Leuwisari and Nagrog, we observed that these areas were originally shaped as "bamboo producers' areas" since many craftspeople live there and make their living by producing everyday utensils. The crux in relation to the characteristics of the bamboo crafts lies in the forms (traditional tools or utensils) and the variety of weaving patterns.

In the Mandalagiri-Leuwisari case, they went through a development process with one academic who was concerned with their authentic skills in producing bamboo crafts: weaving. The academic and the craftspeople worked together to find ideas to develop and expand their markets. From time to time, by developing weaving skills,

this area could diversify and expand its range of products. Along with skills diversification, craftspeople could expand their products into craft-types and modify traditional weaving patterns into new shapes. By manipulating the forms from the original ones (all everyday utensils types) and redesigning them with newly mastered weaving patterns, they could adjust their bamboo production to meet the expectations of contemporary markets and demands.

Meanwhile, the people of Nagrog got development processes via a different approach from academia who brought the skills to Selaawi. New techniques to laminate or coil bamboo, totally different from what craftspeople were familiar with, were introduced. The new look of innovative products does not require traditional weaving techniques at all in the production of bamboo crafts. Craftspeople may experience a dilemma in exploring new skills since they are introduced to new materials (resin and plastics) and polishing machines that they have not used for their bamboo crafts before. The development approach depends upon bamboo as a bridge to communicate the old and the new to the craftspeople, meaning that craftspeople must change their behaviors in producing bamboo crafts. As a result, craftspeople are divided into two groups: those who stay in their old behaviors, and those who have left them.

### ***Second Factor: Skills and Techniques***

What matters to Situbeet craftspeople are the twinning woven bamboo techniques and the manner of decorating their bamboo crafts. Brought by one remarkable person (Samri), the characteristics of their crafts were shaped through exploring and playing with the skills to produce twinning woven bamboo products that were decorated with colors as the finishing touch. The types of products they produce remain within the category of baskets and containers for souvenirs and gifts since the

colored-twining woven bamboo products typically function as a container with decorations as aesthetic elements from Situbeet. Historical factors have been important in shaping the trademark of this area but, unfortunately, Situbeet faced a decrease in the number of its craftspeople and this scarcity means them work individually as artisans and produce bamboo crafts only by order.

### ***Third Factor: Raw Materials***

Thin-sliced bamboo stripes represent the unique identity of the bamboo crafts made in Parhon. This is the DNA of the crafts of Parhon, which has figured consistently in the bamboo industry in Indonesia. The raw materials of young bamboo that are processed as woven surfaces and ropes create huge possibilities for the processed strips formed into a variety of forms, from wearable products to interior decorations. Parhon boasts many weaving patterns that can only be created using very thin bamboo stripes which differentiate them from other areas in West Java. Consequently, craftspeople in Parhon are confident in entering their handicrafts into national and international events independently while developing the management of their businesses by joining training and development projects provided by local government and industrial companies. Nonetheless, as with Situbeet's struggles with the lessening number of craftspeople in the area, preserving expertise in producing thin-striped bamboo crafts is crucial.

The aforementioned three factors as central characteristics and behaviors of bamboo craftspeople provide the crux of the analysis in the next chapter. Understanding the types of bamboo crafts businesses nowadays and related development projects will make it possible to create crafts development projects in the future.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: UNDERSTANDING THE POWER RELATIONS IN THE CRAFTS DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND THE MEANING OF PRODUCING CRAFTS IN THE CRAFTSPEOPLE’S WORLD**

In this chapter, we will discuss how the development paradigm works in relation to the bamboo crafts industries examined in Chapters Two, Three, and Four can be interpreted in the theoretical framework to shape the most effective approach for crafts development projects in the future. This dissertation takes the view that the ethnographic approach has necessarily been important in the pre-, during, and post-phases of each development project. Through discussing problems with the theoretical frameworks and the collected data, this chapter will guide us toward suggestions about future crafts development works which will be set out in Chapter Six. Identification of the situations of recent development projects in West Java is the place to begin the discussion.

### **5.1 Identification of the Development Ideas and Assessing the Craft Development Projects**

Beginning with the trend of developmental works in papers published by anthropologists and sociologists in the 1970s, “development” has been raised as an idea in many layers of governmental development projects since then. Yet, developmental works are a big challenge for all parties, especially when they are projected onto the policies that apply to local-, regional-, and national-level stakeholders or policymakers. In Indonesia as a whole, and in West Java specifically, there has been a blurring of the idea of development among development agencies and policymakers, as well as overlapping with the ideas from the national government’s



“creative economy” movement. Similarly, Cernea (1985) publicly criticized “half-baked” programs and “backfiring inept intervention” in the 1980s and 1990s that have continued in the case of West Java development projects. The development of these industries has similar pattern to the one Bendix (1967) identified, that the fundamental transformation of development is to shift the “traditional” forms to “modern” ones rather than to partake in an economic phenomenon. Logically, in order to develop one’s economic situation, the strategy should concern the economic history rather than the “traditional” or cultural sphere one of a society.

The political football of governmental crafts development projects includes the power relations among parties, the top-down systems, power diffusion from the center to the outer parts, and the strategies of the locals at the grassroots level. After the work of Cernea and his colleagues in the 1980s, Chambers grounded his work in the framework of a participatory project in the 1990s which developed from his earlier work in the 1970s and 1980s. Through managing, assessing, and conducting participatory training in rural development projects and his fundamental critique of top-down development, he was also led to play a major role in the application of participatory approaches to development practices. Consequently, his framework on conducting development work is dense and remains relevant after several decades.

Nevertheless, crafts development projects in Indonesia seemingly do not draw many advantages from the massive growth in participatory approaches which is happening throughout the world. In the following paragraphs, we examine conditions in Indonesia that trap and lag the crafts development projects in the attempt to achieve a progressive and sustainable shift in regard to economic and socio-cultural aspects based on Chambers’s principles (1997; 2005). The analysis will be divided into two

parts: the problems in the powerful parties (the North; the uppers); and the weak (the South; the lowers), as in craftspeople in the crafts industries.

### **5.1.1 Realities at All Levels: Who and What Are Put First?**

#### *The North and the Uppers: Behavior at Its Best*

There may be reasons why professionals in the crafts development movement in Indonesia have been stagnant since the 1980s. As the dominant party in the projects, national and local governments glorify the creative movements which affect the crafts industries and take their cultural values from them. “Power as disability” often happens when the powerful side fantasizes the situation in the crafts industries from its air-conditioned offices. It is never concerned with the voices of the lower orders in shaping its policies—the top-down approach seems the best for the professionals trapped with their old textbooks and outmoded statistics. The North is caught in a loop of conditioning and brainwashing and enacting a “transfer of reality” to the South. Dominance and distance were maintained by the social and professional detachment of the uppers (Chambers, 1997: 78). It is fair to say that the crafts-related movements in Indonesia are far from putting the (crafts) people first.

One of the “uppers’ impediments” (ibid.: 78–84) is the “distance” that often creates gaps between the uppers and the lowers who are the project’s target. Power, distance, isolation, and ignorance correlate (ibid.: 80). The case of the West Java crafts development project might be described as follows:

- A. The project planners (government officers and/or the community from outside the bamboo cottage industries) *isolate and remove* themselves from the project arena where the target subject lives. They often simply assume what the conditions of the “rural” are through their city-mindset way of thinking in

planning the concept of the project. The government officials are caged in their comfort zones of out-of-date statistics in their clean offices, which provides them with no accurate information about the real and present situation. The more powerful and the more centrally located they are, the further they are from the reality (ibid.: 80) of the craftspeople.

- B. The project planners and the uppers may even *avoid* visiting the cottage industries in order to meet craftspeople in person; there is a lack of literature reviews or understanding of historical factors when they are targeting a crafts project arena. It is perhaps to avoid conflict owing to the uppers' unfamiliarity with the rural areas, but in addition they may lose opportunities to understand and learn from real situations and from errors made in the introduction process. It is very common that the senior uppers—central, well-paid, and powerful—avoid contact with the lowers. Instead, they use their power and control their juniors to conduct operations, and then blame the lowers if errors occur during the process. Unfortunately, the craftspeople are often in the South (the lower; the poor; the weak) and are blamed for the failings of crafts development projects.
- C. Inevitably, personal development agencies, such as the crafts' enthusiasts (business practitioners, or undergraduate students in design or architecture schools) conduct one-time visits to the crafts-producing village, either simply to order a product for their business or for academic purposes, or to conduct a short-term social-community project. They *keep the distance*, negotiate, and get the finished products. After the one-time visit, they explore the bamboo crafts via an online platform due to the distance between their houses in the cities and the crafts-producing cottage industries. It is also not surprising if

business practitioners never visit the crafts villages to run their enterprises.

- D. Bureaucracy in Indonesia: the top-down hierarchical systems move from the national to the regional and local levels when development for the crafts industries is being conducted. Nevertheless, annual financial plans and decisions are made regardless of the results after conducting a project—or perhaps there may be no significant result at all. The participatory approach may seem contrary to the upper–lower systems that are rooted in the governmental schemes. In any case, even when the participatory project approach is adopted, the biggest challenge is to develop the systems on the side of the powerful.
- E. The institutions that are chosen to act as intermediaries in each project could be varied. For example, the crafts projects in Tasikmalaya City and Regency typically have the local community as their mediators between government officials and the craftspeople. The local community (Urang Tasik) helps government officers who fail to acknowledge the crafts industries and lack trustworthy statistics by being a concept initiator for the project. The local community consists of city people with academic backgrounds. This bias often causes a tendency to control the craftspeople with their “innovative” ideas toward the local crafts. Agency members drawn from the local community and government officers bravely decided on the project concept but *distanced* themselves from the actual arena where the craftspeople live—none of them visited Cikiray Hamlets for the July 2020 project.

In Garut Regency, academic institutions such as ITB, ITENAS, and Maranatha University act as the intermediaries between the project donors and the craftspeople.

Engagement is raised through the support of the subdistrict officers in the area. Even so, the academics become “uppers” rather than using their power in the middle ground. They tend to control and “transfer their reality” rather than choosing to “sit, listen, and be quiet,” taking in evidence from voices in the field. Again, they are trapped by their knowledge and by the idea of transmitting their city-minded goals to the crafts villages.

Professionals and the all-powerful uppers think they know and are confident with the knowledge they gain in school or at their headquarters—mostly centered in the cities. The most important thing in the development process is to learn from each other—not to teach, but rather to learn from errors, embrace our vulnerability to one another, and think about how we acknowledge and perceive the realities of others. Academic institutions as the popular unbiased parties in the crafts development project still have lacks and bias. As a student, I am personally trapped by academic references which are out of touch with the real conditions in the field until we are able to conduct fieldwork to improve our understanding. Textbooks may help to frame ideas but are meaningless without the real data that can be gathered in the field. The slow academic process of taking part in development also cannot be helped by government statistics which are often unavailable and out of date (even the latest statistics were collected decades ago). Tackling academic lags involves balancing real experience in the field and academic materials as it is essential to be noteworthy in the academic world.

Social construction has shaped people and situations in ways that the facilitators of the projects should be aware of. It costs nothing to sit and listen, as well as learn from the errors made during a project. Related to the “distance” discussion, this dissertation argues that the distance between the uppers and the lowers could be bridged by adopting the ethnographic approach during the execution. The

participatory approach as promoted by Chambers, as in RRA and PRA, is best conducted between the scientists (academics) and the lowers (Chambers, 2005: 160–164), rather than via the questionnaire method which has a high risk of manipulation. The concept of putting the first last is challenging, yet without it, it may be impossible to progress crafts development projects in Indonesia. Blaming the lowers is the easiest way to make the project look successful. But the more important thing is to sustain the projects for the benefit of the parties involved at all levels.

Many insights from the three pillars of PRA<sup>64</sup> are potentially advantageous for the uppers to conduct a crafts development project in the future. Several “Behavior Attitudes”: “Hand over the stick,” “they can do it,” “unlearn,” “sit down, listen, and learn,” “ask them,” “embrace errors,” “fail forwards,” “celebrate diversity,” “be optimally unprepared,” “use your own best judgment at all times,” and “be nice to people” (Chambers, 1997; 2005) are fit for the crafts development situations. During the pre- and post-events, keeping PRA attitudes for the uppers is inexpensive and effortless but the uppers might feel threatened since they need to reduce their distance to the lowers in the patriarchal system. It is no sin to make power humbler without giving it up entirely, but the principal concern is about humanity—to communicate is to be the best of social creatures.

Finally, there is still the challenge of changing the development mindset in the institutions. The term “institution” here is used to describe government departments, university and academic institutions, non-governmental organizations, and the relevant local community. Transforming the culture of the organization and project procedures at all levels might seem impossible, but why not develop these systems

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<sup>64</sup> See Chambers, 1997: 105 for the three pillars of PRA, as well as some typical PRA methods and approaches (ibid.: 117–119).

first since they are “professionals” before they then develop other parties in the South? The hierarchal upper–lower dominance could be tackled by decentralizing power and control (Chambers, 1997: 223). Hierarchy could be flattened and weakened in the project arena. An understanding should be made between the lowers and the uppers. The North must minimize its controls and the transfer of its reality; instead, it should listen and be quiet. Uppers must enable lowers (craftspeople) to generate their own power and control. Local conditions and needs could be facilitated by shaping the understandings of development ideas during field visits.

*The South and the Lowers: Acknowledge the Preserved Culture and Value Honesty*

Chambers (1997) expresses his critique through an intriguing and poetic *song* which depicts an ongoing situation in the contemporary crafts development works of Indonesia. The uppers have power; however, that does not indicate that the lowers have no power at all and they can be strategic in response to the top-down movement. The development project should not work as people in the North commonly see:

*“Spending targets are the game. You get the cash, I get promotion. ... Help me be a good provider. What I bring is sure to please. All you have to do is to take'em. Evaluations? We can fake'em. ... Financial Year is near its end. For accounting, we can fudge it. All the matters—spend the budget!”* (p. 225).

While the craftspeople who are in the South might reply:

*“Donor we reject your song. Top-down targetry is wrong. Floods of funds as in your verse. Corrupt and spoil and make things worse. Keep your money. We will shop. True development's from below.”* (p. 225).

So do the academics could speak up:

*“And northern academics too, are seasonal in their global view. For they are found in third world nations, mainly during long vacations”* (Chambers, 1983: 21).

The lowers can conform, adopt and internalize the paradigms of the uppers, and accept the transfer of reality (ibid.: 84). The craftspeople seem to be powerless lowers in terms of patriarchal socio-economic status at many levels of society. But they too may accept or reject as well, or remain in the middle ground by deploying diplomacy and deceit. The following situations can be seen in Selaawi, Garut Regency and Salawu, Tasikmalaya Regency as representative for a bamboo crafts movement in West Java, following Chambers’s “selective representation,” “diplomacy,” and “deceit”:

- A. *Selaawi as a selective representation*: Many academic institutions from Bandung (ITB, UPI, Maranatha University, and ITENAS) started to take an interest in developing Selaawi in 2015–2016; these institutions are well known for their open-mindedness. From the small contacts between the craftspeople and the craft enthusiasts with design and architecture academic backgrounds, the information spread out. The architecture and interior design field came with idea of building infrastructure made of bamboo in the area. Design institutions brought their ideas about advanced techniques and materials to bamboo materials. And a management school connected with the Selaawi Subdistrict Office and supported by a donation from a private company expressed interest in organizing a new waste management system.
- B. *Islands of salvation*: Some programs may be accepted, some may not. This has never been easy. The ones that are adopted cause new problems such as the



gaps between the craftspeople chosen and others. The juggling necessary to conduct development work between Tasikmalaya and Garut Regencies has posed a challenge for the academic institutions. Starting in 2015, ITB has distanced itself from its connections with the Tasikmalaya Regency and City governments and shifted its development projects to Selaawi, Garut Regency's bamboo industries, owing to the greater openness of the people in Selaawi. The variety of the bamboo crafts in Tasikmalaya Regency, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four, has given the craftspeople there the power to maintain their old behaviors in producing bamboo crafts contrary to the "design intervention" ideas of the crafts development projects. After all, the crafts world has many layers, and craftspeople in each layer have the option to accept, negotiate with, or defend themselves against the top-down development works in their areas.

- C. Transforming a traditional village into a touristic sightseeing site is one of the prospects held out by *rural development tourism* (Chambers, 1983: 10–25) for some representative traditional villages in West Java. Traditional bamboo cottage industries, such as Cikakak, Selaawi (Garut), and Cikiray, Salawu (Tasikmalaya), have been promising to transform their villages into "*desa adat*" (representatives of the traditional village). The villages are surrounded by attractive natural environments and maintain authentic ways of living and of producing bamboo crafts which are visually interesting for urban-based visitors.

The uppers decided to approach the "tourism" concept on the basis of one-time visits to the villages (or no-time visits in the case of Cikakak, Selaawi). The craftspeople in Cikakak sounded enthusiastic on hearing the fresh vision from the uppers for their village, which seemed to be lagging

behind other villages that have felt the impact of the development works. But Cikiray craftspeople, while interested, were also not looking forward to some of the prospects laid out by the local government. They have a solid existence producing everyday utensils and made a comparison with their neighboring village, Kampung Naga, which has become a touristic village. The economic changes may look appealing at the beginning but privacy (their houses will be visited by random visitors who will take pictures and pose in their kitchens) is an important consideration when deciding whether to accept the dictates of the tourism development movement.

However, when they decided to accept the project, there were gaps between the “special” villagers among the local development staff and the rest, who were considered “ordinary” villagers. When studies after the development works are conducted, after all, not all the local people are involved. As in Selaawi Subdistrict, there are one or two people in each village who are deemed “specialized” by the outer environment (academic institutions, business practitioners, and subdistrict officers). These individuals are given greater access to the new market of hybrid bamboo crafts. Also, they gain power to control other craftspeople in the village after they receive support from the outer environment in the form of advanced machinery and infrastructure (as a place to work such as a workshop to produce crafts. For academics, it is a challenge to remain in a neutral state after they (we) conduct field research. This might be a task for the future—to be objective while also communicating well in the project arena.

The next issue is: *why does it take so much time to conduct crafts development projects since they were first initiated in the 1980s in Indonesia?* The aforementioned conditions on the uppers and lowers' sides demonstrate the rigidity of the long-established top-down systems since the beginning of the development movements. Each side has trapped itself in the development process. As Chambers (1997: 128–129) says, it is crucial for us to be creative and able to analyze the development movement as a whole, not only to acknowledge the richness of the knowledge of local people. The outsider professionals (government officers, academic institutions, and local communities serving as intermediaries) in the crafts development projects of Indonesia remain at a distance to learn the real conditions in the field and comfort themselves with their professional concepts, values, methods, and behavior. The professionals believe their knowledge to be superior to that of others, especially the craftspeople. Ironically, the professionals do not realize that “crafts” projects of course belong to the “crafts” people—who are they to teach the ones who are already skillful in their field?

Domination is in the air when a field visit takes place. The professionals, “holding sticks” and “wagging fingers,” rush the process of interviews; fire rapid questions (with some manipulative words attached); interrupt the answers from the craftspeople; fail to listen; and see social status in terms of the economy—the craftspeople are the lowers, they know nothing (in fact, the craftspeople are rich in their knowledge of producing crafts, it is part of their everyday lives). Professionals believe their reality is the one that is correct, and craftspeople are simply incapable and wrong. Their arrogant and ignorant manners in these interactions are impediments to communication; defensiveness and manipulation of each other's messages are the means adopted to cope with the awkwardness.

Improvements to the rigid hierarchical structure at many levels of Indonesian government grounded in “institutional change” (Chambers, 1997: 226–227)<sup>65</sup> could start as follows:

- A. *Commit with continuity*: the stability of staff in a government institution and conducting participatory training for the next people in charge are necessary measures. Indonesia faces “one big danger,” as Chambers termed it, owing to the periodic changes among the top executives in every organization at all levels in line with the policy in the political sphere. The shifting staff results in unstable and unsustainable development projects. The new head of department perceives that “I am new here,” while the former one takes the view that “I am no longer responsible.” To be able to sustain progress involves being supported by the powerful and development targets as well as learning as part of long-term processes.
- B. *Network with allies*: as stated in Chapter Three about the absence of horizontal connections between the departments at local to national levels, Indonesia needs to build within and between levels of institutions. The projects are similar in their goals—to develop the crafts industries—so they can fill gaps and lacks in each other’s projects. If the goal is to develop the Indonesian socio-economy through the cultural sector, then there is no reason to compete with one another but rather the aim is to work together over years.
- C. *Start small and slow*: small first steps at all levels matter. Crafts sectors vary and are diverse, many parties are involved, making huge changes is not natural, especially for the lowers. Slow but sure is preferable to massive but not sustainable. But if faster progress is possible, why not?

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<sup>65</sup> See also Chambers, 2005: 13–20 for the practical implementation in projects.

- D. *Fund flexibly*: the crafts development projects have different situations and levels to be developed in every sector. Some may need to start from zero, but some sectors have been involved in development projects. “Participatory projects need the budget for *exploration, training, learning, capacity-building, and processes of institutional change*,” (Chambers, 1997: 227) and there must be flexibility as to which is the target craft industry at the moment of the project. There will be a big spend for the ones in the exploration, training, and capacity-building stages. But learning and processes of institutional change may need less budget and the latter should not be fixed on the basis of a “need to be spent this year.”
- E. *Train, encourage, and support grassroots staff*: unfortunately, in the West Java bamboo crafts industries, the grassroots staff still regularly keeping their distance from the locals. They rarely visit the field unless instructed by their uppers. Following the viewpoint of Chambers, the stakeholders for West Java bamboo industries are in trouble. Who could conduct the training? Who could support the grassroots staff when the uppers also need to be trained? Perhaps to answer these questions is to learn together from the past and present.
- F. *Build out and up from grassroots success*: starting with small steps, the learning process should be structured from project to project. Building enthusiasm at grassroots levels is the biggest task for the crafts industries and this should come along with encouragement from the grassroots staff. Success at the local level with strong lower power will build a progressive development movement and is preferable to depending on controversial top-down projects.

Rather than envisioning an overnight change for many layers of crafts-related institutions, in the crafts development context, it is more important to execute the “participatory approach” and “ethnography training” in the field. The periodic changes of staff in local, regional, and national governmental departments are related to the political nuances of the Indonesian democratic system. The crafts sector needs consideration but changing the whole system in the country is not practical as a goal in order to achieve the goals of the development movement.

“Putting the first last” is more challenging than “putting the last first,” as Chambers concluded from his works. On the lowers side, “new high grounds” of the craftspeople’s world are perhaps a new reality that has never been a focus of crafts development projects in Indonesia. And from the uppers, a new professionalism should emerge since crafts development projects require clear systems to be sustainable. Using non-professionals to conduct participatory and ethnographic approaches in the development field may cause errors. Of course, errors are not sins, but minimizing predictable errors in any cycle of a project may help to improve its overall effectiveness.

Confronting issues of power in crafts development projects is beyond many layers of the engaged parties, who have uncertain and varied goals. To prioritize the craftspeople over the “first” or the uppers is against the principles of the long-established top-down movements. In this sense, this dissertation attempts to illustrate the theoretical and practical realities of tackling problems and foreseeing better outcomes in the future by flattening the power among all the potential crafts development parties. The uppers should step down, listen, disempower themselves, and empower others. The powerful also have to make themselves vulnerable to reach their own goals and be great stakeholders and policymakers in the area, which is by

no means to make themselves lose self-esteem or control. This is perhaps what Chambers means by “disempowerment as gain.” Stepping down, hearing, handing over the stick, and facilitating means the uppers have more opportunities to learn as they empower the lowers.

As an academic, to want to be on the same side as local people may sound impractical in terms of the hierarchical systems in our society. Although it is hard to keep us from behaving in such a way that knowledge serves as power for us with those we consider lowers, it is not impossible to put ourselves last in the context of embracing the people in the crafts industries. Development professionals in general should be aware of the prison of power that keeps us at a distance from others’ realities and should start to explore the new high ground as the target of the projects.

To commit to continuity, there must be practical conditioning that helps crafts projects to be progressive. After reversing thinking in bureaucracy and professionalism, and behaviors in participatory approach, it is important to find what works and what does not in a specific, context-based assessment. To see the significance of one project, the framework of assessment is needed to help with decision-making prior to and during the project; consequently, the results in the mid-project will shape the post-project phase. What is gathered at the outcome of one project will then be the starting point of the future project. The following subsection will examine the crafts development projects conducted in West Java as the case study for this dissertation.

### **5.1.2 Assessing the West Java Crafts Development Project**

This dissertation sees that what Nolan outlined is detailed and could be taken as an assessment framework for the crafts development project in West Java. In this

section we will examine the situation and the possible evaluation that is framed by Nolan (2002) about the “context-based assessment” for the local- or regency-level project in July 2020, as discussed in 3.3.5 of Chapter Three. The evidence to assess these projects is based on the results of the data collected with the reconfirmation process that was done while writing this dissertation. The assessment will be divided according to seven criteria which will be discussed in detail in relation to “objectives,” “strategies,” “activities,” and “resources.”

Grounding his framework to Chambers’s approach on participation, Nolan has detailed the framework to assess one development project which this dissertation referred to assess conducted bamboo crafts development projects in West Java. The detailed context-based assessment is the advancement of Nolan’s work in *Development Anthropology* (2002: 200–220) and the results of the assessment will be detailed in the following.

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The assessment for July 2020’s project. It was conducted by the Tasikmalaya Regency Government, Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small and Medium-Size Enterprises, and Labor (*Dinas Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, dan Tenaga Kerja, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya*).<sup>66</sup>

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The main issue for the development project was about raising income for the Cikiray, Salawu craftspeople, who mainly produce everyday woven bamboo utensils as their livelihood. The issue was brought by the PLUT officer to the regency government after a visit by the vice governor of West Java province to the Salawu

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<sup>66</sup> The concept making process was done one month before the day of the project, by the meeting between the head of the development division from the Tasikmalaya Regency government, the Urang Tasik Community (Adith), and two bamboo craftsmen Tasikmalaya City who were chosen to be the mentor of the training process.



area. The regency government asked the Urang Tasik Community, which has more connections to the local crafts makers in Tasikmalaya City and Regency. As a result, the idea came from the community and the craftspeople to introduce a *modern framing skill (wengku)* to Cikiray craftspeople in order to broaden their market in the future. The “innovative” idea popped since the project’s concept makers were the people in the local community with design backgrounds and it was agreed by the bamboo producers in the city who have been influenced by academic projects since the 2010s. They believed in the idea that to develop the people in the traditional village of Cikiray is to transfer their realities.

***First, “Effectiveness”: How well does the project work?***

A. Objectives: Do the objectives (or concept) really address the problem?

*The assessment result: Do not effectively address the problem (to raise the craftspeople’s income).*

- The concept makers of this project hoped that the craftspeople would broaden their markets through gaining their skills, but in fact, the craftspeople found it *difficult* to implement the modern framing skill and find the new market and they simply went to their existing markets (everyday utensils).
- The modern technique also requires glue made of plastics that the Cikiray craftspeople would hardly access to (unless they go to the city to get the materials).

B. Strategies: Has the strategy attained the objective (or concept)?

*The assessment result: Not effectively attained. The craftspeople needed more guidance to broaden their market to implement the new skill.*

- Learning the new skills as the strategy not effectively attained the objective since in the present time, the craftspeople could not use it for their market, but it is probably possible to use the modern framing as the way to vary their markets in the future when they get a chance or

customized orders to make modern bamboo products.

- The modern framing is appropriate to modify the forms of daily utensils but not to be functioned as kitchen or farming tools (craftspeople do not put artificial materials during the production processes of bamboo daily utensils, as most the products will function for food containers).

C. Activities: Are all the activities directly relevant to the project strategy?

*The assessment result: The three-day activities during the training processes were relevant to the concept from the local community but not sustain.*

- Two craftsmen from Tasikmalaya City who were familiar with the modern technique for bamboo crafts taught the Cikiray craftspeople the framing techniques both on the first and second day.
- The first day was about the introduction of the materials and the new techniques; the second day was the producing process; the third day was the finishing of the bamboo products they modified and the discussion for the results.

D. Resources: Do the resources provided relate directly to the planned activities?

*The assessment result: Yes. Bamboo and artificial materials were provided.*

- Finished bamboo products and semi-finished woven bamboo surfaces were brought from Cikiray by the craftspeople.
- Additional bamboo poles and plastics glue were provided by the Urang Tasik community and the craftsmen trainers at the project place.

***Second, "Efficiency": How much does the project cost?***

A. Objectives: How much does it cost to do it this way, in terms of total outcomes?

*The assessment result: It is roughly estimated about 70 million to 80 million rupiah (equal to around 53,000–615,000 yen, following the rate of yen to rupiah in September 2021: 1 yen=130 rupiah).*

B. Strategies: How costly is this strategy compared with other available ones?

*The assessment result: It costed very high and not efficiently used. There are other options than using most of the budget for the hotel rooms. The project*

*was not necessarily conducted in Tasikmalaya City and possibly in the nearby areas of the target group or even in Cikiray (it will cost less to transport the three trainers than to transport 30 Cikiray craftspeople)<sup>67</sup>.*

- The budget was much used for the accommodation for the participants and trainers in one hotel in Tasikmalaya City.
- One hotel room was provided for two participants, trainers, and organizers which cost 350,000–400,000 rupiah (2,600–3,000 yen).
- All the rooms were booked for two nights for at least 20 rooms: total cost (400,000-rupiah x 2 nights x 20 rooms= 16-million-rupiah, 123,000 yen) plus the ballroom budget for the project area for 3 days.
- Daily wages were paid for the trainers (two craftsmen and one person from the Urang Tasik community) and all the participants from Cikiray.
- Budget for materials: bamboo and the other additional materials (plastic glue, bamboo poles, all necessities for the project).

C. Activities: Have all activities been done quickly and within cost limits?

*The assessment result: It was quick (three days) and within cost limits.*

- The cost limits were unknown but the government party agreed to the estimation of the budget which they could provide for one project.

D. Resources: Have more resources been needed than were planned for? Is there a wastage of resources?

*The assessment result: The resources were enough as planned. The wastage was the unused bamboo surfaces and products that were brought from Cikiray.*

- The excessed bamboo products were not brought back by the Cikiray craftspeople since they have them in their village, and no one in the city needed the unused bamboo surfaces and products.
- There were excessed additional materials which were brought home by the trainers and the participants.
- The participants only carried back the final and modified products.

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<sup>67</sup> See Appendix XVI for comparison. Even if the target group was Tasikmalaya City residence, the participants preferred to back to their houses than stay at the hotel rooms that were provided.

***Third, “Appropriateness”: Do craftspeople like it?***

A. Objectives: Do craftspeople agree that the problem addressed is a real one for them?

*The assessment result: Yes, they agreed.*

- The problem addressed were economic situations, but there was also a regeneration problem that was not addressed in the conception process in the project startup.
- Most of the Cikiray craftspeople who participated were mainly middle-aged or older craftspeople (considered as masters in their village). Only a few youths joined the project to address the additional issue (regeneration). The idea may be realized for the next project for Cikiray.

B. Strategies: Is the strategy accepted by the beneficiaries?

*The assessment result: It was accepted and yet challenged.*

- The artificial materials are new to Cikiray craftspeople, but they learned the new skills that they may use in the future but not for the daily utensils' productions.

C. Activities: Do the activities seem worthwhile to craftspeople? Do craftspeople participate?

*The assessment result: It was worthwhile to broaden their skills. All the craftspeople participated, but one person was fell sick and stayed in the hotel room for two days.*

D. Resources: Are the resources provided appropriate to craftspeople's means and values?

*The assessment result: It was appropriate to customize bamboo but not for artificial materials.*

- The customized interior bamboo products that were intended to be the final products of the project are totally different from what Cikiray craftspeople evaluate to make bamboo daily utensils.
- The craftspeople produce kitchen and farming tools which are practical products so that they avoid such artificial materials related to health concerns during the cooking processes if coloring or plastic were added.

- The modern framing skills are looked to broaden their market, though they are against the value to make bamboo daily utensils.

***Fourth, “Adequacy”: Does everyone benefit?***

- A. Objectives: Are there aspects of the problem left untouched? Are there some craftspeople’s problems ignored?

*The assessment result: It is still questioned how to raise Cikiray people’s economic situations when the new skills have been transferred from the development project but the new market is still not available.*

- B. Strategies: Does the strategy allow everyone (the target of the project) to participate? To benefit?

*The assessment result: Yes, it allowed everyone to participate. To benefit when there are possible outcomes to expand their markets to sell the modified bamboo daily utensils.*

- C. Activities: Is everyone (the target of the project) included in these activities? Are there groups (of craftspeople) excluded?

*The assessment result: Yes, everyone was included and no one was excluded.*

- There were 32 participants in the project out of 1,302 daily utensils producers in Cikiray hamlets.
- The post-project evaluation and continuity were being considered by the head of Hamlet Two who was one of the participants, and they had an idea to make a community to develop their bamboo crafts in the meaning to spread the new skills they got from the project. But it was postponed and has many obstacles in the real situations of the hamlets.

- D. Resources: Have enough resources been provided? Does everyone (the target of the project) have access to them?

*The assessment result: In the project all the resources were sufficient but not practically accessible for Cikiray craftspeople to get the artificial materials near their village.*

***Fifth, “Side Effects”: What else has happened?***

A. Objectives: Has attainment of the objective created new problems?

*The assessment result: Yes, since the modern framing skills are not applicable for daily utensils producing activities.*

- The market for modern products or crafts is in the big cities. There will be a need to introduce the Cikiray craftspeople to reach more people and using smartphones to market the modified bamboo utensils if the modern framing must be applied for their markets since the smartphone are not their way to sell their products<sup>68</sup>.

B. Strategies: Has a strategy of active participation, for example, provoked frustration?

*The assessment result: Yes. The expansion of markets is preferable to raise their income than changing the existing markets (daily utensils production) to be substituted wholly to the innovative or modern products. There will possibly be a huge change in the systems of Cikiray society as they are basically a traditional cottage industry. The modern products do not suit their present daily routines.*

C. Activities: Have the activities, for example, forced craftspeople to neglect other things?

*The assessment result: Yes. The customized products will require many artificial materials during the production process and this neglects the Cikiray craftspeople's value to keep their bamboo products useful for daily needs.*

D. Resources: Have new resources, for example, stimulated or depressed the local economy?

*The assessment result: The new knowledge from the project neither stimulated nor depressed the local economy.*

- Cikiray craftspeople depend on direct selling and/or sell their products to the local markets, and in most cases, they sell through the middlemen in the village or the middlemen from outside.
- After the project, they have the same income for they went back to their

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<sup>68</sup> See Chapter Three about the type of bamboo daily utensils producers.

routines and have not experimented new techniques into new products and add their target markets.

***Sixth, “Learning”: What have we found out?***

- A. Objectives: Have craftspeople learned to analyze problems and set their own objectives?

*The assessment result: The craftspeople are aware of the possibilities and the unfit while keeping their persistent routines in producing bamboo utensils.*

- They are aware that they would not be able to put the new skills into the daily utensils production, although, they have a chance to think about exploring the skills and reach other markets.
- The challenge for them was the time for exploring the new skills and modify the daily utensils forms while they need to continue their routines as daily utensils producers for their livelihood.

- B. Strategies: Have craftspeople had a chance to compare strategies for themselves?

*The assessment result: Practically not yet<sup>69</sup>. Exploring the new skills may be an additional routine for them amidst producing daily utensils which are related to their present everyday activities.*

- C. Activities: Can craftspeople take over running the activities themselves?

*The assessment result: Not yet, they need more knowledge to produce new forms of bamboo products as well as the way to market the products.*

- They may be able to produce bamboo products but they may need some time to adjust themselves to the new materials with all the treatment and techniques.

- D. Resources: Have craftspeople learned to use resources better, to estimate resource needs more exactly?

*The assessment result: Yes. They explored new techniques for producing bamboo crafts.*

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<sup>69</sup> See the assessment results of objectives for “Learning” and activities for “Adequacy” previously.

**Seventh: “Replicability”: Can we do it again?**

A. Objectives: Do all potential project areas have similar problems?

*The assessment result: Yes. Craftspeople in other areas such as Mandalagiri-Lewisari and Padakembang (see Chapter Four) majorly produce daily utensils whilst there are industries in the village that are developing the traditional products to modified traditional crafts. But there should be more consideration to repeat the same concept as the one that was conducted.*

B. Strategies: Will the same strategy work elsewhere?

*The assessment result: Not precisely. Each project has specific problems and characteristics of the crafts.*

- As for Cikiray’s case, since they produce daily utensils daily, the concept makers for this project were inspired to expand their skills in the framing techniques which commonly appeared in the bamboo daily utensils.
- Other crafts-making areas may have other characteristics, especially if the project will be conducted for other materials such as rattan, wood, or mendong grass in Tasikmalaya.

C. Activities: Can similar activities be used in other situations?

*The assessment result: Similar projects should be conducted with a different concept of activities to be more effective for future projects as the results of the assessment process for this project.*

D. Resources: Can similar resources be made available for other projects?

*The assessment result: Bamboo resources in West Java have the same characteristics, but one area to another has different characteristics of bamboo crafts and skills. Through one project, the project makers should understand the present issue in the targeted crafts industries that may be useful for other projects.*



The processes of assessment as above and other evaluation processes after each crafts development project in West Java may not be conducted after the project has been done. Whereas, the result from the assessment processes must be useful to conduct the next project. From the government side, it was a necessity for them to spend the estimated yearly budget as the main outcome of their intention (not to aim the sustainability for the project which should be related to the development of the economy in the area through developing crafts industries).

Unfortunately, the uncertainty of the political systems in Indonesia may affect instability at the regional and local levels. The yearly project was always hoped to be an instant solution for all the involved parties, but in fact, each party only takes the present benefit from the development project. The craftspeople as the project target may not understand the aims of the project and they were interested to join it to get the daily wages and get a new experience to stay at the provided accommodations by the government. In another point of view, the local community as mediator was in between of different concerns of each party and tend to be neutral whether to support the development projects or to provide the needs of the craftspeople which they often connected with.

After we discussed in detail the assessment criteria in the July 2020's project, it is essential to recognize the lessons after one project was conducted. This ideally should be done by the fair-minded party involved since the project startup until the post-project assessment (which has not been existed and seen as a crucial part in the present development projects in West Java). The next part of the evaluation process of the project will be discussed in the following section.

### ***Learning Project Lessons***

- A. *During the project:*** There was a realization that to introduce the new framing skills is also a need to introduce a strategy to find new markets to sell the modified daily utensils' forms. The new skills would not be useful when most Cikiray craftspeople do not sell their products through online platforms but do the direct selling to their markets or through middlemen. Otherwise, the transferred skills would not be sustained since the craftspeople may get used to their routines in producing bamboo products.
- B. *The project failure (evaluation for the next project):*** The significant problem was the distribution of the project's cost. The accommodation in the hotel should not be put in first, while there are alternatives to conduct a development project. To realize that the expense will be more effective and concerning the needs of the target craftspeople or the crafts industry itself.
- C. *For the next project:*** There should be a better concept for developing one cottage industry as one case of the development project. The evaluation when the project ends and all the post-project follow up should be conducted to re-evaluate the outcomes of one project whether sustainable or not. In addition, one crafts development project should be an occasion to exchange the skills between craftspeople (which are the target to be developed and possibly learn new knowledge from the project); the government as the policymaker (to learn what craftspeople need actually), the local community (as the mediator between the grassroots levels and the official levels); and other craftsmen involved (to gain more other skills in producing bamboo products from the targeted craftspeople).

Indeed, there is no perfect project. Therefore, it is crucial to see the assessment processes as important parts after one project has been done. For the assessment process, Nolan (2002) has defined the assessment needs in the project development cycle to understand the whole situations of the project from the beginning of the project, when the project ends, and the importance of post-project interpretation which will be connected to the preparation process of the next project as one cycle. The following passage will discuss the last discussion about the assessment process to conduct an ideal development project which this dissertation could suggest.

***The Assessment Needs in the Project Development Cycle***

In the process of making concepts of one development project or the sequences of development works, the project planner correctly understands how all the components of the project should have mutual benefits for the involved agents as well as the targeted people to be developed. As each criterion has been revealed for one case of the crafts development project in Tasikmalaya that formerly be discussed, we could sum up the finished project in the following table regarding the assessment needs as one crafts development cycle.

Table 12 Assessment Needs adapting from Nolan (2002: 206) for the July 2020’s crafts development project in West Java

	Questions	Applied Answers for the Case Study
Project Startup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Is the concept (of the project) workable?</li> <li>- Are resources adequate?</li> <li>- Is the project team performing as expected?</li> <li>- Were concept makers’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The concept was workable as the skill was mastered by the craftsmen as trainers and may be applicable for the targeted people.</li> <li>- The resources were adequate.</li> <li>- The project team in the project (two craftsmen and one person from the Urang Tasik community as mediator) was performing as expected.</li> <li>- The assumption to introduce a new</li> </ul>

	assumptions and estimates, correct?	framing technique to Cikiray craftspeople seemed correct until the errors were found in the post-project.
Mid-Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Are things happening on schedule?</li> <li>- Are there unforeseen problems?</li> <li>- Are craftspeople's reactions positive?</li> <li>- Does any modification need to be made during the project?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Each day has a different time to start but commonly started at 9 (not strictly) and ended between 5–8 hours later including the resting period at midday as planned.</li> <li>- There was one Cikiray craftsman who fell sick (and got a fever) due to the air conditioner in the hotel room. He was not able to join most of the activities in the project.</li> <li>- Mostly positive, they seemed excited to have the activities, although sometimes they feel unfamiliar and need to adjust the concept from the trainers.</li> <li>- There were some modifications in the project related to the arrangement of the hotel rooms, but mostly, the activities went as programmed.</li> </ul>
Project End	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Are beneficiaries (craftspeople) benefitting?</li> <li>- Are objectives being achieved?</li> <li>- Are modifications or design departures working?</li> <li>- Have other changes occurred?</li> <li>- Have any negative outcomes appeared?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The craftspeople gain new knowledge on making bamboo products. Shortly they possibly could expand their markets to bamboo crafts products than the only stay at the daily utensils production.</li> <li>- The objectives (new skills) are being achieved but the challenge is to implement the new knowledge as one of their concerns to widen their markets, so that what was gain could be sustained.</li> <li>- The modification of daily utensils' forms was working with the assistance of the two trainers.</li> <li>- There were some changes and adjustments during the exploration and modification processes.</li> <li>- There seemed no negative outcomes appeared at the end of the project.</li> </ul>
Post Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Have changes (the application of the skills) stabilized?</li> <li>- Have benefits remained?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The changes have not appeared in the craftspeople routines after the project.</li> <li>- There were no benefits (new knowledge) appearing in Cikiray as they get back to daily utensils production that has a high</li> </ul>

	- Have new possibilities been created?	demand. - There seemed no further actions among the craftspeople who joined the project. They simply back to their routines for their livelihood.
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Source: Author

The assessment process is intended to see the correlation between the concept of one project in the startup point until the end of the project as the outcomes. The planners ideally understand the circumstances and the characteristics of the involved factors to design an efficient, effective, and meeting the goals of the project. Two recent crafts development projects in West Java were taken to reveal the present ideas of “development” and understand the technical factors and the situations of having a development project as well as knowing the involved parties. The August 2019’s project was held by the regional government which intended to have a high standard of the project<sup>70</sup>. So, they expected more advanced products as the output such as chairs and the side tables. But for the July 2020’s project, it was at the regency level which had a moderate level of skills transferring process, and the modern framing was decided to be the concept of the project to answer the problem.

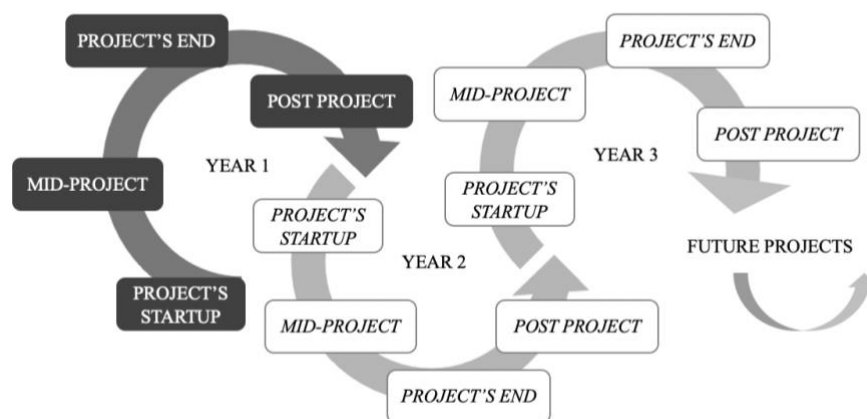
Anyhow, the level of difficulty or the expectation of the results also depends on the budget from the government offices as the provider of the project. But regardless of moderate or high amount of the budget for each project, it should be providing the needs of all the participating subjects along with the project until the post-project so that the spared allocation has significant meanings in the crafts industries and the outcome will all sustain. As can be summed up from the output of interviews with the local community and the craftspeople, they expect a continuation and sustainable development works in the future rather than having different themes

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<sup>70</sup> Stated by Adith during the interviews with the Urang Tasik community.

each year. In this sense, academics as expert intermediaries (Gibson, 2015) should also take a role in the development project to potentially be an unbiased party and makes the assessment process done. This evidence should make the government as the stakeholder and policymaker aware and keep evaluate the governmental projects to be better year by year, and the needs of raising economic situations in one area would be achieved strategically soon in the future.

In the present time, the project holders for crafts industries in West Java are government officials and/or academic institutions in Bandung. They do not have a practical framework since none of the practitioners have experience professionally in conducting development works. The chairs in the government institutions may not have academic backgrounds with participatory or ethnographic-related approaches—they graduated from varied majors. When they passed the test of *Pegawai Negeri Sipil/PNS* (public servant), they will get an opportunity to work as government officials. Under the name of government institutions, they follow the long-established hierarchy to conduct the projects including the decades of insignificant crafts development projects.



**Recommendation for the ideal composition of parties of each crafts development project:**

- Project Stakeholder (government/non-government)
- Mediator/Interpreter (local community/intermediators)
- Unbiased party (academic institutions or a professional development agency)
- Core Trainer/ Presenter (crafts maker to lead the development projects)

Figure 55 Project cycle for the development project in case of West Java crafts development projects (Expanded from Nolan, 2002's assessment needs).

Illustration: Author

As the result of the assessment process, however, this dissertation asserts that there must be a fixed development project cycle in every institution (in West Java case is the government). As discussed in Chapter Two that there are many crafts development agencies from national to the local levels in Indonesia, if each agency has a fixed cycle, the overlapping and misunderstanding—that have been looked at by the grassroots and the mediators toward each of the development projects—can be avoided since each agency focuses on what they want to achieve with a clear strategy they should make after having the evaluation process. The integration between the local, regional, and national development agencies should be also formed (horizontally and vertically) as the impact. Therefore, the needs of the assessment after the project ends will be a great potential to support the better project in the future.

The crucial process of project assessment could be done by unbiased parties from the project's starts until the post-project, and it will effectively be connected to the beginning of the next project as the fixed concept and system have been shaped. The unbiased party could involve an academic institution (see Gibson, 2015) or a professional development agency which presently be neglected in government projects.

As this dissertation suggested that the participatory or similarly ethnographic approach is a focal point of conducting fieldwork for crafts development projects, Nolan's weak point is in the "development/project ethnography" that is emphasized (Nolan, 2002: 213–215) but not in detail on *how* to practically implement the concept. This dissertation sees that the participatory approach with material culture

understandings is the way to conduct “project ethnography” in a practical context to conduct crafts-related projects in the future. But who could strategically conduct the “project ethnography” is the deeper discussion that must be assessed.

Recalling Chambers’s (1997; 2005) concern for the academic institutions’ lacks and lags, the main challenge for academics is to stay neutral and disempower their perception of knowledge. The assessment process is possible to be done but it has not been a concern since the project commonly *ended* after the last day of the project since the planners (the government) have no capacity to make the sequence of project in such a long time. This system should be redesigned considering the ineffective and insignificant results of development projects that have been conducted.

Further, the evolution of the theory of community development projects in anthropology and sociology from Cernea (1985), Chambers (1983; 1997; 2005), to Nolan (2002), have discovered the respectable tradition, striving to tackle the new ethical and methodological issues in the development works through the approach of participatory and ethnographic approaches in the fields. Evaluating and learning from one project to another and be consistent with what to develop might be a difficult task that appears in a one cycle type of project. Therefore, the role of the unbiased and independent party in the development project is intended to do such direct and indirect works, learn, and gain information from the field before, during, and after the project. The outcomes of one project may not give the significant object at the first year, but it should be growing along with the consistency and professional works of each party.

During the ethnographic fieldwork in October 2020 and March 2021 in Cikiray, the author unintentionally found many insights from the craftspeople who joined the July 2020’s project. As has previously been discussed, the “development ethnography” concept of Nolan (2002) sees that the ethnographic sense in a development project



takes part to assess the project planning and its implementation, in this sense, the unbiased party—who conducted the ethnographic approach—could understand how the outcomes of a project actually developed.

This dissertation agreed that the “project ethnography” (or an investigation at a day-to-day level) which was termed by Nolan is necessary to be conducted in the crafts development project in Indonesia. Through the ethnographic approach that has been conducted by the author, the understandings of Cikiray craftspeople’s viewpoint were collected after the project, as well as the recognition of the visions of the regency government through the interviews in Tasikmalaya City. This evidence results from the argument for this study that the errors and the failure to encounter each party’s intention to be involved in one development project caused unsustainable outcomes in the field after the project.

We have now figured out and learned why participation and ethnographic approaches have crucial roles to conduct development works. Furthermore, we will dive into the idea of “governmentality” that grounded from Warnier’s “governmentality” and Foucault’s “art of government” to embody the political power of development projects in Indonesia from national to local levels, by understanding the layers of authorities that shape craftspeople’s understanding of their customs in producing bamboo crafts.

## **5.2 Perceiving the Craft Industry through the Notion of Governmentality**

To explore the concept of power, this article deliberates on “governmentality” and Warnier’s idea of “embodiment” (2001; 2006; 2007; 2009a; 2011; 2021), both rooted in Foucauldian “power systems,” as a means to parse out the power relationship

between the craftspeople and the outer bamboo cottage industry (local, regional, national governments; local communities; academic institutions; other related parties).

Governmentalities in crafting societies are formed through the power held by one craftsperson because of their activity in their family sphere, which is also related to other subjects outside of their houses and shaped into one power system in either the traditional or industrialised cottage industry. The relationship between materials and the techniques of the body is shaped through the process of “making” (Rosselin-Barielle, 2017 in Mohan & Douny, 2021) or through the incorporation of materialities into the body through a reciprocal process (Ingold, 2013). A subject identifies their power through an act of processing materials—in this case, bamboo—that engages the neuro-systems of their bodies or actions and is mediated by the object (bamboo products) that they produce. It is noted that in the discussion we will use “subject” (see Mohan & Warnier, 2017) to define one craftsperson instead of “individual” nor “actor” regarding the paradigm of the “bodily-and-material-culture” in MaP as the main framework as the subjectification matter.

### **5.2.1 Tracing the Governmentalities in the Traditional and Industrialized Bamboo Cottage Industries in West Java**

#### ***First, Governmentalities in the Traditional Cottage Industries***

In the case of traditional cottage industries in places such as Cikiray and Cikakak, the father will have power over his family and will lead custom of producing bamboo daily utensils in his household. As stated in Chapter Three, in the traditional cottage industries, they produce among their nuclear families, and in some cases, they connect the production cycle with their neighbors. The family members in the house customarily follow the making style the father—or grandfather, if they live with their extended family. In what follows, all the family members will then be involved in the

production systems, following the father's preference for selling the bamboo products to the middlemen inside or outside the hamlets or selling them directly to the consumers (by shoulder carrying pole or individually at the local markets).

What can be revealed here, the family's preference for selling their products is interwoven with their state of power in their society. Given the play of power or governmentalities, the higher their skills, the more unwilling they are to sell their products to middlemen. The markets or the middlemen are invested in the capital system and do not consider the quality of each product, caring more about numbers. Thus, middle-skilled families will work with the middlemen cycle and stay in the system for a long time. Below are differing expressions recorded from both high-skilled craftspeople and low- and-medium-skilled producers, serving as a summary of the situation in the Cikiray hamlets from Chapter Three:

**High-skilled:** *"We prefer to sell using the shoulder carrying pole [ngampung] ... [because] the satisfaction comes from the chance to sell our handworks right to buyers' hands, so that [we can] keep the quality of our products best [it also suits our values and goes along with our daily routines]."*

**Low- and medium-skilled:** *"I think it is simple for us to follow the demands from the middlemen, since we do not need to go anywhere, we can take care of our kids (as producing bamboo requires pausing our care and becoming distracted) and we do not mind the low price the middlemen set for us, since we take profit already."* (See the explanation of middlemen type producers; medium-skilled product: *hihid*; and low-skilled product: *cecempeh* and *tampir*)

The transcript highlights that the craftspeople's preferences to produce and sell their products are related to the "sensori-affectivo-motori" abilities they use in producing bamboo products, which manifest in the governmentalities of the bamboo cottage industries. The materiality of power in craftspeople's everyday lives is shaped by what Mauss (1973) termed the "techniques of the body" developed through lifetime

apprenticeships. Craftspeople use their hands, with their skin as the receptor, to adjust their motions alongside “sensori-motor” algorithms that result in the level of skills required to make bamboo crafts. Through the bodily schemes that people establish through their routines, they subconsciously construct what Warnier (2006: 187) called “sensori-affectivo-motor conducts geared to material culture.” This factor explains the fact that high-skilled daily utensil makers are mainly middle-aged and older in traditional cottage industries.

As people connect social status in the village to their skills in making crafts, older generations politically plan to “build” an economy for the family’s future by finding someone with particular skills that match their own before they get married. Interestingly, psycho-motoric abilities are considered part of one’s desire in the process of finding a partner since bamboo crafting abilities end up becoming attractive and linked as they are to power structures in the society. Given that bamboo production skills are fundamental for their political and economic status in society, they imagine themselves building a family and sharing their knowledge about making bamboo throughout their lives after they get married.

With the interference of modernity, the existing systems of the traditional cottage industries are degrading day by day. Inevitably, craftspeople’s children obtain higher levels of education today than their parents, which subsequently affects the regeneration of the hamlets. Most youths first consider earning high school degrees and working as laborers in the cities, while people who have tried to work in the cities return to their hamlets and settle down to continue bamboo producing routines. It is important, particularly for women in the Cikiray society, to have basic weaving skills required to make bamboo daily utensils before they continue junior high school, as there is nothing to do with these degrees in the craftmaking world. Their skills are

considered equivalent to their livelihood; thus, the society also determines the maturity of women based on their bamboo production abilities—that is, their participation in local governmentalities. In the men’s case, mastery of weaving techniques does not define their maturity. If they choose settle down and have a family in the cottage industry, they do the parts of the tasks that require strength, such as delivering bamboo from the forest, framing, and selling the products.



Figure 56 Diversification of division of labor in traditional cottage industry: Men and women do both masculine and feminine spaces.

Source: Author, Aug 2019; November 2020.

Related to the work division in the traditional cottage industry, this dissertation argues that it is not wise to divide the producing system into “male work” or “female work.” This idea of the division of labor in one society is shaped commonly in a family

level, basically between the husband and wife, and additionally other members such as their children or in infrequent actions, their grandchildren. The distribution of producing one bamboo product is divided into one's physical ability for the work (regardless of gender), and that could possibly be different from one area to another. Instead, this division of labor can be divided into "masculine space" and "feminine space" (see Naji, 2009; 2021 about the feminine space of Astta).

This sexual division is important to be highlighted, for the bodily conducts in Maussian parlance is not divided into men or women but more to different physiology-psycho-sociological assemblances. The craftspeople share their ideas that it is not a sin for men to weave nor women to frame bamboo products. Men are allowed to weave (even old craftsmen are better at weaving than young women), and women frame the small bamboo products themselves. But it is a custom to "usually" see men frame the big products or move the bamboo to their houses and see women weave anywhere in the hamlets. In sum, men and women in a family help each other in one sequence of bamboo production processes that consists of the combination of masculine and feminine spaces.

Moreover, looking to Warnier's (2006; 2007) idea of the king and his body as a material container, the bamboo craftsman is not a material container himself—since the human body is different from plant-based material—but his body can be transcribed as a sensori-affectivo-motor scheme connected to other subjects and objects around it. In the sense of the "governmentality" of making daily utensils, the crafts makers gain power both in their family structure as well as in their society through a long apprenticeship system. In the bamboo-making world, training in the skills and techniques of making crafts requires a lifetime of experience that combines presence of mind and habits of bodily movement. Following Warnier's (2006) about

containment, the container of a craftspeople's house protects the intangible factors of producing crafts inside of the family, and in the Cikiray craftspeople case, the front of their house becomes the "opening" through which they show power among other craftspeople.

### ***Second, Governmentalities in the Industrialized Cottage Industries***

Contrasting to the traditional cottage industries of bamboo daily utensils, some areas in West Java such as in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, Padakembang, and some parts of Nagrog have shifted to the industrialized cottage industries with several large-scale leading bamboo crafts businesses in the areas (see Chapter Four). The technologies of domination of the large-scale leading businesses upon the daily utensils and bamboo baskets nearby appear at the social, political, and economic spheres of the society. The more people get involved in the industrialized bamboo business, the more they have high status per se as it is related to the economic level which is in line with their space of power in society. Large-scale businesses have been taking place at the regional and national levels (Rutten, 2003) but the smaller businesses tend to whether reach reachable markets or are dependent on the larger business in the area.

Historically, the shifting process in industrialized cottage industries which originally produced only daily utensils or baskets made of bamboo has been influenced by the craftspeople who joined development workshops with some academic institutions since the 1990s. The well-known craftspeople by means of their skills were chosen and subjected by the state of power from the academic institutions. The daily utensils are modified through the exploration process at that moment. As a result, nowadays industrialized cottage industries in West Java have the tendency to produce "hybrid" bamboo products (Larasati, 1999; Larasati, et al. 2013). Mandalagiri-

Leuwisari and Padakembang shifted to “modified traditional” and Nagrog slowly altered to “combination” and “adaptive advanced.”

The academic collaborations with the craftspeople in West Java resulted in each craftsperson’s leveling up their bamboo businesses and had significant power in their areas. Until now, they focus on producing those hybrid products from their workshops with all the advanced materials and machines with the association of the neighboring daily utensils producers. By all means, the businesses are centered in the leading factory as they finalized the semi-finished woven surfaces—that are produced by the craftspeople around—in their places and send them to big cities. It is to say that the smaller unit of families or businesses have fewer controlling power in the system of their business and ability to reach a different level of markets. The intervention of design (Nugraha, 2005) has brought them to better economic situations in the sense of capital. But unfortunately, the cultural and social values of traditional cottage industries have been omitted in the process of shifting the bamboo industries.

According to the collected data from the ethnographic method the author done in the field of industrialized cottage industries, the neglected core values cost the people to lose their skills in making bamboo crafts which they had before the industrialization of crafts affected this village. The fact that the decreasing craftspeople weave such variation of patterns nowadays as the effect of the “sensori-affectivo-motori” that have been paralyzed. The craftspeople’s sensori-motor and bodily movements have also transferred (or can be said scrambled) into processing artificial ropes instead of bamboo or other natural materials nowadays. It is true that the small numbers of people who weave are still there, yet the craftspeople also worry that the well-known weaving techniques from their areas will be disappeared. This evidence is firmed that people in the large-scale businesses could not perform their



“old weaving patterns,” and instead they focus on modifying and polishing the woven bamboo products that are grounded to the forms of daily utensils.

The state of power appeared in layers on bamboo cottage industries in West Java before and after the development works by the outsiders of the villages/hamlets. The governmentalities among craftspeople are subjected each craftspeople in the cycle from the smallest family levels to the bigger ones in the craftspeople community or associations. One’s action affected other subjects as well as objects that involved in producing cultural objects. We could see that if how it means to “develop” the bamboo crafts industries means to “reshape” or to “modify” the traditional bamboo products into modern or sleek-designed bamboo products to constrain the economic growth (Bendix, 1967), it needs to be reconsidered since what it is said as “development” cost to deteriorate traditional values or practices as we can see in the industrialized cottage industry that was originally a traditional one.

### **5.2.2 The Power Relationships among the Locals to the Official Levels**

When we seek to understand how a subject situates themselves in a society, it is important to consider Foucault’s technologies of the subject. This concept clarifies the way a subject governs himself/herself, taking himself/herself as an object of his/her own actions, and is thus subjected to a “sovereignty” or subjectifying “governmentality” (Warnier, 2009a). In this regard, the connections between bodily conduct and material culture are a lens through which to identify how a political party (e.g. a stakeholder or policymaker) makes a space for power in society. How to identify characteristics of one group of craftspeople with their cultural objects? And how philosophical frameworks of material culture could take part in the political government?

Politics means power, and power rests on the capacity to act upon oneself and others. The market could be taken as an apt metaphor of any political organization in which individuals deal in power transactions—kinship in non-state societies, space, resources, conflicts, cooperation, and coercion (Warnier, 2021). It could be said that politics simply appear in our daily lives, in the ways we talk and act, which are always in some way constructed by how we situate ourselves in society and how we expect people to look upon us. People in what Warnier and Mohan (2017) view as “subject” positions are subject ourselves to the power in society, which is what defines so-called “governmentality.” In this particular sense, in the crafts-producing world, a craftsperson (as one bodily system; embodiment) exerts effort under the system of sovereignty through bodily conduct, movements, gestures, senses, and bodily expression of emotion; part of the bodily experience of crafting, which results in the woven bamboo products that they embody.

To answer the first question above, an ethnographic methodology for the political matters was pioneered by Max Weber (the daily life; the lifestyles); Marcel Mauss (the “bio-psycho-social” techniques of the body); and Michel Foucault (the “governmentality” achieved by the micro technologies of the self and power) (Warnier, 2021). And also the works of community development were pioneered in the 1950s and were developed by anthropological works from 1970 to 1980 (Cernea, 1985). We could agree that the development study using the ethnographic approach is not new in the western countries to criticize the policy of development agencies or policymakers for the development works. Yet, West Java crafts development projects—as to be said as one significant pioneer for the creative industries in Indonesia (see Chapter Three, about the Creative Economy Concept in National Level of Indonesia)—are not influenced by the ethnographic approach and participatory projects.

The craftspeople were often confused every time they receive the so-called “development” program from the government as they were practically not sure what kind of project were they involved in. For them, as long as it was “benefitting” in terms of receiving daily wages for joining the program (the very practical benefit), they did not mind joining the program. On this matter, craftspeople have less power to preclude themselves from the tension of the stakeholders in the area as well as the regional or local governments that have less power than the national governments. It is this situation that the local community in the area plays a role and has more space of power to control the distrust of craftspeople to the programs with the title “development project from the government.” The local communities are oftentimes involved in the same projects with the craftspeople which bring them having bounds and trust in each other. The development divisions in the government offices see this as the way to open connections for them to encourage the craftspeople to join their projects since the local communities are also often connected to regional and local projects with the governments. The very top-down governmental systems are rigid and oftentimes not practical when we see from the grassroots spheres with the craftspeople. It is also aggravated with the five years period of governmental programs that are centered at the national level.

As discussed at the beginning of Chapter Three, many stakeholders from national to local levels have a division of similar development projects as the meaning to raise the economic systems of Indonesia from the smallest enterprises in the local level. What makes them different is that they stand with a different name of their institutions. First, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy at the national level connected to the regional level of the Department of Tourism and Culture of West Java with the mission to develop the economic sector by preserving and accomodating

tourism sites *with* their crafts, and there is a Creative Economy and Innovation Committee of West Java (Kreasi Jabar) which focuses on developing many sectors of industries including crafts sectors. The current “creative economy” concepts require any crafts to have added values, so they should be modernized and modified (the traditional and common products in the markets such as daily utensils are excluded). In this sense, crafts industries are titled to be developed to either support the tourism sectors, or to be modified as “creative economy” products.

Second, the Ministry (national) and the Department of Industry and Commerce (of West Java) focus on developing all the related sectors through engaging the small to big industries to have such “industrialized” systems of businesses with all the research and development requirements. The governments socialize the regulations on the industry world and train the small businesses into well-managed enterprises through development projects that are conducted to many kinds of industries periodically.

And third, the Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises at the regional level—that is connected to the Ministry of Cooperation, Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises (KemenkopUKM) at the national level—aims their development projects to support the micro to medium businesses through conducting different (not fixed) themes or concepts for their projects every year depending on what enterprises they involve. The abovementioned ministries and departments have vertical relations of power but disconnect each other in the horizontal structures and they have different missions and visions to reach the target of their development projects.

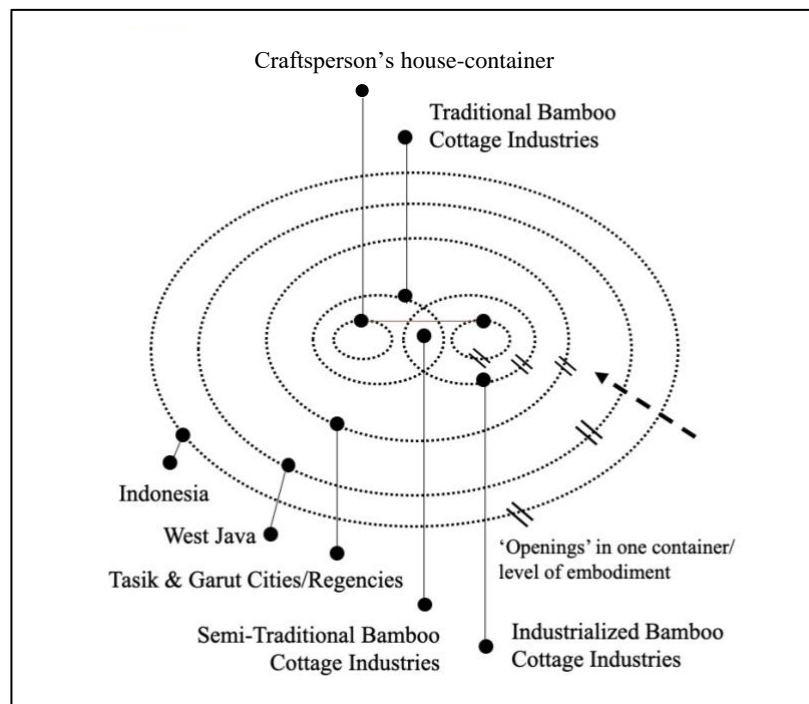
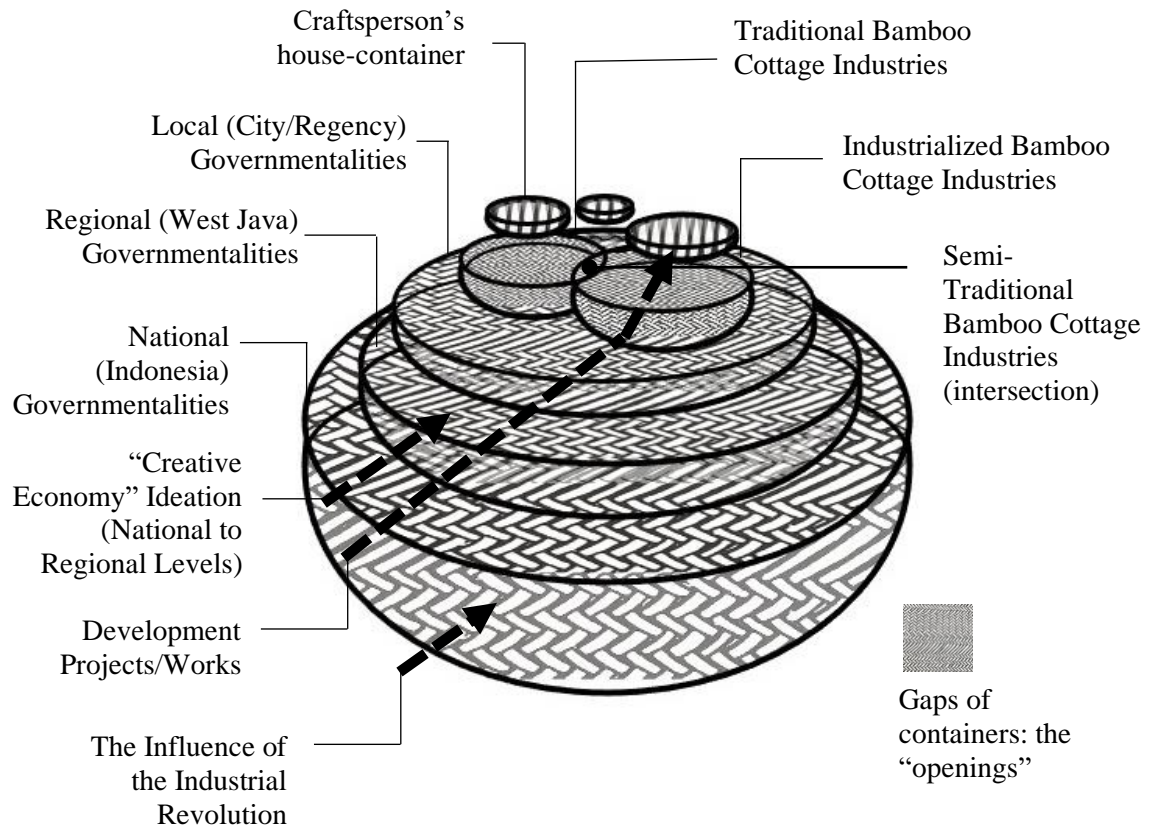


Figure 57 Layers of “containers” of bamboo crafts cottage industries in West Java.

Top: three-dimensional illustration; down: two-dimensional illustration.

Illustration: Author

The layers of the government offices and political situations are pinpointed as “the technologies of power” as Warnier (2006) also sees that the layers of the human body to the city are the “technology of the skin” themselves. What is meant by the “skin” is, as Warnier’s view of the “skin,” the “containment” of the body which is associated with material culture that provide techniques of the self that may act as the point of departure for the construction of full-fledged technologies of power (ibid.: 188). The craftspeople’s body has skin (in literal meaning) which is the “body-container” of all the biological factors inside and has governmentalities between the “sensori-affectivo-motori” systems. The cottage industry is another layer of the “container,” and Warnier termed this as “city-container.” And the city or region is the bigger “containers” and so on until the country level. As can be highlighted here, the depiction of “container” is that each component has its own technology or systems of power.

Grounded to Warnier’s idea about the “container,” this dissertation relates some of the likenesses, not all, since Warnier in his analyses of Kings of Cameroon’s case depicts each container as one of the bodies of the king which is not directly suited to the bamboo crafts politics in Indonesia. The body-containers of craftspeople, the city-container, or the country-container indeed have systems of power but they are being controlled neither by a subject (a king) nor a president of the country but by the separated authority in each institution or capital system they are, including the smallest unit of the power, a house. Warnier (2006: 190) has also stated that this delineation of containers, openings, and sensori-motor conducts are always the parts of technology of power in all societies, it could be different and the point is that to show the understandings of power enable us to see the perception, action, achievement, and performance as the part of the subject.

While the king of Bafut, Cameroon stands up in front of the “opening” or his house and shows his power next to his other “containers” that is his wives and children, in the traditional bamboo cottage industry, the husband and wife show their power to other subjects in the hamlets by working in front of their houses, weaving, cutting, or piling up the finished products. The higher the pile of the finished bamboo products, the more other subjects (their neighbors) praise them. The next day when the neighbors pass by their house and the piles of bamboo products are gone, they understand that the husband and wife succeeded in selling their works to any buyers they have relationships with. Working from one morning until the next morning shows their products are in high demand, and even the music that they set to keep them awake that is heard by the neighbors also unequivocally relates to the way they show their power in society, consciously and subconsciously. Below are the conversations related to the discussion:

One man passed by in front of Suprana and Osah’s house:

*“Oh, look how many piles you have done!”* (11/16/2020).

The next day, other people shouted to them:

*“You have sold everything? I saw there were piles yesterday here [in front of their house]. You must have money now, how fortunate that is.”* (11/17/2020)

In another case of Efendi’s house, the family that preferred to sell their products to the middlemen, Ninih who organized the sellings stated:

*“You must have come here yesterday! I wanted to show you the finished products we have done working. We have just sold more than 1000 products to the middleman but now we are continuing to produce to other middlemen from outside of the village.”*  
(10/8/2020)

The front of craftspeople's houses is a common space or workshop to produce bamboo daily utensils in Cikiray hamlets. The statements above show that people in the crafts-producing society recognize the piles of the finished products in front of one's house to show their wealth. That is related to their assumptions and praises on the piles that have gone on the next day—they have money from the sold products. This fact also supports the idea of “openings” (Tisseron, 1999; 2000; and Anzieu, 1985, in Warnier, 2006) are significant in symbolizing power; that is, the passing-through space between the body and the factors outside.

Applying the power systems from the very small sphere of the bamboo cottage industry to the more complex ones outside it brings us to elaborate on the way material culture appears involved in the power structure of the bamboo industry in West Java. The development projects that, in name, focus on improving the economic level of one area are likely laced with the common ideas of urban people who are city minded and take little time to get to know the culture of the targeted project arena. What was done in the IKKON project at the national level as discussed in Chapter Three seemed to be a good starting prototype to conduct an ethnographic approach in the development projects (not limited to crafts) that allowed ethnography specialist as one of the crucial components in a group of researchers as development agencies. The long-processing of research during the development work is more effective than the instant two-to-three-day workshop in the very moment of West Java crafts industries.

### **5.3 The Meaning of Continuing Bamboo Industry for Craftspeople**

We have previously discussed the structure of power in the case of the woven bamboo cottage industry in West Java, the governmentalities in the traditional and industrialized bamboo cottage industries, and the power relationships among the locals



to the official levels. In this subchapter we will dig deeper into the connection between the subject, in this sense, a craftsman, object that is bamboo material, and other related subjects, such as family, and neighbors in one bamboo crafts-producing society. Respecting MaP's approach that is grounded to the "techniques of the body" of Marcel Mauss (1936 [2006]), the identification of how craftspeople center their body more than object or tools in the process of making woven bamboo products will be examined. We will start from the subjectification process of human body, other humans, and the objects at the beginning. Then we move to the latter parts to see how in detail the gestures and movement of the human body as the containers with openings. And lastly, how the subjects connect and depend on their routines with nature. The case of the traditional cottage industries will be taken for the last part of the discussion

### **5.3.1 The Process of Subjectification in Craftspeople's Bodily Movement**

From the idea of Mauss's bio-psycho-social concern in the "technique of the body," Warnier proposes that the idea of Mauss misses objects as a mediation of bodily techniques (Warnier 1999, in Mohan & Douny, 2021). The actual bodily conducts in relations to materiality means that the subject (human) operates through a material culture of bodily habits that include bodily and instrumental techniques. In this sense, MaP allows us to explore "subjectivities" as a mutual construction between subject and object. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the process of subjectivities or subjectification is the process of disincorporation and incorporation between the subject with its body (containment) and object(s) with its components or materials. This standpoint means that the incorporation is the process of the subject (a craftsman) to incorporate objects and bamboo material as a dynamic of their bodily scheme (*sensori-afectivo-motori*). The process of incorporation reaches the bodily

scheme through the “openings” or skin of the craftsperson, so that they think, perceive, feel, and move the body by the repeating actions they perform daily. The subjects may interact not only with the raw materials but also other related objects in the crafts producing routines such as types of knives and machetes. The fact that this incorporation processes for the craftsperson of course are not limited to the crafts-producing performances but also their household activities. While the process of disincorporation is when the action of what we say as incorporation stops in one dynamic of movements.

This dissertation takes MaP which focuses on the subjectification grounded to “bodily-*and*-material” approach (Mohan & Warnier, 2017) rather than rooting to the notion of objectification (Miller 1987; Tilley in Tilley et al. 2006) to expose the process of the subject-object incorporation, as well as to reveal the “governmentality” or the relations of power of each body or embodiment in the bamboo crafts world. Through the verbal and process of incorporation-(dis) incorporation between subjects and other subjects, as well as the objects around them (Mohan & Douny, 2021: 5), the subjectification means to show bodily and material are combined in both object and subject worlds. The second reason to focus on subjectification, is to understand the different roles of the “subject’s” organic body as a matter than see humans’ bodies having the same characteristics as things or food in the ceremonies. The woven bamboo products cannot be seen as persons in West Java world as Tilley in Tilley, et al. (2006) stated for the concept of “objectification,” that:

“Subject and object are both the same, yet different. The ontological relationship between the two embodies this contradiction or ambiguity: same and different, constituted, and constituting.” p.61; “the thing is the person, and the person as the thing” p.63.

Certainly, by no means this dissertation positions to oppose the long-established objectification idea, but to focus on finding the chains and connections

between humans—with all the bodily attitudes—and the materials in the crafts industries, we will see humans/people as crucial aspects that should not be neglected in the process of “developing” the crafts industries themselves.

In addition, woven bamboo crafts in West Java have shifted into commodification products rather than act as agencies and substitute the appearance of the persons in the society or any occasion. When the actions of giving the bride (*seserahan*), bamboo daily utensils appear as parts of the gifts on the wedding ceremony, not as the dowry, (see Mauss, 1990 [2002]: 77–81). The bamboo products play a role as a custom, since the meaning is to show the intention of the groom to *have* good household properties rather than see it as the bride-price or to show groom’s status in the society.

For bamboo producers in both traditional and industrialized cottage industries, the process of a lifetime apprenticeship started from when they were kids—they were familiar with what their parents do for a living and start to involve themselves in the finishing process to rope the bamboo frames. Adult craftspeople nowadays see that it is a profitable home-based economy that also constructs their social identities among other neighbors. It is very common to have less effort to sell their products to the middlemen among those women who tend to raise their kids and do the household chores along with producing bamboo as their main income.

Principally for the medium and high-skilled daily utensils or the crafts souvenir producers (not the traditional ones) tend to value the quality as well as the visuals of their products than focusing on numbers. Even they have high demands, they would not dare to lower the quality since it is a satisfaction for them, and the satisfaction relates to their pride to keep their social status among other bamboo-producers around. In the following section, we will discuss the details of the bamboo crafts-producing

processes through the view of the craftspeople's bodily-motor conduct and techniques of the body.

### **5.3.2 Senses, Movements, Gestures, Emotions, and Forms**

The French sociologist Marcel Mauss has outlined a *simple* plural term “technique of the body” (1936 [2006]) yet sophisticated to show how people use our body. In this section, we would see it as there is an apprenticeship system of our body components in every technique we learn repeatedly. In other words, we would see how the organic body of humans are integrated with the outside world of the body, to which MaP's idea of “subjectification” is greatly centered.

Mauss has given many cases in the techniques of the body from which we can take a view such as how a human body be acquainted with water before they get a swim, and learning techniques of the swim before they dive. This could be applied to the techniques of making bamboo baskets where a human needs to get to know bamboo material, to cut them, to learn how to slice the strips, to flex them into patterns, and to finally be familiar with the characteristics of bamboo. Before all else they must experience wounding their hands, struggling with the back pain, having attention to the details of patterns in the processes of apprenticeship and familiarization.

A crafts-production village is naturally surrounded by bamboo forests on their own, and it was originally also natural for them to create the natural materials around them for their households and livelihood needs. This is the starting point where the process of apprenticeships of processing bamboo starts. The bamboo cottage industrial villages would be seen as the school for weaving techniques as there appears an education in weaving processes. Mauss (ibid.) stated:

“In all these elements of the art of using the human body, the facts of *education* were dominant. The notion of education could be superimposed on that of imitation. For these are particular children with very strong imitative faculties, others with very weak ones, but all of them go through the same education, such that can understand the continuity of the concatenations. What takes place is a prestigious imitation.” p. 73.

During the movements and actions of imitation, humans involve our psychological and biological elements as well as the social elements with the outside factors of our bodies. In the cottage industry such as bamboo crafts-producing villages, children see what their parents do in their houses for the bamboo-working situations from time to time until they are in the state of choosing the livelihood themselves when they get older. Some of the “very weak ones” in conducting the skills to make bamboo crafts may see that it is not their *way of life* to be a craftsman. Once they prefer to find their own ways, they decided to *leave* the industry and graduated from the school of weaving techniques. But if they wish to, they will always have an option to be back to the industry. Since it is a necessity for the *student* of the school of bamboo cottage industry to learn such basic skills in producing bamboo following the style of their villages’ bamboo crafts. In this sense, when they have any idea to advance themselves in the industry, they will get used to it by the time they are into the apprenticeships for a lifetime.

The more a crafts-human digs their technique of body to produce bamboo crafts, the more he/she comprehend the skills of making crafts. Mauss (ibid.: 78) has moreover explained that the term “craft” or “cleverness” has a significant correlation to the skill where the presence of mind and habit are combined. A child who is not so skillful and stays in the industry will be a low-and-medium skilled craftsman. And those who have a strong intuition for the movement of their bodily techniques toward

bamboo crafts may shape themselves day by day to be medium-to-high skilled producers. This is where the process of apprenticeships now can be seen as a matter in any crafts industry.

Humans as subjects have complex components of their bodies. The subject does not only *have* a body but he/she *is* a body, that is thinking, perceiving, feeling, and moving body that constitutes itself through the relation to the dynamics of materiality, including object, material, and substances (Warnier 2009a: 151). When dealing with the process of producing woven bamboo, the skin of hands of the craftspeople allows their memory to decide and process what kind of forms they are making—whether to make it precise and high quality or not. Through the process of feeling and thinking, their bodily movement gets used to use skills that non-craftsperson may try to use to form woven bamboo products for his/her very first time.

I would prefer to explain this section using the first-person pronoun to express the personal experience when I did an “apprenticeship” with two significant *boboko* producers (a husband-and-wife) in the Cikiray hamlets in front of their house in November 2020. I basically followed what the woman did and I followed her instructions in the Sundanese language and her husband did the framing process while smoking next to us. The atmosphere was hearty in the late night as we also heard entertainment from the loud radio speakers inside of their house:

Craftswoman: *“It is one and then two and then two” “Pull all the vertical strips, and insert one horizontally.” “Take two strips and insert, and do it repeatedly but remember that it will start from one for the next pattern.” “The pattern is two and two. You did it three steps.”*

Me: *“Oh yes, I overstep one bamboo strip!” “Two, and two, I think this time will be correct?”*

Craftswoman: “No, it is wrong again! [laugh]” (for many times) “let me just fix it for you? I bet I prefer to do it than to teach.” (She tried to take over the woven surface)  
“The two-pattern should be put at the center but different on the sides.”

Me: “Let me try it again by myself. I think I got it.”

Craftswoman: “Yes, correct!” other times “No, this one is wrong again.” “Okay, now you can!” (We ended until one woven bamboo surface was finished). (11/16/2020)

It was indeed unfamiliar for me and my sensori-affectivo-motori systems, and my brain also lagged since I had no memory of processing bamboo strips to be a rice containers. While I was weaving the woven surface part of the *boboko*, I remembered Ingold’s statement (2000a: 341–432):

“... the basket is not ‘made’ in the sense in which we normally understand the term. ... and it is not a life-form. ... constructing a basket is a process of weaving. ... what weaving entails, respectively, with regard to the topology of surface, the application of force and the generation of form. ... In the process of weaving, the surface of the basket is not so much transformed as built up. ... Indeed it is in the nature of weaving, as a technique, that produces a peculiar kind of surface that does not ... have an inside and an outside at all.”

As Ingold (*ibid.*) stated that the concept of structuring bamboo baskets is significantly different from forming materials that are made such as wood, stone, or clay, I grasped the differences surely since I have tried to form wood and clay when I was an undergraduate student in an art and design school. Indeed, the feelings of processing them were also different. We never formed what is intended to function as a woven basket with substituting them to any of wood, stone, or clay—though all of them could be containers. This was the moment when I thought the “making” concept

from Ingold was powerful in determining the distinction between artefacts and living things.

When producing the woven bamboo daily utensils, West Java craftspeople did not treat a product as a living artefact but more of producing tools for daily life. There is no ritual that is related to religion (chanting, and praying while weaving and producing) for West Java bamboo crafts producers, nor they see them as holy materials such as the weaving rituals in Sirwa, southern Morocco (Naji, 2009; 2021). The bamboo crafts were originally made to fulfill daily needs until they expanded to commodities nowadays. Especially in West Java, bamboo crafts sometimes play their roles to accommodate the social needs as the tools for rituals in special occasions, such as bamboo surface as one of the media for the humans' corpses, the containers of food for Quran recitation events, or the baskets to carry the meat in Eid Al-Adha the Islamic sacrifice event (Rahardiani, 2021: 96–98). Yet, the processes of weaving contain specific emotions, gestures, and movements that are forged for a long time for crafts producers. After we look at the process of incorporation and disincorporation of crafts-humans' and their materials outside of their bodies, there is much to be unveiled from the “cheap” daily utensils, the “unique” traditional crafts, to the “high-end” hybrid products made of bamboo.

### **5.3.3 The Connections between Humans and their Environment**

Humans live along with nature and living things, there are plants and animals as well as the aspects we take for granted, air, stones, water, and so on. In this regard, human life is made up of other living things around us, we essentially cultivate anything around us and this fact is in conjunction with the nature of humans to make



tools for their everyday lives. In this sense, the insiders in the target arena and the outsiders must have different ways of thinking and value their environment.

This understanding of “emic” and “etic” of course should be a great matter for the anthropologists in every development work. To understand that we are indeed an outsider who comes to a system that has been established and that should be respected as we never understand fully until we get closer to the “emic” level by flowing the “etic” ethics in the field. This respect is to make mutual benefits between the development agencies that go along with what is to be “developed” in the project. It is never been a wise way to only “take” what benefits us without concerning what to benefit the people we study. In the process of study, we should negotiate both sides of values rather than *we* the outsiders. By this means, the stakeholders or developer agents should not see themselves as the ones who need to “teach” the people in the project arena as the people in the field have neurology systems which in their inner nature is a reality themselves than outsiders’ understandings.

Respecting the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss, Ingold (2000) has latterly regarded his notion of environment toward the layers of “emic” and “etic” realities. What Ingold termed as “organism plus environment” means that the system is not a bounded entity but a “process” in a real-time (ibid.: 20). This means they grow or “develop” their mindset themselves. In similar vein, Carr & Gibson (2015) have also seen the importance of concerning geographical factors which shape humans’ mind in processing materials. It is ironic if the self-centered of the “development project” is economic-centered which modernized-style crafts are more preferred for the sake of economic development, since those who need to “develop” the idea of the movement is probably the concept-maker and/or the policymaker. This proposal is nothing to corner one or another party in development projects as the circumstance for this study

but to rethink and redesign the concepts for the development projects that are conducted year by year in West Java but seemed to have complex flows. It is also hard to say that the projects provide the sustainable mutual benefits for all the parties involved in the development works.

After we discuss and dive into the understandings of situations and the notions of the components that are interconnected to the crafts development projects, we should now consider what must be concerned for the future projects and what could be learned from the former works. This dissertation is intended to reveal and study the present conditions of crafts industries that are related to the long-established crafts development projects to find the obstacles that could be solved in the future. Through the understandings of development studies and material culture, there is an intention to find a solution to develop the crafts world by connecting political and material matters in the crafts development context.

Although there are processes in practical implementations of what has been discussed in this study to be a certain framework to conduct a better crafts development project, this dissertation positions itself to be the starting point to structure an advancement of the development projects for crafts or cultural-related. The final statement and conclusion of this dissertation will be presented in the following chapter as the research questions' answers and suggestions of the future development works.

## **CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION—PRESERVING AND DEVELOPING THE CRAFT INDUSTRIES**

This concluding chapter addresses the answers to the research questions in this study and then looks at the broader means of dealing with the problems that serve as obstacles at many levels in the development cycle. The dissertation ends with suggestions for future crafts development projects in Indonesia.

### **6.1 Answering Research Questions**

The first question of this study, “What are the present conditions of the development projects for the crafts industries in Indonesia?” was addressed at the beginning of Chapter Three and then discussed in Chapter Five in relation to the discussions of power relationships at every level of society and of political factors from local to government official levels. Although decades of development projects have been conducted, the idea of “development” itself has a multitude of meanings for the government and non-government parties, resulting in the execution of unsatisfactory development projects every year. Development schemes are a socio-political football in many departments and ministries of Indonesia regarding the regulations and the budget management during the development plan. Minimal understanding of the field of development projects means that the concept and the problems it is designed to tackle do not coincide. The development paradigm through engaging the crafts industries as one of the factors to raise economic conditions appears to be overlapping among the development parties, yet social and cultural factors are often neglected.

*Second*, related to concern about the varieties of bamboo crafts industries for the development process, the question “How do the new technologies affect local crafts industries in West Java?” will be answered in the following paragraphs.

The industrialized and semi-traditional bamboo cottage industries have been influenced by new technologies and advanced materials in their development processes. There are leading bamboo crafts businesses in each area as knowledge spreads about new techniques in producing bamboo crafts. The negotiation processes can be seen in the original character of the areas (forms and weaving patterns) that still appears in the modified traditional products that they are producing nowadays. The forms and the weaving patterns *must* appear in every product that is produced in their areas, supplemented with a finishing touch using advanced machinery and materials. The new framing techniques spread to most craftspeople in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari and Padakembang (see Chapter Four). They kept the woven surfaces and modify the forms (different from the ordinary everyday utensils). But they changed the framing techniques to the modern ones, and the old technique (*wengku*) is no longer applied for the modified traditional products. For the most part, the *wengku* technique has disappeared as a result of the introduction of advanced techniques in the area. In the case of the semi-traditional bamboo industry in Nagrog, the introduction of the new technique was far from smooth since the modernized bamboo products do not relate to the local skills bamboo crafts expertise in Nagrog (which is specialized in everyday utensils: forms and weaving patterns matter for craftspeople). As a result, the leading modernized bamboo crafts businesses and the rest of the everyday utensil producers in the area have traveled in different directions. In this sense, the failure of the negotiation process between the “old” and the “new” makes for social divisions among the craftspeople in the area.

Four representative areas in the traditional bamboo cottage industry category run their bamboo crafts-producing activities in accordance with persistent habits and routines, although some of the craftspeople have been invited to join the development projects recently. Yet, after joining the development projects, the craftspeople tend to return to their customary practices in producing crafts that importantly go hand in hand with their performance of everyday routines. Typically, the villages in this category seem to have fixed customs at both the family and the community level. Advanced materials do not appear to play a role in their bamboo crafts-producing activities.

For the handicrafts bamboo cottage industries (Parakanhonje and Situbeet), the negotiation between the advanced materials and their bamboo crafts' traditional characteristics can be traced in the visuals of the areas' contemporary products. Both areas use chemicals in the coloring process where they originally used natural materials to color their decorative products. As their specialties lie in the raw materials and the skills or techniques used in the making process, the introduction of "new" coloring material does not interfere with the traditional characteristics of the bamboo crafts in these areas. But the smaller numbers of craftspeople who continue to work in the industry might pose a challenge in the development process. Interviewees in their 40s to 60s may prove to be the last generation to work in the industry since their children are not taking up the same activities.

*Third*, the discussions in Chapter Five about identifying the "development" idea and assessing the crafts development projects should answer the third question of this study: "What are the present problems of the crafts development projects of Indonesia and how can solutions be arrived at?" The "participatory" groundwork laid down by Chambers (1983; 1997) has been a game-changer for many practitioners of development studies that this dissertation has looked at. The depiction of power

relations between the “South/lowers” and the “North/uppers” has been applied in the case of West Java crafts development projects. Powerful impediments to and the weak strategies of the government projects conducted so far have been an obstruction to having the progressive development movement involved with crafts. This study suggests that the “participatory approach” or, in a similar vein, “development/project ethnography” could flatten the one-sided power and hierarchical structure evident in crafts development projects. Once the theoretical and practical frameworks of development studies and the conditions in West Java have been established, the process of restructuring the concept of crafts development projects could start with a regained commitment to continuity and starting small and proceeding progressively rather than envisioning an overnight change.

In the factual context of evaluating the projects conducted in West Java, the framework for “managing, assessing, and reforming” the development projects (Nolan, 2002) has been strategically to propose the sustainability of crafts development projects and avoid the ineffective and inefficient results of the project. In line with the idea of promoting the participatory approach in crafts development projects, Nolan (2002) has also mentioned the crucial role of “project ethnography,” though without discussing how the approach should be conducted. This study appears to support Nolan’s “project ethnography” by showing the West Java crafts development projects as a valid application for the approach. The following section gives details of the outcome in implementing the attitude in the crafts development projects.

This study has suggested the ideal composition of the parties involved in each crafts development project: a project stakeholder, a mediator/interpreter, an unbiased party, and the core trainer/presenter. As we have found in this study, there has been ambiguity in the very concept of previous development projects: who, why, what,

where, and how to develop. The projects were rather based on the need to spend the annual budget that had been allocated at all levels of government than to nurture a vision and raise the ambitions of the development projects themselves. Development goals have lacked clear-cut meanings and have been changed every year or, at most, every five years according to political shifts in the region.

Serial assessment from the project's startup to the post-project phase is proposed in order to control the overlapping powers of the parties involved in a single development project as well as to review the applicable regulations for the crafts industries. Assessment processes have not been seen as a crucial part of the West Java craft development project for the bamboo industries. This has resulted in the stagnant pace of the development movement from its beginning in the 1990s to the present (2021). Assessment results could be collected at the mid-point of the project, at the project's end, and after the end (post-project) and the work should be conducted by an unbiased party to avoid unfairness in the assessment process.

In conducting local and regional projects, there should be connections between the projects already conducted, those that will be conducted in the current year, and future projects. The intention is to measure how well a project works and its impact on the subjects/objects of the project. Evaluation results from previous projects also support the progress of the current development project. In this way there is also an obligation for the project initiator to develop the project team year by year. To develop the crafts industries at the grassroots levels is also to develop the government officials and other related parties or professionals with a role in developing the social, economic, and cultural conditions in West Java.

The conductors of the project should also be sharply aware of the characteristics of the crafts industries in each area of West Java. This concern should

be related to the kind of development project concept for one area in relation to another and for one group of craftspeople in relation to another. In the case of West Java, this dissertation has outlined that there are two main categorizations of bamboo cottage industries: traditional and industrialized. Oftentimes, government officials generalize all kinds of bamboo production in West Java under the single heading of “bamboo industry,” and the present year’s concept will be shaped in line with hype or an ongoing trend, without proper consideration being given to the characteristics of the craftspeople and the types of their bamboo crafts as the target of the project.

*Last but foremost*, to answer the fourth question of this study, “How will the ethnographic approach potentially improve the development projects in West Java?”

The present crafts development projects in West Java tend to put effort into raising the economic conditions of the craftspeople in accordance with the dynamic political climate. Yet, socio-cultural aspects which relate to the day-to-day lives of the craftspeople are often overlooked. This results from the dualism between the top-down power of the government and the grassroots in the region. This neglect of socio-cultural aspects in the current development works is the result of a lack of understanding of realities in the field that could not be mitigated by any of the top-down development parties. As Hoben and Timber (1980) also stated, development projects since the 1980s have brought societies ideas which are far removed from their old customs and long-preserved traditions.

The position of development studies and anthropological methods as the basis of the participatory and ethnographic approach can acknowledge the differences of power relations in every sphere, following the notions of understandings “the field” as a part of the development project cycle. The approach, in this sense, is intended to understand craftspeople’s behavior in one area in order to represent the changes of



their ideas in the development process. Otherwise, if socio-cultural aspects continued to be overlooked from year by year in poorly executed development projects, the tangible and intangible knowledge and routines essential to producing West Java crafts will disappear. That is the reason this dissertation proposes the importance of the ethnography or participatory-related approaches to every crafts development project.

And what form should the approach take? In the previous chapters, we have seen and discussed how the relations between subjects, objects, and other subjects in bamboo cottage industries in West Java have been shaped by the ecological factors around them—where the crafts products are made. The MaP approach in this study is intended to delve into the detailed understandings of the field in the observation process of the research for development studies. The use of the term “subject” (Mohan & Warnier, 2017) is intended to define how the craftspeople in the process of producing their crafts involve all the subjectification matters (Mohan & Douny, 2021) with the related objects as well as the effect on other people/subjects around them—where the governmentalities (the play of power through the embodiment factors) play roles in their houses and neighborhoods. The crux of field research in a development project is to understand the relationship between materials, techniques, and the body of the crafts producer shaped through the process of “making” (Rosselin-Barielle, 2017) or the reciprocal process (Ingold, 2013) of the embodiment in one crafts-producing environment.

The idea of respecting and understanding the meaning of continuing the bamboo industry for the craftspeople in the crafts development processes, is to protect the existing producing habits and routines that craftspeople have had for the whole of their lives. As the center of the crafts production activities, the incorporation and disincorporation processes (subjectification) between the craftspeople as the subjects

with their body-container and the objects with their components are the sense of producing crafts for the craftspeople. If the development projects try to alter or destroy the subjectification process in the crafts production cycle, it will interfere with the meaning of producing bamboo crafts for craftspeople.

For instance, the traditional bamboo cottage industries which have the characteristics of *forms and weaving patterns* for their crafts should not be interfered with by shifting the modernized designs that require such advanced technology and machines to produce. This will make the subjectification and the bodily movements of the craftspeople shift into the “paralyses” of their bodily scheme (sensori-affectivo-motori) (Warnier, 2006). The introduction of modernized skills for traditional bamboo producers is not a sin, but it could be a threat if craftspeople fully shifted to the industrialized crafts sector without continuing to practice the skills that they have exercised for decades.

In Mandalagiri-Leuwisari and Padakembang, Tasikmalaya Regency and also in Nagrog-Selaawi, Garut Regency (see Chapter Four), the owners of the leading bamboo crafts businesses depend on the bamboo weavers nearby to run their businesses—none of the business owners master weaving skills, only the finishing techniques that use the advanced machines. At the beginning, the role of academia in influencing the characteristics of bamboo crafts in West Java was more important rather than the government projects. It was pioneered by academics from ITB in the 1990s in Tasikmalaya Regency’s case and they employed a method similar to the ethnographic approach. Pak Ayi and Ibu Rini tried to explore and modify the traditional forms of bamboo crafts with the craftspeople in the area. At that time, the modification process happened through the interaction between the academia and the craftspeople. The spread of knowledge to modify the traditional bamboo products

affected the craftspeople and they could have expanded their markets beyond the local markets and the middlemen. Innovation offered a breath of fresh air for the bamboo industry in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari for one or two decades. But the promise of new markets for the bamboo crafts industry when it made products using advanced materials and machinery led it to leave behind the old routines and techniques it had used for generations. In fact, there are only a few people who can produce medium-to-high-skilled traditional products (such as *boboko*, *tolombong*, *ayakan*, or *aseupan*) around the leading bamboo crafts businesses. It also somehow came to be considered outdated to produce everyday utensils rather than modernized crafts products (or even artificial woven products).

By looking at the case of Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, we could reflect that the introduction of modernized techniques to make bamboo crafts can raise income levels but also can offer a threat to their culture. A useful proposal here is that introducing the modernized techniques is good to keep the craftspeople up to date with trends so that they can expand their markets, but that the craftspeople should also be aware of keeping their traditions in making bamboo crafts and protecting the skills they have, especially when these are at the core of their crafts' key characteristics. It would not be fair to separate the traditional producers from fresh trends in creating crafts, but at the same time, trends should not distract from one's producing culture in the bamboo crafts industries. In other words, craftspeople should be aware of their producing culture and the development parties should *hear the craftspeople carefully*—listen to what is crucial in the project arena and not interfere with the values of the craftspeople and cultural objects that are representations of their culture.

In another case, the Tasikmalaya Regency government encouraged the Cikiray Hamlets in the Salawu area to expand their skills in making bamboo crafts, not only

traditional ones but also the modernized bamboo crafts, in order to follow the trends in the “creative economy” markets. Admittedly, there are at least three different markets for bamboo crafts industries in West Java: household needs (everyday utensils), baskets for packaging, and handicrafts (souvenirs and wearable products). What the government project team envisaged for the project was to drive the Cikiray craftspeople to expand their markets beyond those mentioned above—that is, to modernized or hybrid products’ markets, which did not then exist for them. The power of the government exercised via a top-down approach might appear weak to fight with the existing everyday utensils markets for the Cikiray craftspeople. The strategy seemed inappropriate to “develop” the area. When the goal of development is to separate them from their old producing culture, Cikiray craftspeople tend to maintain rather than to leave behind their old habits and routines. They might have only low incomes if the calculation involves only the amounts of money they earn, but they feel more prosperous as a result of maintaining the integrity of their system and living in their traditional bamboo cottage industry—having the production systems that go with their agricultural routines.

The two cases of the gradually *shifted* traditional bamboo cottage industry (Mandalagiri-Leuwisari) the *unchanged* traditional one (Cikiray) represent two different situations for bamboo cottage industries related to development movements in the areas. The ethnographic and participatory approaches are proposed for use in future development projects since they could potentially bridge the problems in understanding the project arena and so avoid poorly executed development projects in the future. The approach should be applied across the whole cycle of the development project, at the startup, in the mid-project, when the project ends, and at the post-project evaluation (see Figure 55, p. 231-232). The ethnographic or similarly nuanced

approach is needed both in the project arena and in the negotiation with the government officials and other parties in the development project team. The manner of adopting an ethnographic approach should be decided by the “unbiased party” in the project team. The potential candidates in West Java or Indonesia are the academic institutions that are concerned with the cultural anthropology field or participatory approach methods in conducting the data collection, or a professional and independent development agency that has not yet been established.<sup>71</sup> The idea of proposing an ethnographic approach in the development project is not new; it was used in the national IKKON development project from Bekraf (see Chapter Three), in which anthropologists also took part. But it has not reappeared since elsewhere and has been overlooked in the regional and local crafts development projects in Indonesia for the last three decades. By answering the fourth question, this dissertation attempts to ensure that future crafts development projects will offer benefits for all the parties involved in every layer.

This dissertation has provided discussions which are shaped from the theoretical frameworks and real situations of the crafts industries in Indonesia. The study may not have promised short-time change and may need further elaborations along with other development parties in the future. As a first small step, we could strategically set out to understand and learn from the power relations in the professional world with the discourse of materiality-governmentality in the crafts-producing environment. Strong governmentalities in local craftspeople’s realities can be *powerful*—and should be taken seriously. Participatory and ethnographic approaches are potentially able to connect both contexts: political power and

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<sup>71</sup> The dissolution of Bekraf in 2019 has been a setback for the transition of crafts industries in Indonesia. The author hopes that this dissertation will encourage the establishment of a single independent crafts development agency that is based on the research and participatory approach and that is subject- and material-focused.

materiality in the crafts world. Materiality which indicates power from people, grassroots behavior (people's relationship with the material) to produce crafts should be placed "first" as the first word of the development work is "crafts" development-project.

After answering the research questions of this study, in the following section, we will end the conclusion by offering suggestions in relation to the development of future crafts works based on the discussions in Chapter Five and the research question answers.

## **6.2 Suggestions on the Future Crafts Development Works**

After gaining an understandings of power relations, governmentalities, subjectivities, and power structures in the previous sections, we know that the space of power plays upon the governmental officials, and the development projects are tools of power. Top-down over bottom-up and standardization over diversity are potentially issues of disempowerment avoidance. Bearing that in mind, the suggestions will start from the processes for negotiating with governments which will be followed by the dualisms of the persistent behaviors in the case of West Java bamboo crafts; and the development ideas in the region.

### ***I. Negotiating with the Government Officials***

In conducting the crafts development projects, government officials in West Java have special powers that private persons, local communities, and academic institutions do not have. As the very "opening" of the flows of regulations, the local, regional, and national governments have their "administrative border" in the

“embodiment” (Warnier, 2006) named “city/regency,” “region/provincial,” and “country.” If top-down systems are the style of government offices in Indonesia, ideally the government officials should be the ones who control the “openings” and take control of the “in and out” within the borders; but, in fact, there are horizontal overlapping systems even in the governmental sectors and they do not communicate with each other. These bureaucratic realities may appear and disappear flexibly, depending on the missions they are tasked with conducting each year. This complex chain of programs and instructions can be more complicated in the crafts sectors, when the private sectors such as business owners also try to conduct development projects based on social entrepreneurship in the area.

There is no one to blame when chaos happens. In such cases, the regional or local officials try to *support* the crafts industries by means of unclear strategies, as when a piece of infrastructure was built named “the center of crafts industries” without there being an exact intention for it until the project was stopped and the building was abandoned. Other kinds of supports include donating machinery to the handmade cottage industries, even giving capital with an ineffective regulation about its use; all have been done in the West Java crafts industries. Unfortunately, the local and regional governments do not have practical and up-to-date statistics and data about the types of crafts in their areas.

For example, the local government praised one area in Tasikmalaya City and made it “the center of bamboo industry,” when in fact there was only one producer operating there. It is common sense when we hear an area given such a title that we will then expect to find craftspeople busy producing crafts in front of their houses or similar activities, but the area has become largely residential with only one long-established crafts-producing business. None of the local stakeholders or development

parties visited the traditional industrial cottage before July 2020's development project for the Cikiray craftspeople; the first meeting of the concept makers with their target group took place during the main three-day project. How could a development project concept have been designed?

Such situations are perhaps a risk for the government officials at any level since they will be lost in the inaccurate information they gather—it is only for a numerical and formal data collection in the government offices after all. As a result, when the national government proposes a program to the regional and local levels, they overstretch themselves since they formally have power but at the same time they refuse to take the first step. And this is the results of the poorly executed development programs taking place every year.

Despite all this chaos, the followings points can be made to help government officials in developing the crafts industries in West Java. The central point can be gathered from the results of the identification of assessing and evaluating the development projects (Nolan, 2002); development studies (Chambers, 1997; 2005); development works in sociology and anthropology (Cernea,1985); respecting local knowledge (Nugroho et al., 2018); and the further view from politics and law as the strategy to negotiate with the government (Salacuse, 2008).

***First, Start from the Evaluation of the Previous Project:***

- Propose continuing projects instead of conducting separate, annual programs as the cycle of a development project. The cycle will start at the project's startup, and continue through the mid-project, the project's end, and the post-project.
- The composition of the parties in a development project should be rethought and government officials are important participants as stakeholders. The composition



that can be suggested based on this study is: a) the project stakeholder (government/non-government officials); b) the mediator (e.g., local community); c) unbiased party (e.g., a professional development agency and/or academic institutions); and d) the core trainer/presenter (e.g., the leader of the crafts producers).

- *What to learn from the project lessons:* learning processes happen during the project, based on project failures and the plan for the next project. Based on the assessment results of the previous project, the next project will not start from zero as the evaluation processes have done for former projects. See the project assessment frameworks (Nolan, 2002) and the discussions in the previous section of this chapter.
- *Who should monitor and evaluate?* Ideally, there should be an independent agency/institution that can participate at any level of a crafts development project (local to national). While this ideal might not yet exist in Indonesia's case, the alternative is to employ *an assessment team* in every project. The team could consist of one person from each party: project organizer, mediator, professional development agency and/or academic, and the craftspeople (or development target). The evaluation and assessment will be done continually from the project start, through the mid-project, to the post-project phase. See "participatory M&E" in Chambers (1997: 218) for the abstracts.
- *Who is the consultant and the trainer in the project?* In the hierarchy of knowledge in producing crafts, craftspeople are qualified to be the principal consultants. Next, if there is something new to be introduced to locals in a project, then there will be a group of consultants and trainers (at least two people) consisting of a local craftspeople and a crafts producer from the outside. Other parties should diminish

their power as facilitators. See “reversals of power” in Chambers (1997: 154–156) for details.

***Second, Preparation for the Next Project Starting from the Results of Evaluation:***

- The concept-making processes are conducted by all the agencies involved (as suggested in the first point). This is intended to communicate the missions and the vision to all parties as a single team for the development project.
- Determine goals for all parties and set strategies based on the constraints and the special powers of each party. Next, formulate the mutual benefits for the project team to build interests and motivations for the project team.
- The development projects do not necessarily have to take the form of a two- or three-day training session and workshop centered in the city. There are many alternatives such as conducting it in the area of the targeted craftspeople across weeks, a month, or even continually for years, so a development project is not restricted to rushed and ineffective training programs, so overcoming a failing of the past where quality and sustainability have been less important than simply spending the annual budget in time.
- *Consult with the third party or the public:* This is for the preparation of the market targets to sell the products that are produced from making prototypes in the development projects. The current problem is that after the transfer of knowledge has been done in the project it is often forgotten since there are no concrete demands for the resulting products in the markets. This drives the government’s legal monopoly to play a role in the target area, so the craftspeople also raise their income properly. See Salacuse (2008: 154–157) for “the roles of the third party in governmental projects.”

- Considering the regulations regarding the crafts industries at the local and regional levels, set a productive timeline for the project. The regional projects should also embrace and include the local and national governments' visions. This will shape synchronization of the regulations at all levels.

***Third, Considering Each Party's Constraints:***

- *Government/non-government project organizer:* As discussed in Chapter Five regarding the "uppers," Chambers's (1997: 78–84) "uppers' impediments" could be looked at to make the project organizers (mostly uppers) aware of their cage. Also, regarding the study by Salacuse (2008: 33–45), the government is subject to special legal and political constraints. The constraints are derived from: a) the rules governing negotiations; b) the constituents upon whom it depends for support; c) the political imperatives to which it responds; d) the operational norms mandated by its political interests and other political commitments.
- *Mediator/interpreter:* This party has no power to back up their authority but has the trust of the targeted subjects in the project. Awareness of both the officials and the grassroots should be played well by keeping the needs and values of both sides to the fore.
- *Unbiased party (development agency/academic):* Has less power to deal with the officials' regulations when the ideals do not meet the practical situations in the fields.
- *The core trainer or presenter:* Have the least power but speak up regarding the practical issues related to craft-making abilities and skills to ensure the project goes two ways.

***Fourth, Applying the Special Powers of the Involved Parties:***

- *Government/non-government project organizer*: Regarding the study by Salacuse (2008: 23–32), the government’s special powers are derived from: a) a legal monopoly over what others are seeking; b) special legal privileges and immunities; c) its role as a defender of the “public interest”; and d) special protocols and forms. See the details of manners that should be applied when we are dealing with government officials (*ibid.*: 44–45).
- *Mediator/interpreter*: The mediator or local community connects the researcher, policymaker, local people (targeted groups), and third parties (if necessary). The mediator will be respected as they have all parties’ trust during the projects whose voices will also be heard to communicate one party’s ideas to another.
- *Unbiased party (development agency/academic)*: The academic institutions are experts in “scientific knowledge” and the professional development agencies are experts with “professional knowledge” (see “types of knowledge” in Nugroho et al., 2018: 11–20). Knowledge and experience play crucial roles in the project team (Gibson, 2015). Yet, the academics as professionals should also aware of their weakness in relation to their trap of knowledge; breaking the *distance* (Chambers, 1997: 80–81) is one of the solutions.
- *The core trainer or presenter*: The one(s) who understand the real situations respecting the ability and inability of the subjects in the field; and the party who understands the “local knowledge” (see “types of knowledge” in Nugroho et al., 2018: 11–20) related to the raw materials and the skills for the bamboo crafts industries. By the concept reversing the power, the craftspeople could be the most powerful in the crafts development project.

***Fifth, Research in Advance, Between the Project's Startup and the Mid-Project:***

- *Preliminary research:* The project team should be involved in the research process and update each other on the progress they are making. This should possibly be done one or two months before the field visit to the target arena. Preliminary research includes the research on the field's historical background, cultural background, the economic conditions, political systems locally and regionally, and the relationships between the nearby (possibly) crafts-producing areas.
- *Conduct field research and identify the real situations of the arena:* After the preliminary research period has passed, the next step is to visit the project arena where the development projects will be conducted. Either the project will be held in the arena or outside of the arena; field research is a crucial process before conducting the main project events. In this regard, this dissertation proposes the participatory and ethnographic approaches, and the results can be compiled and processed for the common good of all parties. This is to set the environment to be ready to receive the development programs and as the introductory phase with the objectives of the project.
- *Post-project research:* The evaluation should be done during the mid-project, which requires an unbiased party in the project arena. The mid-project assessment results are collected for the post-project research and the starting point or reflections before conducting the next project.

***Sixth, Establish the Final Concept of the Project***

- *Finalize the concept:* This is arrived at from the results of the assessment of the former project, the preparation process, respecting the constraints and special power of all the parties, and the results of the research until the post-project research.

- *Qualifying the strategy*: To be conducted based on each party's interests and motivations for the project. This is to avoid overlapping instructions during the project. Be aware of other parties at the same level, such as other government departments (communicate with other parties horizontally). The tactical efforts of the parties will generate the project team having strong project cycles. This is expected to create effective moves to achieve the visions of the projects.
- *Preparing for unpredictable*: Alternatives should be prepared in case the initial plan is failing to address the targeted problems by the mid-project stage.

***Seventh, Conducting the Project, Which Is Followed by the Evaluation***

- *Execute the strategy*: The implementation of the project's concept follows the plan that has been agreed by all the development project's parties. The project team members should be involved to conduct the mid-project and are divided into divisions of workshop organizers.
- *Determine other alternatives*: During the mid-project, there may be changeable situations due to many parties being involved in the development project. The determination of any alternative follows the plans for the unpredictable in the establishing process and should be decided up through discussion among the project team.
- *Evaluation during the mid-project*: This will be done by the unbiased party to see how the project is going, what can be fixed during the mid-project, and what is to be evaluated after the project is finished (assessment in the mid-project: Nolan, 2002: 206).

### ***Eighth, Organize the Post-Project Phase***

- When the project ends, it does not mean that the cycle of the development project stops there. It should be kept in mind that “development” means development of the project organizers and concept makers, not just of the targeted people/subjects.
- The assessment phases are conducted jointly by the project stakeholders, mediator/interpreter, unbiased party, and (if possible) the core trainer/presenter of the event using their special powers and knowledge. The results of the evaluation are expected to reflect whether the project has been successfully executed or not. What should be altered in the future? There may be changes among the mediator, unbiased party, and core trainer roles, but the stakeholders may stay in their positions for years. The results of the assessment should be useful and provide powerful data for the government.
- Maintain the relationships of all the parties in the project. The project team members are connected to each other for the project, and this connection should be useful for future projects— there will be lessons to be learned.
- Renegotiation between all the parties in the future: The negotiating process may not be complete in having a single project for the development works since the conditions in the society may also change (or develop) after the development project. The renegotiation in the future is addressed to increase: mutual knowledge; transactional understanding; and mutual linkage (Salacuse, 2008: 164).

### ***In Addition, Raising Local People’s Awareness to the Threats:***

- The government negotiators have power which their monopoly position gives them in their negotiations with the objectives. They may play with the property

regulations, “words/speech” (Chambers, 1997: 79), cancel contracts, threaten force, and so on.

- The government has legal privileges to control the regulations which personal parties, local communities, or unbiased agencies do not have. To regulate the businesses in the region, the government should be aware that there are different types of businesses: individual, group, and governmental. There should also be space for other types of businesses that are in line with the government regulations and/or that refine or challenge the government regulations.
- The glorification of representing the “new development programs” from the government may be harmful to some parties at some point. The non-governmental agencies should keep an eye out for the harm it may cause, such as neglect of cultural and social aspects in favor of objectives such as raising economic factors.
- To be aware, rethink, and protect their own culture. Be high-minded about what they need to preserve in continuing their lives; their values should not be taken over or neglected as a result of pursuing the development goals. Otherwise, this will pose a threat to their own cultures.

## ***II. The Contradiction of Introducing the New Upon the Existing Customs***

The ideation of “development projects” for bamboo crafts industries has been conducted for decades in West Java. Yet, the long-term annual development projects have been questioning the very concept of “development.” The transformation from “traditional” to “modern” (Bendix, 1967) in the development projects gives rise to conflict in relation to the preservation of cultural and historical factors. It is possible either by the factor of the half-baked concept of a development project or the lack of understandings: “what to develop?”; “who to develop by whose conception?”; “why



to develop?"; and "how to develop?" However, as a result of the power relations between government officials and political enforcement, the development projects are held annually no matter what kinds of results they are achieve since the budget is allocated on a yearly basis. It is a complicated concern when we are concerned about the preservation of crafts in the modernized world. It is also a common idea that the craftspeople should keep their values when producing modern crafts, but at the same time they continue producing traditional crafts in order to meet the demands from their dynamic market.

In Indonesia, there are trends to inject new ideas/models at the local level and to take the view that the traditional products or traditions are no longer relevant for such trends. This conception of developing tradition through taking a "creative economy" approach toward the crafts industries distinguishes crafts products that have not been modified as not being "creative." Modern crafts industries compete to design the most "creative" and "unique" models and to reshape crafts products to fulfill market demands and trends. But what about the traditional crafts industries? That is, there are gaps between the new and the existing customs in crafts industries. The modern world seems to be interested in indigenous culture as well as its products. But the modification of crafts products drives them to lose their original forms which are related to the meanings that have shaped the crafts themselves. The trend to modify crafts products slowly sweeps away traditional skills, which may possibly disappear entirely when craftspeople change their ways of producing crafts too.

By looking at the traditional bamboo cottage and the bamboo handicrafts industries, we found subjectification among the subjects (crafts producers), the objects or materials they interact with (bamboo), and other subjects who live around them. When the bamboo industrialized cottage industries have shifted fully, subjectification

has modified to other substances or materials and old behaviors in making crafts are forgotten. The modifications made to the crafts have created consequences to the routines and habits for the crafts makers in producing bamboo crafts.

The disorganized bricolage of the information about bamboo crafts industries in the field, as well as the unsettled performances of the development projects in the region, has been an obstacle to collecting and organizing the data for this study. However, the classification of crafts' characteristics and craftspeople's specialties in many areas in West Java can be categorized as below.

Table 13 The classification of specialties and types of development works  
for the areas

Bamboo Cottage Industry	Place/Area	Crafts' Characteristics and Specialties	Types of Development (the issues for the projects)
Traditional	Cikiray	<b>Forms and weaving patterns:</b> 10 types of everyday utensils (see Chapter Three)	Raising the income for the craftspeople by transferring modern skills
	Cikakak	<b>Forms and weaving patterns:</b> <i>Nyiru</i> (big flat trays), <i>tampir</i> (huge flat trays), and <i>ayakan</i> (food sieves)	To be shaped into “ <i>desa adat</i> ” or a touristic sightseeing site as a representative traditional village in Selaawi
	Mandalagiri-Leuwisari Padakembang <sup>72</sup>	<b>Forms and weaving patterns:</b> Mainly <i>pipiti</i> (square baskets) and <i>beseke</i> (rectangular baskets. But also produce similar types of what Cikiray craftspeople produce	Transferring modern skills (managed by the medium- and large-scale crafts businesses); influenced by the demands from the

<sup>72</sup> The craftspeople produce everyday utensils to meet the demands of the middlemen basically but some are involved with the leading large-scale bamboo crafts businesses to sell the semi-finished woven bamboo surfaces and products.

			medium- and large-scale crafts businesses
Semi-traditional	Nagrog	<b>Forms and weaving patterns:</b> <i>boboko</i> (rice containers) and small <i>ayakan</i> (food sieves)	Raising the income for the craftspeople by transferring modern skills
Industrialized	Mandalagiri-Leuwisari Padakembang <sup>73</sup>	Modified traditional products with the weaving patterns as the trademark from the areas	Management and marketing skills for bamboo crafts businesses
Handicrafts	Parakanhonje	<b>Raw materials:</b> Techniques of bamboo slices	Management and marketing skills for bamboo crafts businesses
	Situbeet	<b>Skills and techniques:</b> containers for souvenirs, <i>anyam lilit</i> (twinning) weaving techniques, colored-twinning bamboo handicrafts	Regenerations of the craftspeople

The crafts' characteristics and specialties, and the types of development listed in Table 13 show that the development projects led by government officials located the conditions and problems in the areas. But we can also see the development ideas for the traditional bamboo cottage industries threaten their crafts' characteristics and specialties. Their identities are defined by the forms and weaving patterns, but what the development projects intend by "developing" them is to convert their old, original skills into the modern ones. This will be misinterpreted and could be a project failure since the "new" does not fit with the routines and habits of the craftspeople producing

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<sup>73</sup> Some middle- to large-scale leading bamboo crafts businesses have shifted away fully from producing everyday utensils which affected the styles and types of products of craftspeople nearby. It is hard to find everyday utensils producers who live near them.

crafts. As we can see in the case of the development project for Cikiray, the knowledge of modern framing that was transferred in the project was not sustained after the project. This was because of a misconception about the problems and the ways in which they could be solved. In the case of Cikakak, craftspeople may not see that the process of their village becoming a “*desa adat*” may harm their day-to-day lives in the future as has happened in other villages in Selaawi.

In terms of mastering the skills in producing crafts, there are gaps in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari and Padakembang between the craftspeople who produce everyday utensils and the people who are involved in the medium- to large-scale businesses. The trend to industrialize the crafts products has caused the craftspeople to become “paralyzed” in their “sensori-affectivo-motori” in producing traditional bamboo crafts or everyday utensils since the techniques become more unfamiliar by the day. The industrialized bamboo crafts businesses depend on the skills of the craftspeople who “keep” producing traditional products on a daily basis. This fact shows that to value and keep the identity of crafts is to keep the characteristics of the area where the bamboo crafts are produced.

In the case of the semi-traditional bamboo cottage industry, in Nagrog the “new” that has become a trend recently has different characteristics from what was produced in the village originally (see the visuals of the modernized skills in Nagrog in Chapter Four). This may present craftspeople with obstacles and cause confusion when they try to decide whether to follow market trends or continue producing the everyday utensils that they have long produced. Local officials may neglect the origins of the characteristics of the crafts in the village, and this is an unfortunate situation for the bamboo crafts. Becoming more modernized, the village may shifting to be a tourist site since that offers the promise to the local officials to be able to raise economic

conditions in the subdistrict. This inevitable situation may harm the skills of the craftspeople in the area.

The development projects for the industrialized bamboo cottage industry and Parakanhonje bamboo handicraft industry typically focus on how to manage the businesses professionally and have a good management cycle. As the government and the companies that carried out the projects were based in industry-focused sectors, they developed businesses in an industrial manner. In this case, the new knowledge from the projects for the bamboo businesses potentially heightened the level of business sectors, which could raise businesses' income. These types of businesses will run as long as they are supported by the skills of the craftspeople who weave and produce the woven surfaces around their headquarters, but may collapse at some point if they cause a decrease in the number of craftspeople across the years.

Lastly, a serious problem for the Situbeet people is that they only have 20 individuals who actively produce bamboo crafts nowadays. Historically they were famous for their bamboo crafts, but there might be a difficulty in raising the enthusiasm of the inhabitants for such work in the future since the area has reshaped itself in a city-like manner. Both the efforts of the productive craftspeople and the development projects are insignificant in being able to give this area its soul back as a bamboo cottage industry.

To return to the dualism between the new and existing customs, mass production of goods as a result of the industrial revolution of the 1970s and 1980s has transformed our society to exalt the modern economy. It is a complex matter when small-scale industries are developed and are expected to strengthen the regional and national economy instantly, with contributions at the same level as large-scale industries. Although the speed of economic situations for the everyday utensils

industry as a cottage industry is slow, the industry cannot be pushed into an industrialized system by means of a development project which requires people to work in a workshop with advanced machinery and artificial materials.

In what follows, the idea of “development project” means to “industrialize” or “modernize” a targeted area in order to raise economic standards. There are more significant reasons for not generalizing the idea of modernization toward traditional products, because:

- It interferes with the meaning of making the traditional objects in the traditional bamboo cottage industries (as can be seen in the modernized case in Mandalagiri-Lewisari and Padakembang).
- In the traditional cottage industries, the craftspeople get used to producing with their nuclear families in their houses with all the long-practiced customs they have known throughout their lives, which are far removed from the urbanized lifestyle.
- The “sensori-affectivo-motori” systems through the process of subjectification of the craftspeople have taken place for decades, especially for the middle-aged and older generations, and it will be a sudden change for them to shift their habits in producing bamboo crafts into the modern style. The “auto” (Foucault, 1988) of the neuro-systems of the craftspeople in producing crafts that go along with their household routines are the same as those of urban people in relation to their livelihoods. *The sudden change will always be a struggle for all of us.*

In brief, even though there would be deficiencies in the crafts development works, this study proposes the ethnographic approach in carrying out the crafts development projects in order to generate mutual benefits for all the parties involved,

from the grassroots levels to the national levels of Indonesia. By enriching the understandings of what, why, who, where, and how to develop, this study expects that future crafts development projects could sustain and recover traditions to enliven local crafts industries in Indonesia.

There may be obstructions and challenges to implementing the results of this study, for the development works are big tasks for all the parties involved: project stakeholders, mediators/interpreters, unbiased parties, the core presenter, and the targeted people. Considering that there are limited researches on the development works related to crafts, this study aimed to contribute to the work of development studies and anthropology by engaging with participatory and ethnographic approaches and material culture as bridges to understand the notion of the field for the development work. Moreover, this study also welcomes further discussions to develop its proposed ideas regarding the significance of the practicality and suitability of development works in the future.

## GLOSSARY

*General terms:* All words are Indonesian language, except where otherwise indicated (\*) for terms in Sundanese language.

***Abragan***\*: hard-rough woven bamboo products

***Angkot***: the acronym of “Angkutan Kota” (Bahasa Indonesia), share taxi or public transportation by car

***Angklung***: musical instruments made of bamboo

***Anyaman bilik***: the pattern of woven bamboo wall

***Anyaman halus***: the fine woven bamboo surface

***Bahan***: literally means “material” in Indonesian and Sundanese languages but technically, “*bahan*” in the bamboo industries refers to “the woven surfaces” or “semi-finished materials/bamboo parts”

***Borong***\*: a bundle system of buying or selling of products

***Buburuh***\*: Wage laboring to their neighbors. Often used in “*buburuh nalikeun*”: wage laboring activities for binding the ropes to the bamboo frames (finishing process of producing woven bamboo products)

***Cuanki***: Meatball soup served with noodles, steamed tofu, fried tofu, and fried dumplings. Abbreviation from “*cari uang jalan kaki*”

***Dana hibah***: grant fund to the villagers

***Desa adat***: representative of the traditional village; often describes as a project to revitalize a village into a “touristic sightseeing place”

***Dua***: two

***Dulang***\*: a wooden kitchen utensil for processing rice; a rounded wooden container to smash or to put rice.

***Élep***\*: the bigger share taxi (*angkot*)

***Gacong***\*: seasonal laboring activities in other people’s agricultural lands and getting a tenth of the harvest.

***Gugus kendali mutu***: a group that controls quality control of the products

***Hansip***: village security official (abbreviation from “*pertahanan sipil*”)

***Hawu***\*: the hearth. A place for cooking, using the wooden stove



**Heurin\***: “narrowed” usually used by the craftspeople when their houses are full of the finished woven bamboo products (ready-to-sell products)

**Hoé\***: ropes to bind the bamboo frames

**Hoé gunung\***: rattan rope

**Hoé koneng\***: plastic rope

**Kaler\***: the northern side

**Kidul\***: the southern side

**KK: Kepala Keluarga** (head of family or household)

**Kodi**: unit for 20 pieces of products. It is usually used for bamboo products.

**Lebak\***: the lower level of land between fields or between hills and gutters; where there is a river. Often said as “*bade ka lebak*” means they are going to the river at the lower level.

**Leukleuk\***: *the detailed processes [of making woven bamboo products]; need high attention to small details; resulting in such high-quality output/products.*

**Mitra**: Partnership or connections between individual parties and institutions

**Ngampung\***: selling the bamboo products using the shoulder carrying pole to the neighboring villages

**Ojeg\***: motorcycle for the conveyance of passengers (Sundanese), Ojek (Bahasa Indonesia)

**PA Des, Penghasilan Asli Desa**: the fund that can be received by the villagers

**Pa(k) Haji**: A famous nickname to men who performed Hajj in Macca (pilgrimage in Islam); most common image for wealthy men and play important roles in local businesses.

**Pemerintah Daerah**: the Local Government

**Pengajian**: wedding ceremonies or gathering for Quran recitation events

**Rukun tetangga**: neighborhood association

**Sentra industri anyaman bambu**: the central of woven bamboo industry

**Seserahan\***: Presenting a wedding gift for the bride

**Usum halodo\***: dry season

**Usum Ngiih/ Usum Hujan\***: rainy season

**Pegawai Negeri Sipil (PNS)**: public servant

**Punduh\***: head of the hamlet

**Satu**: one

**Tonggoh\***: the higher-level land in the area

**Yayasan:** private foundations; local institutions

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**Specific terms for the Woven Bamboo Products:** *All words are used commonly in West Java, grounded to Sundanese language. See Table 8 in Chapter Three for the detailed descriptions and the visuals of the products.*

**Aseupan:** rice steamers

**Ayakan:** food sieves

**Ayakan biasa:** regular-sized *ayakan*

**Ayakan daging:** a sieve for meat products

**Ayakan lauk/complong:** a sieve for fishes

**Besek:** rectangular woven baskets that has a different length and width.

**Boboko:** rice containers

**Boboko ageung:** big-sized *boboko*

**Boboko alit:** small-sized *boboko*

**Boboko tutup:** *boboko* with lids

**Cecempeh:** small flat trays

**Cireung:** circular-formed baskets

**Dudukuy:** peasant hats

**Hihid:** cooking fans

**Jodang:** huge food sieves

**Kojong:** the high squared based containers

**Nyiru:** medium-big flat trays

**Tampir:** huge flat trays

**Pipiti:** squared woven basket that has the same length and width

**Tolombong:** square-based containers

**Tolombong jangkung:** the taller type of *tolombong* (so-called “*kojong*” in Sumatra Island)

**Tolok:** local term for “*tolombong*” for the Cikiray craftspeople

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**Specific terms for the Processes of Producing Woven Bamboo Products:** *All words are Sundanese language, except where otherwise indicated (\*).*

***Anyam Kepang***: braided weaving techniques (types: *kebang serong*, *kebang malang*, see Figure 53)

***Bujal***: the center of the weaving pattern to make the squared-form base to make *pipiti*

***Beulit kacang***: the most complicated knot technique

***Beulit biasa dobel***: regular knot with double knotted

***Beulit biasa***: regular knot

***Dibeulah***: Vertically cut one bamboo pole from top to bottom into 6–8 sections. Split into rough strips.

***Dicetok***: separating split pieces from the nodes; splitting into thinner and shorter strips; separate the inner layer from the outer layer

***Dijemur***: drying process, taking 2–3 days until the thin strips fully dried

***Dipapas/dirapihkeun***: cutting the excess surface parts at the edge of the frame from the framing process.

***Diraut***: slicing the fully dried strips until it has a smoother surface

***Hinis***: bamboo skins/surfaces/outer layer (the green colored layer)

***Langkah satu/hiji***: one-step of thin-strips

***Langkah dua***: two-steps of thin-strips

***Langkah tilu/tiga***: three-steps of thin-strips

***Lépé***: folding technique in weaving processes

***Mata***: (same meaning as *pihantuan /pihantuanana*): the central pattern at the beginning of weaving processes, to make a rectangular basket (*besek*)

***Motong***: cutting processes

***Ngaraut/Raut***: Slice

***Ngahua***: splitting into thinner strips; separate the inner layer from the outer layer

***Nganyam***: weave

***Ngiket/Nalikeun***: binding the frame

***Oyan***: charcoal for coloring bamboo

***Papagan salam***: the sap of Salam leaves

***Siap dianyam***: Finished strips, can be woven

**Soko:** squared-shaped support that is placed at the bottom side of *boboko*, made of rough bamboo

**Suakan:** the wide of each bamboo strip (often said as “*suakan alit*”: smaller *suakan* and “*suakan gede/ageung*” wider *suakan*)

**Pengkorkeun:** making radius, folding, or forming in the weaving processes

**Pihantuanana:** the center part of the woven bamboo surface

**Pita cucuk/gerigi:** a type of woven rope (see Figure 52: right picture, left side)

**Pita tujuh:** a type of woven rope (see Figure 52: right picture, right side)

**Tumpal:** combination of braided weaving techniques

**Wengku:** Framing process; fitting the woven surface into the circular frame made of rough strips

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Appendix I

<b>Government Officials (National Level)</b>	
NO	NAME  AUTHORITY
1	<p><b>Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy</b> (Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif, Kemenparekraf/Baparekraf) 2019-2024</p> <p>Human resources who are professional and globally competitive are one of the fundamental requirements in realizing a quality tourism and creative economy sector. The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy provides various trainings in the form of reskilling, upskilling, and certification to support the creation of qualified human resources.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kemenparekraf supports the development of a sustainable and quality tourism and creative economy industry through the implementation of rules and policies that have an impact on the industry.</li> </ul>
2	<p><b>Ministry of Cooperation, Small, Micro, and Medium Enterprises</b> (Kementerian Koperasi dan Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, KemenkopUKM)</p> <p>Carry out affairs in the field of cooperatives and small and medium enterprises in government to assist the President in administering the state.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ministry: coordinating the implementation of duties, guidance, and providing administrative support to all organizational elements within the Ministry of Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises.</li> <li>- Cooperation: carry out the formulation of policies as well as coordination and synchronization of the implementation of policies in the field of cooperatives.</li> <li>- Micro Enterprises Sector: carry out policy formulation as well as coordination and synchronization of policy implementation in the micro business sector.</li> <li>- Small and Medium Enterprises Sector: the formulation of policies as well as coordination and synchronization of policy implementation in the sector of small and medium enterprises.</li> <li>- Entrepreneurship: formulating policies as well as coordinating and synchronizing the implementation of policies in the field of entrepreneurship.</li> <li>- Inspectorate: internal supervision within the Ministry of Cooperatives and Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises.</li> </ul>

3	<b>Ministry of Industry</b> (Kementerian Perindustrian)	Providing and carry out affairs in the industrial sector within the government to assist the President in administering the state government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The formulation, stipulation, and implementation of policies in the industrial sector;</li> <li>- Implementing technical guidance and supervision over the implementation of policies in the industrial sector;</li> <li>- Carrying out research and development in the industrial sector;</li> <li>- Implementation of substantive support to all organizational elements within the Ministry of Industry;</li> <li>- Fostering and providing administrative support within the Ministry of Industry;</li> <li>- Management of state property / assets which are the responsibility of the Ministry of Industry.</li> </ul>		
<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>AUTHORITY</b>	<b>INTERVIEWEE</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
4	[Old 'Baparekraf'] <b>Bekraf</b> (Badan Ekonomi Kreatif)	Crafts Agency (National Level, 2015-2019)	IKKON Bekraf Participants: - Ana (July 28, 2019) - Hadi (July 22, 2019)	

<b>Government Officials (West Java Province)</b>	
<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b> <b>AUTHORITY</b>
1	<b>Department of Tourism and Culture</b> (Disparbud Jawa Barat) (Idem, Regional Level)
2	<b>Department of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises</b> (DisKopUMKM Jawa Barat) (Idem, Regional Level)
3	<b>Department of Trade and Industry of West Java</b> (Disperindag Jawa Barat) (Idem, Regional Level)



NO	NAME	AUTHORITY	DATE	INTERVIEWEE	NOTES
4	<p><b>KREASI</b> (Creative Economy Committee for West Java Crafts)</p> <p>- 'Ekspos' <i>Laporan akhir kajian pemetaan potensi ekonomi kreatif jawa barat</i></p>	An institution that formed to encourage collaboration of creative economy stakeholders in creating creativity and innovation that provides 'added value' and improves the quality of socio-economic-and cultural life of the people in West Java	<p>October 22, 2020 (Dago Tea House, Kreasi Center and Secretariat)</p> <p>November 2, 2020 (Dago Tea House, Kreasi Center and Secretariat)</p> <p>November 9, 2020 (Dinas Pariwisata Jawa Barat, Kota Bandung)</p>	<p>- <b>Harry Mawardi</b> (Head of KREASI West Java)</p> <p>- <b>Adhi</b> (Research and Development Division)</p> <p>- <b>Dana (pseudonym)</b>, Head of the project</p>	

### Government Officials (Tasikmalaya City)

NO	NAME	DATE	AUTHORITY	INTERVIEWEE	NOTES
1	<p><b>Department of Industry and Commerce</b> (Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan,</p>	March 5, 2019	Stakeholder for industries and commerce in Tasikmalaya City	<p><b>Danang (pseudonym)</b> (The head of the development for crafts industries in the department)</p>	Interviews in the central of government offices of Tasikmalaya City

	PERINDAG Kota Tasikmalaya)				
2	<b>Department of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism</b> (Dinas Kepemudaan, Olahraga, Kebudayaan, dan Pariwisata Kota Tasikmalaya, DISPORABUDPAR Tasikmalaya Kota)	December 15, 2020	Stakeholder for industries and commerce in Tasikmalaya City	<b>Aman (pseudonym)</b> (The head of the Department of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism of Tasikmalaya City [ <i>Kepala Dinas Pariwisata Kota Tasikmalaya</i> ])  <b>Endah (pseudonym)</b> (The head of the division for the development of creative economy) [ <i>Kasi Bidang Pengembangan Ekonomi Kreatif</i> ])  <b>Rukmini Affandi</b> (as the Advisory Board of the Tasikmalaya Creative Economy Movement)	-  On the event of the meeting for the inauguration of the Creative Economy Committee for Tasikmalaya City [ <i>Rapat penginkubasian TCIC</i> ]
3	<b>The Deputy Mayor's wife: Rukmini Affandi (Wakil Walikota)</b>	December 14, 2020	Artists, Painter, Advisory Board member for TCIC		-  With TCIC Tasikmalaya

### Government Officials (Tasikmalaya Regency)

NO	NAME	DATE	LOCATION	AUTHORITY	INTERVIEWEE	NOTES
1	<b>Department of Tasikmalaya Regency Cooperation, Small</b>	December 22, 2020	Jalan Mayor Utarya Nomor 1, Kota Tasikmalaya. (Komplek	Stakeholders for crafts industry (micro, small,	<b>Dini (pseudonym)</b> , the Head of the	The head of the government

	<p><b>and Medium Enterprises, and Labor</b> (Dinas Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah, dan Tenaga Kerja, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya)</p>		<p>Dinas depan Alun-Alun Kota Tasikmalaya)</p>	<p>medium enterprises), and cooperation; workshop for crafts makers provider &amp; in charge</p>	<p>head of the division of the development project and PLUT (the center of the integrated local businesses) [<i>Kasi pembinaan dan pengembangan dan UMKM dan PLUT</i>] <b>Dodi (pseudonym), bidang kemitraan dan pembiayaan umkm)</b></p>	<p>officials for the July 2020's bamboo crafts development project in city hotel. The project for Cikiray, Salawu craftspeople</p>
<p>2</p>	<p><b>PLUT-KUMKM the center of the integrated local businesses</b> (Pusat layanan usaha terpadu koperasi, usaha mikro, kecil dan menengah)</p>	<p>October 7, 2020</p>	<p>Jalan raya malangbong-ciawi, Pamoyanan, kadipaten, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya</p>	<p>Counselor for the cooperation, micro, small, and medium enterprises</p>	<p><b>Ahmad (pseudonym),</b> Institutional section/<i>Seksi Kelembagaan</i> Pak Ojan (staff in the PLUT)</p>	

3	<b>Village Office in Salawu</b> (Kantor Desa Salawu)	November 13, 2020  November 20, 2020	Kantor kepala desa Salawu Tasikmalaya: Jl Raya Garut-Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat, 46471	Stakeholder for the Salawu Village: Consists of 7 hamlets	<b>Ahmad (pseudonym)</b> , Staff in the village office <b>Yusuf (pseudonym)</b> (Head of Cikiray Hamlet 1/ <i>Kepala Dusun 1 Cikiray</i> )	Palm sugar production in Salawu
<b>Local Communities (Tasikmalaya City &amp; Regency)</b>						
<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>INTERVIEWEE</b>		<b>NOTES</b>	
1	<b>URG TSK</b> (the Urang Tasik Local Community)	Mar 4, 2019 July 31, 2019 August 1-2, 2019 October 5-9, 2020 December 5-23, 2020	- <b>Adhitya Hiracahya</b> (Initiator) - <b>Uyung Aria</b> (Initiator)		Location: Panyingkiran, Indihiang, tasikmalaya city	
2	<b>TCIC</b> (Tasikmalaya Creative & Innovation Committee)	December 14, 15, 2020	Roni Fitra (Head of TCIC) Hendra Hendrian (Research and Development)  Advisory Board: - Rumini Affandi - Adhitya Hiracahya	Inaugurated March 24, 2021		
3	<b>Tasikmalaya Wooden Bamboo Umbrella Pengrajin Payung</b>	October 6, 2020	- <b>Rangga (pseudonym)</b> (Manager and Promotor) - <b>Ma Niyah (pseudonym)</b> (Wooden-Bamboo Umbrella Painter) (84)			

Geulis (Karya Utama) –	- <b>Mardi (pseudonym)</b> (Umbrella Maker and store manager)	
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### Government Officials (Selaawi, Garut Regency )

NO	NAME	DATE	LOCATION	AUTHORITY	INTERVIEWEE	NOTES
1	<b>The Subdistrict Office of Selaawi</b> (Kantor Kecamatan Selaawi)  <b>Bumdes</b> (Village-Owned Enterprise)	August 27, 2019  August 29, 2019	Jalan Raya Selaawi KM 6, Desa Selaawi, Kecamatan Selaawi, Garut, West Java	The stakeholder in the Selaawi district  BUMDES: Managing, supervising, and collecting the local crafts (primarily bamboo), convections, Garbage disposal, and agricultural products	<b>Septian (pseudonym)</b> Staff in the district office of Selaawi: Kasi Pelayanan  <b>Ratih (pseudonym)</b> Head of BUMDES	Interviews

### Local Communities/Association/Foundation (Selaawi, Garut Regency)

NO	NAME	DATE	INTERVIEWEE	NOTES
1	<b>Yayasan Selaawi Raksa Mandiri (Foundation)</b> - With ITB (PP PBL -LPPM ITB)	July 17, 2019	- From Selaawi: Rudi (pseudonym/representative) - From ITB: Muhammad Ihsan; Prananda L.; Meirina Triharani	

2	<b>Lumbang Benih Bambu and Lumbang Desa</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sinergi Foundation</li> <li>- Selaawi Raksa Mandiri</li> </ul>	July 17, 2019	Both names' pseudonyms <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ahsan (caretaker, manager)</li> <li>- Brian (caretaker, manager)</li> </ul>	
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## ALL CRAFTSPEOPLE IN WEST JAVA

### Tasikmalaya City

NO	NAME	DATE	LOCATION	INTERVIEWEE	TYPE OF CRAFTS	NOTES
1	Nana (Studio)	Mar 4, 2019 August 2, 2019 December 7, 10, 19, 23 – 2020	Jalan Leuwihieum, Kecamatan Bungursari, Tasikmalaya Kota	Nana	Woven bamboo products – all type of products. - Old techniques - Modern Techniques Collaboration with academic institutions, local community, government, business owners, artists and crafts enthusiasts, students, and other projects. (Abah Mumus' son)	
2	Muhtar (house)	August 2, 2019 October 9, 2020	Jalan Situubeet, Kota Tasikmalaya	Muhtar	Woven bamboo products.  Collaboration with academic institutions, local community, government, business owners, artists and crafts enthusiasts, students, and other projects.	
3	Ibran	December 10, 2020 (visit and observation)  December 19, 2020 (visit and in- depth interview)	Parhon Handycraft (Rineka Karya Art) Jl. Parakanhonje 54, Kec Indihiang, Kota Tasikmalaya	Ibran (son in law) Sani (the descendant)	Fine woven bamboo products ( <i>Anyaman bamboo halus parhon</i> )	

To not to harm the safety, dignity, and safety of the craftspeople, I made the pseudonym names for all the research subjects in the following sections whom I lived with during the ethnography observation.

Date of the data collections:

- October 7 (Preliminary visit and PLUT interview)
- October 8-9 (Observation and Field Visit, Approaching)
- November, March (Participatory Observation, Ethnographic Research)

<b>Tasikmalaya Regency</b>					
Salawu: Cikiray Hamlet 1 and 2					
MASTERED PRODUCTS/TYPE					
NO	NAME	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	
1	Suprana (65)	Boboko, Tolombong	Aseupan, dudukuy, nyiru, hihid (skill: tali kacang)	Tampir	Working at late afternoon, evening, and night-to-dawn. Selling by shoulder-peddler to the villages nearby
2	Osah (55~)	Boboko, Tolombong	Aseupan, dudukuy, nyiru, hihid (skill: tali kacang)	Tampir	
3	Ilmi (63)	-	Nyiru, Dudukuy, Hihid, ayakan ceplos (skill: tali kacang)	Tampir, cemepeh	Ngampung seller or to markets in the city (Cikurubuk, <i>jongko</i> ), shoulder pole the products to the main street of Salawu (1.5 hour)
4	Munih (55)	-	Nyiru, Dudukuy, hihid, ayakan ceplos	Tampir, cemepeh	



5	Herni (40)	-	-	-	<i>Tampir, cemepeh</i>	Only work for finishing, <i>nalikeun</i> , dan first step of <i>tampir</i>
6	Indah (27)	-	-	-	<i>Tampir, cemepeh</i>	Only work for finishing, <i>nalikeun</i> , dan first step of <i>tampir</i>
7	Oman (63~)	<i>Ayakan Complong, tolombong ikan, tolombong biasa</i>	<i>Aseupan, nyiru, ayakan biasa</i>	-	<i>Tampir, cemepeh</i>	The only <i>ayakan complong</i> maker in cikiray  Joined the July's workshop (Cithub) – not prefer the development project, not useful
8	Mirah (61~)	<i>Ayakan Complong, tolombong ikan, tolombong kecil, tolombong biasa</i>	<i>Aseupan, nyiru, ayakan biasa</i>	-	<i>Tampir, cemepeh</i>	The only <i>ayakan complong</i> maker in cikiray - Buburuh gacong (in aunt, and brother's land): got 2 <i>karung</i> (sacks of paddy) “the training was hard for me”
9	Endah (50~)	<i>Boboko</i>	<i>Aseupan, dudukuy, nyiru, ayakan, hihid, (skill: tali kacang)</i>	<i>Cecempéh, tampir</i>	<i>Cecempéh, tampir</i>	Side job: <i>ustadzah, ngaji</i>
10	Juhara (55~)	-	<i>Hihid</i>	<i>tampir</i>	<i>tampir</i>	
11	Listia (53~)	-	<i>Hihid</i>	<i>Tampir</i>	<i>Tampir</i>	
12	Ratna (45~)			<i>Tampir</i>	<i>Tampir</i>	The training
13	Karim (43~)			<i>Ambil dan pesan bambo</i>	<i>Ambil dan pesan bambo</i>	Sell to Bandung

14	Dusun 1: Nirmala (30~)	-	Nyiru, Ayakan, aseupan, Ayakan Ceplos,	Jodang, tampir, cecempeh	
15	Dusun 1: Hasanah (30~)	Boboko, Tolombong	Ayakan biasa, Ayakan Ceplos (big), Ayakan kato (small), Hihid, Nyiru	Cempeh, Tampir	
16	Dusun 1: Ami (29~)	-	Nyiru, Ayakan, Ayakan Ceplos,	Jodang, tampir, cecempeh	
17	Wiyana (50~)	Tolombong	Nyiru, aseupan, topi, dudukuy, ayakan, hihid	Tampir, cecempeh, jodang	Anyaman + gacong (starts at 7) - Pa nandang (collector) - 1-2kodi
18	Olah (54~)	-	Aseupan, dudukuy, nyiru, tolok	Tampir	
19	Yahya (50~)	-	Aseupan, dudukuy, nyiru, tolok	Tampir	
20	Isoh (50~)	-	Aseupan, dudukuy, nyiru	Tampir	
21	Daud (58~)	-	-	Tampir	
22	Ramdan (26)	-	-	Tampir	Work in Daud's house. <i>Buburuh nalikeun tampir</i>
23	Swasti (50~)	Boboko, tolombong	Nyiru, ayakan biasa, ayakan ceplos, dudukuy	Tampir	Tampir is having high demand
24	Undang (55~)	Tolombong	-	Tampir	
25	Sarah (26~)	-	-	Tampir	
26	Dusun 2: Sukma (57~)	-	Nyiru, aseupan (small and medium), ayakan	Tampir, Jodang	

27	Dusun 2: Eni (60~)	Boboko, Tolombong	Ayakan, nyiru, aseupan, dudukuy,	Tampir, cecempeh, jodang	
28	Dusun 2: Mimih (55~)	-	-	Tampir, Jodang	Spesialis <i>rangkay</i> (semi-finished surface)
29	Aisyah (55~)	-	-	Tampir, jodang	<i>Rangkay</i> (semi-finished surface)
30	Safiq (50~)	Tolombong, Boboko	Hihid, nyiru,	Cecempeh, jodang	Pak Sarif (originally from cikiray) transferred the skills to his wife who was raised in another village
31	Aida (50~)	Tolombong, Bonboko	Hihid, Nyiru	Cecempeh, jodang	Learning the skills from pak sarif
32	Hanan (24)	-	Nyiru, nyiru cekung,	Cecempeh, tampir	Back to bamboo industry when the pandemic hit (no opportunity to work in big cities)
33	Inah (40)	Tolombong	nyiru	Tampir, cecempeh,	
34	Nina (27)	-	nyiru	tampir	
<i>Dusun 1: Pak Ijih Family</i>					
35	Efendi (80)	Boboko, Tolombong, Kojong (tolombong jangkung)	Hihid	Tampir, Cecempeh, jodang, ebeg,	Music Instrument maker: <i>Angklung, Calung, Kecapi, suling, biola</i>
36	Anika (70~)	Boboko, Tolombong	Aseupan ucok (kecil), aseupan biasa, nyiru, ayakan ceplos, ayakan biasa, ayakan ikan, dudukuy,	Tampir, Cecempeh, jodang, ebeg,	

				<i>cireung lauk, cireung nasi</i>		
37	Ninih (56)	Tolombong		<i>Aseupan ucok (kecil), aseupan biasa, nyiru, ayakan ceplos, ayakan biasa, ayakan ikan, dudukuy, cireung lauk, cireung nasi</i>	<i>Tampir, Cecempeh, jodang, ebeg</i>	Work in groups, skills even, number of products: a bunch, one day 3 pick ups
38	Ehsan (33)					
39	Aman (58)					
40	Rana (29)					
41	Ratri (21)					
42	Reva (14)					
43	Yuna (36)					

<b>Mandalagiri-Leuwisari; Padakembang – Tasikmalaya Regency</b>						
<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>TYPE OF CRAFTS</b>	<b>NOTES</b>	
1	Usman (Small bamboo Industry) – Perkumpulan pengrajin Usman Bambu Bambu Cahaya Mandiri Yandi (Usman's	December 12 (Preliminary visit, Interview) December 21-22, 2020 (in-depth interview)	Kampung Paniis Hilir, RT 01 RW 06 Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	Bamboo and Artificial Woven Products	The leading bamboo crafts business in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari, owned by Usman and his extended family	
2						

	eldest son, the one who helps h					
3	Toriq (Small bamboo Industry) – Workshop Bambu Pak Toto	December 12 (Observation, Interview)	Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	Well-designed woven bamboo products	Open for business other than the ‘brand’	
4	Manda	December 21, 2020	RT 03 RW 01, Kampung Sukatani, Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	<i>Pipiti</i> and <i>Besek</i> (Rough and Half Woven bamboo products)	Involved in Usman’s business, weaving parts, send to Usman for the finishing processes	
5	Siti	December 21, 2020	Kampung Sukatani, Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	<i>Pipiti</i> and <i>Besek</i> (Rough and Half Woven bamboo products)	Involved in Usman’s business, weaving parts, send to Usman for the finishing processes	
6	Utari  Ahmad (Husband of Utari)	December 22, 2020	Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	Woven products (natural and artificial)  Do not prefer the systems from the modernized designer	Involved in Usman’s business, weaving parts, send to Usman for the finishing processes  Just moved to Tasik 4 years ago, from Bandung	

7	Widi	December 22, 2020	Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	<p>Have connections with Ibu Rini from ITB</p> <p>Woven products (natural and artificial) Master for some weaving techniques in the area.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Anyaman dadu</i> (high skill)</li> <li>- <i>Mata walik</i></li> <li>- <i>Anyaman kuya</i> -order from Usman (<i>Langkah 3</i>)</li> </ul>	<p>Involved in Usman's business, weaving parts, send to Usman for the finishing processes</p> <p>Usman's sister</p>
8	Sukma (38)  Ade, husband of Sukma (43)	December 22, 2020	Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	<p>Woven bamboo (natural)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Kotak</i></li> <li>- <i>Rantang</i></li> </ul> <p>Hard rough woven bamboo producers – Not detailed, do not slice the bamboo strips</p>	<p>Involved in Usman's business, weaving parts, send to Usman for the finishing processes</p> <p>Formerly work in Usman's business but now individually run business with family</p>



				unless there are demands	
				<i>Meulitan, ngahua</i>	
9	Undang	December 22, 2020	Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	Woven bamboo (natural) – master - Weaving master	Involved in Usman’s business, weaving parts, send to Usman for the finishing processes  Receive order from nieces or other extended family members
10	Wildan	December 22, 2020	Desa Mandalagiri, Kecamatan Leuwisari, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya	Woven bamboo (natural) - Producer - Collector - Mediator to Oman Bambu	Involved in Usman’s business, weaving parts, send to Usman for the finishing processes  The middlemen for the nearby craftspeople in the north Leuwisari  Has connections with business owners outside of the area, bigger middlemen
<b>Craftspeople (Garut Regency - Selaawi)</b>					
<b>MEKARSARI AREA – Birdcage and Designed Bamboo Products Makers</b>					
<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>TYPE OF CRAFTS</b>	<b>NOTES</b>	
1	Umang	August 28 & 30, 2019	Birdcage	Workshop visit	
2	Asep	August 28, 2019	Birdcage	Workshop visit	
3	Rudi	August 28, 2019	Birdcage	Workshop visit	
4	Sani	August 28, 2019	Birdcage	Helping husband by making birdcage parts at home	






<b>NAGROG AREA – Daily utensils and Designed Products Makers</b>			
1	Sada	August 28 & 30, 2019	Mastering some of weaving techniques and mostly producing modified bamboo products
			Applying new techniques such as slicing bamboo into sticks (such as form for birdcage making), coiling, heating, gluing, polishing, and machine using for the finishing steps.
2	Nanda	August 28, 2019	Daily utensils
			Only making daily utensils, mastering most of all the weaving techniques for daily utensils
3	Laras	August 28, 2019	Daily Utensils
			Only making daily utensils, sometimes working for parts of products that using new techniques (sanding, finishing)
<b>SAMIDA AREA – Daily Utensils Makers</b>			
1	Hena	August 29, 2019	Daily Utensils
			<i>Tolombong</i> (high), <i>Ayakan</i> (middle), <i>Nyiru</i> (middle)
2	Untung	August 29, 2019	Daily Utensils
			Also cattle farming
3	Kosasih	August 29, 2019	Daily Utensils
			<i>Ayakan</i> (middle), <i>Nyiru</i> (middle), <i>jodang</i> (low)



## Appendix II

The process of making high-skilled product: *Boboko* (rice container)



	<p>Weaving process, the pattern: 2-2-3-2-1-2-1-2 (<i>bilik</i> type).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Starting from making the center <i>pihuntuanana</i> for the base – 2 steps of thin strips.</li> <li>b. <i>Saatos pihuntuanana</i>: continuing the center part until it shapes rectangle and having four edges – 2 steps of thin strips.</li> <li>c. <i>Dipengkorkeun</i>: making the radius from the four side edges, heading to the top – 3 steps of thin strips.</li> <li>d. <i>Kaluhurna</i>: making the body part of <i>boboko</i> – 2-1-2-1-2 steps of thin strips.</li> </ul>
	<p>Framing process (<i>wengku</i>):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Fitting the woven surface into the circular frame made of rough strips</li> <li>b. <i>Dipapas/dirapihkeun</i> (Cutting the edge of frame from framing process)</li> </ul>

	<p>c. <i>Nalikeun</i> (Binding the frame using ‘<i>hoé konéng</i>’ (plastic rope) to tighten the woven surface with the frame)</p>
	<p>a. Measuring the support of <i>boboko</i> called ‘<i>soko</i>’ using an iron elbow ruler.</p> <p>b. Folding the <i>soko</i> into square-shaped.</p>
	<p>a. Tying up the support ‘<i>soko</i>’ to the woven body part of <i>boboko</i> using ‘<i>hoé konéng</i>’ (plastic rope).</p> <p><i>Soko</i>’s function: to support the weight of rice inside the square-base container; to make it stronger and stable.</p>
	

Finished products: *Boboko* with its lid using *hoé gunung* (rattan rope), made of outer layer of bamboo (the skin part, green colored bamboo strips); and *boboko* without lid using *hoé koneng* (plastic rope), made of inner layer of bamboo with some strips of outer layer for patterns.

### Appendix III

The process of making high-skilled product: *Ayakan Complong* (Fish Sieve)

	<p>Weaving process, the pattern: 2 (tight, the center, vertical and horizontal)-2 (with gaps between bamboo thin strips)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Starting from making the center <i>pihantuanana</i> – 2 steps of thin strips.</li> <li><i>Langkah dua</i>: Continuation from the center part, until the woven surface has a length of about 40 cm square.</li> </ol>
	<p>Framing process (<i>wengku</i>):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bamboo sticks for the frame part are measured along the length of both sides of the flat-woven surface.</li> <li>The sticks are curved to a circular shape; making the inner and outer rough strips pin the woven surface.</li> </ol>



Forming process (*ngabentuk*):

- a. The wooden kitchen utensil for processing rice (*dulang*) is used to form the *ayakan complong*.
- b. After the frame strips, ropes, and woven surface are ready, the forming process is started by putting the frame strips on *dulang*, place the wooden surface on the frame and *dulang*, and the manual forming process uses hands by pushing the surface to the inner side of *dulang*.
- c. The forming process continues until the hollow half-round shape is formed.
- d. After the surface is formed, the inner rough strip is attached to keep the surface stays between the frame strips. The form is adjusted again after the frame is attached to keep the sieve has a perfect hollow half-round shape.



Cutting the edge process:

- a. The excess surface is cut using a sharp knife (*dipapas/dirapihkeun*).
- b. The frame strips and surface are be adjusted again after the excess part is cut. the form is easily changed even after the frame is attached.




Binding the frame:

- a. The process of *nalikeun* using *hoé gunung* (rattan rope), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.
- b. The rope is called *beulit biasa* (regular knot) that is knotted along with the circular formed frame.




Adding the second frame:





- a. As to strengthen the first frame, the second frame is attached to the lower part of the woven bamboo surface using another rough strip that is knotted at the outer part of the sieve.

	<p>b. The knot between the first and second frames is also added functionally and aesthetically.</p>
	<p>Finished product: <i>Ayakan complong</i>, with <i>hoé gunung</i> (rattan rope knot). Made of the outer layer of bamboo (green colored) and the inner layer of bamboo for the frame.</p>

#### Appendix IV

The process of making high-skilled product: *Tolombong* (Square Based Container)


	<p>Weaving process, the pattern: 2-3-2-1-2-1 (<i>bilik</i> type).</p> <p>a. Starting from making the center of the base (<i>pihuntuanana</i>), the weaving process continues (2 steps of thin strips).</p> <p>b. <i>Saatos pihuntuanana</i>: continuing the center part until it shapes rectangle and having four edges – 2 steps of thin strips.</p> <p>c. <i>Dipengkorkeun</i>: making the radius from the four side</p>
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	<p>edges, heading to the top – 3 steps of thin strips.</p> <p>d. <i>Kaluhurna</i>: making the body part of <i>tolombong</i> – 2-1-2-1 steps of thin strips.</p>
	<p>The finished weaving process: will usually be collected, and the next step is preparing the rough strips for the frame.</p>
	<p>Framing process (<i>wengku</i>):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thick-rough strips are prepared both for the inner and outer frame to clip the flat-woven surface.</li> <li>Cut thick-rough strips are collected with the woven parts.</li> </ol>
	<p>Finishing process:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Binding the frame: The process of <i>nalikeun</i> using <i>hoé gunung</i> (rattan rope), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame. The rope is called <i>beulit biasa</i> (regular knot)</li> </ol>

	<p>b. Finished product:  <i>tolombong</i>, with <i>hoé gunung</i> (rattan rope knot).          Made of inner layer of bamboo with some strips of the outer layer for patterns (green colored).</p>
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## Appendix V

The process of making medium-skilled product: *Aseupan* (Rice Steamer)

	<p>Weaving process, the pattern: 1-2-1 (<i>bilik</i> type)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Starting from making the cone top as the navel of <i>aseupan</i> (<i>pihuntuanana</i>), the weaving process continues (1 step of thin strips).</li> <li><i>Dipengkorkeun</i>: shaping the cone shape from the navel, keep continuing 1 step of thin strips.</li> <li><i>Kahandapna</i>: the continuation from the woven part and change the step into 2 steps of thin strips. After changing the steps, the center to the lower part, they have</li> </ol>
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	tightened order.
	<p>Framing process (<i>wengku</i>):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Cutting bamboo sticks for the frame part, and curving it into a circular shape; making the inner and outer rough strips to pin the woven surface.</li> <li>b. Assembly and framing the thick-rough strips with the woven surface.</li> <li>c. After reaching the desired height which having balance from the lower part to the top (navel), the excess woven surface is cut using a sharp knife.</li> <li>d. Binding the frame: The process of <i>nalikeun</i> using <i>hoé gunung</i> (rattan rope), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.</li> </ol>



Finished product: *aseupan*, with *hoé gunung* (rattan rope knot). Made of the inner layer of bamboo: both the surface part and the frame.

## Appendix VI

The process of making medium-skilled product: *Dudukuy* (Peasant Hat)



Weaving process, the *dudukuy* pattern:

2-2-2 (*bilik* type)

- a. The weaving steps is starting from making the cone top as the navel of *dudukuy* (*pihantuanana*), 2 steps thin strips.
- b. *Dipengkorkeun*: shaping the cone shape from the navel, keep continuing 2 steps of thin strips.
- c. *Kahandapna*: the continuation of the woven part until the bottom part (framing place).



Finished woven surface, (left to right): the inner part of *dudukuy*, the outer part of *dudukuy*. The finished products usually will be collected until some certain numbers (*kodi*) and the framing process will be done after.



Framing process (*wengku*):

- a. Cutting the bamboo sticks for the frame part; curving it into a circular shape; making the inner and outer rough strips to pin the woven surface.
- b. Assembly and framing the thick-rough strips with the woven surface.
- c. After reaching the desired height and width which having balance from the lower part to the top (navel), the excess woven surface is cut using a sharp knife.



Adding the inner part and binding the frame (*bubuluk*):



- a. *Dudukuy* is equipped with the inner part for placing heads, made of rough strips. It is attached with *hoé gunung* (rattan rope) to the woven surface (near the navel at the top).
- b. The process of *nalikeun* using *hoé gunung* (rattan rope), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.
- c. The rope is called *beulit biasa* (regular knot) that is knotted along with the circular formed frame.

Finished product: *dudukuy*, with *hoé gunung* (rattan rope knot).

Components that are made of the inner layer of bamboo: the surface part of the frame, and the inner part of *dudukuy*.

## Appendix VII

The process of making medium-skilled product: *Nyiru* (Medium-Big Flat Tray)

 	<p>Weaving process, the <i>nyiru</i> pattern: 2-2-2 (<i>bilik</i> type)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>Starting from making the cone top as the navel of <i>dudukuy</i> (<i>pihantuanana</i>), 2 steps thin strips.</li><li><i>Saatos pihantuanana</i>: continuing from the center part until has more than the desired diameter – 2 steps of thin strips. The inner layers of bamboo are combined with the outer layer (green colored) to make ornament (decorations).</li><li>The weaving process stops until the desired length and width of the surface woven has reached.</li></ol>
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Framing process (*wengku*):

- a. The long of thick-rough strips for the frame is cut following the set manual measurement using bamboo sticks.
- b. Thick-rough strips are prepared both for the inner and outer frame to clip the flat-woven surface.
- c. The forming process is along with the framing process as the deep-set will be formed after some adjustment when attaching the frame to the woven surface.



Finishing process:


- a. Binding the frame: The process (*nalikeun*) using rattan rope (*hoé gunung*), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.
- b. Finished products: 2 sizes of *nyiru*, with *hoé*

There are three types of knots identified through the

<p>above picture of <i>nyiru</i>:</p> <p>The small-sized product on the top: <i>beulit biasa</i> (regular knot); two pieces at the center: <i>beulit biasa dobel</i>: (regular knot with double knotted); and two pieces at the bottom: <i>beulit kacang</i> (complicated knot).</p>	<p><i>gunung</i> (rattan rope knot). Made of the inner layer of bamboo for both the woven surface and framing, with some strips of the outer layer for patterns at the center of the woven surface (green colored).</p>
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### Appendix VIII

The process of making medium-skilled product: *Ayakan* (Food Sieve)

	<p>Weaving process, the pattern: 2 (tight, the center, vertical and horizontal) - 2 (with gaps between bamboo thin strips)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Starting from making the center <i>pihantuanana</i> – 2 steps of thin strips.</li> <li><i>Langkah dua</i>: Continuation from the center part, until the woven surface has the desired lengths: typically 20 cm, 30 cm, or 40 cm square.</li> <li>The excess surface is cut using a sharp knife</li> </ol>
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*(dipapas/ dirapihkeun)*  
while the frame is attached.



Framing and forming process  
*(wengku)*:

- a. Bamboo sticks for the frame part are cut following the desired diameter.
- b. The measured sticks are curved to a circular shape; making the inner and outer rough strips pin the woven surface.
- c. The forming process is along with the framing process as the deep-set will be formed after some adjustment when attaching the frame to the woven surface.





Finishing process:

- a. Binding the frame: The process (*nalikeun*) using rattan rope (*hoé gunung*), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.
- b. The rope is called *beulit kacang* (complicated knot) that is tangled along with the circular formed frame.
- c. Semi-finished product of *ayakan*.



Finished products: 4 sizes of *ayakan*, knotted using *hoé gunung* (rattan rope knot). Made of the outer layer of bamboo for the woven surface and the inner layer of bamboo for the frame. The small-sized and medium-sized *ayakan* have the 2-2 weaving pattern, but the big-sized *ayakan* has the 1-1 weaving pattern.

## Appendix IX

The process of making medium-skilled product: *Hihid* (Cooking Fan)



Weaving process, the *hihid* pattern: 2-*lépé*-2-*lépé*-2-*lépé* (*bilik* type)

- a. Starting from *langkah dua* (2 thin strips) at the beginning in one corner, it continues until half of the desired width (15 cm) is reached.
- b. *Dilépé*: folding the edge of the woven surface. The directions turn to the length's side (20 cm).
- c. Continuing the weaving process until it is squared, and it ends at the corner on the other side of the beginning corner.
- d. The excess bamboo strips will be framed with the second layer of the woven surface.



Adding the second layer: 2-*lépé*-2 (triangle shaped)

- a. Starting from *langkah dua* (2 thin strips) at the beginning in one corner, it continues until half of the desired width and

	<p>length is needed (half of the square-shaped woven surface).</p> <p>b. The added second layer is attached with the first woven surface.</p>
	<p>Framing and forming process (<i>wengku</i>):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bamboo sticks for the frame part are cut following the desired length of the handle.</li> <li>The excess bamboo strips on the woven surface are cut.</li> <li>Binding the frame (handle): The rattan rope (<i>hoé gunung</i>) is tied at the upper and lower part of the handle as a stopper before it is fully roped.</li> <li>Folding and cutting the excess bamboo strips at the edges of woven surfaces (first and second layers).</li> </ol>



Binding process:

- a. The rope is named *beulit biasa* (regular knot) that is tangled where the woven surface is clipped.
- b. The rope is knotted from the bottom part to the top.
- c. The excess handle (frame) is cut using the saw.



Finished product: double layered *hihid*, knotted using *hoé gunung* (rattan rope knot). The woven surface is made of the inner layer of bamboo; the frame is made of the inner layer of bamboo (green colored).

## Appendix X

The process of making low-skilled product: *Cecempeh* (Small flat tray)



Weaving process, the *nyiru* pattern: 2-

2-2 (*bilik* type)

- a. Starting from making the center of the woven surface (*pihuntuanana*), 2 steps thin strips.
- b. *Saatos* *pihuntuanana*: continuing from the center part until it has a length longer than the diameter of the frame – 2 steps of thin strips. The inner layers of bamboo are combined with the outer layer (green colored) to make an ornament (decorations).
- c. The weaving process stops until the desired length and width of the surface woven has reached.



Framing process (*wengku*):

- a. Cutting the bamboo sticks for the frame part; curving it into a circular shape; making the inner and outer rough strips to pin the woven surface.
- b. The forming process is along with the framing process as the deep-set will be formed after some adjustment when attaching the frame to the woven surface.

Finishing process:

- a. The rattan rope (*hoé gunung*) is tied at the encounter point as a stopper before it is fully roped.
- b. The excess woven surface is cut using a sharp knife.
- c. Binding the frame: The process (*nalikeun*) using rattan rope (*hoé gunung*), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.
- d. The rope that is used is *beulit biasa* (regular knot), tangled



along with the circular frame.



Finished products: *cecempeh*, with *hoé konéng* (plastic rope knot) finishing. The woven surface and framing are made of the inner layer of bamboo. Three strips at the center of the woven surface (green colored) are made of the outer layer of bamboo for patterns.

## Appendix XI

The process of making low-skilled product: *Tampir* (Huge Flat Tray)



Weaving process, the pattern: 2 (tight, the center, vertical and horizontal) - 2 (with gaps between bamboo thin strips)

- a. Starting from making the center *pihuntuana* – 2 steps of thin strips.
- b. *Langkah dua*: Continuation



from the center part, until the woven surface has the desired lengths: typically 60 to 80 cm.



Framing and forming process

(*wengku*):

- a. Bamboo sticks for the frame part are cut following the desired diameter.
- b. The measured sticks are curved to a circular shape; making the inner and outer rough strips pin the woven surface.
- c. The forming process is along with the framing process as the deep-set will be formed after some adjustment when attaching the frame to the woven surface.
- d. Forming the *tampir* by stepping on the woven surface to make sure the frame is well attached.







Finishing process:

- a. The rattan rope (*hoé gunung*) is tied at the encounter point as a stopper before it is fully roped.
- b. The excess woven surface is cut using a sharp knife.
- c. Checking the woven surface is attached evenly to the frame.
- d. Binding the frame: The process (*nalikeun*) using rattan rope (*hoé gunung*), and an additional rough strip to cover the top part of the frame.
- e. The rope that is used is *beulit biasa* (regular knot), tangled along with the circular frame.



Finished products: *tampir*, with *hoé gunung* (rattan rope knot) finishing.





The woven surface and framing are made of the outer layer of bamboo.



Three strips at the center of the woven surface (green colored) are made of the outer layer of bamboo for patterns.



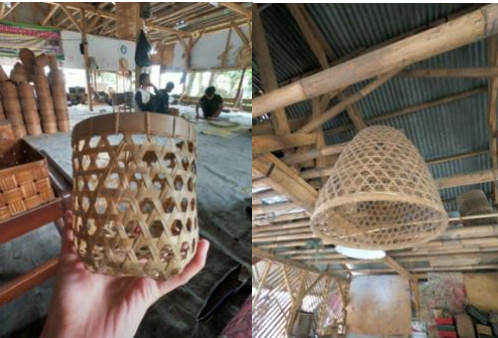

## Appendix XII

### Bamboo products in Oman Bambu Workshop




No.	Hybrid Products	Description
1	<p data-bbox="411 409 874 510">A. Souvenir boxes inspired from woven bamboo baskets (<i>pipiti</i> and <i>beseke</i>)</p>   <p data-bbox="411 999 890 1099">(<i>pipiti</i> that has modified with new framing style)</p> <p data-bbox="411 1133 935 1223">B. Souvenir box, with the modification of the lid</p>  	 <p data-bbox="975 824 1361 1149">(Original form of <i>Pipiti</i>: Squared <i>pipiti</i> requires a folding technique (<i>lépé</i>) at the top edge of the woven surface. The modification changes the folding technique to a frame made of squared-bended bamboo rough strips both for the lid and the container parts.)</p> <p data-bbox="975 1227 1393 1933">The folding technique (<i>lépé</i>) is applied at the top of the lid of the basket. This modified basket functions as packaging for dried food (snacks) or products for gifts. The hole will be equipped with acrylic or mica plastic to protect the products inside the baskets or will not be covered with plastic (usually if functioned as a tissue/candies container). The</p>





		<p>natural look for the finishing (without water-based coatings).</p>
	<p>Squared basket for packaging</p>  	<p>Developed from the hybrid product 1.A, this product uses bigger bamboo strips to make the woven surface, with additional crossed bamboo sticks at the bottom of the container for support. Coated with water-based wood stain.</p>
<p>2</p>	<p>Rounded container with the four-sided base</p> 	<p>The product has the original form that is similar to rice container (<i>boboko</i>) but was modified for the size and at the opening of the container (with the advanced technique of framing/rough bamboo). The natural rope was attached for decoration for the outer look at the top of the container. The finishing process was white paint. It functions as a container for plants or interior decorations.</p>

3	<p>A. Rounded container with rope handle</p> 	<p>Following the original size of the container, this product was modified at the opening (the rope was attached for decoration and handle). The rope was attached using rattan ropes and glue to the frame of the opening. The additional circular rough bamboo at the bottom of the container was attached for support. The woven surface was coated using water-based wood stain for the finishing.</p>
	<p>B. Rounded container with bamboo handle (smaller size)</p> 	<p>The product was developed from 3A in smaller size and equipped with a bamboo handle at the sides of the opening. This product applied modern framing technique with rough bamboo sticks that are bent and attached using glue. At the bottom of the container, the <i>mata kebo</i> pattern is found following the weaving pattern of the original products.</p>
4	<p>Rounded container with the four-sided legs</p>	<p>The product was modified from the square-based container (<i>tolombong</i>), smaller sized, and</p>

		<p>was equipped with legs made of bamboo sticks. This product is coated using a water-based wood stain for the finishing.</p>
5	<p>Woven bamboo lamp shade</p> 	<p>The woven bamboo surface was framed and formed with wide rough bamboo sticks that are bend. The weaving techniques are <i>langkah dua</i> with gaps and <i>langkah dua</i> without gaps. This product was coated using a clear water-based stain for the finishing.</p>
6	<p><i>Terawangan</i> container/interior products</p> 	<p>The woven technique is called <i>terawangan</i> and was applied for many purposes such as container or interior/decorative products. This product applied modern framing with rough bamboo sticks that are bent and attached using glue. This product keeps the natural look without coatings.</p>
7	<p>Coffee strainer</p> 	<p>This product was developed from the rice steamer (<i>aseupan</i>) and small-sized. It is equipped with a handle and applied the modern framing with rough bamboo sticks that are bend and attached using</p>

		<p>glue. The handle could be rotated and keeps the natural looks without coatings.</p>
8	<p><i>Mata itik</i> container</p> 	<p>The woven technique is called <i>mata itik</i>, was applied for making a container with a lid, and equipped with a handle made of ropes. This product applied modern framing technique with rough bamboo sticks that are bent and attached using glue. And this product keeps the natural look without coatings.</p>
9	<p>Combination A (covered decorative container)</p> 	<p>Combination A:</p> <p>The container was customized from the combination of two types of bamboo (stripes and woven) that was developed from the form of a traditional hamper for food (<i>rantang</i>). This was structured by the bamboo sticks at the sides of the product that are bolted to the openings of both the lower and upper containers. This product is coated using a water-based wood stain for the finishing.</p>

	<p>Combination B (decorative container)</p> 	<p>Combination B:</p> <p>The container was customized from the combination of two types of bamboo (stripes and woven at the bottom). It is equipped with a half-circular handle made of rough bamboo that is attached to the opening of the container. This product keeps the natural look without coatings.</p>
<p>10</p>	<p><i>Rantang Bambu</i> (Food carrier made of bamboo)</p> 	 <p>Enamel food carrier made of metal that is imitated and applied to woven bamboo products.</p> <p><i>Rantang Bambu</i> was produced following the metal food carrier for the technical systems but substituted the main material to bamboo. Screws are attached as joints at the openings of both the lower and upper containers that are made of woven surfaces that are framed with rough bamboo.</p>

<p>11</p>	<p><i>Surumbung</i> lamp shade</p> 	 <p><i>Surumbung</i> (filter for ponds) was modified to lamp shade.</p> <p>The form from the original <i>surumbung</i> was simplified to reach the sleek/modern look of the lampshade. The finished product was coated using dark water-based wood stain.</p>
<p>12</p>	<p>Bamboo fruit/parcel container/basket</p> 	 <p>The woven technique is called <i>mata itik</i> that was applied as the base of the container/basket. originally this product functions as a fruit container but nowadays it is also used as a parcel container for some special occasions in Indonesia.</p>



### Appendix XIII

The process of making *pipiti* or *beseke* (woven bamboo basket), performed by one of the makers in Mandalagiri-Leuwisari.

	<p>The differences of the starting points for:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li><i>Pipiti</i> (squared basket, left): <i>bujal</i>, the navel is placed at the center when weaving the base of woven bamboo surface.</li><li><i>Beseke</i> (rectangular-shaped basket, right): <i>pihuntuan</i> (<i>mata</i>), the navel is placed diagonally so that it could be expanded for the length of the base of the woven surface.</li></ol>
	<p>Weaving process, the <i>pipiti</i> pattern: 2-2 (<i>bilik</i> type)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>The weaving steps is starting from making <i>bujal</i> as the navel that is usually done on the floor, 2 steps thin strips.</li><li><i>Dipengkorkeun</i>: shaping the square-shaped from the navel to the sides of the container, until the desired height.</li></ol>



- a. *Dilépé*: the end of weaving process with folding the bamboo stripes to the inner sides of the opening.
- b. *Dirapihkeun*: finishing process of the folding process.



- a. *Dipotong*: cutting the excess of the bamboo stripes from the finished *pipiti*.
- b. *Diteken ujungna*: squeezing the sides (right angle) to make the base has an exact square shape.



Finished products: The woven surfaces of the lid and the base parts are made of the inner layer of bamboo. This product is done without the process of framing (*wengku*) but with folding technique (*dilépé*).

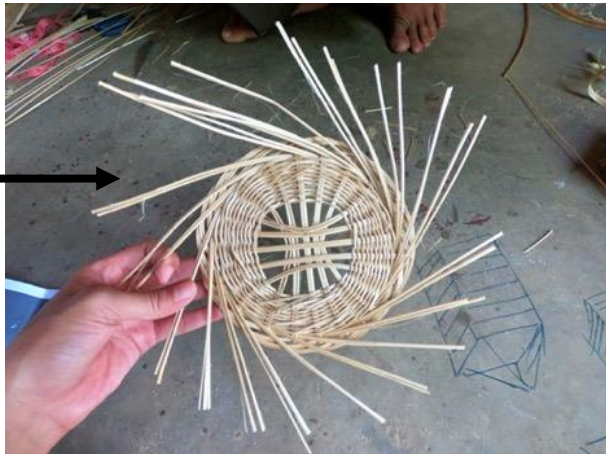
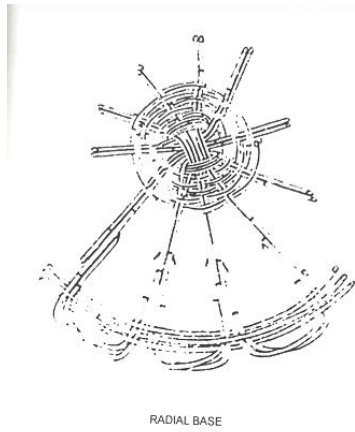
## Appendix XIV

In-depth interviews and exploration bamboo weaving patterns with Nana in Tasikmalaya City.

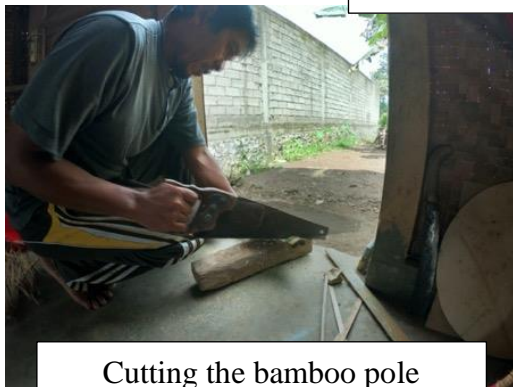


- The exploration of woven bamboo techniques was following one book: Details of the patterns and weave edges: Mulyadi (2009) in *Pelatihan Teknik Desain dan Diversifikasi Produk* [Technical Training and Product Diversification (for woven products)]; Mulyadi (2009) in *Dasar Perancangan Produk Anyaman* [Total Design Technique for Woven Products]. In collaboration with the Department of Small, Micro, and Medium Enterprises of Indonesia.
- Nana was asked to show the process of making the weaving techniques that were shown in the book. The results of the exploration were Nana mastered all the techniques which he stated that all was ‘the patterns to make bases’ of varied woven bamboo products. The details of the exploration processes are followed.

1. Radial Base – *Anyam Kepang*



The finished pattern: Radial Base



Cutting the bamboo pole



Slicing the bamboo strips



Weaving processes: the navel/center



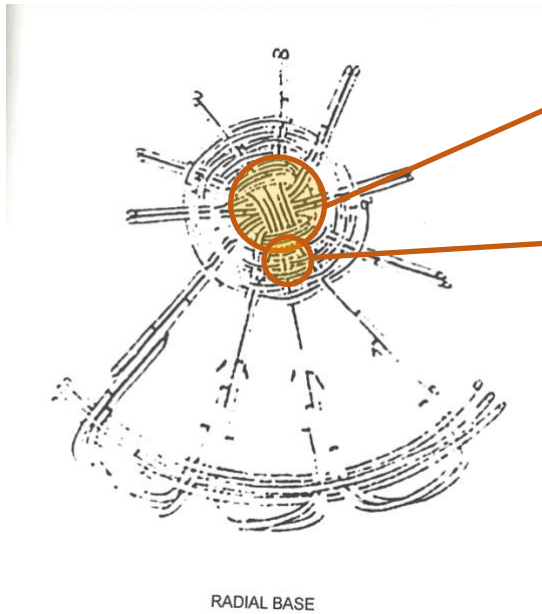
Weaving processes: circular



Weaving processes: circular



Weaving processes, finished



*Ngabujalan* (the center, vortex):  
made of thin strips that are  
woven two steps (*iratan dua*)

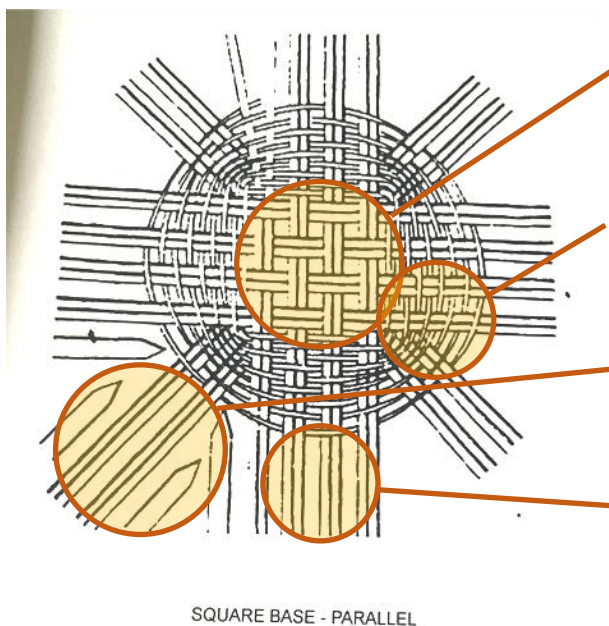
After the center/vortex: the thin  
strips are woven three steps  
(*iratan tiga*), moderate tight.



*Iratan gili* (Array): Stems-like bamboo strips

- This pattern was common in Situbeet but has disappeared since the technique is hard to master and has a low economic value.
- More common in areas that are specialized to make crafts made of rattan, such as Cirebon and Jepara (but is getting rare as well nowadays).

## 2. Square Base – *Anyam Kepang*



*Ngabujalan* (the center, vortex):  
made of stems-like strips that are  
woven two steps (*iratan dua*)

After the center/vortex: the thin  
strips are woven three steps  
(*iratan satu*), very tight.

*Iratan Pipih*: Flat thin bamboo  
strips

*Iratan Gili* (Array): Stems-like  
bamboo strips.

- Even numbers of strips for the disjointed knots
- Odd numbers of strips for the continual knots



Weaving processes: the navel/center

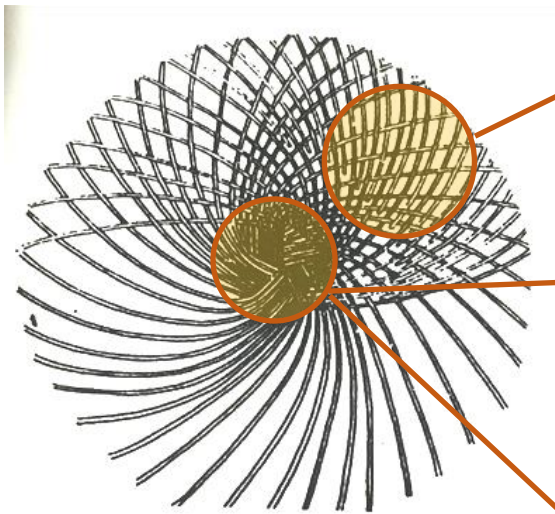


Weaving processes: circular



The finished woven surface

3. Tangential Base – *Anyam Kebo* [The Buffalo Eye]



TANGENTIAL BASE

After the center/vortex: the thin strips are woven three steps (*iratan satu*), very tight; move to the two steps of thin strips (*iratan dua*).

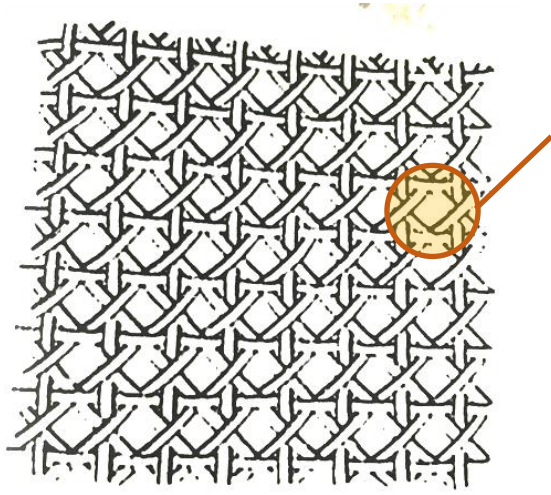
The drawn technique was unknown and could not be done by following Anyam Kebo patterns (it has hole at the center as the navel).





- The trend of the skill was started in 2000s in Tasikmalaya. It is applied for lamp shade, fruits baskets, and their combinations.
- The tangential base (*Anyam Kebo*) was originally brought from Kroya, Cilacap, and Sleman areas in Central Java.

4. Plaiting Multi Directional (Rectangular) – *Segi Empat Terawangan*



*Segi Empat Terawangan*:  
 Rectangular-shape motive.  
 Made of the flat thin bamboo strips (*Iratan Pipih*)

Plaiting multi-directional



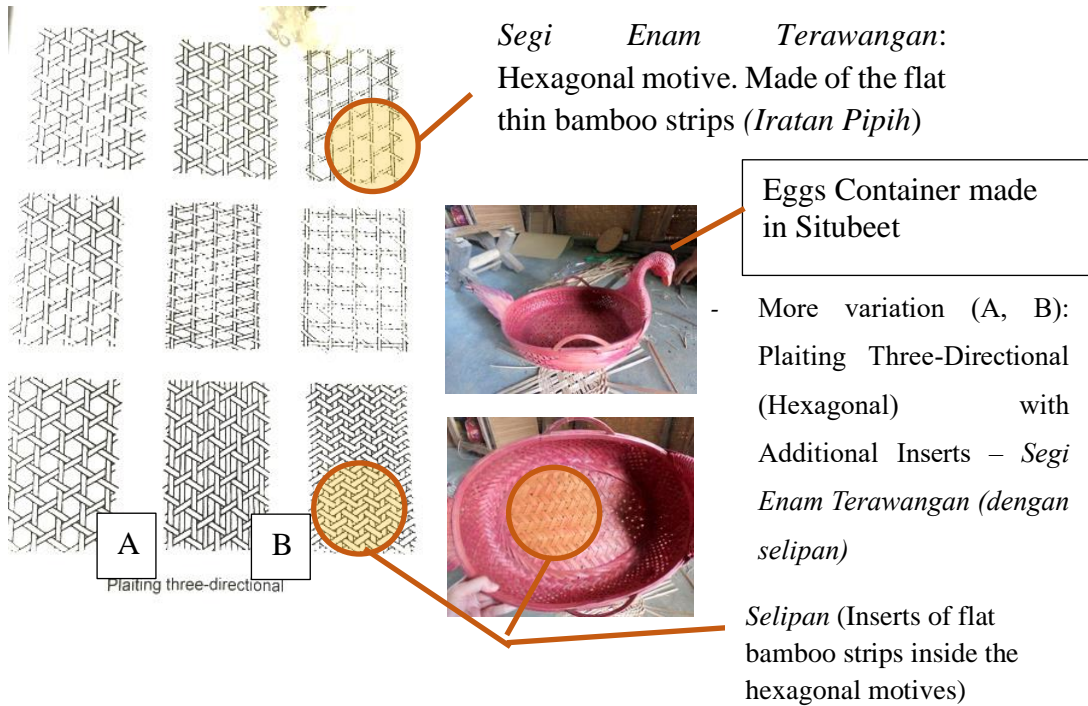
Weaving processes: the navel/center



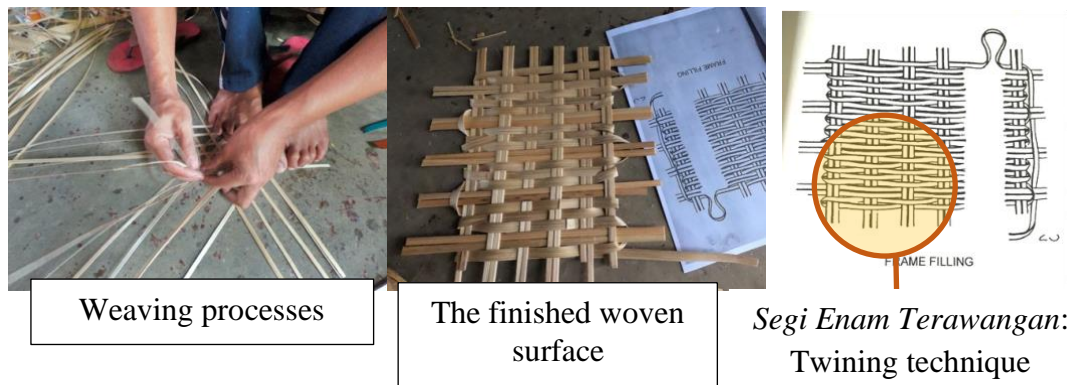
Weaving processes

The finished woven surface

5. Plaiting Three-Directional (Hexagonal) – *Segi Enam Terawangan*



6. Frame Filling (Twinning Technique) – *Anyam Kepang Lilit*



- This pattern is usually applied for making bamboo walls, partitions, windows, or doors in traditional architecture. The finished products are called *dinding*, *bilik*, or *gedég* (wall).



7. Coil Forming (Knot/Twist) – Anyam Simpul/Iket/Pelintir



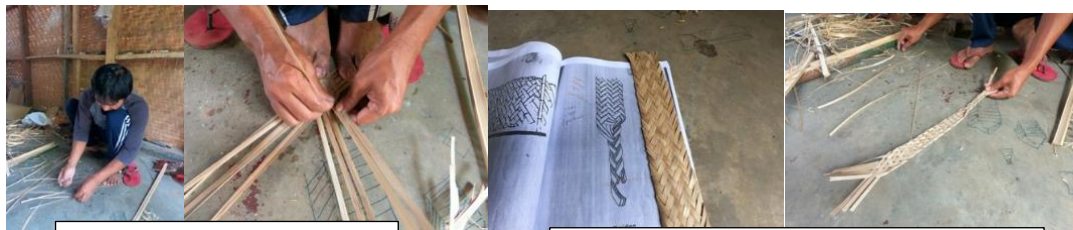
*Simpul/Iket/Pelintir*  
(Knot/twist)

*Tiang* (Pillar); usually  
made of rattan

*Iratan pipih/Sasag*  
(Flat strips)

- This technique originally an influence from Lombok and so called as 'keta'. It is usually applied for products made of rattan, but was developed in Tasikmalaya for Mendong grass, Pandan leaves, and Bamboo started from 2000s. Even so, it is not very common to produce this technique (only for custom products).

8. Braiding Flat (Tubular) – Anyam Kepang, Iratan Dua



Weaving processes

Finished weaving surfaces



*Iratan Pipih*: Flat thin bamboo strips, made of stems-like strips that are woven two steps (*iratan dua*)

*Ngepang* (Braid the knot – tubular- shaped)

Braiding Flat - Tubular

- This technique is applied to make the inner part of peasant hats (*dudukuy*) or bags and other wearable products. See section about Parhon in the main text.

Detached from the book (Mulyadi, 2009), Nana also showed techniques that are identically made in Situbeet (his origin place, which is famous for their twining techniques)

1. Combination of Tangential Base



Weaving processes: the navel/center

Combination of the 'Tangential Base'

Dilépe/Dijait/Dibeulit (the techniques of folding and twisted)

New style of *Anyam Alur* (made of thin bamboo strips)



The finished woven base and the wall (*kaluhurna*)

Detail of additional

- The combination of 'tangential base' technique is seen as the easiest technique to make the base of baskets and commonly applied in Situbeet.
- Craftspeople in Situbeet are specialized in making baskets for souvenirs or hampers and other decorative products that possibly used this technique as their basic skills.

2. *Simeut Meuting* (Decorative patterns using bamboo strips that are sliced at their sides)



Each strip is sliced at the sides for the highlight among other bamboo strips

It was colored with natural dyes but they use chemical paints nowadays

3. *Mata Itik* [The Ducks Eye], which was found in Situbeet and Parhon areas



Weaving processes: the navel/center

Weaving processes: the surface



The finished weaving surfaces

*Mata Itik* [The Ducks Eye technique]

- Usually used for combination motives for baskets making.
- In the recent time, this technique is common for interior/decoration products such as lamp shade or walls.
- This technique appears in Situbeet and Parhon as the two areas are well known for their crafts and decorative products.

A unique slicing technique from Situbeet: *Ngahua Dipelintir*



Slicing processes: cut and bend the bamboo

Sliced bamboo strips (bundle)

- *Ngahua dipelintir*: slicing the bamboo into array (*Iratan Gili*) with a bulk bending process.

4. Slicing the skin of bamboo, which was found in Situbeet and Parhon areas.



Scratching the bamboo skin



The scratched bamboo poles

- The technique of scratching the bamboo skin (the green part of bamboo pole), to make the fine woven bamboo slices. This technique technically applied to remove the sleek surface of bamboo so that bamboo will be able to absorb the dye liquid (for decorative and preservatives purposes).

## Appendix XV

The collected patterns from Tasikmalaya City (from Situbeet and Parhon) that are framed with the help of Nana during the fieldwork in December 2020.



*Mata Itik* (woven surface from Parhon)



*Bilik* (woven surface from Parhon)



*Lépé* technique (woven surface from Parhon)



*Segi Enam Terawangan (dengan selipan) , Situbeet*



*Hexagonal Terawangan (Situbeet)*



*Mata Itik (woven surface from Situbeet)*



*Anyam Kepang (braiding) (From the experiment in Situbeet)*



*Square Base – Anyam Kepang, continued with Iratan Pipih (flat thin bamboo strips) (From the experiment)*



*Square Base – Anyam Kepang, continued with Iratan Gili (Array, Stems-like bamboo strips) (From the experiment in Situbeet)*



*Mata Itik, natural look without coloring (woven surface from Parhon)*

## Appendix XVI

The assessment for August 2019 Project, was conducted by the West Java Region Government, Department of West Java Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (UMKM Jabar). The assessment following the framework of ‘Criteria Applied to Project Components’ in Nolan (2002: 208).

Concept-designing process:

Criteria	Objectives	Strategies	Activities	Resources
Effectiveness	<i>Do not effectively address the problem: regeneration for Siubeet Craftspeople and the nearby areas</i>	<i>Yes. The local community Urang Tasik and the masters of the crafts from Situbeet recruited many youths who were basically not having skills in producing bamboo crafts</i>	<i>Yes. The two-day activities were relevant to the project strategy. Day 1: introduction and training; Day 2: finishing and closing and socialization of the government’s regulation in conducting bamboo business</i>	<i>Yes. Bamboo and structures made of steels were provided by the Urang Tasik Community, which were ordered before the mid-project was held</i>
Efficiency	<i>It is roughly more than 600,000 (the regional budget was higher than the regency one (the July 2020 project))</i>	<i>Very high and not efficiently spent by providing hotel rooms as 2 nights’ accommodation, while the participants’ houses are not far from the project’s place</i>	<i>The two-day project was held within the cost limit</i>	<i>The resources (bamboo and steels) are enough as expected. There were an excess number of bamboo slices from the project</i>
Appropriateness	<i>Yes, the participants agreed on the regeneration problems they were having</i>	<i>Yes, accepted, but not sustained after the projects</i>	<i>All the participants participated well from the beginning to the end. It was a great opportunity to spread bamboo-producing skills to the youths</i>	<i>Bamboo material was appropriate but the participants and the masters of the bamboo craft were quite confused about the structures made of steels to be adjusted with bamboo</i>
Adequacy	<i>The skills that were transferred in the project do not sustain after the</i>	<i>Yes, the project allowed everyone to participate. The participants benefit to get the socialization of</i>	<i>Yes, everyone was included and nobody was excluded from all the activities in the project. The</i>	<i>Yes, the resources were enough for the two-day workshop: bamboo, a structure of</i>

	<i>project. The regeneration problem for this area is still not answered effectively. This should be the evaluation for the next project's concept to solve a similar problem</i>	<i>regulations from the regional government about running micro to medium businesses. And the project was a chance to gather with other non-craft producers to learn the basic skills for bamboo and knitting</i>	<i>activities are divided into two places, first an indoor-outdoor workshop area for bamboo crafts, led by two persons from the Urang Tasik community and other two bamboo crafts masters; the knitting training was led by a knitting business owner in another workshop room</i>	<i>chairs and side tables made of steels, and other finishing materials such as coating sprays and wood-look paints</i>
Side Effects	<i>The skills of processing knitting were useful for the participants, but for bamboo training, the skills to adjust weaving to interior products were not practical after the project. The bamboo workshop participants back to their occupations (non-crafts producers)</i>	<i>The strategy to make modern interior products of the bamboo project was not practical to be re-produced. To solve the 'regeneration problem' the concept should be evaluated. What was designed by the local community was also different from what was expected. It was not possible to make such advanced furniture and the half-baked concept to make chairs and side tables was decided</i>	<i>The customized modern chair and side tables that required the twinning technique of bamboo materials seemed improper. The modification concept could not be realized and it resulted in troubles to apply the weaving techniques on the premature steels structure as the prototype</i>	<i>After the project, there were no such related activities for the participants to start their business related to crafts. To pass the bamboo crafts knowledge on modern products may have obstacles especially if the producers are not masters, and there were no demands from the markets</i>
Learning	<i>The participants were aware of the lack of ability to continue the bamboo business in</i>	<i>The participants had a chance to join all the activities in the project but they had no strategies to start their</i>	<i>Possibly they could not take over to run the activities in producing crafts themselves for the bamboo training project. But for the knitting products,</i>	<i>Not exactly learned to use resources (bamboo) better, since the bamboo training was held in groups and depending on the</i>

	<i>their area, yet after the project, the problem has not been solved/ answered</i>	<i>businesses related to crafts</i>	<i>that would be easier for the participants to take over running the activities individually at their houses after the workshop</i>	<i>steels structure to apply the weaving techniques. But the project was a good chance for those who have not experienced processing bamboo or knit previously</i>
Replicability	<i>To replicate a similar project in the future, the project for bamboo training and workshop should be re-evaluated to be more effective to answer the goal of the project</i>	<i>Different strategies should be conducted for other places. The strategy and the goals to solve the regeneration problems seemed not in line and should be re-evaluated</i>	<i>The two-day workshop was not effectively answered the targeted problem, similar activities should not be continued in the sense to reach the effectiveness and efficiency in spending the project's budget</i>	<i>Importantly, mastering many skills in producing bamboo crafts to run a craft business is the key. But the project was only focused on attaching 'bamboo material' to modern material (steels) and so to reach the traditional look. The problem is the strategy to combine it and if the result of the project was not significant, not the resources themselves</i>



## Appendix XVII

### Categorization of Questions in the field (for the craftspeople)

#### 1. Individual Interviews

No	Type of Questions	Points of Questions	Answers
1	<b>General/Daily Behaviors</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Daily activities from morning to night</li> <li>- Mastered product type</li> <li>- Reason to use each skill</li> <li>- Activities other than making crafts</li> <li>- Interests/Hobbies</li> </ul>	Daily activities:
	<b>+ If in Group(s) in one house/group of houses; Connections</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Duration of the group working</li> <li>- Workflow in one group (or men/women)</li> <li>- How to transfer skills</li> <li>- Mastered product type/common to produce</li> <li>- The relationship between other groups nearby</li> <li>- Problems and conflicts</li> </ul>	
2	<b>Behaviors in Making Crafts</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Making crafts period</li> <li>- Duration of the craftsmanship/Job history</li> <li>- The way to get skills</li> <li>- Type of working (individually/family/groups/among neighbors)</li> <li>- The relationship between other craftspeople nearby</li> <li>- Problems and conflicts</li> </ul>	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The knowledge and skills to choose and process bamboo</li> <li>- Reasons to process in each process (cut/weave/finishing)</li> <li>- The variations of the way of weaving (patterns and their names)</li> <li>- The reason he/she uses a specific weaving technique for a specific part of a product</li> </ul>	

		- How much he/she thinks possible to replace materials	
<b>3</b>	<b>Profile and Background</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Name and Age</li> <li>- Occupation(s)</li> <li>- Level of Education</li> </ul>	
<b>4</b>	<b>Investigating the cycle of market</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The middlemen's cycle (number of middlemen)</li> <li>- Place of the market</li> <li>- Duration of experience in the market</li> <li>- Days and times to collect/send</li> <li>- Payment</li> <li>- Distribution of payment - if in group(s)</li> </ul>	
<b>5</b>	<b>Investigating the change nowadays</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Number of orders</li> <li>- Current situations (pandemic, special occasions, etc.)</li> <li>- Coping ways from the problem</li> </ul>	
<b>+ If in Group(s); Investigating the change of working as groups/combination of working flow</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Preferred workflow</li> <li>- Preferred type of products to produce</li> <li>- Family conditions</li> <li>- Current situations (pandemic, special occasions, etc.)</li> <li>- Coping ways from problems (family, group conflict, etc.)</li> </ul>	
<b>6</b>	<b>Interpretative Questions about Creative Economy and Innovations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Openness</li> <li>- Familiarity with the creative economy and innovation concept</li> <li>- Correlation with the outer environment</li> <li>- Possibilities to produce innovative products in a group-type workflow</li> </ul>	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Type of innovative products</li> <li>- Daily utensils or innovative products? (Preference)</li> <li>- Difficulties</li> <li>- Skills adjustment</li> <li>- Digital marketing readiness</li> </ul>	

		- Adjustment to relations/other groups/neighbors	
<b>7</b>	<b>Connecting Questions</b>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The value of making crafts products (Individual or group type working?) -&gt;</li> <li>- Relations of the existing skills and the innovations (Skills of his/hers were utilized for the project/s)</li> <li>- Openness for joining the development project training</li> <li>- How far and how has he/she got involved in external projects (business-based/governmental)</li> <li>- The reason to be involved/not involved in projects</li> <li>- The concept, attitude, aim, material and its choice, processing, sales, relationship with middleman (Y/N), and preferences.</li> </ul>		
<b>Concluding Statement Questions</b> (from points number 4, 5, 6, and 7)			

<b>Notes</b>	
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**2. Other Aspects inside of the Village**

- Numbers of inhabitants in one area/hamlet/village
  - o Considering the number of samples
    - Numbers of people in one village/dusun?
    - RT/RW?
  - o Identifying type of occupation; and occupancy of land
    -
- Location of the field site (geologically)

- Mapping the cycle of natural material resources

- o From bamboo forests to the craftspeople

- o From bamboo forests to outside the area/hamlet/village

- Tracing relations among craftspeople and people from outside the area/hamlet/village

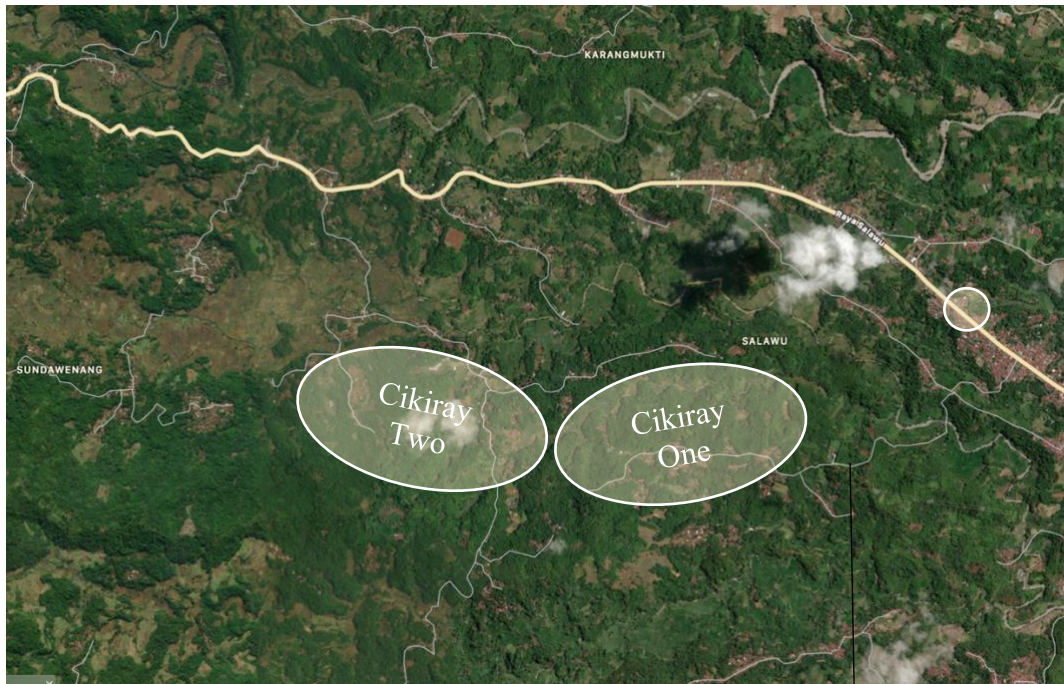
- The role of mediator/spokesperson in the village

- Movement in one village

- o Bamboo planting:
- o Tourist village initiation:

## Appendix XVIII

### The Satellite View of Salawu Sub-district (Cikiray Hamlets One and Two)



The Access to  
the Hamlets  
(Cikiray One)