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**Assisting the vulnerable:
from vulnerability towards security
(A case study on assistance activities conducted by
CD Bethesda for becak drivers in Yogyakarta City)**

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Indonesia

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Abstract

Becak, a three wheeled and non-motorized vehicle, is an interesting phenomenon in Yogyakarta, a city with many predicates one of which is 'city of tourism'. It is interesting because on one hand, becak was proclaimed as one of Jogja's special attraction; while on the other hand, local authority's concern on becak is insufficient indicated by lack of regulation and less attention to becak drivers. As a result, working as becak driver is no more than a choice left for marginalized group of people to stay alive. While local government seems to put less concern, started in the year 1997, an NGO namely CD Bethesda came to help becak drivers by strengthening their assets to reduce their vulnerability, through the establishment of two becak drivers associations: *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal*.

This research used a combination between a deductive quantitative and deductive qualitative method. Fieldwork findings and data analysis confirmed the initial presumption that becak drivers are categorized as vulnerable group, indicated by poor human capital (low educational background, poor skill, limited access to healthcare service as well as absence of healthcare insurance and subsidy), poor financial capital (low income, absence of saving, and limited access to credit). Other indications that support the finding is that most becak drivers have poor physical capital (absence of physical tool such as becak to generate income, relatively improper shelter to stay in, and limited access to water and sanitation) and poor social capital (limited network and less contact and mutual agreements amongst becak drivers).

The data analysis of this research also concluded that assistance programs conducted by CD Bethesda for *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* becak drivers associations are relatively effective to make their members less vulnerable based on the following reasons: (a) a match between what is given by the NGO and what is needed by the becak drivers. This is possible because members are invited to get involved from the initial process to implementation of the programs; (b) a fact that in some extent, the programs succeeded in bringing their members towards less vulnerability.

Another conclusion is that local government put less concerns to becak and becak drivers, indicated by the absence of law that regulates becak or regulation that stands at becak's side. It happens even at basic level, such as the absence of data about how many becak and becak drivers operate in Jogja, which in turn makes it difficult to manage becak and becak driver in Jogja. From CD Bethesda point of view, factors needed to conduct assistance programs effectively are relatively supportive, indicated by for example availability of sustainable funding, ability of the NGO to identify clients' needs, and presence of support from its higher level. Within the two associations, this research found dynamic interactions between one member and another, as well as between members and the boards. Members' commitment to develop organizations needs continuous effort for encouragement. On the other side, leaderships at the board level have not satisfied nearly half of the members. For solidarity and members' participation issue, members of the two associations confirmed the presence of a good solidarity amongst them, and relatively high participation in the organizations in both regular meetings and activities.

Instead of a burden, becak should be considered as an asset and characteristic that makes Jogja unique and distinctive, which in turn makes it an attraction for tourists. Inevitably, a regulation on how to give subsidy for becak and becak drivers is needed. This policy should be implemented along with strategy on how to administer and control the number of becak and becak drivers to avoid becak overpopulation in Jogja.

Keywords: *assistance programs, vulnerability, assets*

Glossary

Acupressure	- A form of touch therapy using finger pressure that utilizes the principles of acupuncture and Chinese medicine
Andhong	- Four-wheeled carriage drawn by a horse
Arisan	- Rotating saving group
Bawang Manunggal	- <i>Becak dan Warungan Manunggal</i> (Becak and Small Food Stall United)
Becak	- A three wheeled and non-motorized vehicle
CD	- Community Development
DIY	- <i>Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta</i> (Yogyakarta Special Region)
FGD	- Focused group discussion
Gadhuh	- Raising the cattle for a share in the product
HBE	- Home based enterprise
Kartu Sehat	- ‘ <i>Heath Card</i> ’, a card provided for poor households by government to get free healthcare service
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
Ojek	- Also known as <i>ojeg</i> , mode of transportation using motorcycle for single passenger
Parti Warjo	- <i>Paguyuban Angkutan Roda Tiga dan Warungan Jogjakarta</i> (Association of Small Food Stall and Three Wheeled Vehicle of Jogjakarta)
Pengajian	- Religious learning group
Trah	- A group of people originated from the same great great grandfather
YAKKUM	- <i>Yayasan Kristen untuk Kesehatan Umum</i> (Christian Foundation for Public Health)
YEU	- YAKKUM Emergency Unit

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research background

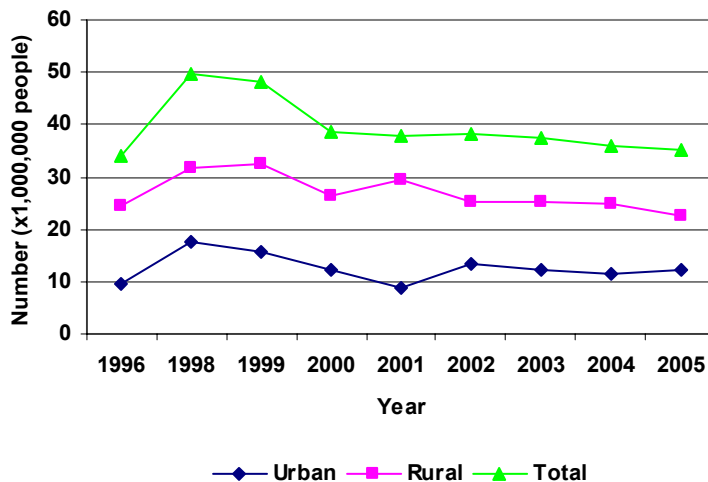
Indonesia is a country with many paradoxes. The country owns fertile land and abundant natural resources and receives enormous amount of money from various donors and multinational funding institutions (based on a report by The Central Bank of Republic of Indonesia, total Indonesia foreign debt up to December 2006 is USD 125.258 billion) but a lot amount of citizens live in poverty. Through its press release in March 2003, the Coordinating Ministry of Economic reported that at the peak of monetary crisis in 1998, the amount of poor people in Indonesia reached 24.2 percent of total population, or approximately 49.5 million people. In the year 2002, the number had decreased to 18.2 percent. The table below shows detail number of poor people in the year 1996 until 2005.

Table 1.1 Number of poor people in Indonesia

Year	Number (x1,000,000 people) & % of total population		
	Urban	Rural	Total
1996	9.42 (13.39%)	24.59 (19.78%)	34.01 (17.47%)
1998	17.60 (21.92%)	31.90 (25.72%)	49.50 (24.23%)
1999	15.64 (19.41%)	32.33 (26.03%)	47.97 (23.43%)
2000	12.30 (14.60%)	26.40 (22.38%)	38.70 (19.14%)
2001	8.60 (9.76%)	29.30 (24.84%)	37.90 (18.41%)
2002	13.30 (14.46%)	25.10 (21.10%)	38.40 (18.20%)
2003	12.20 (13.57%)	25.10 (20.23%)	37.30 (17.42%)
2004	11.40 (12.13%)	24.80 (20.11%)	36.10 (16.66%)
2005	12.40 (11.37%)	22.70 (19.51%)	35.10 (15.97%)

Source: Statistic Indonesia (BPS), 2006

Figure 1.1 Number of poor people in Indonesia



Poverty in Indonesia is not only seen from perspective of urban-rural, but also inter-regional. Cahyono (2005) noted that more than 43% or 190 districts/municipalities out of 440 districts/municipalities in Indonesia are categorized as underdeveloped region. Most of them, 63% are in eastern region of Indonesia (KTI), 28% in Sumatra, and only 8% in Java and Bali.

“In addition to low income (living on less than USD 1 a day), illiteracy, ill health, gender inequality, and environmental degradation are all aspects of being poor. This is reflected in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the international community’s unprecedented agreement on the goals for reducing poverty” (Reinikka, 2004).

Lubis (2004, p2) noted that if we use World Bank criterion in determining poverty line which is \$1/day, only 7.4 percent of Indonesian citizens will be considered as poor. However, the percentage will reach more than 53 percent if we use \$2/day as baseline. The data indicates that in reality “there are still many Indonesian families who are not currently categorized as poor but are vulnerable to falling into poor groups”.

Development process so far is believed as the most efficacious receipt to alleviate poverty and bring all citizens towards prosperity. But, did data about poverty above indicated that the poverty occur when Indonesia is in continuous effort to do what so-called “development”? Then, what was going wrong with the receipt namely “development”?

The answer perhaps is that development process everywhere always brings two contradictory effects like two faces of one coin. On one side, development process brings some people towards prosperity and welfare; and on the other side, it brings much more people towards poverty and underdevelopedness.

Many development planning processes in developing countries put more emphasis on physical-spatial aspects. Ul Haq exposed some faults of development planning in developing countries, based on Pakistan experience. According to Ul Haq, one of the faults is development planning’s ignorance to the development of human resource. Development in the third world prioritize budget to fund physical projects instead of non-physical ones simply because the physical projects show results more instantly (Ul Haq 1983 in Hasan 2004). Moreover, development accommodates only the interests of majority groups or elite groups from perspective of politic, economy, or culture.

A criticism then occurred stating that conventional development planning process ignores the marginalized or disadvantaged groups. The conventional development planning process is criticized because it is proved not able to answer the question on how to accommodate the interest of minority groups and marginalized community. “Mainstream models of development and the policies based on them were challenged for falling to address the question of mass poverty and sustainability”, said Friedmann (1992).

The criticism becomes more relevant in the context of contemporary Indonesia, because nowadays the country faces a problem of increasing the number of marginalized groups because of economy crisis –that is not yet solved completely, and the complex multidimensional problem.

One of paradigms that emerged from dynamic discussions and criticism to conventional development planning paradigm is so-called advocacy planning that was first proposed by Paul Davidoff. It was born with a great spirit to give deeper concern to marginalized groups and disadvantaged community. Davidoff (1965) argues that unitary planning perpetuates a monopoly over planning power and discourages participation. He stated that traditional planning creates at least two barriers to effective pluralism: (1) planning commissions are undemocratic and not suited to represent competing interests in a diverse society; and (2) too narrowly addressed physical planning, thus separating the physical form from the social. Thus, it neglects social conflict and inequality in the city.

At a particular scale in Indonesia, advocacy planning was in fact already done by various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) although it is not explicitly stated that what they have done

was advocacy-planning activity. One good example is assistance activity conducted by such NGOs or intermediate institutions for some communities or group of people that is categorized as vulnerable group, such as slum dwellers, street kids, prostitutes or sex worker, fishermen, and small-scale farmers.

1.2 Problem definition

One of the vulnerable groups is pedicab/tricycle driver (Indonesian term for pedicab/tricycle—a three wheeled and non-motorized vehicle—is “becak”). In many cities in Indonesia, the existence of becak is marginalized by public policies. In Semarang, the capital city of Central Java for example, the local government planned to ban becak on some main streets, and they would only permit becak to operate in very limited area (*Tempo Interactive*, 31 March 2005).

In Bandung, the capital city of West Java, according to City Regulation (Peraturan Daerah/Perda) Number 11 Year 2005, becak drivers will be fined Rp250,000.00 if they break the traffic law. It doesn't make sense since their average per day income is less than Rp15,000,-. In addition, becak is forbidden to operate on some streets in Bandung based on Mayor Decree (SK Walikota) Number 1501 Year 1998 (*Pikiran Rakyat*, 8 December 2005).

In Jakarta, the biggest city in Indonesia and the capital city of the country, Regulation (Perda) Number 11 Year 1988 prohibits becak to operate on any street in Jakarta Special Province (*Metrotvnews*, 15 August 2005).

Without such regulations, the live of becak drivers has already been marginalized. Most public policies on transportation that, by intention or not, prioritize motorized vehicles has lead to the decreasing of their income. In average, they and their family have to live with less than USD 2 per day. Therefore, from the perspective of internal aspects (low level of education, poor skill) and external aspects (government policies), becak driver everywhere in Indonesia is vulnerable to poverty.

Many becak drivers do not have their own becak. Instead, they rent the becak from someone having several becak, so-called ‘*juragan*’. Since they rent the becak, they have to pay a rental fee Rp2,000.00 - Rp3,000.00 per day. Inevitably, it makes their income that is already small become even much smaller.

One of NGO in Yogyakarta that has great concern for becak existence in the city is Community Development Bethesda (or CD Bethesda) Yogyakarta. Initially, the organization helped poor people or disadvantaged groups in issues related to healthcare service, which was getting more and more difficult to access. In the next progress however, the organization started conducting assistance on more general aspect of developing human and social capital.

This research will take a case of assistance activity conducted by CD Bethesda for becak drivers in Yogyakarta. To help becak drivers generating their income, CD Bethesda conducts assistance activities through a program namely *Program for Strengthening Urban Poor Community*. Some of the activities are: (1) conducting some skill training, (2) giving credit to buy becak, (3) facilitating funding for healthcare service, and (4) conducting a course on understanding HIV/AIDS (CD Bethesda Annual Report, 2003).

It seems that CD Bethesda has done many things to help becak drivers in Yogyakarta to stay away from poverty. However, one big question remains: does CD Bethesda conduct assistance activities in aspects that the becak drivers really need? This is a critical question because perhaps what the becak drivers really need is a plate of rice to eat, but CD Bethesda gives a cup of tea to drink.

1.3 Research context

Yogyakarta City was founded in 1755, along with the establishment of the Kingdom of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono I (the ancestor of the current sultan, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X). Yogyakarta City is very much well-known as the second tourist destination in Indonesia (after Bali) mainly because of its capability to retain the Javanese culture and customs.

At this point, the existence of becak found its momentum. There are two main reasons why local government still permits becak to operate in Jogja instead of ban it like what has been done by some other local governments such as Bandung (West Java) and Jakarta. First, becak is unique and it matches Jogja's image as a tourist-destination city. Second, the local government wants to realize Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX's words to retain becak because it is an integrated part of Jogja history and culture.

Community Development Bethesda Hospital (or CD Bethesda) is a non profit organization that initially concerned on healthcare service for marginalized people, particularly those who live in villages or remote areas. Structurally, CD Bethesda is one of units under Bethesda Hospital Yogyakarta. Because it is a part of a hospital, no wonder if initial concern of such an institution is on healthcare issues. It is an independent organization, and along with Bethesda Hospital, the two institutions are under the 'Yayasan Kristen untuk Kesehatan Umum' (YAKKUM) or Christian Foundation for Public Health, one of Indonesia's biggest healthcare service, as organizational umbrella. However, at present time CD Bethesda does not only deal with healthcare issues. It also put a deep concern on other issues such as assets development of the urban poor (see http://www.cdbethesda.org/about_history_ind.asp).

Tracing back in 1974, a meeting of YAKKUM CD came up with one important agreement that every branch should widen its service through community development activities. Implementing the agreement, CD Bethesda was established in the same year. To work for the poor, the organization has a mission to facilitate people to understand what their real problems are and collaborate with them to resolve the problems using the existing resources.

The first contact between CD Bethesda and becak drivers took place on one day in the year 1997, when Indonesia suffered from monetary crisis like some other Asian countries. At that moment, many better-off people as well as institutions did charity actions such as distributing food as expression of solidarity for the poor, particularly for becak drivers and street kids. CD Bethesda also took part in such a charity action by distributing lunch coupon for 527 becak drivers, everyday for three months. During the hardship, CD Bethesda also organized serial meetings to discuss about becak drivers' real problems.

At the end of the meetings, they agreed to establish a new becak drivers association with the main objective to find out solutions to deal with the real problems they have identified. They named the new organization 'Parti Warjo' which stands for 'Paguyuban Angkutan Roda Tiga dan Warungan Jogjakarta' (Jogjakarta Three-wheeled Vehicle and Small Food Stall Association). A couple years later, many other becak drivers wanted to join the association. In order to be easy to manage, instead of integrating the new members into Parti Warjo, CD Bethesda decided to establish a new similar association. The new association's name is 'Bawang Manunggal' which stands for 'Becak dan Warung Manunggal' (Becak and Small Food Stall United).

CD Bethesda started setting partnerships with Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal by conducting some programs with main goals to strengthen assets of the members. Some programs have been done so far are trainings to diversify becak drivers' skill, credit provision to buy becak, and integration the members into YAKKUM activities to broaden members' network.

1.4 Research objective

The objective of this research is to analyze whether assistance activities conducted by NGOs to becak drivers are able to promote the livelihood of becak drivers.

1.5 Research questions

1. How vulnerable are becak drivers, and which factors make them vulnerable?
2. How effective is the assistance activities for becak drivers conducted by CD Bethesda in making the members of *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* less vulnerable?
3. Which factors influence the effectiveness of NGO assistance and how are these factors inter-related?

1.6 Hypothesis

Becak drivers who do have access to assistance programmes will be less vulnerable than those who do not have access.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Urban poverty

From time to time, scholars, development planners, and other actors who are concerned with the struggle against poverty have been trying to understand what poverty really means from different perspectives, and inevitably came up with different definitions. “Most definitions associate poverty with a lack or deficiency of the necessities required for human survival and welfare”, despite of the absence of “consensus about what basic human needs are or how they can be identified” (Wratten 1995, p12).

One of the most influential approaches to define poverty is “the conventional-objective” that identifies income and consumption as two primary indicators (Ravallion 1992 in Moser 1998, p2. See also Farrington *et al.* 1999, p190). The reason behind such an approach is that “lack of incomes is highly correlated with other causes of poverty and is a predictor of future problems of deprivation” (Wratten 1995, p12). According to income/consumption perspective, people are considered poor when their income or consumption is less than certain amount of money needed to afford certain basic necessities. In turn, the income/consumption definition brings another terminology of what so-called “poverty line” or PL as a kind of separator to distinguish the poor and the non-poor. The World Bank for example, uses two income poverty lines based on 1985 purchasing power parity. According to the World Bank, those with income per capita of below US\$ 370/year are deemed poor, while those with less than US\$ 275/year are extremely poor (Wratten 1995, p13).

Income/consumption definition of poverty then brings us to two different terminologies namely “absolute poverty” which considers basic needs as fixed things, and “relative poverty” which is more flexible. From perspective of absolute poverty, needs are fixed “at a level which provides for subsistence, basic household equipment, and expenditure on essential services”. However, it fails to indicate “the extent of income inequality within society or the fact that needs are socially determined and change over time” (Wratten 1995, p14). Absolute poverty can also be measured in term of people’s income or consumption of less than USD one per day (see for example Littlefield *et al.* 2003, p8).

The relative poverty concept on the other hand, is more flexible in the sense of allowing “minimum needs to be revised as standards of living in society alter. It reflects the view that poverty imposes withdrawal or exclusion from active membership of society”. People are relatively deprived if they cannot obtain “... *the conditions of life—that is the diets, amenities, standards and services—which allow them to play the roles, participate in the relationships and follow the customary behavior which is expected of them by virtue of their membership of society*” (Townsend 1993 in Wratten 1995, p14). Thorns (2002) concludes that “relative poverty moves the definition outwards from the necessity of life to include the material and other supports necessary for a fully participative life”.

Despite of the fact that using income/consumption approach has made calculation—on who is categorized as poor and who is not—much easier, Wratten (1995, p13) argues that “income-defined poverty lines are problematic for a number of reasons” such as its failure to measure accurately capacity of the poor to achieve access to resource. Income measurement also ignores the economic of scale which benefit the larger households. Another problem is difficulty to value home production from self-employment, which is generally assumed to be important source of income for the urban poor.

Realizing the limitations of objective income-consumption approach to poverty, people started using more subjective approach and finally came up with participatory one “that rejects the

income/consumption approach as a narrow reductionist view, serving the technocratic needs of development professional, while failing the complex, diverse, local realities in which the poor live” (Chambers 1992 and 1995 in Moser 1998, p2).

Through the more subjective approach, poverty is seen as multi-faceted (Satterthwaite 2001 in Mitlin 2003, pp394-5) phenomenon and besides income-consumption, it comprises some aspects such as inadequate assets, inadequate shelter, inadequate provision of infrastructure, inadequate provision for basic service, limited or no security to ensure consumption can be maintained when income falls, voiceless and powerlessness within political system. That is why “...when the poor themselves are asked what poverty means to them, income is only one of a range of aspects which they highlight” (Chambers 1987 in Farrington *et al.* 1999, p190).

Wratten (1995, p27) proposes various meaning of urban poverty and their implications for measurement as seen in the Box 1 below:

Box 2.1 Urban poverty: meaning and measurement

Meaning of urban Poverty	Implications for measurement
Conventional economic definition: poverty is a lack of income (or consumption), defined in absolute and relative terms.	Quantitative approach, using a common scale of measurement (usually a poverty line based on household budget surveys); measurement of the extent of poverty (number affected) and the depth of poverty (how far incomes are below the poverty line).
Participatory social development definition: poverty is multi-faceted and its definition varies between individuals.	Qualitative analysis of the processes underlying poverty and the ways in which poverty affects different subgroups among “the poor” (such as young and old people, women and men, different household types, castes and ethnic groups). Uses a range of “bottom-up” participatory methods such as focus groups, life histories, wealth ranking and mapping to examine people’s perceptions of poverty, vulnerability, and intra-household and community level entitlements.
Integrated development approach: causes of poverty are interlinked (environment, housing, health, income generation, education etc.) and must be tackled in a coordinated way.	Quantitative and qualitative assessments are complementary. Quantification includes social indicators such as life expectancy, incidence of disease, education levels, as well as income and expenditure. Need to understand the spatial distribution of poverty at the citywide level in order to target resources at the poorest groups; within poor areas, need to understand priorities of different sub-groups.

Source: Wratten, E (1995, p27)

In summary, we come up with a conclusion that it is important to look at the multi-dimensional aspects of poverty. Since poverty should be seen as multi-faceted phenomenon, it is not merely a matter of income and consumption. By viewing poverty from different perspectives, those who try to help the poor in coping with their problem will not be trapped in designing strategies that is limited only in raising income alone while neglecting other aspects such as poor assets and powerlessness.

2.2 Assets and vulnerability

In a more advance stage to understand poverty, scholars use a concept so-called “vulnerability”. Although vulnerability corresponds closely to poverty, many argue that these two terms are not the same (see for example Chambers 1995, p189, Wratten 1995, p17 and Moser 1998, p3). While poverty is considered as a static concept, vulnerability is more dynamic which captures change processes of people who move in and out poverty. In more strict words, “although poor people are usually among the most vulnerable, not all vulnerable people are poor” (Moser 1998, p3).

According to Chambers (1995, p189), the concept of vulnerability comprises both external (exposure to shocks, stress, and risk) and internal sides (defenselessness, in the sense of a lack of means to cope without damaging loss). What is meant by “loss” may take many forms such as “becoming or being physically weaker, economically impoverished, socially dependent, humiliated or psychologically harmed”.

Departing from the context discussed at the previous part, it can be concluded that income/consumption approach in understanding poverty could be deceptive. “For hundreds of millions, vulnerability has increased and so their livelihoods have become less securely sustainable even their incomes have risen” (Chambers 1995, pp189-90). In a case of people who should sell their assets to meet basic needs due to the income shortage for example, the income/consumption approach does not see any problem. On the other hand, the vulnerability approach does, because losing assets will always bring consequences of reducing security. Another example is a case of borrowing activity. “While poverty (measured by income) can be reduced by borrowing, such debt makes the poor more vulnerable” (Wratten 1995, p17). “Vulnerability is therefore closely link to asset ownership. The more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people’s assets, the greater their insecurity” (Moser 1998, p3).

“The urban study defines vulnerability as insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households, and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes” (Moser 1998, p3). Another perspective is proposed by The World Food Programme (WFP) that views vulnerability as a function of exposure to risk and inability to cope. According to WFP, vulnerability equals to exposure to risk plus inability to cope (Mani 2001).

Considering the more subjective definition of poverty—which is not merely based on income-consumption—and vulnerability—that captures process of people moving in and out poverty, Chambers suggests that the reverse of poverty not necessarily wealth, but security (Rakodi 1995, p413).

Discussion on linkages between assets ownership and vulnerability which is explored by for example Moser (1998) or Wratten (1995, p17) will also bring us into a discussion about what kind of assets poor people have and how they use them to cope with their problem of poverty. The thinking departs from the fact that despite of the problem of cash shortage, poor people “do have other materials on non-material assets—their health, their labour, their knowledge and skills, their friend and family, and the natural resources around them” (Rakodi 2002, p10).

Although sometimes appearing in different terminologies, generally, assets are categorized into five: human capital, social capital, physical capital, financial capital, and natural capital. Adopting Carney’s (1998) idea, Rakodi (2002, p11) explains the five assets as follows (see Box 2).

Box 2.2 Household livelihood assets

Human capital

Human capital is the labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. The former refer to the number of household members and time available to engage in income-earning activities. Quantitative aspects refer to the level of education and skills and the health status of household members.

Social and political capital

Social and political capital is social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationship of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society) on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.

Physical capital

Physical or produced capital is the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, and communications) and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.

Financial capital

Financial capital is the financial resources available to people (including saving, credit, remittances, and pensions) which provide them with different livelihood options.

Natural capital

Natural capital is the natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful to livelihoods are derived, including land, water, and other environmental resources, especially common pool resources.

Source: Carney (1998, in Rakodi 2002, p11)

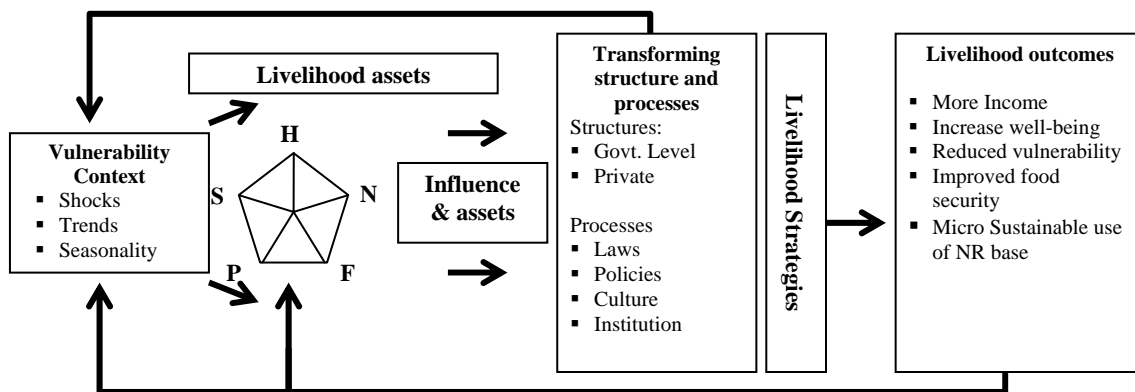
2.3 Livelihood strategies

We have discussed so far that the more subjective approach in understanding poverty does not merely see poverty as a matter of income or consumption. This perspective coincides with the concept of livelihood that puts income as one component out of some others when talking about its sustainability. According to De Haan (2000, p343), "Livelihood is not necessarily the same as having a job and does not necessarily even have anything to do with working". Therefore, he argues that somebody with lower income could be better off than someone with higher income. Income is only one component in livelihood context, which others may include vulnerability, lack of sense of voices, level of health, literacy, education and access to assets (Farrington *et al.* 1999, p190).

Livelihood is sustainable when it provides two basic things: capability to meet and satisfy self-defined basic needs on one hand, and security against shocks (which are violent and come unexpectedly) and stresses (which are less violent but may last longer) on the other hand. Sustainable livelihood also means that it capable to maintain or even enhance capabilities and assets within current time as well as future time (De Haan 2000, p347. See also Farrington *et al.* 1999, p191).

In the year 1997, Department for International Development (DFID), proposed the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework or SL framework. Based on the framework (as seen in Figure 2.1), Farrington *et al.* argue that the key factor to support the struggle against poverty is how to strengthen the poor people's livelihood assets (Farrington *et al.* 1999, p190-1)

Figure 2.1 The DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



F = Financial capital P = Physical capital
H = Human capital N = Natural capital
S = Social capital

Source: Farrington *et al.* (1999, p190)

In order to be secure or sustain their livelihood, the poor apply different survival strategies. Rakodi (1995, p414) summarizes strategies to sustain livelihood based on a work of Tostensen (1990) in Mali, some of which are: diversification of household income such as renting rooms, one household member deriving income from more than one activity, and more than one household member working including involvement of female and children in labor market.

How the poor reduce their vulnerability also depends on how they manage their assets. Moser (1998, p5) says that “the ability to avoid or reduce vulnerability depends not only on initial assets, but also the capacity to manage them –to transform them into income, food or other basic necessities”. At the Box 2.3 below, Moser summarizes various strategies of a household in the income-generating activities, particularly to cope with external shocks.

Box 2.3 Household strategies for mobilizing assets in response to changes in economic circumstances

Type of assets	Households response
Labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increase the number of women working, mainly in the formal sector ▪ Allocate a disproportionate share of women's time to meet increasing responsibilities ▪ Allocate more time to obtaining services in response to the declining quality of infrastructure ▪ Increase reliance on child labor
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Diversify income through home-based enterprises and renting out ▪ Adopt inter gene rational plot identification strategies to accommodate children 's households
Social and economic infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Substitute private for public goods end services
Household relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increase reliance on extended family support networks ▪ Increase labor migration and remittances
Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increase reliance on informal credit arrangements ▪ Increase informal support networks among households ▪ Increase community-level activity

Source: Moser (1998, p8)

Further summary is provided by Mani (2001, p3) who tries to indicate the interrelationship between ownership of assets and process of decreasing and increasing vulnerability from Moser (1996) as seen in the Box 2.4 below:

Box 2.4 Asset vulnerability matrix: potential indicators of increasing and decreasing vulnerability for an individual, household, and community

Type of vulnerability	Indicator of increasing vulnerability	Indicator of decreasing vulnerability
Individual		
Labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Loss of permanent job ▪ Decline in secure wage employment ▪ Increase in short-term, casual, minimum wage employment ▪ Acquisition of physical disability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increase in household members working, especially women ▪ Increase in home-based enterprises ▪ Increase in jobs held by individual workers
Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Decline in access to or quality of social and economic infrastructure ▪ Decline in school attendance or increase in the dropout rate ▪ Decline in health clinic attendance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Substitution of private for public services, such as water pumps, private health care, and private education.
Household		
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increased perception of threat of eviction ▪ Deterioration in housing stock ▪ High level of overcrowding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Resolution of tenure insecurity ▪ Use of plot for intergenerational “nesting”
Household relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Erosion of household as a social unit due to change in structure, marital breakdown, or split households ▪ Household extension that reduces the ratio of earners to non-earners— 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Household extension that increases the ratio of earners to non-earners ▪ Sharing of childcare, cooking, and space ▪ Reduction in domestic violence

Type of vulnerability	Indicator of increasing vulnerability	Indicator of decreasing vulnerability
	<p>especially the addition of “hidden (unwed or separated mothers)” female household heads</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Inability of women to balance multiple responsibilities and community participation ▪ Older daughters undertaking childcare ▪ Elderly lacking caregiver ▪ Increase in domestic violence 	
Community		
Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increasing public insecurity in public places ▪ Decline in inter-household reciprocity ▪ Erosion of community-level organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Community-based solutions to crime ▪ Inter-household reciprocity ▪ Active community-based organizations

Source: Moser (1996) in Mani (2001, p3)

Another way to sustain the livelihood is building and strengthening assets. The idea is supported by Moser’s thesis stating that vulnerability is closely linked to asset ownership, in the sense of “the more assets the less vulnerable” and “the greater the erosion of assets, the greater the degree of insecurity” (Moser 1998, p3).

To cope with the lack of human capital—that makes poor people have limited access to formal employment on one hand, and population growth in urban areas—that make them even more difficult to compete on the other hand, working in informal sector will be seen as the only choice for the poor and vulnerable groups. The correlation between urban growths (together with less ability of the formal sector to absorb the growing increments of urban labor) and poor people choice to rely on informal sector is underlined by Friedmann (1992, p96) and Stern (2004, p10) although many realize that such a sector provides lower productivity and hence income (Hart 1971 in Van Dijk 1996, p180).

Another widely acknowledged strategy of the poor to cope with vulnerability is developing informal survival network amongst them as one form of strengthening social capital. A research on how the poor cope with vulnerability and crisis conducted by Mukherjee in Indonesia found that poor people tend to rely most heavily on mutual support and self-help groups or local institutions they form themselves. The local institutions frequently found in Indonesia are in the forms of weekly prayer and *pengajian* (religious learning groups), *arisan* (rotating saving and credit groups), and *jimpitan* (one cup of rice or cash collected door to door daily) (Mukherjee 2002, p200-1).

For many scholars, social capital is believed to be a tool to develop other capitals or assets of the poor. Through social capital, the poor will be able to develop human capital as well as financial capital (Coleman 1988 in Johnston and Percy-Smith 2003, p323).

2.4 The role of NGOs

For a long period of time, governmental agency was considered to be the single-dominant actor in the struggle against poverty. Throughout 70s and 80s, people started acknowledging the role of Non Governmental Organizations’ (NGOs) work on poverty alleviation, particularly because of their ability to work directly with the grassroots organizations. This acknowledgement departs from evidences that NGOs are “more participatory, people-led and responsive to local needs than more formal official development assistance agencies” (Mitlin 2001, pp151-8). One of considerable roles of NGOs in promoting the poor is their activities in community development, healthcare, training for skill development, and information dissemination.

Assisting the vulnerable people to strengthen their assets could be done by NGOs through different ways. Relating to this, Mitlin reviews eight detailed studies of urban poverty programs in the South, and comes up with some strategies to strengthen assets in order to bring the poor or vulnerable people towards security. Strengthening financial capital could be done through offering loans for investment and consumption. Human capital could be strengthened through training program. Strengthening physical capital could be done through encouraging households to add to their own physical assets by providing loans. Social capital could be strengthened through working with and building federations of grassroots organizations (Mitlin 2003, p393-7).

Underlining the role of NGOs in providing loans or credit facilities for the vulnerable groups to strengthen their financial and physical capital as well, we may wonder on this particular role in practice. Regarding to this issue, Mukherjee, through her research conducted in Indonesia, concludes that NGOs credit programs have great potential to significantly improve well-being of poor people (Mukherjee 2002, p199). Another study on the role of NGOs in credit provision for the poor done by Holvoet (2005, p83) in southern India indicates that NGOs can also play as “financial and social intermediaries”.

Research conducted around the world concerning with credit for the poor demonstrates that access to credit also means an opportunity towards better wellbeing. It will enable poor people “to increase their household incomes, build assets, and reduce their vulnerability to the crisis that are so much a part of their daily lives” (Littlefield *et al.* 2003, p1).

Realizing facts of what NGOs have done so far in many parts of the world as explored above, we would say that NGOs could be considered as emerging important actors in the struggle against poverty. One more issue to address in discussing poverty and vulnerability is a concept namely “advocacy” and how such a term link with NGOs.

Amongst definitions of advocacy, Edelman (*ed.* 1997, p27) defines it as “an organized sustained campaign by a section of civil society to get their interests represented and addressed to the power centers in society subject to change in public policy or change in practice projects”. Departing from the definition, advocacy is a matter of how the voice of the poor and vulnerable people—as a marginalized group—is heard and taken into account in the policy-making process carried out by decision makers.

Therefore, the primary role of NGOs in context of advocacy is to “... help give voice to those who have been historically marginalized and provide them with a crucial vehicle for exercising their rights and holding government accountable” [Edelman (*ed.*) 1997, p27].

In the debate of modern democracy, NGO is considered as one component constructing civil society. That is why Edelman (*ed.* 1997, p27) states that “NGOs constitute a critical component of civil society as they have in general supported marginalized communities in their efforts to improve the economic, social, ecological and political conditions under which they live”.

2.5 Summary

Vulnerability is a dynamic concept that understands poverty better than conventional poverty concept does mainly because it is able to captures change processes of people who move in and out poverty. From vulnerability concept’s point of view, poverty is not seen as a simple phenomenon with easy judgment if a household possesses a number of money then it is not poor. Vulnerability concept is more dynamic in the sense that it examines critically whether the existing assets are sustainable for the future time. Therefore, as stated by Moser (1998, p3), although poor people are usually among the most vulnerable, not all vulnerable people are poor. It is because the

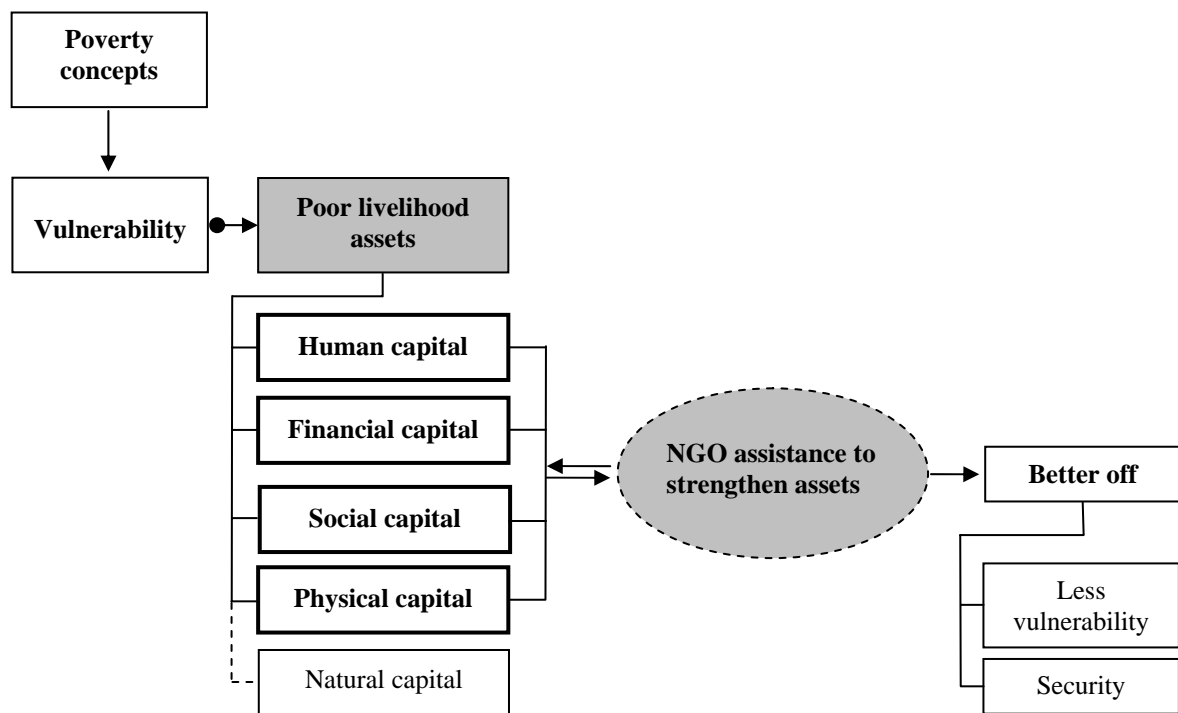
vulnerability concept comprises both external sides i.e. exposure to shocks, stress, and risk; and internal sides i.e. defenselessness, in the sense of a lack of means to cope without damaging loss.

In many cases from different countries, NGOs' works to help vulnerable groups by assisting them through strengthening assets have succeeded to set them free from vulnerability and put such groups of disadvantaged people in a better-off situation.

The research is going to look at effectiveness and affectivity of assistance project conducted by a certain NGO in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Beforehand, it will depart from assessment of the assets owned by a particular vulnerable group (in this research are beek drivers) to determine their degree of vulnerability. The assets being overviewed will be limited in physical capital, human capital, financial capital, and social capital. This research will not intend to overview natural capital because the assistance activities do not cover the natural capital.

2.6 Theoretical framework

Figure 2.2 Theoretical framework



Chapter 3 Research methodology

3.1 Research area

The research took place in Yogyakarta City, the capital city of Yogyakarta Special Province, abbreviated as DIY that stands for 'Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta'. Besides Yogyakarta City, there are four other regencies located in the province, i.e. Sleman, Bantul, Gunung Kidul, and Kulon Progo, from which most becak drivers operating in Jogja are seemingly originated. People have different ways to refer the city. Besides Yogyakarta, we may also call the city with Jogjakarta, Yogya, or Jogja in a shorter word [Yuliawan (*ed.*), 2005].

Yogyakarta City covers an area of 3,250 hectares (1.025% of DIY total area) and is located right in the middle of DIY Province, surrounded by the other four regencies in the province. It has direct borders in the north with Sleman, in the east with Bantul and Sleman, in the south with Bantul, and in the west with Bantul and Sleman.

The city is divided into 14 sub districts and 45 villages with number of total population of around 494,000 inhabitants in the year 2000. With density of more than 15,000/Km², Yogyakarta is one of the most densely populated cities in Indonesia (See Yogyakarta official website at <http://www.jogja.go.id>).

Figure 3.1 Map of research location



Map 1: The World
http://ralphm.net/map_image?mapname=world



Map 2: Indonesia
<http://www.indonesiamatters.com/86/indonesian-provinces-map/>



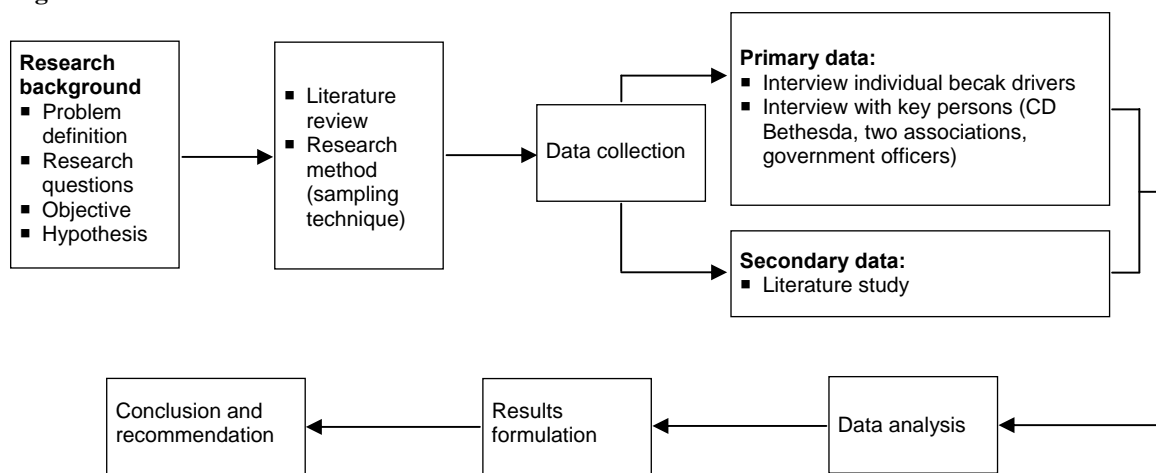
Map 3: Yogyakarta Special Province (DIY)
<http://students.ukdw.ac.id/~22023009/images/peta1.jpg>

3.2 Research stages

- (1) Research background (research proposal writing)
 - Formulation of the research background, problem definition, research questions, objective, and hypothesis
 - Conducting the literature review, mainly on theoretical discussion on poverty, vulnerability, livelihoods, assets management, and role of NGO in strengthening assets of the poor.
 - Determining the research method, including sampling technique.

- (2) Data collection
 - Data compilation is done by: (1) Interview by guideline/structured interview with becak drivers from the two categories, and key persons from the boards of *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* becak drivers associations, NGO that conducts assistance programs (CD Bethesda), and local government officers; (2) Secondary data collection from CD Bethesda and related institutions, particularly local government of Yogyakarta Municipality.
 - The fieldwork for this research was conducted twice. The first fieldwork was done on August-September 2006 and the second one is on July 2007.
- (3) Data Analysis
- (4) Results formulation
- (5) Conclusions and recommendations
 - Conclusions
 - Recommendations

Figure 3.2 Research framework



3.3 Research type

The type of research is a deductive-verify case study. It is a combination between a descriptive quantitative and descriptive qualitative research that addresses three research questions as follow: (1) How vulnerable are becak drivers, and which factors make them vulnerable?; (2) How effective is the assistance activities for becak drivers conducted by CD Bethesda in making the members of *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* less vulnerable?; (3) Which factors influence the effectiveness of NGO assistance and how are these factors inter-related?

To describe the vulnerability of becak drivers, the research selects some indicators developed by Moser in the chapter of theoretical background. Researcher does not use all Moser's indicators primarily because of two reasons: (1) relevancy to the issue, and (2) limited time and resources.

Thirty individual becak drivers who are members of the target groups (*Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* becak drivers associations) were interviewed. Other thirty individual becak drivers who are not assisted by any NGOs or intermediate organization were also selected and interviewed as comparative (control) group.

The research also interviewed individuals of becak drivers to know their real problems and how they cope with such problems.

Beside individual becak drivers, a person in charge at CD Bethesda was also interviewed to understand the projects: background, objective, targets. Then, the objectives and its outputs were confronted to assess the effectiveness.

3.4 Analysis units

3.3.1 Individual becak driver

3.3.2 The association/organization of becak drivers, CD Bethesda, and local government of Yogyakarta Municipality (Office of Social Affairs and Office of Land Communication and Transportation)

3.5 Sample

The fieldwork was undertaken in 28 workdays, from 7 August until 15 September 2006 in Yogyakarta (and continued in 14 workdays in June until July 2007). The research selected 60 becak drivers as sample. The sample consists of 30 becak drivers who are members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal, and 30 becak drivers who are not members of any assisted becak drivers groups. The first group of becak drivers are assumed as those who do have access to the assistance programmes, and the latter are assumed as those who do not have access. The second category of becak drivers were used as control group. The research used different sampling technique for the different two groups of sample. For members of the two associations, this research applied purposive sampling; while for the non-members, it applied accidental sampling technique.

Through some interviews on pre-fieldwork undertaken on 27 June until 12 July 2006, the committee representatives of the two associations stated that number of active members of Parti Warjo is 41 becak drivers, while number of active members of Bawang Manunggal is 26 becak drivers. Based on the information, the research selected 18 members of Parti Warjo and 12 members of Bawang Manunggal as sample for the first category. The Table 3.1 below indicates sample categorization and number of sample taken.

Table 3.1 The sample of research

Category	Status	Number of sample
Becak drivers with access to assistance programs	Members of Parti Warjo	18
	Members of Bawang Manunggal	12
Becak drivers without access	Non-members of any assisted becak drivers groups	30

3.6 Definition of the variables and indicators

The table below indicates some variables and indicators that being used in this research. Some variables and indicators are developed by Moser (1998), while some others are adopted from Carney (1998). The table also indicates the source of data and the type of analysis.

Table 3.2 Variables and indicators of the research

Research Question	Variable	Indicator	Question number	Data source	Type of analysis
How vulnerable are becak drivers, and which factors make them vulnerable?	a. Labor and housing	▪ Number of household members working (wife, children)	2, 9	Interview with becak drivers	Quantitative and qualitative
		▪ Type and ownership of home-based enterprises	8		

Research Question	Variable	Indicator	Question number	Data source	Type of analysis
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amount of income Number of weekly workdays Amount of leisure time Presence of work security 	4, 5, 10, 11 12, 13, 14, 15 12, 13, 14, 15 16		
	b. Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Level of education Status of health Covered by health insurance Accessibility to healthcare service Possession of different skills and occupation besides driving becak 	1, 47 21, 22, 23 24, 25 26, 27 6, 7	Interview with becak drivers	Quantitative and qualitative
	c. Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of organizations the becak drivers join with Cooperation activities amongst becak drivers (existence of saving-credit association, mutual house renting, queue arrangement in loading passenger) Level of public security on the street on which becak drivers work for their livelihood 	34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45 29, 30, 33 16	Interview with becak drivers and the association	Quantitative and qualitative
How effective is the assistance activities for becak drivers conducted by CD Bethesda in making the members of <i>Parti Warjo</i> and <i>Bawang Manunggal</i> less vulnerable?	a. Appropriateness and agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appropriateness between the need of becak driver and programmes conducted by CD Bethesda (Does CD Bethesda provide security guarantee, credit for buying becak? Do the becak drivers get more income after being assisted?) Accomplishment of programmes based on their objectives (agreement between objectives and outputs of the programmes) 	50, 51, 19, 38, 39 52, 53, 54	Interview with becak drivers and CD Bethesda Interview with CD Bethesda	Quantitative and qualitative Quantitative and qualitative
	b. Sustainability or continuity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Duration of the assistance activities have been conducted so far Will CD Bethesda continue to help the two organisations in the next times? After being assisted for several time, at which position are the two organisations: dependent or independent? 	50, 60 60 59	Interview with CD Bethesda	Qualitative

Research Question	Variable	Indicator	Question number	Data source	Type of analysis
	c. Replicability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Possibility of the assistance programmes to be reapply to other groups of becak drivers 	55, 61	Interview with CD Bethesda	Qualitative
Which factors influence the effectiveness of NGO assistance and how are these factors inter-related?	a. External	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Government policy on public transportation ▪ Government policy on becak ▪ Government policy on poverty eradication 	32, 78, 79 31, 80 81	Interview with becak drivers and Yogyakarta local government	Qualitative
	b. Intermediate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Funding (amount of budget to support the advocacy programmes, and sustainability of funding sources) ▪ Capacity of organization (ability to identify client's needs) ▪ Level of support (in term of policy as well as budget) from the higher level of the client organization ▪ Commitment amongst social workers in the agent organization (CD Bethesda) ▪ Networking (CD Bethesda's access to government or public policy decision making institution, and network with other institutions) 	64, 65 66 62 63 67, 68	Interview with CD Bethesda and secondary data	Qualitative
	c. Internal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Commitment to organization ▪ Solidarity amongst becak drivers ▪ Leadership of becak drivers association ▪ Level of participation of the members ▪ Possession of mutual resources and assets (i.e. mutual housing and saving) 	76, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46	Interview with becak drivers and chief of the two becak drivers association	Qualitative

3.7 Reliability and validity

Reliability of this research is reached through three strategies. First, establishment of clear research design, including the way to determine respondents through clear sampling techniques. Second, formulation a clear and unambiguous variables and indicators. Third, formulation clear and unambiguous list of interview questions and questionnaires.

Validity of this research is reached through three strategies. First, conducting triangulation technique through the use of three different methods: analysis of secondary data, in-depth interview, and questionnaire. Second, formulation of clear and unambiguous operational definitions, variables, and indicators. Three, conducting a pre-survey and pre-fieldwork to find out the availability of possible respondents and to test the questionnaire.

3.8 Problems and limitations

The research identifies at least four problems and limitations. *First* is that the fieldwork and data collection is conducted prior to the final proposal. It is the major problem and limitation because of some reasons i.e. the indicators can not be developed adjusting to the current theoretical framework because if so the data have been collected would be not relevant; if the research uses new indicators, going back to the previous respondents is not simple issue; if it is finally revealed that the research needs to look for some more respondents, the researcher should assign a co-researcher that eventually will affect the quality of data, besides the issue of additional budget.

The *second* problem and limitation is limited time and budget. The *third* is time availability of becak drivers for interview. Even though with different meaning, time is money for most becak drivers. Undertaking interview with researcher will mean losing opportunity to get passenger. The *fourth* is low level of education of most of the becak drivers that probably cause the difficulty in understanding the interview questions/questionnaires or formulating answers.

Chapter 4 Research results

4.1 Becak driver and poverty

At the beginning of Chapter 4, a short story will be presented. It is about the life of a becak driver, one of respondents of the research as shown at Box 4.1. Furthermore, it also describes how he has to struggle to stay alive. The marginalization of the profession of becak driver in Indonesia, particularly in Jogja, is not a new case. Sanuri (42), a becak driver at Paku Mas Hotel located at Laksda Adi Sucipto, even noted that he started feeling his income declined since 1991. The phenomenon happened most probably because of the high growth of other mode of transportation, the motorized ones, as both public and individual transportation vehicle. Within five years, the average growth of motorized vehicle in Jogja Special Province is 11.9 percent per annum, comprises of the growth of bicycle of around 11.8 percent (83,761 unit) and the growth of car of around 6.9 percent (7,853 unit) per year (Sugito, 2006). From the perspective of speed, fare, and comfort, motorized vehicle is more preferable for many people than becak. This fact caused becak became even less popular time to time for public transportation user.

On the other hand, competition amongst becak drivers themselves is seemingly becoming less healthy because of some reasons, one of which is the overpopulation of becak in Jogja. Although there is no formal data, Transportation Office of Jogja Municipality local government estimated that in the capital city of Jogja Special Province there are at least 12,000 becak (the estimation is based on an interview with Adi Nugroho, a senior officer of Jogja Transportation Office). Supposed such an estimation is correct, while number of inhabitant of Jogja is only 494,000 people (based on census year 2000, see <http://www.jogja.go.id>), it means in average, there is one becak for only 41 people of Jogja.

Box 4.1 A portrait of a becak driver's life

Sukromo, also known as Mbah Kromosuto, is a 73 years old becak driver who has been driving becak since 1950. At his first time doing the job, he used to stand-by waiting for customers at Pagelaran Keraton (Sultan Palace), which was utilized as Gadjah Mada University campus when the oldest university in Indonesia was just established. He worked with a rented becak. Formerly, he was able to meet almost all his households' needs from becak driving, including building his house and sending his children to school. Assuming that by being a becak driver would be continuously life in prosperity, Kromosuto swapped his 17 goats—which are much more valuable at present time—with a becak. Unfortunately, the good destiny is not at his side. Being a becak driver from the first to the last Indonesia presidential era, instead of becoming better, his live became worse time to time. Now, in his old age, he must be faithful doing his job as becak driver because it is the only choice left for the poor old man. "I was born in 1934. Therefore, I am 72 years old now. Praise the Lord, in my old age, He still give me power to drive becak. It is the only choice since I do not have any other skill to do other works, or any piece of land to be a farmer", he said one day in September 2006 on Kaliurang Street, the place at which he faithfully waits for customers at present days.

Kromosuto's live is not covered by insurance, and like most workers of informal sector in Indonesia, the old man also does not receive any regular pension fund. Therefore, working is the only way to keep him alive. At his old house that he built at what he called 'my becak driving golden time' in Sleman, a regency outside Jogja, his wife helps him by collecting fire-wood to sell to their neighbors with daily income not more than 2,000 Rupiah (less than 20 cent Euro) per day.

Similar to Mbah Kromosuto (73), nowadays for most becak drivers, becoming becak driver is the only choice left for them. They are originated from poor households in rural area of the outer regencies, or suburbs, which were not able to afford schooling for them until a certain level to compete in the labor market. At their homelands, they also do not have enough assets to work in other fields except agricultural work. Many others even do not have piece of land to be farmers.

Some becak drivers of course have other reasons, as stated by Mulyono (57), Samsuri (36), and Supriyono (56) as follow.

“Despite of small income, I enjoy my work as becak driver because I can freely manage my time. If I want to work, I just go out and work, and when I need to have rest, I just go home and sleep” [Mulyono (57), a becak driver of KM5 Magelang Street]. Similar reason is also stated by Samsuri (36), a becak driver of Laksda Adi Sucipto Street.

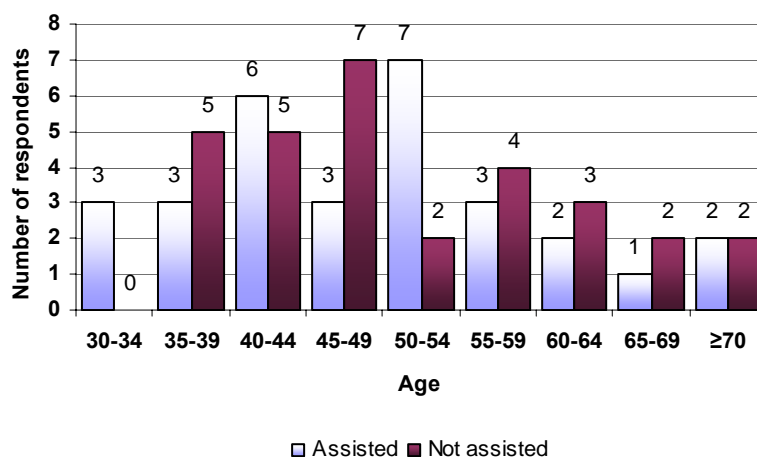
“I decided to be a becak driver because at that time such a job could support my family’s needs. One thing I like from becak driving is that we can get quick cash. We do not have to wait until the end of the month like formal workers or wait until weekend like weekly-paid workers” [Supriyono (56), a becak driver at Novotel Hotel].

4.2 Characteristics of becak drivers

4.2.1 Respondents based on age groups

Becak driving is a job for any age group, elderly as well as younger people. At a chart below, it is shown that all age groups are represented. Becak drivers who are 34-39 years old for example, are represented by three (5%) out of 60 respondents. Becak drivers who are 70 years old and even older are represented by four (6.7%) out of 60 respondents.

Figure 4.1 Respondents based on age groups



Source: Survey data

Box 4.2 Mbah Wongso, an old ex-army becak driver

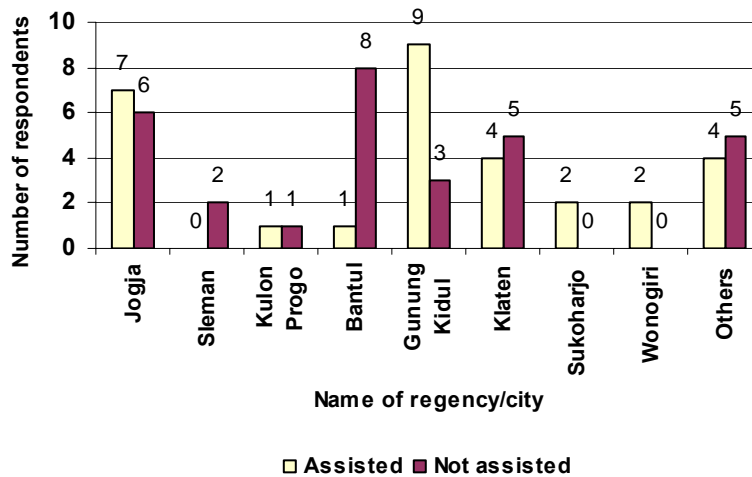
Wongso Subali said that at the time interview took place (July 9, 2006), he was 101 years and 2 months old. If what he claimed is true, physically he looks much younger than he supposed to be. Mbah Wongso, that is people usually call him, is a becak driver who was formerly an army. He quit in 1966 because he refused to arrest and kill his neighbours and relatives who were considered as members of Indonesia Communist Party (PKI), a political party that was accused by the government as mastermind behind 1965 Indonesia chaos.

4.2.2 Origins of respondents

Besides native Jogja, most becak drivers are originated from surrounding regencies, such as Sleman, Bantul, Kulon Progo, and Gunung Kidul. It is shown at chart below that 12 (20%) becak

drivers came from Gunung Kidul Regency, 9 (15%) each are from Bantul and Klaten, and the rest are from Sleman, Kulon Progo, Sukoharjo, Wonogiri, and other regencies farther such as Solo and Kutoarjo (Central Java), Ngawi (East Java), and Majalengka (West Java).

Figure 4.2 Origin of respondents



Source: Survey data

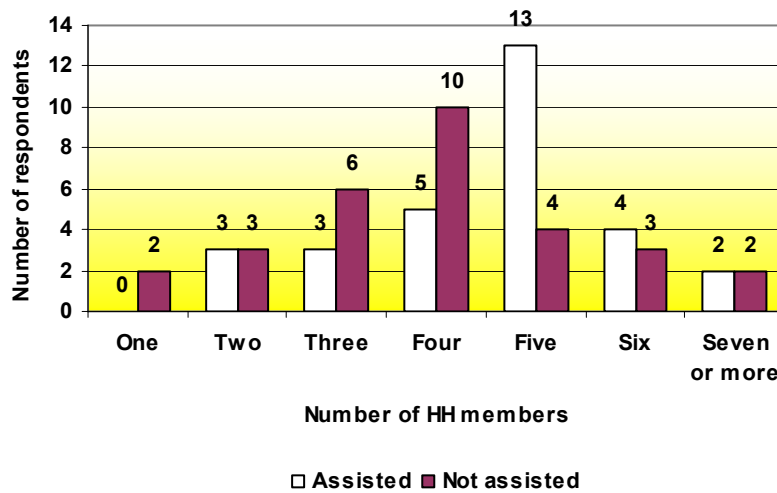
The mobility of people originated from rural areas of surrounding regencies of Jogja city could be explained by the theory of migration. Amongst the push factors of urbanization—that force people to move from rural to urban, there two critical factors could be underlined: low variable agricultural productivity and lack of local employment or opportunities for advancement. For the pull factors—that lure people to seemingly greener pastures, we can underline two relevant critical factors: rapid urbanization and industrialization, and better opportunities for livelihood (see <http://www.youandaids.org/Themes/Migration.asp>). While a study conducted by Sabot (1977, p401) revealed a fact that primary motivation behind the migration from rural to urban is to get more income.

4.2.3 Respondent's number of household members

A number of 17 (28.3%) out of 60 respondents have five members of their households. The others 15 (25%) have four household members. Four (6.7%) respondents have 7 or more household's members. Amongst four respondents whose households consist of seven or more members, three of them are because of number of children. The other one, Marsudi (32) is because he lives with his parents and sisters, besides with his wife and three kids, in a small rented house, creating a highly populated house.

"I live in a 3m x7m rented-house with my parents, my wife, my three kids, and my sister. So, we are eight persons living in one small house" [Marsudi (32), a becak driver of Novotel Hotel].

Figure 4.3 Respondents' number of HH members



Source: Survey data

4.3 Vulnerability of becak drivers

In this part, the research intends to answer the question as follow: “how vulnerable are becak drivers, and which factors make them vulnerable?”. For some issues, the following part also tries to compare the assisted becak drivers and the not-assisted ones, particularly in aspects that CD Bethesda came and gave assistance such as presence of different skills (at which the NGO conducts some vocational training) and ownership of becak (at which the NGO provides credit to buy becak for members of the two associations).

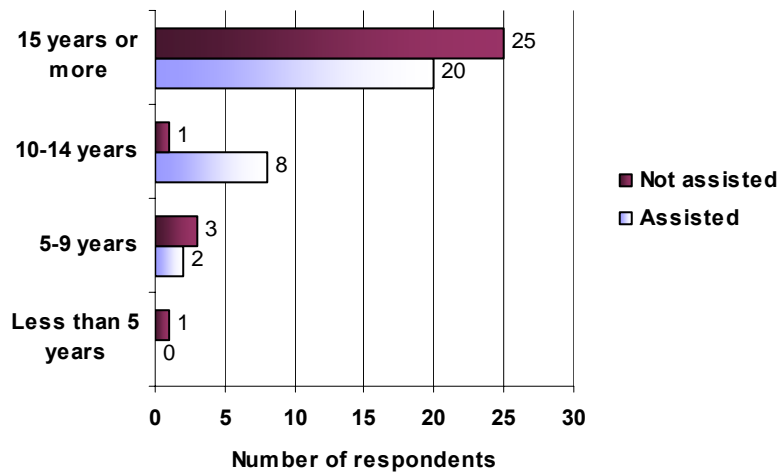
In the Chapter 3 Research methodology, primary indicators used to measure at what level becak drivers are vulnerable in this research are livelihood assets developed by Moser (1998) which comprise labor, housing, human capital, and social capital. Besides, they are combined with livelihood assets developed by Carney (1998) which comprise human capital, social capital, physical capital, financial capital, and natural capital.

4.3.1 Labor and housing

4.3.1.1 Years of becak driving

For most respondents, becak driving is an occupation that has been done since they were still at a very young age. The figure below shows that a number of 45 (75%) respondents have been driving becak for 15 years or more, while the other 9 (15%) have been doing the job for 10 to 14 years. Only six (10%) amongst them who have experience in driving becak less than 10 years.

Figure 4.4 Years of driving becak

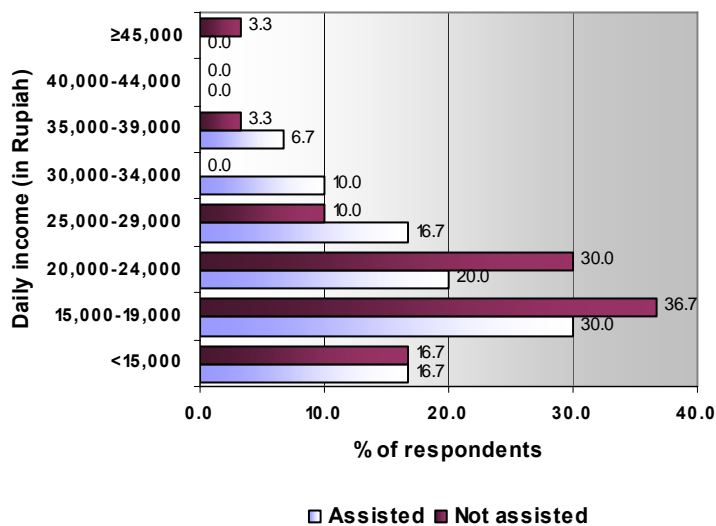


Source: Survey data

4.3.1.2 Daily income from driving becak

“It is difficult to estimate how much money we get daily from becak driving. It is quite frequent that within 24 hours, I only get passenger twice, and they pay me 5,000 Rupiah each. Therefore, in total, I only get 10,000 Rupiah. I spend 4,000 Rupiah to pay becak rent. Can you imagine that I have to be able to manage 6,000 Rupiah for buying my meal for the whole day while the price of one plate of rice is 3,000 Rupiah?” [Maryanto (44), a becak driver of Serangan traditional market and Pierre Tendean Street].

Figure 4.5 Daily income from driving becak



Source: Survey data

As shown at Figure 4.5 above, most becak drivers' income is 24,000 Rupiah (2.00 Euro) or less per day. There is no significant difference between becak drivers who are assisted and those of not-assisted. Even, the highest daily income (45,000 Rupiah or more) is collected by a non-assisted becak driver. A number of 20 (33.3%) becak drivers get income of 15,000-19,000 Rupiah per day, and the others 10 (16.7%) are even worse. They get income of less than 15,000 Rupiah.

“I am lucky because I have a routine passenger who subscribes to my service. She is a *gudeg*—a traditional Javanese food, made of young jackfruit boiled in coconut oil—seller who needs me to bring her from home to Sentul market *vice-versa*, everyday. For the service, I get 20,000 Rupiah/day” [Sutikno (40), a becak driver on Tukangan].

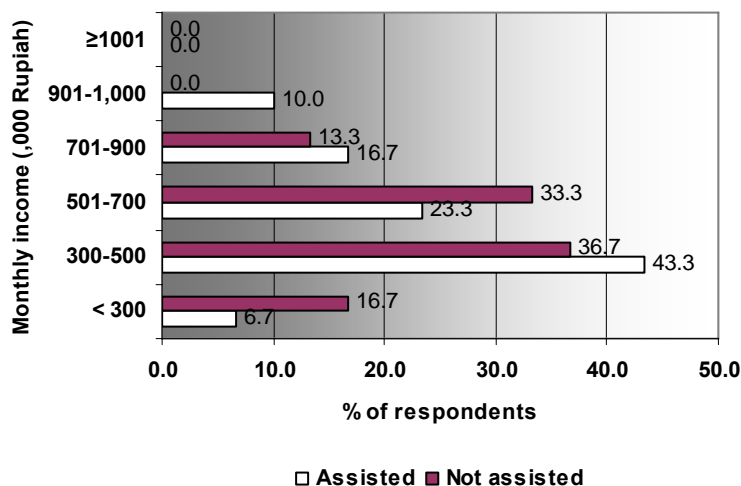
“Our income depends on our luck. If we are lucky, we could get up to 100,000 Rupiah in a day. But, for the following three days, when we are unlucky, we may go home without any money in our pocket” [Agus Susilo (39), a becak driver of Superindo supermarket]. Similar story is also told by Suwoto (63), a becak driver of Serangan traditional market.

4.3.1.3 Monthly income from driving becak

On monthly basis, income from driving becak therefore also varies from less than 300,000 to one million Rupiah. There is no considerable difference in monthly income between the assisted becak drivers and the not-assisted ones. Figure 4.6 below shows that for both categories of respondents, the most frequent monthly income is 300,000-500,000 Rupiah (13 respondents or 43.3% for the assisted, and 11 or 36.7% for the not assisted). The second most frequent monthly income is between 501,000-700,000 Rupiah, collected by seven (23.3%) assisted and 10 (33.3%) not-assisted respondents.

Although there is a becak driver who collects 45,000 Rupiah per day, none of becak drivers could collect monthly income from driving becak to above one million Rupiah. It is because within a month, he has to spare 15 days to go back to his homeland to be a farmer.

Figure 4.6 Monthly income from driving becak



Source: Survey data

4.3.1.4 Home-based enterprises (HBEs)

Considering that it is nearly impossible to rely merely on income from becak driving for supporting households' daily needs, most becak drivers apply two most common coping strategies: (1) establishment of home-based enterprises, and (2) forcing the other households' members—most commonly are wife and children—to work.

Table 4.1 below illustrates the presence of home-based enterprises (HBEs) within becak drivers' households. Amongst assisted becak drivers' households, there are seven (23.3%) households having HBEs, four of those are in the form of food stall. They got credit from CD Bethesda to start small food stall business. Jarwanto (43) for example, after completing his credit to buy becak, he

proposed credit to CD Bethesda to develop a small food stall. Now, at his rented house in a kampong near Ambarukmo Plaza, his small food stall is ready to serve its customer from 6:30 till 19:00. His wife cooks for the stall and maintains it as well, while Jarwanto himself goes out with his becak waiting for customers at Ambarukmo Plaza.

Figure 4.7 A Parti Warjo member's small food stall



Other HBEs are what have been done by Daryanto (53), a member of Parti Warjo who stands by for costumers on Jalan Solo. At his house, he has small gasoline stall and motorcycle workshop for flat tire that help him generate additional income. He is also lucky because he has two houses for rent inheriting from his parents.

Table 4.1 Home based enterprises (HBEs)

Home-based enterprises (HBE)	Assisted		Not assisted	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	7	23.3	2	6.7
No	23	76.7	28	93.3
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Source: Survey data

Out of 30 the not-assisted becak drivers, there are two (6.7%) who have HBEs at their houses or their hometown, one of which is Paiman (57) who has small food stall. He started the stall using his own money after he sold his rice field seven years ago. For those who do not have access to credit, starting a new business is a more difficult issue. Sometimes, it also means swapping the existing assets with the new business. In Paiman case, he decided to sell his rice field after considering that becoming farmer nowadays is not less difficult since the price of fertilizer and pesticides is not compatible with price of rice. His decision to sell the rice field was also taken because he was trapped in a very serious debt. Therefore, for him and his wife, selling the rice field was the only way to resolve three problems: fund shortage to start a new business, incompatibility of fertilizer and pesticide price with rice price, and problem of debt.

4.3.1.5 Income support from other household's members

“The rich have one permanent job; the poor are rich in many jobs. —Poor man, Pakistan” (Narayan *et al.* 2000, p30). Such a statement from the poor man in Pakistan is also true for becak drivers’ context. Since the value of their income from driving becak is getting less time to time, need for support from other households’ members is inevitable. From Table 4.2 below, we can see that out

of 60 respondents, only 11 (18.3%) becak drivers who have to work alone to supports their households. An interesting but pity fact is experienced by Suparman (45) who had to let his two school-aged children to work as break-layer assistances.

“Out of seven members of my households, four are working to get more income for our daily needs. My wife works for our neighbors helping them wash their clothes with per month income 150,000 Rupiah. My first son, he is now 17 years old, works as a brick-layer assistance after graduating from elementary school five years ago. My second son, now he is 14 years old, started working also as a brick-layer assistance right after he finished his elementary school two years ago. For their service, they are paid 15,000 Rupiah per day. Unfortunately, not every day the job comes to them” [Suparman (45), a becak driver of Magelang Street Km5].

Joko (70) has a different in story yet similar in misery. At their old age, he and his wife (65) still have to work hard. They have only one child who lives in Surabaya, East Java, as a navy but his income is barely enough for his own family. Therefore, he cannot send any remittance for his parents (Joko and spouse) regularly. Everyday, when people at their age stay at home and have a good time with their grandchildren, Joko and his wife have to struggle for survival: Joko as a becak driver, his wife as a handmade bamboo caps seller.

“Since my only child got married and had his own life, I started living only with my wife, just two of us. To support my small income, my wife also makes money. She sells handmade bamboo caps for farmers at Pingit traditional market. Unfortunately, it is quite frequent that within a whole day long, she gets no buyer at all. Perhaps nowadays, farmers prefer to use a modern than bamboo cap” [Joko (70), a becak driver of Pingit Traditional Market].

Table 4.2 Income support from other HH members

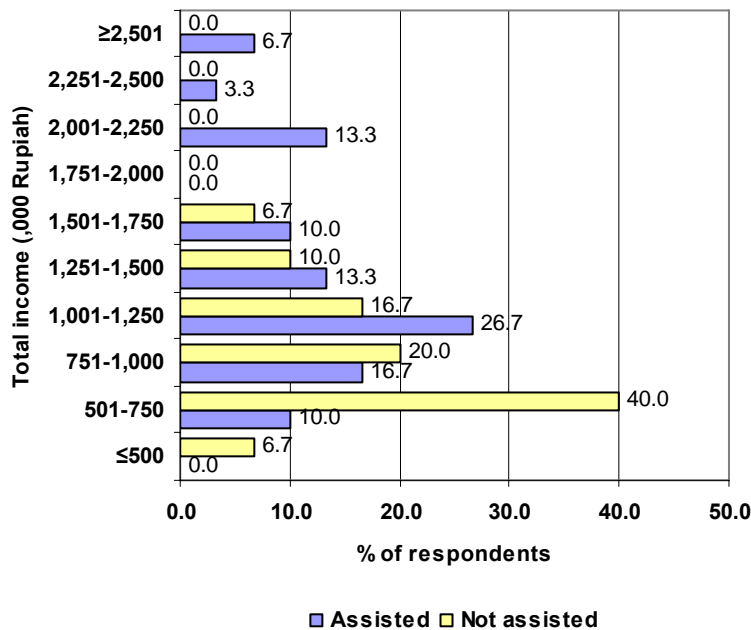
Member of HH working	Assisted		Not assisted		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
One	3	10.0	8	26.7	11	18.3
Two	13	43.3	14	46.7	27	45.0
Three	8	26.7	6	20.0	14	23.3
Four or more	6	20.0	2	6.7	8	13.3
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0	60	100.0

Source: Survey data

4.3.1.6 Household's total income and presence of saving

Households' total income per month issue reveals a fact that the households of the members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal are relatively in better off condition. None of assisted becak drivers' households get income of 500,000 Rupiah or less, while for the not-assisted ones there are two (6.7%) households getting income in such a level. For the income range of 501,000 to 750,000 per month, there are only three (10%) assisted becak drivers' households, while for the not-assisted ones, there are 12 (40%). On the other pole, there are seven (23.3%) households that get income at the level of two millions Rupiah or more, at which none of the not-assisted becak drivers' household could achieve.

Figure 4.8 Households' total income



Source: Survey data

The households of assisted becak drivers' income is so much supported by the presence of home based enterprises (small food stalls) and different skills. The establishment of the stall was by the credit provided by CD Bethesda, and the primarily additional skill is acupressure through training conducted by CD Bethesda.

"If we look merely at our income from becak, I would say that there is no significant difference between before and after we join Parti Warjo. Nevertheless, by acupressure skill I got through training organized by CD Bethesda, my monthly income did increase. A few days ago for example, two guests of Paku Mas Hotel, the place at which I stand by for customers, had me massage them. Only within three hours, I got tips 150,000 Rupiah. That amount of money is more or less equal to my one full week income from becak driving" [Sukiman (43), a becak driver at Paku Mas Hotel].

Table 4.3 Joining association and income issue

More income?	Assisted		Not assisted	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	18	60.0	0	0.0
No	12	40.0	12	100.0
Total	30	100.0	12	100.0

Source: Survey data

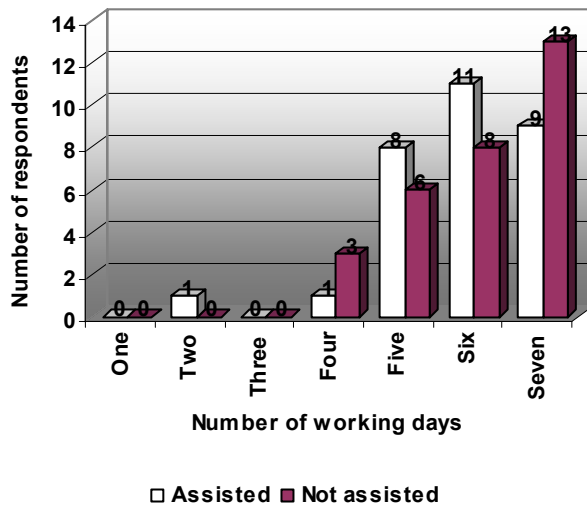
More income, particularly with less household's members, will bring more likelihood to create saving, and this is true for the assisted becak drivers' case. Out of 30, there are nine (30%) assisted becak drivers who claimed that they have saving regardless reluctance to state how much the saving is. While for the not assisted ones, there is one becak driver who claimed that his household possesses saving.

4.3.1.7 Working days

Like other informal sector works, becak driving is an entirely-week-long work. Even for many becak drivers, particularly those who stand by at hotels or tourism objects like Malioboro Street,

Sunday is a day on which they potentially get more income. The same case also happens on holidays, when their colleagues from formal sectors take a long vacation. During that particular time, having rest is a luxurious thing. Jogja status as a tourist city makes holiday time even a “harvest time” because tourists come to visit Jogja and use becak as a tourist attraction. On the figure below, we see that most becak drivers, both the assisted and not-assisted ones, spend six or even seven days in a week to do their work. There is no considerable difference between the assisted becak drivers and the not-assisted ones.

Figure 4.9 Number of working days per week



Source: Survey data

Figure above indicates that out of 60 respondents, 22 (36.7%) of them drive becak seven days in a week, while the other 19 (31.7%) work for six days. The rest (19 becak drivers, or 31.7%) work five days a week or less. Considering that Sunday or tourist days are harvest time on which they potentially get more customers, becak drivers tend to choose weekdays as their off-days.

For some becak drivers however, working seven days in a week is not possible because of various reasons, one of which is as stated by Suwandi (76) below.

“I am too old to drive becak seven days a week. Therefore, I need some days to take rest. I stand by here at Duta Wacana Christian University serving students of this college. When they have holiday on Saturday and Sunday, I also take my holidays” [Suwandi (76), a becak driver of Duta Wacana Christian University].

Various activities are done during the off-days, from just having rest like Suwandi to doing the side jobs like Jarwanto (43) and Sumardi (43).

“Although not driving becak seven days a week, I do not have any off-day or holiday. Within a week, although I drive becak for only two days, I spend the other five days to do my ‘second work’, which is now becoming my first one I supposed. What I meant by ‘my second work’ is acupressure that I do both at my home and my customers’ home if they want me to come” [Sumardi (43), a becak driver of Superindo Supermarket].

Having rest for low-income people like becak drivers is a luxurious moment because they need to utilize every minutes of their live to generate more income. Table below shows that out of 38 becak drivers who work less than seven days a week, 26 (68.4%) utilize their off-days to do other productive works such as acupressure work like Sumardi (43), Jarwanto (43), and Sukiman (42) and agricultural work at their homeland like Sugito (45), Rusyadi (49), and Haryono (55). The

other two (5.3%) utilize the off-days to do non productive works or domestic works like house cleaning, laundry, and taking care grandchildren.

Table 4.4 Off-days activities

Offdays activities	Assisted		Not assisted	
	Number	%	Number	%
Productive works	14	66.7	12	70.6
Non productive activities	1	4.8	1	5.9
Have rest	6	28.6	4	23.5
Total	21	100.0	17	100.0

Source: Survey data

4.3.1.8 Working hours

Working hours is meant to indicate how many leisure time becak drivers in a day. Table 4.6 below illustrates that most becak drivers (12, or 40%, becak drivers each for both the two categories) spend between 8 and 12 hours to drive becak within a day. An interesting finding is becak drivers who spend up to 24 hours a day to do the job. One possible reason for these kinds of becak drivers is that they stay and live on their becak.

Because I stay on my becak including sleeping at night, I would say that my working time is 24 hours a day. Although it is two o'clock in the morning and I am sleeping, when somebody comes and asks me to bring him/her somewhere, I will be serving him/her. In short, I am ready anytime to serve my passenger" [Sukahar (44), a becak driver on Gejayan Mrican Street].

Table 4.5 Working hours

Nr.	Working duration	Assisted		Not assisted	
		Number	%	Number	%
1.	Less than 8 hours	5	16.7	8	26.7
2.	8-12 hours	12	40.0	12	40.0
3.	13-16 hours	6	20.0	5	16.7
4.	17-20 hours	3	10.0	3	10.0
5.	21-24 hours	4	13.3	2	6.7
	Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Source: Survey data

"Usually, I start to stand-by here waiting for passenger at 16:30 and go back home at 21:00. I am too old to drive becak a whole day long" [Sunardi (65), a becak driver on Brigjend Katamso Street].

Do they utilize their off-time to have rest like what is done by many workers of formal sectors? For most becak drivers (37 becak drivers out of 60, or 61.7%), the answer is yes. For some others (13 becak drivers, or 21.7%) however, that is not always the case. Samsuri (36), a becak driver of Jalan Solo, is just one example. After ending his becak driving work at around 18:30, he goes home, having dinner, having rest for couples of minutes, then he goes to a VCD rental near his house to be a parking man until the rental is closed at around 21:00.

A bit different case happens to Daryanto (53), a becak driver of Ambarukmo Plaza. He does use his off-time to take rest, but he utilizes the time within his 'office hours', while waiting for customers, to do other jobs. At a small kiosk near the place at which he parks his becak, he puts some bottled-fuel for sale for motorbike and the tools to fix motorbikes flat tire. Supposed he has to bring a customer with his becak to somewhere, he just asks his colleagues to guard the kiosk. If the customer for his becak comes at the time he is fixing a motorbike flat tire, he will ask his colleague to take his queue, which he will retake after the flat-tire-work is over.

Some assisted becak drivers who have been equipped with acupressure skill by CD Bethesda use such a skill to fill in the off-time. They do the work at night when their becak driving time is over or within their office hours.

For the non-productive works, domestic works are done by both categories of becak drivers such as house cleaning, laundry, or gardening. Some others are taking care children or grandchildren, doing voluntary works for neighborhood, socialize with next-door men.

4.3.1.9 Work security

Work security of becak drivers will always be related to street on which becak drivers do their job. Some issues related to work security aspect are position of becak with regards to motorized vehicles, criminality on the street, and sustainability of becak existence.

Talking about becak's position in relations with motorized vehicles, most respondents give negative assessment as within recent years, special tracks for becak are reduced time to time. The growth of motorized vehicle in one hand and the less special track for becak on the other hand, has forced becak to compete with cars and motorbikes that in turn cause more vulnerability to fatal accident. Fortunately, becak drivers' opinion about criminality on the street is relatively good. Compared to Jakarta for example, most respondents believe that streets in Jogja are much more secure. They said that becak theft is quite rare as well as case of robbery. All respondents also confirmed the absence *preman* (Indonesian term for bad people asking for money from them with force).

Figure 4.10 No special track for becak (prone to fatal accident)



Regarding issue of sustainability of becak existence, all respondents are quite sure that becak will be exist in longer period, meaning that local government will not ban becak in Jogja. They are sure about this particular matter because they believe that local government will retain becak as part of Jogja's characteristic and implementation of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX's—the most influential and charismatic king of contemporary Jogja—words to let becak alive.

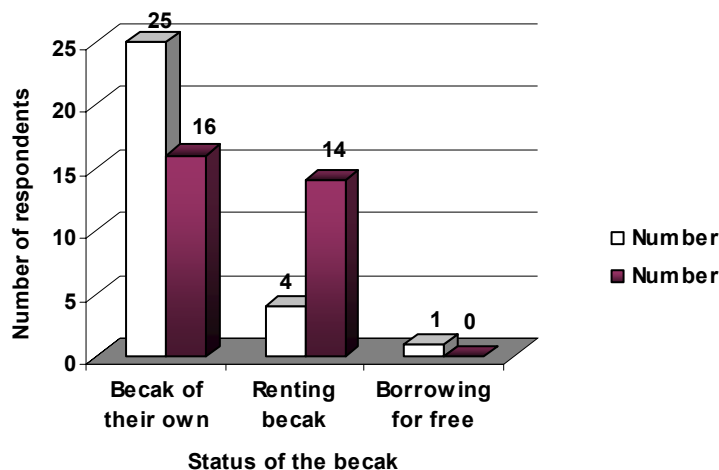
4.3.1.10 Becak ownerships

For nearly a half of the not-assisted becak drivers (14 out of 30, or 46.7%), the becak they utilize to generate their income is not becak of their own. They rent it mostly from someone having some becak so-called *juragan* with per day becak-rent fee varies from 1,000 to 4,000 Rupiah. For those

who have to rent becak, the life is getting worse since average per day income from driving becak is less than 20,000 Rupiah. In fact, living with only such amount of money without any obligation to pay becak rent is already difficult.

Amongst 16 not-assisted becak drivers, seven (43.8%) of them got becak through credit provided by other institutions or people. Two (12.5%) of them got their becak from someone else for free (one becak driver got from his son, and the other one got it because a faithful customer bought it for him); and the other seven (43.8%) bought becak using their own money or saving or selling assets like farmland or rice field.

Figure 4.11 Becak ownership



Source: Survey data

Figure 4.11 above indicates that becak drivers who join the two associations (Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal) are luckier considering that most of them (25 out of 30 drivers, or 83.3%) use their own becak to generate daily income. One of programs launched by CD Bethesda was giving credit to all members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal to buy becak. In the year of 1998, every member was given credit facility for buying becak in amount of 500,000 Rupiah. At the time the program was launched, that amount of money was enough to buy a new becak. To payback, they have to pay in installments of 25,000 per month in two years. At the end of the credit program, all members had their own becak. Unfortunately, some of them sold their becak for some reasons.

“For me, becak is an asset that can be easily be sold to get cash to afford our sudden needs. If we need a big amount of money in a short time, I just sell my becak. Then, I buy another becak through credit. After finishing the credit and the becak is formally mine and I need immediate cash, I will sell it again” [Agus Susilo (39), a becak driver of Superindo supermarket]. Similar case also happens to Jasmadi (54), a becak driver of Novotel Hotel]. **Note:** both of them are members of the two associations. Formerly, they had their own becak through credit provided by CD Bethesda. When they needed cash in a considerable amount, they sold the becak.

4.3.1.11 Ownerships of other assets

For informal sector workers like becak drivers who are not covered by insurance and do not receive regular income, the ownership of houses, saving, and pieces of land is quite important issue. It is simply because they can utilize the assets to generate additional income, use them as guarantee for the bank to get loan, or use them when they face difficulty in their life by selling the assets to get cash.

Table 4.6 below shows that out of 30 respondents for each category, 24 (80%) of assisted becak drivers own house in Jogja or their hometown. The not-assisted category has exactly the same number. Seven (23.3%) assisted becak drivers and four (13.3%) not-assisted ones possess motorbikes, eight (26.7%) assisted and five (16.7%) not-assisted becak drivers possess rice field, while four (13.3%) assisted and 11 (36.7%) not assisted becak drivers possess farmland.

Table 4.6 Table Number of becak having particular assets

Assets	Assisted		Not assisted	
	Number	% (of 30)	Number	% (of 30)
House	24	80.0	24	80.0
Motorcycle	7	23.3	4	13.3
Rice field	8	26.7	5	16.7
Farmland	4	13.3	11	36.7
Cattle	3	10.0	1	3.3
Others	6	20.0	6	20.0

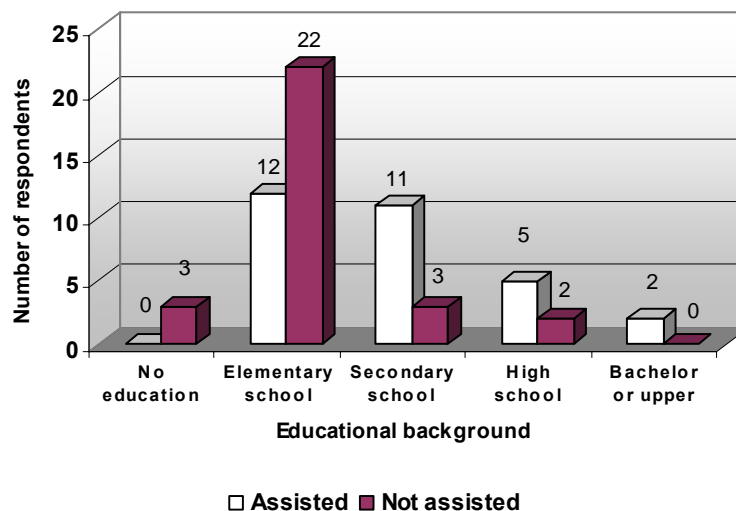
Source: Survey data

4.3.2 Human capital

4.3.2.1 Educational background

Becak driving is a job that does not require complex and high qualifications. People do not need to have a particular skill, a certain level of education, or a number of money to start conducting the job. General qualifications they have to meet are just physically healthy, having enough energy, and willing to work. By such qualifications, no wonder if most respondents are not highly educated as could be seen at the chart below.

Figure 4.12 Respondent educational backgrounds



Source: Survey data

From the chart above, we can see that most respondent have poor educational background. A number of 34 (56.7%) respondents were only educated at elementary school level, and three (5%) respondents even did not go to school at all. There are only two (3.3%) respondents who are better-off in term of educational background as they are experienced to take bachelor or upper degree.

Box 4.3 Higher education was only a dream

Sukiman (43), a becak driver who usually stands by in front of Paku Mas Hotel on Jalan Solo, had to throw his dream away to have higher education after graduating from elementary school. He could not go on with his study because of poverty. He was born in a big-poor family, with four brothers and sisters, at which he is the fourth kid. When he was just four years old, his father passed away leaving his mother single parent.

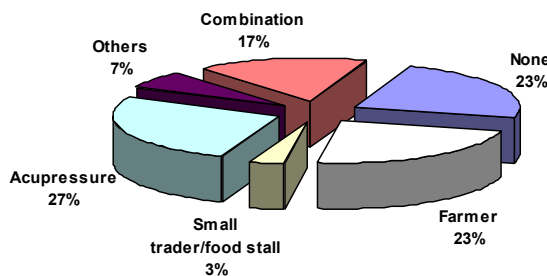
A worse life story regarding education issue is experienced by Haryono (55), a becak driver of Abu Bakar Ali bus terminal. He dropped out even since his 2nd year of elementary school for similar reason, poverty. Haryono's father was a small farmer with 11 children including himself. In his very young age, he had to migrate from Bantul to Jogja to support his own life by helping his grandmother, who had already been in the city for quite some time, maintaining a small food-stall.

4.3.2.2 Side jobs

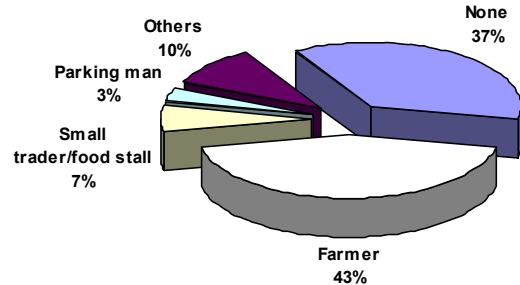
“Besides driving becak, I am a farmer in my homeland. During dry season, my rice-field is drought and I cannot cultivate any plantation on it. We still need to have food to eat and money to afford schooling for our kids, though. That is why I go to Jogja to be a becak driver. When the rainy season comes and my rice-field becomes wet, I go home to work with it. After cultivating the rice, while waiting the harvest time, I do not have many things to do in my homeland. So, I go back to Jogja to drive becak. Of course, I go back to my homeland periodically to maintain my crop: giving fertilizer and pesticides, and take away the unwanted grass that grows between my rice-plant” [Hadi Nurwanto (41), a becak driver originated from Gunung Kidul].

Figure 4.13 Side jobs

a. Assisted becak drivers



b. Not-assisted becak drivers



Source: Survey data

Apart from educational background, number of household's members, years of being becak drivers, and amount of daily income which are relatively the same between those who are assisted and not-assisted, the issue of side jobs has different story. Figure 4.8 below shows that for assisted becak drivers, acupressure work is at the first place (eight persons out of 30, or 26.7%) they choose as the primary side job, then followed by agricultural work (eight persons, or 23.3%).

Such a fact corresponds with assistance programs conducted by CD Bethesda for the members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal becak drivers associations. According to Suhartati, CD Bethesda Area Manager for DIY Province, the most successful skill development training conducted by her institution for the two associations is acupressure. It is because within community, acupressure nowadays is needed as both healthcare service and training.

Figure 4.14 Selling bottled-gasoline for more income



For the not-assisted becak drivers, their most probable side job is in the agricultural work (done by 13 out of 30 persons, or 43.3%). We can also see that the assisted becak drivers group has relatively less number of becak drivers who do not have any side job (7 *vis a vis* 11 persons). Acupressure training contributes significant role to provide more opportunity for assisted becak drivers to have side jobs.

“I am a half becak driver and a half farmer. I spend one week here in Jogja to be a becak driver, and the following one week in my hometown to be a farmer” [Sugito (45), a becak driver of C. Simanjuntak Street].

Agus susilo (39), a becak driver of Superindo Supermarket, said that it is impossible to rely on driving becak work alone since he has to support a wife and four children. Therefore, he tried to find side jobs. He have been working as a parking man at Superindo supermarket while he waits for customers for his becak. From this parking work, Agus get 300,000 Rupiah per month. He also work for a street food stall owner. Every morning, Agus help the stall owner arrange-up the stall, and by the evening when the stall is about to close, he help him arrange-down the stall. For the service, Agus get 20,000 Rupiah per day. Sometimes, the doctors working at that building also have him wash their cars.

“In short, I am willing to do every job, of course the ‘not-against the law’ ones, to get more income for my wife and kids” [Agus Susilo (39), a becak driver of Superindo supermarket].

4.3.2.3 Presence of different skills

Based on CD Bethesda Annual Report year 2003 and 2004 and according to Suhartati, CD Bethesda Area Manager for Jogja, during the particular years, CD Bethesda conducted serial trainings to develop skill for the members of the two associations. Three of the trainings are acupressure, traditional herbs making, and car driving. These three kinds of training have changed the life of some members of the two associations, from having only single skill, which was driving becak, to two or more skills. At the end of the serial trainings, not all members have all the skills however, because the participation in such trainings was not obligatory. Therefore, only those who were interested to join who finally have the additional skills.

Figure 4.15 Acupressure skill



Source: <http://www.yeu.or.id/gallery.php>

Table 4.7 below shows that most of assisted becak drivers (the members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal) do have other skills (20 out of 30 persons, or 66.7%). The most frequent additional skills are acupressure, traditional herbs making, and car driving. These three additional skills are developed during their membership in the two associations as part of CD Bethesda assistance programs.

Table 4.7 Presence of additional skills

Presence of different skills	Assisted		Not assisted	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	20	66.7	8	26.7
No	10	33.3	22	73.3
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Source: Survey data

The not-assisted becak drivers have different story. Out of 30 drivers, only eight (26.7%) of them possess other skills, and the other 22 (73.3%) do not have any. Generally, these eight becak drivers got the skill during the time before they decided to be becak drivers. Besides driving becak, Suwoto (63) for example, is skillful in fixing bikes. He got the skill when he was very young, inheriting his late father's skill who owned a bike workshop. While Samsuri (36) has skill in making meatball because selling meatball was his work before he decided to be a becak driver.

4.3.2.4 Health status

Regarding health status, most respondents are in a good health, meaning that they do not suffer from any chronic disease but sometimes get ill. Five respondents, out of 60, are in poor health status, meaning that they suffer from any chronic disease such as high blood tension (two persons), lung problem (one person), kidney problem (one person), and complication of high blood tension and diabetic (one person).

"Formerly, I worked as a driver for Kubota, a machine factory, here in Jogja. Unfortunately, I had to quit in 1990 because I got stroke. In 2000, I got another disease: diabetic. Having those two different diseases makes it impossible for me to drive becak in a whole day long. Now, everyday I drive becak only at 05:00 to 07:00 morning, going home to take rest afterwards, and drive becak again at 14:00 to 20:00. The diseases really reduced my productivity." [Mulyono (57), a becak driver of Jalan Magelang Km5].

Driving becak is a physical work that requires a lot of energy. Becak drivers also have to work outdoor under rain and sting of sunlight and deal with dangerous chemical from motorized vehicles. Many of them have to deal with night weather since they have to work overtime or even

sleep on becak. No wonder if they tend to be vulnerable to illness. Most frequent illnesses are weariness (hectic), cold, and headache.

For poor people, healthcare service expense is sometimes unaffordable, in addition that most of them are also not covered by any healthcare insurance scheme. Therefore, most common action to cope with such illnesses is taking rest and letting body do self-healing. Another most common effort is consuming light medicine or traditional herbs, which are freely sold in shops, stalls, or drugstores. Very rare of them go to center for public health, most probably because of time constraint, or see the doctor because of the expense.

The assisted becak drivers who are having skill in acupressure cope with problem of illness in rather different way. They use their skill to do massage themselves, trying to heal themselves using such knowledge and skill. They claim that the way they choose works quite well.

Extended to household level regarding health status, most their household's health status are good, meaning that all members of the households are live healthily regardless sometimes suffer from small illness such as flu or a cough.

4.3.2.5 Healthcare or insurance subsidy

"I do not dare to imagine what if I suffer from serious illness that compels me to spend some days in hospital. I have to pay the expense that is usually high while my income stops coming during my absence on the street" [Maryanto (44), a becak driver of Serangan traditional market and Pierre Tendan Street].

Despite of the fact that the informal sector contributes a lot both in term of national GDP share (see Schneider 2002, p8) and labor force absorbance (see Sjafii, 2006), in many countries, such a sector receives less attention of the government. In addition, there is less protection for those who work in informal sector such as the absence of health insurance like what is received by formal sector workers (Khairina 2006).

For becak drivers, particularly the not-assisted ones, getting ill and spending some days in the hospital is 'a nightmare' they do not dare to imagine. They have to pay the healthcare expense on one hand, and it gets worse because they also loss the opportunity to make money on the other hand. Out of 30 respondents, 19 (or 63.3%) the not-assisted becak drivers stated that they were not covered by healthcare insurance or did not receive any healthcare subsidy. The assisted ones are better-off regarding this specific issue because all of them (30 out of 30 becak drivers, or 100%) are receiving healthcare insurance or healthcare service subsidy. The fact that all respondents of assisted becak drivers are covered by the insurance or subsidy was possible because in previous time, the committee of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal organized all their members to get healthcare insurance and healthcare service subsidy from government. In fact, such a scheme of subsidy is also possible for those who are not member of the two organizations. However, because there was nobody who was willing to organize them, they do not access to it.

Table 4.8 Healthcare insurance or subsidy

Healthcare insurance/subsidy	Assisted		Not assisted	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	30	100.0	11	36.7
No	0	0.0	19	63.3
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Source: Survey data

4.3.3 Social capital

4.3.3.1 Place to stay in Jogja

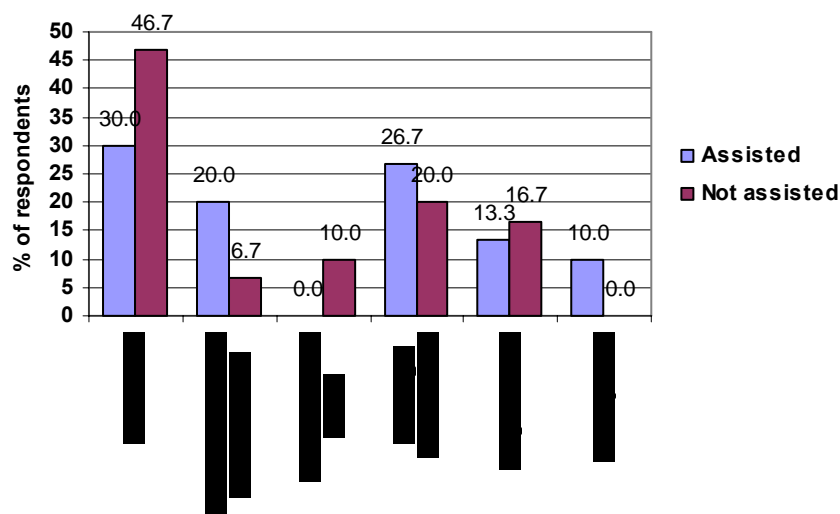
“Here in Jogja, I rent a 2x4 m² room with my 10 colleagues. For the room, each of us only has to pay 30,000 Rupiah per year. Yes, it is cheap, but the room is not equipped with any bed or mattress. We just lay down on the floor with plastic mat. For taking shower and laundry, we go to public toilets provided by local government” [Rusyadi (49), a becak driver on C. Simanjuntak Street].

Figure 4.16 One rented room for eleven becak drivers



For becak drivers who are not originated from Jogja or not having status as Jogja City inhabitants, renting a room or a house is one of alternatives they may take. Unfortunately, such a way is not preferable for them mainly because their daily income which is already small. Paying rent for the room or house will always mean reducing their income significantly. Figure below indicates that besides 23 (38.3%) becak drivers who stay at their own house, renting a room or house is preferred by the other 14 (23.3%). While, the other becak drivers try to find different way, mostly to save their income. An interesting fact is that nine (15%) of them prefer to stay on their becak, including having rest during the night.

Figure 4.17 Place to stay in Jogja



Source: Survey data

“I do not have enough money to rent a room or a house in Jogja. Therefore, I sleep on a store porch or on my becak at night. For taking a bath, defecating, or washing my clothes, I go to the Pringgondani River not far from here” [Sukahar (44), a becak driver on Gejayan Mrican Street].

Figure 4.18 Living on becak instead of renting a room



“To save my money, I stay in a mosque near here with two friends after getting permission from its administrators. In return, I have to help them cleaning the floor and wall of the mosque, besides helping them to maintain it such as fixing the roof when it is leak during the rainy season” [Eko Widodo (48), a becak driver of Mirasa souvenir shop].

The figure above also shows that there is no considerable difference between the assisted becak drivers and the not-assisted ones in the particular issue. It is simply because CD Bethesda and the two associations do not have any program in providing settlement or place to stay in Jogja for the members.

4.3.3.2 Ownerships of common assets

While place to stay in Jogja brings no significant difference between the assisted and the not-assisted becak drivers, issue on ownerships of common assets has completely different story. All members of the two associations do have common assets. Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal are two bigger associations that bundle smaller becak drivers groups despite the fact that in a later development, not all members of those smaller groups are willing to faithfully join the two associations.

Smaller becak drivers groups that formed Parti Warjo are: ‘Detastu’ (stands for ‘*Depan Stasiun Tugu*’) or tugu Railway Station Group, Sardjito Hospital Group, Miroso Group, and Ambarukmo Plaza Group. All these smaller groups use the place at which they stand by for passenger as the name of the group. Two primary smaller becak drivers groups that form Bawang Manunggal are Superindo Supermarket Group and Novotel Hotel Group, which have similar way to name the groups by deriving the stand by location as the groups’ name.

Mutual assets owned by Parti Warjo are saving of around five million Rupiah (400 Euro) and three becak (for rent for two thousand Rupiah per day). Bawang Manunggal on the other side, especially the Novotel Hotel Group, owns mutual assets in forms of saving of around seven million five hundred thousand Rupiah (600 Euro), cattle (six goats maintained by someone else through a

particular scheme namely *gadhu* –raising the cattle for a share in the product, and four becak (for rent for 40 thousand Rupiah per month).

Almost all of the not-assisted becak drivers do not own any mutual asset mainly because they are not organized in any becak driver group. Some of them do join becak drivers groups, but the groups are not well organized in a regular meeting basis, as experienced by Suyono (56).

“Some years ago, some of us had an idea to organize all becak drivers who stand by for customers here at Sindurejan. We agreed with the idea and established a becak drivers group namely ‘Patu Besi’ which stands for ‘Paguyuban Tukang Becak Sindurejan’ (Sindurejan Becak Drivers Group) a month later. We also had a meeting right after the group was formed to elect committee. Unfortunately, it was the first and the last meeting. We never sit and meet afterwards, and of course we do not have any mutual asset’ [Sasmito (51), a becak driver of Sindurejan].

4.3.3.3 Network amongst becak drivers

“Please, ask every becak driver in Jogja: *Do you know Daryanto becak driver of Ambarukmo Plaza?*, I bet many of them would say yes. CD Bethesda has made me famous” [Daryanto (53), a member of Parti Warjo].

Network is an intangible yet important asset, because people could rely on it to cope with problems they face in difficult time. Using network, people could, for example, borrow some money when they face money shortage or get a job easier.

Sukiman (43), a member of Parti Warjo testifies:

“CD Bethesda has changed my life from nobody to somebody. Before joining Parti Warjo, all I knew is driving becak. Now, after 8 years being assisted by CD Bethesda, I have some other skills such as acupressure and medical herbs making. My knowledge also gets wider because CD Bethesda gives me opportunities to participate in various seminars such as seminar on light medicine usage, HIV/AIDS prevention, and legal drafting. On top of that, I am quite lucky because by joining the association, I have wider network with my colleagues from all over Indonesia as well as officers of local government”.

A similar testimonial stated by Supriyanto (63), another member of Parti Warjo:

“Before joining Parti Warjo, which is assisted by CD Bethesda, I was a ‘single-fighter’ worker. Now, after being a member of the association for eight years, my life changed from a solitaire to social man and from a ‘sit and keep silent’ to a ‘talkative’ man. I feel that I also became more critical to government policies and my environment. A few years ago, I also got a chance to meet, discuss, and shake hands with government officials from Germany and The Netherlands”.

Another story with regards to additional network a becak driver experienced after joining the association is told by Marsudi (32), a member of Bawang Manunggal below.

“Last year, I attended an international conference namely Asian People Dialogue in Jakarta, representing Bawang Manunggal becak drivers association. My travel was funded by the event organizer and I went to Jakarta by plane. For most poor people like us, traveling by plane is a luxurious moment we even have never imagined before”.

4.3.3.4 Mutual agreements

Mutual agreements amongst becak drivers are forms of social capital. Many acknowledge social capital as a new emerging important concept. The World Bank for example, described social capital as the “missing link” in development (Harris and de Renzio, 1997 in Johnston and Percy-Smith 2003 p322), while in UK, the Commission for social Justice identified social capital as a key element in tackling disadvantages (Johnston and Percy-Smith 2003 p322).

Major components forming social capital—as stated by Putnam and referred by many scholars—are trust, norms, and networks (Bjornskov 2006 p23). The three components cross-cut with concept of “reciprocity” and “generalized trust” proposed by Johnston and Percy-Smith (2003, p324).

Because generally they are organized in particular becak drivers’ associations, the assisted becak drivers are more possible of having mutual agreement than those of the not-assisted ones. Table 4.9 below show that out of 30 becak drivers, 29 (96.7%) of ‘the-assisted’ confirm the presence of mutual agreements amongst them. A different case happens with the ‘not-assisted’ becak drivers. Out of 30 becak drivers, 26 (86.7%) of ‘the not-assisted’ do not confirm the presence of mutual agreements. The most common cases of mutual agreements are the amount of fare per particular distance or place and the work of queuing system.

Figure 4.19 Queuing system of Bawang Manunggal



Table 4.9 Mutual agreements

Presence of mutual agreements	Assisted		Not assisted	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	29	96.7	4	13.3
No	1	3.3	26	86.7
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Source: survey data

4.3.3.5 Meet and talk to each other

Another indication of the presence of social capital amongst becak drivers is whether they interact with one another, as well as meet and talk in a regular basis. Out of 30 becak drivers who are not assisted, only two who meet and talk in a regular meeting basis. In contrast, all of the assisted becak drivers meet and talk regularly because the two associations organize regular meeting at both CD Bethesda Office and the smaller groups’ place. Novotel Hotel Group and Superindo Supermarket Group (both are under Bawang Manunggal) for example, set the meeting once in a month. Besides discussing recent issues concerning their daily live and work, the meeting is also meant to conduct so-called *arisan* or rotating saving groups—such a kind of saving scheme, which is quite common in all over Indonesia.

Figure 4.20 Meeting on regular basis



4.3.3.6 Memberships in becak drivers associations or other organizations

Despite of the fact that the not-assisted becak drivers have less interaction in a regular meeting with other becak drivers, some of them join associations both becak drivers associations and non-becak drivers ones. Out of 30 not-assisted becak drivers, 14 (46.7%) are members of organizations.

Becak drivers groups or associations are normally established on the basis of location at which becak drivers stand by for customers. ‘Kelompok Penarik Becak Pasar Serangan’ (Serangan Traditional Market Becak Drivers Group) for example, is established by becak drivers who stand by at Serangan Traditional Market. Unfortunately, many becak drivers association are not well managed indicated by absence of regular meeting or absence of common assets, which in turn do not bring any significant benefit for their members.

Besides becak drivers groups or associations, most common organizations becak drivers get involved in are neighborhood groups so-called *RT* (or ‘Rukun Tetangga’, neighborhood formal administrative unit two stages under village), *RW* (or ‘Rukun Warga’, also called ‘dusun’, neighborhood formal administrative unit one stage under village). Other common groups, which are more informal, usually found within communities in Indonesia are *pengajian* (religious learning groups) and *arisan* (rotating saving and credit groups). In rural agriculture area, particularly in Java, there is also a kind of regular meeting within a group of an extended family so-called *trah*. Within a *trah*, there are sometimes nearly a hundred (or even more) members claiming that they are originated from the same great grandfather. They try to rebind their extended family and organize themselves to seek a stronger tie amongst one another.

“Once in 70 days, my family and I attend a *trah* meeting set at one of my relative’s house. At the meeting, we just talk and talk to get stronger family relationship amongst us and build awareness that we were originated from the same great grandfather. By such a regular meeting, I can find the root of my family. It also makes me feel secure because if someday I get problem there are many relatives to whom I could ask for help’ [Sudarmaji (67), a becak driver of AM Sangaji Street].

Sudarmaji’s believe that he will get help easier during difficult time by getting involved in group of people—that makes it possible to interact more intensively—seems to come into reality. Out of 14 becak drivers who join any kind of associations or groups, 11 (78.6%) say that they feel a considerable solidarity amongst members of the groups. The most common form of solidarity is

donation of fund at the moment a member gets difficulty in his/her life such as one households' member passed away or needs to stay at hospital because of serious illness.

4.4 Assistance activities and their roles to reduce becak drivers' vulnerability

In the following part, this research intends to discuss about assistance activities conducted by CD Bethesda and their roles to reduce the vulnerability of the members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal becak drivers associations. The analysis is mainly intended to answer the second research question: "How effective is the assistance activity for becak drivers conducted by CD Bethesda in making the members of *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* less vulnerable?".

Some indicators used to discuss the issue are appropriateness and agreement between the need of becak drivers and the programs launched by the NGO, sustainability or continuity of the programs, and replicability of the programs. Interview with becak drivers as well as key persons (CD Bethesda Area Manager for Jogja and the chiefs of the two associations) was conducted during the fieldwork.

4.4.1 Appropriateness and agreement

4.4.1.1 Becak drivers' problems and CD Bethesda programs

Box 4.4 Becak drivers' problems

In CD Bethesda's point of view, most becak drivers in Yogyakarta deal with problems as follow:

- Weak capability to meet basic needs, particularly purchasing food and other 'nine basic life needs'. (Note: in Indonesia, government set standard needs for households so-called *sembako* that stands for *sembilan bahan pokok*, literary translated as 'nine-primary-stuff' consists of: rice, crystal sugar, oil and margarine, beef and chicken, eggs, milk, corn, kerosene, and salt).
- Difficulty to maintain becak due to small income. If a particular spare-part is broken and need replacement, they are unable to purchase it.
- Vulnerability of their health status. In order to be able to operate, becak drivers should be in a physically good health. Unfortunately, their ability to buy healthy food with sufficient nutrition in it, is very much limited
- Many becak they operate are not their own becak. Using the rented becak, becak drivers have to pay the *juragan* (local term for the becak owner) with average rental fee of 2,000-3,000 Rupiah per day. For many becak drivers, it is a heavy burden since their daily income sometimes is not more than 5,000 Rupiah.
- Social behaviors which do not support healthy life (gambling, getting drunk, prostitution).
- Many becak drivers are originated from regencies outside Jogja. They do not have place to stay in Jogja because of inability to afford rented houses or rooms. As a consequence, they live at becak including sleeping at night.
- Low level of education and poor skill. All they can do is becak driving, hence no other skill.

(Summarized from an interview with Suhartati, CD Bethesda Jogja Area Manager, August 20, 2006)

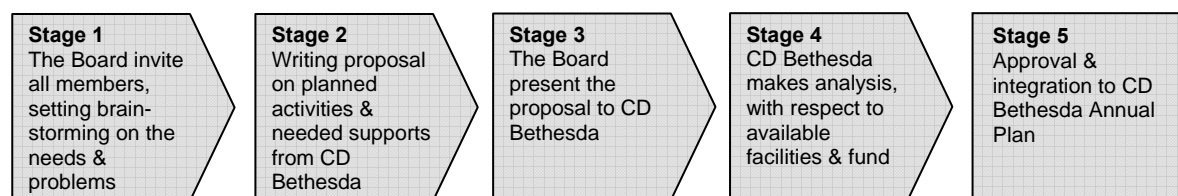
At the very beginning stage of interaction between CD Bethesda and becak drivers in the year 1997, CD Bethesda distributed lunch coupons for becak drivers who operate primarily on surrounding location near Bethesda Hospital to help them meet their very basic need, food, during the peak of monetary crisis that hit Indonesia and some other countries in Asia. The program was conducted in three months period, and after it was over, CD Bethesda started new idea to keep assisting the becak drivers.

Later, a meeting was set, inviting 13 groups of becak drivers to conduct a kind of focused group discussion (FGD). The main agenda of the meeting was to identify main problems becak drivers

deal with by those CD Bethesda could determine what programs will be launched for the following period. Therefore, the problems most becak drivers deal with as stated by Suhartati in the Box 4.4 were not ‘truly version’ of CD Bethesda. Such problems came up as products of discussion amongst becak drivers themselves at which CD Bethesda played its role as a facilitator.

Ahmad Muhyiddin (38), the Chief of Parti Warjo, explained about mechanism applied to formulate programs to avoid mismatch between what is needed by the two associations and what is programmed by CD Bethesda, as illustrated on Figure 4.21 Stages programs formulation. The main keyword for the mechanism is ‘bottom-up’, meaning that the process starts from grass-roots level, in this case is members of the two organizations. At the beginning of the process, all members sit together with the boards of the associations. Then, they start brainstorming about what the needs to meet and problems to resolve. The next stage is writing proposal mainly containing list of activities or supports needed from the CD Betehesda, which is followed by presentation of the proposal in front of CD Bethesda. Analysis of the proposal then will be conducted by CD Bethesda, to assess the possibility to execute with respect to the availability of facilities or funding in the NGO. The final stage is approval of the proposed programs, and integration of the programs in the ‘CD Bethesda Annual Plan’.

Figure 4.21 Stages on programs formulation (an illustration)



Source: Interview with Ahmad Muhyiddin, Chief of Parti Warjo

4.4.1.2 Accomplishment of programs based on objectives

Departing from the identified problems as listed in Box 4.4 above, CD Bethesda launched a program namely ‘Urban Poor Community Empowerment in Yogyakarta’. The main objective of the program is to increase economy and health status of urban poor community—in this case is members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal, implemented through development of small scale enterprises, management training, and vocational training (CD Bethesda Annual Report, 2004).

According to Suhartati and based on CD Bethesda Annual Reports, there are some activities under the ‘Urban Poor Community Empowerment in Yogyakarta’ program, as discussed along with achievement of the activities below.

1. To deal with the problem of poor skill, CD Bethesda organized some vocational trainings i.e. acupressure, traditional herbs making, and car driving. As output of the training, 15 members of the two associations are skillful at acupressure work, six members are equipped with traditional herbs making, and two members are skilful in car driving. The additional skills, particularly acupressure, have brought contribution towards members’ income generating activities as well as network extension. YEU, stands for YAKKUM Emergency Unit, recruits them to utilize the skill to help poor people who need free healthcare service or victims of any disasters in Jogja like 2006 earthquake or Mount Merapi eruption.

“Recently, YEU recruited us, members of the two organizations who have acupressure skill, to be voluntary workers for victims of earthquake in Bantul. They paid us although not much for doing the work. We do not really think about how much money we would get from YEU. It is enough to support

our daily needs. More than that, we feel comfortable because we could do something useful for the victims of the disaster. I feel honored to serve them” [Bambang Pamungkas (30), the chief of Bawang Manunggal].

2. To deal with the problem of becak ownerships, CD Bethesda launched credit program to purchase becak for every member. Initially, because of the limited fund in CD Bethesda side, the NGO applied a scheme of ‘revolving fund’ using scenario as follow. The associations’ members are divided into many groups of five, and the groups are provided with 500,000 Rupiah to buy a new becak, then the becak was utilized by the first man. Each of group members had to pay 25,000 Rupiah per month. When credit for the becak was fully paid, the fund was revolved to the second man. When credit for it was fully paid, the fund was revolved to the third man, and so forth accordingly. At the end of the second year, the program succeeded in making all members of the two associations get becak of their own.

“Before getting credit from CD Bethesda to buy becak, I used to rent becak from a *juragan* (becak-for-rent owner) at Gondolayu with daily fee 2,500 Rupiah. Thank God, now I don not have to pay becak rent. I can keep the 2,500 Rupiah or use it for other needs” [Karsani (61), a member of Parti Warjo].

3. To overcome the problem of small income, CD Bethesda also launched a program namely ‘basic capital subsidy’ by which the members can utilize to start small food stall business. Amongst members who utilized the credit, there is Jarwanto (43), member of Parti Warjo. He started the small food stall business in 2003.

“Using credit I got from CD Bethesda, my wife and I started small food stall business at my house. Formerly, it was only me myself who worked to support my family. Now, since we have the stall, my wife also makes money. Sometimes, her income from the stall is even higher than mine from becak driving” [Jarwanto (43), a member of Parti Warjo].

4. To overcome the problem of members’ health status, CD Bethesda launched a program namely ‘healthcare fund for poor patients’ by collecting fund from members. The initial purpose of such a program was to provide healthcare subsidy in case in case they or members of their households have to stay at hospital for treatment. Unfortunately, the program was terminated in 2003 because of unclear reasons. Another program related to health issue was a course on HIV/AIDS, at which the participants from the two associations could get more knowledge on the disease since becak drivers are considered as a ‘high-risk to HIV/AIDS’ group.

In addition to the programs above, CD Bethesda also conducted training on organizational management in 2003. The primary goal of such training was to provide knowledge on spirit of organization, and how to manage the organization properly. The achievement of such an activity is that some members, particularly the boards of the two associations, could manage the organizations better than before indicated by ability to organize meeting with more lively discussion, managing file more properly, formulation program of the organizations in a better way, and writing action plan and proposal better.

The most successful and prospective program, based on assessment by CD Bethesda, is acupressure vocational training indicated by presence of demand for acupressure service that in turn affects on bringing considerable additional income for the members having the skill.

4.4.2 Sustainability and continuity

Since the program of lunch coupon and followed by establishment of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal in 1997, it has been 10 years CD Bethesda assisting becak drivers in Jogja. Through an interview with Suhartati, CD Bethesda Area Manager for Jogja, a fact reveals that primary reason why the number of the associations' members decreased from more than 100 each to only 41 for Parti Warjo and 26 for Bawang Manunggal was because of credit problem. Many members, who took credit and did not have any good will to payback, disappeared. They left without any notification to the boards or CD Bethesda. The credit problem became obstacle to develop the two associations as it caused reluctance of members to keep getting involved.

Learning from the case, CD Bethesda concluded that Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal have not yet had capacity to manage themselves at desired level. CD Bethesda is willing to continually assist the two associations mainly to resolve the credit problem and develop organization, in addition to giving assistance on capacity building of the members, helping members to create and maintain network, and provide facility for associations' programs.

For the following years, CD Bethesda is ready to assist the two associations using the same mechanism of programs formulation has been discussed, at which the NGO gives independence for the associations to create their own programs. Every year, the associations should also conduct evaluation of the implementations of the programs as basis for the following period programs formulation.

CD Bethesda will be continuously assisting the two associations until they are able to manage themselves, or until they ask the NGO for it with primary principle that the nature of assistance is to empower both assisted organizations and the members, instead of continuous intervention that in turn creates dependency. Therefore, the nature of assistance activity of CD Bethesda is how to improve organizational capacity and develop independency.

At present time, the two associations are still under assistance of CD Bethesda, but in different ways from which of the early years. Initially, CD Bethesda provided more intervention and tight assistance. Nowadays, according to CD Bethesda's assessment, the two associations have been able to reach a degree of independence at which they could determine their own problems, formulate planning, write proposal and report; regardless the credit problem has been discussed before.

Suhartati said that at CD Bethesda's side, the two associations should be promoted until a level that they are able to afford their own need so that CD Bethesda role's at such a level is limited in giving support at important events. The associations could create source of funding through credit they manage.

"By managing credit, they will collect interest, and if it could be collected in sustainable way, they can manage and make use of it for their own. Using the collected fund, they can distribute it a certain amount for saving, a certain amount for members, a certain amount for the boards, and another certain amount to maintain organizations. If that scenario works as desired, our support will be limited for important events only. For the routine things, they can allocate the fund from credit interest", she explained.

4.4.3 Likelihood to reapply (replicability)

Besides becak drivers, there are some other vulnerable groups assisted by CD Bethesda such as small food stall and prostitutes. Main assistance program conducted for small food stall is in the form of credit provision; while for the prostitutes, CD Bethesda focuses on developing awareness amongst them on the danger of HIV/AIDS and its preventive actions.

Suhartati explained that at the moment, CD Bethesda was also starting to assist another becak drivers association, namely ‘Aspabeta’. The organization is a bigger becak drivers association established by members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal, recruiting becak drivers from all over Jogja as members. However, in the later development, the association itself faced a problem of solidity amongst members, so that CD Bethesda could not take control on it and finally decided to terminate the assistance.

4.5 Factors affecting the effectiveness of the assistance activities

Discussion about how assistance activities effective in reducing degree of vulnerability of becak drivers who join Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal as members the two associations will be related to three different stakeholders as environments in which the activities take place: government as external environment, CD Bethesda as intermediate environment, and the associations (members and boards) themselves as internal environment.

The following part of this research intends to analyze the dynamics that happen within each environment, mainly to answer the third question of this research: Which factors influence the effectiveness of NGO assistance and how are these factors inter-related?

4.5.1 External factor: local government policies

Box 4.5 Mbah Joko: a ‘victim’ of becak versus private automobile competition

For many years, Tarakanita Elementary School at Bumijo has long time been Joko’s (70) base of operation. Initially, he had many regular customers. They were students of the school who used his service to pick them up from their home to the school and *vice-versa*. Within recent years, the old man’s customers are decreasing time to time. Now, he does not have such regular customers anymore since their parents prefer to see them off and pick them up by their own motorcycles or automobiles.

Most respondents confirmed that from perspective of welfare and livelihood, becak drivers have been marginalized. Furthermore, most of them agreed that government policies do not stand at their side. The most common complaint with respect to what becak drivers believe as ‘process of marginalization’ is the uncontrolled growth of private automobiles and motorbikes, as well as public motorized mode of transportations such as taxi, bus, and *ojek* (transportation vehicle for individual passenger by the use of motorcycle). Value of their income is decreasing time to time, while prices of daily needs are increasing at the same time. Sukahar (44), a becak driver who stands by for customers on Gejayan Mrican Street, is one example. He said that some years ago, he could afford his family needs including schooling for his children from driving becak. At present time, although his wife also works to get more income, his family still live in poverty.

Figure 4.22 *Ojek*, the becak’s main competitor



Source: <http://www.expat.or.id/images/ojek.jpg>

An interesting fact was expressed by some respondents. They said that nowadays, there is another competitor for their becak, as stated by Jasmadi (54) below.

“Beside buses, taxis, and *ojek*, we have another ‘competitor’: **mobile phone**. In the past time, when we stand by in front of a shop, and some visitors came out from it, there was a hope that some of them would ask us to bring them somewhere. Now, the hope is only a memory. All they usually do is pressing their mobile phone buttons and calling their friends or relatives to pick them up” [Jasmadi (54), a becak driver on Novotel Hotel].

The life of becak drivers in Jogja has been so much difficult since they lost in the competition with buses, taxis, and *ojek*. At present day, their life became much more difficult since the abrupt declining of tourist visit to Jogja due to Bali bombing October 2005 and Jogja earthquake May 2006. Such a sad story was told by Subandrio (47), a becak driver of Taman Siswa Street and Sokonandi Elementary School.

“After losing the competition, we did put our hope to tourist, but now our hope is not there any longer because of Bali bombing and Jogja Earthquake”, Subandrio said.

4.5.1.1 Government policies in public transportation

The growth of urban population in one hand, and limited job creation amongst the poor on the other hand, has lead to inevitable informal employment. Despite of its considerable share to GDP, the existence of informal economy in many countries is still considered as a disturbance to city development. Therefore, across the Third World countries, most interventions to the informal sector are about how to prohibit, exclude or remove it (Lyons and Snoxell 2005, p1077).

Regarding its role in national economy, Schneider (2002, p8 and 45) recorded that in Indonesia during the year 1999/2000, informal sector contributes 19.4 percent of GNP; while in Asia in the same period, the sector contributes 29 percent of GDP and absorbs 33.4 percent labour force.

For a long period of time, informal sector was considered to be burden of development. Furthermore, it was believed that expanding informal sector was a key indicator to draw conclusion that the development in a particular country failed. However, nowadays many believe that informal sector could be considered as an asset, even one of solutions to overcome poverty problem and economic crisis (Rakowski 1994, p31).

During the fieldwork, the researcher visited three local government offices: Transportation Office, Manpower Office, and Social Welfare Office, with main consideration that these three institutions are the most related offices to becak and becak drivers issue in Jogja Municipality.

Regarding local government policy in public transportation in general, Jogja Local Government nowadays is preparing a draft of rule or *perda* on City Change, giving strong emphasize on unmotorized vehicles. According to Adi Nugroho, a senior officer in Transportation Office Jogja Municipality, this regulation is prepared primarily because of local government’s concern on transportation problem in Jogja. Adi said that the ‘load factor’ of public transportation in general, not only becak, is low because Jogja experience uncontrolled growth of motorized vehicles.

“If we look at motorbike alone, average growth of this kind of vehicle is 6,000 unit per year. Bus also experiences similar problem, high growth, affecting to its load factor, which is only 20 percent. If it is true that a becak driver collect 20,000 Rupiah per day, I think their faith is better than that of bus conductor who only collect 10,000 maximum”, Adi explained.

The main goal of restructuring of public transportation in Jogja, according to Adi, is to attract people to re-utilize public transportation. The recent concept proposed by Transportation Office

was operation of busway, with becak as feeders. Unfortunately, the concept was opposed by many parties who were threatened by the concept such as city bus companies and parking men. As a short-run solution, Transportation Office proposed another idea to operate ‘fast semi-express bus’ that does not need special track like busway.

If the idea of ‘fast semi-express bus’ can be implemented, local government is ready to build becak parking lots in many particular places at which becak take function as feeders from the parking lots to bus line.

4.5.1.2 Government policies on becak

Adi Nugroho explained that besides the concept to utilize becak as feeders for ‘fast semi-express bus’, there is another idea. The idea is to integrate becak in tourism policy because becak has potential to support tourism industry in Jogja. For this purpose, Transportation Office is initiating a collaboration work with Tourism Office of Jogja Municipality so that at the end, the two institutions can share responsibility: becak as transportation vehicle will be under responsibility of Transportation Office, while becak as a tourist attraction will be under responsibility of Tourism Office.

From perspective of regulation, at the moment, the local government is preparing a rule on becak and other non-motorized vehicles like *andhong* (traditional transportation mode using horse) and bicycle. Another program is issuing identification number for becak, which was started recently despite the fact that the program has not yet covered all becak drivers in Jogja.

Figure 4.23 Becak identification number



“For the long-run, we planned to coordinate with becak producers, to produce becak which are equipped with chassis number like motorcycle so that it is easy to identify. All of what we have done or we are still planning to do is meant to control the number of becak in Jogja. The spirit behind is to avoid over-supply of becak that in turn will harm becak drivers themselves”, Adi said.

In addition to that, together with Tourism Office, the Transportation Office provides facilities and funding for becak drivers associations. One example of the facility provided for becak drivers is an office, located at Giwangan Bus Terminal, for the association. Most frequent complaint is that the local government provides only one place, which is not accessible for becak drivers from farther parts of Jogja. For such a complaint, Adi gave following explanation:

“That is all what we can do regarding this issue. Of course, we wish we could provide more places in many parts of Jogja so that all becak drivers have access and could be accommodated. Unfortunately, it is impossible to implement because of fund shortage of local government”.

4.5.1.3 Policies on poverty alleviation and strengthening becak drivers' assets

"I do not know what will happen to our children. Nowadays, there is no longer job vacancy left for a senior high school graduate, while sending our kids to a college or university is impossible for us due to its cost" [Subandrio (47), a becak driver on Taman Siswa Street and Sokonandi Elementary School].

Wahyu Wijanarko, a senior officer of Social Welfare Office, explained that local government once provided facilities for becak drivers associations regardless in a very limited in amount of budget and inability to cover all becak drivers associations in Jogja. Unfortunately, such facilities were not provided continuously as there is less flexibility of the office to formulate program and propose funding on becak issue. It is because of Jogja local government limitation in authority in addition of the fact most becak drivers are not originated from Jogja or not legal citizens of Jogja. There is one principle stating that as much as possible, local budget is allocated for local people. Considering that the nature of memberships in becak associations is inter-region, it is difficult to get involved with them intensively.

"Moreover, at Social Welfare Office's point of view, becak driver is not categorized as poor people. We do not consider them as *penyandang masalah sosial* (people with social problems), therefore we do not have any direct intervention medium for them person by person. We prefer to implement our programs based on associations instead of individual basis", he added.

He explained further that unfortunately, there is no specific budget allocated to improve becak drivers' welfare or to promote their existence. What is done by local government is budget allocation for strengthening and development of organizational services. In other words, there is no program explicitly mentioning becak drivers as personal. Programs targeted for becak drivers are programs, which are broader for poor and marginalized groups, whatever their occupations are.

Regarding healthcare subsidy for poor and marginalized groups, particularly becak drivers, Wahyu Wijanarko gave explanation as follow.

"*Kartu Sehat* (Healthcare Card) is central government's program launched for poor citizens, regardless their occupations. The more critical aspect here is legal status of citizenships rather than occupation. What is meant by inhabitant is stay and possess Jogja ID card. It is because most becak drivers are not Jogja citizens. They come seasonally, meaning one week here in Jogja and one week there in their homeland. Of course, they can not access the healthcare card program. Because such a program is standardized in national level, exist in every regency or municipality, ideally they could access in the regencies they are legally registered as inhabitant".

4.5.1.4 Policy and aspects on labor issue

In the Manpower Office, becak driver receives less attention indicated by the absence of any regulation or law to regulate them. Furthermore, according to Baskoro, a senior officer at Manpower Office, his office also does not have any data about how many becak drivers operating in Jogja area. Becak driver is still classified as informal sector workers. Therefore, what available in Manpower Office is overall data about how many workers in informal sectors in Jogja, in which becak driver is classified. Yet, the calculation still excludes becak drivers who are administratively not inhabitant of Jogja.

Such a poor data about informal sector workers in general, and becak drivers in particular, will lead to difficulty in managing becak drivers in Jogja. The local government will not be able to determine for example at what number becak drivers in Jogja is needed to assure their income by avoiding unhealthy competition amongst them because of overpopulation.

“Eventually, concerns to becak drivers is in hands of good will of every regional formal leader, *lurah* (village formal leader) or *camat* (sub regency leader). If the *lurah* or *camat* puts sufficient concern, becak drivers will be lucky. In contrast, if the *lurah* or *camat* do not put any care, the becak drivers should work alone without any sufficient attention”, Baskoro said.

4.5.2 Intermediate factor: CD Bethesda and its dynamic

4.5.2.1 Funding

Within the CD Bethesda Annual Budget Plan, there is fund allocation to facilitate its clients although not specifically stated for becak drivers since CD Bethesda’s clients are not merely Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal. The fund is allocated to support activities of CD Bethesda’s clients, including the two becak drivers associations, such as to facilitate meeting (booking room and providing snack).

“For facilitating one meeting of our clients, including meetings set by Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal of course, we allocate 300,000 per month in this ongoing semester. To support special events like training for members, or empowerment activities such as course on health and economic, we also provide fund. All they have to do is preparing the proposal”, Suhartati Said.

Suhartati explained that so far budget for funding the assistance programs is always available year to year. However, she was not quite sure whether the fund would be available for longer period. Therefore, she and her colleagues from CD Bethesda always tell the two associations that there is always any possibility the assistance is stopped suddenly. Considering such a possibility, CD Bethesda continuously encourages the associations to efficiently manage their resources, create saving, manage the organizations, and develop the existing assets.

For funding the routine affairs of the associations, CD Bethesda does not provide any fund. The associations is encouraged to make use of credit interest for routine affairs. In addition, for members who skillful in acupressure, it is obligation to contribute five percent of their honorarium to the associations.

4.5.2.2 Ability to identify client’s needs

One indicator to assess effectiveness of assistance activities is how the real needs and problems of clients’ can be accommodated and match with assistance activities programmed and conducted by the NGO. For this issue, as has been discussed before, what CD Bethesda encourages to clients is to identify their own needs and problems with bottom-up mechanism through focused group discussion (FGD) amongst members. Although sometimes still provides some suggestions since the very beginning stage, what CD Bethesda normally does is just wait until the self-identification process done and clients come up with proposal to analyze. With such a mechanism of needs and problems identification, through stages of programs formulations as discussed, CD Bethesda task to identify clients needs and problems becomes easier and precise to the desired objects.

4.5.2.3 Support from higher level

The higher level provides very good support to CD Bethesda by giving the institution autonomy to work and providing CD Bethesda sufficient amount of funding. It could be said that CD Bethesda is an autonomous institution although structurally it is under Bethesda Hospital and the ‘Christian Foundation for Public Health’ (YAKKUM). Formerly, there was an idea to centralize all business at Bethesda Hospital. However, real practice on the field sometimes needs quick response and not-too-bureaucratic. Therefore, finally it was decided that CD Bethesda became an autonomous institution.

CD Bethesda is a unit under Bethesda Hospital. The basic philosophy is that Bethesda Office serves patients who come to hospital, while CD Bethesda serves disadvantaged people who need help, taking place at the outside of the hospital.

4.5.2.4 Commitment amongst social workers within the CD

Commitment amongst social workers in CD Bethesda could be seen through how good they understand the programs to assist becak drivers and to what extent they are willing to work for it. Based on Organizational Chart of CD Bethesda (see http://www.cdbethesda.org/english/about_chart_eng.asp), within the NGO, social workers are organized into six different divisions. Primary Healthcare Division, at which Suhartati works as Area Manager for Jogja Special Province, is the division that takes responsibility to assist Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal becak drivers associations. Within this division, Suhartati works alone regardless her status as 'manager'. She has some colleagues, the social workers in CD Bethesda, with own tasks and responsibilities in different divisions. However, amongst social workers, they support and cover one another.

"Formerly, my responsibility was to assist poor patients of Bethesda Hospital by giving supports for them such as helping them to deal with government administration to get healthcare subsidy. When monetary crisis hit Indonesia, my task was added, that is organizing and assisting becak drivers and small food stall. My responsibility therefore did become heavier, but here in CD Bethesda, I have some colleagues with their own tasks and responsibilities who ready to support and cover one another. Here, our work is very flexible", Suhartati said.

When she has too many works hence overload or gets ill, her colleagues are ready to replace her position. The good thing is everybody in CD Bethesda knows his/her colleagues' tasks and responsibility quite well. Therefore, when they have to replace one another, serious problem will not occur.

4.5.2.5 Network and access to policy-making process

As a non profit organization, CD Bethesda receives funding support mainly from Bethesda Hospital as its upper body. However, relying on merely to Bethesda Hospital for funding needs is not possible. Therefore, CD Bethesda also created network with outer organizations for both conducting its programs and activities (see <http://www.cdbethesda.org/partner.asp?cat=partner>) and getting funding support (see <http://www.cdbethesda.org/partner.asp?cat=donor>).

"To finance CD Bethesda's activities, for both maintaining the organizations and assisting clients, Bethesda Hospital subsidize some amount of fund per annum. However, we can not ask for fund to the Hospital for covering all of our needs. Otherwise, the Hospital would be collapse. Therefore, we also seek other sources of funding such as from 'The Netherlands Christian Church', our funding in The Netherlands" Suhartati said.

Regarding CD Bethesda access to policy-making process, there is a division within the NGO namely Division for Advocacy and Network. When we talk about advocacy, emphasize is put on how to empower people by providing them with advocacy strategies so that in turn they themselves could voice their aspirations. CD Bethesda believes, as stated by Suhartati, if the voice is coming out from the victims themselves, policy maker will give more attention. Therefore, what CD Bethesda does to help is by providing training on how to assess budget plan of the local government critically or how to create strategy to influence policy-making process.

"The result is, at least at their level they have self confidence and brave to understand on how to criticize. At local level, for example in villages or sub regencies, at least policy maker take them into account and in turn invite them to discuss to get inputs", she said.

Therefore, CD Bethesda does not directly have link with policy maker in local (village as well as sub regencies) or government level despite in some extent, NGO also has influence for example through members of parliament who have personal relations with CD Bethesda.

4.5.3 Internal factor: Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal members and the boards

4.5.3.1 Members' commitment to organization

Commitment is "being bound emotionally or intellectually to a course of action" (see <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/commitment>). In this research, what is meant by members' commitment to organization is how members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal becak drivers associations have awareness to see the organizations as common asset to develop for gaining benefit in the short, medium, as well as long run.

"The keywords is *sense of belonging*", Ahmad Muhyiddin, chief of Parti Warjo Boards, said. "At that sense, we would say that we still have to work harder to achieve members' commitment to organizations at desired level. Some members joined association merely to take benefit for their own without thinking to do something to develop association in return", he added.

At Muhyiddin's point of view, smaller part of members do have that sense, but not for the bigger one. He gave example of many members who joined association only to get credit for buying becak. When credit has already on their hands, and finally they got becak of their own, they quit. The worse case also happened, after got the money, they disappeared without notification to the boards or CD Bethesda. Muhyiddin said that it is difficult to track members' address since where they stay is not permanent (even on becak). Therefore, credit was given to a member based on trust that someday he will pay back.

"To be honest, I am upset to them because if they had had commitment to build our organization, they would have got many long-run benefits such as vocational trainings, other credits, and network", Muhyiddin said.

Similar to Parti Warjo case, Bawang Manunggal becak driver association also faces such a problem. According to Bambang Pamungkas, chief Bawang Manunggal Boards, primary indication for poor commitment to organization is the credit problem. First term succeeded, but second term failed, and members disappeared with debt. In turn, it made members reluctant to go to meeting because they worry if asked about the money. It affects other members in some level. Also, affects moral burden of the board in relation to CD Bethesda.

Bambang noted that the main reason related to low commitment to organization poor way of thinking of the members which is he detected as logic consequence of low level of education of the members. In turn, they are not able to think critically that affects to inability of members to think about long run scenario. As a result, Bambang said that idea to bring organization one step ahead is also resisted by members themselves. To develop organization and bring better economic condition for members, the association needs to diversify assets.

"Once, Bawang Manunggal was able to collect fund from members regularly. Until last two months, we have collected seven million and five hundreds Rupiah. I had idea to utilize the money to develop association, for example buying some cow or cattle and start producing more cows or milk for sale. Unfortunately, the idea was rejected because members wanted the cash for consumptive things", he said.

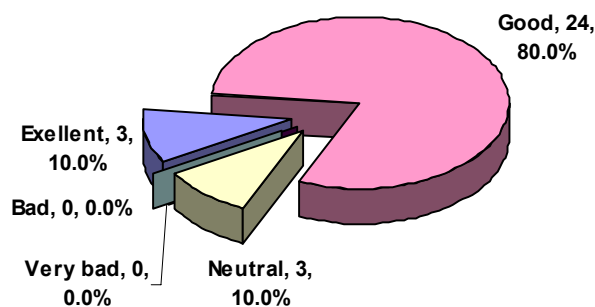
4.5.3.2 Solidarity amongst members

Solidarity amongst members could be seen through their awareness to support and take care of, as well as create closer emotional relationships amongst one another.

“In my point of view, the keyword regarding the issue of solidarity is *communication*”, Bambang Pamungkas, the chief of Bawang Manunggal Board, said. “It is good for both becak drivers and customers. A good communication will bring us to agreements such as queuing and fixed-fare that in turn will bring benefits for us. By applying a fixed-fare to particular distance for example, both becak drivers and customers will fill convenient”, he added.

In addition to chiefs of the two associations’ boards, researcher also asked about this particular issue to the members themselves. Figure 4.24 below show the members’ assessment on solidarity amongst the members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal becak drivers associations.

Figure 4.24 Solidarity amongst members of the two associations



Source: Survey data

Out of 30 Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal members, 27 (90%) think that solidarity amongst members of the two organizations is good or even excellent. No one say that the solidarity is bad or very bad. From this point of view, it can be said that the solidarity amongst members is strong enough regardless their fair commitment to organizations as stated by the two chiefs of the boards.

Most common mutual actions to develop and maintain solidarity amongst members are by the use of regular meeting and *arisan* (rotating saving groups). Even, couple of years ago, members of Novotel Hotel becak drivers group, which is part of Bawang Manunggal, had regular visit to members’ houses in their homeland. Using rented bus, they used *arisan* occasion to visit members’ houses. By such an activity, they could also get along with the families of each member, so that it made their emotional relationship even stronger. Having such a strong emotional tie, members usually help each other when they face difficulties, such as a member of their family passed away or had to stay at hospital because of a serious illness, without any reluctance.

“When earthquake hit Jogja last May 2006, Pak Haryono’s house was totally demolished. We collected money right away to help him rebuild his house. Now, his house is half finished. We hope that within next three months, he could use the house again”, Supriyanto (63), a member of Parti Warjo.

4.5.3.3 Leadership of becak drivers associations

To the respondents, researcher also asked them to assess the boards or committee of the two associations. The main question is to what extent they are satisfied to the boards’ performance so far. Figure 4.25 below shows various assessment of the respondents, at which 14 (46.7%) and two (6.7%) are satisfied and even very much satisfied, while the other eight (26.7%) are not satisfied, and the last six (20%) gave neutral assessment.

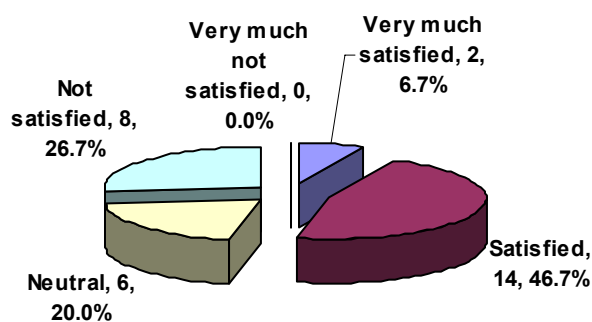
Most common comment of members who are satisfied to the boards’ performance is that the boards succeeded in conducting some vocational training by those members can create additional income

and broaden network. Another comment from the side of satisfied members is that the boards succeeded in creating mutual assets, such as saving, cattle, and becak.

“I would say that more or less I am satisfied to the boards’ performance so far. In collaboration with CD Bethesda, they organized acupressure training so that some of us, including me, have that particular skill. Using that skill, now I can get more income. Thanks to the boards and CD Bethesda for giving such a chance” [Sanuri (42), a member of Parti Warjo].

Amongst members who are not satisfied (eight members) to the boards’ performance, four of them explained that the primary factor lead to their disappointment is credit problem. They said that the weak leadership has caused members indiscipline to payback the credit. This situation brings further implication of the absence or poor members’ commitment to organization as has been discussed before.

Figure 4.25 Members’ satisfaction to the boards’ performance



Source: Survey data

4.5.3.4 Members’ participation

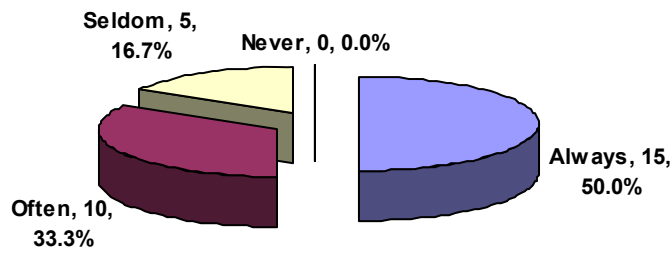
The development of an association and the successfulness of their programs will be closely related with the issue of members’ participation in the sense that the boards cannot work alone without any active involvement of the members. Bambang Pamungkas, chief of Bawang Manunggal Boards, believed that number of members does not necessarily reflect the quality of organization.

“We can not say that if number of members is big, the organization is well developed, and the other way around. It is not that simple. An organization may have fewer members, but as long as they have stronger commitment and more willingness to fight for organization development, I think that is better. That is what I believe in the association I manage, Bawang Manunggal. Initially, this organization had more than 100 members, and now only 26 members are left, but most of them are having stronger commitment I supposed” he explained.

Bambang’s statement seems to be true if we look at members’ attendance on regular meeting and member’s degree of involvement in the meeting. As shown in Figure 4.26 Members’ attendance on regular meeting, amongst 30 members of the two associations, 15 (50%) and 10 (33.3%) of them accordingly claimed that they always and often attend the regular meeting.

Regarding degree of involvement in the meeting, as shown in Table 4.10 Members’ degree of involvement in the meeting, fewer members (4 out of 30, or 13.3%) said that they just sit down and keep silent. The rest members tend to be active during the meeting. The biggest part of them (12 members, or 40%) even claimed that they always speak up and give idea in every meeting.

Figure 4.26 Members' attendance on regular meeting



Source: Survey data

Table 4.10 Members' degree of involvement in the meeting

Nr.	Degree of involvement	Number	%
1.	Sit down and keep silent	4	13.3
2.	Sit down and actively listen or making note	6	20.0
3.	Actively listen and give answer if necessary	8	26.7
4.	Always give idea	12	40.0
	Total	30	100.0

Source: Survey data

A parallel also happens for the issue of members' involvement in the organization's activities. None of the members never participate in the organization's activities, while 15 (50%) of them claim that they always participate.

What are meant by organization's activities in this research are any activities set by boards that requires member's participation such as voluntary works to clean the surrounding location of their base.

4.5.3.5 Management of mutual assets

As has been discussed at previous sections, mutual assets owned by Bawang Manunggal is saving of around seven million and five hundred thousand Rupiah (or 600 Euro with current exchange of 12,500 Rupiah/Euro), cattle (a number of six goats), and four becak. Parti Warjo on the other side, has mutual assets in the form of saving of around five million Rupiah (400 Euro) and three becak.

The two associations have similar idea in managing the mutual assets. Saving, which is created mainly from routine payment of members besides money got from renting becak (and rising up the cattle in Bawang Manunggal case), is managed by the treasury, part of the committee. For Bawang Manunggal, the cattle is maintained by someone else through a particular scheme namely *gaduhuh* – raising the cattle for a share in the product, while the four becak are rented to other becak drivers to get additional mutual income for the association. In every regular meeting, the treasury gives report to all members about the status their mutual assets: how much fund and saving they have collected so far or what the condition of the cattle and becak. Then, if necessary, the chief will moderate discussion about what scenario to do for the assets. By such a scheme in managing mutual assets, it could be said that the management is done in a transparent and participative way, by letting members know and inviting members to decide by their own on what kind of treatment is considered best for the assets.

Chapter 5 Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

The research departed from an interesting phenomenon in Yogyakarta, the second tourist destination in Indonesia after Bali, in which the local government tries to let becak exist as part of characteristic and uniqueness of the city. This is interesting because in many other cities like Jakarta; Semarang, Central Java; Surabaya, East Java; and Bandung, West Java; becak is banned to operate by the local government. Many believe that the idea is derived from the most charismatic and influential King of the modern Jogja, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX's words. He once said that becak should be retained because it is part of history and culture of Jogja. However, becoming becak drivers nowadays is no more than the only choice to survive.

As stated by scholars such as Moser or Carney, every human being has at least one of following assets: human, physical, financial, social, and natural capital. The strength of those assets then determines whether an individual is considered vulnerable or secure. Becak drivers also have all (or most) of those assets. The problem is that the assets are weak or powerless. At this point, CD Bethesda, an NGO in Jogja, tried to assist becak drivers by strengthening their assets so that in turn they will be less vulnerable.

The research intends to analyze whether assistance activities by NGOs to becak drivers are able to promote their livelihood. The analysis is done mainly by answering three questions: *first*, how vulnerable are becak drivers, and which factors make them vulnerable?; *second*, how effective is the assistance activities for becak drivers conducted by CD Bethesda in making the members of *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* less vulnerable?; and *third*, which factors influence the effectiveness of NGO assistance and how are these factors inter-related?

Fieldwork findings and analysis of the data confirmed the initial presumption that becak drivers are categorized as a vulnerable group. Becak drivers are vulnerable because they have poor human, financial, physical, and social capital. Below is the discussion of the extent of their vulnerabilities:

- (1) *Poor human capital.* Primary indication supporting such a conclusion is low educational background. In average, becak drivers' educational level is elementary school or even no education. Having poor educational background made them very much less competitive in the labor market. Another indication is absence of additional skill. This situation creates high dependency on becak driving as the only possible source of income. Poor access to healthcare service, and worsened by absence of healthcare insurance or subsidy, is another indication. It forces them to rely on self-healing or insufficient treatment when they get ill. It also means that they have to pay when they need healthcare service that puts them into a worse financial problem. Another indication is less leisure time. Most becak drivers claimed they work six or even seven days in a week and more than eight hours a day. From perspective of work security, becak drivers are also prone to fatal accident since there is less special track for becak, forcing becak to operate on the same track with cars, buses, and other motorized vehicles. Moreover, since many becak drivers stand-by waiting for customers on the streets or intersections with high air pollution, becak drivers are also prone to illness such as cold and headache.
- (2) *Poor financial capital.* The first factor making becak drivers financially poor is low income both daily and monthly basis. Most becak drivers' per day income is 2 Euro or less. This fact becomes worse because it is insecure income in the sense that it is highly unpredictable hence unreliable. Such a fact brings another consequence: absence of saving. Another indication for

poor financial capital is limited access to credit. Generally, becak drivers have quite limited access to credit from any bank or funding institution mainly because they are considered to have less capability to payback.

- (3) *Poor physical capital.* The main indicator to draw conclusion that most becak drivers are poor from perspective of physical capital is that they do not possess becak to generate income. For a becak driver, becak is the main tool to generate income. Therefore, they have to rent becak to deal with the problem. This research also found out that many becak drivers do not have proper shelter to live in as well as limited access to sanitation and water. Home based enterprises as supporting income generation activity is also rarely found amongst becak drivers.
- (4) *Poor social capital.* From perspective of social capital, becak drivers are also poor indicated by limited network and less cooperation amongst them. Most becak drivers work solitary and do not have any mutual agreement amongst them. In addition, most becak drivers do not meet and talk to each other in regular meeting basis.

The data analysis of this research also concluded that assistance programs conducted by CD Bethesda for *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal* becak drivers associations are relatively effective to make their members less vulnerable based on two reasons:

- (1) The presence of match between what is given by the NGO and what is needed by the becak drivers. This is possible because becak drivers themselves are invited to get involved from the initial process—identification of their own problems—to implementation of the programs. Based on self-identification conducted by becak drivers, main problems becak drivers deal with are weak capability to meet basic needs, difficulty to maintain becak, vulnerability of their health status, not having becak as primary tool for income generation activity, unhealthy social behaviors such as gambling and prostitution, not having proper shelter to stay in, and low level of education and poor skill. Using the list of problems as main reference, CD Bethesda launched an assistance program for the members of the two associations. In addition to appropriateness between what becak drivers need and what CD Bethesda provide, the research also concluded that such a scheme also generated sense of involvement amongst becak drivers in the assistance programs.
- (2) The research found out that in some extent, it succeeded in bringing their members towards less vulnerability. The evidence illustrating the success is presence of stronger assets. (a) From perspective of human capital, the success is indicated by presence of additional skills amongst members of the two associations. The most common skills are acupressure, traditional herbs making, car driving, and organization management. (b) From perspective of physical capital, the most tangible indicator is ownership of becak by all members and presence of home based enterprises (HBE). (c) From financial capital point of view, the members got wider access to credit to start HBEs and buying becak, which in turn creates additional income for their households. It also affects likelihood for the members to create saving. (d) The research revealed that members of the two associations have stronger social capital indicated by possession of broader network, presence of higher trust and solidarity amongst members.

This research also concluded that local government put less concerns to becak and becak drivers, indicated by the absence of law that regulates becak or regulation that stands at becak's side. Such a less concern happens even at basic level, such as the absence of data about how many becak and becak drivers operate in Jogja, which in turn makes it difficult to manage becak and becak driver in Jogja. Implementation some policies by the Transportation Office such as becak identification number as conducted within recent years created insignificant help to promote becak drivers because of lack of integration with other policies and other institutions.

On the other side, the research concluded that within CD Bethesda itself, factors needed to conduct assistance programs effectively are relatively supportive, indicated by availability of sustainable funding, ability of the NGO to identify clients' needs, and presence of support from its higher level. Commitment amongst social workers within the NGO to participate and support the assistance programs is also relatively sufficient. CD Bethesda also possess a good network with some NGOs and funding institutions from both inside and outside Indonesia which makes it easier for the NGO to get support mainly in term of financial support.

Within the two associations, this research found dynamic interactions between one member and another, as well as between members and the boards. Members' commitment to develop organizations is still growing and needs continuous effort for encouragement. On the other side, leaderships at the boards level have not satisfied nearly half of the members. In the solidarity amongst members and members' participation issues however, the research found supporting facts, which could be helpful for successfulness of assistance programs. Most of the members of the two associations confirmed the presence of a good solidarity amongst members, and relatively high participation in the organizations in both regular meetings and activities.

5.2 Recommendations

Instead of a burden, becak should be considered as an asset and characteristic that makes Jogja unique and distinctive, which in turn makes it an attraction for tourists, similar to for instance the *gondola* in Venice, Italy, and the *tuk tuk* in Bangkok, Thailand. To some extent, such an awareness has probably existed in the mind of Jogja local government and policy makers, one of those is by permitting becak to operate on almost every street in Jogja instead of banning it like what has been done by other local governments such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, and Semarang. However, retaining becak by simply allow it to operate is less than enough. Strategic actions and good will, particularly from local government side, are needed to realize the idea.

One possible policy that could be implemented in realizing the idea is to provide a regulation on subsidy to becak and becak drivers. If local government is willing to retain becak, providing subsidy is an inevitable issue. It is simply because we cannot let becak compete with other vehicles, particularly the motorized ones, without any protection for such a traditional vehicle. From many points of view such as speed, fare, as well as comfort, becak is less preferable by customers compared to other vehicles. Subsidies or incentives for becak drivers could be applied in the forms of some actions as: *first*, credit provision for becak drivers who do not operate their own becak. Therefore, they do not have to pay becak rent that will reduce their daily income. *Second*, setting a system that helps becak drivers find broken spare-part easily with reasonable price. *Third*, provision of special track for becak so that it will reduce the possibility of fatal accident. *Fourth*, giving healthcare insurance facility that provides free healthcare service for becak drivers or setting scheme of healthcare service with reasonable expense for becak drivers.

Giving so many facilities and incentives to becak—while in many other cities in Indonesia, becak is banned—will bring implication to the uncontrolled growth of becak and becak drivers. In turn, it makes Jogja overpopulated with becak and becak drivers and brings so many disadvantages to the becak drivers themselves. Therefore, policies above should be released along with implementation of strategy on how to have a good administration and how to control the number of becak and becak drivers.

First thing to do is conducting study on what the ideal number of becak and becak driver in Jogja, or in other words, “how many becak does Jogja really need?” This study is important at least for two objectives: (1) to detect possibility of becak overpopulation that in turn will create traffic jam

and disorderliness on the street or city, which possibly reduce attractiveness for tourist visit; (2) to assure becak drivers' income at a reasonable level on 'a healthy' competition amongst them.

From the local government perspective, becak and becak driver is a multi-institutional issue. Therefore, they need a good coordination amongst institutions within local government to assure organized and integrative treatment. Regarding to its status as mode of transportation for example, becak comes under the responsibility of The Transportation Office. Related to its status as unique and traditional mode of transportation for tourist attraction, becak comes under the responsibility of The Tourism Office. Regarding its status as source of income, becak driving is under responsibility of The Manpower Office. Related to most becak drivers' status as vulnerable group, they are under responsibility of The Social Welfare Office and Public Empowerment Office. Those related institutions should sit together to formulate policies on becak and becak driver to avoid overlapped programs.

Special recommendation is also proposed for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are willing to conduct assistance activities for informal sector workers. To help the activities more effective, the NGOs should also take into account the importance of access to the policy-making process. The assistance programs could be more effective if the government, the formal institution that is most responsible in policy-making process, also supports the informal sector workers by providing policies and regulations that create wider opportunity to build and strengthen their assets.

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Links:

- Central Bank of Republic of Indonesia official website: <http://www.bi.go.id>
- The free dictionary by Farlex: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/commitment>
- Yogyakarta City Local Government official website: <http://www.jogja.go.id>

Annexes

Annex 1 Questionnaire and observation lists

1. The questionnaire for becak drivers

Name: _____
Age: _____
Sex: _____
Address in Jogja: _____
Date of interview: _____
Time start: _____
Time finish: _____
Location of waiting for passenger: _____
Location of interview: _____
Origin of respondent (hometown): _____

1. What is your educational background?
 - (1) no education
 - (2) elementary school
 - (3) secondary school (junior high school)
 - (4) senior high school
 - (5) bachelor or higher
2. How many persons are members of your household? (Please specify who: husband/wife, parents, son/daughter, nephew/niece, etc)
 - (1) 1
 - (2) 2
 - (3) 3
 - (4) 4
 - (5) 5
 - (6) 6
 - (7) 7 or more
3. How long have you been driving becak?
 - (1) less than 5 years
 - (2) 5-9 years
 - (3) 10-14 years
 - (4) 15 years or more
4. How much money do you get daily from driving becak?
 - (1) less than Rp15,000.00
 - (2) Rp15,000.00 – Rp19,000.00
 - (3) Rp20,000.00 – Rp24,000.00
 - (4) Rp25,000.00 – Rp29,000.00
 - (5) Rp30,000.00 – Rp34,000.00
 - (6) Rp35,000.00 – Rp39,000.00
 - (7) Rp40,000.00 – Rp44,000.00
 - (8) Rp45,000.00 – Rp49,000.00
 - (9) Rp50,000.00 or more
5. In average, how much is your income per month from driving becak?
 - (1) less than Rp300,000.00
 - (2) Rp300,000.00 – Rp500,000.00

- (3) Rp501,000.00 – Rp700,000.00
 - (4) Rp701,000.00 – Rp900,000.00
 - (5) Rp901,000.00 – Rp1,100,000.00
 - (6) Rp1,101,000.00 or more
6. Besides driving becak, what is your job?
- (1) None
 - (2) Farmer
 - (3) Small trader or small food stall seller
 - (4) Acupressure
 - (5) Carpenter
 - (6) Parking man
 - (7) Other
 - (8) Combination of some jobs
7. Besides driving becak, do you have another skill?
- (1) Yes: (specify)
 - (2) No
8. Do you have a home-based enterprise by which you get additional income?
- (5) Yes: (specify)
 - (6) No
9. How many persons in your household are working to support the economic need of your family? (Please specify who they are: wife/husband, son/daughter, others?)
- (1) 1
 - (2) 2
 - (3) 3
 - (4) 4 or more
10. In average, how much is your family/household's total income per month?
- (1) less than Rp500,000.00
 - (2) Rp501,000.00 – Rp750,000.00
 - (3) Rp751,000.00 – Rp1,000,000.00
 - (4) Rp1,001,000.00 – Rp1,250,000.00
 - (5) Rp1,251,000.00 – Rp1,500,000.00
 - (6) Rp1,501,000.00 – Rp1,750,000.00
 - (7) Rp1,751,000.00 – Rp2,000,000.00
 - (8) Rp2,001,000.00 – Rp2,250,000.00
 - (9) Rp2,251,000.00 – Rp2,500,000.00
 - (10) more than Rp2,500,000.00
11. Do you and your household possess saving?
- (1) Yes: (if you don't mind, please specify how much it is)
 - (2) No
12. In a week, how many days you work for becak driving?
- (1) 1 day
 - (2) 2 days
 - (3) 3 days
 - (4) 4 days
 - (5) 5 days
 - (6) 6 days

- (7) 7 days
13. If you work less than 7 days in a week, what do you do during your off-days?
- (1) Doing other productive works: (specify)
 - (2) Doing non-productive works: (specify)
 - (3) Having rest
14. In a day, how many hours do you spend your time to drive becak?
- (1) less than 8 hours
 - (2) 8 – 12 hours
 - (3) 13 – 16 hours
 - (4) 17 – 20 hours
 - (5) 21 – 24 hours
15. During your non-office hours or while you are waiting for passenger, what do you do?
- (1) Doing other (productive) works: (specify)
 - (2) Doing non-productive works: (specify)
 - (3) Nothing
16. Is there anyone in the street asking for some money from you illegally, or another disturbance coming from your surrounding (bad cops or local govt. officers asking for some money for their own pocket, officers who try to take away your becak from you)?
- (1) Yes: (specify who)
 - (2) No
17. What kind of asset do you have both here in Jogja and your hometown? (answer can be more than one)
- (1) House
 - (2) Motorcycle
 - (3) Rice field
 - (4) Farmland
 - (5) Cattle
 - (6) Others: (specify)
 - (7) None
18. What is the status of the becak you use to generate your income: is it your own becak or you rent it from someone else?
- (1) This is my own becak
 - (2) I rent it from someone
 - (3) I borrow it for free
19. If it is your own becak, how did you get it?
- (1) Through credit from CD Bethesda
 - (2) Through credit from other institutions or individual: (specify the name)
 - (3) Someone bought it for me: (specify who)
 - (4) I bought it using my own money/saving
 - (5) Other ways: (specify)
20. If you rent it, how much money do you have to pay daily to the owner?
- (1) Rp1,000.00
 - (2) Rp2,000.00
 - (3) Rp2,500.00
 - (4) Rp3,000.00

- (5) Rp3,500.00
 - (6) Rp4,000.00
 - (7) More than Rp4,000.00
21. About your health status, how healthy you are?
- (1) very good (not suffer from any chronic disease and never get ill)
 - (2) good (not suffer from any chronic disease but sometimes get ill)
 - (3) poor (suffer from any chronic disease): (please specify)
22. If you sometimes get ill, what kind of illness do you get in most frequent?
- (1) weariness
 - (2) cold
 - (3) headache
 - (4) stomach-ache
 - (5) others: (please specify what and how frequent)
23. About your household's health status, how healthy your household members are?
- (1) very good (not suffer from any chronic disease and never get ill)
 - (2) good (not suffer from any chronic disease but sometimes get ill)
 - (3) poor (suffer from any chronic disease): (please specify who she/he is)
24. Are you and your household covered by health insurance or healthcare subsidy?
- (1) Yes
 - (2) No
25. If you (and your family) are covered by health insurance or healthcare subsidy, who pays the insurance premium?
- (1) I myself
 - (2) Government
 - (3) Other party: (please specify)
26. If you are ill, what is the first action you take to manage it?
- (1) Take rest and let my body do self-healing
 - (2) Take some medicine that is freely sold (without doctor's prescription)
 - (3) Go to centre for public health (Puskesmas)
 - (4) See the doctor
 - (5) Other: (specify)
27. Suppose you (or one member of your household) have to stay at hospital because of a serious illness, what is the most likely taken action?
- (1) Go, and use our saving or sell our asset/belonging to pay the healthcare service charge
 - (2) Go, and use the "kartu sehat" (health card) by which we can have the free healthcare service
 - (3) Go because we received healthcare service subsidy
 - (4) Go, and look for borrowing to afford the service
 - (5) Do not go because we are sure we can not pay the service charge
28. In Jogja, where do you stay?
- (1) I stay in my own house
 - (2) I stay in my relative's or friend's house for free
 - (3) I stay in the "juragan" (becak owner's) house
 - (4) I rent a house/room

- (5) I stay in my becak and do most y activities on becak, including sleeping at night
 (6) Other: (specify)
29. Do you have common asset owned by you and your colleagues?
 (1) Yes
 (2) No
30. If there are common assets owned by you and your colleagues, what kind of assets? (Answer can be more than one)
 (1) House
 (2) Land
 (3) Saving
 (4) Cattle
 (5) Becak
 (6) Others: (specify)
31. Is local government policy on becak helpful for you?
 (1) Yes, it is helpful to improve my income
 (2) No, it even restricts my access to operate and reduces my income
 (3) Don't know
32. Is local government policy on transportation system in general helpful for you?
 (1) Yes, it is helpful to improve my income
 (2) No, it even restricts my access to operate and reduces my income
 (3) Don't know
33. To indicate your network with your colleagues (other becak drivers):
 a. Do you meet and talk to each other in a regular meeting basis?
 (1) Yes
 (2) No

 b. Do you share housing so that you can stay together in it?
 (1) Yes
 (2) No

 c. Do you have mutual agreement amongst becak drivers in the system of loading passenger arrangement, for example: queuing?
 (1) Yes: (specify)
 (2) No
34. Are you a member of any becak drivers associations or organisations?
 (1) Yes: (specify the name)
 (2) No
35. If you are a member of a becak driver association, how is the solidarity amongst members in your opinion (do you help each other to solve member's problems)?
 (1) Excellent
 (2) Good
 (3) Neutral
 (4) Bad
 (5) Very bad

36. Are you satisfied with what the leader and committee members of the organisation have been done so far?
- (1) Very much satisfied
 - (2) Satisfied
 - (3) Neutral
 - (4) Not satisfied
 - (5) Very much not satisfied
37. To indicate level of your participation in the organisation:
- a. Do you attend the regular meeting?
 - (1) Always
 - (2) Often
 - (3) Seldom
 - (4) Never
 - b. During the meeting you attend, to what extent usually is your involvement?
 - (1) Sit down and keep silent
 - (2) Sit down and actively listen or making note
 - (3) Actively listen and give answer or idea when asked
 - (4) Always give idea
 - c. When the organisation undertakes a particular activity like “kerja bakti” (voluntary labour service), do usually participate on it?
 - (1) Always
 - (2) Often
 - (3) Seldom
 - (4) Never
38. After joining the organisation, do you get more income?
- (1) Yes
 - (2) No

Open questions (indepth):

39. Can you state your real issue regarding your livelihood in the sense of how your household monthly income meets your daily needs? (For example issue related to big number of children, debt, member of household suffering from chronic disease, inability to afford children’s schooling, starvation)
40. If there are some other members in your household who also earn money (get income), can you indicate how much their income (one by one)?
41. Does your household received fund regularly (for example from family member working out of town/overseas) so that it give additional income of the household?
42. If you are a member of a becak driver association, can you give example regarding your role to develop the organisation (your attendance to the meeting, you give regular donation, your presence in association’s activities, contribution of ideas, or any other things that contribute the development of the association)?
43. If you are a member of a becak driver association, how is your opinion in the solidarity amongst members (is it good, fair, or bad), and in what forms?

44. If you are a member of a becak driver association, in your opinion, what should the leader and the committee do to develop the organisation?
45. Besides becak driver association, do you also become member of any other group (for example group revolving fund, religious learning group)?
46. If your answer for question above is “yes”, can you indicate about: what is your role in that group, solidarity amongst members and in what forms, what is your expectation to the leader and committee member)?
47. Can you indicate what educational background of each your household member?
48. If there is any member of your household is in poor health status, what kind of disease does she/he suffer from?

2. List of interview questions for person in charge in CD Bethesda

Name of the interviewed person :
 Position in the CD Bethesda :
 Address :
 Date and time of interview :

49. Can you tell short story about the establishment of CD Bethesda: when, where, why, and for what purposes?
50. Can you tell the first contact between CD Bethesda and becak drivers in Yogyakarta, and the chronology of establishment of *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal*?
51. In CD Bethesda’s perspective, what are main problems becak drivers in Yogyakarta deal with in general?
52. In CD Bethesda, is there any specific project or activities to assist the becak drivers?
53. If yes, can you explain the background, goal, and desired objectives of the project or activities?
54. What is achieved so far, are the desired objectives and goals match with the outputs?
55. Besides becak drivers, is there any other vulnerable groups being assisted by CD Bethesda?
56. How is the legality status of *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal*?
57. How is the accessibility of every member to assistance and facilities CD Bethesda provides? Do all members have access or limited only for committee members?
58. In CD Bethesda note, how many members of the two organisations succeeded in having becak through credit from CD Bethesda so far?
59. After being assisted for several years, to what extent the association can fulfil its own needs? What happen if CD Bethesda terminate its aid?
60. When will the assistance to the two groups of becak drivers be terminated?
61. Is there any programme of CD Bethesda to do similar activities to other becak drivers groups outside *Parti Warjo* and *Bawang Manunggal*?
62. What do you say about degree of support (in term of policy as well as budget) from the higher level of CD Bethesda (Bethesda Hospital and YAKKUM)?
63. In your opinion, how good do social workers (in CD Bethesda) understand about the programs to assist becak drivers and to what extent they are willing to work for it?
64. How much budget does CD Bethesda have to support the becak driver assistance programs?
65. Is the budget (to fund the assistance programs sustainable) always available year to year?
66. How does CD Bethesda identify the needs and the problems of becak drivers?
67. How is CD Bethesda access to government or public policy decision making institution?
68. Can you describe the network CD Bethesda has with other organizations or institutions?

3. List of interview questions for committee members of Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal

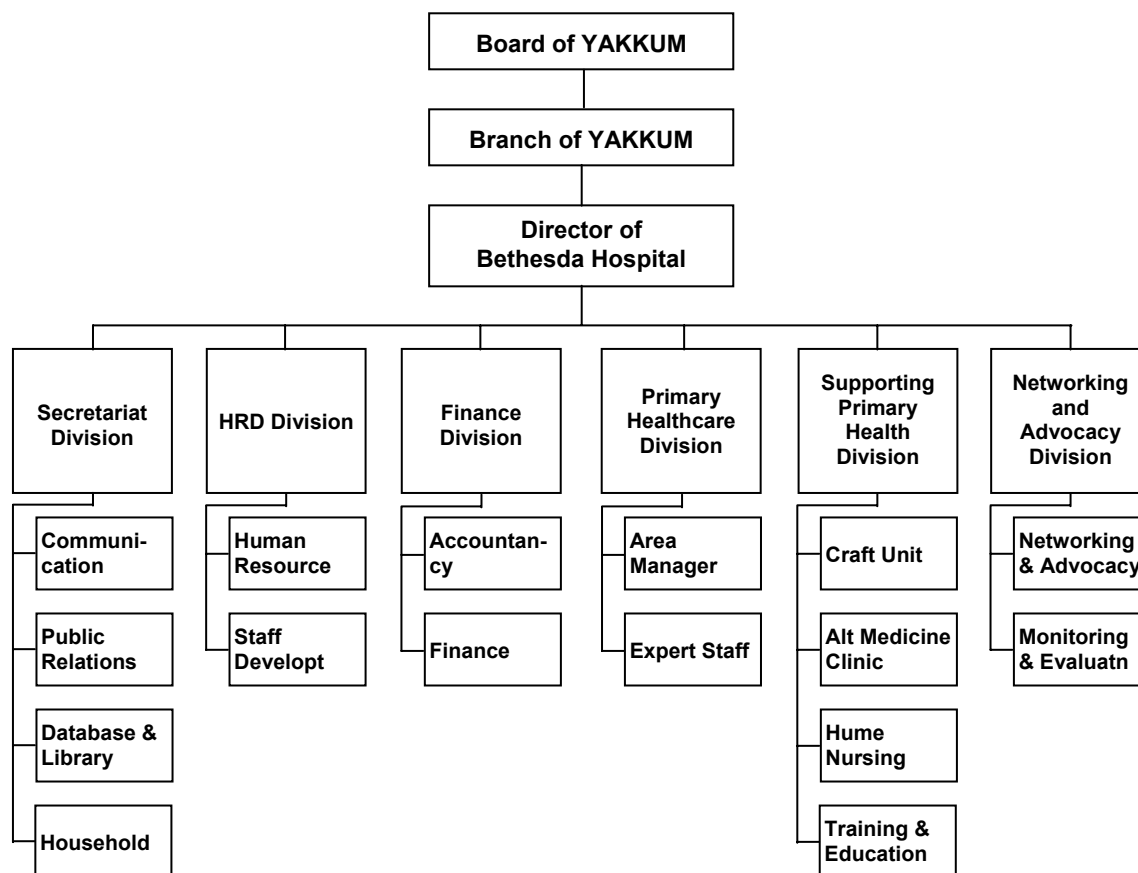
Name of the interviewed person :
Position in the organisation :
Address :
Date and time of interview :

69. What are visions, missions, goals, and objectives of the organisation?
70. Can you explain the programmes of the organisation in the year 2006, and the years before?
71. Can you explain the growth of members year to year since the establishment of the organisation until this year?
72. In committee's point of view, what are real problems of livelihood the members deal with?
73. Does the organisation have any programme to protect the sustainability of becak drivers (the members) in doing their job? If yes, what is it?
74. Does the organisation have any programme to diversify members' skill? If yes, what is it?
75. Does the organisation have any link with other becak drivers associations?
76. How is the commitment of the members to develop the organisation?
77. How is the participation of the members in organisation's programmes and activities?

4. Guideline for interview with local government officials

78. Does local government have data about how many becak drivers in Yogyakarta city?
79. Can you explain the local government policy on public transportation in general?
80. Can you explain the local government policy on becak? Where is becak placed in the grand policy of transportation?
81. Is there any specific programme of the local government to develop the welfare of vulnerable groups, especially becak drivers?

Annex 2 Organizational chart of CD Bethesda



Source: http://www.cdbethesda.org/english/about_chart_eng.asp

Annex 3 The photos

Picture 1

Becak, a three wheeled and non-motorized vehicle



Picture 2

Friendly to environment, smoke free



Picture 3

Multipurpose (1)



Picture 4

Multipurpose (2)



Picture 5

Becak as tourist attraction



<http://www.acicis.murdoch.edu.au/hi/img/becak1.jpg>

Picture 6

No special track for becak



Picture 7

Live at becak instead of renting a room to stay



Picture 8

Becak identification number



Picture 9

Situation within a rented room



Picture 10

A Parti Warjo member's small food stall



Picture 11

Regular meeting at a member's home



Picture 12

CD Bethesda office



Picture 13

Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal meeting at CD Bethesda office



Picture 14

Parti Warjo and Bawang Manunggal office, located at CD Bethesda Building



Picture 15

Queuing system at Bawang Manunggal



Picture 16

Members' *arisan* (saving rotating group)



Picture 17

A regular meeting on the street



Picture 18

Becak driver: occupation of all age group

