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## Contesting Development

Participatory Projects and Local Conflict Dynamics in Indonesia

Patrick Barron
Rachael Diprose
Michael Woolcock

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This book is dedicated to the extraordinary team of field researchers who conducted the qualitative components of this study.

In East Java: In East Nusa Tenggara:

Endro Crentantoro Adam Satu
Imron Rasyid Agus Mahur
Luthfi Ashari Don dela Santo
Mohammed Said Olin Monteiro
Novia Cici Anggraini Peter Manggut
Saifullah Barnawi Stanis Didakus
Yan Ghewa

Each demonstrated patience and perseverance far beyond the call of duty and in the process generated a wealth of valuable knowledge and afforded us a unique glimpse into the dynamics of social and political change in rural Indonesia. It has been a pleasure and a privilege to learn from them and to have them as our guides on this journey. We hope that the quality and usefulness of the findings reported here (and their implications) do justice to their efforts and talents and those of the broader community of scholars, activists, public officials, journalists, development practitioners, and (most important) everyday citizens committed to making democracy work in Indonesia.

Nothing short of great political genius can save a sovereign who undertakes to relieve his subjects after a long period of oppression. The evils which were endured with patience so long as they were inevitable seem intolerable as soon as a hope can be entertained of escaping from them. The abuses which are removed seem to lay bare those which remain, and to render the sense of them more acute; the evil has decreased, it is true, but the perception of the evil is more keen.

—ALEXIS DE TOCOUEVILLE, THE OLD REGIME AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It is not, after all, standing outside the social order in some excited state of self-regard that makes a political leader numinous but a deep, intimate involvement—affirming or abhorring, defensive or destructive—in the master fictions by which that order lives.

---CLIFFORD GEERTZ, LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

One might well ask: Why are we here, in a village of no particular significance, examining the struggle of a handful of history's losers? For there is little doubt on this last score. The poor of Sedeka are almost certainly, to use Barrington Moore's phrase, members of "a class over whom the wave of progress is about to roll." . . . The justification for such an enterprise must lie precisely in its banality—in the fact that these circumstances are the normal context in which class conflict has historically occurred. By examining these circumstances closely, it may be possible to say something meaningful about normal class consciousness, about everyday resistance, about commonplace class consciousness where, as is most often the case, neither outright collective defiance nor rebellion is likely or possible.

—JAMES C. SCOTT, WEAPONS OF THE WEAK:

EVERYDAY FORMS OF PEASANT RESISTANCE