

Muddling through a sturdy process:

Case study on the lack of a dynamic fit between the broiler slaughtering regulation and community life in Bogor, Indonesia

Supervisor:

dr. ir. Sietze Vellema

Knowledge, Technology and Innovation

Wageningen University and Research Centre

*MSc thesis presented to acquire the
degree of Master of Science in
Development and Rural Innovation*

Astrid Vangerven

June 2016

This thesis is an examination paper which has not been corrected after the defence. Referring to this thesis is allowed in publications after written consent from the supervisor, mentioned on the title page.

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Abstract

The presence of life animals in cities has always been an issue. Multiple cases can be found of sturdy relocation processes all over the world. In this thesis the objective is to find out why the embedding of the slaughtering regulation (entailing the relocation of broiler slaughtering businesses outside residential areas) is such a sturdy process in Bogor, Indonesia. Starting from the technographic approach and its three dimensions, the process of embedding the slaughtering regulation is traced and depicted via instructive events mapping. After analysing the multiple, entangled causal pathways, I cannot but conclude that a multitude of factors from the technological, cultural and political realm all have their own and combined impact, as suggested by the Dynamic Fit Theory. When investigating how to create a disruptive change to get out of the current lock-in, I propose the political process of muddling through in order to create a clumsy solution taking into account the perspectives of the very diverse actors.

Toegankelijk Nederlandstalig Abstract

De aanwezigheid van levende dieren in steden is altijd al een moeilijkheid geweest. Verschillende voorbeelden van het moeizaam verhuizen van deze dieren kunnen over de hele wereld worden gevonden. In deze thesis is de doelstelling een antwoord te vinden op de vraag 'Waarom is het toepassen van de slachtwetgeving (dat het verhuizen van de slachterijen voor vleeskuikens omvat) een dergelijk moeizaam proces in Bogor, Indonesië?'. Het proces van het inbedden van de slachtwetgeving wordt getraceerd en in kaart gebracht aan de hand van belangrijke en verklarende voorvallen. Na het analyseren van de verschillende verstrengelde oorzakelijke verbanden, kan ik niet anders dan concluderen dat een veelheid aan technische, culturele en politieke factoren hun eigen en gecombineerde impact hebben. Bij het onderzoek naar de mogelijkheden tot het doorbreken van de huidige vastgeroeste situatie, stel ik het politieke proces van het 'aanmodderen' voor. Dit houdt in dat er telkens een hernieuwbare oplossing wordt gehanteerd naargelang de vorderingen van het verhuizingsproces, en waarbij de perspectieven van de zeer diverse belanghebbenden in rekening worden gebracht.

List of abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|--|
| AI | Avian Influenza |
| APABR | Asosiasi Pemotong Ayam Bogor Raya = Association of chicken slaughterers in Great Bogor |
| ARPHUIN | Asosiasi Rumah Potong Hewan Unggas Indonesia = Indonesian Association of poultry slaughterhouses |
| ASUH | Aman, Sehat, Utuh and Halal = Safe, Healthy, Uncontaminated and Halal |
| BPLH | Badan Pengelola Lingkungan Hidup = Agency for the Management of the Living Environment; department of the city government |
| DP | Dinas Pertanian = Agricultural Department of the city government |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations |
| GGCT | Grid-Group Cultural Theory, also called Neo-Durkheimian Institutional Theory |
| gov | Government |
| IWPA | Ikatan Warga Pemotong Ayam = Association of Chicken Slaughtering Residents |
| Jabodetabek | Metropolitan area surrounding Jakarta: the cities and regencies of Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi |
| K/K | Kecamatan and Kelurahan = City district and neighbourhood |
| Kesbangpol | Kantor Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik = Office of National and Political Unity |
| MTTE | Modern Theory of Technological Evolution |
| NKV | Nomor Kontrol Veteriner = Veterinary Control Number |
| NL-IND | Dutch-Indonesian |
| PR | Pondok Rumput |
| RPH | Rumah Potong Hewan = Animal Slaughter House |
| RPU | Rumah Potong Unggas = Poultry Slaughter House |
| RT | Rukun Tetangga = Neighbours in Harmony, administrative unit of 10 - 20 households |
| RW | Rukun Warga = Inhabitants in Harmony, administrative unit of about 5 - 15 RT |
| SLA | Slaughterers; all inhabitants of Pondok Rumput with an income from a broiler slaughtering related job (i.e. slaughter point owners, workers and sellers) |
| SNI | Standar Nasional Indonesia = National Indonesian Standard |
| TPU | Tempat Pemotongan Ayam = Broiler Slaughter Point |
| UPTD | Unit Pelaksana Teknis Dinas = Technical Implementation Unit of a government department |

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Since the spread of knowledge about animal-born human diseases, governments got more sensible to hygiene and safety in the animal farming and slaughtering industry. One of the consequences is the wish to relocate slaughtering businesses outside people's living area. This relocation process proves to be an extremely sturdy one. Governments try to create incentives for owners of slaughtering businesses to move out of the city centre. Because this is often not successful, governments start issuing regulations stating that slaughtering in residential areas is illegal. Still, multiple relocation cases around the world take more than 50 years. Also in Indonesia, government officers are trying to make this relocation happen. Over the years they succeeded partly, but large amounts of broilers are still slaughtered in residential areas. The Indonesian government currently has put his focus on getting the live animals out of the urban area surrounding its capital Jakarta. Bogor, being one of the cities surrounding Jakarta, is the first one where the idea of centralising slaughtering practices came into existence. Under the Dutch reign in 1929 the first governmental slaughterhouse was built. However, Most of the broiler meat sold in the traditional market in Bogor is still slaughtered by small-scale businesses located in the residential area Pondok Rumpit. In this thesis the objective is thus to find out why the embedding of the slaughtering regulation is such a sturdy process in the community of Pondok Rumpit, Bogor. After analysing multiple, entangled causal pathways, I cannot but conclude that there is not just one big reason, or even a few, why the broiler slaughtering is not relocated yet. Multiple factors from the technological, cultural and political realm all have their own impact. When investigating how to create a disruptive change to get out of the current lock-in, I propose the political process of muddling through in order to create a clumsy solution. In the process towards a clumsy solution all actors involved, even if belonging to different cultures, should get a role. Special awareness needs to go to not giving too much power to political elites because every culture gives a different meaning to certain aspects of life.

Just a rich narrative describing an interesting case is not what makes a research into a qualitative MSc thesis research. Therefore much attention is given to the methodological and theoretical approach to the case study. I propose a methodology suited for combining multiple theories. Specifically for this case, I start from the Dynamic Fit Theory by Ansari and colleagues. The probability of a successful fit between the new practice (i.e. the slaughtering regulation) and the adopters depends on the fit within three different levels: technology, culture and politics. To deepen the theoretical value of this framework, I chose concepts from different grand (sociological) theories. This results in a case-specific conceptual apparatus that can be used to analyse the results.

In the next paragraphs the problem statement of the case is given, followed by the general research objective and research question. Also the argument on the relevance of this research is made. Chapter two presents a short literature review to introduce the theoretical framework that will guide the field research. The new conceptual apparatus is created by combining interesting concepts belonging to different theories (i.e. Dynamic Fit Theory, Modern Theory of Technological Evolution, Grid-Group Cultural Theory and Democratic Elitism). Then the operationalisation of the research questions is offered. The data collection is guided by the technographic approach. During the data analysis I especially make use of process tracing and instructive events mapping. Chapter four presents the results from in-depth semi-structured interviews, a quantitative survey and secondary data analysis in a rich narrative. Chapter five handles the theoretical analysis of the results through the earlier presented conceptual apparatus. In chapter six all main findings on the sturdiness of the process of embedding are discussed and brought together in a conclusion. Furthermore, a personal reflection is presented on the methodological approach and the conceptual approach. Lastly, some ideas for future research are presented.

1. Problem statement

The presence of life animals in cities has always been an issue. Multiple cases can be found of sturdy relocation processes all over the world. It is an issue present in all cultures, reaching the horizon at times of urban renewal programming. In the Western world some scientific works have been composed around the relocation. Lee (2008) writes about France being the first to centralise slaughtering activities in municipal slaughterhouses in the nineteenth century and also the first Antwerp public slaughterhouse has been discussed (AVBG, 2016). Also more recently the relocation of life animals still is a problem in developed countries. For instance Henderson (2005) draws attention to the difficulty Sydney's government has to get poultry farmers out of the urban fringe.

As an example, I looked further into the case on life animal removal out of the city of London. Maclachlan (2007) wrote on the long persistence of urban private slaughter points in nineteenth century London. It took more than 70 years of discussion to get the private slaughter points removed from the residential areas. The butchers addressed their social and political connections in order to keep their private slaughtering business a long time after the public facility was build. Later Metcalfe (2012) writes about the removal process of the London life animal market. The regulation on the removal passed court in 1801, but it took until 1855 until it actually occurred. Also in this case many salesmen and butchers were in favour of market improvement instead of market relocation. Conflicts of interests and swaying opinions were the biggest reason for the delay of the implementation.

At this point in time, it is interesting to look at the sturdy relocation process in Jabodetabek, Indonesia. The Indonesian government's concern for food safety increases as well as their strive for restraining the spread of avian influenza (Daryanto *et al.*, 2014). So about a decade ago, the government issued a regulation that declares the traditional slaughtering to be illegal in residential areas. Hence the government demands the relocation of the traditional slaughter points out of residential areas, into a distinct area with government owned and certified slaughtering facilities. While the national government positions itself strongly opposed to traditional slaughter points, the local government departments are not as determined as their upper-level colleagues. This explains why the control upon the implementation of this law never fell into place. Last summer temper between slaughterers and non-slaughterers slowly rose in several broiler slaughtering areas in Jabodetabek. In the neighbourhood Pulu Gadung (East-Jakarta) riots already passed the scene. In Bogor the flare is not hitting as fast, however the relevant actors are interested in intensifying the debate on the future of the traditional slaughter points. The Bogor case thus makes an interesting thesis research topic.

2. Objective and research question

Out of the problem sketched above it is clear that further research on the sturdiness of the relocation process is necessary. In the case of Bogor this sturdiness can be seen in the difficulty to embed the new national regulation into the broiler slaughtering community. The needed economic and technical advantages are already explained to the slaughter point owners, but still the relocation is not happening. This means the current socio-political situation is more important than expected at first sight. Therefore, the objective of this research is to help improve Indonesian policy on broiler slaughtering by describing the sturdy process of embedding the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit. The research question smoothly follows from the two main objective of this research: Why is the embedding of the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit such a sturdy process?

3. Social relevance

In Indonesia the first ideas to remove slaughtering activities from residential areas came from the Dutch in 1929. Later the Indonesian government took the same stand on the topic. But nowadays the slaughtering still happens in inadequate areas. It could even be called a locked-in situation. In general, the current Director-General of Livestock and Animal Health is in favour of small-scale businesses, but aspires to see an upgrade of current practices (Int. 5). These updates (e.g. cold chain treatment) are easier to achieve when all slaughtering is physically grouped, speaking in favour of the relocation of slaughtering businesses. The topic came on the international agenda since 2004, after

the first big strike of Avian Influenza in Indonesia (WHO, 2012). A multitude of organisations and nations jumped on it and started acting according to their motives and vision. From the point of view of the Indonesian nation, an improved broiler chain is utterly beneficial which makes them accept most international interventions. They are looking forward to an established meat export chain. Within free trade programs Indonesian meat stands good chances because of the strict halal slaughtering (Int. 38).

4. Scientific relevance

Although many scientific writers bring rich narratives with interesting explanations on why the life animal relocation process is so sturdy, there still misses an common and accurate methodological approach. Referring to Naess and Vogel (2012): Descriptive narratives “may create the impression of causalities based on sequences of events”, where a theoretical analysis can uncover “generative mechanisms and causal influences of structures as well as agency” in a spatial context and appropriate temporal scale. I see the creation of a firm methodological approach as the tool to arrive at though through theoretical analyses. This research thus proposes a methodological approach especially suited for studying the sturdiness of time and space specific processes that consist of multiple entangled causal pathways.

CHAPTER 2: Operationalisation

In this chapter the main research question is operationalised into a research plan. Therefore, I look into several topics. First of all, the used approach to a case study is presented. Secondly, the boundaries of the research are defined, both in space and in time. Thirdly the method used to create the conceptual framework providing for theoretical guidance is presented. The main methodological guidance comes from the interdisciplinary methodology *technography*, to which can be found an introduction in the fourth paragraph. With all of this in mind, the research question is further dismantled allowing for a clear description of what the research aims to do. Hereof the result are more specific sub-research questions. The sixth and seventh paragraph speak about the methods for data collection and analysis.

1. Case study approach

Although it is a commonly used word, it is still good to explain what is meant with the term case study. I work according to the Gerring (2004) definition: a case study is “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units”. In this definition, a unit is a “spatially bounded phenomenon (e.g. revolution, political party, person) observed [...] over some delimited period of time” (Gerring, 2004). The first part of the definition speaks about the unit of analysis. Gerring proposes to divide case studies into three types. The first type investigates a process where a single unit is followed over a certain period of time. A second possibility consists of a case study that does not investigate a process. Here instead variation within the unit is looked at. Thirdly, a case study can both investigate a process and investigate within-unit variation. Other units can be brought in peripherally. These other units are only studied through secondary literature and the primary, formal unit stays predominant (Gerring, 2004). This case study can be classified under the first type. The unit of analysis is the embedding of the broiler regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumput.

The second part of the proposed definition of a case study draws the attention to generalisation. This is the tricky part due to the practice of in-depth searching for the truth in a very particular context. It is thus the researcher's task to clearly define the boundaries and keep himself restricted to them (Gerring, 2004). However to make the research more relevant, both academically and socially, generalisation is always asked. This was already stated in Tilly's work in 1984. Tilly is “in favour of single cases [...] that permit the elaboration of precise models, which generate testable implications and whose domain of operation can be clearly delimited” (Levi, 2003). Although finding a generally applicable theoretical model is not a main objective of this research, the conceptual apparatus and

analysis presented can be used for such purposes. It would become a middle-range theory to be tested in other similar cases (i.e. sturdy urban relocation processes).

An issue a researcher should keep in mind during researching conform the case study approach, is to not get too much involved with the case and the people. This is necessary in order to keep a fairly objective position during the whole research and writing process.

2. Temporal and spatial research boundaries

The field research is performed mainly between the end of August and the end of October 2016. The time frame, however, is from the settlement of the first TPU in Pondok Rumput until the end of the research period.

With the term Pondok Rumput both the social community and the geographical area in Northern Bogor are referred to. All the research is executed in the region Bogor, Indonesia. The focus is on a sole neighbourhood in the city of Bogor, but a few interviews are executed with government officers of regency level. Further information on these governmental levels can be found in Chapter 4. Here, the intention is to give an idea of where Pondok Rumput (i.e. unit of analysis) is situated and how this area relates to others, see figure 3.

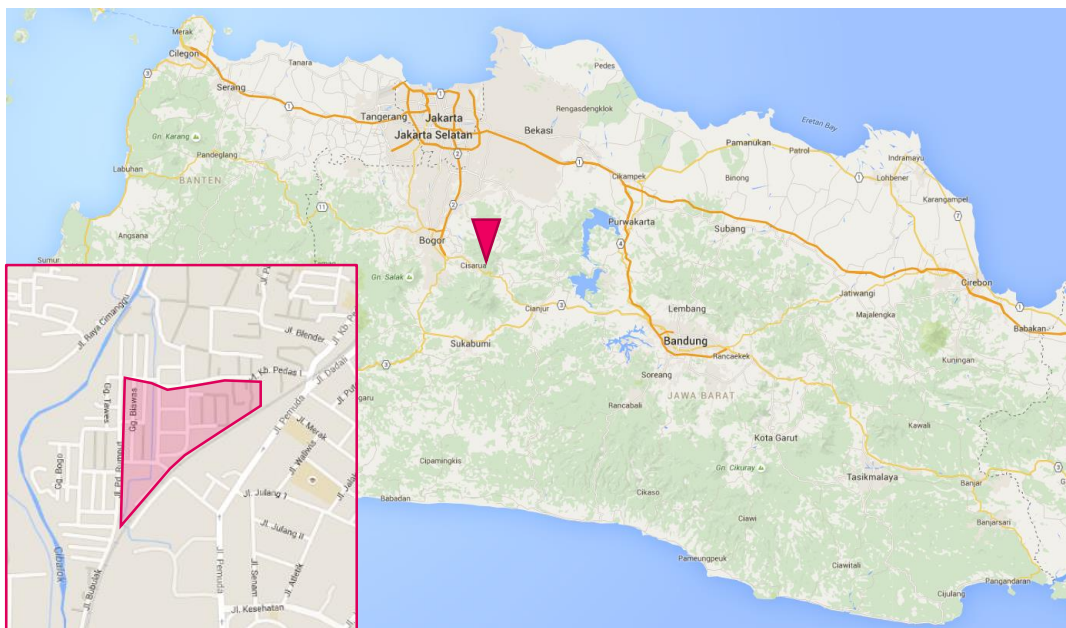


Figure 1: Geographical localisation of Pondok Rumput in West-Java and around the Cibadak sidearm.

According to the World Bank (2014) Indonesia is a lower middle income country in East-Asia with a population of 254,5 million but a population density of 140,4 people per square kilometre (cfr. world average: 56,0). For this research I focus on a city neighbourhood located in Jabodetabek.

Jabodetabek is a term indicating the metropolitan area on the Island Java consisting of the cities and regencies Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi. It still has some forests, rice paddies and ancient volcano sites, but new urban development projects are mushrooming everywhere.

Bogor is the 14th largest city worldwide with a population surpassing one million (Knoema, 2012). There are about three (Int. 13 + 24) bigger areas in Bogor city where broilers are slaughtered illegally. Since 1967 the Kampung (= city quarter) Pondok Rumut is the area with the highest slaughtering capacity. It was the first distinct area where broiler were slaughtered besides the traditional markets (Int. 36 + 56 + 67). The slaughterers of Pondok Rumput provide up to 90% of all the broiler meat sold in the traditional markets (Int. 56). Most of the slaughtering waste is thrown into the sidearm of the Cibadak river (e.g. Int. 54 + 70 + 78). Pondok Rumput is a vibrant, crammed residential area with a lot of activities (e.g. Int. 15 + 24 + 32). The neighbourhood comprises about 0,20 km² and has no clear boundaries (Int. 71 + 90). In the streets and in the open sewers there are big rats and dingy cats (Int. 21). The big houses with a slaughtering unit are located next to the main roads through which the chicken trucks can pass easily (Int. 21). In the small alleys, opening out onto the main streets, there is a diverse collection of buildings (Int. 21). Some houses are super big and beautiful, others are tiny and appear to be very old (Int. 21). The tiny though maintained houses often are made available for the immigrant workers (Int. 21 + 69). The tiny and less- maintained houses tend to be inhabited by the non-slaughterers (e.g. Int. 57 + 73 + 77). The middle range houses are inhabited by the richer sellers. They can be owner or rent it from a big TPU owner (Int. 38). The houses with a TPU are mostly owned and inhabited by the TPU owner (Int. 21 + 24 + 37). The two or three splendid mansions are owned and inhabited by the richest TPU owners (e.g. Int. 14 + 69 + 83), who have their workers living in the upper level of their TPU building (Int. 21 + 69).

3. Creation of the theoretical framework

Within an operational elaboration, the method to come to a theoretical approach suiting the case and the research objective cannot miss its spot. I choose to create a new conceptual apparatus for analysing the case of embedding the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumput. Backed by May (2001), who states that one theoretical paradigm on itself will never be able to fully explain society, I propose to combine several grand theories. The conceptual apparatus is further elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

4. Technography

Jansen and Vellema (2011) present *technography* as the interdisciplinary methodology to be used for case study research. Technography is developed by Richards (2001), inspired by the concept of *situated action*. Situated action is a concept introduced by Suchman (1987), meaning “every course of action is highly dependent upon its material and social circumstances focusing on moment-by-moment interactions between actors, and between actors and the environments of their action” (Cooper, 2003). Other authors helped explaining the concept by stating that “the term situated action emphasizes the interrelationship between an action and its context of performance” (Chen & Rada, 1996). Therefore, proponents of situated action give a lot of attention to historical influences, social interaction, culture, and the environment (Norman, 1993).

The paper ‘What is technography?’, published by Jansen and Vellema (2011) gives a full explanation of technography. In its essence, technography is an ethnography of technology. In the words of Jansen and Vellema: “technography can be regarded as a descriptive social science of technology¹ that examines human × machine/tool interaction”. To make this whole account more tangible, Jansen and Vellema (2011) propose three dimensions, grounded on the work of several influential authors, to guide descriptive accounts: (1) the study of making, i.e. the use of skills, tools, and know-how by people or teams to achieve a practical end; (2) the study of distributed tasks and performance as a collective enterprise (cfr. McFeat, 1974; Hutchins, 1995); and (3) the study of rules, routines, and protocols in professional associations embedded in the societal division of labour (cfr. Feldman, 2000; Lawrence, 2004; Mudambi & Swift, 2009).

Technical and social theories can be combined and both locals and external experts can be interviewed and observed (Jansen & Vellema, 2011). This makes it a methodology that fits the case because different ideas from different disciplines can be brought together and investigated. When looking at the technographic dimensions individually, all of the aspects of the conceptual apparatus can be covered under at least one of the dimensions. For instance, individual hunches of creativity can be addressed within the first dimension of technography. Secondly, it is interesting to investigate whether different task forces are in charge of a distinct level to dynamic fit. This can be studied under the light of the second dimension of technography. Thirdly, the practices of all the diverse fitters can be addressed within the third dimension of technography. The reconnection of all findings on the three separate levels to dynamic fit makes the investigation of overarching rules and routines

¹ Technology can be “broadly defined as the use of skills, tools, knowledge and techniques to accomplish certain ends” (Jansen and Vellema, 2011).

possible. Finally, it is possible to pay attention to the external selection pressures upon the slaughtering businesses – as found so important in the Evolutionary Economics approach and strongly advised in technography.

5. Sub-research questions

The research question proposed in the introduction is still very broad. With the methodological approach in mind, especially the first question is split into three more specific questions. Together, the sub-research questions are the necessary and sufficient conditions to reach the objective. The research questions thus are:

Why is the embedding of the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit such a sturdy process?

1. How is the broiler slaughtering rooted into the community of Pondok Rumpit?
2. Which rules and routines influence the embedding of the new regulation?
3. What evolution did the broiler slaughtering community go through?

6. Data collection

One of the possible traps for descriptive accounts on case studies is the over-collection of and over-reporting on data (Gerring, 2004). However triangulation of data is important. Therefore a mixed methods approach was used. Hence, primary and secondary data were combined as well as qualitative and quantitative data. The primary data consisted of interviews, observations and a survey.

The data collection was steered by the technographic subdivision of case study analysis into three dimensions. First hand actors involved in the embedding of the new regulation (e.g. government officers, slaughterers, neighbours of slaughter points) were interviewed and observed to assess their contribution to the process. The task division within task forces and the overarching professional rules and routines were assessed through in-depth interviews. The interviewees received questions both on issues related to the group they were part of, as well as to groups they only knew from the outside (e.g. Slaughterer point workers get questions on the task divisions in the association of slaughterers, as well as on the daily practices of government officers.). In total I interviewed 89 people, spread over 90 interviews. Sometimes multiple people were interviewed at once and some key informants were interviewed multiple times. The interview guidelines are presented in Annex I, the key informants are listed in Annex II and the survey can be found in Annex III. The selection of the interviewees first happened according to their position in the Pondok Rumpit community or in civil

service and political structures. Later, a snowball sampling method was used. Finally, some unfamiliar people encountered in the streets were interviewed to get as much perspectives as possible.

The survey was filled by 21 slaughter point owners (which was a representative amount) to assess their perception on their daily practices and the featured relocation. The necessary secondary data were collected via various channels, e.g. newspapers, meeting minutes and academic literature.

7. Data analysis

All the data collected were analysed in different ways, depending on the type of data and the intended use. In the following paragraphs the basic data analysis techniques used are listed, as well as some more specific analysis methods (i.e. process tracing and instructive events mapping) used to depict the chronological steps in the process of embedding the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit.

The basic analysis of the interview data happened according to the standard qualitative data analysis method. The notes made during interviews were typed out every evening in order to be able to add aspects only remembered by heart. These type-outs were accompanied by the basic interview data (i.e. respondent, translator and place of interview). With all the interview data combined, some codes were created to classify the information from the interviews. These codes were later grouped and ordered into a coloured *coding tree*. The coding tree for this research can be found in Annex IV. The survey data were digitalised with the program CSPro and analysed with the program Stata. Only basic statistics were executed on the quantitative data: some values such as means, deviations, medians and quartiles were calculated and some basic regression analysis was performed to study the relation between certain variables.

Process tracing is an approach to qualitative data analysis that is first developed by George in 1979 and fine-tuned together with Bennett. The version used here is the one presented in ‘Case studies and theory development in the social sciences’ (2005). The goal is to find out information on *causal mechanisms* linking variables (e.g. events, practices, expectations) to an observed outcome. Process-tracing can be used for both *process verification* and *process induction*. On the one hand, process verification stands for testing causal mechanisms according to existing theories. On the other hand, process induction stands for the “inductive observation of apparent causal mechanisms and heuristic rendering of these mechanisms as potential hypotheses for future testing” (George & Bennett, 2005). Process induction can be achieved by backward tracing from the observed effect towards plausible causes. This type of process-tracing (cfr. MTTE) is the one used in this research. Process

induction starts from a case study and leads to a detailed narrative in the form of a chronicle from which the relevant aspects are taken to create the theoretical explanation (Collier, 2011).

To visualise the narrative found through process induction and to provide a sense of temporal scale a timeline is helpful (Collier, 2011). As presented in the analysis method of *instructive events mapping*, instructive events are to be indicated on a timeline. An instructive event is a small independent text element that speaks about a relevant happening potentially affecting a particular instructive outcome (Rothkopf, 1982). In this case the instructive outcome is the current broiler slaughtering activities in Pondok Rumpit. The instructive event may be only relevant to a certain subsection of the instructive outcome and may that even only be for some people or under some circumstances (Rothkopf, 1982).

CHAPTER 3: Conceptual apparatus

In this chapter it is explained how I came up with the conceptual apparatus for analysing the case of embedding the new slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit. I extended the theoretical range of one main theory with concepts from multiple auxiliary theories. This means that several grand theories were combined into one single conceptual apparatus, as proposed by May (2001). On the one hand, May (2001) mentions that a conceptual apparatus is needed to “inform our understanding of issues which, in turn, assist us in making research decisions and sense of the world around us”. On the other hand, he says that social research influences the theorizing as well (May, 2001). With the knowledge that the choice for specific theories limits the researcher’s scope, I chose (concepts from) theories that fit the case and its context well. The used theories shortly pass the scene and in the last paragraph the final conceptual apparatus is presented, along with the consequences it entails.

1. Main theory: Dynamic Fit Theory

The theory by Ansari *et al.* (2010) on the *dynamic fit of practice and adopter* is interesting for the case. Nadler and Tushman (1980) define the *degree of fit* as “the degree to which the needs, demands, goals, objectives, and/or structures of one component are consistent with the needs, demands, goals, objectives, and/or structures of another component”. The verb *fitting* is used to describe the whole of human actions executed by involved actors to achieve a good fit. In general, adoption of the practice is more frequent than non-adoption. However, adopters nearly always adapt the practice to the technical, cultural and political characteristics of their routine arena. In this case, the practice is the slaughtering of broilers according to the regulation, and the adopters are the traditional slaughter point owners.

According to Ansari *et al.* (2010) the *process of fitting* therefore needs to be analysed over three levels: (1) *technology*, (2) *culture*, and (3) *politics*. Annex V shows all different characteristics of the practice and adopter side influencing a dynamic fit, divided over these levels. The levels are promising to disentangle the process of fitting into researchable subsections. It makes it possible to investigate the process on a comprehensible level.

2. Auxiliary theories

All three dimensions of the Dynamic Fit Theory are deepened to create a more elaborate conceptual apparatus, therefore extra concepts are taken from grand sociological theories. The theories from which the concepts and thoughts are taken are conveniently called auxiliary theories and are discussed in the next paragraphs.

2.1 Technology: Modern Theory of Technological Evolution

Evolutionary Economics entails that economic organisation is a dynamic process involving ongoing transformation (Veblen, 1898). Also within the political realm, this theory has its followers. For instance Lindblom (1959) came up with the concept *muddling through*. Lindblom defends that policy development primarily happens in an incremental fashion. According to him policy makers tend to build on existing policies, tweaking them here and there in a slowly occurring *transition*². (This is opposed to the revolutionary explanation in which is argued that “inventions emerge in a fully developed state from the minds of gifted inventors” (Basalla, 1988).) Evolutionary Economists believe that economic behaviour is determined by market and non-market influences, such as *actors* and *structures* (Veblen, 1898). Building on the ideas of Kuhn (1962), Evolutionary Economists state that also in the field of technology *path-dependency* makes up *paradigms* where to technology, industry and even society are bounded (Dosi, 1982; Nelson & Winter 1982). As suggested by Sydow and others (2005) the concept of path-dependency can be carried on from the technological explanations to the realm of social and organisational studies. The original concept gets a new framework built around the concepts *event*, *self-reinforcement*, and *lock-in*. Summarized, the framework says that both big and small events define a distinct path by self-reinforcement, finally leading to a socially constructed lock-in situation (Sydow *et al.*, 2005). Besides the self-reinforcement, the framework explicitly highlights the lock-in situation as a social construction. Despite the inertia and persistence experienced by some, situations do not have a final character (Sydow *et al.*, 2005).

As a reaction to the battle between scientists defending the evolutionary versus the ones defending the revolutionary approach, Basalla (1988) proposes the Modern Theory of Technological Evolution (MTTE). In MTTE *revolution* and *evolution* are taken together to explain technological change. “Periods of rapid technological change and times of relative stability” alternate (Basalla, 1988). So not only cumulative change – by the accumulation of multiple minor alterations – but also individual creativity boosts are acknowledged as the causes of technological change (Usher, 1929). Furthermore, Basalla asks attention for socio-economic and cultural factors because they guide technological evolution.

² We use the concept *transition* as defined by Schlossberg (1981): A transition is a process that extends over time and bundles events that result in changed relationships, routines and assumptions.

2.2 Culture: Grid-Group Cultural Theory

For studying the cultural level to a dynamic fit it is important to determine what is meant with the concept *culture*. Here the following definition is used: “Culture is the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge, which constitute the shared bases of social action.” (The Free Dictionary, 2015a). First ideas for this research are taken from Structuralism, an anthropological theory co-established by Levi-Strauss first published in 1958. According to structuralists, meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture, and thus specific to that culture (Dosse, 1998). Furthermore, meaning frames and motivates the practices of individuals and groups of people (NWE, 2008). Culture defines how organisations and institutions discourse and act (Hood, 1996), since a culture provides a system of signification specific to the members of the culture. This system of signification is established through all practices and phenomena making and taking part of the culture (Dosse, 1998). In structuralist approaches, researchers look for this *(re)producing of meaning*, instead of at the meaning itself (Barthes & Duisit, 1975).

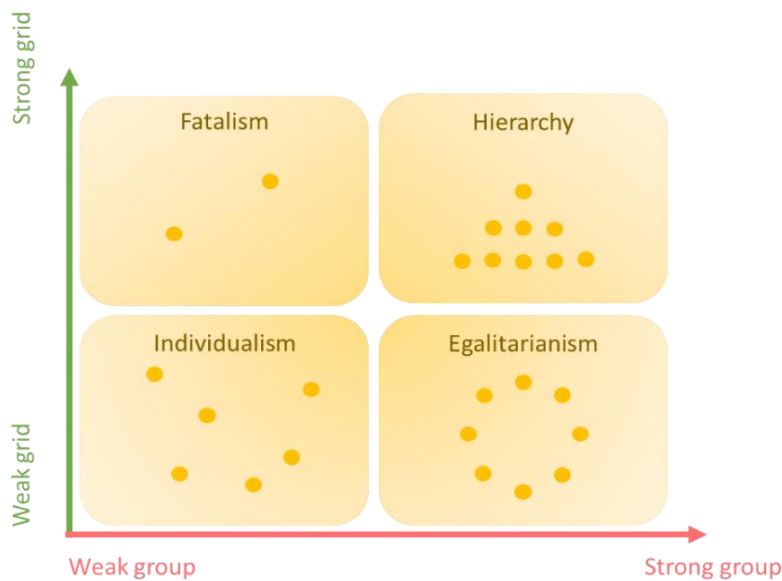


Figure 2: The Grid-Group Diagram; adapted from Douglas (1982).

The Grid-Group Cultural Theory (GGCT; also referred to as the Neo-Durkheimian Institutional Theory) is developed by Mary Douglas and Aaron Wildavsky (1982). Mamadouh (1999) explains that according to GGCT all cultures are divided into four *alternative solidarities* (i.e. cultural world views). The division is visualised according to the quadrants along the two dimensions *grid* and *group*, see figure 1. The grid dimension indicates how individuals are bounded to externally imposed limitations and prescriptions. Group expresses to what extent individuals see themselves defined by the people they affiliate themselves with and to what extent their actions and thoughts are determined

collectively. The names given to the alternative solidarities in the four quadrants of figure 1 are: (1) *fatalism*, (2) *hierarchy*, (3) *individualism*, and (4) *egalitarianism*. Each of these solidarities promote their own worldview and try to portray it on the others as well (Linsley *et al.*, s.d.). As soon as these solidarities start to mix (i.e. they start incorporating traits of another solidarity) the situation becomes more grounded and stable (Hood, 1996).

When making policies, the ideas making up the policy will be according the worldview of the writer's solidarity. Consequently this will lead to the rise of *policy blind spots* because of the restrictedness to one's own worldview (Linsley *et al.*, s.d.). The solution offered by any particular solidarity will be rejected by members of other solidarities if it does not match their worldview. It is for this reason neo-Durkheimians such as Michael Shapiro (1988) suggest that a *clumsy solution* would be preferable (Verweij & Thompson, 2006). Central to arriving at a clumsy solution is listening to the voices of all the solidarities and this includes drawing in the isolates so that they are also heard (e.g. Rayner, 2006; Grint, 2008). A clumsy solution is easiest obtained if all four solidarities are connected to the same issue in a more or less equilibrium amount because they compensate for each other's weaknesses (Grint, 2008).

I refer to Grint (2008) who perfectly explains how all solidarities should work together, resolving the issue over and over again: "While hierarchists are good at decision-making and rule enforcement, as a result they tend not to be innovative and are prone to degenerate into corruption – unless the latter event is prevented by egalitarians and the former by Individualists. Similarly, while Egalitarians are good at generating debate they tend to be unable to reach decisions and quite likely to repress individuals who dissent from the collective view. Only hierarchists can help them out of the former fix and only Individualists can help them out of the latter fix. Finally, while individualists are great at innovations and keen to preserve liberty and market freedom, markets are unable to act when they fail. And without egalitarians there would be no collective system for the protection of individuals from the very same state.". The fatalists are not included in this overview on how alternative solidarities can compensate for other's weakness. In general, it is expected the fatalists will just go along with the politically negotiated agreement. Fatalists will feel powerless in negotiations and are afraid of possible reprisals so they do not attack the presented clumsy solution (Grint, 2008). Making this work asks for an objective leader.

2.3 Politics: Democratic Elitism

Classical Pluralism, as presented in the work of Hunter and Dahl (1962), is the view that political decisions are made in a government setting. Using their power, people outside the government framework can exert influence on the decisions. The distribution of power and influence through politics is the main subject of research with a pluralistic approach. The term power is used to describe “all situations in which A gets B to do something he would not otherwise do” (Baldwin, 1979). But looking at a quote from Hunter and Dahl (1962): “In a political system where nearly every adult may vote but where knowledge, wealth, social position, access to officials, and other resources are unequally distributed, who actually governs?”, so besides real executed power (i.e. *actual power*), also people’s resources (i.e. *potential power*) are an important factor (Reynolds, 1996). Potential power is difficult to measure because almost anything can be a resource to create actual power. Especially when looking at political power, resources can be present in many more forms than just someone’s easily measured liquid economic resources (Baldwin, 1979). Depending on the issue the available resources can be more or less relevant, influencing the issue-specific potential power. I use the Dahl (1963) definition for resources: “means by which one person can influence the behaviour of other persons”. Hereby, the three canons of the Pluralism are “(1) resources are widely scattered throughout society, (2) at least some resources are available to nearly everyone, and (3) at any time the amount of potential power exceeds the amount of actual power” (Reynolds, 1996).

Some people make more use of their power in this political realm and create an elitist position for themselves. Therefore I also investigate the basics of Democratic Elitism. Democratic Elitism is a descriptive – and not ideological – theory that can be seen as a side step from Pluralism inclining to Elitism³ (Schafer, 1974). Schumpeter’s book ‘Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy’ is seen as the pioneer and his starting point is that there is “no such thing as a uniquely determined common good that all people could agree on or be made to agree on by the force of rational argument” (Schumpeter, 1943). Schumpeter states that in general qualified leaders are able to give superior judgement compared to the common people. Several authors share this view of politics being an activity of the few (Schafer, 1974). For instance Locke proclaims the common people to be only preoccupied with their daily practices, not seeking for a political influence. Only in the case of a “long train of abuses” the common people react in an often poorly managed revolution (Locke, 1690). Dahl (1956) writes that “the great majority of people are politically unorganized, fragmented, and passive”. Here our eye falls on the term fragmented: Bunnell and Goh name the importance of the

³ “The belief that certain persons or members of certain groups deserve favoured treatment by virtue of their superiority, as in intelligence, social standing, or wealth” (The Free Dictionary, 2015b).

“civic agency of the marginalized” if like-minded common people are gathered and their aspirations are nurtured by powerful political elites (Bunnell & Goh, 2012). Schattschneider, quoted in the work of Wooley and Papa (1998), also names the importance of collective political power: “The difference between those who participate in interest group activity and those who stand at the side line is much greater than between voters and non-voters.”. Participating in interest groups assumes the people are aware of their importance and assumes the people can spare time and other resources to invest in the groups. Therefore “the system is biased in favour of the most educated and highest-income members of society” (Wooley & Papa, 1998). Moreover, referring to Grindle (1977), we could speak of the *technification* of bureaucratic activities. To be a *technico* (i.e. a technician with influence on the bureaucratic decision making system) it is not only important to have the appropriate technical knowledge, also political influence and skills are vital (Grindle, 1977). Political influence can be acquired via the smart use of resources, political skills rather depend on talent and training.

Furthermore, Schumpeter believes that democracy through representatives is the preferred way of doing politics. He proposes that democracy only means that “the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them” (Schumpeter, 1943). Referring to the Schumpeter publication, qualified leaders are able to give superior judgement compared to the common people. These qualified leaders are the specialised elites of which the political actions are approved (or not) by the common people through voting. Several groups of elites (i.e. political parties) compete with each other to gain the most control over the governmental actions (Dahl & Lindblom, 1953). In this way the common people participate in the democracy to the minimal extent, just about enough to ensure the benefits they are entitled to (Schafer, 1974).

3. New conceptual apparatus

From the different theories above, interesting thoughts are gathered into one new conceptual apparatus to guide the research, see figure 3. This apparatus will be the guideline for the later theoretical analysis of the research results. For the level *technology* the ideas about non-market influences and path-dependency in the economic behaviour are kept from Evolutionary Economy. In this case, non-market influences consist of the slaughterers’ own actions and the actions of others (e.g. customers, traders, government officers), but equally of structures such as government and council. The path-dependency is strong within the evolutionary process of transforming the broiler chain. If no solution is to be found, it might lead to a severe lock-in: illegal slaughtering can keep on happening. More specifically, the Modern Theory of Technological Evolution is promising for this case because of its recognition of both necessary incremental change and disruptive change. In the case of broiler slaughtering in Bogor, also both types of change occur. The technical changes to improve

hygienic conditions and to contain avian influenza slowly infiltrate into the slaughtering business. However, the real implementation will come as a sudden change, triggered by the decision of the mayor.

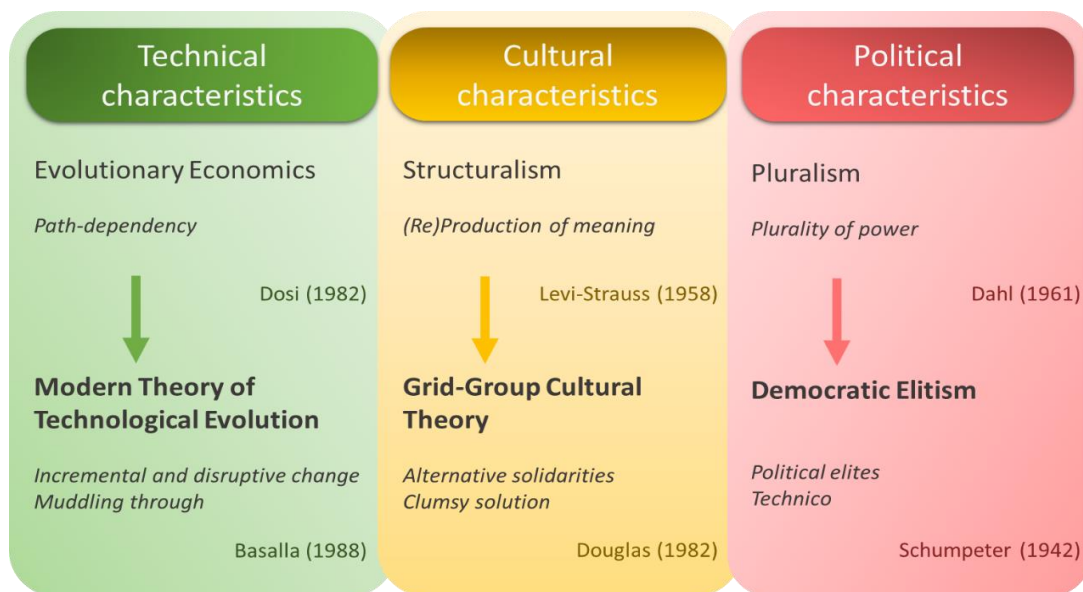


Figure 3: Visualisation of the new conceptual apparatus.

Regarding the theory Structuralism within the level *culture* especially the concept of producing and reproducing meaning within a culturally defined group is kept. In this case different groups are for instance the TPU-owners, high level government officers and broiler carcass sellers. If we go to the more specific Grid-Group Cultural Theory, the concept of alternative solidarities is particularly interesting. Within the different groups different world views are main stream, influencing the daily practices of all group members. Here ethnicity, profession and educational level are factors determining the group members and thus their world views. The concept clumsy solution will come in handy to describe how policy makers should address the embedding of new regulations.

Regarding *politics*, plurality of power is retained from the overarching theory Pluralism. When comparing citizens and politicians for example, special attention should be given to potential power besides actual power. The availability of resources that can be converted into power enhancing tools is interesting for the popular and/or richer members of society. From Democratic Elitism we remember the concept political elites. In this case the political elite consists of people representatives, academic researchers and highly qualified government officers. These people are the ones making decisions on new regulations and their implementations. Normal citizens have the power to choose for their representatives and will only organise big demonstrations to enhance their voice in extreme cases.

CHAPTER 4: Results

The results of the research part designed for answering the research question (i.e. Why is the embedding of the new slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit such a sturdy process?) are presented as a rich narrative, conform to the technographic approach on process tracing. Firstly, relevant information on actors and facilities are presented. The second heading announces a chronological overview of the most important happenings in the process of embedding the slaughtering regulation into the community life in Pondok Rumpit. Under the third heading the practices of all inhabitants of Pondok Rumpit are described and lastly the professional rules and routines of the most influential actors to this case are discussed.

1. Relevant Information

To give an introduction to the results presented in this chapter, it is interesting to present the different actors, institutions and facilities relevant to the case. Here I keep it brief, more detailed information can be found under later headings in this chapter.

1.1 Inhabitants of Pondok Rumpit

Turning to the Kampung Pondok Rumpit, most of the inhabitants of Pondok Rumpit are civil servants, employers of private companies and owners of small shops and restaurants (Int. 73). These people are collectively called the non-slaughters and they see the slaughtering units as unwanted inconveniences to their neighbourhood. The other group of people living in Pondok Rumpit are thus the slaughterers. In this research the term slaughterer is used for all people with a family income (partly) generated through a job related to broiler slaughtering. These people are (family members of) slaughter point owners, workers in slaughter points, poultry truck drivers and carcass sellers.

1.2 Political system

The city council consists of representatives elected by the inhabitants of the city Bogor. Nowadays, the three biggest political factions in Indonesia are the religious, democratic (or national) and social faction (Int. 82). The mayor has a grand role in guiding his city and has a lot of personal influence.

1.3 Government institutions

At city level, government officers, divided over different departments, execute governing tasks as they were defined by the mayor. To this case the agricultural department is the one with the most importance, however many other departments also intervene in the process of embedding the slaughtering regulation. Under this city level there are a multitude of lower levels of government

organisation (i.e. Kecamatan, Kelurahan, RW and RT), step by step getting closer to the citizens. For the lowest levels the officers are elected, for the higher levels the officers are appointed.

1.4 Slaughtering facilities in Bogor

In the city of Bogor there are still two types of private facilities for broiler slaughtering: (1) traditional, not to say illegal, TPUs (Tempat Pemotongan Ayam = Broiler Slaughter Point) in which between 300 and 2 000 broilers are slaughtered per day (Int. 21), and (2) semi-automatized RPU (Rumah Potong Unggas = Poultry Slaughter House) with a productivity of over 2 000 broilers per day (Daryanto et al., 2014). The highest concentration of TPU is in the Kampung Pondok Rumpit. Bogor also has a governmental slaughtering facility, the RPH (Rumah Potong Hewan = Animal Slaughter House). The RPH is situated in Bubulak (i.e. in the Northern outskirts of Bogor city) and is operational since 2009. One of the big critiques to the RPH is that the local slaughterers were not consulted during the construction, however it was built to host all private slaughterers in Bogor (e.g. Int. 18 + 27 + 82). In total the RPH consists of five hectare, though currently less than three hectare is used (Int. 18). Most of the area is reserved for cattle slaughtering, less than one hectare is occupied by the two facilities for chicken slaughtering. In each building there is a conveyor belt to facilitate semi-automatic slaughtering (Int. 8). The facilities are only partially used and as long as the optimal capacity is not reached, the local government is not building new facilities or deciding on allowing slaughtering elsewhere (e.g. Int. 32 + 40 + 49).

2. Periodical overview on broiler slaughtering in Pondok Rumpit

Under this heading the most important instructive events to the current broiler slaughtering activities in Pondok Rumpit are situated on a time line. Along with each figure representing part of the time line the instructive elements are described briefly. Annex VI presents the full time line.

2.1 Early events

All the instructive events positioned on this first part of the time line point towards events more than 35 years ago. There were no laws or regulations stating the illegality of slaughtering in the Pondok Rumpit area. In 1929 The Dutch colonials build an integrated slaughter house close by the city centre of Bogor (Int. 25). In their vocabulary the term *integrated* means that several species can and will be slaughtered, however there is no broiler slaughtering unit (Int. 15). Slaughtering of broilers mostly happened on the market, under the eyes of the customers.

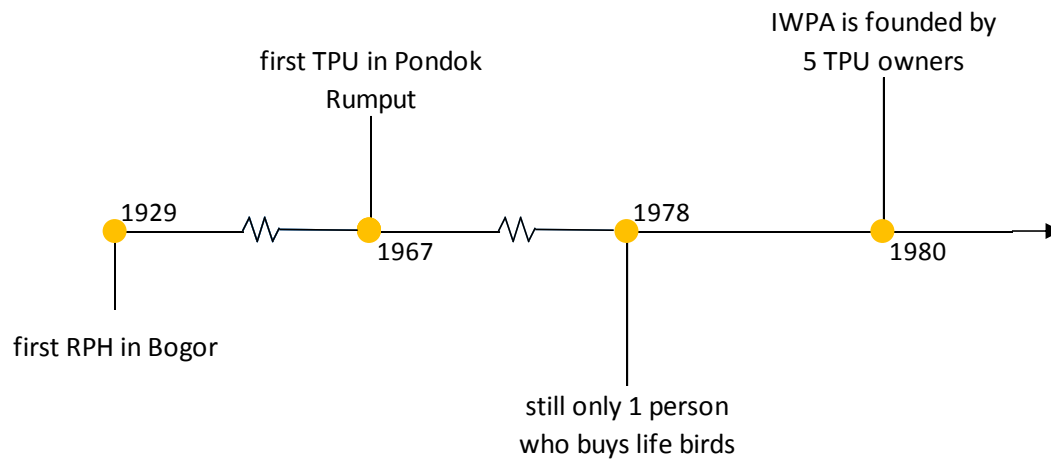


Figure 4: Time line with early instructive events.

In 1967 The first TPU gets installed in Pondok Rumpit by Pak Dharno, an immigrant from Central-Java (Int. 36 + 56 + 67). The story goes the Bogorians thought it was a job too dirty for well-respected citizens, leaving opportunities for others. (Until this day all slaughtering related jobs are still done by people with Central-Javanese roots.) The land at the river bank was rather cheap and the location was perfect to get rid of the waste (Int. 67 + 70). In 1980 the five TPU-owners in Pondok Rumpit start an informal association called IWPA (Ikatan Warga Pemotong Ayam = Association of Chicken Slaughtering Residents) (Int. 20). From now on life bird prices are shared and one person can communicate with external parties (e.g. government, press, farmers) representing all of their colleagues in the area (Int. 20 + 26 + 48).

2.2 Pondok Rumpit is declared settlement area

In 1995 the settlement area in Bogor is enlarged over Pondok Rumpit (Int. 41). This means no industrial activities can happen in the area. Home industries are tolerated if waste is managed correctly. This regulation gave the possibility to the non-slaughters in Pondok Rumpit to demonstrate against the slaughterers (SLA), and especially against the waste it generates (Int. 50 + 56). The city government (gov) took notice of the complaints and ordered the TPU-owners to take better care of their slaughtering waste and to increase the hygiene (Int. 56). Not every TPU-owner had the financial means, especially after the Asian economic crisis of 1997-1998, to comply with the regulation. Due to the crisis also the purchasing power of the Bogorians decreased, making them less eager to buy meat (Int. 20). As a result multiple TPUs went bankrupt over the coming 10 years (Int. 20 + 26). In 1999 the national government set the Standar Nasional Indonesia (SNI = National Indonesian Standard) to increase quality produce in all sectors, including the slaughtering industry. However controls are executed only sporadically. From time to time the Dinas Pertanian (DP =

agricultural department) organises meetings with different actors related to the broiler slaughtering issue in Pondok Rumpit. The last time the department head met the leaders of the RWs was in 2000. During this meeting the relocation was not discussed, only the people's health situation influenced by the close-by broiler slaughtering.

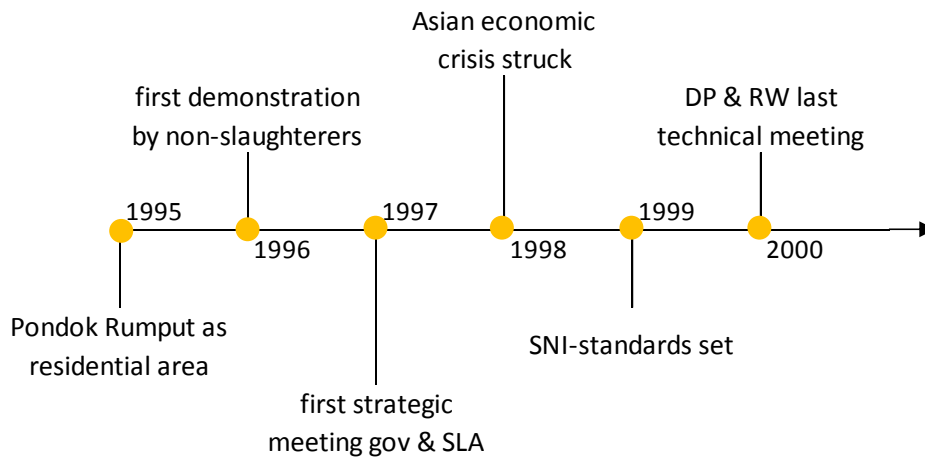


Figure 5: Time line with instructive events after Pondok Rumpit is declared settlement area.

2.3 The government decides the slaughtering businesses need to relocate

After first asking for better waste management and sanitation, the city government executed a study that said the river bank area was not big nor strong enough to build a convenient sewage system. The TPUs will never be able to comply with the regulation for home industries in settlement areas. In 2002 the government thus decides that the TPUs need to be relocated to the special 'slaughtering zone' (e.g. Int. 8 + 24 + 56). As the plan of relocating the RPH to Bubulak was already in motion, it is decided to also provide broiler slaughtering facilities that will be rented out to TPU-owners. A side goal is to centralise all slaughtering activities to facilitate controls on for instance halal meat production. By 2003 the main building (for cattle slaughtering) of the RPH was finished (Int. 25). In 2003 and 2004 the mayor publicly stated to agree with the relocation of all slaughtering activities to RPH Bubulak (Int.78). In Pondok Rumpit this led to a strong dichotomy of the inhabitants. The PRO relocation group got (informal) back-up from the Lemaba Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (LPM = Institute for Community Empowerment) and IWPA created the lobby group Forum to represent the slaughterers (p. 77). Demonstrations happened in the streets and political games were played (Int. 78). Multiple interviewees speak about dubious money flows to both LPM and Forum (Int. 78). All of these debacles resulted in no change. Yudyono became the new Indonesian president and his focus fell away from urban renewal (Int. 24). In 2005 a new mayor got appointed in Bogor and this mayor gave no attention to the relocation issue (Int. 78).

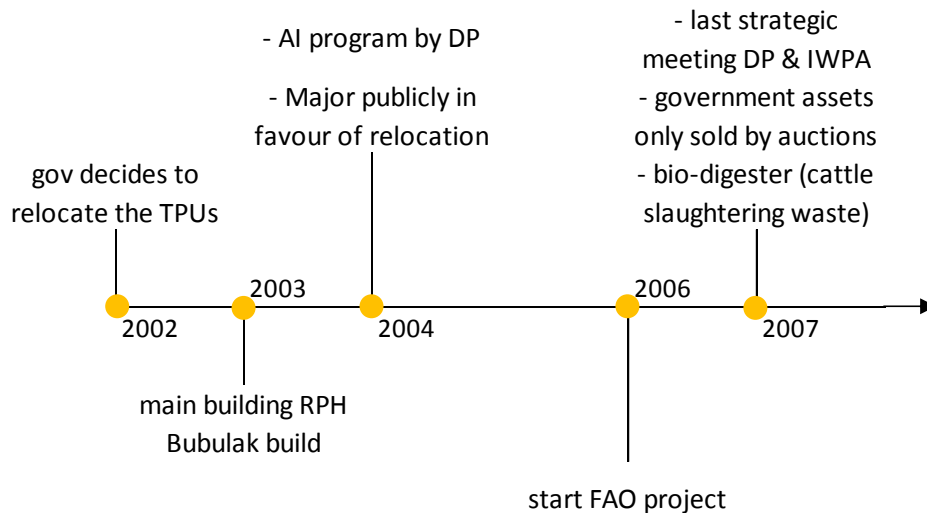


Figure 6: Time line with instructive events after the relocation decision is made.

The strong problems due to Avian Influenza (AI) triggered the city government to launch a program to decrease infection rates (Int. 56). However the biggest focus is on getting the customers to buy chicken meat again. The agricultural department starts giving out certificates that prove the healthiness of the carcasses (Int. 56). In this program also the focus on halal certification and control is taken up (Int. 56). By 2006 also the FAO jumps on the issue. Also Bogor was beneficiary of the FAO-program on AI spread decrease in Indonesia (Int. 7 + 38).

A striking instructive event refers to the last official strategic meeting (on the relocation) between the agricultural department and the IWPA held in 2007 (Int. 20 + 48). This is already a long time ago. It is thought that the retirement of Ibu Herlien from the agricultural department in 2008 (Int. 46) is one of the causes (Int. 78). Ibu Herlien was a passionate department head that supported the slaughterers but understood sanitation is a major issue in Pondok Rumpit.

At the national level it is decided that government assets from 2007 onwards can only be sold in public auctions (Int. 50). Selling in public auctions is often beneficial to big money owners instead of the citizens renting government property (Int. 50). This law means that the slaughterers will never be able to buy facilities build by the government (Int. 50). Another important step that resulted in a stronger wish to relocate the TPUs is the bio-digester that was built to process the waste from cattle slaughtering facilities nearby Pondok Rumpit (Int. 32). This digester was destroyed within the year by a flood and thrown in the river (Int. 32). Again this proved that the riverbank is not big nor strong enough to contain large sanitation installations (Int. 32).

2.4 RPH Bubulak is launched

In 2009 (six years after the completion of the main building) the RPH in Bubulak finally gets launched (e.g. Int. 8 + 41 + 49). All slaughtering from the old RPH is relocated and it is foreseen to also move all small-scale illegal slaughtering activities to the 'slaughtering area' around the RPH. However until now there are only two small-scale slaughterers that use government facilities in that area. Moreover, they did not even have their own TPU before, but just started after the government facilities were made available. The RPH in Bubulak is managed by agricultural department unit UPTD (Unit Pelaksana Teknis Dinas = Technical Implementation Unit). The UPTD had their first meeting with the slaughterers of Pondok Rumput in 2010 (Int. 26). The facilities are shown and the costs are discussed. Nobody decided to move his business to the RPH. As resulted from the survey, the main complaints the TPU owners have, are the distance to the market and the small space available.

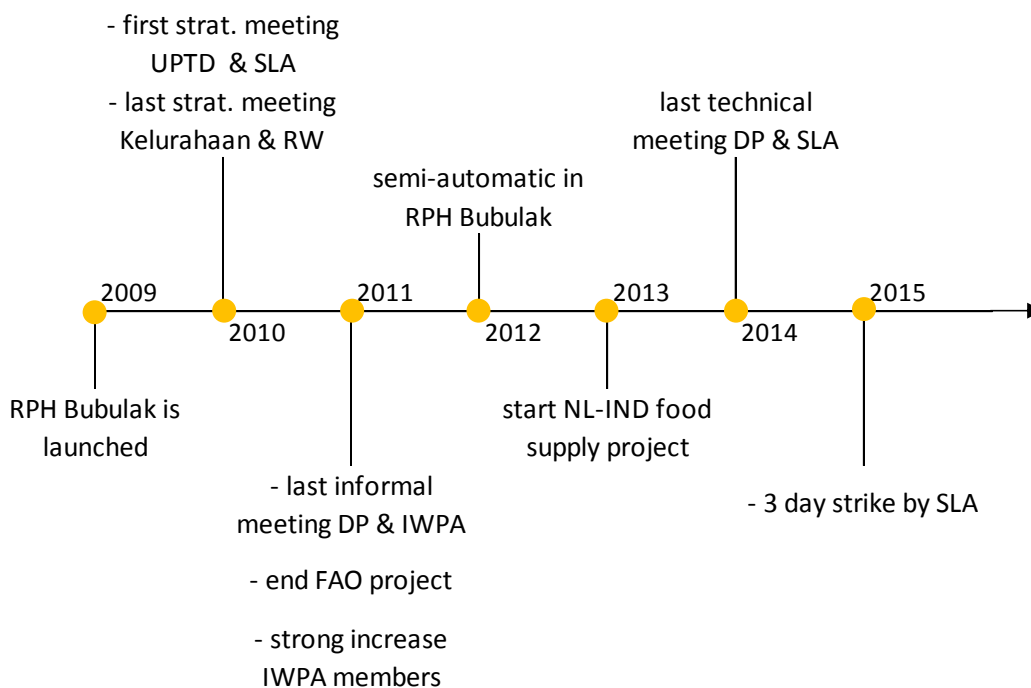


Figure 7: Time line with instructive events after the RPH Bubulak is launched.

Kecamatan and Kelurahan are the institutions that need to convey information from the city government to the RWs and vice versa (e.g. Int. 81). But the last meeting on the up hand relocation was in 2010 (Int. 57). Here it was said that the inhabitants have no complaints about the slaughtering. Thus the government decided not to use harsh means to relocate the TPUs. After the official meeting in 2007, some informal meetings were set by the agricultural department with the secretary of IWPA in the traditional market at his selling booth (Int. 48). The content of these talks are hard to get and most of the IWPA members don't even know about these meetings. But

apparently the government got the hint that semi-automatic slaughtering facilities in the RPH might attract slaughterers because in 2012 some of the empty facilities got this upgrade (Int. 8). Semi-automatic slaughtering is interesting when willing to increase capacity (Int. 8).

In 2011 the FAO-project on Avian Influenza in Indonesia came to his end. It is difficult to get honest results of this project, but in Bogor no visible results are seen (Int. 57). In interviews both government officers and slaughterers complained about the authoritarian and non-localised approach (Int. 7 + 38). This means the FAO set a negative tone towards foreign aid and advise in restructuring the broiler supply chain. Despite the relative non successful FAO project, one of the team members still believed in the importance of the broiler supply chain restructuring (Int. 38). With his insistence the Dutch embassy in Jakarta started a Food Supply chain project together with the Indonesian national government in 2013. The new governor of Jakarta, Ahok, is firmly in favour of the relocation of the slaughtering facilities outside city centres. The bifocal project emphasises dairy and broiler meat production in the area Jabodetabek.

The agricultural department says to be very eager in training the slaughterers. Bogor is a city of consumers so halal production and in general meat quality are extremely important. However the last technical meeting (training or control) was in 2014 (Int. 47). The section that should provide trainings and execute controls is seriously understaffed (Int. 13). Some slaughterers think the government lowered their interest in the Pondok Rumpit slaughterers since the government stopped asking a retribution via IWPA (Int. 24). The retribution was not legitimate anymore because the business was declared illegal. They could have changed it into a 'fine' but this did not happen. The moment of retribution stop is an interesting point since multiple sources with relevant functions (e.g. secretary IWPA, head IWPA, government officer of the agricultural department) indicate different dates between 2008 and 2014 (e.g. Int. 24 + 37 + 48).

In august 2015 the Pondok Rumpit slaughterers held a three-day strike to complain about the high prices of life birds (Int. 15). However most customers didn't realise the strike. Also not all sellers in the traditional market completely participated. But the government thought it was an important issue and started mediating (Int. 30 + 90). A big meeting was held with all relevant actors to solve the problem (Int. 30). In this meeting the relocation was not brought up (Int. 90).

2.5 Future events

In my talks with different actors some of the planned activities were discussed. For instance the head of the animal production department of the city government plans on having her first meeting with all city departments related to the relocation issue in 2016, since her appointment in 2015 (Int. 15).

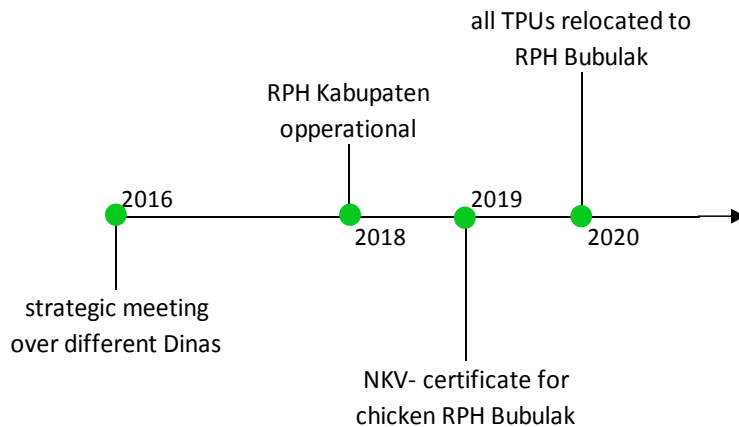


Figure 8: Time line with instructive events for the future.

Ahok is planning on closing all slaughtering points in Jakarta, so the meat supply needs to come from neighbouring regions (Int. 7). Kabupaten Bogor wants to anticipate the more than 80% increase in meat demand from their region by building a big RPH by 2018 (Int. 7). Also the RPH in Bubulak aims at getting an NKV-certificate (Nomor Kontrol Veteriner = Veterinary Control Number) by 2019 which will ease the supply of broiler carcasses to restaurants and hotels. (At the moment they already have that certificate for cattle and goat.)

The general goal to have relocated all slaughtering points to the government facilities in the 'slaughtering zone' in Bubulak is 2020, as set by the city government in 2002 (Int. 24). If they want to make it, the process will need to be speeded up. Some input on how to speed it up comes from the Dutch-Indonesian project on Food Supply.

3. Community rooted broiler slaughtering

This section shows the different practices of slaughterers of Pondok Rumpit and the point of view on these practices by the non-slaughterers. The broiler slaughtering is seen as a natural feature in Pondok Rumpit. But this business only came to the area with Central-Javanese immigrants about two generations ago, in the sixties (Int. 56). Most of the Pondok Rumpit inhabitants are the original inhabitants and are of Sundanese ethnicity. The Sundanese don't have an income related to slaughtering activities (Int. 21). This dichotomy results in misunderstanding and struggle.

3.1 Slaughterers' individual practices

In this section an attempt is made to systematically describe the skills, knowledge and techniques of all members of the broiler slaughtering community. Figure 4 shows the representation of the slaughterers in the community of Pondok Rumpit. Within the group of slaughterers, different professions are providing the family income. Most of them are carcass sellers, followed by the

workers and the smallest percentage of slaughterers are the (family members of) slaughter point owners. The goal of this section is to show the people's individual daily practices and their interrelatedness.

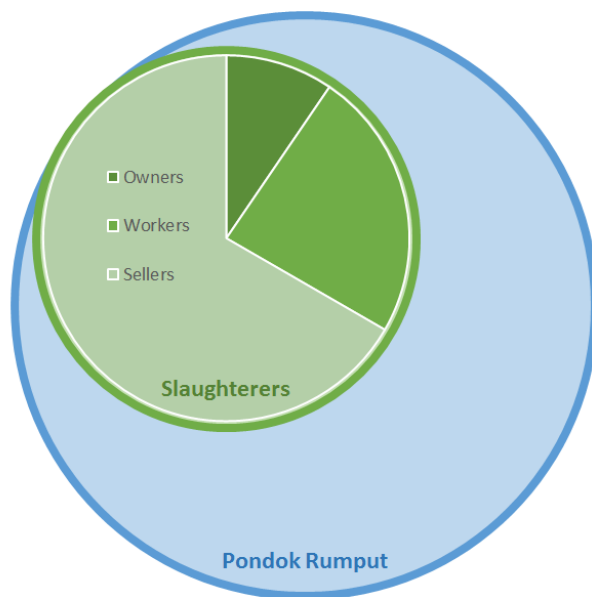


Figure 9: Visualisation of the different types of slaughterers compared to all Pondok Rumpit inhabitants.

3.1.1 Slaughter point owners and managers

For this section the term TPU owner is broadened up to manager as well. Even more, the spouse is to be included here as well since women often physically stay at the side line but influence practices abundantly and effectively (Int. 20). Often the manager is the son(-in-law) of the sick and old owner (Int. 52). The younger generation will only step into the slaughtering business if expectations are it will stay profitable enough (Int. 21 + 33 + 61). Most of the owners' children have good access to higher education and are in the position of reasoning it all over (Int. 70). It is expected that if the children do not take over their father's business, another family member (possibly coming over from Central-Java) will take over (Int. 37).

The traditional slaughter points are labelled informal businesses, which actually means illegal. According to people from the Agricultural government division from the region Bogor in this context the word illegal means that the TPU have no permit and only operate on a low economic scale. As a consequence the TPU don't need to pay retribution to the government and the government cannot exercise a big influence on their practices (Int. 37). All non-collected waste tends to be thrown into the river (Int. 70). Especially the smaller TPUs don't spend enough attention to their waste management and sanitation (Int. 30 + 70).

Despite their illegal status it can be called big business. Most TPU owners have a good financial situation that helps them executing their plans (Int. 73). Along with these financial resources comes a strong social position within Pondok Rumput (Int. 73) and even political connections up to city level (Int. 78). They all have better access to credit compared to other inhabitants in Pondok Rumput since an established business assures solid revenue (Int. 48). Furthermore they can keep their neighbours happy by offering them informal loans, donating money for local social activities and offering meat for big festivities (Int. 54). In turn they expect the beneficiaries not to complain about the TPUs.

The TPUs in Pondok Rumput are classified as home-industries because the slaughtering happens in the family house (Int. 24 + 32). However the big owners mostly have their workers living close-by the slaughtering facilities and a separate house for themselves. Living close to their business makes it easier to combine the business supervision with their family lives (Int. 15). They are proud to be the owners of their business (Int. 37) and every owner has his own long and short term strategy. They decide their working schedule (Int. 14 + 21) and they decide whether innovation and expanding is within their wishes (Int. 47). The big issue is that capacity increase and hygienic improvement demands more working area (Int. 13 + 14). However some sanitation improvement is possible in the current facilities, the owners are reluctant to spend money with the relocation issue pending (Int. 14).

Clarity on the number of TPUs in Pondok Rumput is nowhere to be found. All our sources gave different answers, ranging from 18 (Int. 20) up to 77 (Int. 48). The number of TPUs currently operating is expected to be around 22 (Int. 14). Due to bigger competition a whole lot of slaughterers quit their own business and started working for someone else as a slaughterer or a carcass seller (Int. 20). In general the carcass output from Pondok Rumput decreased over the last two decades (Int. 20). While the number of broilers slaughtered all over Bogor Kota did increase (Int. 20) due to former carcass sellers linked to Pondok Rumput TPUs that started their own TPU outside Pondok Rumput (Int. 23).

3.1.2 Slaughter point workers

In most cases TPU owners employ extra people. The amount of employees depends on their TPU's capacity (Int. 57 + 73). In general owners prefer working with family members who immigrate to Pondok Rumput from Central-Java (Int. 27). Some owners allow their employees to take broilers home and do the slaughtering themselves (Int. 14). This feature, besides the owner/manager division, makes it extra difficult to indicate the amount of independent TPUs. In any case the actual TPU owners make sure that a whole lot of inhabitants of Pondok Rumput can make a decent living

(int. 54 + 90). Besides the fixed income the workers are offered a dream: being a rich and independent slaughter point owner (Int. 69). This can be achieved by moving up the ladder and taking over a TPU from their boss or by marrying into the owner's family. If the workers however feel this opportunity is not given to them they will eventually go back to their home region.

Nowadays the workers are exclusively men. The slaughtering is done at night. The tasks are strictly divided so every worker has his own distinct task every day (Int. 87) (e.g. slitting throats, managing the plucking machine, eviscerating). During the whole working shift water is running all over the floor to keep everything clean (Int. 21). Often the workers live in the same building as the slaughtering point, so they prefer a clean and odourless place (Int. 21). There are always rooms for the workers made available by the TPU owner (Int. 34). However some workers, especially the ones that changes employer often, prefer to get a higher salary and rent their own place to live (Int. 34). Some workers brought their family with them, others go back to their home region about once a year for Ramadan (Int. 27).

Besides the workers that do the slaughtering, the big owners that supply the live birds to Pondok Rumpot also have truck drivers employed (Int. 20). These men work mostly alone and during the day. Some of the drivers gained a lot of trust from the TPU owners and have the position to bargain on the live bird price (Int. 20). Often the drivers used to be normal workers before (Int. 37). In almost every case drivers allowed to do the bargaining are family members of the TPU owner they work for (Int. 37).

3.1.3 Carcass sellers

The carcass sellers are mostly women. They work between 3 and 6 hours a day (Int. 11 + 67), every day except national holidays (Int. 26). Often sellers own the booth where they work (Int. 26). The sellers can choose for themselves where they want to buy a booth, but the booth price depends on the location (Int. 67). For instance big booths at the entrances of big indoor markets are the most expensive ones. Some sellers own several booths and employ people at the spare ones (p.83). Another group of sellers is employed directly by a TPU owner (Int. 89). The employed sellers either have a fixed wage or get a percentage of the profit made (Int. 89).

Sellers that own their booth love to call themselves independent, but they strongly depend on one specific TPU owner (Int. 38). Also here family ties often determine who's working for whom. Furthermore the TPU owners' wives are (most commonly) in charge of the supervision over the sellers connected to their husband's TPU. The TPU owner provides the seller with carcasses at the market booths (Int. 89). Often carcasses are given on credit, which makes the relation even more

stringent (Int. 38). Because carcasses are delivered at the booths, it's not necessary for sellers to live close to the TPUs (Int. 33 + 38). However the sellers mostly live in Pondok Rumpit (Int.89), close to their Central-Javanese family and friends.

None of the slaughterers sell to restaurants or hotels because they would need to be SNI- certified (Standar Nasional Indonesia = National Indonesian Standard). (However, broilers slaughtered in TPUs from IWPA members can carry the halal label. The slaughterers get government trainings on halal slaughtering and are controlled by the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (= Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars.) All trade happens in the traditional market. Some sellers sell specific pieces, e.g. chicken legs, kidneys, wings (Int. 38 + 89). The quality of the broiler carcasses coming from Pondok Rumpit is similar over the different booths (Int. 20). The market price is set by the individual sellers and is not set for the whole group (Int. 20). Due to the big increase in carcass sellers (Int. 20 + 23 + 48) the competition increased importantly (Int. 26 + 27). So in the end the ones in the chain with the cheapest live birds gain the most (Int. 20).

3.2 Slaughterers' organised practices

The slaughterers practices influence the community life. Also being part of the Pondok Rumpit community influences their practices. This brings us to the organisation of practices over and between different (groups of) people. The cultural and professional link between the slaughterers gives them strong ties (Int. 54). So coordination and organisation not only happens within a TPU, but also over TPUs via the IWPA. IWPA was founded in 1980 to ease external communication. According to one of IWPA's managers the internal structure of IWPA is "not as good as it should be" (Int. 20). IWPA is not an official association recognised by the government. The IWPA management has no intentions to evolve into a formal association or a cooperative: "The regulations would be too strict to follow" (Int. 56 + 85). Furthermore the slaughterers want to stay as independent as possible, while having some advantages of grouping forces (Int. 7 + 8).

The management of IWPA consists of the head, the secretary and the treasurer. These three men meet almost every day (Int. 14). Generally speaking, all TPU owners gather about once a month (Int. 14). Before special events or in times of trouble also the sellers are invited to meetings (Int. 33). This would be about four times per year (Int. 27). According to the internal rules of procedure the management is to be (re-) elected (open voting) by the members every five years (Int. 37 + 48). However this did not happen last time. The management says that there were no complaints and no other members wanted to present themselves as a candidate. The IWPA management has a lot of authority in the community and is also consulted for mediating in times of internal conflicts (Int. 47).

The head acts as the representative of the slaughterers in important external communication. He also establishes the code of conduct (e.g. fogging happens every three months). From the interviews it is clear that the current head of IWPA has a lot of social and financial influence on what happens in Pondok Rumput and even outside. The secretary is the one that knows best who the IWPA's members are. He also handles the external communication that the head does not feel like doing.

IWPA accepts every person with a slaughtering-related job in (or living in) Pondok Rumput to become a member (Int. 14 + 26). However, it is no obligation to be a member (Int. 26). The secretary of IWPA does not have an updated member list (Int. 27 + 48). It is expected that there are about 300 members (Int. 27). From all the members about 35 own a TPU, others are workers or sellers (Int. 27). There are two women in meetings for TPU owners, while more than half of the associated sellers are women (Int. 14). Some women owning a TPU prefer a male family member to be their representative at IWPA meetings (Int. 88). The head of IWPA said that representing both owners and sellers does not give any problems. Since 2011 IWPA does not ask any membership fee anymore (Int. 48). However the (richer) members still give financial contributions in order to finance 'social activities'.

After complaints from the non-slaughtering inhabitants of Pondok Rumput the government division on agriculture came with a choice for the slaughterers: managing their waste and sanitation problem or stopping their business (Int. 56). The slaughterers promised that they would invest in waste management (Int. 7 + 56) and unified their forces via IWPA. Especially the feathers are collected together and delivered to feed mills (e.g. Int. 8 + 14 + 33). Some interviewees expect that the feathers generate money used to finance some of IWPA's activities (Int. 37). Besides the imposed waste management, IWPA also organises and finances social activities (e.g. Int. 14 + 33 + 37). Most of the social activities' budget is used for slaughtering related activities, e.g. carcass certification and fogging. Other resources are used to broaden governmental health programs, e.g. vaccination of Pondok Rumput inhabitants and mother and child nutrition. A third part of the money is used for religion related purposes. Finally also national holiday celebrations are brightened up with the help of some IWPA money (Int. 14). If the IWPA account is not sufficiently filled, the IWPA management will ask for donations to support current projects (Int. 48). As said above, donating is not mandatory but it is a moral obligation because you also get the advantages of it. Mostly the management asks every TPU owner for an amount of money proportional to their slaughtering capacity (Int. 37). There is quite some social pressure to donate according to one's general wealth (Int. 48). The last four years the social activities started to be organised per about a dozen of households instead of for the whole of Pondok Rumput (Int. 48).

Besides these social activities aimed at benefitting the whole community, individuals can ask for financial help to the IWPA as well (Int. 33). Typical examples are marriage ceremonies or health care expenses. This option is meant to support IWPA members in need, mostly poorer workers and/or sellers (Int. 33). In most cases the money is donated, occasionally informal loans are granted (p.34). Some interviewees said these practices diminished over the last four years. One of the members blames it on the big increase in sellers being member of IWPA (Int. 26). The increased member amount made management more difficult and generated more competition to get financial help (Int. 26).

Within IWPA the TPU owners share technical information with each other (Int. 14). For instance the adoption of conveyor belts and cooling systems are discussed. Because of the cooperation the meat quality and hygienic conditions are the same for all carcasses coming from Pondok Rumpit (Int. 14). This makes it easier to set and visualise the brand “slaughtered in Pondok Rumpit”. Within marketing not only branding is important, but of course also meeting the consumer demands (Int. 14). Some citizens accuse the carcass sellers of price setting (Int. 8), however slaughterers and sellers tell us the sellers are competitors in the traditional markets (e.g. Int. 20).

IWPA represents his members and takes care of external communication (e.g. Int. 20). Both official and informal communication is handled by the IWPA management. In the beginning of the research some slaughterers or workers did not want to speak directly with us because the head of IWPA did not inform them about our visit. These interviewees ordered us to speak with the head first (Int. 35). Smoothing external communication was even the trigger to create IWPA (Int. 26). A perfect example of the effectiveness of IWPA in external communication is the three day strike in august 2016 (Radar Bogor, 2016). Citizens of Bogor know that the slaughterers of Pondok Rumpit organise themselves in an association. Thereby it is known that the slaughterers can exert more influence on people’s and institutions’ actions. Some interviewees impeach them for bribing the government and the city council (e.g. Int. 65 + 66).

3.3 Point of view of the original inhabitants of Pondok Rumpit

The majority of the inhabitants of Pondok Rumpit do not get their family income from the broiler slaughtering business. They don’t like their neighbourhood’s gate indicating Sentra Pemotongan Ayam (= Broiler Slaughtering Centre) because it neglects any other business besides the slaughtering (Int. 70). Furthermore the non-slaughterers see the TPUs as unwanted inconveniences to their neighbourhood. All of the complaints on TPUs focus on the smell of the live birds, the chicken waste in the streets and the river pollution (e.g. Int. 13 + 73 + 78). It is said that the waste in the streets

diminished significantly over the last two decades because of the big demonstrations held by the non-slaughterers in the nighties (Int. 50 + 56). However an interviewee says “It’s only the big TPU owners that take good care of their waste.” (Int. 70). Not only physical unease but also financial consequences come with the waste. Because of the big amounts of waste in the neighbourhood, the garbage fees in Pondok Rumput are about tenfold to the ones in other areas (Int. 70). The total garbage fee is divided over the households, which means that also non-slaughterers need to pay a higher fee. The smell and pollution make that the non-slaughterers of Pondok Rumput would prefer the slaughtering businesses to be relocated outside the neighbourhood (e.g. Int. 49 + 70 + 73). Not only for their own ease, but also for the ease of doctors and civil servant that at this moment prefer not to come to their houses (Int. 77). Some sources brought up the social activities and meat donations for festivities as an argument in favour of keeping the TPUs in Pondok Rumput. But all the non-slaughterer interviewees reported these are advantages that only count for relatives of the TPU owners.

The LPM (Institute for Community Empowerment) encourages the people to engage in politics. LPM consists of and represents Kelurahan (= neighbourhood) inhabitants, mostly at the Kelurahan level (Int. 57 + 78). It is a NGO recognised and financed by the government (Int. 73). All Kelurahan have their own LPM. The office is located inside the Kelurahan building, but they are independent (Int. 54). In general their operational focus is on infrastructure improvement and Islamic trainings (Int. 57 + 73). Currently the two most important topics in Kebon Pedes are the construction of a fly over road across the railway and the fortification of the river banks (Int. 57). However, before LPM gave voice to the Pondok Rumput inhabitants that spoke up against the broiler slaughtering in their community (Int. 78). In 2004 the Kepala LPM conveyed the complaints to the mayor. As a result a seminar was held in Pondok Rumput with all related actors. The conclusion was the slaughtering business would be relocated within two years. But later the government did not act on it and consequently not much changed. It is expected that Forum, a pressure group financed by IWPA, destroyed the political power of LPM using illegal incentives (Int. 78). This situation ended in disappointment and distrust between LPM and the government and between slaughterers and non-slaughterers.

The non-slaughterers do not dare speaking up against the slaughterers anymore. They expect a big clash if they do so. No one wants to put his family in danger. People believe there’s some big power (e.g. government officers, an informal association or even jinns) that backs up the slaughterers’ case (Int. 73). Furthermore the Sundanese are known to be more shy than the Javanese (Int. 73). Only one of Pondok Rumput’s three local leaders told us not to be afraid of bringing up a slaughtering related

issue at meetings at the Kelurahan level (Int. 78). However he also says he would only speak about it in an informal way. He would never submit a written complaint (Int. 90). Only if a big problem would emerge the non-slaughterers will unite themselves again. Without negative changes they will not take action in favour of the relocation (Int. 30). The non-slaughterers expect from the city government to make the relocation happen: even without officially filed complaints, it still stays an illegal business in a residential area (Int. 73).

4. Overarching rules and routines

Here the constraints and opportunities coming from professional rules and routines are discussed. The rules and routines presented in figure 5 are the most influential up into the lives of the Pondok Rumpit inhabitants. The first heading refers to the government officers along with necessary explanations on the Indonesian government's history, structure and working mechanics. Secondly, the politicians and their specific characteristics are presented in a similar way. Under these first two headings it is looked at how public institutes manifest themselves inside the community of Pondok Rumpit. The third professional group discussed is the one of the slaughterers.

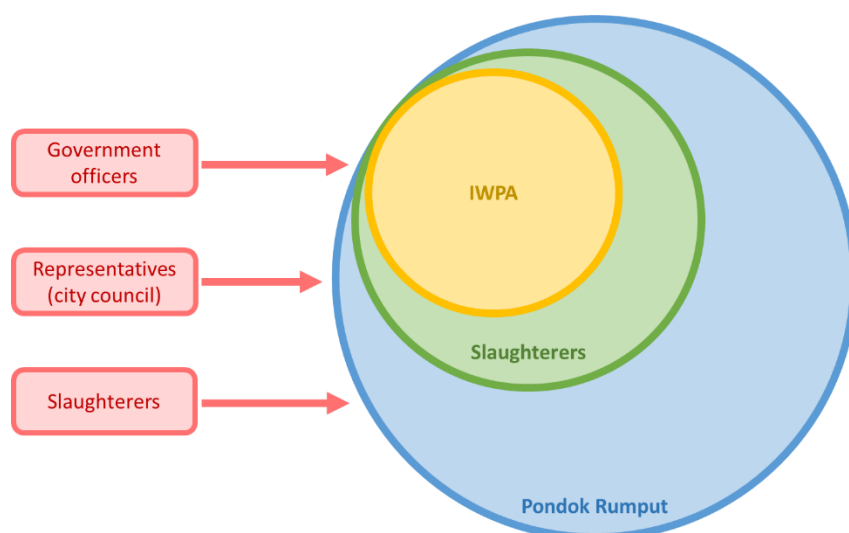


Figure 10: Visualisation of the rules and routines influencing the slaughtering practices in Pondok Rumpit.

4.1 Government institutions

4.1.1 Government structure

Since the Indonesian government has a multi-layered structured, the easiest representation is by a figure, see figure 6. Here can be seen that within the provinces multiple regions are located. If the capital city of the region is very big, it is a separate governmental unit. The non-capital area is then called Kabupaten (= regency). At city and regency level there are many departments according to work field (e.g. tourism, transport, agriculture), however the division of tasks is not always as clear

(Int. 50). Nationwide the city and regency of the same region have difficulties working together and fine-tuning their policies towards each other. This is not different in Bogor (e.g. Int. 43 + 69 + 82). According to several interviewees they will only work together if ordered by a higher level officer, i.e. from provincial or national level (Int. 57).

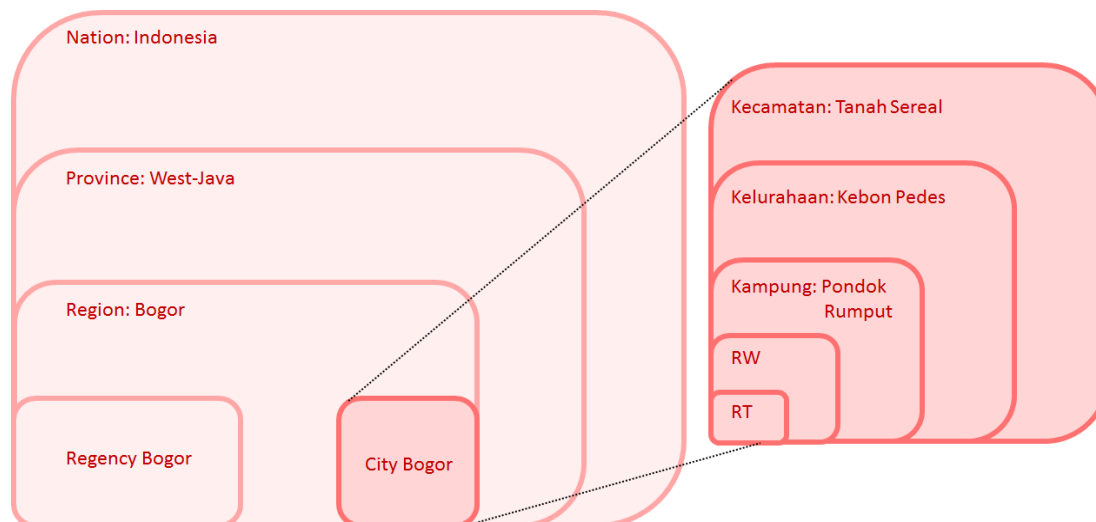


Figure 11: Visualisation of the multi-layered Indonesian government structure.

Every city has a Kesbangpol (Kantor Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik = Office of National and Political Unity) in charge of communication, monitoring and administration for the people (e.g. Int. 30 + 54 + 90). Within Kesbangpol, again multiple levels are to be found. The first is called Kecamatan, which could be translated as city district. Yet a smaller entity is the Kelurahan (= neighbourhood). Officials working at Kesbangpol are selected and appointed by the city government (Int. 90). Officials working below this level are the heads of the yet smaller entities Rukun Warga (RW = Inhabitants in harmony, five to fifteen RT) and Rukun Tetangga (RT = Neighbours in harmony, ten to twenty households). Pondok Rumpit for instance is a Kampung that groups three RW. (A Kampung is not an administrative unit, just an area indication used by locals for city quarters.) The heads of RWs and RTs need to be stand-by to mediate in small conflicts between inhabitants (Int. 73 + 78). These heads are directly elected from a short list prepared by public figures under the supervision of the Kelurahan (Int. 73 + 78). The heads of RTs and RWs get no wage, only a operational fee (Int. 73).

4.1.2 Government mechanism

The multi-layered government structure makes communication and regulation alignment extremely challenging. Consequently, the incompatibility of local with national laws and regulations can be seen, as well as inconsistencies in the implementation (Int. 4 + 69). A factor aggravating the between-level and -department communication is the irregular yearly rotation of government department

heads, spread throughout the year (Int. 15). Hearing the intention and focus of the newly appointed officials is important because their track is not necessarily in line with the track of their predecessors (Int. 12). When speaking about effectiveness of the government, some other aspects play a role: tendency to corruption (Int. 65 + 66), documentation practices, 'sosialisasi' and hierarchy and bureaucracy. The first aspect is not the most important one, but is put first because it does not need much explaining. The second one on documentation practices refers to the lack of documentation on long term planning. There are no reports kept of actions and achievements (e.g. Int. 4 + 38 + 43). The few documents and reports kept are thrown away with every rotation of a department head (Int. 56). With 'sosialisasi' Indonesians refer to the transfer of specific beliefs, values and habits (Int. 41 + 79). Officials pay visit to beneficiary groups of people and try to make them aware of the positive effects of the wanted change. As a critique, an interviewee said this 'sosialisasi' is a practice done by the government "if it wants to see change but does not know what to do to realise it" (Int. 79).

The third aspect of hierarchy and bureaucracy deserves its own full length paragraph. Hierarchy and bureaucracy are pan-Asian culturally imposed phenomena manifesting themselves in all social situations. In the governmental branch it is not only manifested by the people's practices and routines, but also by rules and regulations. Hierarchy and bureaucracy make that every step an official wants to take needs to be approved by a higher official (Int. 11 + 15). Moreover, a lower level official cannot ask for a meeting, or present an idea without a higher level official asking for it (Int. 41). It is expected that respect is always shown to people with a higher position. Strong hierarchy also means you cannot ask questions to a higher level official. You should fix your own problems or ask a person lower in rank (Int. 38). Showing respect is so important that people with a lower rank can never speak up in front of the higher level official. Issues should be handled via mutually known mediators. To get to the head of another department it is helpful to have connections within that staff group (Int. 24 + 67). However the actual decision power is not always with the department heads. This depends on their issue-specific background knowledge and relationship with staff members and politicians (Int. 13 + 38). In practice, the department secretary, who mostly works in the department for a very long time and climbed up the ladder, has the actual decision power over the department head, who mostly gets the position by appointment and used to work for another department (Int. 68). In public discussions the secretaries will still act as if they only work as ordered by their superior (Int. 38 + 81). If a subordinate gets too much influence according to higher level officials or even the city council, they can be 'depromoted' in the next position rotation round (Int. 68). Some informal aspects also play a role in the assignment of functions. For instance not being a

Muslim limits your growth possibilities (Int. 70), as well as being immigrated to Bogor in less than about three generation ago (Int. 77 + 78).

A negative result of the above described mechanisms in government practices is the long time it takes to take decisions (Int. 32 + 38 + 67). Some say that “making people wait is seen as a power of the government officers” (Int. 38). Furthermore people get that officers send to them for doing the communication, are not the ones that can make the discussed things happen (Int. 38 + 50). This makes them conclude that “the government only plays a lip-sync game” (Int. 76).

4.1.3 Case- related point of view: Slaughtering in Pondok Rumpit

Officers of all governmental levels agree the relocation of slaughter points out of residential areas is an important topic, but there’s no solution yet (Int. 15). At provincial and national level especially the waste and absence of a sewage system is seen as a problem (Int. 24). However these high officials do not experience the problems themselves and feel like it is the regencies’ and cities’ tasks to get the regulation implemented (Int. 41). In Jabodetabek the higher level government provided some funding for infrastructure building (Int. 25 + 32 + 67).

In Bogor the city government’s focus is on enhancing trade and tourism (Int. 69). The relocation comes somewhere down the list. Some interviewees spread over different departments say it is necessary to execute research from all different perspectives to decide what is best regarding the slaughterers in Pondok Rumpit (e.g. Int. 40 + 41). However, when I assemble all information from the interviews with different departments it is clear that relocation is the only option. This means the interdepartmental communication is not as effective as it could be. The sore point in the relocation implementation is the shortage of land where slaughtering is legal (e.g. Int. 30 + 32 + 40). At the moment of research no one was looking for an extra slaughtering zone (Int. 43) but the agricultural department had the intention of planning a meeting with the sanitation and the city planning departments (Int. 15).

Turning our attention to the agricultural department of the city government, their first focus is on the cattle industry and not on poultry, since cattle is the bigger revenue post (Int. 30). When the slaughtering business is relocated to a zone where it is legal, government will be able to ask retributions again (Int. 13). All slaughtering related communication between the Pondok Rumpit slaughterers and the city government is done by the agricultural department (e.g. Int. 37 + 43). Currently the communication happens informally in the traditional market (Int. 20 + 43). While surveyed slaughterers expressed their wish towards direct and official communication in big gatherings (surveys and Int. 13 + 88). Within the broiler industry the point of attention is providing

ASUH meat to the Bogorian consumers (e.g. Int. 24 + 46 + 70). ASUH is an anagram form Aman, Sehat, Utuh and Halal (= Safe, Healthy, Uncontaminated and Halal) in which *uncontaminated* stands for residue free, i.e. no chemical, biological or physical contamination (Int. 24). Therefore the agricultural department delivers 'sosialisasi' to the slaughterers on creating a *dirty* (i.e. live birds) and a *clean* zone (carcasses) (Int. 13). Traditionally, about twice a year such trainings are organised through IWPA. From the government side the help of the IWPA management is appreciated to reach all slaughterers. The slaughterers are interested in getting more trainings. The survey revealed that especially the hygiene, halal and marketing trainings are experienced as beneficial. However during the last couple of years the trainings are less frequent (p. 27). Besides these trainings the agricultural department also is in charge of controlling the slaughterers practices. Normally controls happen about three times a year but the amount can be increased in case of epidemics (Int. 20). Interviewees tell us the controlling used to be more frequent and thorough than it is now (Int. 13 + 70). The controlling happened less and less since the slaughterers did not have to pay a retribution anymore, which resulted in less controlling staff (Int. 13). These controls never result in sanctions (e.g. Int. 13 + 15 + 27) but in extra training and counselling if the staff is available (Int. 13). The government does not have money for assisting slaughterers in their improvements (Int. 7 + 43 + 50). Some consumers do not agree with the control system and would prefer the government to be stricter (Int. 45 + 61).

Kecamatan is in charge of monitoring the situation in Pondok Rumpit and communicating between the city government and the inhabitants via the Kelurahan, RW and RT (e.g. Int. 81). If the communication is directed to the slaughterers, in practice, the RW and RT step are replaced by communication via the IWPA management (Int. 31 + 67 + 73). These numerous steps are necessary and a sign of cultural politeness (Int. 54 + 67). Communication here also means conveying official complaints about the slaughtering to higher level government (Int. 30 + 59). However in meetings with the heads of the RWs there have not been official complaints in the last two Kelurahan terms (Int. 90). The current Kelurahan officers only see economic benefits for Pondok Rumpit coming from the slaughtering industry (Int. 15 + 54). The city government thus justifies the non-implementation of the regulation by saying there are no official complaints filed about the slaughtering activities in Pondok Rumpit (e.g. Int. 30 + 73 + 90). Because of the absence of complaints, people expect the Kelurahan accepts financial incentives from the slaughterers (e.g. Int. 13 + 57 + 70). Officially it is the task of the Kecamatan to make the slaughterers move (Int. 13 + 41 + 54). But, in turn, they can cover up their non-action because as long as higher level government does not explicitly order to execute the regulation, the Kecamatan does not need to, and cannot, put any pressure on the slaughterers (Int. 54 + 90).

4.2 Political realm

The second professional group influencing the embedding of the new regulation into the broiler slaughtering practices of the Pondok Rumpit community is the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD = Regional Assembly of People Representatives, city council).

4.2.1 Political structure

Nowadays, the three biggest political factions in Indonesia are the religious, democratic (or national) and social faction (Int. 82). These factions group about 40 political parties (Int. 76). Currently the vote division in Bogor is to the ratio of 5:3:2 for the national, religious and social faction (Int. 82).

Mayors are elected and have a very important role. In the times the function description was similar to a local king. However in 2005 the power of the mayor was restrained in favour of the provincial governor (Int. 69). But still the mayor appoints the heads of the different government departments (e.g. tourism, agriculture, taxes) (Int. 38). Because of these practices the department heads are strongly linked to the will of the mayor and the political program of his party (Int. 38).

The city council consists of four commissions: A) governance stability and permissions, B) finance, tax and economy, C) infrastructure, and D) public welfare (e.g. schools and hospitals) (Int. 80), see figure 7. For these writings the focus is on commission B because this one handles the relocation of the slaughtering businesses outside residential areas. Commission B consists of ten elected members and one secretary employee (Int. 80). The elected members get guidance from the expert staff employed by the political parties they belong to (Int. 69 + 81). Commission B members act united, according to the mayor's guidance. Thus political parties who did not deliver the mayor, but have seated representatives, do not have much influence on the city council's program (Int. 82).

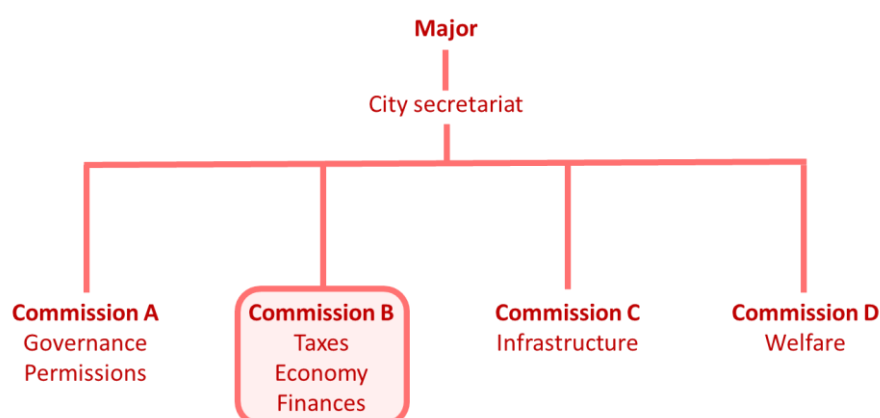


Figure 12: Visualisation of the different commissions in the city council.

4.2.2 Political mechanism

City council members are often not correctly educated and/or have no relevant background for their position (Int. 53 + 67 + 69). Some high positioned government officer told us: “You should not bother speaking with political parties because their opinion is not interesting anyway.” (Int. 41). A previous head of a government department even called them “a joke”. Government officers do not want to give them too much influence in their programming and block out multiple year plans (Int. 49 + 69). The mayor and his direct personnel want to keep power and maintain pride (Int. 69), by bureaucratic rules that make everything pass by their desks (Int. 32 + 67). Processes can be delayed or given some extra speed. Apparently, in this step “money politics” work well (Int. 69). One of the direct staff members to the mayor said that in an elected position the representatives are expected to represent the city in its whole. For him this means he does not need to act according to the political program of his party, but “for the good of the city” (Int. 76). To go even a step further, a previous key person at national level said: “Democracy is just in place to please Western donors and to get loans from the International Monetary Fund.” (Int. 69).

4.2.3 Case- related point of view: Slaughtering in Pondok Rumpit

The relocation of slaughtering businesses falls under commission B (i.e. economic department) (Int. 43). The head of the economic department directly told us that the topic is not important enough to put in the political program for elections. This means the parties don’t publicly communicate about it. However the parties have their opinion on the topic. For instance, the RPH in Bubulak was planned and launched when the religious faction was the biggest. This led to easier access to funding schemes for the government slaughtering facility because the leading politicians were strong supporters for an easier control on halal meat production (Int. 67). In summary, the religious and nationalist representatives want the slaughterers to move out of the residential areas, while the socialists want the slaughterers to have the possibility to stay. Especially the socialists will not communicate openly about their opinion because the government officers already showed the relocation would give many benefits. The slaughterers are too few voters to take their opinion into account (Int. 54).

Still the regulation is not acted upon and enforcement is clearly overdue. The head of one of the RWs with TPUs said that the slaughterers are connected to politicians: the slaughterers give financial incentives to support their claim (Int. 50). They even had informal conversations with the previous mayor (Int. 78). This claim is partly supported by members of commission B that told us their last visit to the slaughterers in Pondok Rumpit was in April 2015. These informal visits are not conform protocol which says all official communication has to go via commission A. More explicitly,

commission A needs to do all communication via the trajectory Kecamatan, Kelurahan, IWPA and eventually the slaughterers (Int. 81). This informal communication (and the possible bribery) might have led to neglecting the promised removal of all slaughtering businesses out of Pondok Rumpit.

Nevertheless, this same RW head said he himself also communicated informally with a council member on the relocation issue. Furthermore a previous representative from Kebon Pedes is known for taking the side of his Kelurahan's LPM (Int. 57). At the moment there is no representative from Kebon Pedes (Int. 82). But if it were the case, the power of one representative would never pay off. However, recently the new mayor made a multinational close an illegal establishment. This gives hope to non-slaughterers that the mayor will make the slaughtering business move as well (Int. 78).

4.3 Slaughterers

Also the slaughterers have rules and routines related to their profession influencing the process of embedding the new regulation into their daily practices. Most of these rules and routines are informally set within the customs and supervised by the members of IWPA. Also within the IWPA a strong hierarchy can be seen between the members, which must be respected. The hierarchical position is determined by social and economic status (e.g. Int. 48 + 59 + 68) and by being a member of the IWPA management or not. Some outsiders see IWPA more as a cartel than an association. The big TPU owners are the ones that rule the community and everyone needs to follow their rules. For instance starting a TPU in Pondok Rumpit asks for more than the needed money and knowledge (Int. 37). If IWPA does not support your case, there is no chance of success (Int. 37 + 38).

Outside the rather closed community of Pondok Rumpit, the slaughterers have connections with other groups of slaughterers as well. IWPA is engaged with ARPHUIN and APABR. IWPA does not fall directly under the national association ARPHUIN (Asosiasi Rumah Potong Hewan Unggas Indonesia = Indonesian Association of poultry slaughterhouses). ARPHUIN only accepts slaughterhouses and no slaughter points. (Slaughterhouses work conform the SNI- standards.) However the external supervisor of IWPA is the head of ARPHUIN. This makes the connection between both associations tighter than expected. The APABR (Asosiasi Pemotong Ayam Bogor Raya = Association of chicken slaughterers in Great Bogor) was created by the head of IWPA in august 2015, as a reaction to the government discussions after the three day- strike. This means APABR is still in the credo "under construction". However, the IWPA management believes "together is better!" and thus tries to unite all people in the business.

A second link can be found with the broiler farmers. The Pondok Rumpit slaughterers buy birds from about 22 farmers outside Bogor (Int. 14 + 56). These farmers are grouped in their own associations

and communicate the reference broiler price via internet fora, depending on the broilers' weight (Int. 14 + 20). Not all TPU owners buy their own birds (Int. 48) since they do not all have enough liquid financial means. The ones buying live birds can deliver birds to the smaller slaughterers on credit. Since buying of live birds is the most important expense, working together and sharing price information is extremely important (Int. 14 + 15).

Finally the slaughterers are connected to their customers in the traditional market. The consumers in the traditional market wish to buy fresh, uncooled carcasses close by their homes (Int. 7). So Pondok Rumpit broiler carcasses are sold all over Bogor, spread over nine marketplaces (Int. 46). It is estimated that up to 90% of all the broiler meat sold in the traditional markets comes from Pondok Rumpit (Int. 56). The slaughterers themselves say they provide 70% of all poultry meat in Bogor (Int. 43 + 48), while the agricultural division lowers this number to 30% (Int. 43). The relationship between seller and buyer is build up over a multitude of years into a solid filiation, standing guarantee for the meat's quality. If carcasses are warm it is taken as proof for being fresh. Consumers do not think it is necessary to slaughter, store and transport the meat under more hygienic conditions since they do not realize other practices are possible (Int. 38). Consumers do not always see the relation between sickness and unsafe food. Luckily incidences with chicken meat are rare because traditionally it is cooked very long (Int. 38 + 39).

CHAPTER 5: Analysis

Besides creating historical narratives, also a theoretical analysis is desirable when researching a transition. This chapter applies the previously created conceptual apparatus to the case in order to further analyse the results presented above. The analysis is structured according to the three different levels in the Dynamic Fit theory: technology, culture and politics. The focus lies on the process of embedding the regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumput, rather than on the practices of individual actors (as it is covered in the previous chapter).

1. Technological level

Over time, the slaughtering community of Pondok Rumput developed professional know-how. They are trained in making economically inspired choices within the prevailing social, cultural and practical constraints. Their daily practices can be grouped and called situated action. Thus the amount of choices to choose from depends on the circumstances. The retroactively created time line shows that previous actions keep on influencing today's situation. Former disputes are still a reason for mistrust. An example of path-dependency is the extensive commodity chain that came into being because slaughtering in residential areas has not been illegal before. The commodity chain is tailored perfectly around the daily practices of the informal slaughterers. The well-established chain of merchants and buyers is a positive feedback mechanism reinforcing illegal slaughtering. Another one is the government's inability to currently ask a retribution for TPUs they previously declared illegal.

A lock-in situation is a social construction. Therefore it is possible that different actors have different perceptions on the situation, deviating from the so-thought fixed path. This can be seen when comparing the opinions on broiler slaughtering in Pondok Rumput. The non-slaughterers see the slaughtering activities as the sore point of their neighbourhood and believe this sore point is curable, but they lost the hope a 'doctor' would ever take effort to do so. The government and politicians experience the path-dependency as well, but they want to avoid a complete lock-in. On the one hand, officials cannot overlook the livelihoods of broiler chain participants and the poultry meat supply. On the other hand, officials cannot overlook the health, sanitation and environmental problems associated to the informal slaughtering. As a conclusion, unlocking the predefined path is possible if key actors realise the path is (just) a social construct that can be remoulded by actively changing practices and creating negative feedback mechanisms.

Looking at the timeline, officials only took decisions step by step. Government officers are muddling through, only slightly tweaking previous decisions. The big event that ought to induce change was making the informal slaughtering illegal by declaring Pondok Rumput as a settlement area. However,

this did not generate the desired effect. The broiler slaughtering industry remains relatively stable, amid a slowly occurring transition, awaiting the rapid change linked to, for instance, an effective eviction order.

2. Cultural level

The meaning of words is created within cultural groups and may deviate over groups. For the slaughterers a 'good life' is the possibility to keep on working the way they are used to. Their neighbours, on the other hand, see a 'good life' as a healthy one in a clean city with cheap basic consumer goods. The non-slaughterers in Pondok Rumpit silently aspire a slaughtering free neighbourhood. The capacity to aspire is "an important driver of urban transformation, usually incrementally but sometimes also in revolutionary ways" (Bunnell & Goh, 2012). Public protest in favour of the transition is gradually nurtured by peaceful gatherings in mosques, eat houses and school yards. For this case study I consider three socially and culturally distinct groups: (1) the slaughterers of Pondok Rumpit, (2) their non-slaughtering neighbours, and (3) the politicians and government officers. The third group consists of two professional groups with, at least in this case, similar interests. For the ease of reasoning both are grouped under the term officials. They have the ambition to create a better Bogor, but they also wish to increase their private living standard.

Referring to Grid-Group Cultural Theory, the three cultural groups can each be placed in one of the four solidarities. The officials are grouped in a hierarchic solidarity. They feel defined by the people they connect with. Several subcultures exist within the hierarchy, such as the different political parties. But overall, all of the officials will act according to the wishes of the person at the top position, i.e. the mayor. The officials are strongly connected to and depend on each other. They are bound by a long list of rules and routines connected to their profession. There is a range of external influences coming from higher level governments or higher ranked representatives. They know they can always fall back on the institution they are part of and they know their subordinates will always stand by them.

The solidarity of the non-slaughterers is close to fatalism. They are not as connected to one another as their only common ground is not being a slaughterer in a slaughtering neighbourhood. The non-slaughterers feel that their lives are strongly influenced by external factors like the slaughtering activities. They feel the influence of the officials not actively backing up their wishes. They feel powerless and learn to live with the difficulties they perceive.

There are important differences between the individuals making up the slaughterers' group. The group of carcass sellers and the group of TPU workers can both be put in the egalitarian quadrant of

the grid-group diagram. The sellers and workers relate to each other because they have similar problems and aspirations. They belong to the same social class and have the same ethnic background. Many of them are related and came to Pondok Rumput because a family member asked them to. Within the group of TPU owners is less cohesion. The owners of the smaller TPUs can be categorized in an egalitarian solidarity as well. The owners of big and modern TPUs fit more closely in the solidarity of individualism. Their internal ties are not as strong as expected, as indicated by not all of them being part of IWPA. They do not feel a lot of external pressure as they find themselves in a strong position, both socially and economically. They think about innovating their business to further improve their position. They prefer to get as few influences from the government as possible.

Embedding a regulation into a community with such diverse inhabitants under the supervision of officials belonging to yet another culture makes the conceptual clumsy solution an interesting approach. Especially together with the politicians muddling through, the resolution of emerging problems via clumsy solutions makes a solid technique to implement change, but do it gradually without suddenly disturbing the existing equilibrium.

3. Political level

Officials make political decisions based on received influences from citizens using their resources. In Bogor the slaughterers have both a bigger potential and a bigger actual power on the officials compared to their non-slaughtering neighbours. They stand strong as a cohesive group that associated informally and they act united by having a single representative for external communication. Additionally, the slaughtering community has access to quite some assets and liquids. The connections between slaughterers and members of the city council are an important resource as well, alluding to differently managed public resources and delayed execution of resolutions. Interviewees told us the group of slaughterers is not big enough to impact vote counts to key politicians. However, the in kind incentives such as free broiler meat for meetings and festivities are suspected to leave impact.

Some people make more use of their power in the political realm and are able to create an elitist position for themselves (e.g. citizen representatives and politicians). Government officers are the ones executing the decisions of the 'chief-representative', i.e. the mayor of Bogor. The political actions of politicians are approved (or not) by the common people through voting. Several groups of elites (i.e. political parties) compete with each other to gain control. A difficulty is that the representatives do not always have an appropriate education or relevant background so they have specialised staff to advise them. Also government officers are asked for their opinion and judgment.

Furthermore, often researchers from the Agricultural University Bogor or even international research teams are asked for in-depth analyses of a situation and its relevant actions.

In general, locals can be more influential compared to non-localised experts. For the link between the slaughterers and the government, the lowest level inspectors and trainers of the governmental agricultural division are the technicians. Their influence is not as big as could be, since they are not trusted by the slaughterers and they do not see each other often. The members of the IWPA management could be labelled technicians as well: they are very up to date with the slaughtering practices, the political necessities and possible alliances. Looking at the link between the non-slaughterers and the city council, there are almost no technicians. Even at the Kelurahan level the government officers say not to be aware of the disturbances the neighbours feel from the slaughtering activities. I would expect the heads of the local RTs and RWs to be the technicians since they hear the daily complaints of non-slaughterers. But apparently they miss the political skills to make their people's voice heard.

The cultivation of aspirations can be a trigger to re-unite the non-slaughterers in their fight to get the slaughtering businesses out of their settlement area. This cultivation of aspirations can be nurtured by powerful political elites. In this case a potent elite would be the new mayor. He openly fights corruption and gets a lot of trust from the heads of the Pondok Rumput RWs. On the long term the accumulated aspirations could lead to civic agency. Without guidance and back-up by a potent elite, the non-slaughterers lack the prospect and do not dare acting towards a slaughtering free neighbourhood. Moreover, complains about the slaughtering businesses will only be heard at higher level if they are files according to the correct administrative procedure. Consequently, at least two people (i.e. the civilian issuing the complaint and the officer filing the complaint) need to put their names and signatures on the document. Due to the tight connections between officials and slaughterers these names are vulnerable for leaking, which is exactly what the non-slaughterers are afraid of.

4. Entangled causal pathways influencing the process of fitting

This analysis shows that a single aspect cannot explain the sturdiness of the process of embedding the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumput. All three levels to a dynamic fit are essential to grasp the greater picture. The process of embedding change-inducing regulations will never be a clearly delimited single-explanation process. The examples from the case given above quite clearly fit within one level. But of course, the levels are not distinct categories for grouping events in causal pathways that coexist beside one another. There are instances where technical,

cultural and political causal pathways entirely entangle. The combination of concepts from the conceptual apparatus, even over levels, improves to understanding of the case. The next two paragraphs each present an example of how aspects of different levels interact with each other.

For instance, the concepts path-dependency, alternative solidarities and plurality of power are all important in analysing the prospects for children in Pondok Rumpit. When comparing the prospects for kids of a rich TPU owner with the prospects for kids of non-slaughters I see big differences. The kids of rich TPU owners are raised within a solidarity of individualism. Their parents have access to different kinds of resources to make sure their kids can enrol university, if they wish to do so. They have the opportunity choose for a more prestigious education and step out of the slaughtering industry. They are less attached to their family's slaughtering background and do not feel the need to carry on the family business. By contrast, children of non-slaughtering families are raised within a solidarity of fatalism. They do not see opportunities to break out of the pattern. They depend more on the path their parents took before them. They did not learn how to convert resources in actual power and do not feel it is even possible to do so. They mostly end up in similar jobs as their parents.

A second example is the analysis of the low occupation rate of the broiler slaughtering units in the RPH in Bubulak. Here hierarchical solidarity, muddling through and technicos are explanatory concepts. There is no official actively looking for broiler slaughterers willing to use the governmental facilities. The ones managing the units did never officially get the task to recruit people. They were just ordered to welcome and address slaughterers that present themselves. Within the hierarchical solidarity and the Javanese culture it is uncommon to start doing tasks that were not explicitly asked for by a higher official. People are supposed to carry on working without showing lots of initiative, fixing the daily troubles: they are muddling through. Although these officers are supposed to be technicos, they do lack the entrepreneurial spirit that can be found with non-localised academics executing research for a higher level government. But non-localised researchers will always be trusted less because it is thought they do not fully understand the local context. For instance, it is thought they do not understand that most of the TPU owners take part in an egalitarian solidarity. These TPU owners will only move if they can move as a group. They do not only want to move their slaughtering activities, they want to move as a community. They will expect that their new living area has all necessary facilities (e.g. a fresh market, mosque, school) and that they are regarded as high level citizens, even though they are from a different ethnic background. They wonder why their kampung at the river bank got declared a residential area. For them it would have been more logic to stop the encroachment of settlements upon their slaughtering area.

CHAPTER 6: Discussion and conclusion

In this last chapter the answer to the research question is presented. The main research question is answered through the combination of the answers to the three sub-research questions it was split into. Later, I present a reflection on the methodological approach and the created conceptual apparatus. Lastly, some thoughts still need further testing and these ideas for future research are listed in the last paragraph.

1. Research outcome

Under this heading I present the answers to the research question. I can thus say that the research objective was successfully reached. Firstly, the different sub-research questions are answered. After that, the main research question is answered in its whole by addressing the level of fit between the regulation and the community live in Pondok Rumpit.

1.1 Answers to the sub-research questions

The first paragraph can be looked at as an introduction to the community life in Pondok Rumpit. The second paragraph explains why things happen the way they happen, linked to constraints and opportunities in professional realities. The third paragraph puts the knowledge in a temporal context and puts the current situation in regard with previous events.

1.1.1 How is the broiler slaughtering rooted into the community of Pondok Rumpit?

We call it a community rooted practice since the connection between the slaughterers and the area is very intense. All of the slaughtering immigrants and their descendants live together in the same area, and are (mainly) dependent on the broiler slaughtering for their livelihoods. However the non-slaughterers believe the community could perfectly (and even better) exist without the slaughtering businesses. This means that calling the slaughtering a community rooted practice is an outing of a rather subjective point of view.

Several authors found that as soon as a certain community becomes less dependent on a polluting practice, government officers will start responding to the complaints of neighbours (e.g. Berry & Plaut, 1978; Bryant, 1992). Furthermore, it is also seen in the interviews that continued intensification is an imperative under the future economic conditions. This means that farmers aspiring to operate at a commercial scale will have few options but to relocate. From the other hand, should certain industries have been given planning permission? Was it a decent decision to allow residential development to encroach upon the slaughtering area (Henderson, 2005)?

1.1.2 Which rules and routines influence the embedding of the new regulation?

The professional rules and routines are clearly visible for the government officers and politicians. Within their hierarchic and bureaucratic environment there is not much room for initiatives. But also the slaughterers are bounded through professional customs, giving opportunities as well as constraints. The professional and ethnic link between the slaughterers makes them feel connected. In general, associations emerge much easier through solidarity within support communities (Park, 1928). IWPA makes the slaughterers socially and politically stronger compared to the rather unorganised non-slaughterers. However, this is mostly true in the informal realm. Formally seen the slaughterers are immigrants and therefore will never reach an important official political position.

The slaughterers' practices are embedded in the informal sector, in illegal facilities without paying any form of taxes. Although formalised businesses offer greater security and better access to credit, there are many regulatory barriers to open a formal firm (Gabbitt *et al.*, 2015). The slaughterers know that relocating to the common slaughtering facilities means taking part in the formal sector. There needs to be a cease of acceptance of taking part in the informal market. Therefore officials could use negative feedback mechanisms such as fines for illegal slaughtering, providing housing for workers close-by the government slaughtering facilities or facilitating high sales prices for the current slaughtering businesses.

1.1.3 What evolution did the broiler slaughtering community go through?

The embedding of the new slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit is a sturdy process. The rigidity of the transformation can be explained by looking at all different events related to the relocation of the broiler slaughtering businesses. Decisions are not put into practice and people start accepting the unresponsiveness of citizens towards official regulations. Furthermore, internal disputes between slaughterers and non-slaughterers, slaughterers and government officers, government officers and politicians etc. are not expressed due to cultural reservation. These cropped up feelings complicate all further collaboration. However, all connections between people belonging to different solidarities also mean that everyone needs to get used to each other's practices. Even without direct communication the different parties learned to live with each other. As the connections between the members of different solidarities tightened, the situation became more rigid and liveable. Changing habits (or making the relocation happen) within this context is extremely difficult and asks for a special approach involving all actors: a clumsy solution. It is clear that the resolution cannot be found by the work of people from the same solidarity, but by collective action of all cultural groups involved.

Overall, the sturdiness of the process of embedding a new regulation into community life can be explained by a whole set of reasons. Firstly, the strong link with the traditional wet market (i.e. live animal market) and the whole chain related to broiler slaughtering make relocation difficult because it might induce negative effects for all people involved in the whole chain. Secondly, the slaughtering business provides a livelihood to certain communities that are not eager to move. In Bogor the community of Pondok Rumpit is largely constructed around the slaughtering practices, moving would mean that family life and business become separate things in life. A third explanation might be the transfer of illegal incentives from slaughterers to certain key figures, making the actual implementation of the relocation regulation suffer from delays.

1.2 Why is the embedding of the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit such a sturdy process?

This question already entails that the embedding of the slaughtering regulation into the community life of Pondok Rumpit is a sturdy process. So, in general this case is not an example of a dynamic fit. Referring to the visualisation of the Dynamic Fit Theory presented in Annex V, the level of fit between the regulation (involving the relocation of the slaughtering businesses) and the adopting community of Pondok Rumpit is shortly discussed according to the different levels of a dynamic fit.

Within the technological level we see that the regulation is up to date with technological evolutions in the slaughtering industry. It is indeed more economically sane to slaughter big quantities of animals in facilities with modern technology. Some of the big TPU-owners are in favour of modernisation of their slaughtering business. Therefore they realise they will need to move their business to a bigger facility. However, the majority of the slaughterers in Pondok Rumpit do not have the adequate experience and education to perform the slaughtering as such. Also as an organisation, the IWPA is not interested in increasing the technological sophistication as a group to the current level of slaughtering technology. With their organisational structure, they do not have the capacity to absorb very big changes, as a relocation of the slaughtering businesses would be. Looking to external influence there are both reinforcing factors (e.g. neighbours complaining about slaughtering waste thrown into the river), as there are limiting factors (e.g. lack of good public infrastructure in and around the government slaughtering facility).

Turning to the cultural level, the new regulation does not fit with current community values. For instance, the slaughterers prefer to work close to their family homes so their involvement in the family life can still be substantial, even though their working hours are unconventional. The implementation of the regulation could be enforced if the organisational culture of the non-

slaughterers was more substantial. After all, if the non-slaughterers would dare to speak up, the regulation would back up their case and the slaughterers were obliged to move their businesses outside the residential area. However the IWPA has stronger influences and can obtain the ever postponing of the implementation of the regulation. Also when looking at external influences, the macrocultural discourse in Indonesia around the slaughtering of poultry is not elaborate. When speaking to inhabitants of Bogor, not living in Pondok Rumpit, they state that the slaughterers should be allowed to have their businesses where they have always been.

Looking to aspects fitting within the political level, I firstly want to point to the political loading of the regulation. As we heard from city council members, it is mostly the religious party that wants to reinforce the regulation so the controls on halal slaughtering can be improved. The hygiene and sanitation aspect is found important almost only by the staff of the waste management and sewage department of the city government. Speaking about personal interests, I suspect some members of staff and representatives of the city council, as well as at least) some lower level government officers to have informal interests in allowing the slaughterers to continue their activities in Pondok Rumpit. Looking to the non-slaughterers in Pondok Rumpit, united via the LPM, they surely would prefer the slaughterers to move. However, they seem to have less access to resources (e.g. informal relationships with influential people). It even seems that the informal relationship structures are more important than official structures. For instance, non-slaughterers do not dare using the official complaint procedure in fear of government officers denouncing them. The influence of the national government (as an external factor to the community life in Pondok Rumpit) on the implementation of the slaughtering regulation seems to be low. Although, I expect it to further increase during the progressing of the Dutch-Indonesian project referred to earlier.

This makes up a good list of examples for explaining that the process of embedding the new regulation is sturdy. All together the importance of context and situation is firmly highlighted. But to end with a positive note, the muddling through approach of the involved government officers does fit the city live well. Since the regulation is so far of, of the current situation, it is good that the city government found an approach using small adjustments at a time creating clumsy solutions over and over again. The certain inertia in the process brings along positive side effects such as the almost complete absence of public demonstrations and big clashes between people with different interests. The different groups slowly learn to live with the effects related to the future relocation and most key figures in the process realise the process is study, but also understand that the end to this process will come.

2. Personal reflection on the methodological approach

A case study approach is necessary when studying a specific process, I believe. Therefore, the researcher needs to clearly define the case boundaries, both in time and in space. Then different aspects of the process can be visualised depending on whether qualitative and quantitative methods are used. The best method to apply depends on the topic, the situation and the cultural context, but both methods should be kept in mind during the field work. Applying both methods is perfectly possible since the produced data can perfectly be merged into one narrative.

The approach of combining ideas from multiple theories into a conceptual apparatus especially designed for a specific case is interesting. With the Dynamic Fit Theory the academic world is offered an excellent fundamental framework, but even with this framework available, the conceptual apparatus cannot be created upfront. During the field work some findings guide the researcher towards interesting concepts of grand theories and can still be added into the apparatus. The combination of different concepts gives access to different existing theories and explanations. Especially this combination facilitates the mapping of processes that are made up by multiple causal pathways at once.

The technographic approach proves useful for guiding the field work. The three dimensions guide the researcher from the smaller level of individuals towards the high level of overarching structures. All gathered information combines into a rich narratives and gives the possibility to shed light on both details and the overall system. In combination with process-tracing and instructive events mapping, technography is an excellent way of presenting results. The structured display of the results makes the theoretical analysis more distinct and evident.

3. Personal reflection on the conceptual apparatus

Deepening the Dynamic Fit Theory within the different levels proves valuable to broaden up the scope of the researcher to guide thoughts. Especially for a process of embedding, which is never just one process, the combination of multiple ideas leads to a deeper understanding.

A point of possible improvement could be the use of middle range theories⁴ instead of distinct concepts from grand theories for deepening out the levels to a dynamic fit. This would make the created conceptual apparatus more concrete and tangible. That way, I would be applying the approach presented by Merton (1949): Middle Range Thinking (MRT). MRT consists of three plain steps: (1) borrowing from and combining middle-range theories, (2) demonstrating the new

⁴ Pawson (2000) describes a middle range theory as a “theory driven and empirical inquiry” to “consolidate otherwise segregated hypotheses and empirical regularities”. Middle range theories close the gap between grand theories and field observations (Merton, 1949).

conceptual apparatus, and (3) enlarging it to the level of abstraction into diverse domains (Pawson, 2000). Therefore, MRT is the most thought-through approach to combine deduction and induction within one thesis following the case study approach (Merton, 1949).

For this case, applying MRT is not possible because the historical cases referred to in the beginning were not much more than rich descriptions. They did not attempt the creation of middle range theories, they 'only' came with historical narratives.

4. Future research recommendations

Related to the scientific approach of this thesis, there are a couple of further research recommendations to make. Firstly, I propose to look at the theoretical framework and its possibilities for generalisation. The conceptual apparatus proved to be well suited to this case. It would be interesting to test it in other urban renewal processes all over South-East Asia. To be less pretentious, at least some of the presented middle range theories coming forward in the analysis can be used in new theses using the Middle Range Thinking approach. When using the theories individually, they can even be taken to less similar cases. Secondly, I propose to further look into the methodology. The combination of technography, process-tracing and instructive events mapping proved valuable, but I wonder how large and wide the boundaries of the unit of analysis can be to work on this detailed scale. For instance, when looking Java-wide for the process of embedding the slaughtering regulation into community life I wonder whether, even at unlimited time and money available, this approach would be the best.

Turning to case, there are also still some questions left unanswered. Especially the expected influence of the relocation of all slaughtering businesses outside the city centre is not studied enough. What will be the social effect of leaving Pondok Rumpit without slaughtering businesses? What would be the effect on Pondok Rumpit inhabitants if all people related to TPU owners would move to Bubulak? What would be the influence on the community life in Bubulak? But not only social aspects are still unclear, also about the economic effect on other participants in the poultry meat chain is too little known. Will there be as many people employed in the government facility as there are now? Thirdly, only technical aspects are overlooked. For instance, will all poultry meat be kept in cold chain? Will little booth owners in the local market start selling chilled poultry meat? Of course these are but a few unanswered questions related to the relocation. I believe that this thesis, giving a wide overview of the current situation and struggles, will help the scientist in their inquiry towards the necessary answers.

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Annexes

Annex I: Interview guidelines

A. Interview guideline for members of the IWPA management

1. Introduction

Thank you for giving us the opportunity to speak with you. We are Vozu and Astrid. Vozu is a student at IPB and I am a student at Wageningen University following a training program at IPB.

CENTRAS – the IPB research institute on tropical animal sciences – is doing a research on the necessary increase of chicken meat supply in Jabodetabek. One of the interesting issues here is the relocation of traditional slaughterers. Vozu and me are working on the interplay between the government and the slaughterers. Therefore we will interview all involved actors. Is there any extra information you would like to have concerning the CENTRAS research or approach?

How much time do you have for the interview?

2. Association

How many people are in the management of the association? What are their functions?

How is the selection and appointment of the management done?

What distinct task forces are there in the association? What are their daily activities? And yours?

How often do the heads of all task forces meet?

Is it a good thing that the slaughterers are united in an association? Are you a cooperative?

Are you connected to ARPUIN? What influence does this have on your activities?

Do you believe the association is correctly representing the viewpoint of all slaughterers?

What kind of opportunities or advantages does it give to be a member?

What kind of limitations or disadvantages are connected to being a member?

Towards what goal is the association working? What does the short term and long term planning towards this goal look like?

Do you think the association works well? How do you see the future of the association?

3. Slaughterers

In what ways do the slaughterers of Pondok Rumput work together?

Do you personally communicate with the slaughterers? Why is this important?

In what way do you communicate? e.g. Face-to-face, announcements, posters, events etc.

How many members does the association have? Are there any traditional slaughter points outside the area of Pondok Rumput? Are there any members who do not live in Pondok Rumput?

What percentage of the Pondok Rumpit slaughterers are member of the association? What percentage of the Bogor Kota slaughterers are member of the association?

Is there another association of slaughterers in Bogor Kota besides you?

How do you see the future of the Pondok Rumpit slaughterers?

4. Government

Could you tell me more about the government plan for chicken slaughter houses in the city of Bogor? And the plan for Pondok Rumpit in particular?

What is the short term plan on traditional slaughter points? Could you also give some more information on the long term plan?

Are these plans already put into formal regulation and law? Are these accessible and easy to understand? Could we get access to them?

Are these laws and regulations officially implemented and controlled? By whom are they implemented? How are the rules implemented? What are the penalties for not acting according to them?

Do you have regular contact with the government? In what way?

What do you think about the view points of the government? Do you include ideas of the government into your future planning?

Do you have a good relation with the government? Do you personally communicate with the government?

5. Government slaughterhouse in Bubulak

What do you think about the location? How do you perceive the facilities?

Why do you think the traditional slaughterers of Pondok Rumpit did not (yet) move?

Do you believe they will ever move? What incentives would change their minds?

6. Alternatives to relocation

What are the possible alternatives for the Pondok Rumpit slaughterers?

Do you believe the slaughterers can work together around a central waste management system, a central cooling system etc.? And if they get managerial and financial help to implement it?

What reaction do you expect from the slaughterers if they hear this is an option?

7. Outro

Is there something else you would like to share? Do you still have some questions for us?

Do you have someone in mind we should visit as well? Could we have his/her contact details? Could you already inform that person we will contact him/her?

May we have your name and telephone number in case we would like to speak you again?

B. Interview guideline for government officers

1. Introduction

Dear Ibu/Bapak... Thank you for giving us the opportunity to speak with you.

We are Vozu and Astrid. Vozu is student at IPB and I am a student at Wageningen University following a training program at IPB.

CENTRAS – the IPB research institute on tropical animal sciences – is doing a research on the necessary increase of chicken meat supply in Jabodetabek. One of the interesting issues here is the relocation of traditional slaughterers. Vozu and me are working on the interplay between the government and the slaughterers. Therefore we will interview all involved actors.

Dr. Suryahadi, head of CENTRAS, prepared the official letter to be handed over to you.

Is there any extra information you would like to have concerning the CENTRAS research or approach?

How much time do you have for the interview?

2. Daily activities – task division

How many employees are there? Do they all work full time? In all the work done from this office?

What distinct task forces are there? What are their daily activities? What are your daily tasks?

How often do the heads of all task forces meet together?

3. Government plans and regulation

Could you tell me more about the government plan for chicken slaughter houses in the city of Bogor (Pondok Rumput)? Are there any traditional slaughter points outside the area of Pondok Rumput?

What is your opinion on the traditional slaughter points in the city of Bogor?

What is the short term planning on traditional slaughter points?

Could you also give some more information on the long term planning?

Are these plans already put into formal regulation and law? Are these accessible for us?

Are these laws and regulations officially implemented and controlled? By whom? How? Penalties?

What do you think about the cooperation over different government levels and departments?

4. Government's relation to the association

Do you have regular contact with the association? In what way?

Is it a good thing that the slaughterers are united in an association?

Are all slaughterers member of the association? Why?

Do you think the association works well?

What do you think about their view points?

Do you believe the association is correctly representing the viewpoint of all slaughterers?

Do you include ideas of the association into your planning and regulation? Which one (not)?

Could you describe your relation with the association management?

Do you personally communicate with the association management?

5. Government's relation with the slaughterers

Do you also directly communicate with the slaughterers of Pondok Rumput? Why is it important?

In what way do you communicate? e.g. Face-to-face, announcements, posters, law enforcement etc.

Do you personally communicate with the slaughterers?

6. Government slaughterhouse in Bubulak

Do the actions of the government slaughterhouse in Bubulak fall under your jurisdiction?

Who's idea was it to build the slaughterhouse? Who manages the government slaughterhouse?

What do you think about the location?

How do you perceive the facilities?

Why do you think the traditional slaughterers of Pondok Rumput did not (yet) move?

Do you believe they will ever move? What incentives would change their minds?

How much would Bogor Kota be able to contribute to this?

7. Alternatives

What are the possible alternatives for the Pondok Rumput slaughterers?

Is the government thinking about creating central waste management? Central cooling system? ...

Who will do the investments?

What reaction do you expect from the slaughterers?

8. Outro

Is there something else you would like to share?

Do you still have some questions for us? On any matter?

Do you have someone in mind we should visit as well? Could we have his/her contact details?

Could you already inform that person we will contact him/her?

May we have your name and telephone number in case we would like to speak to you again?

C. Interview guideline for slaughterers

1. Introduction

Dear Ibu/Bapak... Thank you for giving us the opportunity to speak with you.

We are Vozu and Astrid. Vozu is a student at IPB and I am a student at a Dutch University following a training program at IPB.

CENTRAS – an IPB research institute – is doing a research on the necessary increase of chicken meat supply in Jabodetabek. One of the interesting issues here is the relocation of traditional slaughterers. Vozu and me are working on the interplay between the government and the slaughterers. Therefore we will interview all involved actors. The planning is to be finished by the end of October.

Is there any extra information you would like to have concerning the CENTRAS research or approach?

How much time do you have for this interview?

2. Daily life – task division

How many people work in this TPU? Do they work every day? Are there different work shifts?

What relation do you have with the slaughterers?

What distinct task forces are there? What are their daily activities? What are your tasks?

In what ways do the slaughterers of Pondok Rumput work together?

Is there any competition between the slaughterers of Pondok Rumput?

How do you see the future of the Pondok Rumput slaughterers?

Are you planning to comply with any quality standards? e.g. dirty/clean zone, NKV

How do you see the future of the Pondok Rumput slaughterers: TPU owners and workers?

3. Association

What influence does being member of IWPA have on your activities?

How many slaughterers do you know who are not a member? Why?

Is it a good thing that the slaughterers are united in an association? Is it a good thing that the slaughterers and the sellers both are part of IWPA? Do you think the association works well?

Do you believe the association is correctly representing the point of view of all slaughterers? And the one of the sellers?

What kind of opportunities or advantages does it give to be a member?

What kind of limitations or disadvantages are connected to being a member?

Towards what goal is the association working? How do you see the future of the association?

Do you personally communicate with the association management? Why is this important?

In what way do you communicate? e.g. Face-to-face, announcements, posters, events etc.

4. Government

Could you tell me more about the government plan for chicken slaughter points in Pondok Rumpit?

Are these plans already put into formal regulation and law? Are these accessible and easy to understand?

Are these laws and regulations officially implemented and controlled? By whom are they implemented?

How are the rules implemented? What are the penalties for not acting according to them?

Do you have contact with government officials? In what way?

What do you think about the view points of the government? Do you include ideas of the government into your planning for the future?

5. Government slaughterhouse in Bubulak

Have you ever been in the RPH in Bubulak?

What do you think about the location? How do you perceive the facilities?

Why didn't you move? Do you plan on ever moving? What incentives would change your mind?

Who has an influence on the decision to move or not to move?

6. Alternatives to relocation

What are the possible alternatives for the Pondok Rumpit slaughterers?

Do you believe the slaughterers can work together around a central waste management system, a central cooling system etc.? And if they get help to implement it? What kind of help would you like, e.g. managerial, financial? Who should the help come from?

What reaction do you expect from your fellow slaughterers if they hear about this option?

7. Outro

Is there something else you would like to share?

Do you still have some questions for us? On any matter?

May we have your name and telephone number in case we would like to speak you again?

Annex II: Key informants

A. Region level government officers

Agricultural department: Head, former head and staff of the department

Spatial planning department: Staff of the department

B. City level government officers

Agricultural department: Head and former head of the department; head and staff of the animal production division; head and staff of the technical division

Sewage and waste management department

Spatial planning department: Head and staff of the department

License and investment department: Head and staff of the department

City assets and finance department: Head and staff of the department

C. Lower level (Kesbangpol) government officers

Secretary and staff of the Kecamatan

Head and secretary of the Kelurahan

Head of RW 002, 008 and RW 011

D. IWPA management

Head of IWPA and his wife

Secretary of IWPA

E. City Council members and staff

Vice- mayor of Bogor

Head, vice- head and Staff of Commission B

F. Staff of the Dutch- Indonesia project

Head of the project team

Wageningen University lecturers and a PhD- student participating in the project

Bogor University lecturers and lower level staff members participating in the project

G. Inhabitants of Pondok Rumpit

Slaughterers: carcass sellers, TPU-workers, TPU-owner, female family members etc.

Neighbours of slaughterers: head of LPM, government officers, food stall owners, retired women etc.

H. Inhabitants of Bogor

People met on public transport, students, colleagues at CENTRAS, expats, Indonesian friends etc.

The process of fitting: Practices and regulation in Pondok Rumpit

Questionnaire on

Organisations: CENTRAS, Bogor Agricultural University (IND)
KTI, Wageningen University (NL)

Responsible: Astrid Vangerven – Telp.: 0813 1118 1941

All text in italics is meant for the interviewer. Please do not read it out loud to the interviewee.

Section A : Interview

A1. Date of the interview :

A2. Duration of the interview :

43. Interviewer:

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|-------|--|--|
| | | / | | | /2015 | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|-------|--|--|

Section B : Respondent

31. Full name :

82. Gender: 0 Man [1] 0 Woman [2]

33. Age:

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|

 years old

34. Living area:

If 1, go to question B5
If 2, go to question B6

35. How long have you been living in Pondok Rumpit :

0 months [1]
0 years [2]

336. Where were you born?

37. Are you married? ?

If yes, go to question B8
If no, go to question B12

38. Does your partner work with/for a TPU? 0 Yes [1] 0 No [2]

If yes, go to question B9
If no, go to question B10

Code (encircle):
1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = undecided
4 = agree
5 = strongly agree

2

Bogor, autumn 2015

Respondent Identification Number

G'14. Why will you move?

0 Forced by the government [1]

0 Forced by the IWPA [2]

0 Forced by family [3]

0 Forced in another way [4] :

0 Because I want to move my business [5]

If < 5, go to question G'16

If = 5, go to question G'15

G'15. Why do you want to move your business outside Pondok Rumpuk?

First column: 1 = important, empty = not important

Second column: 1 = most important, 2 = second most important, 3 = third most important

I want to go bigger to increase hygiene [1]

I want to go bigger to increase capacity [2]

The IWPA said it would be better [3]

I don't want trouble with the government [4]

I don't want to disturb the neighbours [5]

Other [6] :

G'16. By what year do you think you will move?

G'17. Where would you move your business to?

0 RPH Bubulak [1]

0 Elsewhere [2] :

G'18. Why do you want to move to RPH Bubulak?

If 1, go to question G'18

If 2, go to question G'19

G'19. Do you yourself have the financial means to buy the needed land and build the facilities?

0 Yes [1]

0 No [2]

G'10. Where do you think you will get the financial means (multiple answers possible)?

0 From family [1]

0 From a friend [2]

0 From the IWPA [3]

0 From the government [4]

0 From a bank loan [5]

0 Elsewhere [6] :

G'11. If relocation to RPH Bubulak was ordered, what would you do?

0 Stay in my house and quit my business [1]

0 Stay in my house and do the slaughtering in RPH Bubulak [2]

0 Move (house and business) to Bubulak [3]

0 Move the business somewhere outside Bogor Kota [4]

0 Move (house and business) somewhere outside Bogor Kota [5]

0 It depends on what the other slaughterers would do [6]

0 Other [8] :

G'12. If relocation to RPH Bubulak was ordered, would there be unrest in Pondok Rumpuk?

0 Yes [1]

0 No [2]

G'13. How serious would it be (multiple answers poss.)?

0 Written complaints to the government [1]

0 Complaints in the media [2]

0 General strike [3]

0 Demonstrations in the streets in Kota Bogor [4]

0 Other [5] :

G'14. Why will you move?

0 Forced by the government [1]

0 Forced by the IWPA [2]

0 Forced by family [3]

0 Forced in another way [4] :

0 Because I want to move my business [5]

G'15. Why do you want to move your business outside Pondok Rumpuk?

First column: 1 = important, empty = not important

Second column: 1 = most important, 2 = second most important, 3 = third most important, empty = others

There will be more trainings from the government [1]

There will be more financial help from the government [2]

There will be more managerial help from the government [3]

I believe it is the only option within Bogor Kota [4]

I don't want to disturb any neighbours [5]

I think the facilities are good [6]

The IWPA said it would be better [7]

I prefer to stay close to the other slaughterers [8]

Other [9] :

End of the survey, thank the respondent for his/her participation, give the present!

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Section G²: Future – if respondent is not a TPU owner

B1. Full name of the respondent :

G21. Why did none of the TPU move to RPH Bubulak?

Second column: 1 = most important, 2 = second most important, 3 = third most important

| | |
|--|---|
| It is too far from the market [1] | TPU owners don't think it's necessary to listen to the government [8] |
| It is too far from Pondok Rumpat [2] | IMPA said it is better to stay here [9] |
| Owners want to live close to their TPU [3] | The TPU owners' families don't want to live in Bubulak [10] |
| The current facilities are not big enough [4] | TPU owners are afraid to lose freedom [11] |
| It is too expensive due to the retribution [5] | TPU owners think the government will want to control everything [12] |
| There's no place for the workers to live [6] | Other [13] : |
| TPU owners want to own the land and facilities [7] | |

G22. Do you think the TPU will ever move outside Pondok Rumpu?

0 Yes [1] 0 No [2]

G²3. Why will they move?

- 00 Forced by the government [1]
00 Forced by the IWPA [2]
00 Forced by family [3]
00 Forced in another way [4] : _____
00 Because the owners eventually

If < 5 , go to question G²5
If $= 5$, go to question G²4

G24. Why do you think TPU owners will want to move their business outside Pondok Rumpun?

First column: 1 = important, empty = not important

Second column: 1 = most important, 2 = second most important, 3 = third most important, empty = others not important, empty = not important.

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| | | | | | To go bigger to increase hygiene [1] |
| | | | | | To go bigger to increase capacity [2] |
| | | | | | The IWPA said it would be better [3] |
| | | | | | They don't want trouble with the government [4] |
| | | | | | They don't want to disturb the neighbours [5] |
| | | | | | Other [6] : |

G3-5. If the TPU you work for/with would move outside PR, would you follow?

0 Yes [1] 0 No [2]

If yes, go to question G²:6
If no, go to question G²:7

G²6. Why would you follow the TPU you work for/with?

- 0 I want to live close to my job [1]
0 The TPU I work for will ask me to move [2]
0 Other [3] :

Please go to question G²9

G27. Would still keep on working for the TPU?

0 Yes [1] 0 No [2]

G²8. Why don't you want to move outside Pondok Rumpun?

- 0 I want to live close to my family [1]
0 I don't want to go looking for another place [2]
0 I don't mind the daily commuting [3]
0 My family doesn't want to move [4]
0 Other [5] :

G³9. If relocation to RPH Bubulak was ordered, would there be unrest in Pondok Rumpit?

0 Yes [1]
0 No [2]

If yes, go to question G'10

If no, end of the survey, thank the respondent for his/her participation, give the present

G²10. How serious would it be (multiple answers poss.)?

- ☐ Written complains to the government [1]
- ☐ Complains in the media [2]
- ☐ General strike [3]
- ☐ Demonstrations in the streets in Kota Bogor [4]
- ☐ Other [5] :

Annex IV: Coding Tree

Inhabitants of Pondok Rumput



National Government



Relocation

History

Culture

Annex V: Supply and demand characteristics influencing a dynamic fit (Ansari et al., 2010)

| | | Technical characteristics | Cultural characteristics | Political characteristics |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Adopter side: Existing community | Supply side: New practice | Technological foundation and characteristics | Cultural characteristics (e.g. cultural values and meaning structures) | Normative claims, political 'loadings', controversial associations |
| | Individual practices | Background, experience, education, technical orientation | Beliefs, values, preferences about appropriateness | Interests, relative power, agenda of faction colleagues |
| | Organised practices | Absorptive capacity, technological base, present technological sophistication, | Organizational culture (e.g. innovation inclined, values) | (In)Formal power structure, resource dependency, dominant coalitions |
| | External influences | Standards, financial and regulatory institutions, infrastructure, | Norms and beliefs of regional clusters and icons, macrocultural discourse | Union agreements, political settlements, regulations, legal system, freedom |

Annex VI: Time line with instructive events on broiler slaughtering in Pondok Rumput

