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# GENDER AND TOURISM IN AN INDONESIAN VILLAGE

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**Abstract:** This paper examines tourism in Pangandaran, a traditional Javanese fishing village. It uses a gender analysis approach to gender roles and relationships, such as employment patterns, income, family structure and functions, and child-rearing. Tourism has had both positive and negative impacts; however, these vary between local and non-local people, and among socioeconomic classes. Moreover, there have been no development programs or projects aimed at improving the quality of life of women. These changes are occurring with little regard to gender roles and relations and to the social, cultural, and economic improvement of that quality of life (i.e., development), with the exception of increased income. **Keywords:** tourism, Indonesia, gender analysis, fishing village.

**Résumé:** Une analyse des rôles masculins et féminins dans le tourisme en Indonésie. Cet article examine le tourisme à Pangandaran, un village de pêche traditionnel à Java, du point de vue des rôles des hommes et des femmes, par exemple dans l'emploi, revenus et structures familiales. Le tourisme a eu des impacts positifs et négatifs; pourtant, ces impacts varient entre les gens du pays et les gens d'ailleurs et entre les classes socio-économiques. En plus, il n'y a pas eu de programmes de développement, ni de projets pour améliorer la qualité de vie pour les femmes. Les changements se présentent avec peu d'égard pour les rôles masculins et féminins ou pour l'amélioration sociale, culturelle et économique (c'est-à-dire le développement), à part l'augmentation des revenus. **Mots-clés:** tourisme, Indonésie, analyse des rôles masculins et féminins, village de pêche.

## INTRODUCTION

In 1988, Indonesia was still a relatively minor tourism destination in worldwide, Pacific, and Southeast Asian tourism, with approximately 1.2 million international tourist arrivals (or about 0.3% of world, 3.6% of Pacific, and 10% of Southeast Asia's tourism share). However, Indonesian tourism is undergoing dramatic change. There is evidence to suggest that the official goal of 2.5 million tourist arrivals by 1994 may be exceeded. Tourism is now the nation's third largest industry (following petroleum and mining) and the third largest foreign exchange earner among the non-oil sectors, following wood and textile products, earning US\$1.8B in 1990. Significantly, the govern-

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ment of Indonesia expects tourism to be the second largest foreign exchange earner by 1994. With the volatility in the petroleum industry, the tourism sector is being officially encouraged by the government as a major source of export earnings, which are estimated to surpass US\$3 billion by 1994 (Wilkinson and Gunawan 1992).

These figures, however, refer only to international tourism. There is very little research on domestic tourism, despite the fact that Indonesia's 179 million people have a long tradition of travel for family and religious reasons, which is being compounded by a growing trend for recreational trips bolstered by an expanding economy. Very little research, moreover, has focused on the environmental impacts of either international or domestic tourism in Indonesia, in general, or on tourism's implications for gender roles and relations, in particular. A notable exception is Ariani and Gregory (1992) who focus on the impact of tourism on gender roles in Bali. While many of their findings parallel those of this study, the context is very different, both socially and economically. Bali is largely Hindu, while the rest of Indonesia is mainly Moslem; it is a world-famous tourist destination, with its artistic and cultural heritage attracting half of the country's foreign tourists; and its tourism facilities include an international airport, a major handicrafts industry, and accommodations ranging from homestays to five-star multinational corporation hotels. While Bali is important in the Indonesian tourism sector, its uniqueness does not reflect the situation in other parts of the country.

This paper, therefore, focuses on the village of Pangandaran, a traditional fishing village in the province of West Java on the south coast of Java (population of 100 million), about eight hours drive from Jakarta (9.5 million) and five hours drive from Bandung (2.5 million), Indonesia's two largest cities. The village, which has become a major destination for mainly domestic tourists and, to a much lesser extent, foreign "travelers," has one of the few attractive beaches on Java and is adjacent to a national park. Some of the impacts of tourism are obvious and easily documented: fishing boats transporting tourists to the park, crowded beaches, tourist market stalls, small hotels and restaurants (usually owned by non-local Indonesians), etc. In the peak tourism seasons, daily life is clearly not that of a traditional fishing village.

The social impacts, however, are less obvious and more difficult to measure, particularly in terms of gender roles and relations, the major focus of this research. In-depth qualitative research indicates that significant changes have occurred in recent years in a number of areas, including employment patterns, income, family structure and functions, and child-rearing. But it is difficult to provide "measures" of these changes and to separate out the effect of tourism from other changes in Indonesian society, including education and communications.

## GENDER AND TOURISM

Although tourism is a topic of growing concern in the social sciences, there is little literature related to the relationship between tourism and gender. Several recent overviews (Bowlby, Lewis, McDowell and

Foord 1989; McDowell 1989; Rose 1993) of gender and geography, for example, make no mention of tourism. There are, of course, exceptions (Swain 1989; Wood 1993), but most focus on what has been called "sex tourism" (Holden, Horlemann and Pfafflin 1983; Truong 1990). That this latter issue focuses on a real and regrettable situation plaguing the developing world in particular highlights another lacuna—i.e., the relationship between gender and tourism in the developing world.

There are at least two possible reasons for this lack of literature. First, the construction of knowledge about tourism might be basically conducted like other disciplines, that is, not free from gender bias (Barnett 1988), affected by gender conceptions in philosophical and scientific thought (Frese and Coggeshall 1991:xiii), and/or concerned with the masculine character of the "hard" sciences (Keller 1985:77). Second, tourism, gender, and development may still be in their infancy as scientific bodies of knowledge and, with time, there may be greater realization that, in the field of development, "gender is . . . [an] arena of cultural politics closely bound up with tourism" (Wood 1993:73).

### *Gender Analysis and Development*

In modern Western terms, "gender" is a social construct (Weaver, Thompson and Newton 1991) used to designate psychological, social, and cultural aspects of maleness and femaleness (Kessler and McKenna 1978), as compared to "sex" which is biologically-determined. Since gender is socially constructed, its meaning will vary from society to society and will change over time. For example, in the formal Indonesian language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, there is no word for "gender." Sex differences distinguish between *perempuan* and *laki-laki* (women and men). There are no words for "female" and "male," although words for *feminin* and *maskulin* (feminine and masculine) have been adopted recently from European languages to describe persons having feminine and masculine characters, respectively. Language alone, however, does not explain the lack of interest in Indonesia until recently of gender issues; equally important are the Indonesian culture and the current under-developed state of the social sciences in Indonesia.

Weaver et al (1991) argue that any cultural world is the expression of both male and female experiences and that any full understanding of human society and any possible program for social change (as is presupposed by the view of "development" taken here, i.e., that it must be considered in a societal context as a process that tends toward social, cultural, and economic improvement of the quality of life) will have to incorporate the thoughts, activities, and experiences of the female, which does not simply mean women. This call to remove male bias from both science and social change is usually raised by feminists (persons who have committed themselves to feminism). There are many definitions of feminism, each of them having its own particular agenda and related activities. One definition of feminism as it relates to gender derives from the words of several women from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka:

Feminism is an awareness of women's oppression and exploitation in society, at work and within the family, and conscious action by women and men to change this situation (Bhasin and Khan 1988:2).

Sen and Grown provide another definition:

Feminism has as its unshakable core a commitment to breaking down the structures of gender subordination and a vision for women as full and equal participants with men at all levels of societal life (1987:79).

These two definitions of feminism indicate the commitment to "social legitimacy" which moves closer toward expressing the ideal of an unbiased reality. According to most feminist theory, the common gender issue is female subordination, although relations of power between men and women may be experienced and expressed in quite different ways in different places and at different times. Spatial variations in the construction of gender are considered at several scales of analysis: from continental patterns, through national and regional variations, to the relationships of power between men and women at the household level.

The degree of discrimination against women is experienced differently according to race, class, and the nation's place in the international economic order (Steady 1981; Treiman and Hartmann 1981). In every country, the jobs done predominantly by women are the least well paid and have the lowest status (Tinker 1990). Clearly, female and male roles are neither equal nor fixed; they differ from place to place and this spatial variation is most marked in developing countries. The problem may be accentuated with the penetration of capitalism, which often leads to the modernization and restructuring of traditional economies and increases the disadvantages suffered by women as the modern sector takes over many of the economic activities (e.g., food processing, the making of clothes) that had long been the means by which women supported themselves and their family. One result is increased pressure for women to find alternative paid employment outside traditional activities.

The household is likely to offer initial resistance to female induction into the labor force in order to conserve the benefits that the household gains from its non-working female members. When women do go out to work, however, they can (with difficulty) use the household as a supportive resource. Their success is likely to depend on many factors: the accessibility of the household (difficult for a migrant worker or when the household is at a distance from the place of work), the contribution that their income makes to family welfare, the availability of outside support structures, etc. (Phongpaichit 1988).

One way to survive is represented by the growing number of women engaged in the informal sector, in which women work as food producers, traders, home-based workers, domestic workers, recyclers of waste, prostitutes, and drug traffickers—anything to earn an income to fulfil their family's needs. Such work, however, places a double or even triple burden of work on women as they deal with housework, childcare, and food production, in addition to paid employment. Everywhere, women work longer hours than men (Tinker 1990). How

women deal with this declining status, heavier work burdens, and growing impoverishment is crucial to the success of development in developing countries.

There is a general agreement that the process of development can benefit women only if and when it addresses this multiple burden of production and reproduction (Afshar 1991). Antrobus (1992), however, argues that women's multiple roles place them in the best position to balance social, cultural, ecological, and political goals with economic growth, because women are not confused about the fact that the purpose of economic activity is to satisfy human/social needs. Their participation in the process of decision-making would also assist in building the kind of organization that could help to sustain development. In effect, what women need is an integrated developmental approach; unfortunately, what government offers is segmented administrative units with differing responsibility and little interest in collaboration in the interests of women (Mahendale 1991).

The objective of feminism not only includes equity, but also liberation of women and men from systems of injustice. Feminism is not an assault on men *per se*, but an attack on the system which requires that the injustices which continue to be committed are intimately related to the patriarchal images of women as passive, dependent, and inferior (Maguire 1984). As a result, feminism has become a distinct and legitimate way of understanding social phenomena, helping to redefine many approaches to science. For example, in the area of feminist anthropology, Moore states that:

Feminist anthropology is more than the study of women. It is the study of gender, of the interrelation between women and men, and of the role of gender in structuring human societies, their history, ideologies, economic systems and political structure (1988:7).

It is argued here that a feminist approach to the study of tourism is equally appropriate. As defined above, tourism exists within a social, historical, ideological, economic, geographical, and political context.

Given that feminist theory has led to a particular understanding of gender, it is not surprising that most gender-related research is being conducted by women who are working within feminist research frameworks (Barnett 1988) and that the development of "gender analysis" research has focused primarily on women. A gender analysis framework

. . . is, in essence, a means of making visible what women do and why. It is a process of building a gender-differentiated data base on activities, access to resources, and control over resources, and on factors influencing these three issues, in a way that facilitates translation into project or policy terms (Rao, Anderson and Overholt 1991: 13).

As Moffat and Bayless (1990) note, however, the study of gender, in general, and of gender and development, in particular, does not focus only on women, but also on the relationships between women and

men. Understanding the structure and dynamics of gender relations is central to the analysis of social organization and social progress.

When examining development in developing countries, a gender analysis framework is particularly appropriate in order to give "visibility" to women's roles in development (Overholt, Anderson, Cloud and Austin 1985) given that most development policies and projects result in severe negative impacts on the lives of poor women and their families (Rao et al 1991:2). Moreover, such policies and large-scale projects often fail to meet their goals when women's labor contributions at the household and project levels are overlooked, their need for economic incentives are not understood, and resources relevant to their productive work are misdirected to men (Rao 1991). With exceptions, such as Boserup's (1970) penetrating analysis of women's roles as economic producers, the visibility of women in the development process has not been strong until about the last decade, largely due to the pervading view that development affected men and women in the same way. Historical misconceptions about gender, which viewed women as dependents, perceived the development of policies in ways that marginalized women; with the understanding of this fallacy came the recognition by analysts, researchers, and development planners that the development process affected women and men differentially (Momsen 1991). This changing view has been evidenced in Indonesia by the formation of a national ministry dealing with women's affairs; however, recognition of the growing importance of tourism has been so recent that it has demonstrated little interest in tourism issues.

This paper, then, describes research that uses a gender analysis framework to examine the impact of tourism development on gender roles and relations in a traditional society in a developing country. Within a national policy context that encourages both domestic and international tourism as a tool for regional development and foreign exchange earnings, tourism development is quickly changing life in Pangandaran, a small fishing village on the south coast of Java. To date, there has been very little research in Indonesia on these impacts of tourism. This research, therefore, serves both a ground-breaking role in attempting to heighten governmental and academic awareness of the study of both tourism and gender, but also as a baseline study in anticipation of the even more dramatic impacts of a possible large-scale tourism development in the village which will be fundamentally different from the small-scale, cumulative, indigenous developments that have characterized tourism in the village to date.

### *Research Method*

In a more broadly-based study, Harris and Nelson (1993) examine the abiotic, biotic, and cultural impacts of tourism on the village of Pangandaran. While focusing on the overall nature of tourism and its role in the sustainable development of Pangandaran, they note that many of the detailed social and economic aspects of the changing culture of the village (e.g., "the division of labor within the household and the type of training skills whether traditional or formal" [Harris and Nelson 1993:190]) can only be understood through interviews with

local people. This research, therefore, is an attempt to begin the process of understanding the dynamic situation at the level of the individual villager, particularly that of the women in terms of the relationship between tourism and gender roles and relations.

In addition to assisting Harris and Nelson in their research, one of the authors had conducted research in Pangandaran on three earlier occasions on housing, the fishing industry, and tourism. For this research, having undertaken preliminary fieldwork with the other author in 1991, she undertook three months of fieldwork in the village in 1992, supported by data sources from various institutions and interviews with ten government officials in the capitals of the *kabupaten* (district): Ciamis; *provinsi* (province): Bandung; and *negara* (country): Jakarta.

An open-ended list of questions was developed through combining Rao et al's (1991:9-20) "gender analysis framework" with White's (1991:35-38) "check list on integration of women's issues in the research project" within the context of tourism issues. A qualitative approach was adopted, given the nature of the problem being examined and the social setting which was not conducive to survey research. Respondents were selected either purposefully, because of their roles in the village (village head, village doctor, cooperative leader, etc.), or incrementally through personal contacts. An attempt was made to interview persons involved in all aspects of village life and tourism. Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, Sundanese, and Javanese languages.

### *The Setting*

The *kecamatan* (subdistrict) of Pangandaran includes several *desa* (villages), of which Pangandaran village is the largest, with 1,675 households and a population of 7,400 in an area of 5,000 hectares. It is located on a sandy tombolo linking the rainforested Tamul National Park and Nature Reserve to the mainland of southern Java. The East Beach has dangerous rip currents and is used mainly by fishers to haul out their boats and make repairs to equipment and nets. The safer West Beach is both the major site for tourist activities and an area for fishing activities, including the hauling of nets set by canoes offshore onto shore — in itself a tourism attraction.

The village includes a number of communities that have been traditionally engaged in fishing, shrimp farming, coconut harvesting and processing, other forms of agriculture, and small-scale retail activities. Signs of modernization are now found throughout the village: new schools; the *Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat* (Community Health Center); the central telephone and communications plant; the *Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Daerah* (Local Legal Assistance Institution), part of a national NGO; and the *Cinema Nanjung 1* (which shows Hollywood, Indian, Mandarin, and Indonesian movies), the *Lembaga Pendidikan Komputer* (Computer Education Institute), *Kantor Penyuluh Tenaga Kerja* (Employment Agent Office), all recent facilities, privately-owned by non-local people.

The culture of Pangandaran is a mixture of Sundanese and Javanese

traditions and people. With the primary culture of West Java being *Sunda*, the indigenous people in the village are Sundanese, with a lifestyle based on fishing and farming. However, they now represent only about 40% of the village population. The majority of the villagers are currently Javanese, who have come within the last generation from the nearby province of Central Java, with its predominantly *Jawa* culture. They are involved in a wide variety of occupations, including fishing and service occupations related to tourism. While 98% of the population is Islamic, the culture of the village is quite eclectic, with a tendency towards a synthetic tradition. For example, the ancestral Fishers' Sacrifice Day is celebrated every year in honor of *Nyai Loro Kidul*, the goddess of the South Java Sea. Marriages outside of the Islamic religion or across races are few but tolerated, and both religious and civil divorces are possible.

When this mix of cultures is combined with the impacts of tourism, a social pattern quite different from other parts of Indonesia emerges. In Bali, for example, society is stratified according to the four castes of the Hindu religion. In the rest of West Java, stratification is based on levels of the Javanese language—a function of the former sultanate system and ancestral lineage. In Pangandaran, however, there is a mix of Sundanese, Javanese, metropolitan, and foreign culture that is increasingly being driven by tourism. Social stratification is now economically-based, cutting across cultural lines: the upper class consists of local and non-local people involved in the formal sector, many, for example, owning formal tourist accommodations and restaurants; the middle class consists of local and non-local professionals such as government officials, teachers, and workers in the formal sector, many of whose family members are also involved in such activities as informal tourist accommodations; and the lower class—the largest and poorest class—includes laborers and workers in the informal sector, much of which is tourist-oriented.

Local census data categorize the 3,881 people registered as having occupations: 38.8% are fishers, 14.4% traders/merchants, 11.5% civil servants, 10.8% farmers, 6.8% retired, 6.4% laborers, 2.4% handicraft, and 1.6% small industry. (Tourist-related employment cannot be calculated from the data in these categories.) While data are not kept on gender and occupations, observation suggests that about 30% of those registered as employed (i.e., in the formal sector) are women. Most households have traditionally had more than one source of income. For example, one upper-class family includes the husband who is a landlord and the wife a midwife; in a middle-class family, the husband is a local government official and the wife manages a fishing canoe operated by hired labor and also runs a small shop in the house; in a lower-class family, the husband is a hired laborer in a fishing canoe and operates a *becak* (three-wheel pedicab), the wife is a fish-seller in the market, and the son helps with the canoe.

While data on incomes are not recorded, most of the village's inhabitants can be regarded as poor. In her earlier research, one of the authors calculated that a (non-boat owning) fishing family had an annual income (not including supplementary income from other informal sector activities) of approximately Rp1,872,000 (US\$1,100), or



Rp5,200 (US\$3) per day in 1989; these figures are probably quite representative of the incomes of lower-class families.

Islamic norms concerning such matters as community and family values, patriarchy, marriage, and respect of elders, tend to dominate both those people who complete all religious obligations (including those, mainly upper-class Sundanese, who are *Haji*, having undergone a pilgrimage to Mecca) and those who are *abangan*, that is, are registered as being Islamic but do not practice all religious rituals. For example, marriage is almost universal, although observation suggests that there are many divorced women of all classes in the village and there seems little pressure for them to re-marry; however, re-marriage for divorced men appears to be the norm. Both Sundanese and Javanese cultures emphasize patriarchy, with the common understanding that men are expected to be the leaders of the families, although not necessarily the largest income earners. Speaking of Javanese women in general, Wolf notes that:

Javanese women do make some economic decisions about their labor, their tiny earned income, and, occasionally household consumption; however, such decision making must not be confused with Western conceptions of status or power. Rural Javanese women may be strong and self-sufficient, but these qualities do not necessarily indicate they have power (1992:66).

In all classes, women bear the responsibilities for child welfare, care, and education. In households with children, there is an average of 2.7 children; family planning advice is readily available because of Indonesia's extensive national program of family planning. Contraception is used by nearly all women of child-bearing age.

Despite this patriarchal structure, Pangandaran has a tradition of women (albeit mainly of the middle and upper classes) having a significant role in the social system. More so than the rest of rural Java where women are usually only involved in primary production, women are involved in the village's economy as landladies, middle-women, and sellers. They are also involved politically, with, for example, a woman being elected in 1989 as the *kepala desa* (village head). The village doctor and head of the community health center is a woman. It was expected, therefore, that there would be at least some indications in the village of active development programs and projects aimed at women; however, this did not prove to be the case.

#### *Tourism in Pangandaran and its Impacts*

The village is governed by an elected *kepala desa*, who then selects a village council, usually based on their experience with village matters. Numerous government agencies, mostly at the district and national levels, however, control major developments in the village, e.g., *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah* (Regional Planning and Development Board), *Dinas Pariwisata Daerah* (District Branch of the National Tourism Department), *Dinas Pekerjaan Umum* (District Branch of the National Public Works Department), and *Dinas Pendapatan Daerah* (Dis-

trict Office of Regional/District Income). There are also private sector associations which reinforce tourism development, e.g., *Kelompok Penggerak Pariwisata* (Tourism Movement Group), and *Persatuan Hotel dan Restoran Indonesia* (Association of Indonesian Hotels and Restaurants). There are few political mechanisms for local involvement in tourism planning or policy.

The earliest formal records of tourism in Pangandaran date to 1963, although older respondents claim that there were tourists before then. Data are not available to describe in detail village life at that time to provide a comparison with current patterns.

According to records kept by officials at the village toll gate, there were 692,076 tourists during April 1991–March 1992; only 13,703 (1.98%) were foreign tourists. Most domestic tourists come from Bandung (60%) and Jakarta (10%), followed by other cities in West and Central Java. The major origins of foreign tourists are the Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom, Switzerland, France, United States, and Australia. Domestic tourists stay for shorter periods of time (an average of two days) than foreign tourists (five days). No data are available on either expenditures or the gender of tourists. Observation suggests that domestic tourists tend to travel in families or groups, with the exception of some individual males; foreign tourists travel as husband–wife pairs or small groups, and individual females are not uncommon. Tourism occurs throughout the year, with two peaks: *Idhul Fitri*, the holiest day in Islam, and the New Year holiday. *Idhul Fitri* occurs on the first and second day of *Shyawal*, the month following *Ramadan* (fasting) month. Because the Islamic calendar is lunar, it always moves forward 11 calendar days from the year before. When *Idhul Fitri* fell on April 18, 1991, tourism reached an annual peak of 178,782 visitors for April.

Tourism has opened up new employment opportunities for men and women in both the formal and the informal sectors. Informal sector activities are particularly attractive to lower-class people for a number of reasons: they usually do not require special skills or education; they need little capital investment; they can be undertaken as a secondary occupation in addition to routine occupations; and they do not require government permits or follow government regulations. All of these reasons make it relatively easy for women to enter the informal sector. This changing pattern is in contrast to traditional employment opportunities in the village and the province. For example, the Central Bureau of Statistics (1991) reports that women in West Java are mostly occupied in the agricultural sector or other primary sectors and that they have little service-related employment.

The primary formal tourism sector activities involve accommodation and restaurants, with most such establishments being owned by non-local men and women from Bandung and other nearby cities (Permata 1991), because of the large capital outlays required. In turn, they employ both men and women as managers, cleaners, receptionists, cooks, etc., most of whom are not local people because of the special skills required. (Most local adults have less than a junior high school education.) Wages are the same for men and women and are dependent on experience and skill. Local people may be hired as temporary workers at peak times for unskilled tasks at low daily wage rates.

Informal accommodations (homestays, cottages, house rentals) are usually owned by local people and operated by them or their extended family. Many of the Sundanese landlords/ladies now involved in renting out tourist accommodations enter the business by obtaining initial capital from selling some of their land to either people from Jakarta or Bandung, or to Javanese being attracted to the village by the potential for tourism. The manager is usually the wife, as it is a second source of income for the family with the husband working at another job. During peak tourist season, almost all of the fishery households in the village rent out rooms, including some who rent out their entire house and then stay in a room not needed by the tourists, usually near the kitchen.

The fishing industry provides the most opportunity for change and involves both formal and informal sectors. There is a mixed pattern of the gender division of labor involved in fishing. For example, men are involved in three different kinds of fishing activities: owners of canoes and equipment who hire laborers to operate them; actual fishers who own and operate canoes and equipment; and fisher-laborers who are hired to operate canoes and equipment. By tradition, however, women who are actual fishers do not go out to sea, but work onshore hauling in nets; the reasons given relate to the more strenuous nature of sea fishing and the real danger that both the husband and wife in a fishing team might die at sea in a storm on the dangerous and unpredictable South Java Sea, leaving children as orphans. Hauling in the nets, however, involves longer working hours, a lower catch from the shallow foreshore, and less income for the women. Much more so than men, women are also involved in being sellers in the local fish market, formal middle-women buying fish at auction for reselling beyond the village, and informal middle-women buying fish directly from other fishers (although this is illegal).

In the peak tourist season (which may conflict with the highly-seasonal fishing productivity and which is complicated by the moving dates for *Idhul Fitri*), many fishing canoe owners switch their boats from fishing to conveying tourists to the game park, a much more remunerative activity than fishing; for the longest trip, lasting several hours, the price was Rp40,000 (US\$21) in 1992. This is usually done in collaboration with local guides. There are 12 formal guides, all men, all with at least high school education, and all belonging to a national organization of guides. At peak seasons, there are also about 40 informal guides, about five of whom are women. Women being involved in guiding is not regarded favorably by villagers, the connotation being that such women are "prostitutes" interested in contacting foreign tourists.

This patriarchal attitude is also evident in the transportation sector. With a few exceptions involving cars or minibuses, women are rarely involved in transportation activities; there are no women *becak* drivers. In addition to the "prostitute" argument, there seems to be a perception that the work is "too hard for women."

While tourism is not always the reason for the occurrence of prostitution, there are four *lokalisasi* (enclaves) of female prostitutes in Pangandaran, all close to tourism activity areas. Because it is viewed as an illegal and immoral activity, officials claim that the women do not

belong to the village; however, interviews with the brothel owners confirm that some of the women are local. They are joined by prostitutes from other areas in West Java and Central Java at peak tourism seasons. The clientele of the brothels is domestic, but there is evidence of foreign tourists contacting prostitutes at night on the West Beach. While it is denied by officials, there are also male prostitutes, but they do not work at particular sites.

The rental of inner-tubes as swimming floats on weekends, holidays, and peak seasons is normally a local family business, with the husband and wife working in shifts. They usually have other jobs; for example, one woman with a rental stall is also the beach lifeguard and as well has a rice field.

Tourism results in tremendous growth in informal trading activities during peak times. For example, on December 12, 1990 (an ordinary working day), 39 people were counted as being involved in informal trading on the West Beach Pangandaran; on December 25 (a major tourist day), there were 579 (Permata 1991). Many are women, including those normally involved in selling fish, who turn to informal tourism businesses, mainly selling food or fruit at these peak times. There are many types of trading—small shops, stalls, mobile traders (using shoulder poles, push-carts, carrying basket/basin)—most of which involve food and drink products, although there are also souvenirs, T-shirts, beach-related items, and children's toys. With the exception of bread retailing (apparently because selling bread is supposed to involve walking long distances), the preparation and selling of food is female-dominated. While the reasons are unclear other than tradition, women do not use shoulder poles or push-carts. Frequently, the women working in the shops or stalls have their older children playing near them.

Tourism does not appear to affect marriage life and values directly. The major impact seems to be that wives in lower-class families can now earn more income so that they can have more control over the family's economic decisions, but this employment also means that they have to spend more time for family survival. In the high tourism season and particularly when both parents are involved in tourism activities, it also means changes in traditional child-rearing patterns (although generally men have little involvement in regular child-rearing, a pattern that does not appear to be adapting to the altered occupational status of wives). Grandparents (particularly grandmothers), older children, or other relatives then have to tend the young children, or the children are brought to the vending stalls or other business on the West Beach or the craft market. The latter practice also seems to be resulting in young children becoming involved in selling and making handicrafts or helping to serve food in their parents' stalls.

Some aspects of tourism have resulted in local discontent. For example, the Pangandaran Kite Festival—an international event that is organized by officials from the district and provincial governments—includes kite decorating and speed competitions, sports, a canoe decorating competition, and a “Miss and Mister Pangandaran Beach” contest. The latter has elicited disapproval from upper- and middle-class women as being culturally inappropriate. Similarly, the opening of a

discotheque (owned by people from Bandung) in 1992 evoked letters of protest to newspapers and the district government, because it replaced the *Gedung Kesenian* (Art Performance Building) and was seen as not being compatible with local values; it appears that the patrons tend to be more local people than tourists.

### *The Future*

Despite all of these changes and despite the growing number of tourists, Pangandaran still has the feel of being a village—but perhaps not for long. The village has been identified by the national government as the first priority for tourism development in southern West Java (BAPPEDA 1988). There is evidence that the scale of tourism development is about to accelerate—as a result of the country's top-down decision-making process, rather than through local involvement in development planning. In 1991, an article in the *Jakarta Post* (July 12) announced government plans to make Pangandaran into “a second Bali” despite “local protests.”

There are signs of massive land ownership changes that herald major developments. Despite the fact that *kepala desa* had no local political mandate to do so, she recently sold *tanah desa* (village land) on the East Beach to entrepreneurs from Jakarta who want to build a five-star hotel. This open field area has traditionally been used for cattle grazing, village festivals, sports, and fishing boat and net repair. In January 1991, 4,000 local people protested when the *Bupati Ciamis* (Head of Ciamis District) announced a plan to remove the *Talanca*, the village cemetery, to use the land for tourism facilities. The plan was dropped when a local female leader emerged and led the protesters to collect funds to enclose the cemetery with a wall to protect and preserve it. Construction has begun on a three-star hotel close to a new entrance and toll gate to the West Beach, and an airport and an enclave of international-standard tourism facilities in a village west of Pangandaran, to be called the Pangandaran Tourism Development Center. Construction of a golf course has also been proposed. Concerns are being expressed about the pressures that such developments would place on already-strained supplies of skilled personnel, services (e.g., water, sewer, electricity, roads, public transportation, housing for additional non-local workers) and the environment (e.g., groundwater, the nature reserve, loss of agricultural lands).

Such dramatic changes will have the greatest effect on lower-class people—the poor. Many of them live on and cultivate household crops on *tanah negara* (the nation's land) which appears slated for tourism development. They face the possibility of being displaced from their homes and losing employment in their informal sector jobs as the tourism product moves up-scale and creates demands for higher standards of facilities and services. (Indeed, some changes to roads and village entrances have already displaced some lower-class people, notably laborers living in fishing communities on *tanah negara* who have moved out of the village and now commute to their jobs.) What little new-found prosperity they gained from tourism may disappear because of tourism itself.

## CONCLUSIONS

The change brought by tourism for the local people in Pangandaran can be understood only within the context of the complex social and economic system of the village: the predominance of poverty, the lack of employment options, the top-down development policy, the lack of local political power, the class structure, and the local people's ideology of gender.

Tourism does not necessarily affect all parts of a region or all classes equally or similarly. The non-locals who have more capital to invest and more skills related to tourism services can gain greater economic benefits than most local people; as time proceeds, these non-locals have come to dominate the upper and middle classes of the village. Some local people, particularly those who own fishing boats or who owned enough land to both sell and develop, have prospered, albeit not as much as non-local people. In contrast, lower-class locals are becoming marginalized in terms of their jobs, property, and power. Many have found employment in the informal sector, which has at least temporarily improved their precarious economic situations, but now they find their homes and jobs being threatened by large-scale tourism facilities.

The result has been a form of development that is directed by top-down decision-making and assumptions about how to create a major tourism destination designed around international (Western) standards of tourism facilities—which might have been inevitable once large-scale tourism was selected as the development path. This seems, however, to contradict the normative purpose of development—the improvement of the social condition of people, particularly lower-class local people. Moreover, despite the tradition of upper- and middle-class women having a significant role in the social system of Pangandaran and the recent growing involvement of women of all classes in the economy, there are no development programs or projects aimed at improving the quality of life of women. This pattern will change only with growing recognition in government in general and agencies dealing with women's issues in particular of the increasing role of tourism in Indonesia's development.

At the same time, tourism development in Pangandaran has influenced gender roles and relations especially among the lower-class local people, in social (e.g., child-rearing practices) and economic terms. Despite the problem of double or even triple work responsibilities, more women have become self-employed by engaging in the informal sector, particularly in informal trading, and now have more control over their lives as they can be at least partially economically independent. This economic improvement has the potential to empower them to have more control over their own lives and their family's survival in a community with a significant predominance of poverty. Benaria and Roldan's conclusion seems appropriate to this case: "however small the changes . . . that women have accomplished may appear to the observer, these changes do not look insignificant to the women themselves" (1987:162).

Beyond general statements such as the above, however, it is difficult to provide more specific quantitative "measures" of these changes of

the social and physical spaces of Pangandaran, given the lack of baseline data and the fact that qualitative research methods appear to be more appropriate to the setting. It is also difficult to distinguish the impacts of tourism from other aspects of the quickly evolving social dynamic of the village—modern telecommunications, international movies, improved health care, computers, the growing national economy. The basic conclusion is that all of these changes are occurring with little regard being given to gender roles and relations and the social, cultural, and economic improvement of the quality of life (i.e., development) of women, with the exception of some increase in their economic level.

As already noted, there is little literature related to the relationship between gender, tourism, and development. This case study indicates that there is also little relationship between these concepts in the reality that is the growing tourism industry of Pangandaran. This situation—perhaps a microcosm of much of life in modern Indonesia—will continue as a site for ongoing monitoring and research on these issues. It is believed that longitudinal qualitative research (supported by quantitative methods on development activities, land use change, etc.) will provide a clearer picture of the dynamic social and physical environment of Pangandaran and of the relationships of gender to those changes. □ □

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