Juggling Money in Yogyakarta. Financial self-help organizations and the quest for security

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Chapter One - Bujung: A divided kampung in urban Yogyakarta

At first sight, Bujung is your average Javanese kampung. Hidden behind the facade of buildings along the main road (Jalan Usaha), there is a dense maze of small streets and alleys in between fine brick houses and makeshift dwellings. In the kampung there is a mosque, a community hall, a football field and various badminton fields. Bujung measures about 11 hectares and has an estimated 5,000 inhabitants.

The peculiar characteristic of Bujung is that within the kampung there is a clearly demarcated division between the Atas (the upper section) and the Ledok (the lower section; see map). The kampung is for the most part a higher flat area, which both to the west and to the south drops several meters to two small rivers, which surround the kampung. These two rivers come together approximately three hundred meters to the south of the border of the kampung. The central and upper section of the kampung, the Atas, is dominated by the well cared for houses of local businessmen, civil servants, and teachers, genteelly pushing away the more sober dwellings of labourers and pedicab drivers. The houses of the latter are concentrated on the banks of the two small rivers that border the kampung, the Ledok. Subsequently, the distinction between the Atas and the Ledok is not merely topographical, but also social in nature.¹

Bujung is divided into 16 RTs (Rukun Tetangga, or neighbourhood section)², each comprising between 40 and 70 households. The boundaries of

¹ In this sense, the case of Bujung has many similarities with the study of Patrick Guinness (1986) in another part of Yogyakarta. Guinness makes the threefold distinction between streetside, riverbank and riverflat, but focuses on the latter two. Compared to the area studied by Guinness, Bujung has a much smaller, and almost negligible, proportion of streetside.

² The Rukun Tetangga is the lowest level in Indonesia's administrative hierarchy. One step above the RT there is the Rukun Warga (RW) of which Bujung has three. Then follows kelurahan, kecamatan, kabupaten/kotamadya and province. Bujung itself is no longer an administrative unit after the formerly existing level of Rukun Kampung (RK) was replaced with smaller RWs in 1988-9 (Sullivan, 1992:36-41, 134-6). The RT is actually a continuation of the Japanese tonarigumi, introduced during the Japanese occupation (Sullivan, 1992:136-40).
the RTs in Bujung do not exactly coincide with those between the Atas and the Ledok. Of the 16 RTs in Bujung, there are five RTs that are mostly Ledok, five that are mostly Atas, and the remaining six contain parts of both sections. Two of the RTs are so large that in their centre, away from the main roads, concentrations of simple dwellings have developed, with social and physical characteristics very similar to those along the rivers.

When describing and discussing social life in a place like Bujung, it becomes difficult to avoid using the term 'community', as problematic as that may be. Throughout his book on another Yogyakarta kampung, John Sullivan (1992) has made it crystal-clear that a kampung community is not an egalitarian and homogeneous unit. Instead, the community should be seen as a cluster of interdependent social groups, held together by meaningful long-term relations, and in that sense not fundamentally different from other forms of social organisation such as the family, household, association or political party (Sullivan, 1992:212-3). In that respect, we should be aware that there are people living in Bujung who are placed, or have placed themselves, outside the community, and people who are more incorporated into the community than others (see also Jellinek, 1991).

The writings of Sullivan, Jellinek and others contrast the attempts of the Suharto government to present Indonesia as a 'gotong royong' society, where all Indonesians are always prepared to work together and to come to each other's assistance through mutual aid (Sullivan, 1992:175-7). The state has made extensive use of education, instruction and propaganda to impose these ideas on its citizens. Local leaders, and Bujung is no exception to this, have assisted the New Order in fostering the idea of social harmony, automatically disqualifying any form of political opposition. The word

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1 The fact that the boundaries between RTs do not coincide with the boundaries between the Atas and the Ledok does not mean that the latter distinction is a continuum. It is just that for example within one RT, the northern half may be Atas while the southern half is Ledok.

4 Murray (1991:64) states that within a kampung community, "people and their households are linked together by subsistence and informal activities, ethnicity, and women's networks which are important in creating a supportive socio-economic environment." I feel that this is a somewhat limited perception of what is keeping the community together, ignoring the structuring effects of state policy (especially under the New Order), which is more appreciated by Sullivan (1992). Murray (1991:83-5) even claims that the kampung is beyond the control of the state, and that "this self-regulation is only possible as long as there is economic interdependence and self-reliance. It also depends on familiarity and cooperation among people who share a sense of community and a sense of place". Thus presenting the kampung community as a harmonious and isolated social unit is an absolute misconception.
kerukunan (social harmony) appears in many of the speeches they give. Nonetheless, the notion of social harmony is more than a top-down distortion of reality. My experiences in the field made me aware that most ordinary Bujungese are seriously concerned with upholding social harmony. Politeness and preventing open conflicts in daily interaction are felt to be of the foremost importance. Many people do what they can to behave in a proper manner to avoid shame and embarrassment (Guinness, 1986:153-4; Sullivan, 1992:82-3). Throughout this dissertation, it will be seen that such an attitude cannot prevent conflicts from occurring, but the ideal of social harmony has a powerful influence on the way conflicts are handled.

In this respect, Javanese communities are often characterised for their strong sense of hierarchy, as for instance expressed in the existence of different levels within the Javanese language, through which one is expected to acknowledge differences in rank, status and social distance. Guinness (1986:28-68) pays ample attention to the problem of social rank as "the order by which members of a society discriminate among themselves along a scale of social worth" (1986:28). According to him, the various indices to mark social rank are age, nobility, origin, landed property and occupation, the latter being the most important. In Bujung, another kampung and fifteen years later, only the last two indices are significantly important, together with another factor that was not mentioned by Guinness, namely education. Occupation and education came to the fore as the most important factors when informants were asked to classify 'big people' and 'little people', and successful and unsuccessful people. The same factors can also be seen to play a crucial role in the elections of local leaders that I witnessed. As we will see in Chapter Five, this hierarchical structure, together with the sense of harmony, has consequences for decision-making processes in public affairs, also within financial self-help organisations.

5 See Guinness (1986:131-3) and Sullivan (1992:106-9) for a discussion on the meaning and interpretation of the word rukun.

6 This is Sullivan's somewhat awkward translation of the Javanese terms wong gedhé and wong cilik (1992:110-22). Sullivan's informants refer to all kampung residents as wong cilik, whereas among the Bujungese there are differences of opinion on this. Another distinction Sullivan mentions is that between wong gedongan and wong kampungan (buildings people and kampung people), which is more based on mentality than on wealth. Selosoemardja (1962:22) notes that wong cilik, because the hierarchical structure of Javanese society, feel no perspective for social mobility and therefore feel no need to imitate the behaviour patterns of higher classes. More recently, Keeler made a somewhat similar observation (1990).
1.1 Concise History of an Urban Indonesian Community

A description of the history of a place like Bujung is necessarily based on oral history, and what I describe here is mainly what people told me about how they remembered the kampung. It deserves emphasis that this is not necessarily the way the kampung really was, because memory is inevitably coloured by interpretation, forgetfulness and resentment. Nevertheless, this remembered history is no less relevant in any way, because it is the basis for the actions and perception of people in Bujung today (see also Koning, 1997:81). I have divided the rather turbulent recent history of Bujung into four different time periods. For each period the changes and continuities will be discussed for the fields of population, appearance and physical landscape, politics, economy, and religion and morality.

1.1.1 Up to 1950: a semi-rural community in the wake of independence

Population - During the final part of Dutch rule, the Japanese occupation and the first years of independence, Bujung was a sparsely populatedsub-urban kampung on the outskirts of the city. It is difficult to establish how many people were living there. Elderly informants speak of "around one hundred families", "per present RT there were one to three families" or "about as many people as you can find in one RT today". Taking into account that the average family size was a lot bigger in the 1940s, a very rough estimate would mean a population of somewhere between 200 and 1000 people.

Appearance and physical landscape - Bujung was a place with large village-style dwellings made of bamboo and wood, which were only built in the Atas. The regularly flooded riverbanks were left to the bamboo, the snakes and the spirits. The houses in the Atas were situated far apart, with spacious yards and orchards around them. There were larger plots of in particular jasmine and gambir. Older informants remember that because of those trees the children were unable to play with their kites, so for that they had to go to the paddy fields north of Bujung. There was already a network of roads through the kampung, but they were all unpaved.

Politics - Until 1945, Yogyakarta had for a long time been governed by foreign forces. Between 1945 and December 1948, during the independence

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7 According to the stories, these devils and evil spirits would “throw stones at passers-by and produce sudden flashes of light” to scare them off.
war, Yogyakarta was under the authority of the republican forces, after which, between December 1948 and August 1949, Yogyakarta was shortly occupied by Dutch troops. These last months are remembered as politically most unstable months. Most of the men fled to the countryside to join the republican guerrilla forces, while the women who were left behind in the city were relatively safe.

There is hardly any reliable information about the participation in political parties among the people of Bujung at the end of the colonial period and in the early years of independence. According to Selosoemardjan (1962:165-71), political organisation in Yogyakarta used to be limited to the intelligentsia, and only started to expand after the departure of the Japanese. From this period on, the most important parties in Yogyakarta were PNI, PKI, Gerinda, Masyumi and NU, of which the PKI was most actively engaged in mobilising the population, by means of their mass organisations. Given the wide popularity of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) in Bujung until 1965, it seems likely that this party was already active in Bujung before 1950.

Economy - Some now elderly people had been working for the Dutch as horse cart drivers or servants during the colonial period, a period which they always described as pleasant, at least a lot more pleasant than the Japanese period which followed. The three years of Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945 are remembered by the oldest people in Bujung as the harshest period of their lives. Food and clothes became increasingly scarce, people went hungry and some had to make clothes out of sugarcane leaves. "We had money, but there was nothing we could buy."10

It was an area of small enterprises, such as shrimp cracker and soybean cake factories, and horse cart companies. The factories were set up mainly by migrants from West-Java. There was reportedly only one big soybean

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8 PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) was Soekarno's party. Gerinda (Indonesia's People's Movement) was a local political party in Yogyakarta with most followers among illiterate villagers. Masyumi was the party of modern Muslims and NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) was the party for conservative Muslims (see Selosoemardjan, 1962:161; 185).
9 Selosoemardjan (1962:154) also mentions that the PKI was most successful in Gunung Kidul, an agrarian district in the eastern part of the province. A significant proportion of the migrants who came to Bujung in this period were from Gunung Kidul, and it is possible that they brought the PKI with them.
10 According to one of my respondents, the Japanese collected the rice harvest from the farmers in the surrounding areas and threw the rice into the sea, in order to create a famine.
cake factory and the rest of them were rather small. Many of the factory owners used to be workers but copied the production techniques they learned in the factories of their own bosses. These bosses (*juragan*) lived close to their workers, and there were often kin ties between them. The horse cart business was the domain of local landowners. They had made some capital from rice-fields north of Bujung which were tilled by sharecroppers. There were two big horse cart businesses, of around thirty carts, whereas most of the others had only one or two. Finally, there were also some civil servants in the area, mainly those working at the railway station. The higher ranked civil servants had their own horse cart and had their driver living with them.

Religion and morality - My informants did not provided me with detailed information about religion and popular culture before 1950. All that is known is that there was no mosque, church, or prayer house in the *kampung* during this period.

1.1.2 1950-1965: a communist *kampung* in the transition era

Population - Probably the population increase between 1950 and 1965 was quite modest. There were some labourers from Gunung Kidul, a dry agrarian district in the east of Yogyakarta province, and a number of pedicab drivers, particularly from Klaten in Central Java. Most of them were men who left their families behind in the village. Clearly, in the minds of the people in Bujung the population in this period was a lot more stable than during the major influxes of migrants that were to follow in the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s.

Appearance and physical landscape - Because of this, the landscape of Bujung remained basically what it was, a small cluster of houses, which must have resembled a village rather than an urban *kampung*. This is underlined by the way in which the major festivities were celebrated: "In these days there was nothing below the lurah [the *kampung* leader] yet, but then again there were also fewer people. After *Idul Fitri*, the Islamic feast at the end of Ramadan, the lurah himself organised a Sawalan dinner where all villagers participated."

Politics - According to local sources, Bujung was among the larger strongholds of the PKI in Yogyakarta, and also the lurah, a man named Broto, was a member of the PKI. 11 The communists dominated *kampung*

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11 One informant said that around 90% of the inhabitants were affiliated to the PKI.
life, they led commodity cooperatives through which food was bought collectively and organised a *kampung-wide arisan* for women. A minority of the population were supposedly affiliated to the PNI (Nationalist Party of Indonesia), the party of President Soekarno, or not related to any party at all. This situation was not exceptional in comparison with the rest of Yogyakarta. In 1957, the elections for the provincial parliament were won by the PKI, followed by the PNI and Gerinda (Selosoemardjan, 1962:185). At a national level, the young democracy struggled and failed to keep an elected government in office during this transition era. In 1957, President Soekarno decided to take control and introduced 'guided democracy', through which he tried to balance the power of the communists, Muslims and nationalists (Ricklefs, 1993:237-83).

_Economy_ - The professions mentioned for this period include civil servants, employees of private firms, traders, home producers, horse cart drivers, pedicab drivers and labourers. Before this period, many labourers were from West Java, relatives of the owners of shrimp cracker and soybean cake factories. This group reportedly returned home because they found the distance from their home village too far, and people from Gunung Kidul gradually replaced them. The pedicab drivers, who were at this stage still outnumbered by the horse cart drivers, mainly came from Klaten and Gunung Kidul. These labourers usually slept in the factory or at the pedicab rental, and went home to their families for holidays and for farming activities.

For the whole of Indonesia, this was a period of increasing economic problems. The democratic chaos in Jakarta had not been helpful in rebuilding the economy after the war. Unfavourable conditions for export, expansion of the government apparatus, and a lack of control over foreign investors were among the major problems. In the early 1960s the situation was becoming ever more disastrous when inflation took enormous proportions, and poverty and hunger were widespread (see Booth, 1998: 71). Many people in Bujung remember this as a very harsh period when, like in the Japanese period, there was money but no food.

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12 _Arisan_ is the name locally used for Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), in which participants regularly contribute to a kitty, which is given to each contributor in turn. The arrangement enabled Gerwani to attract women to their meetings. Wieringa (1995:183) also mentions the organisation of _arisan_ and other forms of mutual help by Gerwani cadre in Semarang during this period. Gerwani was a national women's movement affiliated to the Indonesian communist movement.
Religion and morality - The period between 1950 and 1965 was the heyday of the PKI in Bujung, and there was not much room for religion. According to one informant, there were only a few Christians and even fewer Muslims. "There was one prayer house (mushollah), but nobody ever went there." A strong religious regime would only have been an obstacle for enjoying the worldly 'vices' that flourished during this period. Reportedly, the people in Bujung were regularly engaged in gambling and stealing. The lurah himself reportedly made a living from organising gambling events and criminal activities. Nowadays most people who remember those days express quite negative feelings regarding these years. They remember it as a time of robbers, murderers and thieves. "In those days all the houses still had earthen floors. Three times people dug a hole under our wall and stole gold, clothes and money, whatever was available." The leaders of the kampung were affiliated to the PKI and forced people to join PKI activities. It is also believed that local PKI leaders condoned the criminal activities that were taking place.

It is useful to keep in mind that the current elite has actively cultivated the negative image of the community during the years under the PKI. This can be seen as an expression of the New Order policy of blackening the political left after 1965. This is not at all a recent phenomenon. In 1977 the head of the kampung already wrote in the preface of a report for the regional kampung competition (lomba desa) that Bujung had come far, from a period when it had "an extremely unpleasant name".

1.1.3 1965-1966: the campaign against the PKI

The PKI period suddenly ended in the last months of 1965. On the night of 30th September and the 1st October, six generals were abducted and killed in "an ill-planned coup attempt in Jakarta" (Ricklefs, 1991:280). Lieutenant-Colonel Suharto swiftly struck back at the army divisions involved. The PKI was identified as the party behind the coup attempt and this was the starting signal for a bloody campaign against PKI members and their relatives, and against people who were associated with the PKI.

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13 However, Selosoemardjan (1962:202) mentions large numbers of groups engaged in mysticism during this period. Perhaps this form of religion was more acceptable to the communists, or these groups should simply be associated with the followers of Gerinda, another strong political party.
This fury reached Bujung as well. Exactly what happened in Bujung in 1965-66 is difficult to establish. It is still a delicate subject today, and most people are very reluctant to talk about it. And when they do, their accounts are sometimes contradictory. The first reaction of almost everybody is to try to evade the question, and if that is not possible, to say that nothing much happened. Invariably, raising the subject of the campaign against the PKI produces an uncomfortable situation. When finally someone is prepared to talk about it, he will certainly whisper and start by denying that they had anything to do with the communist party (for similar experiences, see also Jellinek, 1991:16-7).

All inhabitants of Bujung who can remember 1965-66 have their own story about how they experienced these chaotic months (see Appendix 1). What can be established from the information of local sources is basically that shortly after the events in Jakarta, police and civilians from outside Bujung entered the kampung in order to find communists and arrest them. With the help of some locals and membership lists they tracked down a number of people. Some of them were taken to prison and others were loaded onto a truck to be executed in Gunung Kidul.

According to the stories, few former communists have returned. It is not that they have all been killed, but many of them have settled down in other places, where they could try to make a new start, in a place where nobody would know of their communist taint. Also most of the alleged former communists living in Bujung today were living somewhere else before 1965. Many of them have become Roman Catholics. Cribb (1990:39-40; see also Ricklefs, 1993:293-4) explains the large-scale conversions to both Christianity and Hinduism in Indonesia after 1965 with a number of factors. First, in 1966 assuming a religion became obligatory for all Indonesians. Second, the trauma of 1965 had shaken the values and worldviews of those involved. And third, Christian churches were carrying out energetic pastoral work. No doubt, something that also played a role was that an active

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14 Throughout the text I will use the masculine personal pronoun if the sex of the person involved is undetermined.

15 There is "some indication that significant numbers were dumped in the limestone caves of southern Central Java [most probably Gunung Kidul]" (Cribb, 1990:10). Cribb does not mention Yogyakarta as one of the places where an important number of the killings took place, but he does mention the Solo-Klaten area as one of the areas where killing was heaviest in Central Java (1990:26).

16 Indonesians could choose between Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Catholicism and Protestantism. The traditional Javanese mysticism, which is still quite popular in Yogyakarta, was not yet an option.
religious life could help alleged communists make a new beginning in a new place without attracting suspicion from their neighbours. But still today, Bujungese claim to know quite well who of them is marked officially as an ex-communist and who is not.

1.1.4 1966-1981: migrants, growth and a new community spirit

Population - The period after 1966 saw a great increase in population and this was caused mainly by two strong influxes of migrants, which according to the memories of my informants were more massive than some previous streams of factory workers from Gunung Kidul and Klaten and shrimp cracker producers from West Java.

The first influx consisted of civil servants who entered the kampung in large numbers. It is unclear why they all came at this particular moment. Most of these civil servants themselves say that they came because they needed a place to stay and that they simply bought their land in Bujung. They stress that it had nothing to do with what happened in 1965 and that the inflow of civil servants had already started in 1964. According to them, the most important reason was that the other kampung that are closer to the city centre were already full, and that Bujung was one of the few kampung where there was space available. It is also said that in the past outsiders were reluctant to move to Bujung because "its name had a bad smell", but when a few civil servants tried it they found out that it was not as bad as it was supposed to be. Hence, they advised their colleagues to join them and take the opportunity to buy land, which was still relatively cheap in Bujung.17

During the early 1970s another stream of immigrants began and continued into the 1980s. This time it consisted mostly of labourers from the dry agricultural area of Gunung Kidul, in the eastern part of Yogyakarta province, who reached the kampung. Some of them were youngsters who were not interested in agrarian life, and others were men who had long been

17 There are a few people in Bujung who suspect that the civil servants did not come all by themselves, but that at least a number of them were sent there by the state in order to look after the 'dangerous subversive' kampung that Bujung was. It is true that after PKI-lurah had been arrested they were often replaced by a caretaker appointed by the government, usually a civil servant or a military officer. The latter was the case in Bujung. However, it seems unlikely that during these unclear years the government was capable of co-ordinating a more massive influx of loyal civil servants. Of course, the fact that Bujung had recently been cleared of its 'subversive elements' made it more suitable as a place to live for a 'respectable' civil servant.
coming to work in the city during the lean season. Over the years they had managed to find more secure employment and had decided to bring their family. It is also not clear why these people came at specifically this moment but a probable reason is that better locations were by that time already occupied. These new immigrants came to settle in the hitherto unoccupied Ledok areas along the rivers. They rented land or low quality houses from absentee landlords who owned these plots, which had never been profitable before. Some of the newcomers had no money to pay rent or were not willing to do so and therefore settled as squatters. Known as gelandangan, they were found in the riverflat areas all over the city (see also Guinness, 1983).

Altogether, the population of Bujung was increasing. A local census from 1977 mentions 2651 inhabitants in March 1976 and 2842 inhabitants in March 1977, which means a population growth of 7.2% in that year. Most probably, the population was at least double the population of 1950. The average household size was 4.44 people in 1976 and 4.09 in 1977.

Appearance and physical landscape - The increasing population in Bujung had drastic consequences for the physical appearance of the kampung. It meant that the land was becoming more and more occupied by houses. In the Atas, the civil servants were building their houses between the houses of the original inhabitants. In many places, particularly along the wider roads, the gardens and yards between the houses began disappearing, leaving behind nothing more than narrow alleys.

In the Ledok, the bamboo was felled and the small swamps were drained with sand in order to make space for the settlers from Gunung Kidul. Some landowners built longhouses as lodgings for around a dozen families or groups of men each. Other landowners simply rented out plots of land, requiring the tenants to construct a house themselves. For another part, the riverbank was occupied by squatters who were living in makeshift houses. For these first years, the area was not yet completely occupied, leaving lots of space between houses for a fruit tree or the occasional clump of bamboo. In that time the area continued to be flooded regularly. Most of the first

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18 These figures are probably lower than the reality because seasonal inhabitants and tenants of lodgings tend not to be counted in these censuses.
19 Because this is really just a snapshot of the population figures, it is difficult to say anything sensible about the differences between the two years. They are useful for comparison with more recent data.
settlers remember the almost annual floods, which damaged the houses and carried away belongings.20

Politics - Whatever the reasons for the sudden arrival of a large number of civil servants, it is clear that they soon came to occupy the key positions within the kampung community. Although they were all newcomers, a list of kampung leaders in 1977, ranging from heads of RT to the chairman of the kampung, shows a large majority of recent immigrants. The reason, as given by present kampung secretary Pak Suruji, sounds logical. "After 1965, the original kampung leaders, communist gambling bosses, had disappeared and they had left a power vacuum. The community was all of a sudden left without leaders and new leaders had to come up. At the meetings held to discuss this problem, civil servants were elected as new kampung leaders. People had confidence in them because of their position and education." It is a tendency that can still be witnessed in Bujung: the advantages of a good education strongly outweigh the disadvantages of being a newcomer when it comes to elections for local leaders. Up to this moment, civil servants still dominate local politics.

In the meantime, the position of the communists in the local political arena was gone. Those who survived the campaign had to live with the communist stain.21 One of the children of an (alleged) former communist says:

"Being the child of a PKI figure it is very difficult to get a good job. The only brother who is a civil servant could do so because he only has secondary technical school. If you have tertiary education, and if you want to work as a civil servant, they will check on your parents. My brother cannot get promotion. When I started studying geology I also knew that it would be very difficult to get a job, even in private companies where many geologists work. When they want to cut back on expenses or do not like you they can fire you anytime they want, saying that they want to clean the workplace of subversive elements.

20 In the kampung studied by Guinness (1986:9, 14-8), the occupation of the 'inhospitable' riverbank started in 1929, mostly by civil servants. Most of the land that was occupied from that moment was what can now be called the Atas. Apart from some dormitories built by the government around 1950, the lowest section of this kampung was also not occupied until the 1970s, when rural migrants came pouring in.
21 Cribb (1990:43, fn 94) mentions: "restrictions on the kind of job they may hold, disqualification in some cases from voting in general elections, limits of freedom on travel and having the letters ET (eks tahanan, ex-prisoner) marked on their identity cards". Sources in Bujung mentioned that people who had been identified as former communists and their relatives were ineligible for positions as local leaders.
There is always that insecurity. It is not written on my identity card but it is on my father's. Over the years the regulations have become better, they have taken the letters off new identity cards, but it is still a disadvantage."

After the events of 1965, Suharto took over Soekarno's position as leader of the country, with now well known consequences. The New Order government, or regime, which he established managed to strengthen control over the country (Mackie and MacIntyre, 1994:1-19), thereby penetrating local communities to a much larger degree (Antlov, 1993). Central to the New Order was the Golongan Karya (Golkar), the state party that officially was not a political party, but demanded loyalty from all civil servants and local leaders. The resulting majority victories in one general election after the other gave Suharto and friends sufficient political space to suppress any political opposition. In 1973, the government completed the destruction of the old political parties by forcing the Islamic parties to merge into the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) and the non-Islamic parties into the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI). These two became the only permitted opposition parties and were kept under strict government control (Ricklefs, 1991:299).

Economy - The period between 1966 and 1981 was for Indonesia a period of quick recovery from the dismal economic situation in the early 1960s, followed by a prolonged period of rapid economic growth. Indonesia benefited in particular from the high price of oil, their most important export product during the 1970s. This resulted in higher real wages for many, and allowed the government to invest considerably in infrastructure (Booth, 1998:72-85; Hill, 1994:54-71, 107). In particular the expansion of the transportation sector and overall higher purchasing power of local consumers brought most benefits for people in Bujung.

The positive economic situation was for some people further enhanced by specifically local developments. In the Atas, the inflow of civil servants meant an increase in the overall standard of living. The original families were able to sell or rent their land to newcomers, or build lodgings in their yard for either students or labourers. Apart from that, they established businesses that targeted newly arrived consumers, such as small shops and

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22 At this moment Rosendale wrote in a Survey of Recent Developments (1980:1): "the question of how to spend the foreign exchange windfall in a way that is most conducive to development, but which does not add to inflation has now become of pressing importance".
foodstalls, but also laundry service. The civil servants were already in a more than average position economically, and they were among the people to benefit most from the economic progress and expansion of the government apparatus during the first decade of the New Order regime. On the basis of this increasing wealth, more opportunities arose for both the original families and the civil servants to send their children to school and to give them tertiary education.

The people in the Ledok became involved in those easy entry jobs, typical of poorly educated rural migrants in most of the world. Many of the men were working as coolies, construction workers, or pedicab drivers. The women found employment in particular as maids or laundry ladies with some additional income from home production. In contrast with most of the manual labourers of Bujung before that time, they worked for people outside the kampung. The work of coolies and pedicab drivers was mainly situated around the main transportation centres in the neighbourhood, namely the bus-stop at Pingit, the Tugu railway station, the markets of Kranggan and Karangwaru, and Jalan Usaha itself. Most of the women worked for Chinese families in the Kranggan area. Their home production was aimed at small traders along Jalan Usaha, the two nearby markets and the occasional trader from the Beringhardjo market.

In this period, electricity also arrived in Bujung and along with it came television, which became even more widely spread in the 1980s and 1990s. The new media gave the people in Bujung an expanded awareness of the outside world. Soap operas and television quizzes provided them with somewhat distorted views of the lives of the rich and affluent, both in Jakarta and the Western world. These were the images to dream with, but also proof that there existed a world they were excluded from.

Furthermore, in this period tourism slowly came to present many employment opportunities for locals, especially for pedicab drivers, but also for souvenir sellers and guides. The sight of a white face became more and more common and some pedicab drivers even learned to speak some English, German, French or Japanese. In some cases they managed to establish more or less permanent relationships with their foreign passengers, sometimes resulting in considerable financial gifts. Some pedicab drivers received regular payments from tourists they became friends with. Several girls from Bujung who worked as guides have married tourists and moved to Australia, The Netherlands, England and the United States. A wholly different kind of contact emerged by means of personal support relations with people in the West, through Foster Parents Plan and the Catholic Church. Altogether the increasing contact with Westerners has led to a
reinforcement of the perception that all Western people are rich, and therefore able to, and should, help Indonesian people financially.

Religion and morality - In their position as kampung leaders, the most prominent civil servants launched a morality campaign to improve the local community. Almost everybody in Bujung agrees that during this period a lot improved compared to the situation in the kampung before 1965. Whether this is the result of real changes in the behaviour of inhabitants or the result of the rhetoric of kampung leaders is hard to establish. Bujung before 1965 in the eyes of present inhabitants was a kampung marked by crime, gambling and an lack of a community spirit. The name of Bujung had a 'bad smell' in the wider area of Yogyakarta, and inhabitants were reluctant to say where they were from. According to quite some people, the fact that all this has now improved is largely the result of the work of two civil servants who had become kampung leaders, the late Agus PC and Suryono. About the situation he encountered when he arrived in Bujung, Suryono says:

"In 1966, I came into a kampung which was divided into factions and unorganised. There was gambling and the atmosphere was sombre. Most of the people would call themselves labourer but in fact eighty percent of them were only helping their wives. The women were active in trading and selling. The men were lazy. They just did what was necessary and were gambling most of the day. The little money they earned they used for their own pleasures. The main problems were theft, gambling and prostitution. People were stealing from the houses of their neighbours to pay back their gambling debts."

"There were hardly any roads, only the two biggest, which were still unpaved tracks. For the rest there was space between the houses. You cannot say they were alleys. There was no bathing place or toilet. The people just used the river. The houses were just sheds. There were no collective working projects, only occasional selamatan [ritual meals\(^2\)]. After the festivities there would always be gambling. The education level was very low. Many were school dropouts. Only five percent were office workers and ten percent were entrepreneurs."

Agus PC in particular has been praised as a man who directly approached gamblers and criminals, spent time with them and gained their respect, and eventually managed to 'pull them onto the right path'. Together with Suryono, he was also active in the renewal and strengthening of existing kampung structures. They managed to make meetings regular and improved

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\(^2\) These selamatan are organised around a number of events, such as funerals, weddings, circumcisions, births, and so on. Neighbours are invited for these ritual meals.
the stable inflow of funds.\textsuperscript{24} Whatever the objectives of this group of kampung leaders, they managed to improve or change the situation in such a way that in 1977 Bujung won the competition for best kampung in the city of Yogyakarta (lomba desa), for which the leaders were invited to the presidential palace. The main factors involved in this competition were the existence of various social organisations and the improvement in certain socio-economic indicators.

Even though this moral campaign seems to have generated some success in the 1970s, it was to become confronted with a counter-force which proved 'too hot to handle', the gelandangan. Understandably, the people who finally dared to live on the 'dangerous' slopes of the river were not a bunch of weaklings. The gelandangan ignored the new rules of moral behaviour and in particular the criminal gangs (gali) among them managed to revive the 'bad smell' around the name of Bujung.\textsuperscript{25} Irwanto was one of the first inhabitants and he explained to me about Pak Marzuki who invited him to join him and his friends and rent a house in the riverbank area of Bujung.

"I once brought Pak Marzuki to [my home village] for a trip, and while we were in the bus, Pak Marzuki started robbing the other passengers. I was afraid that someone would find out, and that we would be lynched, but I just pretended to be asleep. When we came to the village, Pak Marzuki showed all the things that he had stolen from the bags of the other passengers. The following day, Pak Marzuki robbed two small shops in the village. What if they found out that it was my friend who did it? (...) He belonged to a group of robbers, who robbed people in the streets. They were worse than most other gali who were mainly thieves and pickpockets."

Whereas most Bujungese remember these years as a time when many did not dare to go out at night, one pedicab driver, and former gelandangan, recalled the mid-eighties as the happy days:

\textsuperscript{24} There are some people who do not really agree with this general view, and most of them can be found around the mosque. They accuse the late Agus PC of not having sound objectives when it came to social work. "He was actually doing it for the money. From the Catholic mission he received money if he brought new souls into the church, and that was what he was looking for."

\textsuperscript{25} Obviously there were many among these squatters who did not engage in criminal activities. However, for the other inhabitants and especially in hindsight the gelandangan are seen as synonymous with gali. This identification process is quite similar to what Elias and Scotson observed in Winston Parva, in the English Midlands (1965).
"There were a lot of games and gambling, also because there were not so many economic problems. In those days you had the gali (...). Bujung was the base for them together with Badran [another kampung closer to the city centre]. Criminals from all over the country came here because it was something of a safe haven. The members of gali lived from robbery, especially robbing Chinese. Some of them were living in this RT, and some outside. They came here when there was a party or hajatan, or for no reason at all. In fact, they were all over the place, all over Bujung. There was a lot of gambling during the day, as they went robbing at night. There were the card-games, as well as 'turning-the-box' and 'shaking-the-tin'. My brother was one of them and he was feared. (...) If people were angry with me they would never dare to hurt me because of my brother. On these gambling occasions there was a lot of fighting. That was how they were, from friends they could suddenly turn into enemies. Someone would lose some money to a friend, and ask to borrow something in order to buy liquor. They would start punching each other, and one thing led to another. It was a violent time, but exciting. If you came somewhere outside and people asked you where you lived, they would slowly shake their head saying 'ya ya', if you said you were from Bujung."

1.1.5 1982-1983: the operations for exterminating crime

The New Order regime eventually solved the problems caused by these gali freebooters in places like Bujung in a brutal way. According to a number of informants, in 1982 and 1983 a number of special crime exterminating operations called OPK (operasi pemberantasan kejahatan) were organised in order to get rid of the gali. The secret police had become more active in tracking down these criminals and every once in a while the dead body of a gali member was found along the street with enough money in his pocket to take care of the funeral. Later the police would choose a more massive approach. Pak Jadiyo, a shop attendant, remembers one of the big OPK operations: "It was in the middle of the day and the gali were drinking booze at the house where Gunawan is now living. The police had surrounded the whole area and fired warning shots. Some tried to run but they were shot in the legs. Later they were all put on a truck and taken away." According to the story, they were taken to Gunung Kidul and there they were dumped over a cliff and into the sea.26 According to another informant, one day the 'Special Forces' came in and gave the thieves and robbers a nice meal and

26 See also Cribb (1990:10)
drinks, and had them smoke some drug. "After that they were ordered to run and shot." Probably these OPK actions took place more than once, but according to Jadiyo the final result was clear: "This way the problem was solved once and for all. The few individuals who had managed to escape would clearly think more than twice before engaging into criminal activities again." According to the present inhabitants of the Ledok, those who survived have either moved somewhere else or returned on the 'right path'. Although these OPK campaigns had already diminished the number, the remaining gelandangan either became regular tenants or moved somewhere else. The local government was supposedly very active in recruiting gelandangan for transmigration programs. Whatever was the case, at present there are no more gelandangan left in Bujung.27

1.1.6 1983-1997: consolidation and continuity

Population - The population of Bujung increased further in the period after 1983 till now. According to a local census in September 1983, the population for the whole kelurahan28, including besides Bujung also the two other kampung, was 8,897. By 1997 the population had increased to 13,640. This means an annual population growth of more than three percent. More recently, between 1993 and 1997, the annual population growth slowed to 1.57 per year.29 The average household size grew from 4.18 in 1983 to 5.53 in 1997.30

Appearance and physical landscape - The process of 'densification' increased further in the 1980s and 1990s. Almost all of the Atas gradually

27 Today there are still a few youngsters in the Ledok areas who take pride in calling themselves gelandangan. They are no squatters like the real gelandangan were but they feel they have a 'free' lifestyle with nightly parties, music, drugs and alcohol.
28 The kelurahan was introduced into Kotamadya Yogyakarta in 1981 (Sullivan, 1992:41).
29 The data are derived from local statistics (monografi kelurahan 1997, semester 1 and laporan pembangunan kelurahan 1993 s/d 1997) The figures suggest that population growth was rather high in the 1980s and slowed down in the 1990s. It might also mean that the figures themselves are incorrect, for example because in 1983 the data were gathered differently from the 1990s.
30 This difference is remarkable, also in relation to the figures for 1976 and 1977, because in the Bujung of today birth control seems to be rather efficient. A possible explanation is that in the past a large part of the population was made up of single person households, men who had left their family behind in the village. Nowadays, most of them have brought their family to Bujung.
became a maze of small alleys between houses that were built closer and closer to each other. Some exceptions are the yards of a few wealthier original families, who were not forced and not willing to sell or rent out their land. Some of these plots are even used for agriculture, especially bananas and cassava. This means that even today Bujung still does not have the completely urban appearance that other surrounding kampung have. Nevertheless, in the past two decades, the land prices in Bujung have risen enormously and only the wealthier locals are able to purchase a piece of land. Also finding a place to rent has become increasingly difficult. Those original families who have had the patience to wait have been able to cash in handsomely.

In the Ledok, there is not much unoccupied land left either. Furthermore, landlords have improved their houses in order to ask for higher rents. Those migrants who have been economically successful bought the land on which they were living, and continued to save for a better house. This means that slowly brick houses have replaced the bamboo houses of the past. The inhabitants of the Ledok themselves have worked hard to improve their living environment. They have built concrete bridges across the river and, with financial support from the government, they have constructed a concrete wall along the river, to prevent further flooding effectively.

Politics - In 1983 a restructuring of the local administration was issued for all of Indonesia, and finally implemented in Yogyakarta in 1988-9. The RK level (Rukun Kampung) was abandoned and replaced by a smaller unit, the RW (Rukun Warga). Partly this was to create more uniform local units in terms of population size, but it was also a top-down attempt to break strong local power structures (Guinness, 1994:272-6). In spite of this, the local political elite in Bujung managed to consolidate its position after 1988. Suryono, who has been kampung leader since 1970, and his friends reacted in the first place by expanding the small arisan for kampung leaders into a larger and more extensive accumulating savings and credit association, the Usaha Kesejahteraan Keluarga (see Chapter Three). Not long after that they established another institution, the Paguyuban Warga Bujung (Association for the People of Bujung). This organisation collects fees from all the associations of the neighbourhood sections of the former RK. These fees are used for certain kampung activities, limited to the former RK. They include a funeral fund, collectively owned material for the construction of tents at weddings, funerals, and so on, and a kampung fund for celebrations on national and Islamic holidays. This way the leaders of Bujung continued to be capable of managing substantial financial resources and keeping their status and position.
National politics of course also played a part in Bujung. The local leaders, and in fact all civil servants, were required to support Golkar during election time. Many of them did air this opinion, but they were nevertheless not very successful. One election after the other was won by PPP, the Islamic 'opposition party', and according to informants one head of the kelurahan after the other was sacked after each lost election. At the last election before Suharto stepped down, in 1997, the PPP won with a small margin over Golkar. The results for PDI, the only other party allowed in Indonesia, were negligible. The good results of PPP cannot really be explained by strong Islamic sentiments in Bujung, because in spite of growing Islamisation in Indonesia many people in Bujung remained uninterested in religion. Especially the youngsters in the Ledok were active PPP-campaigners at election time. Umar Hadi, a prominent local PPP-activist, remembers: "These kids asked me: Is it all right if we join the campaign even though we never go to the mosque?", and I said: That is all right, everybody is welcome.". Their support can better be explained by the youths' attraction to violence, and feelings of resistance to the ruling New Order regime.

Economy - The economic situation at the beginning of this period was again weak because oil prices had dropped. This meant a real crisis to the New Order regime that had come to depend very much on these natural resources for its pursuit of legitimisation through economic development. The optimism of a few years earlier had disappeared. McCawley (1983:1) wrote: "There has been a marked deterioration in the balance of payments which has directly led to fiscal problems for the government. (...) President Suharto called on the Indonesian nation to 'pull in the belt'. (...) The agricultural sector has been hard hit by the severe drought, which affected most of the rice growing areas for most of last year." However, this recession was only temporary and the recovery already appeared in the late 1980s (Hill, 1994:105-7). After that, Indonesia appeared to ride the economic wave of the Asian tigers. The nineties became years of hope and expectations, where nobody seemed to be aware of the weaknesses of the Indonesian economy which would come to the fore in a dramatic way in

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31 Indonesian civil servants formed the backbone of the New Order regime, playing a central role in the system of political control (see Mackie and MacIntyre, 1994:25-9).
32 The Laporan Kelurahan of 1997 mentions the following result for the 1997 general elections: 2935 votes for PPP, 2519 votes for Golkar, and 294 votes for PDI.
33 The leader of one of the Ledok RTs said that "even though the people in his neighbourhood section seemed very peaceful, a few of them had actually murdered a number of Golkar-supporters during past campaigns."
1997. In 1997 an economist could still say optimistically: "Growth continues at a rapid rate", and even complain that there were "worrying signs of a drift back to distorting controls on banking, and on the financial sector in general" (McLeod, 1997:3). And also: "[The] continued strong economic growth of 7.8% last year is expected to be sustained in 1997" while "inflation has been lowest for 10 years" (Feridhanusetyawan, 1997:3).

Although the elite in Jakarta benefited most from this second period of economic progress, it did not go unnoticed in Bujung either. Even construction workers and pedicab drivers became able to buy brick houses and television sets. Civil servants and office workers bought motorcycles or even cars, and sometimes a telephone. People from all categories have become able to give their children a higher line of education than they had enjoyed themselves. And, even though still relatively expensive, hospital treatment became affordable for the majority of people in Bujung.

Religion and morality - According to local Islamic activists, Islam received a strong impetus in Bujung in the early 1980s, when a number of pious and educated men moved into the kampung. They were able to motivate people to participate in pengajian (religious lessons), an activity which had not got off the ground before. Nowadays there are three active groups, of youngsters, women and men, each consisting of around forty members. Most Muslims outside these groups hardly ever say their prayers. Thus, the total number of active Muslims is comparatively small, but they have a strong influence on people’s attitudes. If they criticise gambling, drinking and premarital sex, people do listen. In the Atas, each RT has at least one or two men who, because of their education and piety, are highly respected. These active Muslims often attend prayer sessions after a person has died in their own neighbourhood. According to them, their involvement has contributed a lot to reducing gambling practices in Bujung, because they have always emphasised that it is wrong to gamble after a prayer session. "It is okay to play cards, but without money: just to keep one’s eyes open." However, in spite of the pleas of civil servants and active Muslims to behave in a more civilised way, at the end of the 1990s gambling had not disappeared from Bujung.

34 On the unequal division of the fruits of economic growth, see Feith (1977) and Hill (1994:105-7).
35 Before this time there was only one pengajian group. It had reportedly been started in 1966 by a man who was afraid of being accused of PKI-membership.
1.1.7 1997-1999: crisis and reformation

The recent economic crisis, which emerged in 1997, had a strong impact on the lives of the people in Bujung. Although there were no massive lay-offs, the people were confronted with sharply increasing prices and decreasing income. When wages started rising again, at the end of 1998, and prices slowly went down again, at the beginning of 1999, most households had survived the crisis. Key elements of their coping strategies were cutting down on expenditure, more careful use of money, and increasing total debts.\(^{36}\)

In relation to the economic crisis, Indonesia also witnessed a drastic change in the political field. Dissatisfaction with the government's reaction to the crisis meant that in particular the Indonesian students became increasingly bold in criticising the regime's practices of 'corruption, collusion and nepotism'. The massive street protests ultimately resulted in the resignation of the hitherto unshakeable President Suharto.\(^{37}\) This event marks the end of the New Order period and most people in Bujung felt that drastic changes were going to take place (reformasi). When I returned to Bujung for the last time in July 1999, a lot had changed in local politics. A large majority of the kampung, which used to be divided between PPP and Golkar, was now in favour of Megawati's PDI\(^{38}\). I even encountered Suryono, the head of the kampung, on stage during a celebration meeting of PDI. He held his fist in the air and shouted: "long live PDI Perjuangan!" However, as I am writing this in the spring of 2001 most of the optimism seems to be gone. There are continuous outbursts of violence all over the country and the new government appears not to be immune to corruption and collusion.

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\(^{36}\) For a more detailed description of the impact of the crisis in Bujung, see Lont (1999a) and Chapter Seven.

\(^{37}\) During his reign there was a vivid discussion among Indonesianists on whether it would last or not (see Feith, 1977; Anderson, 1983; Emmerson, 1983; Liddle, 1985; Langenberg, 1986). Nonetheless, until a few weeks before his resignation, few people expected that he would not survive the crisis.

\(^{38}\) This was a different party from the government controlled PDI, established in 1973. Previously, Megawati had been elected as leader of this party, but Suharto deviously removed her from that position in 1994 because he was worried by her growing popularity. When the ban on new political parties was lifted after the fall of Suharto, Megawati established a new version of the PDI, the PDI Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle).
1.1.8 Processes and Patterns

There are several processes and patterns that emerge from this chronological description of Bujung. In the first place, there is the increasing population. This turned Bujung from a very rural-like village into something that more closely resembled a city *kampung*. From a small community where everybody knew each other, it developed into a more impersonal quarter, although this never led to a complete breakdown of collective activities. Life for people in Bujung over the past decades has become more outward-oriented. In the past labourers used to work for a boss who was also their neighbour, local leader, and so forth. Nowadays these labourers do not depend for their income on their neighbours any more and instead work for people outside their own *kampung*. An additional effect of the increasing population pressure has been that renting a house and buying land have become more and more expensive in Bujung, and have created a serious problem for low-income households.

A second development is the increase in wealth for all categories in Bujung. Although it is very hard to determine whether there were changes in the relative position of the local poor and non-poor, it is clear that in an absolute sense both of them benefited from the economic progress under the New Order. In fact, Booth (1998:127-8) concludes that income inequalities in urban Java are high but have not increased since the 1970s. It is clear that the increased wealth has allowed people to change their spending behaviour, and all categories could lay more emphasis on luxury goods, education, medical care and housing.

A third development is in the field of politics. The past decades described above saw the decline of the PKI, later the rise and fall of New Order,

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39 Some have argued that voluntary collective activities such as *kerja bakti* and *gotong royong* were actively reinforced under the New Order to achieve social control in the form of ideological indoctrination. The strengthening of the cooperative spirit, which was not equally successful in all parts of Indonesia, was to maintain social solidarity and minimise social disruption (see Hill, 1994:27; and Guinness, 1994:279-81). K. von Benda-Beckmann (1987:58) has argued that the state's interest in local-level cooperatives (KUDs) was not only meant to increase general control over their members but also to prevent them from becoming hotbeds of resistance, thus creating islands of stability within society. It is remarkable that Jellinek (1991:26) mentions of a smaller *kampung* in Jakarta that it was too big for a (cultivated) sense of unity.

40 Guinness (1986:14-20) saw a similar, albeit earlier, process of expanding population and pressure on the land in a *kampung* closer to the centre of Yogyakarta.
Golkar, and also PPP. The last time I visited (July-August 1999), PDI Perjuangan was the fashion of the day, but this may very well have already changed after Megawati's ungracious defeat in the presidential election. Islam has long been the only acceptable form of opposition against the New Order, and this is an important part of the explanation for its increasing popularity. In Bujung the influence of Islam has also increased, although it is far from an Islamic kampung. Although the recent reformation has seen many disillusionments in Indonesia, in Bujung it has meant more political liberty. Many people make use of the freedom to speak out about their political views, and local leaders are confronted with more and more criticism against their activities. Over a rocky path, politics has come from being something very distant before the 1950s, to something that is very much in the midst of daily life in Bujung.

A final development is the pronunciation of a social division of Bujung into an upper and a lower section, Atas and Ledok. Whereas Bujung before 1965 was very much a kampung of labourers and bosses, often living together in the same house or compound, later it became a kampung with one section for lower-middle class white-collar workers and another section for lower-class blue collar workers. This is a distinction that also exists very much in the minds of the inhabitants of Bujung and plays a crucial role in people's personal social networks and the scope of operation of social organisations. Most social relations within Bujung are horizontal, in the sense that people in the Ledok interact with people in the Ledok and the people in the Atas interact with the people in the Atas. For the reader to understand the social implications of this division, I will therefore continue by introducing the inhabitants of both areas.

1.2 The People of Bujung Today

In this section, I introduce two families (one from each section) in relation with their neighbours. I have chosen these two families because I came to know them very well and because I feel that in many ways they are typical of the people living in their section of the kampung. Per family, first various aspects of family life are described and then those of their neighbourhood life. The various aspects discussed are: composition of family and work, origin, religion, housing, daily interaction with neighbours, vices, conflicts, and the RT-organisation.
1.2.1 Irwanto and Gunem, Ledok people

Bujung contains two Ledok areas. They are situated on the banks of the two rivers that border the kampung. These areas form the liveliest part of the kampung, but in spite of that they are quite hidden. The reason is that there are no wide roads going through these sections of the kampung and that bigger houses in the Atas block the view of them. The Ledok can therefore only be accessed through narrow alleys. It actually took me more than a month to find out that they existed.

Irwanto and Gunem (aged 49 and 45)\footnote{All ages mentioned in this dissertation are based on the last fieldwork period, in 1999.} live in the Ledok. They have four children, two daughters and two sons (aged 23, 16, 19 and 10 respectively). During my fieldwork period the oldest daughter married and had a daughter. Her husband moved in with her parents until they found a place for themselves. After she had finished junior high school, the second daughter went to Jakarta to receive training as a nurse. The eldest son works in a nearby repair shop and the youngest son is still at primary school. Irwanto himself has a variety of jobs. His main job is digging wells, and with this he can earn a nice income during the dry season. When he is not busy doing this, he tries to look for jobs as a construction worker. The rest of his time is spent on digging sand from the river. Irwanto also has a pedicab, which he rarely uses. Gunem works as a maid for a Chinese family in another part of the city. There she earns a regular income, with additional bonuses for extra jobs such as shopping and massages. At home, she and her daughter occasionally spend some time making strings of artificial flowers, which are sold to a trader to be used at weddings.

Three-generation households are not common in the Ledok. Children move out of their parents' house when they are able to pay rent or build a house themselves. When parents become elderly and are in need of care, they usually move in with one of the children.\footnote{More than half of all the households in the Ledok consist of nuclear families, one out of five consists of a single mother and one or more children, and one out of seven is a three-generation household. (These figures are based on one typical Ledok RT.)} Because the Ledok has only recently been occupied, the inhabitants are relatively young, and there are a lot of children. The birth control programs of the Indonesian government have been just as successful in the Ledok as in the Atas.\footnote{Even though large families can still be found in the Ledok, most people see this as undesirable. Especially if they have to live on a low income, too many children can be a burden on the household.}
The jobs of Irwanto and Gunem reflect a common phenomenon, namely occupational multiplicity, which is found in most households in the Ledok. Because access to relatively well-paid jobs is often limited to a few weeks per year, people try hard to look for additional income in other jobs. Most men in the Ledok work as pedicab drivers, construction workers or coolies, while there are also some traders and parking guards. Many women work as maids or laundry ladies in other parts of the city, or are engaged in small trade.

Irwanto and Gunem are both from Gunung Kidul, an agrarian district east of the city that is commonly referred to as Wonosari, after its main town. Irwanto had already been working in the city for a long time when he married Gunem. In the first years of marriage she continued to live in her home village in Wonosari. Only when Irwanto was able to rent the house in Bujung she did come to join him. They both still regularly return to their villages, mostly when there is a celebration or a funeral.

Although most people in the Ledok are originally from Gunung Kidul, most of them know each other only from having met in the city. When sitting together, the Ledok people often talk about Wonosari, and they are often memorising a mental map of the area and where all their neighbours are originally from. The first time I myself heard about Wonosari was through a message written on a bathroom door in a Yogyakarta bar. The message "Fuck Wonosari!!" gave the impression that it was written by a embittered migrant, a feeling that I could concur with after my first visit to this dry and infertile district. However, most people in the Ledok have a special place in their hearts for Wonosari, often talk about their childhood memories, and enjoy paying occasional visits to their various villages of origin.44

Irwanto is a Muslim, but he never goes to the mosque, never says his obligatory prayers and he also does not fast during Ramadan. He often refers to Allah though, and in many ways seems to be a very religious man, but he feels much more comfortable with Agami Jawi, the synchretist orientation that is widespread in Yogyakarta, than with the strict rules of puritan Islam (Agami Islam Santri).45 In his life he takes a bit from both sides, and he has certainly not lost his belief in devils and other natural spirits. Gunem is different. She says her prayers and goes to the mosque every week, to follow

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44 See also Murray (1991:73-4).
45 See Koentjaraningrat (1985:316-445)
Koran lessons, although the social aspect of these meetings is at least as important as the religious aspect.

Although the Ledok used to be a base for some militant support for the Islamic opposition party PPP during the Suharto-regime, most people are not very religious. Only a small circle of women and only a few men practise their religion, meaning that they follow Koran lessons, pray regularly and visit the mosque. It is only during Idul Fitri that most inhabitants join the mass prayer at a nearby football-field. When asked about their religion nearly all of them will say that they are Muslims, but after continued questioning they will admit that they are in reality merely 'Islam KTP', or Muslim only according to their identity card. For important rituals, such as those related to death and marriage, they will always invite the local kaum to preside in the prayers. When it comes to their own metaphysical ideas they are more likely to refer to local synchretism, with its strong relations to the Merapi volcano, the Sultan and the Queen of the South Sea. However, only few actually practise their belief in the form of regular visits to ancestral graves (nyekar) or lessons in kebatinan magic in secret organisations.46

Irwanto and his family live in a small house with bamboo walls, close to the river. He bought the house a couple of years ago when his landlord offered it to him at a cheap price. For that he had to take out a large loan from a financial self-help organisation called Manungga (through the PHBK program they were able to receive large loans from a local bank, see Chapter Four). Since he repaid this loan, Irwanto has been trying to save money in order to improve the house. He has already built his own bathroom and building brick walls is now his top priority. The house used to be much smaller when he still rented part of it out to a friend and his family. But when his daughter moved in with her new husband he decided not to extend that renting agreement.

Still a relatively large proportion of the houses in the Ledok are made of wood and bamboo, which is officially termed semi-permanent housing. Most people in the Ledok have a rented house, because they are unable to acquire the large amount of money necessary to build their own house. The arrangements with Manunggal and the local landlord were one of the ways in which wealthier Ledok inhabitants were able to finance their own house. Other important means are the participation in arisan and support from wealthier relatives. All the houses are quite small and generally contain no more than two rooms for the whole family. The walls between houses are in

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46 See Koentjaraningrat (1985:365-6 and 404-5).
several cases made of bamboo or do not go all the way to the top. Conversations in the neighbours’ house can be heard word for word, without any difficulty.

Both Irwanto and Gunem engage fully in the daily contacts with their neighbours. Irwanto is often found sitting in front of the houses of either Darusman or Ramelan, his closest neighbours, or he sits with a group of other people on the concrete river wall. He usually does not say much and smokes his *kretek* cigarettes quietly, interspersed with an occasional outburst when he feels strongly about one of the issues raised. The rest of his free time, he prefers to spend in front of his black and white television, where neighbours who come to watch at his place often join him. If Gunem is not out at work she usually sits on her neighbours’ doorstep or has other women at her own house. Their children hang around in the streets as well. The eldest son spends his evenings on the river wall and goes fishing with his friends at the weekends. The daughters, before one of them got married and the other left the house, liked to go out in the streets, preferably to go window shopping along Malioboro in the city centre. The youngest son runs around all day with the other children, to play marbles or fly kites.

The Ledok areas are lively in the sense that there are always people around. From the early morning till late at night one can find children, youngsters, women and men in the narrow alleys or along the river. The houses of people in the Ledok are generally small, not more than one or two rooms for the whole family. The inhabitants prefer to sit outside or on their own doorstep. Most families use water from the public wells or have to use the public bathrooms, and this makes for lots of opportunities to run into neighbours and stop for a chat or smoke a cigarette together. Children play all over the place. Women are in the habit of making strings of artificial flowers, while hanging around with each other. The lively interaction makes life pleasant, not only for themselves, but also for the researcher. There is always someone available for some small talk, fresh gossip, or a cigarette.  

47 In this context, Sullivan speaks of neighbourhood cells (1992: 45-70) as clusters of 6 to 12 households. These cells are female-centred groups that socialise together and through which there is a constant exchange of food, cash, and kitchen utensils. Members of a cell give each other advice and moral support and look after each other’s children. On the basis of my own observations I can only conclude that Sullivan’s description of the cell is much too strict, that husbands can interact with a completely different group from their wives, people belong to different groups or no group at all, etc. It is possible to speak of bench groups (following Murray (1991:66, 80)), but these are loose groups, without the intensive exchange practices described by Sullivan.
Irwanto often expresses his unhappiness with the gambling and drinking that takes place in the Ledok. He never joins in these activities, even when it is after a *selamatan*, when almost everybody is willing to bet a few thousand rupiah on a game of cards.

Trisnaputra (1996) has distinguished two different kinds of gambling in Bujung: regular gambling and gambling at ritual festivities. Regular gambling with small amounts of money takes place at a few foodstalls, nightwatch posts, and ordinary houses. There are other places where every night gambling games are organised and large amounts of money are lost and won. Many young men also frequent the gambling halls along the main streets where slot machines are available. And even children bet with money when they are shooting marbles. This regular gambling is perceived to be much less acceptable than gambling after a *selamatan* (ritual meal). It is normal in Bujung that after a ritual meal with all its formalities has finished, the men go home to change into something more comfortable and then return to the house of the one who organised the *selamatan* and sit, relax and play cards. If the owner of the house does not mind, bets are made with small amounts of money. This kind of gambling is also often seen in the Atas, where in particular the members of the original families are enthusiastic participants. There is often a special plate set aside where winners throw in one or two coins every time they win. The revenue is for the owner of the house.

The gambling activities create quite a lot of tension between people from the Atas and the Ledok. Many of the religious civil servants from the Atas are well-respected and for that reason are invited for *selamatan* all over the kampung. If they attend the *selamatan* and notice that people start gambling after the official part of the evening, they consider this an outrageous disgrace and leave the house. Most of the people in the Atas do not attend the *selamatan* in the Ledok, but they know about all the ‘bad things’ that are going on. One day after an evening of participatory fieldwork in the Ledok, I

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48 One could argue that Trisnaputra’s terminology is ill-chosen. Among the Bujungese, gambling after a *selamatan* is much more acceptable, and hence much more normal (or regular) than gambling at special gambling locations, which is done only by ‘irresponsible addicts’.

49 There are different games on which you can bet. There is a popular card game called *remi*, dominoes, and a Chinese card game, which are the most widely played. Occasionally there is also somebody with a sort of roulette, where the colours of three hidden dice have to be guessed. At the time of the World Cup soccer in July 1998, big bets were made on the outcome of the game, and there were even bets on the fate of the government during the turbulent months a little earlier.
was approached by several people in the Atas who warned me that it was okay for me to hang around with those people below, but that I "did not need to join the gambling." This negative attitude from above does not seem to be a problem for most people in the Ledok. They tend not to take religious rules very seriously and many do not really consider gambling a sin. What is more important is that is an opportunity to spend a pleasant night together.

Something that often accompanies gambling, and creates the same problems between those in favour and those against, is drinking. Drinking alcohol is a relatively normal and public practice in the Ledok. In the evenings, youngsters and some adult men regularly join together to organise a drinking party, often in conjunction with a post-selamatan party. The reason is often that one or more of them have earned a good amount of money that day and are willing to spend some money on booze. As drinks, mixes (oplosan) are preferred. Usually someone turns up with a few bottles of beer, wine, gin and energising drinks. Sometimes there is also sweet syrup and condensed milk. All are mixed in a big plastic jug after which the glasses are filled. Then each participant is pressed to empty the glass at one draught. Within ten minutes everybody is completely intoxicated and the drunks go staggering between the houses to look for a place to vomit. After dark, these mixes can also be bought at small stalls along the main roads of Yogyakarta. Another habit that occurs less frequently but which worries parents all the more is drugs. In the Ledok, but also in the Atas, dealers provide youngsters with Ecstasy, Rohypnol and other synthetic drugs. Taking these drugs is of course a much less public affair.\(^\text{50}\)

A negative aspect of this close-knit community is that the proximity of the neighbours can sometimes become too much. Arguments occur when gossip becomes too malicious, or when parents take their children's sides in a fight. In exceptional cases, the tension can lead to physical fighting. As much as they keep away from gambling and drinking, Irwanto and Gunem are also not so enthusiastic about the regular conflicts between neighbours. Even though Irwanto is head of the neighbourhood section he does not interfere when neighbours insult each other in the street. They both keep at a distance and stick to a few cynical comments. Irwanto and Gunem are a bit more outspoken when it comes to the promiscuous sexual behaviour of some of their neighbours. Irwanto will be the first to accuse them of immorality and sinfulness, but others whisper that he would be wise not to speak out so

\(^{50}\text{It is difficult to determine how many people engage in drinking and drug abuse, but my estimate is that about half of the men in the Ledok engage in drinking sessions. There are probably only a few dozen youngsters in Bujung using synthetic drugs.}\)
loudly, because Irwanto himself is said to have been unfaithful to his wife more than once.

Irwanto is the head of security in his neighbourhood section. He has been sought for this position because he is one of the senior inhabitants and because he is also active in Hansip (pertahanan sipil), the local voluntary civil guard. This job means that he is regularly asked to maintain public order during funerals, weddings, and other major social activities, when his main task is to regulate the traffic. Because of his seniority, he is also always one of the favourites at the election of neighbourhood section leaders. However, Irwanto takes great pains to avoid being elected because he does not feel comfortable with the idea of speaking in public. Gunem is much less a public person than her husband. At the meetings of the women, she always keeps a low profile and does not join in the discussions.

The public functions in a neighbourhood section usually go to people who are either original inhabitants, civil servants, or have tertiary education. In Irwanto's neighbourhood section, there are two people who meet one or more of these requirements. The first of them is the widow of an army officer. She has been the chairperson of the neighbourhood section for some time, a function that is rarely taken by a woman. However, after several years of valued service she decided to leave the responsibility to somebody else. This next person was Abdul, a mathematics teacher at a high school. Even though he was the elected chairman he showed no interest at all in the social activities of the Ledok, and he feels much more comfortable with his friends in the Atas. Ever since then, the main functions of chairperson, secretary and treasurer have gone to people who have a low level of education but are smart talkers. In the women's organisations, a sharp tongue is also a basis for authority.

Irwanto is one of the people who tend to take a leading role in voluntary work projects in his part of the neighbourhood. His physical strength and his many skills mean that most of the tasks eventually fall on his shoulders. In this part of the kampung there are many voluntary work projects, which in the past few years have produced an improved sewer, concrete alleys, and two new bridges. On these occasions, which usually take place on Sundays, the men and youngsters of the area join in work together, which is usually carried efficiently but at a leisurely pace. The women spend their whole day preparing lunch and tea for their 'hardworking' men. Most of those involved appear to enjoy the collective effort wholeheartedly, while the improvement of their own living environment and the food, drinks and cigarettes are additional to the fun. Although some work harder than others, the irritation is
usually focused on Pak Abdul, who considers himself an Atas person, and is therefore not interested in engaging in Ledok activities.

1.2.2 *Wahyudi and Sri Hartati, Atas people*

The Atas is much quieter than the Ledok. The few people one sees on the streets are usually going somewhere and not just lingering around. They are either going to or coming back from shopping or work, or they have come outside to buy a snack from a passing street vendor.

Wahyudi and Sri Hartati (both aged 39) live in the Atas. They have three children, a son and two daughters (aged 14, 9, and 7 respectively). The son used to be at an Islamic boarding school but Wahyudi and Sri Hartati took him home after the economic crisis because the school was becoming too expensive. Their two daughters are both still at primary school. Wahyudi is a civil servant and he makes some extra money repairing and painting motorcycles and cars. Sri Hartati used to have a small shop in front of the house, where she sold sweets, soap, cigarettes, stationery and the like. The shop was never a big success and when most of the stock was sold, they decided not to invest in the shop again. Instead Sri Hartati turned to making snacks, which she sells at the market each day. In order to make some extra money, Wahyudi is now trying to raise crickets as well.

In the Atas the nuclear family is also the most common form of household, and occupational multiplicity is also the norm, even though most families can rely on a reasonable basic income. The wives of civil servants are usually engaged in some income earning activities, often in the form of small trade but also sewing. Many inhabitants have built an extra house in their yard where they provide rooms for lodging students. Although one could argue whether it is a separate occupation, many of these households rely heavily on the sometimes illicit bonuses that office workers can obtain now and then.

Wahyudi was born in Madiun, East Java. Together with his father, who was also a civil servant, he moved to many places in the country. His parents were originally from Yogyakarta province. Sri Hartati is the daughter of a civil servant from Bantul, a district to the south of the city. The contacts with

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51 In the Atas, nearly half of the households consist of two parents and one or more children. One out of six are three-generation households. One out of nine households consist out of a married couple, and the same holds for single people, and for mothers with one or more children.
this part of the family are quite strong, and especially in the last few years they have often gone there to look after Sri Hartati’s mother. The people in the Atas are generally not so concerned with their place of birth anymore. Their place of origin, if it is outside Bujung, is something that is rarely mentioned, probably also because they often do not share the same birthplace with their neighbours.

Wahyudi was born a Catholic, but he converted to Islam after his marriage, following his wife. The reason he gives is that he feels more comfortable with Islam than with Catholicism. Nevertheless, Wahyudi and Sri Hartati never go to the mosque and restrict their religious activities to the annual prayer during Idul Fitri. They did send their son to an Islamic boarding school, but the main reason for that decision was that they felt he was a difficult child, and they feared that at a normal school he would get into contact with other children who might lead him astray. The alternative, a decent education at an Islamic school, seemed to them a much better option.

Most people in the Atas are Muslim, and the next largest category are Catholics. Also in the Atas, many people are religious only in name and never attend church or mosque. However, the proportion of actively religious people is much higher. A large group of better educated men are active in the Muhammadiyah organisation, or in one of the Islamic parties. The Koran lessons attract relatively large numbers of men and women, and the same holds for similar Christian activities.

Wahyudi and Sri Hartati live in a brick house. His father bought it when Wahyudi and his brother came to Yogyakarta for their studies. When Wahyudi’s brother and his family moved out, Sri Hartati and the children moved in. They had been living at her parents’ until that moment. Bamboo houses are very rare in this part of the kampung. Most people have a fairly large house with several rooms and a veranda, often surrounded by a spacious yard with fruit trees. Most inhabitants own their house and the land on which it stands.

Neither Wahyudi nor Sri Hartati have as many regular contacts with their neighbours as Irwanto and Gunem. When Sri Hartati goes to the market she will stop to talk to any neighbour she meets in the street, but she rarely spends her free time with them. Wahyudi is also not very outgoing. Sometimes, in the evenings he goes outside to see what is happening in the street in front of his house, and to have a chat with Trisnadi, Maryono, Dwi or Didi, his immediate neighbours. The last three spend many an evening outside talking and smoking cigarettes in front of Dwi’s house, but Wahyudi
rarely joins them. Instead they prefer to watch (colour) television inside with the whole family. In that case, the door is shut and the curtains are closed. Their children spend most of their time in front of the TV too.

In this section of the kampung, the houses are further apart, and a wide yard with trees in front of the houses presents some sort of a barrier for guests. Even if people make it all the way to the front door, they are not always invited in. Most of the houses in the Atas have a small wooden bench in front of the houses, where people can sit with not so intimate and not so important guests. In the evening the doors are mostly closed. In most cases, the family are watching television together, if they are at home at all.

The inhabitants of the Atas are not in the habit of calling at each other's houses, and also not sitting on the small walls bordering their streets. They prefer to meet each other on more formal occasions. Every neighbourhood section in the Atas has a well-kept security post where men gather in the evening to play a game of cards. They do not bet for money, as they are at pains to emphasise, but write down the scores in a book. Others go to one of the many meetings that take place in Bujung every night, meetings of religious, social, cultural and financial self-help organisations. Those who do not have a meeting or do not have their shift at the security post are bound to be at home with their families and not hanging around in the street.

The Atas is also the neighbourhood of the good mannered Javanese. Here older and respected people are greeted with courtesy, and everywhere one can hear the Islamic greet assalamu'alaikum. People in the Atas always make sure that they wear the right clothes for the right occasion and they always behave properly. Their social occasions, both the regular meetings and the annual festivities are marked by great formality and dignity.

Gambling and drinking are more heavily condemned among the people of the Atas, and this is related to the greater presence of Islam and Islamic leaders in this area. Wahyudi goes along with this common opinion. When asked, he says that he does not like gambling or drinking. According to him, it is in conflict with the responsibilities that men have towards their families. Still, especially at selamatan and wakes, there is always a group of men who start gambling. These groups are mostly made up of members of the original families, a few dubious individuals who live among the civil servants or are just attracted by the occasion, and some Catholics who feel that their religion does not forbid gambling.

Gambling has quite a history among the original inhabitants. The civil servants, who became the new kampung leaders after 1965, were active in their fight against it. Their argument was based on two elements. Gambling
is prohibited by the Islamic religion and gambling threatens the economic progress of those who engage in it, because generally more money is lost than is won. To some degree their fight against gambling has been won. In the Atas, which was the only part of the kampung when they started their campaign, gambling is not a common sight. However, there is still a lot of gambling going on in the Ledok. The moralists from the Atas have not been able to persuade these people to stop it.

Wahyudi and Sri Hartati do not take much interest in either the conflicts or the sexual behaviour of their neighbours, simply because there is nothing much going on. And even if there was some kind of trouble in their neighbourhood section, they probably would not know about it.

Neither Wahyudi nor Sri Hartati have a public position in their neighbourhood section. Although Wahyudi’s status as an educated civil servant means that he has all the qualities to become elected for some position, he is never among the favourites during the election because he usually keeps a low profile during meetings, and the same holds for Sri Hartati. In these neighbourhood sections the ideal people for public positions abound. Many inhabitants belong to the original families, are civil servants with a relatively good education, or both. Still, there are only a few who are enthusiastic about occupying a public position. This is in spite of the fact that such a position is a lot less hassle than in the Ledok, where people appear to depend more heavily on the support of the neighbourhood section leaders. In the Atas these positions have a more ceremonial character. It will come as no surprise that most of the local leaders at the level of the neighbourhood and the kampung are from the Atas. The experience of civil servants with the formalities of their offices makes them more eligible for a public position in which they have ceremonial tasks at all kinds of events, and have to deal with administrators from higher levels. There are no construction workers or other labourers who would dare to enter into that arena. Furthermore, higher level civil servants are allowed to perform public tasks in their office time, as an official part of their job. This can remove much of the hesitation that people feel towards being a candidate for a public position.

Voluntary working projects are also few in this part of the neighbourhood. The streets and sewers are usually already in good condition, there are no rivers to build bridges over and there is also no need for public lavatories and the like. Most of the activities are related to weddings and funerals, when a tent needs to be built for the guests. A large group of volunteers can build such a tent in a matter of hours, making use of
the bamboo poles and zinc sheets which are *kampung*-property. Setting up such tents is a bigger task in the Atas than in the Ledok, because in the Ledok there is hardly any space to build big tents, and there is no use for them because there are never many guests. For the rest, these voluntary activities create as few problems as in the Ledok. Work is done at a leisurely pace, and it gives certain people the opportunity to show off their skills and physical strength. At the voluntary working projects Wahyudi is never the first in line, although he does his fair share. Here too, tea is supplied to those who work, and sometimes food and cigarettes.

1.2.3 Social relations between the Atas and the Ledok

As has become clear from the above, historically there have emerged three main categories of inhabitants in Bujung, and these have formed a social configuration that is basically two-sided. The first two categories, the original families and the civil servants, have more or less merged, whereas the third category, the rural migrants, has fallen outside the central community. This division into an upper section and a lower section is an important social reality of which the inhabitants of Bujung are constantly aware. It has remained unresolved for years and continues to haunt the social life of Bujung.

An explanation for the form of this configuration starts from the assumption that the relations between the Atas and the Ledok are in the first place shaped by the collective ideas held in the respective areas with regard to the other area. Such collective ideas are formed on a basis of interdependency. Like in all other places where people live together, the Bujungese cannot ignore one another (Elias and Scotson, 1965:146). Ledok people need to cooperate with Atas people because they occupy the key positions of leadership at higher administrative levels such as RW and former RK. Apart from that, the wealthier Atas can be a potential source of support in times of need. In the reverse direction, Atas leaders need the participation of Ledok people in social activities at the level of the *kampung* in order to validate their status as leaders of the whole ‘unified’ *kampung*. This interdependency explains many of the problems that occur in Bujung, and at the same time it explains why social relations between people in the Atas and the Ledok have not vanished either.

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52 In the case of Bujung this interdependency is probably even stronger than in the neighbourhood studied by Elias and Scotson, considering the large degree of ‘self-help government’ at the lowest level in Indonesia.
The original families only know that their roots are in Bujung, as they own the land on which they live. They have occupied the heartland, or upper section of the kampung, for as long as people can remember. Although most of them were originally labourers, they have managed to achieve some degree of upward mobility over the past decades. With the great advantage that they were able to sell or rent their land to newcomers, they have been able to expand their enterprises and give their children a better education. As a result, a large proportion of the young people from these original families now have office jobs. The first group of immigrants was of higher social status than the original families. Because the kampung was only sparsely occupied and the houses of the original families were quite far apart, the civil servants who entered the kampung in the 1960s settled and built their houses between those of the original families. This makes that at this moment it is not possible to distinguish different zones for the original families and the new civil servants.

The civil servants and their relatives engage in social life almost as much as the members of the original families. Such social activities include the monthly meetings of the neighbourhood committee, attending rituals and festivities of neighbours, participation in financial self-help organisations, and having occasional chats in the street. In fact, the civil servants in Bujung have a very stimulating role when it comes to religious activities. They publicly propagate and perform the practices that form the obligations of a good Muslim or Catholic. They go to the mosque regularly, attend religious lessons (pengajian) and say their prayers, or attend church on Sunday.

The reasons for the closer interaction between the two groups in the Atas are various. First of all, their status differences are limited because the original families have been able to achieve levels of wealth and education similar to the civil servants. Secondly, they live next to each other, which means that they are bound to see each other regularly and are more or less forced to at least chat occasionally. Thirdly, there is a separate category of civil servant newcomers who have not migrated into the kampung with their families, but first came to Bujung as students. They rented rooms in one of the many boarding houses built by the original families and during their stay came into contact with local girls from these families. The subsequent intermarriage has clearly brought these different groups closer together.

When it comes to the reasons why the third group have not been able to merge into the community and even has been alienated from the other inhabitants, there is an interesting feature suggested by Elias and Scotson (1965:17-20). For the community that they studied, they argue that the
newest migrants became outsiders because they were unable to settle into the social configuration at the place intended for them by the inhabitants who were already there. It was not the newness that was inherently problematic, but a different morality and lifestyle that failed to connect smoothly with existing social structures.

The same holds for the Ledok people in Bujung. It was clear that they were socio-economically inferior, mainly because they depended on unskilled manual labour, a category that was in no sense unfamiliar to the original inhabitants of Bujung. However, in contrast with most of their predecessors they were freebooters in many ways. They worked for themselves or for bosses outside Bujung, rather than for local patrons. They had also not come directly from their villages of origin, but had been living and working along the streets of Yogyakarta for years. Therefore, they had become street-wise and a certain roughness and crude behaviour had become second nature to them.

Furthermore, the ways in which they came to Bujung and settled there created strong social bonds. When migrants from Gunung Kidul come to Yogyakarta from their home villages and try to make a living, they depend on other people to guide them in the initial phase of finding a job and a place to stay. In this search many immigrants ask for help from their relatives, and often temporarily stay with an uncle, a sister or another relative. In the tangled city, these unskilled immigrants often try find a place to stay in the immediate environment of their first hosts. These things taken together meant that the Ledok people were independent of the Atas people in the social, economic, and subsequently also in the political and religious spheres. And this was something that was logically hard to accept for those in the Atas.

The unwillingness, or inability, of Ledok people to accept an inferior position in the social configuration encouraged people in the Atas to further emphasise their moral superiority. One of the main ways in which this is done is through gossip and other stories that underlie these feelings. People from the Atas talk about those in the Ledok as criminals, gamblers, alcoholics, lazy good-for-nothings, irreligious, irresponsible people, who are constantly trying to borrow one's money and never repay. In that sense, the people in the Ledok are still suffering from the negative image of a small minority among them, who do not even live there any more. But to those in the Atas, the Ledok still 'smells like gelandangan'.

A second element of the unpleasant stories about the Ledok focuses on hygiene. One of the women in the Atas recalled in disgust a particular week,
some years ago, when there was no day without a child dying because of some disease in the Ledok. The Ledok also still has the smell of a marshy riverbed, full of snakes and rats, and the people who live there are "dirty and cannot take care of themselves". In reaction, the people in the Ledok themselves have come to resist these condemnations in their own way. Those in the Atas are often denounced as being conceited and unwilling to share their wealth and lend support to those in the Ledok. "They only come down when they need help, for a selamatan for example." 

People in the Ledok characterise themselves as wong cilik and those in the Atas as wong gedhé. Another distinction that is often made is between orang punya and orang tidak punya, or the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. And of course this fosters notions of 'us against the rest', further reinforcing the social cohesion between Ledok people. In the Atas, people are not so comfortable with these distinctions and they prefer to emphasise that in Bujung everybody is a wong cilik, maybe only except for the few rich Chinese who live along the main street and that one successful Javanese businessman. People in the Atas like the idea that Bujung is one community where everybody is the same. Sullivan (1992: 72-5) in this respect refers to the use of the term "podo-podo" [padha-padha], which emphasises the sameness of all kampung people.

They also say that they are willing to share wealth and help the poorest inhabitants of their kampung, but that this is not as easy as it may seem. The problem, according to them, is that it is difficult to trust people in the Ledok because they are not responsible with their money. The few times they have tried to help some of them, either on a personal basis or in a group effort (see Pamanmubu in Chapter Five), they had bad experiences. The people in the Ledok did not repay their loans and used the money given to them for gambling or drinking. "Many of them are just lazy and not really

53 See also Guinness (1986:153-66).
54 The social cohesion in Bujung appears to be much stronger between the people living in the Ledok. People from all categories in Bujung also acknowledge this as a fact.
55 Some of the few vertical social relations within the kampung are based in the mosque or the church. In other cases they stem from a relation between boss and labourer/housekeeper, or between landlord and tenant, which has become increasingly close over the years, and such relationships, once established, may continue to exist over a number of generations. An example of this is the close relationship between Bu Umar and the two brothers Dwi and Maryono. Bu Umar's mother had been the housekeeper of Dwi and Maryono's grandmother. The two brothers still regularly brought rice to the elderly Bu Umar and paid her husband Pak Umar for some light tasks in their houses.
interested in finding a job. Each day they work until they have enough and then they go home and do nothing."

In this light it seems difficult to understand why the inhabitants of the Atas do not see the people of the Ledok as excluded from their community. It would be perfectly understandable if these people were considered "not really Bujung people", as the people in Sullivan's kampung did with regard to the gelandangan (Sullivan, 1992: 123-33). Instead they opt for a certain ambivalence, considering them socially inferior, but Bujung people nevertheless. Probably this is simply the best possible solution if local leaders and other community figures want to uphold the perfect image of a united community, a notion on which most of their position is built. After all, the decision not to characterise Ledok people as inferior in public discourse does not imply including these people, or giving them prominent roles, in important social activities.

1.3 Consequences

The social, political and economic changes that have taken place in Bujung have had a great influence on the lives of its inhabitants. They have led to a dualistic social configuration with the Ledok and the Atas as two opposite poles. Wider changes have led to life-worlds in which people have new needs and desires with regard to food consumption, health care, ceremonies, and so on. There are clear differences between the worlds of the Ledok and the Atas, and also between the different degrees to which their inhabitants are able to deal with their needs and desires. Most people in the Atas have a certain standard of living based on modest but reliable incomes. The living conditions of those in the Ledok are poorer and they have to manage with unreliable petty jobs.

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56 Of course the accounts of these experiences may very well be coloured by an (unconscious) intention to blacken the people in the Ledok. However, I have been able to establish the truth of some of these stories and most people in the Ledok are not afraid to acknowledge that they are often not honest towards their 'benefactors'. Given the continuous moral condemnation by the people of the Ledok, it is perhaps understandable that they want to 'strike back' whenever they can.