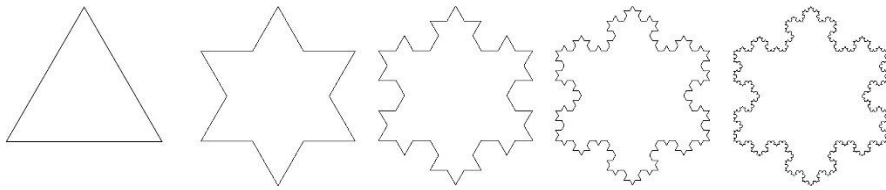


Dominik Formanowicz

**Production of everyday life's space in the realm of informality.**

**Example of rural-urban migrants in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.**



Bachelor Thesis Geography, Planning and Environment (GPE)

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June 2018

Student number: s1011623

Number of words: 23450

Cover picture retrieved <https://yourmaths.wordpress.com>

## Summary

### Background

Migrations and space are two notions which can't be separated if one tries to understand the global changes that take place in the XXI century. Population growth in large parts of the world makes migratory studies even more crucial. There still seems to be room for better systemic understanding of migration as a larger pattern of not only changing the *status quo* but actually constructing societies and economies.

One of the leading migratory patterns links the rural and urban realities in a constant flow of people pursuing better livelihood opportunities. Sounders (2011) calls it 'the final phase' of rural-urban migration which transforms societies into urban ones and leaves the myths of peaceful, idyllic peasant lives behind for good. In 'Arrival cities' (2011) he writes that after this last phase only the ones employed in professionalised agriculture industry will be left in the villages and the rest of rural inhabitants, unable to find stable livelihoods in the villages but already connected enough to larger infrastructural, economic and social entities, will move closer to their cores – to the cities.

If this is true can be argued but the studies of IOM (2015) or UN seems to confirm that. By 2050, there will be over 60% of people living in the cities (UN ESCAP, 2014) in Asia Pacific region with some sources suggesting even more on the global scale, up to 70% (Sounders, 2011). This migratory inflow in South Asia and Pacific region takes place in the developing countries of so called Global South. What often characterises them is a rapid economic growth with high fertility rates.

Although a lot of politics in the XXI century is focused on international migration, in the so called Global South it is internal migration which seems to be a much more influential factor. For Indonesia, the country I chose for my research, internal migration rate is ten times higher than international migration of Indonesian citizens (Lu, 2010). This seems understandable since moving within a country is usually much easier than crossing state borders to settle. That is why, in order to design better planning for the cities (not only in the Global South), instead of focusing on political discussions around international migration it seems more crucial to focus on internal migratory flows which are intrinsically connected to rural-urban dynamics. The best proof of the inevitability of this phenomenon might be numerous state policies in countries such as Turkey,

China or Indonesia to reverse the flows towards cities (Sounders, 2011). Even if they stopped the flows temporarily, they failed to reverse them.

When it comes to intra-state movements within large populations, high ethnical diversity and economies with limited resilience, *space* becomes a crucial aspect in designing policies and planning strategies because it is one of the main 'limiting factors' of growth (Meadows, 2008). Cities have a limited capacity of meeting migrants spatial, social and economic needs and all three of these require 'spaces' – whether is it the physical space, the space of inclusion/exclusion practices or the regulatory space of policies.

Henri Lefebvre (1991) provided one of the most ambitious and complex but also fluid and resilient concepts of space and of its emergence which (probably in the vein of Marxist 'conceived space') he chose to simply call the 'production of space.' He created a triad of interconnected modes of production but highlighted that every spatial occurrence always has all three elements of the triad embedded in it at the same time, breeding new spaces endowed with these 3 elements again and again.

The entry mode for understand the dynamics of space production in the Global South is its embeddedness in informality. Informal structures of administrative, labour or social space seems to prevail in the Global South and no research in these structures can be conducted without taking informality into consideration. This thesis evolves around informality using Lefebvre's triad of space production while putting the migrant and his/her agency in the centre of attention.

### Research objective

The goal of this research is to understand how migrants construct their everyday lives ('lived' space) within the informal structures of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. According to IOM (2015) there is a growing pressure on so called secondary cities as destination places. That is why, instead of choosing Jakarta or Surabaya in the Indonesian context, this research is conducted in Yogyakarta, a city which is not one of the economical core cities of South East Asia but is still central enough (located in Java) to attract migrants. Believing that the future societal and economic development will be placed in the secondary cities, the research in Yogyakarta seems more insightful.

What is in the centre of interest of this research is how migrants negotiate their space according to Lefebvre's triad and what 'tools of negotiation' they tend to use, how they rely on each other and how they use their creativity to acquire new tools - finally, which of these give them the leverage to negotiate space with their new surroundings.

The aim of this research is:

*to develop the understanding of how everyday space of life (Lefebvre's 'perceived space') is shaped and negotiated by rural-urban migrants in chosen central Yogyakarta neighbourhood(s); what are the main dynamics of 'production of space' and to what extent they are influenced by informality and migrants' social networks.*

### Methodology

This research is placed in different, carefully selected neighbourhoods of Yogyakarta and it uses qualitative methods, namely grounded theory, applicable to respondents sharing same experiences, in order to understand the processes behind these experiences. The main tool of collecting data would be semi-structured interviews conducted up to the moment of saturation of insights. Also, due to the necessity of conducting 'side research' on Yogyakarta's inclusiveness, observations and one focus group are used for collecting insights.

All data is analysed with grounded theory coding methods using Atlas.ti software. The outcome of the coding procedure are the networks of connections and structures depicting the modes of space production. These networks lead to conclusions on the 'tools of negotiation' which migrants acquire in Yogyakarta, the role of rural habits and social networks in space production and construction of new networks in the place of destination.

### Research results

The results of the research, visible by analysing the networks, are complex nets of connections between migrants and local communities, local labour markets and housing structures. 'Local' is the central notion here since migrants often place themselves in areas with easy access to work places or rather to labour markets since the great majority of them tend to establish their own enterprises, especially in food and transport industries. These industries are crucial in the realm of informality since they are low-skilled or semi-skilled jobs and that makes them accessible for newcomers.

The thriving of these industries in central Yogyakarta attracts migrants from all over Indonesia, but especially from Java. Yogyakarta has a reputation of the core of Javanese culture and that is followed by an image of kindness, politeness and inclusivity of Yogyakarta's inhabitants. This, along with high demand for services, creates feedback loops, attracts more migrants and gives them a *space to work* (services, also serving new migrants) and a *space to live* (inclusivity) up to the point of eventual exhaust these spatial resources which seems not to be reached yet in Yogyakarta.

What was also discovered during this research is that the myth of inclusivity is largely based on the idea of superiority of Javanese culture and to some extent, on religious divisions. It makes the production of space easier for Javanese migrants but the ones from other islands, especially from the Eastern part of Indonesia face discrimination when it comes to housing, labour market or access to social networks. They often feel alienated which only reinforces the hardships but some of them show extraordinary creativity in overcoming their underprivileged conditions, acquiring new 'tools of negotiation' in which their 'otherness' becomes an asset.

### Conclusions

It seems that almost entire lived space of migrants in the central areas of Yogyakarta is embedded in informality and it often starts with the 'entry modes' of informal self-employment and cheap dwellings along the river banks.

These spatial practices of work and housing are the ones around which migrants can set up their relatively sedentary everyday life. This sedentarism is more salient for less educated and older respondents. When it comes to migrants with higher levels of education (junior or senior high school) and younger ones, they create their space more bluntly, with more flexible future plans and more mobility. Older migrants seem to retain more 'rural' ways of living, constructing tighter social networks with the neighbours and kampung community and negotiation space by investing in their children's education.

The conceived space is still omnipresent (just as Lefebvre's model shows), for instance in kampung structures or uncodified 'laws' of Malioboro trade however, these are still immersed in informality. Again, younger migrants tend to negotiate them more actively than the migrants with less tools of negotiation. That also applies to the informal conceived space of discrimination. It's worth stating that interactions with the conceived space of state regulations and policies seem accidental in the areas of the research.

It seems that despite the flexible realm of informality, the negotiation and production of space has a lot to do with migrant's 'tools of negotiation' (skills, creativity, education) and their own, individual resilience. Yet, migrants less 'equipped' with these tools also produce their space, step by step, used to hardships and patiently paving the way for their children to establish their own lives as city dwellers.

## Preface

Dear Reader,

The research idea for this thesis came out of my ongoing interest in migration *per se*. I like to think of it as something which Donella Meadows calls a regulatory, balancing loop (2008) in a great, evolving system of human society.

But why using Lefebvre's ideas? Lefebvre created a resilient, flexible system based on a triad. Yet, every occurrence in any mode of the spatial triad has the elements of all three modes. For instance, when migrant's lived space is limited by difficulties in finding a room due to her perceived 'otherness', she faces the *conceived space* of racial superiority, the *spatial practice* of discrimination and the *lived space* of the feeling of alienation, all at the same time. The triad is multiplied further into details.

Lefebvre's model reminds me of Koch's snowflake, another triad-based figure used in fractal geometry (the picture on the cover) which evolves by multiplying a triangle on every edge of an existing one. This 'snowflake' is an example of a well-designed, functional system. That is why it is used in system dynamics as an example of self-organisation (Meadows, 2008).

Furthermore, self-organisation, possible only in 'diverse systems with enough room for experiments' (Meadows, 2008) brings to mind another crucial aspect of this work - the realm of informality which appears to be a self-regulating system itself. My thesis is an attempt to put all these dynamic elements together.

I would like to thank all the kind people at UGM who provided me with a hospitable, welcoming environment to work – especially Ibu Pipit, Ibu Estu, Ibu Utia and Prof. Rijanta. I would like to thank my supervisor, Martin van der Velde for his patience and support. Last but not the least, I want to thank my friend and translator in Yogyakarta – Merryyna Anggriani, whose professionalism made my research possible and whose sense of humour made me feel like home from the very start.

Dominik Formanowicz

Yogyakarta, 08.06.2018

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

This work is an attempt to understand how space is being produced within one of the biggest spatial phenomena of present times which is rural to urban migration.

In the near future of Asia-Pacific region, more people are going to live in urban areas than in rural ones. The proportion is growing constantly and by 2050, it is predicted to reach 63% (UN ESCAP, 2014) with some sources estimating over 70% on the global scale (Saunders, 2011). What it means in practice is that every day about 120,000 people move from rural to urban areas (UN ESCAP, 2014). What's more, in the next few decades over 2,5-billion population growth is going to take place in low and medium income countries (UN DESA, 2014) which puts enormous stress on their cities and reshapes the processes which govern them. Many of these countries are located in the mentioned Asia-Pacific region.

Jayaram (2010) calls for rethinking old theories and designing new tools for urban sociology which, now seems more necessary than ever. "Fuelled by increased urbanization in many developing settings, internal migration, in particular that from rural to urban areas, occurs at an even more unprecedented scale than international migration" (Lu, 2010, p.412).

"While rural livelihoods may still dominate in the Global South, many urban centres are experiencing population growth that far outstrips rates of natural increase. Rural poverty and stagnation have led to high levels of migration from the countryside so that capital cities and larger urban centres are growing, in population terms, by 3–5 per cent per year" (Rigg, 2007, p.84).

I believe there is no need to describe this movement in a language of crisis used by some scholars (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000), but surely, this process is crucial for understanding the dynamics of human settlements evolution and as such needs to be deeply investigated (Roy, 2005). I prefer to follow Saunders (2011) who calls the rural-urban destinations, often shanty and informal - 'arrival cities', emphasizing the transforming and chance-oriented aspect of this kind of migration.

There seems to be a necessity of taking the point of view of the Global South into consideration – not just simply to stop ignoring it but actually draw from it and take its perspective and complexity into account in the discourse about urban geography. Roy (2005) points out that even though "much of the urban growth of the 21st century is taking place in the developing world, (...) many of the theories of how cities function remain rooted in the developed world" (p. 147).

To change the perspective and take into account the Global South's perspective, one has to acknowledge modes involved in creation of its cities' reality such as informality-formality, modernity-traditionalism, cosmopolitanism-community formulation or gender relations (Rigg, 2007). All of these should rather be perceived on continuous spectrums, not as dichotomous phenomena. What is apparent in the cities of the Global South is the dialectics of these notions, constantly negotiated by its actors (Jayaram, 2010).

What's more, they are all rooted and embedded in a geographical scale of locale and milieu, of places and spaces, structure and actors (Giddens, 1984) negotiating their "right to urban life" (Lefebvre, 1996). The big picture of Western spatial theories juxtaposed with dynamic complexities of the South seems increasingly confusing. Nevertheless, these complexities will not simply go away so it seems that a better solution is to reframe the existing theories or at least see them from a new perspective, without the Western bias and with South's specificities taken into account.

My interest in how migrants create their everyday lives was triggered by the notion of cosmopolitanism, reframed into the Global South perspective by Ayona Datta (2012). Her understanding seems useful in explaining how 21st century cities are being shaped and reshaped by these 120,000 people mentioned in the UN report (2014) who arrive and 'learn' the city day by day to gradually become its inhabitants with certain claims and habits.

Datta's ideas of "atomised individuals", "universal human" (2012) recognised by the city, fit well in the spatial triad formulated by Lefebvre – the main theoretical framework used in this thesis as a kind of umbrella explaining the dynamics of space, its "representational space", "space of representation" and "spatial practices" (Lefebvre, 1991). Datta described modes of negotiating space by newcomers in an overcrowded new surrounding – from recognising differences to 'domesticating' them and often forming inclusive attitudes towards others in a peculiar combination of choice and necessity. This combination in fact means negotiating spatial elements, conceived and perceived and could be described in universal terms coined by Lefebvre. I use these terms, the triad of space production, in order to explain how migrants from rural areas of Indonesia produce their everyday life space in the city of Yogyakarta.

Albeit, it's worth acknowledging that the concepts of space production were constructed back in the seventies of the previous century by a Western Marxist. Are they still valid, taking into consideration the dynamics and necessities of Global South fifty years later? Taking this reservation into account might help to not overlook other factors that shape space currently, its moments and rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004) and which were not present a few decades ago.

First, I elaborate on the most important aspects of Indonesian socio-economic reality to put the study of rural-urban migration in the right context. Secondly, I outline Lefebvre's theories and comment on why I find them relevant to explain the dynamics of migratory movements in Indonesia. Later I describe the methodology which I use in this research. Eventually, I present the results and draw conclusions on the research. I finish this thesis with some recommendations regarding further research and possible policy solutions.

### 1.1. Scientific relevance

The topic of migration to cities is an important issue in terms of understanding and explaining the reality of globalization, especially in the densely populated areas of South East Asia. There have been many social science theories regarding the dynamic of an individual in a social context, to name only structuration theory by Giddens (1984), Bourdieu's *habitus* (1984), spaces as described by Lefebvre (1991) and globalization approaches. However, there is still room for completing these with the dynamics of the 'developing' countries. The view from the South incorporated in this thesis, along with theories and approaches introduced by scholars from the South might contribute to the field of human geography - not only in the South.

### 1.2. Societal relevance

The figures behind prospective urban population growth and migration streams fuelling urban transformations seem to ask for ongoing explanations of the forces behind them.

The dynamics I am about to uncover in my thesis are the ones that shape modern cities and since the future of these cities is an ongoing subject of interest and a source of public anxiety, it is enough of a reason to try to face that topic.

Therefore, the results of this work might be helpful for policy makers on central as well as municipal level not only in Yogyakarta but probably in other Indonesian cities as well. It might be useful also for spatial planners although the topic doesn't cover spatial planning issues itself. It might help to foster resilience and harmonic growth of the city by understanding the dynamics of human interactions and their interaction with space.

### 1.3. Research objective and main theoretical concepts

There is a lot of literature that covers the processes of constructing urban identities but the aim of this work will be to include the possible intersections of these theories with the concepts relevant for the Global South, such as informality of urban structures or modernity intersecting with traditionalism.

To do that, I add some notions specific for South East Asia to the concepts of Henri Lefebvre. In the first place I rely on informality first and on social networks. In the theoretical part of this thesis

some other concepts are introduced, helpful for understanding the dynamics of migration - modernity, gender roles and family as a migratory. I describe them even if I will not be able to research them fully in the interviews conducted during the research.

Informality seems to be the basic mode of functioning of the urban economy as well as the urban labour market, especially the non-skilled labour market (Rigg, 2007). But its dynamics are still to be explained in details. How informality intersects with formality, what conditions and what rules it provides – in other words what labourers expect and what they ‘get’ from informal socio-economic relations. When speaking about ‘precariousness’ of labour – how does it influence everyday life? Is it a hopeless situation or perhaps it creates some opportunities? Perhaps, what is not regulated by the state is able to regulate itself to some extent? Or, if labour market is indeed precarious – maybe other spheres of everyday life are more stable and reliable, for instance family ties, communities and social networks to provide balance? Does informality diminish or enhance resilience?

Informal reality, so different from the European realm of complicated but reliable rules, needs to be described with attention and with minimum initial assumptions. Informality of everyday contacts also influences spatial practices of production and reproduction of urban space. It’s worth considering if informal relations mean complete flexibility and no ‘conceived space’ or perhaps the opposite with multiple visions of reality fighting over space or coexisting in it, as described by Datta (2012).

Another important question about space production is associated with social networks. This thesis will include attempts to explain whether networks are indeed relied upon or they are ‘lost’ somewhere in the process of creating ‘new home’.

In a formal organizational realm, citizens have many ways of meeting their basic needs by just recursing to formal, state-run services (health care, labour rights, housing procedures). With this ‘safety net’ not provided formally by the state, do social networks take state’s place? They might be stretched between rural and urban areas, sometimes over great distances, or they might be surprisingly static, limited to a small area within a *kampung*. Perhaps it’s both - migrants often rely on networks while moving, but to a large extend have to build them again in a new place. Nevertheless, are social networks merely a tool or a foundation of new life? Are they forgotten after the ‘stage is set’ or perhaps the role of networks is as dynamic as the process of moving itself? This thesis provides some answers to these questions, not aspiring to give general explanations but putting research findings in a specific, limited context of Yogyakarta.

It is worth mentioning the role of 'modernity' in Indonesia. Created and continually enhanced by the state (Suharto's New Order) it seems to be an intriguing mixture of political directing in a very traditional way and 'Western' capitalist values being incepted by the society. First, the question what 'modernity' means have to be answered. Ferguson (1999) argues, that traditional/modern division is not as accurate as 'localist styles' and 'cosmopolitan styles'. Riggs (2007) encourages "to see modernity being the means by which people engage with each other, (...) make connections through their varied experiences of modernity. Modernity becomes the lingua franca of connection." (p.67)

Notions of modernity, informality, social networks including gender roles and the role of family will be elaborated in the theoretical section for providing a bigger picture and context for research although these notions are not directly addressed in the research questions. I do that consciously, believing that the thesis frame doesn't allow me to investigate them here but their presence resonates in my research nonetheless, especially in the interviews conducted.

To conclude:

*The aim of the research is to develop the understanding of how everyday space of life (Lefebvre's 'perceived space') is shaped and negotiated by rural-urban migrants in chosen central Yogyakarta neighbourhood(s); what are the main dynamics of 'production of space' and to what extent they are influenced by informality and migrants' social networks.*

The main question of the research is:

*How is everyday space negotiated and produced by new coming rural-urban migrants in central neighbourhoods of Yogyakarta?*

This would be answered by answering the following sub-questions:

- 1. How is the production of lived space influenced by conceived space and spatial practices of urban reality in Yogyakarta?*
- 2. To what degree is the production of lived space based on informality?*
- 3. What is the role of rural-urban social networks in shaping everyday space of urban migrants?*

Answers to these three sub-questions will sum up to a wider picture of how everyday space of migrants is being negotiated within Lefebvre's triad, to what extend space production is based on informal relations and what is the role of communities in the process.

## Chapter 2 Theoretical background

### 2.1. Remarks on ordering

I decided to first introduce an overview of Global South's mobility and its dynamics to set the ground for elaborating on Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad. Doing it the other way could lead to confusion by starting off from relatively structured concepts to an overlapping and rather chaotic world of exceptions and intertwining concepts. By introducing the concepts first, I will be able to present the 'scene' in which the 'production of space' takes place and then I will describe the modalities of this production.

Hence, first I would elaborate on mobility and the essence of rural- and urban-ness. Later, I will introduce and overview on modernity in Indonesia, the role of informality and how these two set the stage for gender roles, family (as mobility unit) and social networks. Only after doing that, I would fasten these concepts to the 'production of space' theory. From that point, the conceptualization of the production of space in the Global South shall be ready to be researched.

### 2.2. Global South mobility

#### 2.2.1. Rural to urban migration in the Global South

As the point of departure, I outline some of general dynamics of migration in the Global South to introduce patterns and key concepts applicable for the further research in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. I use examples not only from Indonesia. Globalized nature of economic, societal and migratory phenomenon often has similar patterns across space. Furthermore, Indonesia itself is such a geographically and ethnically diverse spatial entity that sometimes migration patterns from other Asian countries such as Thailand or Bangladesh might be more applicable to explain rural to urban migration in Central Java than examples from orthodox Ache, Kalimantan struggling with infrastructural shortages or remote parts of the archipelago which encounter yet another specificity.

In terms of Indonesia, it has been economically developing rapidly over the last few decades, often exceeding the growth of other quickly developing countries (UN, 2002). At the same time, it is one of the countries which are the biggest source of unskilled migrants in the world (Hugo, 2002). "In the most recent census, one in ten Indonesians was classified as a migrant, roughly 23 million people. This stream is largely characterized by rural to urban and economically motivated migration" (Lu, 2010, p. 413). At the same time, only about 2,5 million Indonesians are international migrants (Lu, 2010). Hence, there seems to be a great dynamic of internal migration

from peripheries to Indonesian cities which needs scientific attention. The way they produce, shape and reshape urban space becomes a relevant topic for these cities' future.

### 2.2.2. Rural-ness and urban-ness

What does rural to urban migration mean, first of all?

Thomson (2003, 2004) defines some characteristics of 'rural-ness' and 'urban-ness', referring to villages and cities in Malaysia.

Rural-ness, according to the author, is associated with:

- a) focused on subsistence, agriculture-oriented,
- b) unsegmented economy, 'simple' life deprived of consumerism
- c) based on informality and personal contact, with attachment to the place of origin and relative sedentarism,
- d) backward looking and uneducated

Using analogy, urban-ness would be:

- a) not focused on agriculture,
- b) Segmented economy with abundance of consumer goods,
- c) Formal, 'role-focused' in interacting, with a lot of interaction and integration, relatively mobile,
- d) Forward-looking, progressive, educated.

Albeit, the big picture gets complicated in so called 'developing countries'. Rigg (2007) observes, that "rural-urban divide is becoming blurred" (p. 86). He mentions few factors which cause that. First of all, industries are becoming more present in the rural areas and respectively, there is a fair amount of agriculture in the cities. Secondly, both rural and urban dwellers often get multiple occupations as a strategy of survival, so they are no longer that attached to agriculture and at the same time their 'workstyle' starts to remind urban ways of living. What is more, livelihoods are separated within one family into rural and urban areas. If perceived from a family as a unit point of view, many families lead rural and urban lives – with frequent circular migration along with some of family members living permanently in urban and some living in rural areas. Finally, social and cultural attributes mingle, with villages where "lives of the inhabitants conform to the characteristics of urban life" (Rigg, 2007, p. 86).

Hence, what seems to be the main theme of this thesis and will also turn out to be salient when Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad becomes applicable is the fact that traditionally dichotomous or

opposing spheres of life and space intertwine and overlap in the Global South, possibly to an extent to which Western geography and urbanisation are not used to.

### 2.2.3. Migrations and influencing factors

As mentioned at this thesis's introduction, it is hard to understand South's spatial practices without understanding concomitant notions embedded in Global South's specificity. Notions which shape the mobility context in the Global South have a complex and dynamic nature. "They have 'different speeds, different axes, different points of origin and termination'; unpicking and understanding these disjunctures is central to the mobility project" (Rigg, 2007, p. 119). What is more, the same occurrence might often lead to different results regarding migration schemes.

As Rigg put it:

"Migration may be propelled by poverty, and encouraged by wealth; it may reflect resource scarcities at the local level, or be an outcome of prosperity; it may be embedded in economic transformations, or better explained by social and cultural changes; it may narrow inequalities in source communities, or widen them; it may tighten the bonds of reciprocity between migrants and their natal households; or it may serve to loosen or break these bonds; it may help to support agricultural production; or it may be a means to break away from farming altogether." (Rigg, 2007a, p.163)

Nevertheless, some things are known, well described by the literature and, to some extent, may be taken for granted.

The concepts which I find significantly relevant for this research are:

- a) modernity as a driver and a goal of pursue
- b) informality as an omnipresent mode of functioning and producing of space
- c) gender roles, changing regarding migration flows
- d) family as a basic unit of mobility
- e) social networks' role in rural-urban mobility

Although this thesis covers the production of space in everyday life of rural to urban migrants in their urban realm, the concepts mentioned above need to be briefly introduced. Again, as Rigg puts it, "theories of migration and mobility need to take cognisance of multiple drivers and a mosaic of contexts" (2007, p. 119).

Referring especially to gender roles, I elaborate on some specific Indonesian phenomena to explain the possible conditions influencing urban space and its production by migrants, namely New Order politics of general Suharto which shaped the society of Indonesians to an extent hard to overestimate (Wieringa, 2003; Lim, 2006).

### *Modernity*

There seems to be a significant role of modernity both in the Global South and in Indonesia especially. It is often simplistically associated with urbanization and industrialization only and perceived as an inevitable dualism of modernity and tradition, new and old, civilized and uncivilized (Ferguson, 1999). Although there is for sure a dichotomous relationship between tradition and modernization it should be perceived more of a spectrum with multiple levels with stress put on intertwining nature of this relationship.

Giddens (2013) perceives modernity as modes of organisation or social life which started in Europe around seventeenth century and gradually became more and more influential in other parts of the world as well.

Tanabe and Kayes (2002) define modernity in four aspects:

- 1) secular knowledge displacing religious knowledge, supported by state-run education and common literacy
- 2) economy oriented on global needs and demands, interconnected with other markets instead of one focused on domestic needs
- 3) nationalism, identity embedded in a concept of a nation state and participation in politics; authority of the state accepted as superior to personal relations or religion;
- 4) individual identity influenced by media rather than traditional values or rituals. (p. 7)

Rigg (2007) argues, that the state (General's Suharto New Order from '60 to late '90) was very persistent and successful in promoting modernity (*maju*) and a vision of modern (*moderen*) and progressive (*kemajuan*) Indonesia to an extent where there is little, if any, contestation of the importance of this pursuit. Even the name of highly influential set of policies, named New Order, is a symbolic and semantically very obvious switch from what is old to what is new.

“The broad desire to be modern in Indonesia is the container for the many and diverse elements that comprise modernity. These range from such obvious attributes as education and the rudiments of a modern lifestyle to more insidious impositions such as ‘ibuism’ – housewifization –

which places modern Indonesian women squarely in the roles of home-maker and household manager” (p. 58-59).

This analysis seems to be coherent with Wieringa’s (2003) view, that paradoxically New Order politics enhanced a traditional role to women - mainly as wives, mothers and ‘household manager’. Although, probably expression ‘household manager’ hasn’t appeared in General Suharto’s frequent speeches, this is exactly how New Order’s modernity vision cemented the traditional gender role which, by the way, was largely contested by one of the oldest and biggest women right movements as early as in the ’60 of the previous century associated with the organisation called *Gerwani* (Wieringa, 2003).

Hence, the idea of modernity doesn’t have to and sometimes cannot be perceived as breaking up with a traditional approach. It might just as well be its variation and its internalization.

In the case of Indonesia, modernity seems to be much better economically embedded and more consumer-oriented than societally engaged. This view complies with Tanabe’s and Kayes’s definition of modernity. Although, their definition involves ‘expert’ knowledge displacing religious knowledge, this is only a formal discrepancy. In the case of backlash against sexual minorities, ‘expert’ knowledge is in fact being produced by government officials or state-originated commissions but it has little to do with any scientific knowledge and is aimed on demonizing a mysterious and national identity threatening notion of ‘LGBT’ (McCaffrie, 2016; South China Morning Press, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016). In fact, prejudice and religiously based assumptions (non-modern) seep through mass media (modern) to literate, state-educated (modern) population.

As Murtagh (2011) describes in reference to Indonesian transgender community of *warias*, the strive to have their rights recognised in the context of modernist idea of human rights doesn’t change the fact that a main argument for doing that is often the opinion that ‘we are equal in the eyes of God”. In the same vein, the members of the *waria* group (male to female transition), although wanting their rights recognised and would consider that ‘progressive’ (*kemajuan*), often do not question the importance of traditional institution such as two sex marriage which often separates them from the men they love and push them to live in informality and shade of their boyfriends ‘legitimate’ and ‘necessary’ relationships.

Another example (Thangarajah, 2004) could be Sri Lankan Muslim women who, after the period of working in Gulf countries as maids or physical workers sometimes keep wearing hijabs (which is not a form of Lankan Muslim outfit) as a symbol of belonging to more sophisticated and opulent form of religiosity, associated with success and social promotion –introducing these outfits as

manifestations of “confidence, high fashion and economic power’ (p.157), often associated with modernistic pursuits.

This and many other examples lead to a deeper understanding of the entangled and multidimensional nature of modernity-tradition dichotomy. The best conclusion of modernity dynamics was again provided by Rigg:

“There is one final paradox in the various engagements with modernity described above. Modernity becomes the means by which ‘non-modern’ and ‘modern’ people and communities communicate. It is through this communication that they come to be seen, and to see themselves, as not-yet-modern.” (2007, p. 68). What Rigg means is that modernity is a meta-narrative already, diverse and complex but prevalent and usually accepted as a dominating one. Whether being a state-formulated goal or a kind of capitalist ‘ambition’ it becomes a field of comparing, accepted or fought against, but dominating as a point of reference.

#### *Informality*

It is hard to describe contemporary urbanism there without mentioning informality. However, a reader from ‘Western’ academic world might easily overlook it. Especially in the Netherlands, citizens are much more used to formal spatial planning and its outcomes. Not only planning, but every other form of governmentality (Foucault, 2008) is in fact based on formal structures with sharp ‘edges’ of what is admissible and what not, from citizenship issues, political rights and dwelling arrangements to education, labour market and, *primus inter pares*, taxation.

From that point of view, it is easy to perceive formal structures as more developed and superior to ‘less organized’ or even ‘civilized’ ways of producing space and shaping urban reality. This seems to be a misconception.

The outcome of this perception is what Parnell and Robinson (2012) describe as the “tendency to overlook the rapidly growing cities of the global South where traditional authority, religion, and informality are as central to legitimate urban narratives as the vacillations in modern urban capitalist public policy” (p. 596).

From the European point of view, more used to the welfare state, it seems that informality can lead to persistent precariousness, especially regarding labour market by not providing any social ‘safety net’ in the low wage sector and in the end. That might be true however, informality might in fact be a safety net itself. Rigg (2007) observes that making a choice of switching to informal economy might be a part of a coping strategy in times of economic or political distress (Rigg used the examples of Democratic Republic of Kongo and post-socialist Mongolia). That might be a

strong point regarding informality regarding less resilient economies of the Global South when it comes to dealing with crisis. “The informal sector has blossomed and grown, just as the formal sector has evaporated.” (p. 89).

As the Mongolian example shows, ‘crisis’ doesn’t necessarily mean a major economic disruption. In Mongolian case it was a transition from one type of economy to the other combined with harsh deregulation. Indeed, the pursue of modernity, described already, often leads to introduction of neo-liberal reforms (Rigg, 2007; Parnell & Robinson, 2012). As Hasan (2002) argues when describing a Pakistani city, “much of Karachi’s population has relied on informal settlements for housing, informal infrastructure for water and sanitation, informal services for health care and education and informal enterprises for employment” (p. 69) due to “changes that global restructuring and liberalization have brought” (p.69). He writes about “informal solutions to government incapacity” (p.70).

Nevertheless, in the Global South informality is not only a mode of economy or of negotiating space within labour market, but also it is often a feature of citizen-state relations and producing lived space of everyday urban life (Parnell and Robinson, 2012; Roy, 2005; Hasan, 2002).

As Parnell and Pietrese (2010) argue, in the poorer cities the dynamics of state influencing urbanising processes are different but they don’t mean that there is no space for state anymore. Some scholars believe that there should be a greater role of local governments in urban development (van Donk, 2008) but there are also opinions that the urban poor are capable to organize themselves better without the participation (and often against it) of the government/municipality (Chabal and Daloz, 1999) or that informality is actually a fertile ground for innovations and ‘urban vitality’ (Koolhaas et al., 2000).

As referring to rural and urban migration, I again reach out to Tanabe and Keyes (2010) and remind their characteristics of rural- and urban-ness. It seems that traditionally rural areas are characterized by informal relations more, both regarding labour and relations with the state which can be linked to more personal relations in smaller communities. Urban areas are supposed to be the one more structured by formality. Nevertheless, as Rigg (2007) mentioned describing Malaysian cities, this division is not that strict anymore, rural modes of production and urban lifestyle mingle, resulting in diverse flows of formality/informality.

#### *Gender relations*

The topic of gender relations regarding migration seems to be crucial for understanding the abilities to migrate and the perceptions of obligations towards village or household.

Gender relations are often linked to the other factor I write about which is perceiving family as the basic unit. From this perspective rural-urban migrants are often family members first of all, before being individual urban dwellers. If still embedded in family relations, rural to urban mobility appears to be something else than just a spatial turn, especially for women in a traditional society.

To understand gender roles in Indonesia, it is helpful to realize how influential New Order was as a state-ordered tool of shaping everyday lives of Indonesian people.

First, New Order was a term introduced by General Suharto, when he came to power in 1966 in putsch circumstances which are still historically disputable (Wieringa, 2003). Contemporarily, the term often refers to the whole Suharto's period of governing Indonesia (1966-1998). Wieringa argues, that one of the specific characteristics of New Order rhetoric was its reluctance to women right movement (*Gerwani*) which started around 1960'. The more political dimension of this reluctance was a still ongoing ideological fights with the Communist Party of Indonesia (KPI) which had, at least on the declarative level, more empowering attitude to gender roles. General Suharto's idea was to link 'communists' with 'decadent women' or even 'whores' to oppose them to then newly build order of Indonesian nationalism. That also referred directly to women who seemed not to fall into the propriety of New Order. "Female decadents or lesbians have been portrayed as 'unpatriotic' and as 'weakening the nation'." (Wieringa, 2003, p. 71). New nationalism had a very concrete image of gender roles – not just because of tradition but out of political necessity and pragmatism. "In the process, the communist "revolutionary" family was eliminated and the military family form, built on an excessively masculine power obsessed with control and women's submission, dominated. The "woman" was no longer defined as a comrade in the revolutionary struggle; under the New Order, she was a submissive wife and devoted mother." (p. 72). In that way, gender and sexual roles were crucial for national identity.

Foucault (1984) argues that "space is fundamental in any exercise of power" (p. 252) and in the same vein Lim (2006) believes that "Suharto (...) who was in power for thirty-two years, built a 'Panopticon' of constant surveillance over national territorial' (p. 4) with a general "lack of awareness among people that they were being controlled and manipulated" (p. 4).

In this aura it is not surprising that the New Order prevailing rhetoric was powerful and established this hybrid of modernity and traditionalism mentioned before and manifested in practices such as "'ibuism' – housewifization – which places modern Indonesian women squarely in the roles of home-maker and household manager" (Rigg, 2007, p. 58-59) As Lim (2006) observes, and this observation seems to be of importance regarding urban space as well, "space

for society was filled with the images and signs of the state and the corporate economy, leaving no autonomous spaces for civil society” (p. 4).

Sites of migration and social networks are nevertheless the area of ‘struggle, contest and negotiation’ (Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003, p. 866). Authors, investigating rural-urban social networks and the role of women therein the aftermath of economic crisis in Indonesia, argue that women are often excluded from participation and solid trust networks which are more associated with men’ activity. As a matter of fact, they state that the stronger the rural-urban networks, the harder it is for women to choose their own ways of living, the stronger the social pressure on conforming to ‘prevailing ideas of women behaviour’ (p. 872).

What is also crucial to rural-urban everyday reality of migrants is the fact that women face additional demands, rooted in these very ideas of being a ‘proper’ Indonesian woman (Silvey, 2001), either begot in New Order rhetoric, religiosity or just ‘traditional values’.

All these forces seem to work together when it comes to gender roles. This results in what Portes (1998, p. 16) calls “free-riding”. Men expect women (young ones especially) to take care of the household, to look after children, elderly, to cook, do groceries etc., which, summed up, is a time-consuming form of unpaid labour. On the other hand, it forms ‘a safety net for older and male household members’ (Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003). Again, this phenomenon might be perceived both from gender perspective as well as from the prevailing informality point of view.

These examples show that the role of women in Indonesian rural and rural-urban households is disadvantaged compared to their male counterparts. However, “as the women in our case studies have begun to challenge the gender norms embedded in household hierarchies, they potentially reshape their position within the kin network” (Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003, p. 875).

That brings to mind examples from Thailand, where young women from rural areas migrate to work in factories producing garment for international corporations. Thailand is another South East Asian state in which the pressure to be modern, put especially on young women, is great. Working in uniforms and sewing clothes for Western women in an often remotely located factory might not seem an empowering experience from the Western point of view. Nevertheless, seen through rural expectations, still filled with other kinds of pressure (less ‘glamour’ than the pressures of modernity), young Thai women often choose this option willingly. “Part of what draws young rural women into the city is an unspoken but powerful suggestion that they can be at once beautiful, modern and mobile’ (Mills, 1997, p.43).

Unfortunately, as Mills (1997, 1999) describes, through migration young women often have to encounter both sorts of social expectations. From the traditional perspective, men would migrate and women were supposed to stay at home due to the same reasons that Silvey and Elmhirst (2003) depicted regarding Indonesia. Mills argues that contemporary women from rural areas migrate at least as much as men do. Though population of female internal migrants rise, the expectations of tradition and the expectations of modernity prevail putting lots of stress and making the urban reality even harder for young migrants. “Every baht spent in Bangkok was, at least in theory, one less available to assist family at home” (Mills 1999, p. 135).

Drawing on another example from Thailand, Rigg (2007) summaries women growing share in rural to urban mobility (p. 64). He argues that growing industrialisation but also resource scarcity might ‘create context’ for women to look for work in urban areas. Also, education plays role by diminishing the barriers of female mobility. Though the links stay strong, often through economic commitment, even though young women have to send remittances back home they have “a surprising degree of authority and decision-making” (p. 64). The experience they gain on their own through mobility provides them with self-esteem and sometimes begets questioning of traditional roles. Rigg argues, that often they don’t come back home and that their absence changes the household dynamic – especially putting some pressure on men to participate (p. 64).

Both Mills’ and Rigg’s analysis intersect with modernity dynamics which seem to create feedback loops with gender roles. Although traditional roles might also be protected under the umbrella of modernity (New Order rhetoric; Wieringa, 2003), economically imposed modernity and urbanisation push young women out of villages and by their absence gender roles in the villages change as well. As this happens, it becomes easier for subsequent generations of women to take up the challenge of rural to urban mobility. Nevertheless, as Chant (1997, p. 317) argues “while *gender roles* may well be subject to some changes, particularly in respect to women taking on activities traditionally designated as male, *gender relations* seem to be characterized by considerable continuity.”

What is also worth mentioning is the fact that most of the dynamics described here regarding gender roles take place solely in the sphere of informality, from expectations to sending remittances. Examples also show, and that leads to the next sub-chapter, how important it is to perceive family as a social unit crucial for rural-urban migration in the Global South.

#### *Family as migratory unit*

As stated before, migration can be understood through the point of view of households. Rigg (2007) highly favours this approach to Global South socio-economic realm, being quite direct

about this: “Understanding mobility should be contextualised at the level of the household/ family rather than at the level of the individual” (p. 119). He uses the work of Rogaly and Coppard (2003) in West Bengal. Since the region was poor with scarce job opportunities, the population was forced to migrate, at least seasonally. “Migration was driven by distress” (p. 121). As the opportunities got better in 1980s and 1990s, the role of mobility changed as it has become a strategy. This correlated with the concept of ‘migration hump’, described in details by de Haas (2005, 2007, 2010). The idea shows that, counterintuitively perhaps, the poorest people don’t migrate due to the lack of initial resources, social networks and opportunities. Only a sufficient level of development begets migration. In the case of West Bengal, when actual opportunities appeared, “migration became a means by which migrants could accumulate cash and, on their return, invest this in better housing, land, livestock, and the education of their children” (Rigg, 2007, p. 121).

This narrative underscores the collective way of thinking. This approach could be associated with the New Economics of Labour Migration approach (Massey et al., 1993; Constant & Massey, 1999; Stark, 1991; Goss & Lindquist, 1995). The idea is (Stark, 1991) that families perceive migration as a way of maximalization of income with simultaneous minimalization of threats connected to labour markets, natural disasters, etc. Samers and Collyer (2016) refer to “addressing the risk by diversifying the allocation of scarce resources” (p. 70).

Through this strategy families address four risks, according to Massey et al. (1993): the lack of insurance regarding crops and no future markets available which guarantee a certain price for the future crops. The other two would be unemployment risks and capital markets. Capital markets, which would allow a household to invest in infrastructure or means of production or, for wealthier families, in education of their children, are scarce in the Global South and not fully accountable. That is what makes migration of one or more family members attractive.

Remittances sent home might be a reservoir or investment-oriented source of capital, a form of insurance or a form of increasing the future earning capacity. Samers and Collyer (2016) observe that this strategy is similar to so called neo-classical theories where agents tend to maximize absolute income (p. 71). However, authors mention that in fact it is not about absolute income but about relative income compared to other families or a village of origin.

Nevertheless, often just one person migrates to help sustain his/hers family’s life in the rural areas (Rigg, 2007). This detachment from the family’s support and presence often has negative impact on migrant’s well-being in the short term (Lu, 2010), especially “the risk of psychological disorder as measured by depressive symptoms” (p.413) Migrants often face additional stress

factors at the place of destination, such as overrepresentation on the labour market, often poor conditions at the workplace and the general 'otherness' of the new place of living (Walsh & Walsh, 1987). What's more, migrants are often exposed to new cultural and social conditions, which can possibly challenge their previous perceptions of lifestyles and human behaviours. It might have a positive effect but just as well may prove to be disturbing (Lindstrom & Munoz-Francoa, 2006).

### *Social networks*

Social networks are not only an important nexus in complex and interconnected gender, family and informality juxtaposition but are a good example of the main theme of this thesis, which is the production of perceived (lived) space and that is why I decided to outline them at the end of this theoretical introduction. Not all rural-urban migrants have some social networks waiting for them in the place of destination but very often the ones that get to the city and maintain their life there are some kind of a starting point for the following migrants. Hence, new migrant's everyday life seems to be very much network-oriented and that impacts their lived space.

Rural-urban migration could be easily associated with "migrations chains" however, some scholars argue that networks play much more advanced role than only that. "They are defined as the ties that bind migrants, previous migrants, and non-migrants within and between the countries of origin and destination" (Samers & Collyer, 2016, p. 91). Obviously, this term does not apply to international migration only.

Massey (1993) mention that networks often 'mediate' between 'structural forces' and migrants' own individual decisions. That was seen already in reference to Silvey and Elmhirst (2003) investigating rural-urban networks in Indonesia from gender perspective. Authors built their observations around the notion of social capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Coleman, 2000) which means aspects of peoples' relations which can be somehow transferred or processed into a different kind of capital (human, economic, cultural). They argue, that certain costs have to be taken into consideration when talking about networks formulation namely unwelcome obligations or constrains nested in community of origin which might even hinder development and migration (de Haas, 2011). They also mention that networks, often based by solidarity, might *per se* involve some processes of excluding people perceived by 'others', not belonging to the network (Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003, p. 866).

These networks, forming between certain villages and certain cities are the ones that rely on so called 'strong ties' in opposite to 'weak ties' of 'just' culture or ethnicity (Samers & Collyer, 2016). Often, the opportunities are gendered and some networks involved around possibilities of gaining income (for example when in some city a lot of 'house help' jobs are claimed to be available). If

the networks are not gendered themselves, the roles in network formulation often are - it was already mentioned with reference to gender roles.

On the other hand, as Samers and Collyer observe (2016), not only personal ties matter in network formulation but there also grows a whole infrastructure of services and actors operating often in the realm of informality from recruiting agencies to marriage brokers. This also resonates with Rigg's comments on Malaysia and the fact that the opposition of rural and urban starts to blur. Functioning of networks in the places of destination may speed up this process of blurring. This interconnectedness and migrants' reliance on networks especially in initial stage of migration paves the way for further elaboration regarding the production of social space in Lefebvre's vein.

### 2.3. Henri Lefebvre's production of space

Henri Lefebvre was a Marxist philosopher and a sociologist. Lefebvre has written over sixty books and was not only one of the most astute observers of his time but also an involved participant of events such as *La Resistance* in 1940s or May 1968. He seems to be one of these authors, quite rare, who despite having remarkable brains still take inspiration from the 'everyday' life and coin it into even more remarkable philosophical concepts.

He is an author of many concepts that penetrated contemporary philosophy and sociology to name only his critique of everyday life (1991) or the idea of *rhythmanalysis* (2004). Perhaps the most influential are Lefebvre's ideas regarding urbanism since one of his major fields of interest where cities and he is probably best known for coining the notion of 'the right to the city' (1996).

In fact, 'the right to the city' is surely a tempting concept as it is a perfect framework of positioning rural migrants in the urban context. However, I deliberately chose not to use it since there is vast amount of literature available on this notion already, researched in various contexts and regarding diverse localities. Hence, I didn't find another research on that to be scientifically relevant.

Albeit, Lefebvre's concept of *production of space* attracted my attention and I find it especially interesting in the context of the Global South.

The first reason for that is that it is a complete theoretical framework for grasping spatial fundamentals of social life. It doesn't focus on a certain aspect like the right to the city, for instance, but it provides a thorough conceptual tool for describing a constantly changing reality of social interactions. Using this tool in my thesis might lead to getting a wider picture of urban spatial correlations.

The second reason is that this concept, invented by a French Marxist in 1974 (English translation was not available until 1991) inevitably has to operate a bit differently in the XXI century reality of the Global South. In a different context, perhaps it needs to be 'sustained' by phenomena not taken into consideration by Lefebvre in Paris of 1970s. I argue it does and in following chapters I use the notions described above which might intersect with Lefebvre's concept and which should be taken into account when speaking of space in the developing world (Rigg, 2007).

Back to Lefebvre and the production of space, this fundamental encounter with the idea of space is a very ambitious concept aiming at final explanation of social space itself which, as Lefebvre argues, was neglected by philosophers along the way of creating contemporary discourse. As the author argues, unravelling the idea of space is crucial for understanding social life – to explain the

transition from mathematical spaces to nature, through practice, to social interactions (1991, p. 3).

What is space then?

“When we evoke ‘space’, we must immediately indicate what occupies that space and how it does so” (p. 12). On the other hand, we intuitively understand what a ‘room’, ‘market place’, ‘centre’ or ‘corner’ is. These terms distinguish spaces, they ascertain the *use* of space (1991, p. 16). So, “what paradigm gives them their meaning, what syntax governs their organization?” (p. 16)

Lefebvre realized that space is not a notion easy to perceive. It seems to have to be described by its content in order to be grasped by most of people. Lefebvre admits: “space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction” (1991, p. 12). From that point of view, space has no meaning of its own. Soja (1989), a prominent expert on Lefebvre, suggests using the idea of ‘socio-spatial’ relations instead. These relations are in fact the key of understanding Lefebvre’s concept.

“(Social) space is a (social) product.” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). The word ‘product’ seems crucial here since it allows to focus on the process of production, it helps to deconstruct its phases and its ingredients. This perception of space as a site ‘under construction’ is the element of highest significance of Lefebvre’s work because it allows not only to imagine space as a bit less abstract construct but also to grasp the dynamics of continuous change which characterises it. “It has pulse, it palpitates, it flows and collides with other spaces”, sums up Merrifield (2000, p. 171). “To change life is to change space; to change space is to change life” (p. 173).

Samers and Collyer (2016) argue, that in fact space is more abstract than place, especially for humanistic geographers (p. 38). It is generally perceived as something less localized than ‘a place’ which is not the most thorough description. Lefebvre’s work is ground-breaking also because of the attempt to overcome this dichotomous division of space/place “by reconciling both spatial scales, and physical and social space” (Rigg, 2007, p. 15). Space is then a process and a network at the same time, it is a place and a flow (p. 15). It is static and dynamic simultaneously.

In fact, Lefebvre addresses that problem directly. Why three elements instead of, commonly used, two?

He immediately answers that two elements inevitably lead to ‘oppositions, contrasts and antagonisms’ (p. 39). He sagaciously observes, that in this kind of discourse, “knowledge with a remarkable absence of consciousness, put itself in thrall to power, suppressing all resistance, all obscurity, in its very being” (p. 40).

In a similar vein, Hodge and O'Carroll (2006), refer to binary perception in reference to multicultural Australia. They argue that dichotomous thinking reduces the verisimilitude of multiple options and complexities to just two parties, inevitably opposing each other, 'locked in struggle'. 'Three body analysis' allows to understand plurality and grasp the essence of situations without setting oppositions when they are not necessarily present. By looking for the third 'body', we look for complexity close to the way things naturally are (p. 9).

This advancement of Lefebvre is crucial when it comes to understanding space. Elements not only supplement each other but they also overlap and penetrate each other. What is more, 'for Lefebvre, space is a product of social and political actions. Such actions do not populate physical space; they create their own space" (Rigg, 2007, p. 15).

Lefebvre divided elements of this space creation (production) into three ideas, namely:

- a) Representations of space (conceived space)
- b) Representational space (perceived space)
- c) Spatial practices.

#### 2.3.1. Representations of space

Representations of space are linked to knowledge, this is the realm of planners, of designers, 'technocrats' as Lefebvre calls them (1991, p. 38). This space is depicted in maps, plans, grids, scenarios, rules. It is expert and 'elite', often bureaucratised (Rigg, 2007). Merrifield (2000, p. 176) calls it 'repressive' although it is not necessarily a conscious element, it is more of an intrinsic characteristic of structured, planned reality.

This space is hegemonic in Gramsci's sense (Lefebvre, 1991), exercised through ideas and through institutions (p. 10). Perhaps to some extent it may be linked to Foucault's power/knowledge nexus (Foucault, 1981).

According to Lefebvre, representations of space is the dominant 'mode of production' (p. 39). It is also the active one, actively striving to fulfil the 'objectives' of the society (Rigg, 2007, p. 16) with systems of symbols and codifications, abstract representations (Watkins, 2005, p. 29). Merrifield (2000) writes about economic and political sphere which obviously belongs to this realm. He mentions the example of 'phallic erectility' of towers and sculptures, spaces which 'put demands' of accumulations (p. 176). By deliberate attempts to structure the reality, this realm dominates *per se*. It is 'one step ahead', it imposes the narrative, that is why it conquers the lived space.

In reference to the Global South perhaps the most intuitive choice is to link representations of space with the realm of formality however, I would argue that what could be more dominant in

the realm of 'conceived space' is modernity as a set of rules, as a new coherent narrative to pursue by people. Formality is the state, formality may be the city too, in the way that life in the city is more role-oriented (Thompson, 2003, 2004; Rigg, 2007). But formality is a mode only, a certain 'way' of handling reality. It's not a plan, a design, a goal itself. It does not contain 'objectives' for the society itself, it might be the way of fulfilling them. On the other hand, modernity, for example in the shape of Suharto's New Order assumptions, might be a good example of representations of space and towards this perception I gravitate in my research.

### 2.3.2. Representational space

Lived space is another word for representational space and this is the part of the triad which interests me the most and which will be the main subject of research. Lefebvre also seems to have the biggest sentiment regarding this one.

"Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel (*noyau*) or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action, of lived situations, and this immediately implies time. Consequently, it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42)

Rigg (2007) calls it a space where everyday life happens, where everyday practices and routine ways of social production and reproduction interact (p. 16). 'Felt more than thought', claims Merrifield (p. 174), by its users and inhabitants.

Lefebvre argues that representational space is the one linked to 'clandestine' and hidden sides of life (1991). It is also the most elusive of all the spaces which is why it is exposed to being appropriated and dominated by 'thought and conception' – the space of representation (Merrifield, 2000). Hence, it is a passive space, not guided by any particular thought or strategy behind it. That is precisely why it is so vulnerable to appropriation. To a large extent it can be linked with informality and this connection I look for in my further writing.

Up to that point, the division of space is dichotomous, binary. The 'conceived' and the 'lived'. Planned and experienced. Dominating and dominated. Easier to grasp, for sure, but, according to Lefebvre, not showing the full picture yet. The missing element are the spatial practices.

### 2.3.3 Spatial practices

Spatial practices seem to be structuring the reality everyday life. It consists of all the material elements (road, factories, neighbourhoods). In that sense it is the most graspable of spaces but it also involved routes or networks – in other words the patterns of flows (Merrifield, 2000).

Lefebvre calls it the space of 'production and reproduction' (1991, p. 33) with specific locations "characteristic for each social formation". Practices mediate between other kinds of space, ensuring a certain level of consistency within the whole structure (Merriemfield, 2000; Rigg, 2007). They provide "cohesion through space (...) in connection with social practice and the relating of individuals to that space" which results in "a certain level of spatial "competence" and a distinct type of "spatial performance" (Shields, 1999, p. 162, in Watkins, 2005). In other words, spatial practices are 'responsible' for maintaining the performance of society. Watkins in fact provides an example of performance in her research. In a highly interesting, explanatory helpful comparison she uses the triad for explaining the dynamics of theatre performance. Between the space of script (conceived) and actual performance (perceived), spatial practices are the everyday routines and social conventions evolved to ensure what is tolerable in theatrical (performance) spectrum (Watkins, 2005, p. 213).

The theatre performance example is good to depict how all the elements of triad intersect, intertwine and overlap. It is not easy to tell one from another and often is not really necessary since different spatial phenomena can stand for more than one element at the same time as well as one phenomenon may overlap with different elements.

#### 2.4. Interviewing Prof. Donardono – more theory

The expert interview with Prof. Donardono (Appendix 6) enriched the theoretical understanding of production of space with new categories, drawing on Lefebvre's concepts. That is why the conclusions of this conversation are outlined in this theoretical background chapter although it was not in fact 'background knowledge' preceding the research but one of its outcomes.

First of the additional notions would be *counter-hegemony*, derived from Gramsci and Neo-Gramscian approaches (Pratt, 2004). This can be understood as the attempts to use own resources (financial, social, personal, etc.) to create a safe, comfortable space and a certain stable position in the new environment. Prof. Donardono described his own experience as a young scholar in Suharto's conceived space of New Order where professor's long hair and blue jeans were not tolerated in the academic environment but his tool of counter-hegemony was his articles and work, slowly recognised by other scholars.

Taking that into account, counter-hegemony is an effect of a specific negotiation of space, conducted with one's *tools of negotiation*. These might be diverse and are highly contextual. For migrants from Java, for instance, a tool which they already have is the omnipresent Javanese language and the familiarity with the culture. For many migrants this tool might be the ability to

cook traditional dishes from their part of the island, appreciated by the inhabitants of Yogya. For others these are simply financial resources or the level of education.

Some lack the basic tools, for instance some Papuan migrants who come to Yogyakarta for work or Papuan students *randomly* selected for scholarship granted by a big mining company called Freeport. This malfunction of the conceived space (scholarship system) creates a situation where students are not able to perform spatial practices and negotiate their space effectively. It might lead, as Prof. Donardono claims, to the acceptance of the hegemony but without a personal space of connecting one's identity to the new environment it often leads to the alienation of migrants. In case of Papuans, as well as Flores migrants (Appendix 16) it might lead to tensions which only enforce the stigma (migrants' words, I would call it racism). This, again, enforces the alienation in a reinforcing feedback loop of creating a conceived space of exclusion.

Also, local inhabitants have their tools of negotiation. The obvious ones would be the knowledge of language, customs and the city itself, the other could be established social networks but it can also be ownership of houses which strengthens financial opportunities. What's more, there seems to be a specific, odd tool of negotiation which is a sheer conviction that since they are locals they can accept or reject the newcomers. This tool can be gained over time, for instance through having offspring – children are already locals which parents would never fully become.

## 2.4. Conceptual model

The conceptual model is based in Lefebvre's triad and the fact that the production of space which I research is mostly embedded and grows from informality.

At the same time, the aim of the research is to describe how migrants, newcomers to the city, construct (negotiate) their lived space – inevitably reshaping the existing one. That is why the arrows are pointed in both directions - space influences migrants as well as migrants influence space.

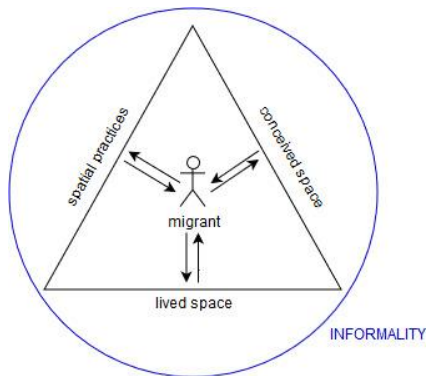


Figure 1 / Conceptual model

To imagine how space is reshaped by negotiation, it might be helpful to recall the Koch's snowflake which I already mentioned in the preface. Its structure helps to imagine how migrants become growingly embedded in urban space. They gradually build up the complexity of their presence, based on an ongoing series of events always retaining the same, 3-element structure.

Koch's snowflake "has tremendous length—but it can be contained within a circle." (Meadows, 2009, p. 80) The edges of urban space of the Global South have tremendous political, societal, economic, ethnic or religious 'length' – yet they are contained within a neighbourhood, kampung, a city.

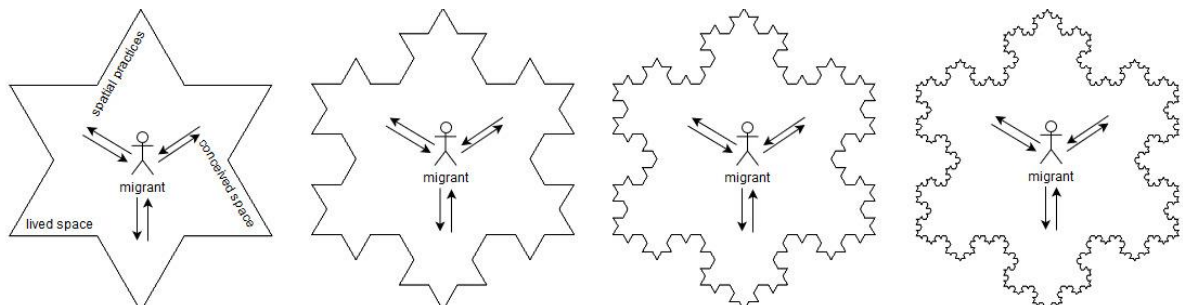


Figure 2 / Koch's fractal geometry and space production. Retrieved <https://yourmaths.wordpress.com>

## Chapter 3 Methodology

I use qualitative methods, namely in depth semi-structured interviews and observations. At some point of the research I also organised a focus group for the better understanding of what Javanese people mean by saying that Yogyakarta is 'inclusive'.

Interviews are transcribed and coded using grounded theory analysis which means open, axial and selective coding. After open and axial coding phase I use Lefebvre's spatial triad for recognising the patterns which inform me how migrants create their perceived (lived) space. I do that by using networks created in Atlas.ti. I conduct every part separately by which I mean: interviewing, transcribing, coding (looking for patterns fitting my theoretical background and noting differences) and engaging in the next interview.

My criteria for participant selection are: a) expert knowledge b) migrant themselves.

- a) Expert interviews were conducted at Yogyakarta with a help of Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) and its resident scholars. To get more knowledge on how Lefebvre's concepts apply to the Global South, I interviewed Professor Donny Donardono from Soegijapranata Catholic University in Semarang. Being back in Yogyakarta, I started with an informal conversation with my UGM supervisor, Professor Rijanta who recommended to conduct an interview with Dr Nurhadi, who is not only a migration scholar but also a head of the local community (RW) in the kampung. Both of my interviewees pointed central Yogyakarta as the place where migrants settle in the first place.
- b) My criteria for migrant interviews would be their rural origin, working in informal sector in Yogya and living in kampungs located in central Yogyakarta. The location criteria are specified in the next chapter.

### 3.1. Positioning myself in the text

Positioning, in my case, has to involve recognizing my own Western bias. At the same time, I come from Western world's peripheries. Born in a town in Poland, moved to a city, eventually to Berlin and again to Nijmegen, I probably have certain beliefs which are simply false regarding the so called Global South.

Nevertheless, I can completely sing under Lefebvre's confession about his own origins.

"I am at the same time peripheral and central but *take sides with the periphery*" (1991a, p. 134).

Coming from Eastern Europe I probably have different experiences than people born and raised in Western Europe. What I mean is the specific characteristics of everyday reality when things taken for granted in Western Europe become a challenge.

Hence, I have a lot of sympathy for people striving for the modernity but also a lot of criticism towards its neoliberal version and the ways it excludes certain people from active participation in society.

### 3.2. Interpretive framework

My main interpretative framework are Henri Lefebvre's spatial theories, namely the theory of production of space (1991) and his notion of everyday life (1991a).

However, not only an approach to what is investigated but also how it is interpreted is necessary. In that matter, as mentioned before, I use the grounded theory approach of Charmaz (2006) embedded in the social constructivism and the way she perceived the theoretical framework through the lenses of participants' personal experiences and views.

There are four main reasons for using social constructivism. From the ontological point of view, realities are constructed through life experiences and interactions with others (Creswell & Poth, 2018). As Lefebvre puts it: "Social space (...) arises from practice - the everyday lived experience that is externalized and materialized through action by all members of society" (Gottdiener, 1993, p. 131). However, not only that is why this approach applicable.

"Constructivism fosters researchers' reflexivity about their interpretations as well as those of their research participants" (Charmaz, 2015, p. 4). Thus, knowledge is produced by the interaction of researcher and participants (Creswell, 2018). This epistemological assumption is kept in mind during my research also because of the fact that this approach "studies how participants create meanings and actions" (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2015, p. 3). Meanings of space for themselves and their own meanings in space, in that case.

Axiology of this approach gives room for 'values and biases' mentioned already before. Again, Charmaz claims that this approach "acknowledges that analyses are contextually situated in time, place, culture, and situation" (p. 4).

It is also applicable from the methodological point of view since, according to Creswell (2018), constructivism relies on inductive methods such as interviews and observations, sometimes also document analysis. These are the means of collecting data available for me taking into account the opportunities and limitations imposed by the length of my stay in Indonesia as well as the constraints of the bachelor thesis.

### 3.3. Grounded theory methods

I don't intend to use the grounded theory to its full extent with all its assumptions. If I wanted to fully apply it, it would mean an initial lack of theoretical background. As Struss and Corbin (1990) claim, in this method theories are developed 'from scratch' along the process of conducting the research.

Wagenaar (2014) argues that there are two ways of concluding in grounded theory. One is the formulation of generalizations over a particular situation and the other leads to building of a model. The latter needs much more data than I'm able to provide within this thesis so I would limit myself to generalizations. Additionally, I already have my theoretical underpinning in rich and insightful concepts of Lefebvre. My research leads to drawing on Lefebvre's concepts and depicting them in Indonesian perspective.

Creswell argues (2018) that after the research, researcher develops a theory based on his/her findings. Obviously, I draw conclusions but they are embedded in the underlying theoretical background not on my own observations, solely. This is my main schism from the orthodox grounded theory.

Memo-ing is the important part of the methodology also in my case. I rely on observations too and write them down to include them in the documentation. I will not provide rich photo documentation since I believe that visual data is dominant enough and the act of taking a photo with a camera or, even worse, by phone, detaches the observer from the scene and from the people. In my opinion, the purpose of documenting every detail doesn't justify this detachment.

Since I investigate rural-urban migrants and the sphere of informality, a lot of meaningful interactions I encounter are embedded in informal setting/situations. Often an attempt to conduct a formal, recorded interview may even scare off the potential interviewees. If not, it surely makes them 'prepare', impose some extent of self-censorship on their experiences. This is highly unwelcome in my research and I rather choose to rely on notes and memos written down just after the interviews than to pursue a goal of conducting a semi-structured interview in controlled, 'sterile' conditions in every case.

Regarding data analysis, the triad of open, axial and selective coding is a logic and established praxis of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2015; Creswell, 2018). I conduct this process using Atlas.ti software. The outcome of the coding (at the stage of selective coding) should be a proposition, a diagram or other form of depicting the theory developed. I use that in my research as well, but this developed theory is only a conclusion based on formerly introduced

theories of Lefebvre, more confirmatory than exploratory. It does not aspire to develop a new theory, based on methodological paradigms of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

### 3.4. Participants selection

The process of participant selection has to be narrowed down because the category of rural-urban migrants is vast and diverse. As Lu says regarding her research of a similar category of migrants, “it is not straightforward to conceptualize the appropriate group for comparison because the movement involves both the origin and the destination” (Lu, 2010, p.413).

Nevertheless, my intention is not to research places of origin. Since the thesis covers the production of lived space in the place of destination only, research focuses on The Greater Zone of Yogyakarta and its neighbourhoods. It does, to some extent, take into consideration the impact of the places of origin but it does it through the dynamics described already in the previous sections, namely social networks and family ties.

There is some stress in academia to necessarily name the sampling technique (Creswell, 2018) although sometimes the techniques are as random as their names. I will mention just a few that are applicable to my research.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest theoretical sampling in grounded theory which is nothing more than choosing individuals ‘who may contribute to building the coding’ (Creswell, 2018). This is my basic target sampling technique. I try to follow its logic but due to the rather unpredictable nature of the research field in Yogyakarta I also have to rely on:

- snowball sampling (‘people who know people who know people’)
- opportunistic (which Creswell describes as ‘taking advantage of the unexpected’, 2018)
- convenience (a rather low budget and time-limited idea of research which may not lead to the full saturation of data but is a realistic perception of what is possible against to what is desirable).

I believe that the chronology of the consecutive steps is important in grounded theory since the whole method is based on reacting to data and reshaping the ideas according to them. The

following diagram shows the consecutive steps taken in collecting data.

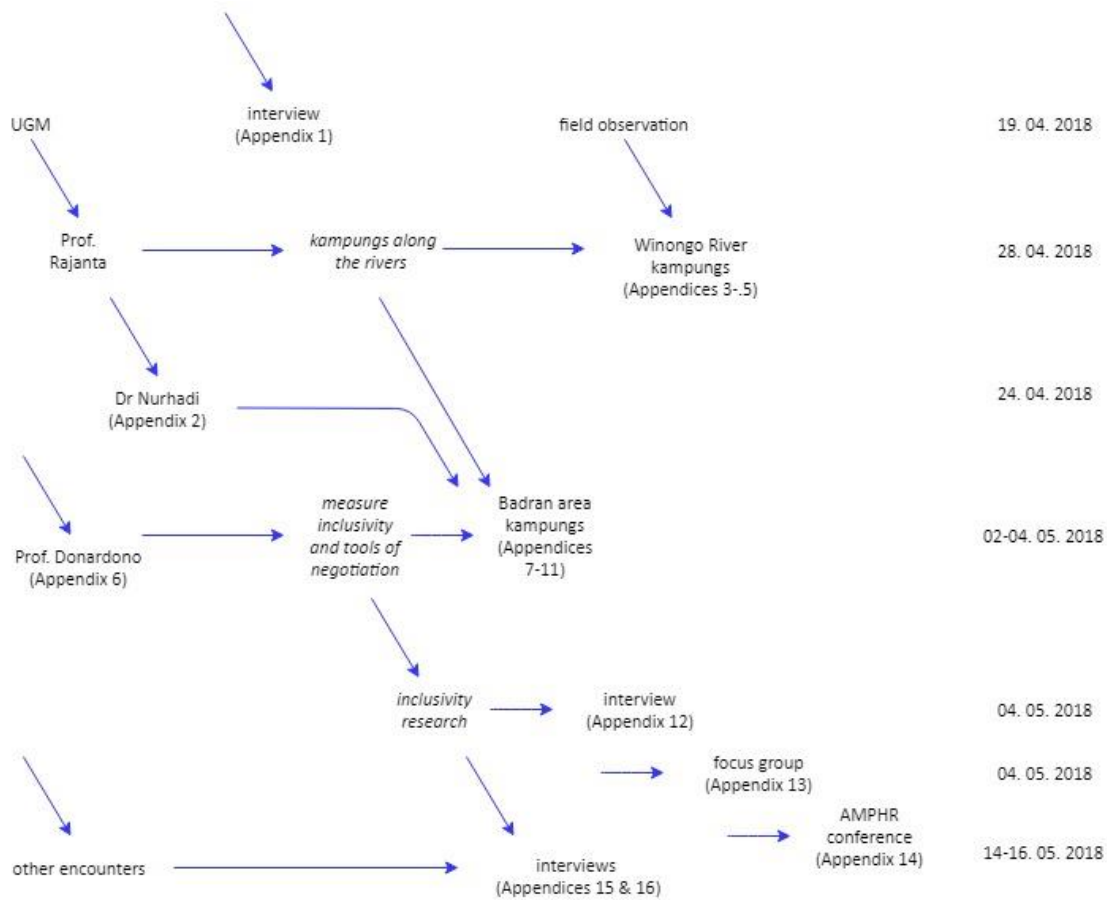


Figure 3 / Data collection process

### 3.5. Form of the results

In the coding procedure's section, I describe the scheme of the interview networks obtained using in Atlas.ti. The outcomes of coding procedures, formed as networks are attached to the thesis as appendixes along with the interview transcripts. To make the data more accessible I provide each interview's transcript together with the respective network. The detailed appendix list with the names/nicknames of the respondents is placed in the table of content.

Following that, the results of the research are presented and then described in a written form elaborating on new findings, also by referring to the notions outlined in the theoretical section.

Research results include migrants' experiences after arriving to Yogya, focusing on the actions taken by them or their responses to conditions and actions of other actors which they had to face in negotiating their own space. Sometimes their actions form stories describing some chapters of migrants' lives but this is not the goal of this thesis itself. These stories are contextual and migrants' production of their lived space always remains a point of reference. Eventually, depicted results lead to conclusions aiming to answer the research questions.

## Chapter 4 Empirical research and data collection

### 4.1. Yogyakarta

Yogyakarta is considered to be a cultural and historical capital of Java. Thanks to its central location in Java, it maintains its strong position throughout years. Many informal conversations with Yogyakarta's resident informed me that it is very attractive to migrants due to low prices (Appendix 1 & 2) but also due to vivid informal sector (Appendix 2) and rich cultural life. "It's a good place to live", I hear a lot, "people are nice and prices are low. Traffic is not as heavy as in Jakarta". I quote these words because a lot of opinions sound almost exactly the same, with 'people', 'prices' and 'traffic' as important factors for living there.

City of Yogyakarta is definitely not one of the hub-like, megacities of the emerging region but its example is even more relevant because it is one of hundreds of urban entities which sum up to the figures cited at the beginning of this proposal. It's urban area itself grew by almost 50 square kilometres between 1970 and 2000 with the highest urban growth in the nineties (Marwasta, 2010). It seems to resonate with Indonesian pursuit of modernity and urbanisation (Rigg, 2007).

Yogyakarta is surrounded by fertile soil and natural resources which make it self-sufficient to a large extent (Appendix 2). That also influences very low prices which attract migration and investments. It has a very specific governing system, because technically it is a sultanate with high autonomy from the central government (de Boer, 2013).

Special Region of Yogyakarta consists of 5 regions with Yogyakarta city being the smallest but the most central one.



Map 1 RETRIEVED FROM [HTTPS://YOGYAKARTA.BPS.GO.ID](https://yogyakarta.bps.go.id)

The number of inhabitants rises dynamically year by year. In 2012 it was around 3,22 mln people and the latest information from 2016 mentions 3,72 mln people already (Badan Pusat Statistic Yogyakarta, 2018). However, the central region, where my research is placed and which is the main migrants' destination, counts around 412 thousand people only (data from 2015; BPS Yogyakarta, 2018). In fact, Yogya's HDI is relatively higher with 77,6% (BPS Yogyakarta, 2018) than the Indonesian average of 68% (UNDP Human Development Report 2016). To compare, Jakarta's HDI is only 2% higher (BPS Jakarta, 2018).

The increase of the number of inhabitants is often linked to the increasing number of students choosing Yogya as their destination. What follows is the increase in services. Combined with Yogya being a famous tourist destination it makes the city a lively and dynamic place, both for Indonesians as well as for tourists. This creates possibilities for rural migrants seeking employment in the vast informal sector in the central area of the city.

#### 4.2. The research process

In this part I present the research process itself – the chronology of the research and the process of adjusting the criteria/methods in order to obtain more meaningful results. I also describe the geography of chosen locations, mention the structure of their spatial organisation and briefly outline the difficulties faced during the enquiry.

#### 4.2.1. The outcome of *purposeful* and *snowball* sampling

Since I tried to stay focused on research in any kind of conversation, some of the interviewees were met on random social occasions – on the street, at the bar, at a *warung* (Appendix 1, 15, 16). Sometimes one interviewee led to another forming a kind of ‘snowball sampling’.

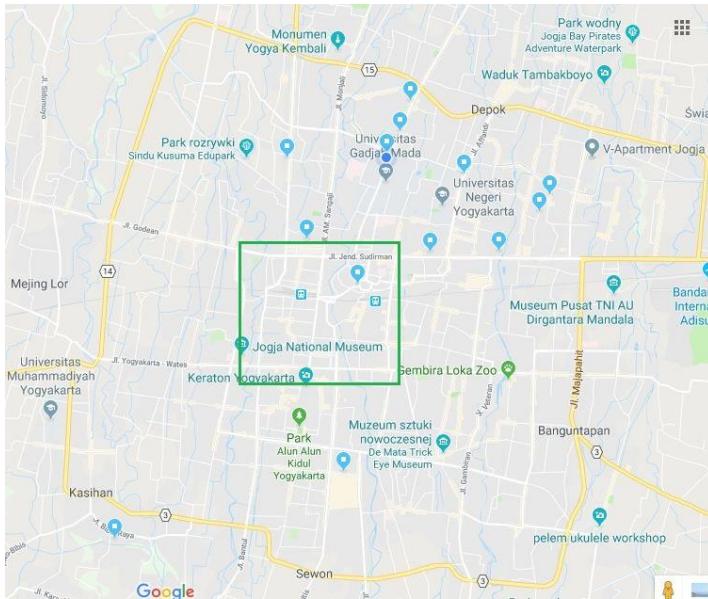
The other example of gathering data would be my acquaintance with Timothy Apriyanto, an important figure in Yogyakarta’s NGO sector. It resulted with an invitation to a conference of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights at which local religious leaders along with MPs from Thailand, Myanmar and Indonesia were discussing political-religious tensions in the city (Appendix 14). I used my presence at that meeting to get more knowledge about the conceived space of ‘Yogyakarta’s inclusiveness’, mentioned by almost every interviewee up to that point.

Purposeful sampling directed at obtaining expert interviews led to the conversations with Dr Nurhadi from UGM and Prof. Donny Donardono from Soegijapranata Catholic University in Semarang.

Data was collected also with field observations at the river banks, pointed by Prof. Rijanta as one of the main destinations of migrant workers, a sort of ‘arrival city’ (Sounders, 2011) within Yogyakarta. This neighbourhood was the area of the vital part of the interviews conducted with the help of Merryna Anggriani, UGM geography graduate, appointed by UGM as a translator. Miss Anggriani also helped to organise a focus group among UGM students.

#### 4.2.2. Geography of research

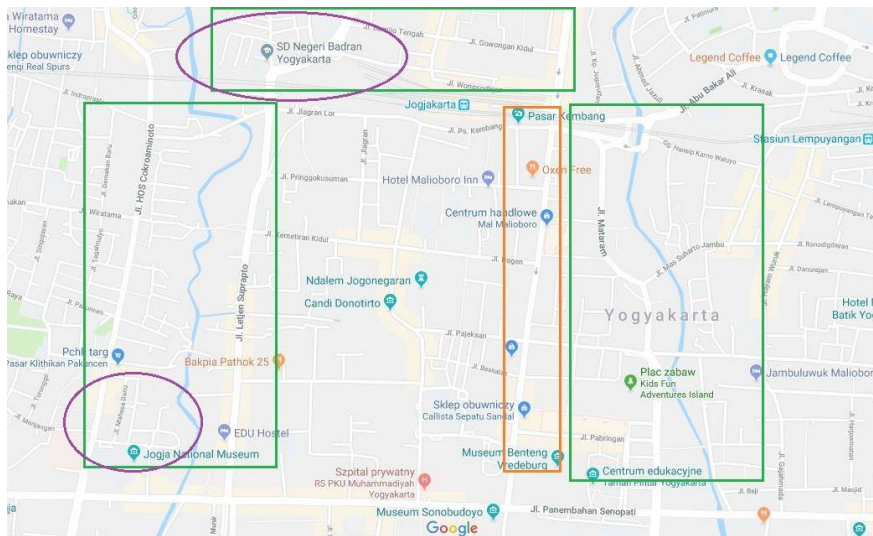
Research’s ‘target group’ (work-seeking migrants from Indonesian rural areas) was found in central Yogyakarta, namely parts of the city surrounding Malioboro Street and situated along the banks of rivers Code(East) and Winongo (West), as well as the area by the train station in the North from Malioboro.



Map 2 Central area of Yogyakarta (retrieved from Google Maps)

Locating research in this area is justified by the fact that expert interviews along with observations led to similar conclusions: most of low-skilled workers from rural area seek job in the informal sector, mainly food services, *becak* driving and construction work. First two of these are highly in demand in the Malioboro area due to the presence of tourists (not only international but also Indonesian ones) and other

workers themselves. By working for whole days in Malioboro area, workers such as *becak* drivers and construction workers create a market for food industry so this seems to be a reinforcing feedback loop where the presence of workers leads to intensified presence of food industry which attracts more migrants seeking for almost any kind of work.



Map 3 The areas of research (retrieved from Google Maps)

What in fact is interesting in the popularity of *warungs* from the last years of the previous century is that it can be perceived as an informal reply to the economic crisis. Expert interview with

Prof. Donardono led to a conclusion that this popularity started in the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century as the outcome of economic crisis which preceded it. Due to the decrease of work opportunities in the formal sector many Indonesians turned to informal economy of street food sector to cope with the hardships. As already mentioned by Rigg (2007) in reference to Mongolia or DRC, informality can become a safety net in dysfunctional formality. Economic crisis of financial markets is indeed an example of dysfunctional formality and the *warung* boom is an informal response to it.

River banks are a source of affordable dwellings for newcomers at the same time being closely located to this heart of informal economy which is the Malioboro area. There seems to be a hierarchy of housing, descending to the river – however, I can confirm that only regarding the two kampungs which topography I observed closely.

Map 3 shows the area described as workers dwelling destinations and are marked in green. Purple circles are the areas where research was conducted. The orange part is Jl. Malioboro itself.

#### 4.2.3. Spatial structure

It is worth mentioning at that point that the structure of RT/RW/*kelurahan* spatial division is informal with municipality governance starting from the *kelurahan* level. RT (*rukun tetangga*; both a name of a unit and of a position of its informal leader) is the smallest structure. More than

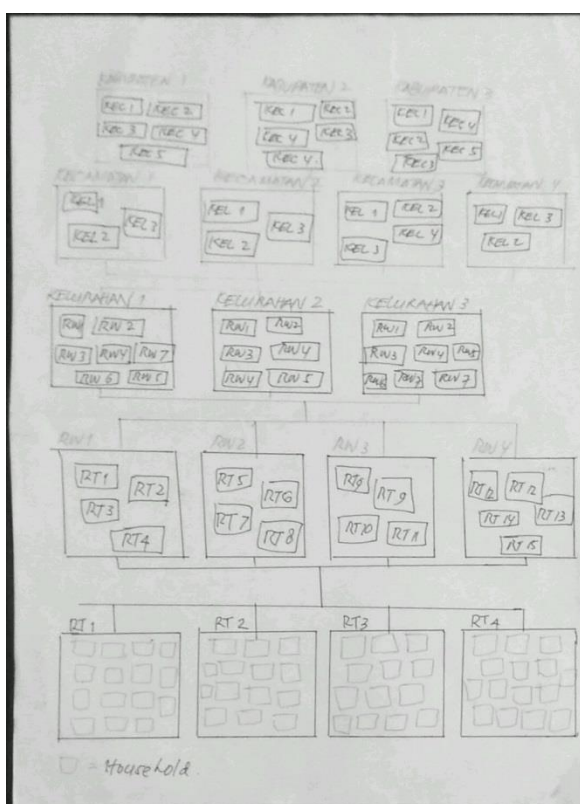


Figure 4 Dr Nurhadi's scheme of the kampung structure

10 RTs form a RW (*rukun warga*). 4-5 RWs form a *kelurahan*.

In RT/RW, municipality intervenes to a limited extent, for instance through educational system or residence cards but leaves the sphere of management to the informal structure. Both RT and RW are elected by the local community and they make decisions with the assistance of monthly (or more frequent) gatherings. They decide on common work (*gotong royong*, 'social work', popularised by Sukarno but coming from earlier times; Appendix 2 & 6) or on micro-credits for the members of the community (Appendix 7).

The structure itself, described in details in Appendix 2 and on the Figure 5 prepared by Dr Nurhadi, gave me an overview of the importance of informality in migrants' lives. What is salient is that informality doesn't make this space less 'conceived' in Lefebvre's understanding; space is divided and ordered, but this order is based on informal relations. To move in, migrants have to 'talk' to the RT only, perhaps showing their ID. The complications and the formal sphere enters when ID address is supposed to be changed officially (Appendix 4). However, this is left to the choice of migrants, at least in everyday practice, making the move-in process much more accessible.

Although the structure is informal up to the level of *kelurahan*, it is also a realm of private ownership, there are no surprises in that matter. Families which own a house rent it and decide whether they want to rent it to students or workers. This creates a conceived space created by locals – their choice of newcomers shapes the neighbourhood and the relations within it.

What is more, at least in Ngapilan kampung near Winongo river, I learned that owners prefer to rent rooms to students who are “easier to regulate” (Appendix 3). Reasons for that are linked to education level but also lifestyle of migrants. Nevertheless, this conceived space of housing creates a spatial practice of students leaving in ‘better’ parts of kampungs and workers living in the ‘worse’ ones. Obviously, also prices pay an important role of this neighbourhood shaping process but they are also connected with the locals’ ‘vision’. Through this practice, one of the ‘tools of negotiation’ (Appendix 6) of the locals is clearly visible – the ownership.

#### 4.2.4. Adjusting the sampling criteria and using additional methods



Figure 5 Ibu Silvi and her sons (photo by Merryana Anggriani)

I quickly realized that finding freshly arrived newcomers who at the same time are workers from rural areas is a difficult task which could sabotage my limited research if I stay too orthodox about it. Even migrants who have been to Yogyakarta for decades were willing to recreate the process of arrival in their stories. There was no need to focus on freshly arrived newcomers only since the process can be *described*, not necessarily *lived through* at the time. That was the first major adjustment.

Although there is a gap between workers and students in their education level, these groups intertwine, often same persons are both at the same time or shift from one

role to the other with time.

Hence, especially within ‘inclusivity research’, students were interviewed as well since their expertise was needed as the expertise of ‘working migrants’ even if the ‘rural-ness’ of their origin was disputable. That was a conscious decision in order to learn about inclusivity of Yogyakarta – a

topic that became salient after the first round of interviews (Appendix 1-6) and after my visit to Semarang. It was important to learn more about this myth/practice nexus regarding inclusivity since after every interviewee mentioning that Yogyakarta is an exceptionally 'welcoming place' I became suspicious.

It proved out that it will be not possible to get diverse insight by just interviewing Javanese migrants and asking them about their culture. The answers were quite repetitive and they copied the main pattern which soon started to remind a myth. Researcher's own observations could not be relied upon since as a *bule* (literally 'bleached out'; white person) I had many privileges which distorted the big picture. That is why:

- a focus group at UGM Geography faculty was organised (Javanese students),
- I attended a conference regarding religious tensions in Yogyakarta to observe the ways of negotiating more than the outcome of the meeting itself,
- an interview was conducted with two musicians from Flores who came to Yogyakarta as students, not solely workers.



Figure 6 AMPHR conference (photo by Timothy Apryanto)

#### 4.2.5. Difficulties and limitations

The main problem occurred to be the need to use the help of a translator to conduct half of the interviews, especially the crucial ones, conducted in the kampungs, with the migrant workers from strictly rural areas. However, I was lucky to work with a very good translator appointed by UGM to help me.

Merryna Anggriani, as a geography BA graduate, was familiar with the ideas I wanted to use and she intuitively knew what was important in the interviews. Nevertheless, probably a lot of content

and details were lost in translation from Bahasa and I had no way of checking to what extent



Figure 7 Merryyna Anggriani and the interviewed food seller

these details could be useful for my research.

Regarding rural migrant workers living in 'slum areas' of kampungs the point of saturation was reached (which was to a large extent easier because of migrants' sedentarism). I observed that strictly rural places of origin are not the most dominant form. Sometimes villages are highly urbanised (Rigg, 2007; Sounders,

2011); in other cases, migrants talked about their 'rural' origin referring to towns or small cities. However, during the interviews at some point the rural dynamic used to become more or less obvious in the narrative. Especially, when as the reason to move migrants used to give the fact that in the village there was 'nothing more to do other than farming' or that 'I followed my husband and he doesn't know how to be a farmer' (Appendix 4, 7, 10). In one particular situation, a young man coming from a highly urbanised village had a high school degree and work experience in financial institution at his place of origin.

What is more, the word *kampung* itself means 'a village' in Bahasa. These areas are constructed like villages and despite the lack of farming, they meet other criteria of villages described in the previous chapters. That is why, in most extreme cases one might get an impression that people from small towns (theoretically urban) with no opportunities to thrive moved to *villages* (urban ones) which provide them with opportunities they didn't have in the peripheries.

All this made me get to a conclusion that rural-ness and urban-ness become more and more fluid and to some extent it is more useful to talk about 'core' and 'periphery', instead of urban and rural, at least in the Indonesian context.

#### 4.5. Coding procedures

After every interview I made initial comments as soon as possible before transcribing the text yet. After transcribing, I used to code the interview using Atlas.ti. I used to start with open coding, sometimes using the expressions used by the interviewees but mostly using my own words. Then I used to create code groups. Some of them were repetitive like 'Yogyakarta' (reflecting migrant's

opinions and feelings regarding the city), 'work', 'household', 'beginnings', 'origins'. In two occasions the procedure was followed by creating so called smart groups however I didn't find it necessary in most cases. Most of the migratory stories were surprisingly simple and group codes provided me with a clear picture. An example of such network is given below.

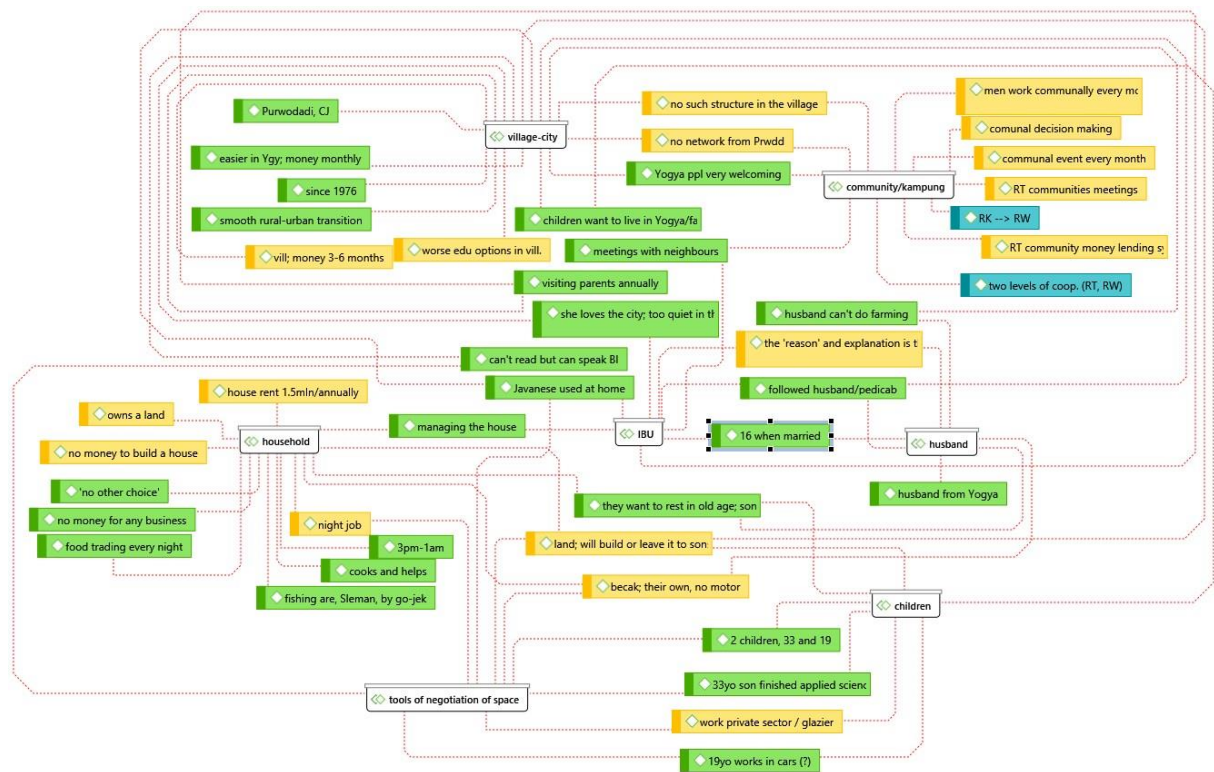


Figure 8 Appendix 7 network

Whenever it was applicable, I used colours as an indicator of Lefebvre's modes of space production. I used green for lived space, yellow for spatial practices and blue for the conceived space. I used to code places of origin, age or basic facts as lived space.

Facts mentioning work were often regarded as spatial practices because I assumed, following Lefebvre (1991), that work is a realm of producing and reproducing space. For instance, in the example given above, 'night job' is regarded as spatial practice but also 'owns a land' and 'no money to build a house' are. These can be treated as spatial practices because they are the resources (conditions) for space production, the opportunities and limits for its reproduction, the routes which ease or limit the flow of migrant's space. They are the modes, the tools which can be used in creating the lived space. In many cases, they are what was called by Prof. Donarondo 'the tools of negotiation'.

In the example given above we see that only small portions of the migrant's story (Appendix 7) were coded as conceived space, the 'space of planners', 'experts', associated with bureaucracy

(Rigg, 2007, p. 16). In fact, in most of the interviews, the green colour of lived space prevails, with some yellow marks. The conceived space is limited since a lot of migrants don't really deal with the conceived space. Obviously, they are embedded in it to some extent but they don't interact with it actively, either in everyday occurrences nor in physical space of kampung reality. Again, 'communal meetings', 'men working communally every month' are more spatial practices of production and reproduction than a kind of designed space, a 'vision' of planners of the local authority.

Another example can be the interview with the musicians from Flores (Appendix 16) which visualizes the discrimination of Indonesians from Eastern parts of the archipelago. It is focus on creating counter-hegemony, spaces of 'resistance' and the tools of negotiation, more necessary for the Flores people than for the Javanese. That is why the yellow colour of spatial practices is ubiquitous in this interview's network.

However, my coding strategy has to be understood with the side note taken from Lefebvre (1991) and present in my conversation with Prof. Donardono (Appendix 6). All three modes of the production of space are present at the same time in all possible occurrences. For instance, 'communal meetings' are direct consequence of the informal structure of the RT/RW administrative division as well as they are the lived experience involving time, emotions, conversations, interactions. On a more abstract level, Yogyakarta's inclusivity, mentioned by many interviewees, is a conceived space of a certain myth as well as it is a spatial practice of (for example) being polite or being racist and can be also a lived space of encounters perceived by migrants in everyday situations.

In some cases, like in the network of the focus group deliberations (Appendix 13), the whole narrative reflected opinions, stereotypes and certain visions of the participants. I didn't find the triad applicable there because the whole conversation could have been seen as the conceived space.

## Chapter 5 Research findings

My research questions were focused on everyday life of migrants, on how they create and negotiate what Lefebvre called 'the spaces of representation' (1991). In order to explain that dynamics in the conclusion section, I present the results of the field research and juxtapose them with my theoretical background.

Research findings were obtained by coding procedures. Initial open coding led to deriving notions which were used by migrants to describe their everyday life production of space. These codes were clustered by broader notions such as 'work', 'community/kampung' or 'family ties'. Especially ones connected to labour and housing market were deeply rooted in informal relations. In fact, the codes or code groups concerning formal relations were very scarce across the networks. At the same time, the existing codes showed the complexity of informal relations. They were marked with three colours mentioned in the coding procedures to establish the links between networks' content and Lefebvre's triad.

Most of the codes can be understood as pointing informality as a basic mode of production of space. Many codes in categories such as 'household' or 'kampung life' led to conclusions on the sedentarism of migrants.

Juxtaposing codes from categories 'place of origin' and 'Yogya' often led to clear findings regarding city's inclusivity and showed many discrepancies between the perceived and desired state. Codes from these groups often made the family and social network relations more understandable as well and showed repeated patterns of family ties or community dynamics.

Information on the tools of negotiation was gathered across different code groups due to the diversity of these tools, appearing in various categories. Conclusions on that part were mainly drawn 'manually' from comparing different networks and looking for prevailing patterns and codes pointing at migrant's agency and resources.

The conclusion on 'the surplus of opportunity' was drawn from the story of one of the interviewees taken as a whole (Appendix 11). Albeit, it is clearly visible in the interview's network as well by opposing migrant's opinions on life in Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

### 5.1. The realm of informality

The role of informality is hard to exaggerate in terms of the production of space in Yogyakarta. Both the interviewees and numerous persons I talked to mention that there is a lot of work in Yogyakarta and at the same time they oppose 'governmental' jobs which are hard to get. It seems

that 'work' is understood as informal work almost by default, when 'governmental' work is the one not only related to public sector but to banks for example – it is a formal one.

It must be noted that my respondents were mainly workers and students. They often don't think of getting jobs in more formalized, corporate sector. Also, many jobs considered formal in Europe like work as a radio announcer and a journalist, are formalized only in the realm of responsibilities but not job contracts and job security (Appendix 15).

Nevertheless, informal relations rule the labour market for migrant workers and formal work with any kind of obligations and welfare safety net is not accessible at all. Migrants work as *becak* drivers, 'online drivers' (Grab, Go-Jek – Indonesian equivalents of Uber), etc. They also work as traders of food, accessories and whatever else is demanded in the services sector of Yogyakarta, fuelled by low prices and booming higher education industry.

Informality is the 'entry mode' to that economy with no formal requirements, no credit history or registration numbers. Even though asked about the competition at the labour market, none of my respondents was really concerned. I got a feeling that in the realm of informality there is enough work for everyone which makes migrants (especially Javanese ones) appreciated because of the omnipresence of services' demand.

The other area of informality is the 'self-employment', also mentioned before by Kloek (2016) in the context of Yogyakarta. Most of migrants I interviewed had their own small enterprise, especially in the food sector. They cook and they sell (or - a person cooks and the other one sells). The same seems to be the truth with *becak* drivers. They first rent and then try to buy their own *becak* but the risk, costs and income are their own (sometimes spent on *permissions* which are again, informal and often not even legal). This perspective is very important to understand how migrants plan their future. They don't tend to seek for work but they create their own workplace, depending on the possibilities. That limits the space for any formality even more and strengthens the informal sector.

At the same time, there is no safety net for the migrants I interviewed if they don't create it themselves. Some of them manage to buy some land in the kampung but these are exceptions. Others rely on children and their education as a future safety net. They don't pay taxes and don't wait for pensions. They build the Indonesian economy but informal sphere doesn't anyhow seem to enforce or diminish the link between a citizen and the state – it seems to function outside of this relation. Interactions with formal regulations or procedures are rare and incidental.

## 5.2. Yogyakarta's *inclusion-illusion* nexus

There seem to be a practice of being 'welcoming' in the Javanese culture and since Yogyakarta is the 'heart' of Java, it is salient even more there. According to my Javanese respondents, this culture of politeness, helpfulness and omnipresent smiling is specific to Yogyakarta and Solo region and some of my respondents link it with the sultanate (Appendix 13). I have no tools of assessing that. Nevertheless, I can easily assess that the inhabitants of Yogyakarta are inherently proud of this legacy and it enforces its application in everyday life situations.

I also experienced that kindness myself, but since I am a foreigner and my situation is different, I should not take my experiences into account when assessing migrants' situation. There is a lot to whiteness, colonial legacy, racism and gender roles that put me in the very privileged position and it would be not only inappropriate but simply irrelevant if I put my experiences as an example of what migrant workers from other parts of Indonesia experience throughout their presence in Yogyakarta.

My side research regarding inclusivity focused on locals' attitude to otherness and on migrant's perception of this welcoming culture. I argue that this *inclusion* is actually a form of *illusion* to some extent. Not being able to restrain my tendency to make puns I decided to call it *inclusion-illusion* nexus and I believe it gives a picture of the inclusion dynamics in Yogyakarta.

Prof. Donardono asks: "Why do locals accept migrants? They don't do that just to be good people, right?" (Appendix 6)

I followed that thought. Some of the inclusive attitude can be explained by economic factors mentioned already before. Locals need population inflow. Yogyakarta wants to be a student's city and hence, it needs low-skilled workers in services sector. It is a very cheap city even for Indonesia so it attracts migrants who work for low wages. If Yogyakarta want to stay cheap for locals as well, it will always need migrants willing to live in dwellings along the river banks for 150 000 rupiah per month (9 euro). I believe that this generalized explanation covers the economic inclusivity.

However, drawing from Prof. Donardono's question, local people also want to *believe* that they are good people (I do not claim that they are not) and that this goodness and kindness are derived from their superior culture. It can be compared to Dutch believing that they are 'direct' and always on time. It is a sort of mental conceived space. This is why it is crucial for my research. To figure out how this conceived space 'works' for migrants became my side goal in order to answer my research questions.

As with every national myth there is a great amount of slippage, discrepancy and inconsistency to it. I base this opinion on following observations:

- 1) Inhabitants of Yogyakarta are welcoming to other Javanese but not to all of them even. Eastern Javanese are considered 'harsh', 'impolite', a bit savage almost. Yogya's locals have very strong opinions ('facts') about people from West Nusa Tenggara and East Nusa Tenggara (Flores, Ambon, Lombok, Sumba) and especially Papua characterised by great reluctance. One of my respondents linked it directly to racism of Javanese. Eastern people are supposed to be the ones 'causing trouble', being 'dangerous' and they 'love to drink'. At the same time, I observed Papuan workers sitting at the corners of bars, anxious and alienated. It always brought me back to the conversation with Prof. Donardono and his ideas of alienation due to the inability to create counterhegemony or, simply, to negotiate one's space. This circle of alienation and stigma seems to create the reinforcing feedback loop mentioned in the diagram below.
- 2) Respondents from Flores mention the 'stigma', problems with finding work (even informal) and housing. They also mention that since they are mostly Christians, they face some *polite* reluctance from Muslims (Appendix 16)
- 3) The AMPHR meeting (Appendix 14) left me with the impression that politeness and reluctance to 'making trouble' is a powerful form of conceived space in Yogyakarta. For instance, even though Christian leaders mentioned their anxiety in a private conversation with me, in public speech there was no tension, no anxiety, no 'making trouble' at all, even though the topic of the meeting was an urgent issue of religious intolerance.

To conclude: politeness is a very important factor in Yogyakarta but it doesn't mean inclusivity *per se*. It might be perceived as such by the 'right' migrants, namely - other Javanese. It enhances their feeling of being welcomed and facilitates their production of safe, comfortable lived space for sure. At the same time, there is a lot of reluctance and discrimination to people from other islands, especially the ones from the East. Although migrants from the East observe and experience 'politeness' as well, they easily discern between real inclusivity and politeness only.

The following diagram describes this distinction in a simplified way.

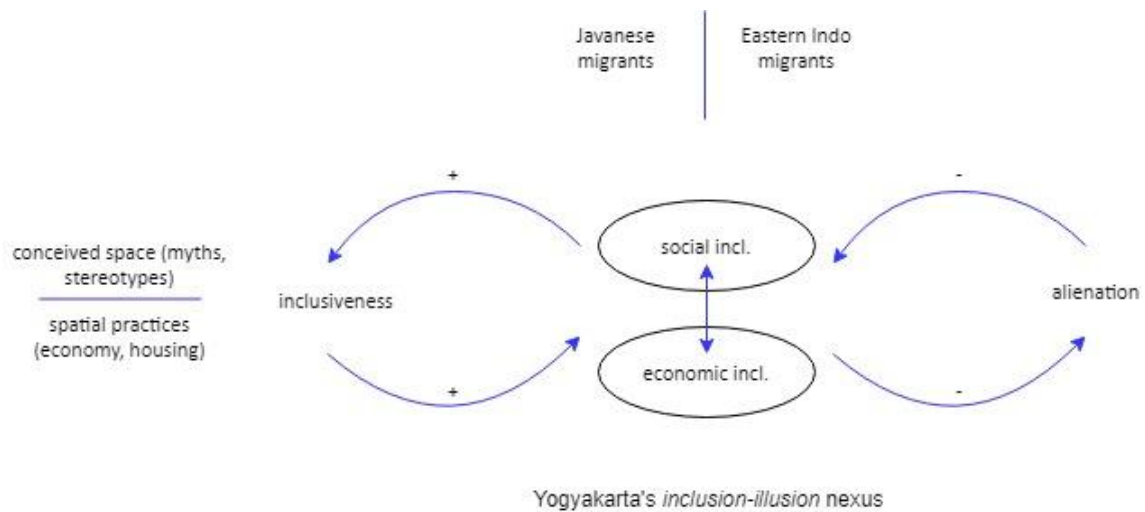


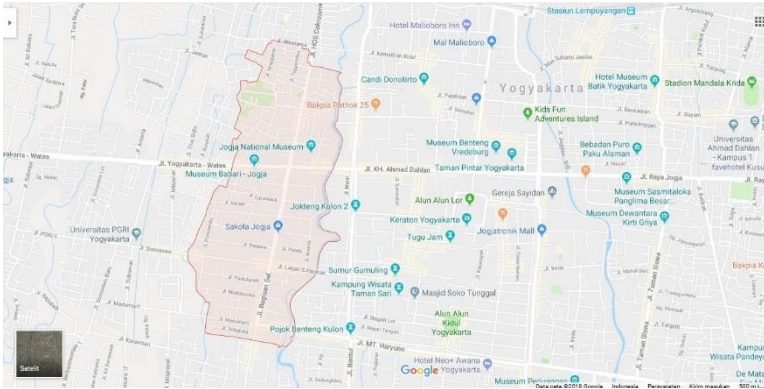
Figure 9

Nevertheless, since my research on inclusivity was limited and to a large extent was based on my private conversations and observations, this topic should be investigated in a more sociological manner.

### 5.3. Sedentarism

This observation comes from the surprise that challenged one of my initial assumptions. I believed that in the world of mobility, one migration act makes any next act of migration easier and it increases the flexibility of a migrant in terms of where he/she lives.

This idea was challenged by the unexpected sedentarism of rural migrants. People who has lived in Yogyakarta for twenty (Appendix 3) or even more than forty years (Appendix 7) moved once in their life and never had an idea to move somewhere again (or to go back) in search of better conditions. The only time when Ibu Salintan, a middle-aged widow and a food trader moved after the initial migration from the village was when her housing 'agreement' was cancelled. She mentioned this as an important checkpoint, it was salient in her narrative. She strictly discerned between the times of living in Wirobrajan and the times after, in Ngapilan, to a degree which made me check the location of the former (the interview was conducted in the latter). The result, shown on the maps below, surprised me and gave me an impression of how sedentary the life of former migrants is.



Map 4 Ngapilan (top) and Wirobrajan (Retrieved from Google Maps)

Both of these locations were just neighbourhoods and the distance from the furthers points could be a few kilometres at best. Many of my respondents haven't moved at all after arriving in Yogya.

It might give an impression that the life in the kampungs is in fact very stable despite low incomes and basic conditions – they seemed to be safe places with animals walking around, with the atmosphere of a place

taken out of the city or – the opposite – of a village put right in the middle of it.

Perhaps rural migrants recreate the village in their new lived space. This seems logical since they don't know any other life. Even most of the locals often came from 'somewhere' in a previous generation – this reproduction, the spatial practice of recreating a slow, secluded environment might have been functioning for a long time since not many changes occur in the kampungs – the booming infrastructure and the noisy dynamics of Malioboro are not far away but stay separated. Kampungs often *feel* like villages, only without agriculture and with scarce green spaces (Prof. Donardono mentions that in fact agriculture was present there too but disappeared quite recently, perhaps due to an increasing demand of space for housing; Appendix 6)

This reluctance to change seems to characterise older migrants with lower education level. Younger ones seem much more flexible, curious and perhaps simply adventurous (Appendix 1, 9, 15-16). This might be explained by them having more tools of negotiating their space (education, no family, use of technologies, more mobile social networks).

This sedentarism of kampungs and the analogies between them and rural areas led me to the next observation.

#### 5.4. Surplus of opportunity

Traditional 'gateway cities' (IOM, 2015), international migratory hubs like Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok or Melbourne will not be able to accommodate migrants' demands and to grow forever. There are dozens of other, semi-peripheral cities which gain importance as destination cities - these have to be investigated closely because it is there where the future of urbanization probably takes place. Already more people in the region migrate internally to these 'secondary cities' than to the 'gateway ones' (IOM, 2015). Using rural-urban division solely might not be sufficient to explain these movements. Let me picture it with the example.

The food trader from Western Java, coming from a village/town, first migrated with his family to Jakarta (Appendix 11). After 6 years of working as a bus driver he decided to leave this city and to cook and sell food in Yogyakarta. It was not only out of his great passion for food but, according to his words, in Jakarta life is too expensive so he was not able to save any money there even though he earned more than he does in Yogya now. In Yogyakarta, living is cheap and the income from self-employment is still stable enough, the respondent claims.

Yogya is still considered a cultural city, an academic one. It is relatively small and has nothing of the hub-like vibe of Jakarta. Theoretically, from the macro-perspective, it doesn't provide as much possibilities, at least in total figures. However, in the micro-scale of migrants' *lived experience*, shared and adjusted by migratory social networks, in certain situations it might offer more.

Jakarta as a hub is too expensive, too competitive and too crowded - the comfort of everyday life might be too low to cross the threshold of indifference (Van der Velde, 2004) if it doesn't provide a possibility of progress such as accumulating savings. Yogyakarta as a secondary, semi-peripheral city (again, in the SEA scale) is still cheap, still accessible and, especially for Javanese Muslims, it is friendly and peaceful. Yet, its informal economy still lets a food seller save money by working with his wife, despite having two children to feed.

This *surplus of opportunity*, leading to the perspective of family progress, is something that semi-peripheral cities might, in specific circumstances, offer more of than traditional core cities or core regions.

#### 5.5. Tools of negotiation

The ways of negotiating space are various and contextual. As an offshoot on Lefebvre's fluid ideas they don't necessarily have to be obvious and play the same role in different contexts. For example, having children and taking care of them, limiting migrants in multiple life situations is kind of a tool of negotiation in a long term because migrants who are bereft of other tools might negotiate their space by investing in their offspring. A lot of my respondents mentioned the

education (Appendix 5, 8) or at least a good job (Appendix 7) of their children as a safety net for the future. Ibu Suparmi (Appendix 7), although working for 10 hours up to 1am every night, managed to buy land with her husband who is a *becak* driver. This was the merchandise of their life - the tool of ownership, and although they did not have the money to build a house so they still lived in a rented one, this land would make a good start for their two sons. Sons would be equipped with ownership, better education and being locals, conceiving space for newcomers. As I mentioned before, in some cases the negotiation of space is delayed over a generation.

Migrants are creative with gaining the tools, like migrants from Flores (Appendix 16) who quickly realized that they are being rejected by the Javanese because of their religion, skin colour and social stigma but they are praised for their music. Music is an important social factor in Yogyakarta, described in details by Max Richter in his PhD thesis (2012). To prove my point - none of my interviewees from Flores planned to become a musician in Yogya before coming there but they all found it as a way of securing their position in Yogyakarta.

Younger migrants seem inherently more capable of achieving new tools and they usually have more of them from the start, for instance using modern technology, which is a sort of language itself by now. That allows them to become online drivers. Grab and Go-Jek are omnipresent in Yogya's transportation system and although it is still hard, physical work to drive all day in dense traffic with a passenger in the back (especially that the entry mode for this business, available for migrants, is being a Grab-*bike* driver not a Grab-*car* driver), it is still easier than being a *becak* driver.

## 5.6. Gender roles

Young migrant women often establish a new life in Yogyakarta (Appendix 15). Some of them enjoy the fact that they are able to drink alcohol, smoke and meet with men freely. This seems to be a process learning about one's freedom just as Western students learn about it when move out of their parents' home. However, sometimes women are forced to lead double lives just as one of my respondents who dates a lot of men in Yogyakarta but is not able to bring any of her boyfriends to her village and is asked to wear hijab when being back home although it is not an option for her even at UGM. Some of them, like Icha (Appendix 15), decided to reject her religion and communicated it to her family openly. She lost most of her friends due to this decision and her father was not willing to talk to her for some time after this. In a culture build on respect to elders, parents especially, this must have been a heavy burden to carry. Nevertheless, she slowly gained the respect of her parents back, by working in the radio and by her very mature attitude to life. This resembles of what Prof. Donardono told me about gaining respect of the academic community despite wearing jeans and having long hair. Soon before I finished research Icha wrote

me that for the first time she was able to smoke a cigarette in front of her parents, after a communal dinner. She was describing how precious and relieving this moment was.

At the same time, 'I followed my husband' seems to stay the most common justification for migration for middle-aged female migrants from villages (Appendix 4, 5, 7). Only in one case, the decision was made together, out of woman's initiative (Appendix 10) and that fact was strongly emphasized by the interviewee, Ibu Tini. In her situation, her parents (apparently well-off) lived already in Yogyakarta. Perhaps, this social and financial leverage was a kind of tool of negotiation of her personal space of a decision maker as a married woman.

Here, similarly with the general pattern about the tools of space negotiation, education and young age seem to strengthen female migrants' position.

### 5.7. Family as a migratory unit

I didn't observe the pattern described in my theoretical deliberations which would confirm new economy approaches with families' incomes divided into rural and urban part. Remittances were not mentioned often and, when asked, only one person admitted sending them 'whenever it's possible'. Others claimed no necessity and no expectance of remittances.

Family seemed to be a *migratory unit* in some cases because if a person had a family, he/she usually moved with them. At the same time, surprisingly many of my private, undocumented conversations proved otherwise – brought stories of children raised by their grandparents, which is another (opposite) pattern in migratory studies (Sounders, 2011). Parents leave for work to a different city by themselves. That is why I cannot make any conclusions on what the role of *family as a migratory unit* is in migrants' production of lived space in Yogyakarta.

## Chapter 6 Conclusions and recommendations

### 6.1. Conclusions according to research questions

My main research question was:

*How is everyday space negotiated and produced by new coming rural-urban migrants in central neighbourhoods of Yogyakarta?*

According to my research, an expertise of observations and around 20 interviews conducted and coded in Yogyakarta, everyday space is negotiated in various ways, depending on resources and so called 'tools of negotiation'.

The most prevalent pattern for low-wage and less educated rural migrants is living in a relatively closed areas of a kampung in a strategic location of Jl. Malioboro proximity. Migrants often live close to the river banks where dwellings are the cheapest (around 150 000 rupiah per month). In this case, the physical space of everyday life is rather limited to the kampung, its narrow streets and a small room. Migrants spend most of the time living and working on the streets, especially in transportation and industry and other services. These migrants are often middle-aged people who came to Yogyakarta when they were young, in their twenties or even in their teenage years. Their life is very sedentary, usually with no will to move anywhere else or to go back to the place of origin, visiting their home of origin every year or less frequently because of little financial resources. They try to save money and often try to secure education for their children, up to senior high school or even bachelor's degree (Appendix 5). The physical space around them is reproduced by the patterns of communal work (*gotong royong*) or other forms of more or less organised cooperation, often coordinated by RT and RW, the informal leader of the local community. Any active form of upwards mobility is limited because of modest skills, including the lack of writing and reading skills (Appendix 4) and is delayed for a generation.

The other pattern includes young student/workers, occupied with semi-skilled jobs in hospitality and other services. This group seems much more mobile, often not calling Yogyakarta their final destination and willing to move further. They often come to Yogya seeking for experience or adventure. Some of them dream of living abroad, usually in Australia (Appendix 1, Appendix 15). Their motivation is diverse. It might be education and experience or family ties ("I want my parents to see that I am a person who can live abroad", says Ricky in Appendix 1).

Whether willing to leave Indonesia or not, this group has a lot of agency and is capable of adjusting to the existing conditions like a young Sumatran struggling to find job in food services during Ramadan (Appendix 9), a girl getting hired in a radio and shaping its programs due to her

own vision in the age of 23 (Appendix 15) or Flores student who fights the intolerance and labour market discrimination with successful creation of their own community and sources of income (music bands).

*Sub-question 1: How is the production of lived space influenced by conceived space and spatial practices of urban reality in Yogyakarta?*

My respondents find Yogyakarta's people polite and gentle although these words might have a different meaning for different newcomers. Javanese are much more welcomed and although politeness is prevalent, it exists along with discrimination (conceived space) of Indonesians from other islands in crucial aspects as housing or work (spatial practices). Nonetheless, many migrants, especially the better educated ones, perceive Yogya as a culturally rich and pleasant place and literally all migrants find the value in the fact that living in Yogya is cheap (despite the fact that salaries are also much lower than in Jakarta, for example). This cheapness provides migrants with tools of negotiation, makes space and services more accessible - the threshold for migration is low.

Locals are aware of their city changing. They tolerate migration in their typical, polite way but they strongly feel that this is their city, they are very proud and nationalistic about being Javanese. Some complain about more arrogance and much more traffic on the streets but they appreciate new educational institutions occurring for students, very diverse food and cheap workforce. Nevertheless, they strongly feel that they set the rules – they 'let' migrants come (Appendix 8). Unfortunately, all the people from the direction to the east from Yogya seem to be more or less stigmatized and defamed.

This creates an odd dichotomy of attitudes and convictions from 'everyone is welcome' to 'Papuan only cause trouble'. This dichotomy was described before and presented on the diagram (Figure 9).

Nevertheless, there is a question which has to be posed. Can a local mythology (based on history, 'culture', pride and convictions as well as discrimination and otherness) be treated as a conceived space, 'representations of space' in Lefebvre's understanding? My answer would be positive – I am more than convinced that conceived space is nothing more than a 'vision' of something or someone able to affect them in specific circumstances. It doesn't matter if this vision is planned centrally by the government, cemented by tradition or if it comes from personal convictions as long as the owner of these convictions has any kind of power over other people. I think that Foucault's power/knowledge nexus would give me a hand in this broadening interpretation of Lefebvre.

*Sub-question 2: To what degree is the production of lived space based on informality?*

Informality is not simply 'the way things are' in the Global South - the 'undeveloped' ways of dealing with everyday life on their way to more structured, formal state of being. It seems to be a systemic response to increased dynamics (of population, of labour demand, of ethnic and religious diversity). What I mean by that is that the complex system of socio-economic relations in a densely populated city (like Yogyakarta) cannot be simply 'regulated' by policies as it can take place in the Global North. It needs some self-regulatory features in order to self-organise. Self-organisation is possible only in diverse systems with enough room for experiment (Meadows, 2009). The explosion of *warung* industry in Indonesia in the wake of the economic crisis of the last decade of XX century is an example of such a resilient, self-organising response.

Informal structures allow short delays between a decision and its implementation - through easy access to economy (no registration processes, no official permits, low input required, proximity of clients/work area), housing (variety of prices and conditions, informal agreement, direct relation with the house owner, short move-in/move-out periods) and social networks (individually negotiated, mostly in already diverse, flexible surrounding). The same mechanism allows relatively quick corrections of ineffective actions and this is what makes it resilient.

What informality doesn't provide is the safety net of welfare or labour stability. In response, these necessities seem to be acquired in 'slow', traditional ways. Perhaps this is why rural migrants seem to keep their rural habits of space production almost intact, meaning very low mobility in the place of destination, relying on a community and their family. What they do differently compared to rural reality is the fact that they invest in their children's education what is often not available in the villages. Migrants, being learning systems themselves, retain what is 'stable' and safe from rural customs especially regarding communal and family life and improve it with urban opportunities (education for children) for future resilience.

The production of lived space is almost entirely based on informality, especially regarding lowest income and least educated groups. Members of this group, living in kampungs and working in low-skilled service jobs which they mainly establish themselves, have few occasions to interact with any formality. It happens usually when they register their address in the kampung to get access to healthcare and free education for their children. In some cases, like the illiterate Ibu Salintan, this process might take up to 20 years since it is far from being mandatory. Ibu didn't even know about the possibility to access healthcare and education until local RT offered to help her. Probably this is one of the reasons why two of her older children are not educated at all while two younger are currently attending school. Formality has a great power in Indonesia but often it doesn't reach the kampungs of Winongo river, west from Malioboro.

Informality is without any doubt a reason why Yogyakarta's economy is growing and why it attracts more and more migrants every year. It's their 'entry mode' and usually, their whole local world with informal rules and informal spatial practices.

However, student workers from villages/towns deal with more formal surrounding through their educational institutions which seem to be strikingly formal. Still, students' jobs, temporary or not, stay informal and precarious – the only difference is that these young people often don't seem to mind that, usually not having any serious obligations and often having already in mind 'something next'.

Informality provides the ease of finding work or establishing own small business – it provides better opportunities than the rural life. However, it doesn't provide any kind of security and, in my opinion, this striking precariousness of life is not mentioned by the interviewees only because they do not know any other model of everyday life.

Although informality leaves people vulnerable, they often don't stay like that. *Gotong royong*, communal gatherings led by RT/RW structures, own children, family ties and social networks seem to be the natural reply to the risks of informality. Life is way more communal in informality's realm of Yogya than in life surrounded by formality which we are used to in Europe. This model seems to work pretty well however, as I mentioned before, informality builds the economy and maintains households but doesn't necessarily help to build the state.

*Sub-question3: What is the role of rural-urban social networks in shaping everyday space of urban migrants?*

Answer to this question is linked to the second question. Social networks, communal spatial practices and common lived space are necessary in the precariousness of informality.

The existence of an organized, systematic network in the kampung area was observed only in one case (Appendix 3) where the network of Maduran migrants used to organise weekly gatherings, with lottery and other activities. It was also a source of help (for instance in housing, but not in job seeking). Despite that, in almost every story there was someone, a relative or a friend who came to Yogya first and whom the migrant interviewee followed or whose help he/she took, especially with housing. After my limited research I can say that human relations seemed to play an important role in the migratory process and decision making but mainly regarding the information itself – sharing information as a tool of negotiation, again. With prevalently limited resources the examples of financial help or sending remittances are scarce in my research.

Intuitively I suspect, drawing on the example of the Flores musicians' community (Appendix 16), that the harsher the conditions (discrimination, language difficulties) the more social networks

are important in the production of safe space. In their absence, along with the failure of the conceived space - like in the case of Papuan 'students' randomly selected for scholarships in Java - it might come to alienation and social maladjustment.

## 6.2 Recommendations

After drawing the conclusions, I wish to make some recommendations, both for further research and for policy makers, in Indonesia and beyond.

### 6.2.1. Recommendations for further research

#### *Core and periphery approach*

Following some scholars, (Sounders 2011; Wallerstein, 1974) but also Lefebvre himself who writes "I am at the same time peripheral and central but *take sides with the periphery*" (1991a, p. 134) I would recommend to research migrations in Indonesia more from this core-peripheral perspective, adding it to the rural – urban division. I suggest that because, according to Thomson (2003, 2004) and Rigg (2007), rural-ness and urban-ness notions are becoming more problematic in South East Asia, they are intertwined and coexisting. This traditional division, relatively easy to grasp and sharper in Europe, just doesn't exhaust all the aspects of everyday life in other parts of the world. As Sounders argues (2011), cities often 'swallow' rural areas beyond them and suddenly, rural inhabitants become urbanites almost overnight. This transformation might leave researchers bewildered if they stubbornly try to qualify such situations as rural or urban. Yet, no place becomes central or peripheral overnight.

Rural and urban shows only one dimension of migratory processes but it is not enough to develop a complex understanding expected from academia. For instance, as described before, rural and urban division doesn't explain this surplus of opportunities, which semi-peripheral cities might offer just because they are still 'not obviously attractive' but they are connected enough to the core to become full-fledged migratory destinations. Yogyakarta might stay cheap for migrants and allow them to make savings because it is placed in Java and the transportation of strategic resources does not cost much. This is the outcome of the semi-peripheral location of the city in SEA and central in Java and the reason of its rapid urbanisation.

Another example could be Yogya's questioned social inclusivity. The rural and urban division does partly explain the inclusivity of the kampungs but it does not explain the stereotype of Papuans or people from Flores as 'harsh' or 'savage', 'always making trouble' which does not apply to villagers from Java anyhow. Hence, the mental differentiation has deeper roots, perhaps in Javanese superiority, religion and others. Centrality matters here, not the urban character.

### *Inclusivity*

Following the first recommendation, I would suggest more research on Indonesian inclusion-illusion, mainly because my research was too limited to turn it into a theory. Again, periphery-core division could go along with rural-urban in this suggested research. I believe that this kind of research over inclusivity and the negotiation of space by underprivileged groups is important for migratory studies not only in South East Asia. The patterns of exclusion I observed in Yogyakarta were miserably similar to ones I observed in Poland, the Netherlands or Europe in general. 'Historically', religiously ('atheistically' is a variant of it) or racially grounded superiority along with a sense of centrality seems to be a pattern linking them all.

Despite the difficult position and negative stereotypes, I observed examples of great resilience, creativity and agency in overcoming these disadvantages by migrants. If one could research it deeply in Indonesia and find ways of overcoming the exclusion in such a complex and shattered archipelago, I believe places like Europe could only benefit. As Frank Sinatra sang 'If I can make it there, I'll make it anywhere'. One glance at Indonesian topographic and ethnical map is enough to understand how true this claim might be.

#### 6.2.2. Recommendations for policy makers

##### *Drawing on informality*

During one of my private meetings I met a journalist and a presenter of Indonesian television, one of the all-national channels. She told me about her frequent political conversations with the members of parliament or the government even and I told her about my encounters with migrants in kampungs, people surrounded by informality. At some point she argued that eventually formality 'must lay its hands' on this informal settlements because of taxation reasons and because 'people can't live like this'.

It's a common dynamic of the conceived space, according to Lefebvre, to try to design and plan the big picture. But in fact, formality has its own conceived space. Its strength is that it is 'easy', accessible and in most cases inclusive *per se*. Dismantling informality in the name of progress, modernity or economy would probably slow down all three of them because what people are used to, what they are immersed in, would make them probably try to recreate informality in some other form. I described how informality works in details with all its drawbacks and chances. I don't claim that it is a perfect way of functioning for societies but I believe its relatively inclusive, dynamic and it works.

What policy makers could do is to support informality, try to strengthen its weak spots in order to direct it for better, more balanced development of people. In Bauman's 'liquid modernity' (2013), informality is one of its most obvious manifestations with all its precariousness and the anxiety

which follows. It's very *liquid* itself but because of that, it can be also more resilient than the conceived space of state policies, as the examples of Mongolia, DRC or SEA's economic crisis of late '90 show.

I believe that informality needs to be treated as a partner by both local and central policy makers in order to maintain its role in facilitating human development and that it should be recognized as doing so.

#### *The skill of migrating*

The following suggestion might sound utopian to the reader but I can't think of a better place for utopian ideas than a bachelor's thesis.

The idea is strictly connected with recognizing informality as a realm of change and growth. Human mobility is a very important part of it, surely in Yogyakarta.

What strikes me about mobility is that it is always a process of learning – of customs, regulations, patterns, practical solutions, cooperation and about ourselves, in the end. It might be a heart-breaking experience or the one letting people flourish however, it always involves gaining knowledge and new skills.

I believe that as a form of skill or knowledge or at least a form of experience it should be recognised by the conceived realm of authorities because it often builds up one's resilience and creativity, whether supported and welcomed or fought and frowned upon.

I acknowledge that nation states are not prepared for recognizing migration as a form of educational or labour experience. Nevertheless, just as women's domestic work was not even thought to be recognised as a form of labour a while ago, there might come a right time for the educational aspect of the act of migration to be acknowledged or at least 'helpful' in building life in a new place just as internships or volunteering are perceived as positive factors in a graduate's work application. For now, it seems to be perceived contrary.

Indeed, recognising migration as an act of learning would require reversing the common understanding of migration in the first place. This remark goes first of all to the Western countries which waste enormous amounts of human capital by the arrogant habit of not recognizing even the formal education of the countries of so called Global South. There is a long way to go and, ironically, a lot to learn.

## Reflections on the research

The choice of investigating migration from rural to urban areas came to me as something relevant in the light of major rural-urban transition that takes place in South East Asia. I believe this trajectory has to be researched on multiple levels, from macro through meso to micro.

I focused on the micro level. Micro level is the most personal level– of people’s intimate, intrinsic transition, of changing the environment, lifestyle and reshaping their identity. It is a fascinating process itself and researching it taught me a lot about others and about myself as a migrant, too.

The idea of conducting this research in Yogyakarta came to me first out of necessity. The collaboration between Radboud and Universitas Gadjadara in Yogya created the opportunity I didn’t want to miss.

I didn’t know too much about Indonesia at the beginning. Learning about the country was overwhelming at first but it also triggered further curiosity. This curiosity led me through the process of getting basic knowledge, researching the chosen topic and, eventually, observing more and more nuances – creating more questions along the way that I could possibly answer.

After conducting almost twenty interviews I still have this feeling that perhaps another researcher, working in a kampung located along another river or even just across the fence from Ngapilan or Badran could get different results which wouldn’t be any more or any less accurate than mine. It has nothing to do with the saturation which I believe I reached in my work. Perhaps it is just a feeling of the big picture always slipping away and maybe it is something that a researcher should get used to and embrace. Having this in mind, I’m already looking forward to my Master’s thesis research.

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## Interview transcripts and networks

### Appendix 1 Ricky

19. 04. 2018, Yogyakarta

RICKY (21)

(transcribed from notes)

- Students in Indonesia they just want to be apart from their parents. They want to be just like others. Normally parents pay for their studies, some of them work as freelancers, but mostly parents pay. Students tend to want to work in other countries.

- In a bar, I earn 1 500 mln. Yogya is cheap. That is why money is small. In Jakarta in 'food and bavarege' I could earn 3 000 – 3 300 mln.

Why not Jakarta?

- People go to Jakarta for work, not for friends, not for life. 'You don't know what is happening' there, 'it's hard to get work'. 'In real, it's not what you expect'

So, what is that you expect?

- Just trying to do my best where I'm working. I would save some money to get to another country, to get a job there.

What is another country for you?

- Australia or Singapore. It's a country who can give better then before. Australia is not easy, you have to know people first, know their work, what they do, what is their life, what activities they do, you have to know them first.

- 'Before you get a community, you get a lot of bullying'.

- Community is like in Jakarta, they always use bad words, drink alcohol. It doesn't give you good things, better lives. You have to be aware of what we see, what we learn and can share it later with friends who want to go too. You get bullied from university before you get a community.

What community you mean? Australians of Indonesians in Australia?

- Indonesia people in Australia.

- Australia is really good, when you know about their life. They will be friendly and humble, (but) it's not easy to get their friendship.

- In Australia it's like Jakarta. If you have money you can stay with us, if you don't have money stay away from us.

Is Jogja like that?

- No! Jogja is much better! Money is really cheap, food, stuff, house. In tourist places its different, price and service for tourists (?)

- I want locals to treat us like tourists, with same service. I was in a place where there is 10 pieces of (?) [kind of food] for 10 000 rupees and they gave me 8 pieces.

- Tourists don't pay more at all. Russians and Indians pay local prices.

- For people from Australia, you need to get their attention, you need to interest them, sometimes make a fool out of yourself. Not for elders. Elders don't like it. Teenagers are like that. They give bad attitude. People from Australia have to look at you from the head to the feet. They are like that. If they like what you do they will leave some money on the table.

- I don't talk to university people [public speaking]. In Australia it was the first time and only time. Because I'm very shy.

But you started the conversation with me on the street, you approached me.

- You can talk to anyone in front of you but in the group in university it's public.

Why you dropped university?

- I stopped the university to get money. I want to help my parents to pay for my study. Even I take English lessons [at the university], I make it better talking to foreign people at work. It makes my feel bad that I'm not studying. But I learn more talking to any tourist.

- I studied in Bali. Almost four semesters and I was exchange student in Australia.
  - [It takes] 84 million to make visa, including ticket. Government of Bali pays for that. They chose some people. I try to do best because my mother pushes me up. She always supports me, says 'you can do it', she always pushes me up.
  - 'Maybe I'm not brave, I'm shy, but my mother motivates me. So, even I get a lot of bullying [in AU] but I can come back to our community and I share my experiences.
  - I have a cat [shows Instagram photos]. His name is Neong. But I don't have time to take care of him so I gave it to my friend.
  - Bullying in Australia, it's just 'to make you know things'. 'I have this, I have that, I know this and that'. Bullying in Indonesia really hurts. You don't have what I have, you don't have enough money.
  - Bullying is just to make us more look at our lives before we judge others. When I get bullied, it teaches you something good. 'Because you don't bully, because you experienced it before yourself'.
  - I have a friend from Mexico in Bali. He is one of my best friends. We didn't see each other for a long time but we write on WhatsApp every day. He went to get new ID, just trying to live longer in Bali.
  - I grew up with my grand mom in Jakarta. After finishing junior high school, 2008, maybe 2009, I really don't remember. I'm 21 now. My mother was Hindu, my Papa was Christian. Now she is Christian because my Papa is Christian.
- Are you a Christina? Do you go to church?
- [getting apologetic] For a moment, I'm so fucking tired, going home at dawn. So I don't go to church.
  - I was born in Bali. When I was 3, I went with my mom to live with Grandma in Jakarta. Grandma is from Papa. Then my mom moved to Bali. In Bali, I was not leaving with my mom, she said it's so hard to taking care of me. I lived with my uncle, mom's brother.
  - I finished studying in 2015. Working at a beach club. Manager was my best friend. It was in Nusaduwa (Two Islands). Are you Christian?
- I was baptised and raised as a Christian but I don't feel Christian.
- No! Why you say that? [laughs and is astonished]. It's wrong. [laughs and shakes his head]
- [Takes my cigarette and feels guilty]
- My uncle doesn't know that I smoke.
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> April, no, 1<sup>st</sup> April, I came to Jogja. Next day I dropped CV. 3<sup>rd</sup> April I started working in a bar. In a bar manager wants me to entertain with the guests. If you make good selfies for them, you get good review. Manager says: you can not deny to drink with guests and smoke with them if they offer.
  - I also call hotels to tell them about the bar so they send their guests to us.
- Do you pay for that?
- [surprised] No, they just know about our place and send tourists to us.
- Does it work?
- [Ricky is not sure]
- And how did you find a place to live here?
- I have friends here so I asked to find me a place. But they don't want me to live by myself so I went to live with them.
- Why don't you want to live in Bali?
- I worked there for 3 years. 2 years in Beach House, one in a hotel in Bali. Bali is fucking hot, man. I have to work in the sun, wear a hat.
  - I graduated in 2014. In December 2015 I started working in beach house. Then hotel. Few months in Jakarta. I couldn't live in the city. you waste time on the road. You work at 10, so leave home at 6. I lived with my grandma at that time.



## Appendix 2 Dr Nurhadi

24.04.2018 Yogyakarta, UGM

DR NURHADI

N: Gapapa, gapapa...

M [laughs]

D: Gapapa, I understand

(...) – *talking in Bahasa*

D: So, first of all, prof. Ri (prof. Rajanta) told me that you are the RW...

N: Former RW...

D: Could you please explain what is this function exactly and how does this structure work? Kampung and kelurahan?

N is searching for a piece of paper to draw.

(...)

N: I want to explain the organisation structure maybe. (...) This is a household. Many many households. More or less 30 up to 50 households. This is an RT. This one also, this one also. 30 up to 50 households.

D: What does RT mean?

N and M: Rukun tatanga

N: (drawing) This is another RT, another, RT, rukun tatanga... More or less 4 up to 5 RT is RW. Rukun Warga. This one RT, this one RT.

D: And RT are elected by the people, yes?

N: Yes, RW also.

D: Also? I thought they are appointed by the government.

N: This is not a formal office. This is an informal position. This is social function.

D: This is really informal for me because I want to write about informal structures, actually.

N: I continue... 4 up to 5 RT is RW. (drawing) RW1, RW2, RW3... up to 10, 11. Up to this – forms kelurahan. This is formal.

D: And kampung?

N: Kampung... this one.

D: 30 to 50... I understand.

N: For example, RW1 up to RW5 is a kampung. Kampung A maybe. RW6 up to RW11 maybe is Kampung B, maybe.

D: And what are the obligations of RW? He represents the people?

N: The responsibilities of RW... (...) The responsibilities of RW, number one might be making the area (...) comfortable in the kampung, secure and comfortable. Number two maybe, as the coordinator of the area development. Another one is as a helper to kelurahan.

D: And how does RW for example provide security. It is an informal position. So how can RW provide security. Does he have like a budget, people, like an informal police?

N: Ya, ya, ya. (...) The budget is compiled in the area. The famous sentence is *gotong royong* in Indonesian language. Very famous, very famous... It means social work (M helps), especially in the kampung in Indonesia. Gotong royong. As you have a problem, maybe I can help you. It's not only abstract problem. For example, I have a house [my bad, didn't understand and didn't ask, either] and we have to [...] other people. This is gotong royong.

D: And RW coordinates this work.

N: Ya.

D: Does RW represent the area to the formal structure or formal government or not? Where is the transition between formal and informal.

N: Kelurahan is formal, RW is informal.

D: Ok, thank you. For how long is RW elected?

N: Maybe 3 years. He can be reelected again and again.

D: So the area where you are RW, where is it in Yogya.

(...)

N: Centre of Yogyakarta.

D: My main question is why people actually move to this area. Prof. Ri told me a lot of people from rural areas come to central part of Yogya, he explained me that prices are cheaper because it's closer to river banks so it might be flooded maybe but is this how you see it? Why migrants settle in this area.

N: Mhm... I want to explain you the position of my kampung. My kampung is the one of the kampungs in the central of Yogyakarta. It's near to the public facilities, with the station, very near. Very near with Malioboro, with [...]. The surrounding of my kampung is many facilities. So, people come to mu kampung from rural areas to work in the informal sector. Because the rural is not difficult [?] for the informal sector. Many, many. There are, for example (...) trader jobs but not formal jobs.

D: So low wage and low level jobs are informal?

N: Yes.

D: So, why don't they stay in rural area?

N: They have a field like that as a farmer, but the farmer is a long of time of waiting for results from the field. 4 months maybe. In the urban, he can better get money quickly.

D: In European cities the central area is usually the most expensive area to live. Here, it's not that expensive since people can move there. Why it is not expensive?

N: My location is not real central. Kampung along the railways, river, near to the river. Like a slum area. Very much cheaper (laughs). But I want to tell you that the land is legal.

M: Sometimes slum areas are in illegal areas. This is legal.

D: So, when they come to Yogya, how do they rent the apartment, the house? Does RW help with that?

M: The one who has the house rents it.

D: So it is not the public area?

N: No, it's private. Private house. I think the people of my kampung, lot of them have many rooms, spare rooms they don't use and can rent it to migrants.

D: How much rupees is a room?

(...)

N: We don't know exactly, but the estimation would be 300k rupees for one room, per month.

M: You can use that room for one or two people.

N: That one is rooms, not houses. You can rent a house for more less 3 to 5 million a year.

D: So the rooms are per month and a house is per year?

M: This is just approximately. I don't know exactly.

D: And people usually come individually or with the families?

N: Normally with the family.

D: Do they come exactly to this kampung because they have friends from the village? If the family decides to go, why is it? As a network or families are individual about their choice.

N: I think individual.

D: And the ties with people at home are strong? Do they visit often back for holiday?

(...)

M: It's quite pricy to go back.

N: Might be 6 months – 1 year until they go back.

D: Their new social network is the kampung?

N: yes.

D: Does kampung help to find work?

N: No, the newcomer searches for work on his own. Kampung is just for life.

D: Kampung is used to migrants? People are open?

N: Open. Almost all kampungs open to migrants. Especially local migrants. Foreigners don't live there.

D: From which parts?

N: Especially West Java.

(...)

D: Why?

N: Maybe, because informal sector is very supportive to people from West Java. They are specialist as food traders. It's really famous here. It's called *burju*. Special food, special food traders from West Java. You can try if you visit to my kampung.

D: I would really like to visit to your kampung and to talk to migrants.

N: Yes.

[...]

D: last question. Why do you think they choose Yogya? Why not Yogya. It would be easier to get to Jakarta from West Java.

N: Yogya is the miniature of Indonesia. People from other islands is complete [are here from everywhere?]. the variation of food in Yogya is complete. People from West Java are specialist for food traders. It is very very interesting.

D: my hypothesis. Migrants who come to Yogya they can keep their identity because Yogya is a miniature of Indonesia but if for example they go to Jakarta they would have to change?

N: Yogyakarta is cheaper than other cities. This is the real city of cheap.

D: Why Yogya is cheaper?

N: I don't know exactly but according to my opinion it's a student city, demands are not big. Also, a lot of raw materials exist around Yogyakarta. Especially for rice, the soil is strong.

D: Is land also cheap?

N: No, no, land is not cheap. Especially the surrounding. So, Suleman regencies, one of the surrounding regencies of Yogyakarta is number two most expensive in Indonesia after Bali.

D: Is Seturan also in this area? I live in Seturan.

N: But that land is in some special locations. Not all of Suleman. By the river it is not as expensive. Like my kampung is not expensive because it's not a good location. River, tracks.

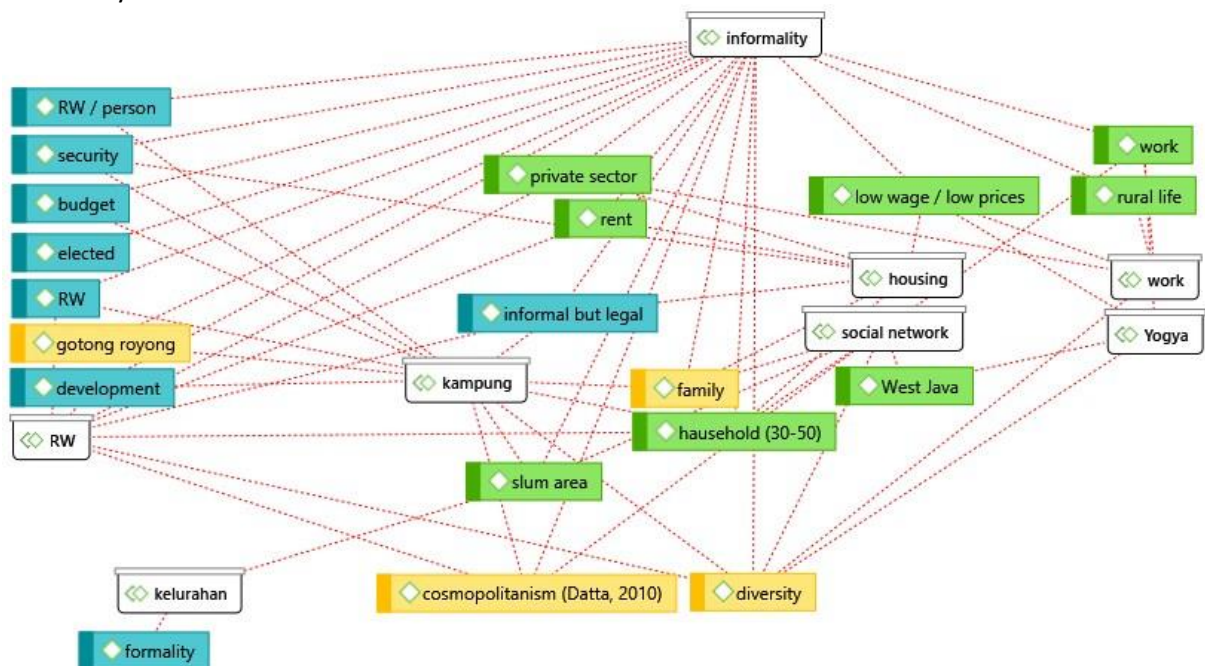
D: I think I have all my questions covered. Do you want anything?

N: It's better if you go to my kampung.

[gives the address]

D: Thank you very much!

N: Thank you.



### Appendix 3 Mr Sudarmojo – RT – RW

28.04. 2018 Yogyakarta

Since there was a lot of Bahasa talking, I made notes only when talking with Mr Sudarmojo (RW's secretary), but when others joined, I decided to start recording to be able to tell who is the one talking.

SD (Mr Sudarmojo)

RT (Mr Batiar Nukruho)

RW (Mr Edy)

SD: Yes, I am the secretary of RW in this kampung.

D: How many people live here, more less.

SD: 1025 people.

D: Where are they from?

SD: They are from Yogyakarta, the majority of them. We don't have too many migrants in this kampung. Some people came from Padang, but they came about 10 years ago. They live in RW 10 and 11

D: Why there are no migrants here?

SD: The neighbourhood is already crowded, there are some apartments for rent, but not for workers but for students.

D: What kind of students do you mean exactly?

SD: They are mainly senior high school students but sometimes also BA students.

D: What do you mean by 'not for workers'? They are not allowed or they just don't come to this area for other reasons?

SD: They are allowed but there are no workers here.

D: How much is the rent for these student rooms?

SD: It's about 2-3 million, I don't know exactly, I tell you the more-less prices.

D: That's ok, thank you. No migrants, you say...

SD: Yes, there is one family from Padang, they opened a copy centre here, copying and printing. But most people are from Yogya. Sometimes people come from other regencies of Yogya just because their husbands, wives are from here. They come from Bantul (south of Yogya, comment D), (...) (D didn't understand). My wife is from Semarang, you know (laughing). She's a migrant.

D: (Laughing) Cool, I'm going there in two days. And where are you from?

SD: From Yogya.

D: And for long have you been living in this kampung?

SD: From my birth day (laughing)

D: So, how does this whole rental market works here? People rent houses?

SD: People, owners, don't rent out the whole house, they rent just a room. It is more money.

D: And where do students come from?

SD: Different places... Sleman, Bantul, Solo (first two are regencies of Yogya, the latter is a closest big city, comment D). Majority is Yogya people.

D: Are they registered somehow?

SD: At least they tell RW where they come from (still talking about students, D). But the register is not official. There is a data base in RW office. It's not a central registration.

D: So who are the people who live here?

SD: They are traders, they work as self-employees. There are also drivers, pedicab drivers.

D: What drivers?

SD: Pedicab (he means *becak* drivers, popular transport, especially for tourists, D)

D: Is the development and settlement planned by RW or other authority?

DS: There is no central planning. It's just that communication is better with a student. They have more education and also psychological factors. That is why people who rent prefer students. They also stay for 1-3 years only. And it's easier to 'regulate' students.

D: what do you mean?

SD: Students are more regulated because they have education, they have different habits, better understanding.

D: Is there any move out of the kampung?

SD: There is a movement out.

D: What kind of movement?

(Then the RT arrives and the interviews is interrupted)

D: So what is the movement out about?

SD: People from here go to work to Jakarta, Kalimantan because they need work.

D: But people come here for work...

SD: There is a lot of competition in Yogya. People who live here has bachelor's degree. People from here, who have senior high school or less face a lot of competition for work. People who get work have BA. But RT rents his room for students.

D: Mr Batiar, why do you prefer to rent your rooms for students?

RT: it is easier to regulate them. Other places, they rent rooms to workers but not in this place, it is just for student.

D: So, there are no migrants?

RT: There were some migrants a long time ago, mainly from West Java. They arrived 10, sometimes 20 years ago. Some of them have already family cards in this area.

D: Who gives family cards?

RT: The government.

D: So, what are the criteria? Does it depend on time spent in Yogya?

RT: No, it's not about time. You can apply even after a few months. There aren't any criteria but they need recommendation letters from the RT, from the RW and *kulerahan* of the origin and the destinations as well.

D: So, there are six recommendation letters?

D: Are the cards given only to the family?

RT: No, no, there can be also an individual card issued. It's just that family card is more popular, it's for the whole family.

D: What are the benefits from the card?

RT: Health insurance, education for children...

D: And then it is free?

RT: Yes, it is free then.

D: So can people come individually and make a family card or they have to come with the family already?

RT: Both modes of entry are eligible. Family card is possible for one person and family will move here later.

D: Is it something desired to have the card or it is just formality? How do you know if you can write a letter for someone if there are so many people?

RT: Most of the people have been living here for more than one year and actually RT area is only around 200 people. I know them. Sometimes, I recommend them myself to apply for the card, because if they get the card they would get the benefits.

D: I would like to go back to workers and students for the last time... If you say it's easier to 'regulate' students, why is it harder to regulate workers?

RT and SD: There are two reasons. Workers usually work in *swasta*, private informal sector. They work shifts. If they work night shifts, they will get home at night, very late and it may be

uncomfortable for the kampung people. The other reason is that it is easier for students to understand you cannot bring other people for the night. With workers it's more complicated, they sometimes don't comply with this rule.

RW arrives, I start to record the interview.

D: As far as I understand, migrants don't come here because the area is full and also because the house owners prefer students...

RW: The contacts of (SD) and (RT) are less workers. But my contacts include workers, but it's more near to the river banks than here.

D: Cheaper in the river banks?

RW: Yes, the conditions there are more modest and simpler. It's like a room for rent but for the whole family.

D: So the whole family lives in this room?

RW: Yes.

D: How much is the rent for it?

RW: More less 150k for the whole family.

(RW asking questions to me, where I am from, etc.)

D: Students don't want to live in the river banks?

RW: There is no students there. It is more far, harder to go to school and the environment is not really good to study. It is noisy.

D: Where do they come from, the workers?

RW: Taseng, Madura, Sate... Madura is in East Java, but they commonly come from West Java. They've been living here for a long time, more than 10 years because of the environment. People are nice, it's cheap...

D: So, do you still consider them migrants? I mean RW, RT?

RW: Half of the people came here with their families, made their family cards, brought their families but half of them are still single.

D: So is this place a first step into Yogya or a permanent stop.

RW: Usually permanent.

D: Do they bring their other relatives if they come from same place? Does it start a chain of people?

RW: It usually stop with the family, it is rare that they bring their relatives here...

D: And... can we go there?

(a lot of speaking in Bahasa)

RW: Yes, you can.

D: Are they there now (because it's noon, D)

RW: The ones from Madura they sell their food in the night.

(Bahasa; joking which I don't understand)

M: The RT is a migrant himself, he's been here for 8 years

D: Oh, and where are you from?

RT: (...) Central Java. Ok, so you were the migrant! I didn't know.

RW: Why you chose this area?

D: Dr Nurhadi from UGM told me a lot of migrants live along the river. I was walking here and really liked this area, it's nice and nice people live here so I decided to return.

(Laughing)

D: So, there was no recommendation for this area but I still decided to come here.

(...)

M: 6 months ago, there was a consultant from France, collaborating with one of the ministries, who give a pilot project in this kampung for this area. So, they will design this Kampung so it will have a low carbon impact. This afternoon there are people from French consulting company and

they will display the design from 3 universities (...) from France so the villagers could choose which one they like. So they thought we were from France.

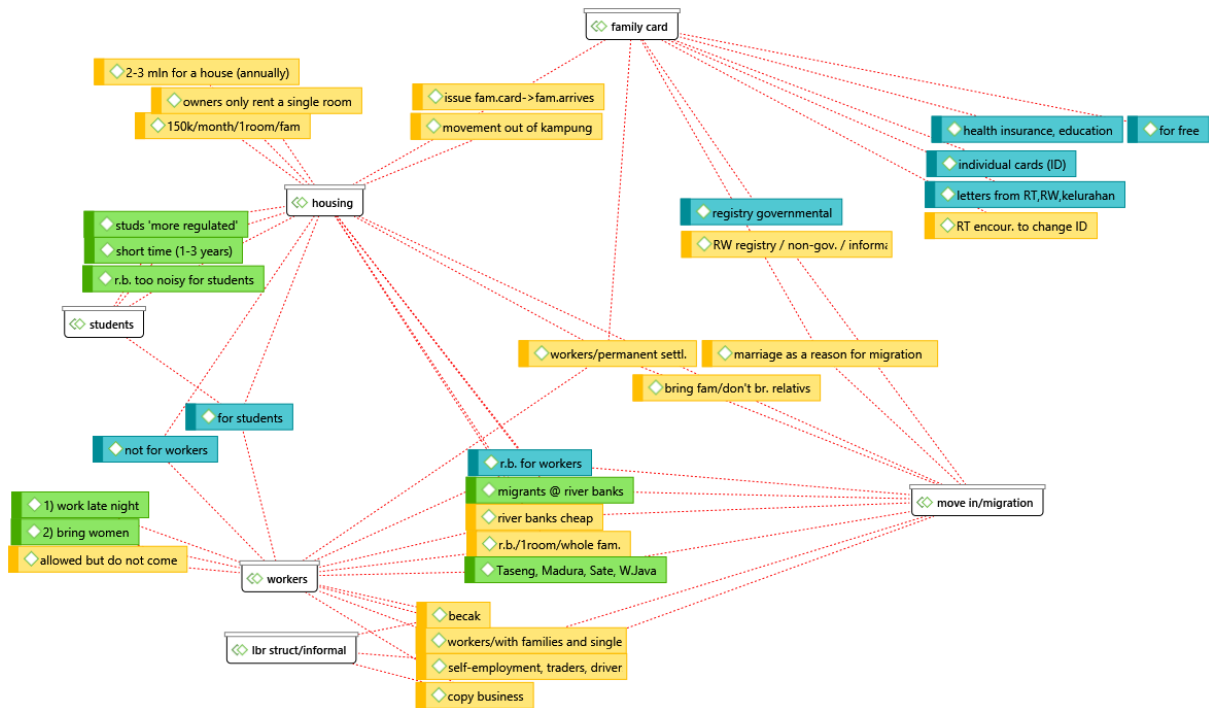
D: Such a coincidence! So, what time is the meeting.

M: They don't know yet.... You don't need the photograph?

D: oh yes, I'd like to photography.

(taking photos)

D: I will stop recording and we can go.



## Appendix 4 Ibu Salintan

28.04.18 Yogyakarta

After interviewing the 'authorities' of the kampung we went to meet migrants who has been there for quite some time. The first group was people from Madura, an island east to Java. The main interviewee was Ibu Salintan (Mrs Salintan) and two young men in their twenties but I never knew their names.

IBU (Mrs Salintan)

MAN1, MAN2

D, M;

D: I will also take notes... For now I don't know who is who, who is the lady and who are the guys.

M: She is a food trader from Madura, she sells sate chicken.

D: Oh, I know sate...

(laughter)

D: how long are you here?

IBU (M): Since 1996.

D: And did you come here alone or with your family?

IBU: So, she came here with her husband but unfortunately her husband has passed away.

D: What was the reason you came to Yogya.

IBU: Makan, makan. To search some money to eat.

D: It was not possible in Madura?

IBU: Yes, but there are a lot of farmers... I can't be a farmer because I don't know how to do field work.

D: When you came here did you get the family card?

IBU and MAN1: I made the family card in 2010.

D: oh, so why you didn't do it sooner?

M (IBU and MAN1, MAN2): So, it's because she can't write or read so it was hard for her to do this card or the registration but in 2010 the RT helped her to make the card.

D: oh, I understand. Are there any other people from Madura living here?

M: Yes, there are. There are other people from Madura, (Bahasa...) they are next to the river bank.

D: So when Ibu came here there were other people from Madura or she was alone with her husband?

M: A lot of people from Madura came here but in 1996 she lived in Wirobrajan and in 2010 she moved to Ngapilan. So there is people from Madura but not in the same area. In 1996 yes, there were.

D: Did Ibu keep in touch with the family? Did she come to visit, was there a contact with the village?

M: So, they still keep in touch with the family in the village because her parents are still alive but less or more they visit the family every 3 years. Not every year because her children are still in school so it's hard to make time.

D: Who's children are in school?

(now MAN1, MAN2 and IBU answer, telling one story)

M: Mrs Salintan's children still in school. She has 4 children, 2 of her children are still in school, one is in second year of junior high school and the other in 2 year of senior high school. The first and second child have worked but they didn't graduate from elementary school.

D: Do they live in Yogya?

M: She (showing another women in the back) is the first child...

D: I would like to know more about the origins, the beginning. When they went to Wirobrajan, why did they go there? Did they go directly there?

M: So, the reason for choosing Wirobrajan was that there was a free house there to rent. In 2010 she moved to Ngampilan was not prolonged, the rent was discontinued.

D: So, as I understand they didn't know anyone when they came here?

M: In 1996 there was a relative who already moved from Madura to Yogya and he lived in Ngampilan. But he couldn't find a place for her so she moved in to W.

D: So she already had a relative here when she moved?

M: Yes.

D: Did any other relative followed her when she moved to Wirobrajan?

M: No, just with her child.

D: Do people still come from Madura now? What has changed in these 20 years? They came as a small group in 1996 but do people come more now?

M: There are people from Madura who moved now, this year, but not in this kampung. So this migration still takes place. Oh, there is a community of Madura people. Every Friday night they would gather and do *arisan* (something like a lottery, but it's not gambling!)

D: I don't mind gambling (laughter). So does Ibu think now it's different or is it the same as 20 years ago to move from Madura?

M: They don't feel it because they don't do migration now (MAN1 and MAN2)

D: So they were born in Yogya?

M: No, they moved here in 1996. And Mrs Salintan also moved in 1996 so she doesn't know how it works now.

D: Ok. So, was it hard to find a job when she moved here in 1996?

M: When she was still in Madura she had this idea to come here to be a food trader.

D: So it is her own business?

M: Yes.

D: Does she sell it here in the kampung or somewhere else?

M: She brings the food in the hat (laughter), from one area to another area. In a weekend she would sell in Malioboro area because there are a lot of tourists. If it's not weekend, she would go from one village to another village. From 3 pm to 7pm. She sold food from the morning a long time ago, but since she's getting older she starts later.

M: usually people who move to Yogya they would show their ID card, their family card to RT and if she or he is married they have to show the marriage letter to RT.

D: So everyone in the village have the card?

M: Yes, obviously. If you are above 17 years old you will get the card.

D: Going back to community meeting. People just have fun together or they also help each other find work?

M: They also help the people who want to move, trying to find accommodation but for work they can't help. Just show that there is a house they can rent... it's hard to help.

D: And when people come, they look for external work or they start their own business.

M: What do you mean by external business?

D: They start their own business or they look for someone's business?  
(a long talk in Bahasa)

M: commonly they would choose their own business, they would sell sate, burju or start a barber shop or sell fried rice.

D: Are there any permissions necessary?

M: If they sell in village to village they don't need the permission but if they sell it in Malioboro or Ngabean parking area (a popular parking for buses with tourists, comment D) they need permission from the community... So, for Malioboro or Ngabean they will ask permission from the community and they will pay some money for cleaning.

D: Which community – from here or in Malioboro?

M: The community is from Malioboro, the community of the food traders... So, it's honestly illegal to sell. So, they plan hide and seek with the government. Ngabean parking area and Malioboro it's illegal but there is still like a cleaning fee. You got the point?

D: Yes, I'm not sure who they pay to if it's not legal.

M: it's just a community of the food traders, it's informal.

D: How much is the fee?

M: 10 000 rupees a day.  
(...)

M: So, there is other place than Malioboro and Ngabean, they are like a 'free area' where they use to park for tourists and it's legal. So, they can sell something there. The person who has the land rents it for 140 000 rupees a month, it's the cleaning fee.

D: They sell to tourists or local people?

M: in this area for tourists. If there are not tourists the area is empty. If they sell to local people they do it when they come from village to village.

D: Ok, outside of kampungs they sell it to tourists mainly. And... do they also sell food? These guys? (MAN1, MAN2)

M: This guy (MAN2) sells sate in Malioboro, Ibu sells in Malioboro. (...) The other guys is a parking man)  
(Ibu is joking, there is a lot of laughter which I totally don't understand but I laugh.)

D: Last question about the village. Do they send money to villages? Can I even ask this question...?

M: Sometimes, when they have more money they would send more money, mainly for their parents. They are old so they would use this money to buy rice so they can eat.

D: Do you think I should ask something else?  
(Ibu laughs at me)

D: I like her a lot...  
(...)



S: No, she isn't. She is managing the house and in Ramadan she would sell some food but just in Ramadan.

D: So, are there any other people from Bandung? Is there any network?

S: So, she didn't have any network here because she followed her husband but he has friends who has been a food trader before and he followed him.

S: Husband is also from Bandung from the same village called Cilenunyi (actually outside of Bandung, it's a rural area, D)

D: Do you keep in touch with her family in Bandung?

S: Yes! They keep in touch. They go to their family every year during (...), you know, the holiday in June.

D: So... ok... So, do they have family card here?

S: Yes, they had family card in Bandung but when they moved to Yogya in 2016 they moved their family card here.

D: 2016...?

S: Yes, the child was born in Bandung.

D: So the family card is just two years now?

S: Oh sorry... wait... She moved here 10 years ago but they moved the family card 2 years ago.

D: So, no other people from Bandung here?

S: Yes, there are.

D: Do they support each other?

S: Yes, they help each other, there is community.

D: Do other people still come from Bandung?

S: In this area no, but to Yogya yes, they still come.

D: Why is the situation better here in Yogya. I know you moved because of the husband but what is better in Yogya in general than in Bandung.

S: So, there is a lot of food traders in Bandung already it's called *cilok*, they have a lot of *cilok* in Bandung so it's not unique anymore. And the second reason is because her husband loves to live here because in Yogya there are nice people and it's cheap here.

D: So, does she think they would stay here?

S: She didn't really think about it right now but she will still leave here until her children finish their education. Her first child is still in 2nd grade of elementary school and the education in Yogya is quite good.

D: To which level?

S: Hopefully it will be bachelor's degree.

D: When kids are responsible for themselves would you like to go back to Bandung?

S: Yes, she hopes so. Of course, there are so many relatives, she gets older and there would be more security for her...

D: Her friends live in this kampung?

S: Yes but they work so it's hard to find time to meet.

D: Ok. I don't know what else to ask... So, her life is focused on kampung?

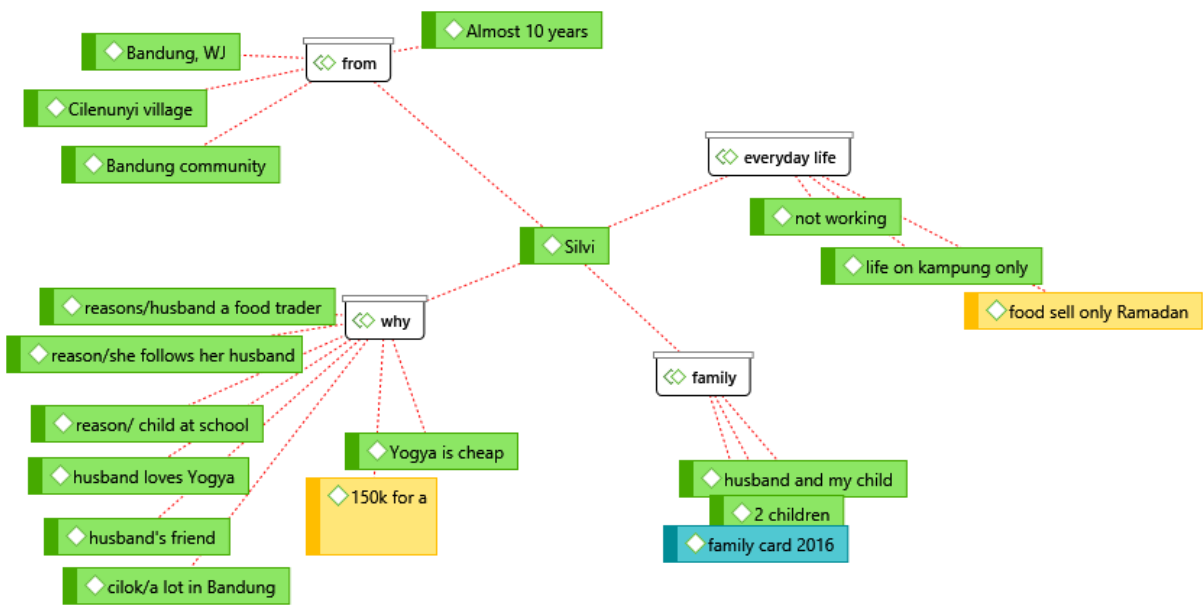
S: Yes... because she didn't work, just managing the house.

D: But, does she like living here?

S: She likes it because it's cheap... she rents a room here with her children and husband.

D: How much do they pay?

S: 150k rupees. The bedroom is outside of the room, together.



## Appendix 6 Prof. Donardono

02.05. 2018. Semarang.

I went for two days to Semarang to do that and we met at Prof. Donardono's office. I got a warm welcome and we talked for 3h over coffee.

Since I have recorder about 1h 50min of the conversation, I won't transcript it bit by bit. Not all parts of it were necessary. I provide only the transcript of parts essential for my research.

D: So, you say that the production of space is a kind of 'counter-hegemony'?

DD: I will give you an example. I want to share the experience I had when I first came to Yogya because I am a migrant to. I came from Malang. People from Semarang and also Yogya think that people from Malang are really rough. So their ways are different, their politeness is different. When I offer food for example, to several people, I ask (in Bahasa) 'who doesn't want this'? that's the way people offer food or something. 'saya mau', people take it. But here when I use that to offer food to my colleagues people thought 'who do you think you are?'. Do you really have to offer us something? It should be 'mongo', 'alstubliet'... I will always remember this. I always had long hair. Always wore blue jeans. In 80 and 70 Suharto was in power he always ruled everything, even what we wear. If you are a teacher, a lecturer, you should not wear long hair or blue jeans. Even not sandals, you should wear proper shoes which make a certain sound.

D: Was Suharto's New Order a kind of conceived space?

DD: Yes.

DD: People always thought of you that you are not a good lecturer, you are more a rebellious person, and that was me at that time.

D: Not anymore?

D: I don't know, I think I still am. So, how I coped with that conceived space? I didn't really care. And then, I always negotiate with my fellow colleagues, how to teach, about the culture of the university, how to behave. It was really hard. I told them my culture and that we should accept different cultures. I didn't have any bad intentions about it. And finally they accepted me so I still have long hair...

D: So you actually created this space like this.

DD: Of course there well some regulations, we are not allowed to wear t-shirts as you do.

D: Sorry....

DD: No problem, in my office you can wear whatever you want, especially foreign students.

D: But they should be respectful.

DD: But I don't think you want to disrespect me by wearing a t-shirt.

D: True.

DD: But for many lecturers it is hard to have a friendly conversation with you if you are wearing a t-shirt like this...

9:20

DD: when I moved to Semarang I lived in the boarding house. I didn't mix, I didn't mingle with them. I stayed at home and didn't talk to other people because I knew they would not accept me because I come from Malang, etc. Also, to the neighbours I didn't want to have relations with them. They invited me to a formal meeting, an RT meeting. I didn't want to go. I told them that I had to correct papers. And until today in Indonesia, especially in Java, you will get respect because you're a lecturer, a teacher. They have a higher level in society. And I could reject their ideas about the ideas that I present myself because I have some kind of power. I had a close relationship with a Marxist professor, he was very famous at that time from Satya wacana University, his name was Arief Budiman. And also with the rector who was father Sastro Pratejo, he was a philosopher. He knows my background because I had some, according to them, some prominent articles in the newspaper so I got the power. They gave me the power to challenge the hegemony culture at this university.

D: Arief Budiman was a famous Marxist philosopher but Suharto's New Order was very anti-Marxist. Was it possible to get respect as a Marxist?

DD: For most of the intellectuals in the heat of 80' they didn't like Suharto so they always supported ideas of Arief Budiman even though they didn't want to become Marxists. They believed that Arief Budiman can sound their dislike to Suharto. So, if you are close to people like that you will be more respected.

D: Is there a hegemony of science?

DD: Yes, yes, of intellectuals.

(talking on science)

15:00

DD: I think a lot of migrants that you research in Yogyakarta, they practice almost the same strategy that I did and that you do right now.

D: What do you mean?

DD: I did not counter hegemony formally, it was always informal. Especially when we had lunch together... I think it is impossible in Indonesia to have counter-hegemony formally. Especially when you are a minority. And as migrants we are always the minority.

D: Is it because state politics is so strong?

DD: Yes, human rights are still hard to practice here in Indonesia

D: Why?

DD: Because after Suharto stepped down there are many fundamentalist religious groups in the society. First time they used military to protect Suharto, they made killings against protestants, especially in the east part of Java. It happened several months after Suharto stepped down. And after he did, the military cannot control them anymore. So they are like wild groups of people. And now they use politicians who are corrupted, especially in the parliament. They use social media to share their ideas about sin... what is the opposite of sin..? they always use religious terms in describing other people. This is very frightful. I'm a minority in many aspects. My religion is being Catholic in my ID card. But I am also a minority in this university because I don't practice. And at that time because I was a Marxist.

D: I think informality is a hope for the right to the city, an entry mode to the city. yup.

DD: In Yogyakarta there are some regulations regarding human rights, for instance rights to the city, as Lefebvre wrote in the 70'. There are some regulations. For instance, Kota Ramah Ham (hak asasi manusia, basic human rights).

D: Is this some kind of formal policy?

DD: Yes, but if you read the regulations it is nothing, it is contradictory to itself. And from this act, there is a regulations on sekola ramah ana, to make students friendly. So Yogyakarta... human rights friendly city. and then students friendly school...

(...)

25:30

D: Why is Yogya so inclusive?

DD: I think this is a tourists' city, so there are many creative economics, business there. People can make a belt for example and sell it in Malioboro. That is why there are many people who like to live there. But there are some crooks that are anti-communist and anti-Islamic groups also in Yogyakarta.

D: I would say that lived space is not that visible in media, in history but it is more inclusive.

DD: Yogyakarta as a lived space is more inclusive?

D: I would say so...

DD: Hm... well, I don't know about Yogya but I believe that migrants, they always tolerate the formal culture in the area they live in. I mean, like I did myself. I didn't want to mingle, I didn't want to mingle.

D: So you tolerate it but you didn't want to change it? Is that what you mean?

DD: But it will change somehow...

D: Well, you changed it.

DD: Yeah.

D: Lived space includes time. So in your case you don't want to mingle but you change, you shape space in time. I think this is what happens in these neighbourhoods of migrants. They come, they are always invisible, but they build the economy, they bring their food from other parts of Indonesia and they create food habits of other people.

DD: They also bring their customary laws. And that is why people always negotiate everything. Where they work? Migrants?

D: They sell food they make themselves. (...) most of the people don't look for work in a factory, they want to start their own business. They make food, they walk and sell. Space is really limited, from one kampung to another, sometimes to Malioboro.

DD: So perhaps local people think that Madura's people who sell sata ayam, they can live there because they have their special food which local people can't make. So the local people come to their warung because they like to eat something different every day. Most of Javanese people don't cook themselves, they always eat outside

D: I missed that part! I was wondering how so many people can come to sell food, who would buy this...

35:00

DD: Especially the neighbourhoods. When you come to certain n in Yogya or also Semarang you have food from different parts of Java (...). We eat different every time. Most families don't cook for themselves. It happened after Suharto's stepped down. I don't know why. There are many warungs started. Not as many in Suharto's time.

D: But when he stepped down it was also because of the economic crisis.

DD: Yes, also because of that.

D: So you think that dealing with economic crisis was through food?

DD: Yes! There were a lot of famous artists who started warungs in Jakarta. I think people started the same thing afterwards. It started from artists because they didn't have work at that time but they had money. In the main pedestrian street. Kind of fashionable. Now, when you got the area of university there are different kinds of kampungs.

39:45

D: People need space, spatial practice linked to the city. connected by street, a space to open a shop. If people just live (exist) there, the situation will never change and this area will become a problem.

Informality... I think what you are saying about warungs starting after the crisis is an informal way of dealing with formal crisis.

DD: Yes, also with formal regulations etc.

D: So you say people tolerate migrants because they bring something for them?

DD: Yes. (...) You pick an area which has warungs or creative business... (...) Of course customers would be tourists but if they sell food I believe their customers would be in their neighbourhoods. (...)

44:40

DD: So, Yogyakarta is inclusive and many cities are inclusive because of the food (laugh).

D: So migrants change lived space through food. But they educate their children and children became citizens and these have more power to change. So migrants change space even if they don't do it themselves by their children, next generations has more local power.

DD: Did you ask them if they want to live in Yogya for good?

D: People move once and they don't want to move anymore. Maybe when they are old. But it's more like a dream than a plan. But they want to stay as long as their children are at school. (interview Silvi)

D: People are good here. These not my words. Everyone say that.

DD: Perhaps one day you should ask them. What do they mean by good?

D: Yes, that's my problem. I don't ask these follow up questions.

DD: Is that because you sell food, you bring your local food? If you don't bring anything from your original place it will be trouble.

D: You think so?

DD: Yes. Otherwise, you have to accept their hegemony culture.

D: But then, if you bring the hegemony culture you still don't bring anything. But at least you are not different.

DD: Yes, and you will become alienated, I think. At least in terms of Marxist philosophy. You don't know who you are. I think there are many people like that in Java. People who cannot live in their home town and have to find jobs in other cities. But there is no steady job. They have to change jobs often. But they have no speciality. They have to accept the culture. And they don't know themselves. It happens for instance with students from Papua who study also at the catholic university at Yogya. They get their scholarship from Freeport. But Freeport (public-private mining company in Papua, comment D) chooses them randomly. They just want to give money to show the government that they have done what they had to do. And when these people come here they can't speak Bahasa properly. They create problems. They like to drink, etc. I think they can't study properly because they can't speak Bahasa, they can't mingle, they can't have a proper conversation. Because education in Papua is very backward.

D: So the problem is the conceived space which doesn't work. Made with good intentions but it makes people displaced.

DD: They cannot negotiate, yes. They don't have the tools. So, language, food (laugh)...

D: Music (...)

DD: But how do musicians are accepted by the people in the neighbourhoods. What they do during the day?

D: Students, work. I don't think they get that much money by playing.

53:00

DD: Also, for the locals, they accept people from other area to live in Yogya because they have rooms to rent.

(...)

D: Is there room for agriculture in the city?

DD: There were paddy fields but not anymore.

(on 'regulating' students)

D: people choose to rent to students, not workers. So, it's like conceived space in the lived space.

DD: Well, I don't think so... families don't have anything that can become a mode of production. Just rooms or a house. But if they give it to migrants they want to make sure that the house will stay in good shape.

D: Ok... I mean, conceived space doesn't have to be bad. I think owners have some kind of vision that students are desired and workers not.

DD: I think you are right. Because we cannot understand the modes of space separately. It's always 3 kinds of spaces at the same time.

D: So, I think there is some kind of conceived space because they have some vision. And lived space is based more on necessity. What is necessary, it will happen. And also, migration is about what is necessary. You know, people don't want to move. But if it's not possible to stay, they have to move. Out of necessity.

1:01:30

DD: Rhythm-analysis?

D: About what actually?

DD: It's like you have to understand the local terms, am I correct or not?

D: I don't feel competent to talk about it

DD: (laughs)

D: Like, everything has its own rhythm, right? And also producing space has its own rhythm...

DD: Yeah and to understand the rhythm of the space you have to understand the local terms, if I'm not mistaken

D: Do you mean migrants have to understand the local terms or me as a researcher?

DD: Migrants. There are no universal acts, every kind of act doesn't have a universal meaning. For instance, how I look at you... for instance, when I offer food to my fellow colleagues.

D: that makes this process of migrating the process of learning. When you learn the rules and local terms you are already home.

DD: Yes.

1:07:00

DD: Perhaps you should focus your research on the tools of informality, from the side of the migrants and from the side of the local people. You mention that Yogya is inclusive? Why? What is the importance of the local people to accept the migrants?

DD: I think it's a good thing to measure it. I talk about inclusiveness but don't talk about what inclusiveness is. They don't do it to be thought as good people right? They do it because they will accept something. They don't want to change their culture, like the owners who don't want to change their culture much so they choose students, not workers.

D: So the tools we're talking about would be the language, food, maybe music. But for locals it would be ownership, citizenship, they are the ones who decide 'we want you but we don't want you'. And migrants cannot decide 'we want you as the owner'. So the migrants are always the ones that are asking for something.

DD: Yes, but they don't only ask. They negotiate. They have to know their power in the broader sense. They have to know what the local people want from them.

1:12:20

DD: Madura is famous for sate ayam. But if you go to Madura you will not find sate ayam.

D: Why?

DD: I don't know... they eat more ducks. Bebe (laugh). Perhaps someday you should go to Madura.

1:15:50

DD: Today, there is a seminar about Semarang as a smart city...

D: You're not going there?

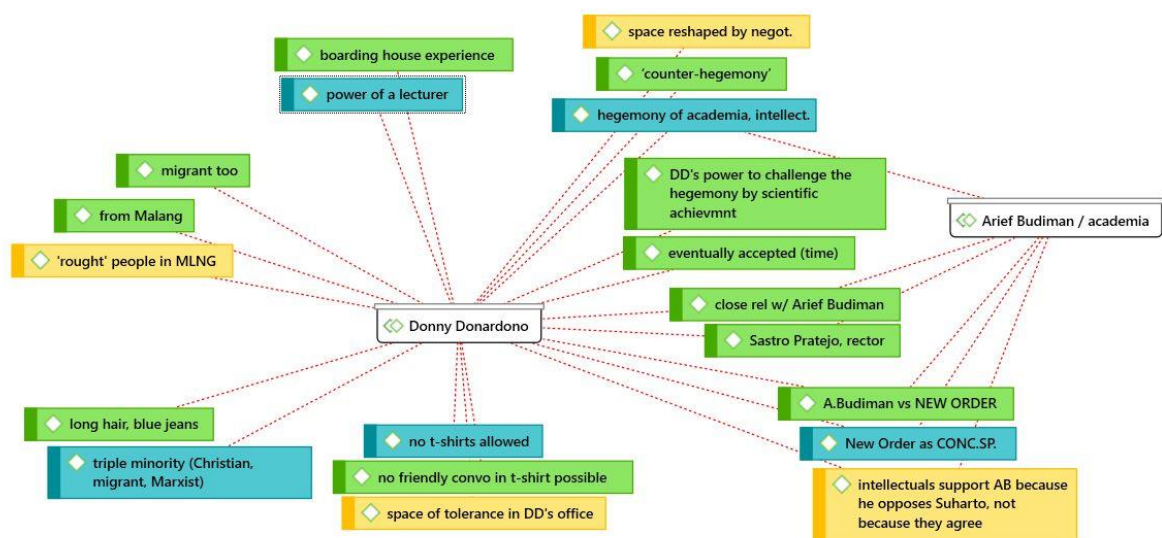
DD: I should but I prefer to discuss Lefebvre with you (laugh)

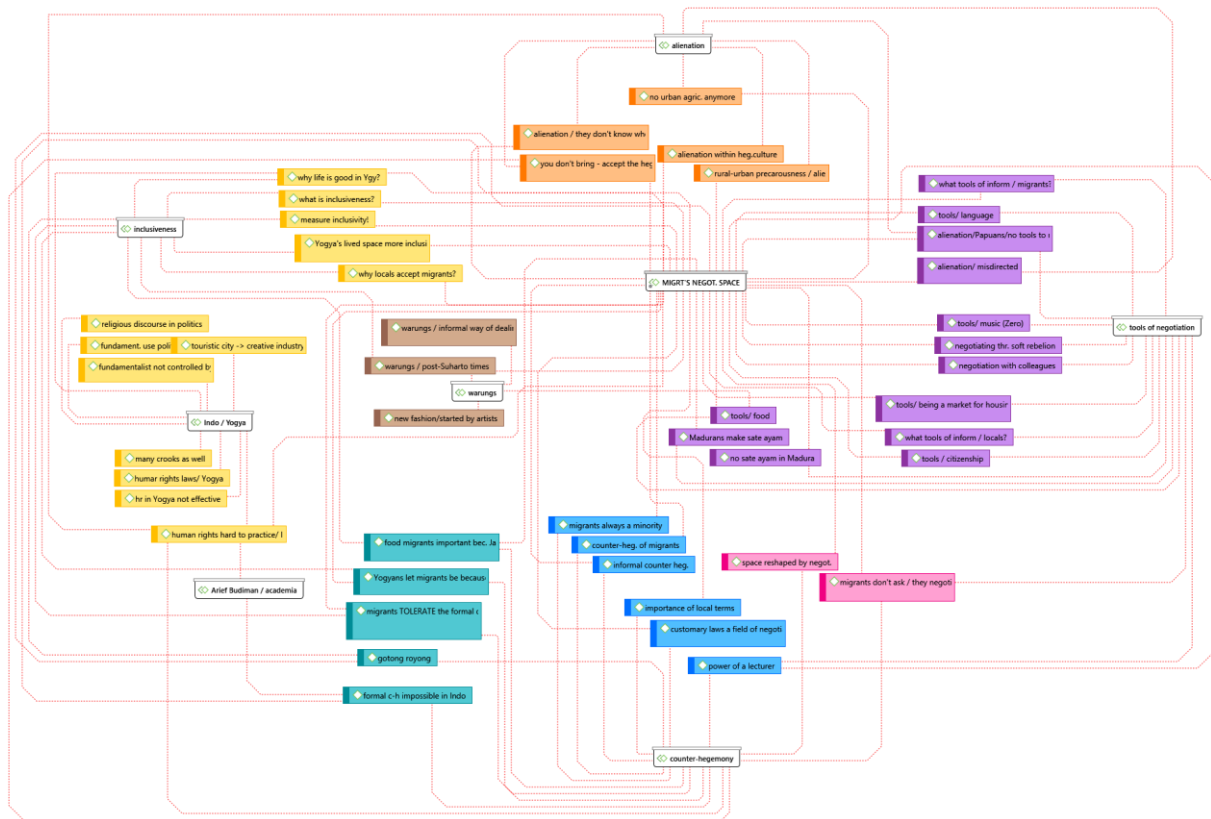
1:48:00

D: what about gotong royong? People tell me that it is important here in Indonesia.

DD: It was important old time ago especially under the Old Order, by Sukarno. It was made popular by Sukarno. It was still used during Sukarno era. People help each other without compensation. If you build a house, people help you. Not for compensation but just to build a house.

(...) There is no real force to ask to gotong royong. It was made popular by Sukarno but it has been practiced by people at that time for I don't know how long. It is one of the 5 principles, of the Pancasila. Sukarno founded Pancasila.





## Appendix 7 & 8 Ibu Sumarmi – Pak Prabbowo

04.05.2018 Yogyakarta

After the interview with Dr Nurhadi, I was supposed to go to the kampung where he used to be the RW. Unfortunately, the meeting was postponed and delayed a few times by Dr Nurhadi, so I decided to go to the area he mentioned myself – obviously with my invaluable translator, Merry. We just had the name, but it was supposed to be the place of migrants' destination. We randomly entered the kampung at the area of Badran, which map I attached to this file. After a short walk we were asked about what we were looking for by an older lady. It was our first interviewee, Ibu Suparni

Dominik: Could you tell me your name and where you are from?

Ibu Suparni (translated by Merry): My name is Ibu Suparni and I come from Purwodadi, it's in central Jawa.

M: She came here in 1876. She's been here almost for forty years.

D: Did you come here by yourself?

M: Her husband...

D: Oh, yeah, her husband... so why did you decide to go to Yogya?

M: Because her husband is working here as a pedicab driver at the station.

D: So, in Purwodadi there was no work for you?

M: There is work but just as a farmer. Her husband is from Yogya and he can't do farming. They met at the station in Yogya. He worked here and she came here for him.

D: Was it difficult here at the beginning? Did she know anyone?

M: No.

D: Are there any people from Purwodadi here?

M: No.

D: Does she miss it?

M: Every one year she goes there to visit her parents

D: Would she like to move back?

M: She wants to live here because her children didn't want to go back to the village. A lot of facilities here.

D: How old are they?

M: 19 and 33.

D: What do her children do here?

M: They work in private sector. They put glad at the buildings. The second child has the same job as the first one.

D: Does it require special school to do that?

M: No... (asks) So the first is related with the job, school is called SMK (applied science) and the second one works in automotive.

D: Does she work here?

M: She manages her house only. Her husband is a pedicab driver.

D: Why she likes to live here?

M: She loves it in the city. It's too quiet in the village. She doesn't like quiet. And she listens to her children who didn't want to come back.

D: But why is life better in the city?

M: Her husband works here and he can't do farming.

D: It's not exactly the answer to my question, you know that.. ok, is the language the same here as the village?

M: In her village they use Javanese only but a lot of Bahasa.

D: Did she have to learn?

M: She's ok with it, she could do Bahasa in the village. She can't read but she could speak Bahasa before.

D: At home they speak Javanese?

M: Javanese.

D: Her children too?

M: Yes. Because they are Javanese people. But at school they use Bahasa.

D: Could her children get the same education in the village in her opinion?

M: It would be really far to reach to school in the village. They need to take a bus, it's quite far. In the city it's close to school.

D: Is life easier or harder in the city?

M: It's easier especially for the money (monthly) but in the village it was depending on the crops (every three months or six months).

D: What about *becak*. Does he own it or rent it?

M: They own it but it's still the bicycle one.

D: They had it from the start or they bought it later?

M: They rent it first but they bought it but she forgot when exactly.

D: I wanted to ask about the future. Because at some point her husband won't be able to work. How will they support each other?

M: So, when they get older they want to take rest. Their son will take care of them. I asked if she wants a small market but she said it is hard to find the money to start the business.

D: Do they own the place or rent it?

M: it's not her house, she rents the house over there and the rent it 1,5 mln per year. She already has some land here but they don't have the money to start a house.

D: Do they want to built it or is it for the sons?

M: if they have the money they will built it but otherwise it would be for her sons.

D: Were people friendly when she moved here or were there some difficulties?

M: They were really welcoming, there were no difficulties at all... yes.

D: Did she have to learn anything? Did anything surprise her that she didn't expect?

M: In the past, there was no RT and RW in her village, in 70'. So, there was RT and RK (rukun kampung), the past name for RW. She needed to attend the community event. There is an event every month, for the women there is *arisan*, lending some money to the community. We lend the

money to the community and they decide who gets it. They decide together who gets the money. It's not giving, it's lending. The committee of the gathering would decide. The committee would decide. For men, it's social work. They discuss every month on 15<sup>th</sup>, on RT and RW. Maybe RT monthly and for RW it's on 20<sup>th</sup>, a different event.

D: In the village they didn't have this kind of community?

M: No, they didn't. She got married when she was 16 and she moved here. She is 60 now. (no way, D.)

D: So here friends are from here? The social network is produced by RT/RW or through neighbours? Who does she spend time with during the day?

(a neighbour comes and says hello. We interview him later)

M: when she has time, she would go to neighbours to talk but she also has work. She is a food trader every night.

D: Does she cook food at home?

M: No, she cooks it in the place where she sells it. She doesn't sell it in the kampung but in Sleman, in the camping and fishing area.

D: How does she travel there?

M: By go-jek.

D: Is it her business or she works for someone?

M: She cooks there and she just helps, it's not her business.

D: What hours does she work?

M: She goes there at 3pm and she comes back at 1am.

D: It's hard, is it comfortable to her? Wouldn't she like to find work in other hours?

M: Yes, but she has no choice. It is tiring but she has no choice but she has no money for her own business.

D: Last question, how did the area change in these 40 years?

The neighbour answers, he hijacks the conversation.

PRABBOWO, from Yogyakarta (a voice of a local)

M: So, in the past, on the top area, there was a Chinese cemetery. It was not really crowded. But then they build an office building beside the cemetery. It was for Indonesian army and veterans. They gave the land to the army to get the land here. (?)

D: So, do these army people live here?

M: 30 percent.

(part that I don't understand about the army people and people selling land... not relevant for me, really)

M: Maybe some people have some land in the central of the city. Investors want to buy it, so they sell it so that is why they come here. Because it is still near to the city.

(actually it is relevant because it is a business activity. It's a choice to live in poorer area because they have sold their land for good money. It like Saunders says about people who could move to better area but chose not to because they want to save money. They don't mind living in a poorer neighbourhoods – Latino communities in US, maybe also Yogya communities)

D: Who lives here now? Mainly Yogyan?

M: Yes.

D: And where is he from?

M: He is from Yogya.

D: Do a lot of migrants live here?

M: No, it's more people from Yogya.

D: Where should we look for migrants then?

M: There is one from Wonasari, but he is at work.

D: I'm not sure... So he can tell us what he think about Yogya getting new population of students and workers?

M: He says that a lot of people follow their husbands here. His wife followed him, from the rural area.

(...)

M: He's view is that they feel comfortable here and want to get job here. It's the same with villagers. He is ok with it because everyone has a right to search for money and food in this city as long as they don't make any trouble.

D: What does he mean by trouble?

M: when people make locals uncomfortable, in the streets or they annoy them, bother them... making noise in the area... like a lot of people from village and the city will make a lot of traffic – he is ok with that as long as they don't make any trouble. He can't do anything to reduce it. There is a good site, there will be cultural assimilation. They will perform the culture from Papua for example, there will be workers and trade, and because of people there would be a lot of investors. The negative is the traffic but he is ok with that.

D: What is his occupation?

M: He works as a guide for locals and for bule. But he does it only sometimes, not like everyday job. He guides people in the private sector.

D: Foreign people are good for Yogya or not?

M: The income, the knowledge... yes, it's good.

D: A lot of people tell us that Yogya is a good place to live. Why?

(...)

M: First reason is that people are welcoming to each other, even with the migrants. The city is secure, if you leave your car in the street it is still there. The culture here is diverse, people can leave here together peacefully.

D: But why Yogya is like this?

M: I don't think he can explain this... He's been living here for the whole life... but I will try.

(...)

M: It's just the character of people from Yogya.

D: People are raised like this...?

M: Yes. But it's hard for me because I'm from Yogya too

(D talking with the man)

D: I like Yogya a lot, it's very welcoming for me too.

(a lot of nice cliché and the end)

M: Yogya has this welcoming reputation. (He says) people come to kampungs, and even if they don't have money, people will try to help them. It's the local wisdom.

D: And where did you meet your wife?

M: In school. At high school. She came to study from a village and they just met at school.

D: Students live in this kampung?

M: A lot of them live here. The children of the parents, children who study live here.

D: which level of students we are talking about?

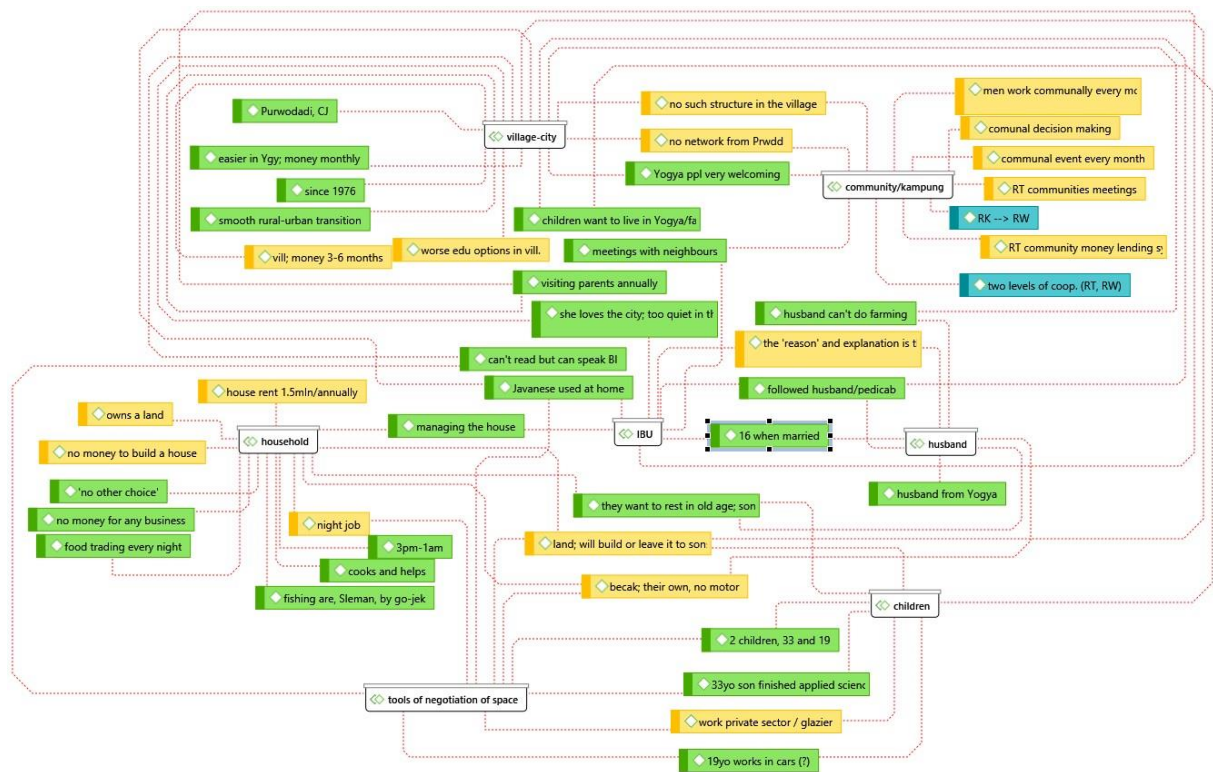
M: I think it's high school and university.

D: Is it hard to find work now?

M: A lot of people want to work for themselves.. it's about themselves. They have to work hard but there are a lot of ways to find a job, especially in the private sector. It is hard in government sector. His child graduated from English literature but she works in the bank. In bank it's a formal work but not related to education. There is a lot of job but not necessarily connected to education. You have to be diligent here.

D: Where should we go now?

(...)



## Appendix 9 Hanasea Izhar

04. 05. 2018 Yogyakarta

After interviewing Ibu Suparmi and Pak Prabbowo, we moved to a loval warung (shop) which seemed to be a very lively space with a harismatic, energetic young man working there. We decided to interview him once he told us that he comes from Sumatra. While eating cakes and playing with the kids, we conducted another interview.

D: What is your name?

HI: Hanasea Izhar (proudly and laud)

D: (problems with writing it down, both help)

M: He is from Palembang, it is in Sumatra.

D: How old are you?

M: 27 years old.

D: For how long here?

M: Since 2011. He followed his friend who was selling accessories like bracelets, belts, at Malioboro.

D: They are producing themselves or buying before?

M: Half of them they were making themselves but half they bought from the area around Malioboro or from a source in Jakarta.

D: Where did he learn to make them?

M: The braselets... he learned from a friend and his friends also learn from another friend.

D: Why didn't he want to stay in Sumatra?

M: It' really really a village called Lubuklinggau (of 200 000 inhabitants according to Wikipedia! Although a distant part of Palembang, comment D.) and he wanted to get more experience. He faced hard life in the village. Life expensive and the environment wasn't very good. A lot of drugs and social problems.

M: so, one of the first reasons to move was the environment. Also, a lot of friends moved here so he wanted to try. He had a job in the village, like a finance agency.

D: Did he study in the village?

M: Yes, till high school.

D: And where did he live when he got here?

(...)

M: The first time he lived in Bantul street. He's friends followed his brother in law and he followed his friends. They lived together there.

D: How did he end up here?

M: He got married and this place belongs to his parents in law so he moved here.

D: Does this shop belong to him?

M: The food trade is his parents' in law business but he works as an online driver.

D: Go-jek or Grab?

M: Both...

D: I would like to have a Grab jacket, it's my little dream... (...) Why does he like to live hear?

M: He went to Palembang last time in 2013 and with his wife in 2017. And when she came there she said 'we can live here' but he was the one who didn't like to live there. And I asked why he didn't if his wife wanted and he said 'maybe my wife sees the temporary side of this area but I know more. People are harsher. Here people are more polite and welcoming.

D: Is that all he said? It's been a lot of words...

M: Yes! (laugh)

D: It wasn't hard at the beginning? What was difficult?

M: The problem is the language because they have a different language in L, so for 2-3 months he was learning the Bahasa here.

D: Did he ever experience that people don't like him because he is from Sumatra?

M: He worked with traders but he started in Ramadan so he had to find other ways of earning money. He tried singing and playing music. There was a problem after 2 or 3 days. People from there didn't like it because he was a newcomer. He almost got beaten because of that. But he knew the locals but said not to play music anymore. You can't play music here because it was their area.

D: So what happened? He stopped?

M: He started selling some typical food from Palembang. So he commuted along Malioboro selling the food.

D: He cooked it himself?

M: The one who cooked was the brother in law

D: The food was from Sumatra?

M: No, but they made it as if it was from Sumatra.

D: Did he sell it to locals or bule?

M: Locals. Bule don't like spicy... you're the exception.

D: What about the connection to the village? Does he call them? Is he interested in what is happening there?

M: He keeps in touch on the phone but it's hard to go there, it needs money.

D: He's family is in the village?

M: Only he reached Java from the family?

D: So a lot of people from his village here?

M: Yes, but most of them study, not work here.

D: Do their family expect him to send money?

M: No, they don't.

D: He works at this shop also?

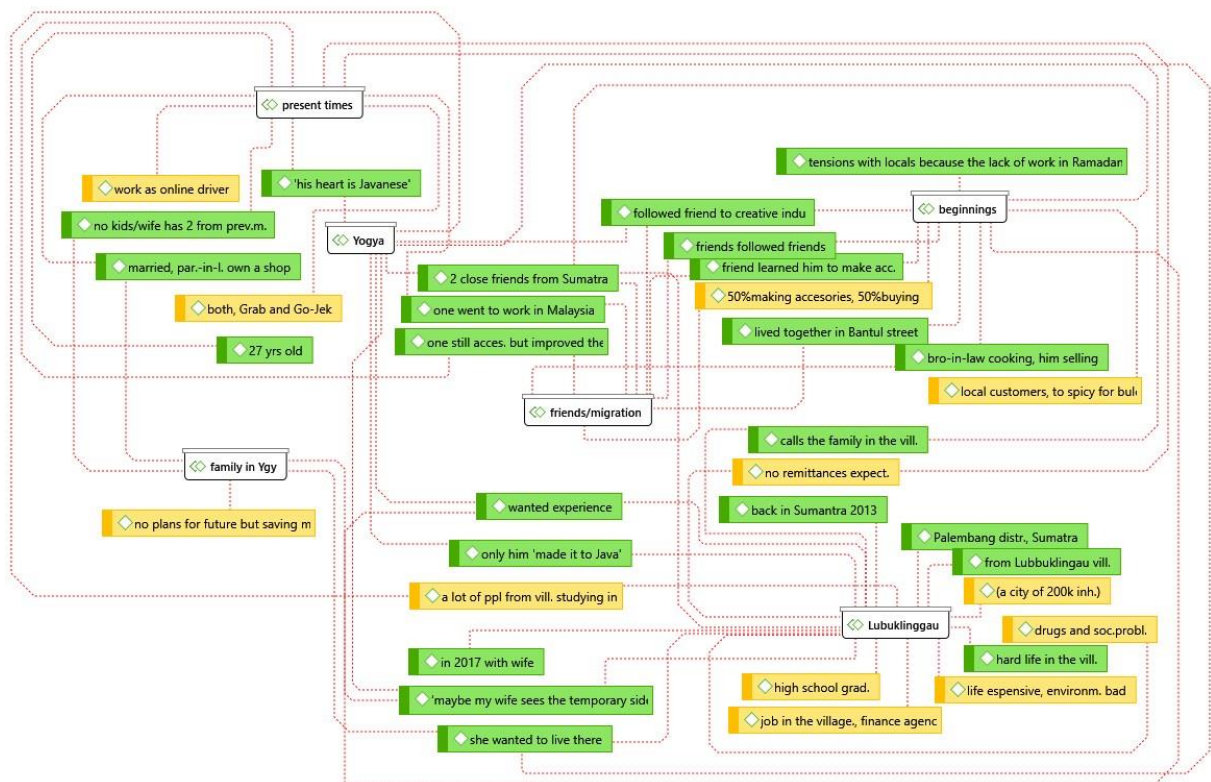
M: He just helps... when he is not busy?

D: What about his friend who came with him?

(...)

M: he has two friends. Hasbi is still selling the accessories, but he puts more creativity in it so they are more interesting. And the other went abroad as a worker in Malaysia.

D: And what are your ideas, dreams for the future?  
M: For now it's like going with a flow but he's saving money from the online driving and he will see.  
D: But, does he want to stay in Yogya?  
M: So, maybe it seems to much but one day a person asked him 'mass, you are not from Yogya, we know from your accent'. I'm not but my heart is Javanese, he replied.  
D: Does he have children?  
M: No, he just married in 2017 but his wife has 2 children from her previous marriage.  
D: Ok, I think we have it.  
M: Yes, we can ask his parents in low. They came from East Java.  
D: How long do they have the shop?  
M: About 10 years but he doesn't really know...  
D: Ok, let's talk to them.



## Appendix 10 Ibu Tini

04. 05. 2018 Yogyakarta

We decided to interview the mother in law of the previous interviewee. She seemed not really willing to talk or just shy but we did that anyway.

M: Bule wants to talk to you (*Bahasa*)

D: Yes, I'm the bule...

(laugh)

D: What is your name and where do you come from?

M: Ciledug, near Cilebon. It's West Java. Her name is Ibu Tini.

D: So, when did she come here?

M: So, she met her husband in Ciledug and then they together decide to move her. She didn't follow her husband, they decided together to move. So there is not much job in Ciledug, only farming and they can't do it. They don't have land to do that.

D: Do they always make decisions together? This is know it works for them?

M: Her parents were already here in Yogya as food traders so she recommended to her husband to move here and they did.

D: Was it easier because her father was here?

M: So it's become easier. They went to her parents to ask about a place to be rented and they rented a house.

D: A house?

M: That house there... and then they were selling food (*catjan iyu*, a kind of porridge). But this is not from where they come from.

D: How did it happen that they have this shop?

M: So, they already were talking about it in Ciledug.

D: Was it a big investment?

M: they borrowed money from her parents.

D: What was different here than in Ciledug?

M: In Ciledug things were more expensive than here. Yes, the difference was the price. From the start she didn't go to her home because her parents are here. She never came back?

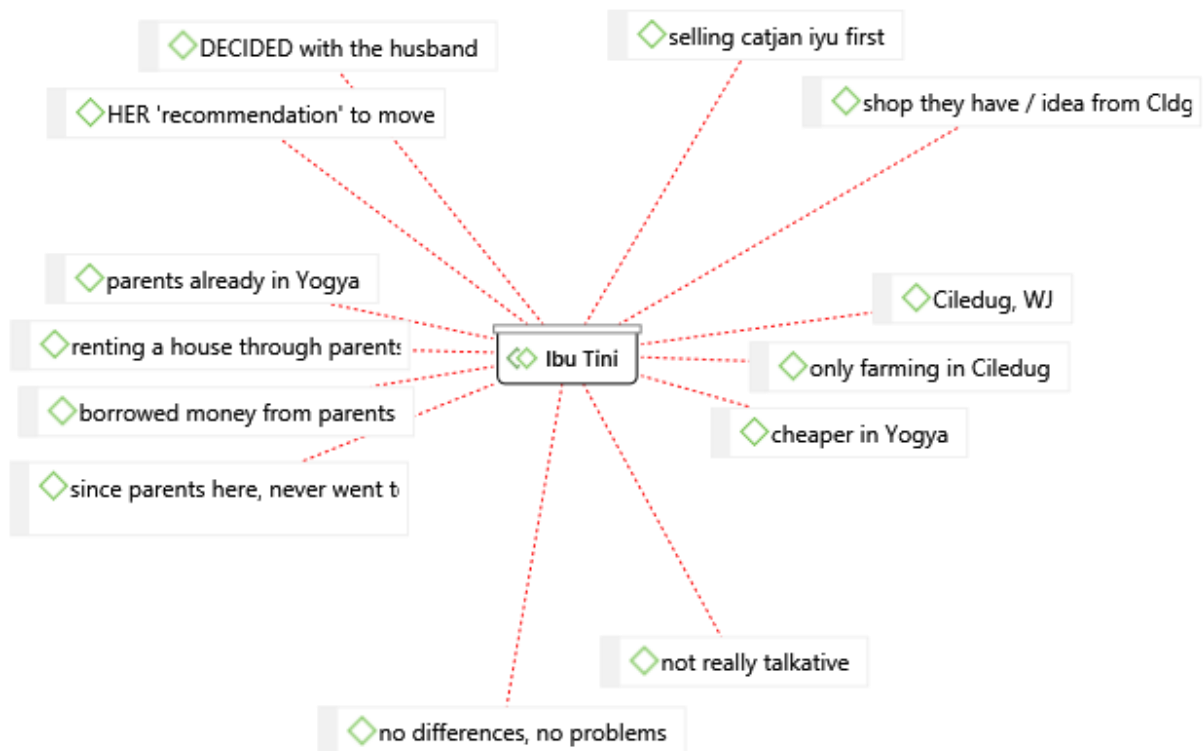
D: Are people here different than in Ciledug?

M: She feels the same here?

D: Any problems then?

M: No...

D: Ok...



## Appendix 11 'Food Pak'

04.05.2018 Yogyakarta

After the round at Badran, we decided to leave the kampung and have some food at the warung just outside the kampung. We started talking with a man in his late thirties. He was selling food with his wife.

D: So I would like to know...

FOODPAK1: (talking about difference in food in Bahasa)

M: So, what do you want to ask?

D: Why did they move here?

M: You should mix the food up, he says...

D: Ok...

M: So, life is more comfortable than in Jakarta. They were from Cirebon. He's still talking about food...

So, they used to live in Jakarta for 6 years, he was a bus driver but he decided to move here because here he can save some money. In Jakarta it was impossible.

So before he used to be a bus driver but even before he was a food trader. It was more comfortable to be a food trader than a driver.

D: Why Yogya? Did someone tell them that or maybe they had someone here?

M: They had a brother in law here. It is really good to have life here.

D: Because it is cheaper?

M: Cheaper and easier. It's peaceful.

D: Do they live around here?

M: They will save this (...) and they live close to this area.

D: I would like to know more about the differences between Yogya and Jakarta. What about people?

M: (laugh) People are harsher in Jakarta. Your life, your life, everything is about your life. More individual. Here people are more social, they will help you, less individualist. Like RT, RW. They don't look at your religion, your economic status... Omg, I want to live in Yogya too.

D: You live here

M: Yes!

D: Do they have children?

M: Yes, the first one is in elementary school and the other is still here with them.

D: What about the language? Was it the same here?

M: They came here 11 years ago and he used to talk in Sundanese, this is a language in West Java. He can speak Bahasa but for Javanese he is still learning. In Jakarta it was Bahasa. They have a language called hikari but usually people use Bahasa.

D: So the language was not a problem.

M: But it's not really a problem, Javanese. If you can speak Bahasa.

D: Is there a lot of competition among food traders?

M: Competition is not really harsh because this food is quite unique here.

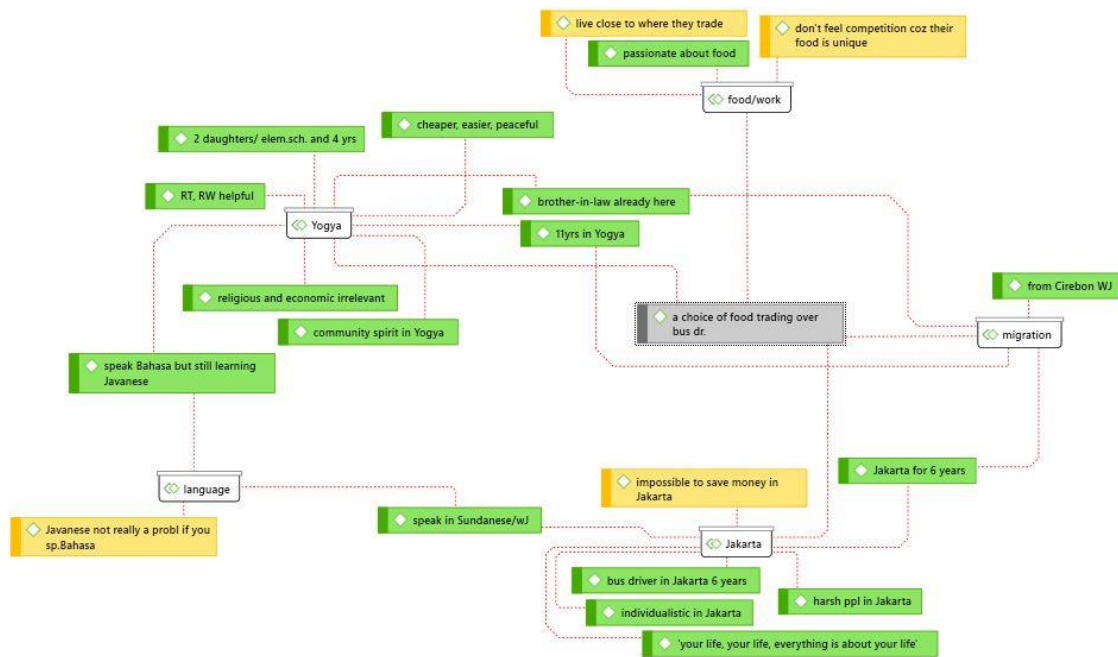
D: It's really good, you should try, you need lunch...

M: Ok, ok...

(learning D to eat the food)

D: Where did he learn to cook so good?

M: Learn by himself at his relatives house, saw how they do it... Oh, they have Instagram for that warung. They already added a photo of you!



## Appendix 12 (inclusivity research) Mawar

04.06.2018 Yogyakarta

I tried to understand why Yogya is such an 'inclusive, welcoming' place. Every single migrant was stating this and also locals seemed very proud of it. What is more, I experience it myself on every possible occasion. I am wondering if this is a myth and what this myth is based upon. And even if it is a myth, why it works so when in attracting people, influencing their decisions. It sounds utopian so I try to find cracks in it but I am not successful so far.

To investigate that I decided to interview a colleague, Mawar.

CONVERSATION WITH MAWAR (interrupted):

M: I don't feel good when I am not helping. I will turn of my ego for others. Like, 'can you take me to somewhere?'. Omg, it's so far from my home... I will agree even though my heart says no. (laughs). It became a habit, you know..

D: But when people ask you and you agree... You don't start to hate them?

M: As Javanese people sometimes, it's an disadvantage. I was at some committee at some event. We had to work until 10pm and we had to be back at 3am and it was hard for me because my house is far. I had to go to a committee house to sleep and come back at three but my friend, also from Yogya, he goes home almost 30km and comes back at 3am. So I tell him, why you will not go to someone's house and stay there. But it's with another faculty and he doesn't want to do that.

D: But you do that...

M: Yes, I try to hide that feeling. He didn't want to make trouble... but it's not making trouble, right? Yeah... I mean like, it's not trouble. He was feeling not good.

D: At the same time you allow other people to make trouble for you..

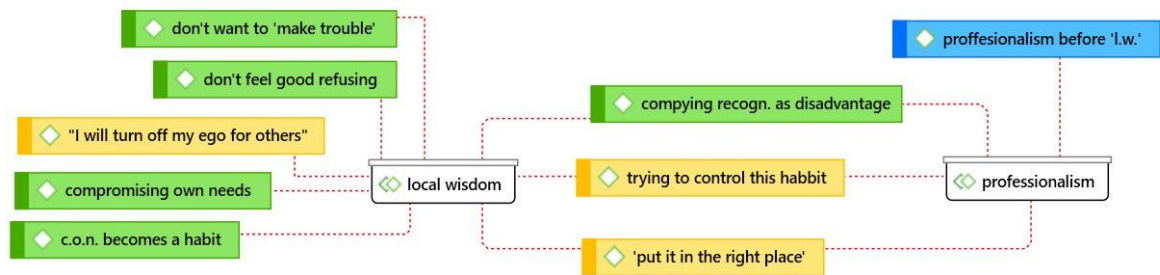
M: Cuz I think it not trouble. It's local wisdom but you need to put it in a right place if you need to achieve something. Maybe parents teach us like that...

D: Maybe you don't want to ask others for help too much because you know they would agree even if they don't want to do something...

M: I think it's ok...

D: What is ok?

M: No, it's not like that. It's professionalism to do something before local wisdom. Some people can't tell them apart. They can't say no because it's hard but you need to say no sometimes.



## Appendix 13 (inclusivity research) Focus group

04. 06. 2016 Yogyakarta

At UGM we meet a group of other assistants, most of them MA students (5 of them), and I suggested a small focus group about the topic of 'why is Yogya so welcoming', deliberately not asking if this is true or not. It seemed to me some kind of version of nationalism, a cheerful, happy and largely positive one but also distorting the reality and maybe hiding something since there were attacks on Christians and anti-LGBT violence and a lot of people mention it growing do to politics. Hence, this idea of Yogya's inclusiveness has to have weak spots somewhere. But I wanted them to come out naturally, without me forcing my position.

(girls speaking in Bahasa)

D: English, please...

I: But we want to discuss first...

D: Well, that's the idea of a focus group

I: Oh, so we should discuss in English?

M: So, mbak I(...) is not Javanese, she is from...

R: No, she is mixed

M: So she has the other perception.

D: Everyone that we interviewed told us that people here are so nice and I just wanted to know what it actually means 'nice', where does it come from and first of all, is it real

H: (in Bahasa)

I: Actually I'm Javanese because my father is from Yogya, but I live in the other part, in the

R: East...

I: Yes, east... based on our experience that I know from people living here... so, why is Yogya people nice... it's because it's the culture, it begun many years ago from the kind. Second...

R: (in Bahasa)

(laughter)

I: The culture started from the palace, the kind, many years ago...

(pause, laughter)

D: English please

M: Why do you think people in Yogya are nice?

R: If you compare between Yogya and other cities you can see the difference. Like Jakarta for example. So, Jakarta people are cocky, they will not smile to...

H: Each other...

R: No, to a stranger, Yogya people, if we don't know someone, we will smile...

D: Yes, I noticed that

R: It's a must here, it's a must  
M: It's a culture, when you meet strangers and older people, you bow your head and say a greeting, or just smile. It's a culture.  
D: But is it about religion or something else?  
M: No, it's culture  
R: It's a habit  
M: Yes, a habit  
I: For older people.  
D: But smiling is not culture  
M: It's like lower level of this culture, you don't have to tell a greeting but you just smile (...). I know it's a bad explanation  
(in Bahasa)  
D: Yeah, but, if you are a child of 5, you learn that by example of someone tells you 'We are Javanese, we should smile'  
(in Bahasa)  
D: Ladies...  
M: Wait! We just want to discuss!  
D: But focus group...  
M: Yes! Wait!  
R: Sorry... So, Merry was taught by her parents  
M: Yes  
H: Me too...  
D: You too?  
M: To older people especially  
D: Like me?  
(laugh)  
I: Pak...  
D: Ibu...  
M: It became a habit to me  
D: So, it's still about Yogya? It's not about the whole Java?  
I: You can find it near Yogya, Solo...  
R: Except Jakarta, except Jakarta. They will not smile to you!  
I: In Jakarat you can find many cultures so people from different places come and the culture is changing...  
D: Yeah ok, but people from different places also come to Yogya. And the reaction is really different.  
I: Yes, because they try to adapt the Yogya environment, Indonesian people know that Yogya is a culture city, education city, so this is the reason why people come to Yogya and try to adapt.  
D: So they also adapt to the level of politeness, you say?  
R, M, H: Yes, of course!  
D: And in Jakarta they adapt to the lower level of politeness? So, someone from Yogya goes to live in Jakarta..  
(laugh)  
D: What will happen?  
I: They should struggle... it's more effort to effort in Jakarta  
M: And should try not to take everything so personally. Here, people are gentle, but in Jakarta, they are more hard...  
I: they are harsher...  
D: What do you think, Henin?  
H: The same.  
(laugh)  
D: I'm not buying this answer

H: I think it will be difficult for people from Yogya to Jakarta, because he or she has to adapt to being more harsh and not so polite as in Jakarta.

D: Ok, I don't know...

R: If we don't smile here, we will seem arrogant. And my friend told me that if you smile in Jakarta, you will look like...

H: Crazy people!

R: No, more suspicious. Like you do something criminal. Because you don't know each other and you smile – so what do you want from me...

D: So, no-one know where it started...

M: No...

R: No...

I: I just guess, from the kind

M: From the... past persons...

(in Bahasa)

M: I will add that in Java, they use Javanese, but it's different. There are 3 levels of Javanese, you know that?

D: I know

M: So, when I go to East Java, and people ask where I'm from they will say, language in Yogya is so gentle, so we even have a different language here.

I: The East is more harsh, the middle is Central Java (?) and the most in Yogya

R: Softer... When talking

D: Yes, professor in Semarang told me the same...

(...)

M: Yes, East Java is too harsh...

D: Do you think it's safe to be so polite for Yogya people?

I: Sometimes it's not

M: You need to... like I said before... about my friend – you need to put the local wisdom in the right place. If you don't you would be fooled around. Because you are too good!

D: You also think so, Hanin?

H: Yes.

(Silence. Laughter)

H: I agree, I agree!

D: I just want to hear a different opinion.

M: Ok, sir.

D: Don't do that, Ibu...

D: Last question. So, you think, you need to accept people because of this local wisdom or not?

R: Can you repeat?

I: I don't get it...

D: Yes, me neither... I mean, is it an obligation to accept new people or not?

I: Yes...

M: it's like common sense (Bahasa)

D: Yes, exactly.

(Laugh)

I: English!

M: It's because if you are not applying this culture people will think you are arrogant. It's not rigid but you have to.

D: So if you don't do that you will get in trouble?

M: Yes, because they will think you are arrogant, even if you are not.

D: But you know people from Yogya who are like this? Do you have friends like this or something?

(In Bahasa)

I: ...Papua...

D: Oh, Papua! Sooner or later, it will come up in every conversation.

I: You know, Indonesia has many cultures, one of them is Papua. In Yogya, people are nice but Papuan people are too harsh, they always make trouble...

M: They love making trouble

R: They love it!

H: Yes!

I: When they come to Yogya, this is like a stereotype that they are arrogant. When they want to talk to Papuan people they are a little bit afraid, try to make a bit of space, they don't want to talk to them too much.

D: You are not afraid that if too many people will come to Yogya they will try to change this culture?

(in Bahasa)

I: I think, because I have lived here for almost 10 years, it has changed a bit from the original culture

M: Yes! People are more arrogant

R: Not arrogant...

M: More individual, I feel it.

D: More arrogant?

I: I think yes. Because many people come from outside of Yogya to get education and they bring their culture and they don't want to appreciate our culture. Some fights happen. Between people from other islands, like students from Papua and people from Sumatra, or Kalimantan.

D: So you experienced that it changed already?

I: Yes.

D: But we hear that people come here exactly for the culture. So it seems that they want to adjust. So this level of 'niceness' is going up, sometimes it goes down... but it might still stay on high level because a lot of people come here...

M: ...for the comfort.

D: Yes. So they want to maintain this comfort.

M: I think there is a difference even now, Yogya is so comfortable, maybe it's like you say, up and down, but it's still comfortable.

D: Yes, it would be nice if Yogya could teach people how to be polite. Because it seems to work well here.

M: Yes! (proud)

D: And you have *Pancasila*. Is there any word for Yogyan behaviour?

R: No...

I: No.

M: *Tata krama*?

I: oh, maybe...

M: It's like the way you are polite to each other, especially to the elders.

R: And not all regions do this, mostly in Java.

D: DO you want to add something?

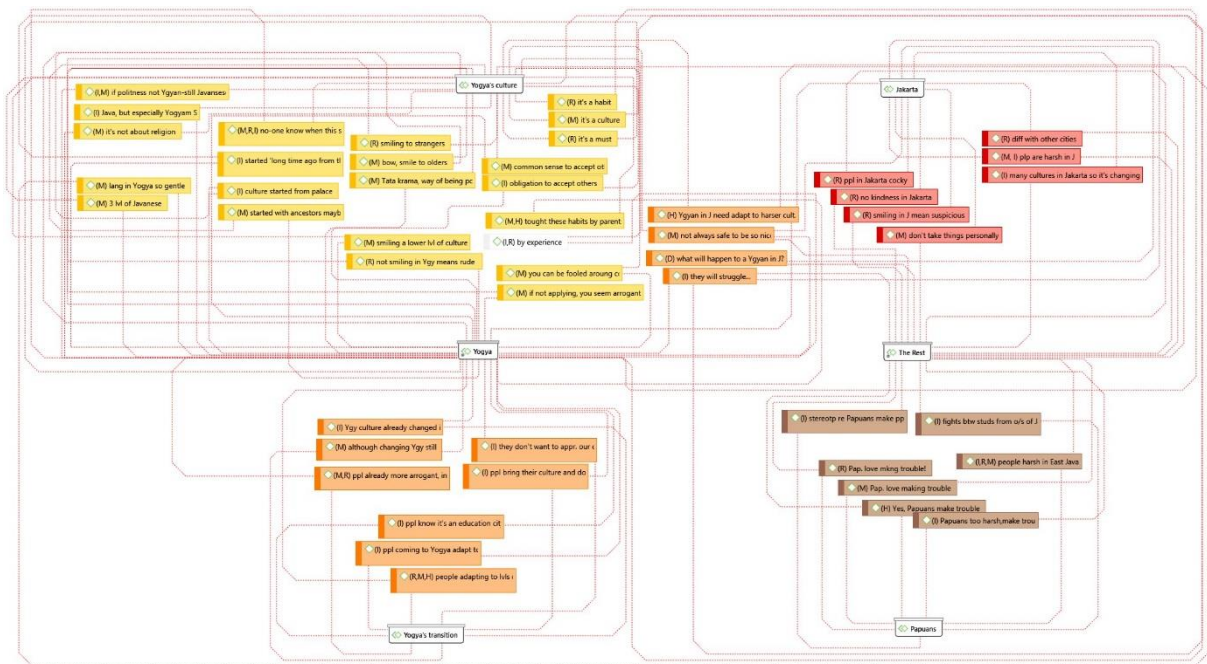
M: Do you want to ask something?

D: No, I have the answers. Makasih!

Girls: sama sama!

*Tata krama* (definition provided later by Merry):

The etiquette consists of the word *Tata* means custom, norm or rule and *Krama* means manners or rules of action. So *tata krama* means customary norms that govern manners and are agreed upon by the environment. The arrangement system in association that must have mutual respect and known as polite.



## Appendix 14 (inclusivity research) ASEAN MP conference

### 05. 05. 2018 Yogyakarta

By one of the NGO leaders in Yogyakarta I got invited to a meeting of ASEAN MP FOR HUMAR RIGHTS, and international NGO focusing on cooperation of South East Asian Members of Parliaments. This time they gathered to talk about the situation in Yogyakarta regarding the violation of religious minority rights and escalating violence. Previous ASEAN MP report stated that the situation is serious. There were MP from Thailand and Myanmar and a representative from the Indonesian parliament as well. Also, present were the leaders of the local religious communities.

First, the Hindu community leader announced that:

Hindu community was not bothered and there was never any threat to it's well-being. He praised Yogya for being unique in terms of its plurality. He stated that even in Bali, where Hindu community is the strongest, the cooperation with local government is not as exposed and fruitful as in Yogya.

The leader of Ahmadia (Muslim minority) stated:

Because of different interpretations of Koran. He complained about a stigma to the Ahmadiyah community and mentioned the attacks in 1998 and 2005. It got more severe after 2008 gov issue of a joint ministry decree – limiting the rights of Ahmadiyah (or maybe other communities too, I don't know) and giving more power to local governments. He said that there are problems in West Java and also in East Java but that it is all safe in Yogyakarta. The police is very helpful. He also mentioned Ahmadiyah's involvement in development programs in Europe and Africa and its persecution in Pakistan. He stated that FPUB is the right forum to solve this kind of problems (what problems, if there is no any)

FPUB is a Forum for brotherhood between religions in Yogya.

The member of buddist community exclaimed that:

in some rural areas members of their community are forced to write Islam in the religion section of their ID cards or find it more convenient (I am not sure). He mentioned a dangerous intersection between religious discrimination and race but he mentioned that in Yogya it was relatively safe.

Finally, the most persecuted, Christian minority leader:

Tend not to involve in politics but mentioning that the government doesn't let them build the church. He just showed some facts but in a private conversation with me he mentioned that the situation is not good. This remark was not reflected in his speech almost at all.

The leader of the Muslim majority group:

Claimed that his group is not actually a mainstream group anymore because if it was, everything would be ok. He said that their duty is to question their role (yes) and to make sure they are still prominent and useful.

The problem, he said, was triggered by politics and economy. His community should get involved in creating harmony and peace.

Thoughts:

There was no following discussion and there was only one question from the Myanmar Parliament representative. The organisers, especially the Research Director (an American -?) was busy with documenting the meeting with photos but didn't talk at all. He also gave me a cold shoulder in a private conversation. The Thai delegate seemed very disappointed. There was a lot of laughing and cheerful atmosphere but it was one of the most unproductive meetings I've ever been to. It didn't give me any insight about the dynamics of inclusiveness and diversity in Yogyakarta except the feeling that everyone, even the potential victims want to keep the façade intact.

There is no direct connection to Yogya's inclusiveness in this meeting but I could feel that it's outcome and kind of stagnation might have been a reflection of this local wisdom with not 'trouble making', putting the ego off, etc. There was no room for constructive confrontation and in fact the source of the problem was not met. I am also sure that there was much more to this meeting that I could capture. First of all, the political relations within Yogyakarta. Second of all, the translator was very selective and I guess I have missed a lot of content. I must have been focused on translator's brief comments and on non-verbal signs. However, I am sure there was not a single moment of tension, confrontation or even unease. The active and very ambitious Thai MP seemed bored and unsatisfied – it was an important observation reflecting my own views on the meeting. At the same time, having 5 religious leaders and 3 politicians in the same room with cheerful atmosphere of collaboration, even if this collaboration is based on a model which is not able to conceive action – is a worth-noticing success of local wisdom, perhaps bringing more into long-term solutions that I am willing to observe coming from a different culture.

Below, I paste a link to the after-conference press release, much more action oriented than my observations:

<https://mailchi.mp/aseanmp/yogyakarta-fact-finding-mission-2018?e=74a523b2ce>

## Appendix 15 Icha

06.05.2018 Yogyakarta

I met ICHA at UGM, she was with some friends in the dining hall and she was also preparing some program for the radio. We started talking and I she told me her story.

D: So Icha, how old are you?

I: I am 23 years old.

D: And where are you from?

I: I'm from Jember city, from East Java. It's like a small town.

D: So, how many years have you been living here?

I: Almost 4.

D: Did you come here to study or to work?

I: First, I came here to study but after 2 years I decided to work also.

D: But you told me that you also studied in Malang?

I: Yes, in 2013 I was studying in Malang, at Brawidja University and my major was Fisheries and Technology.

D: This is amazing actually. You don't really look like a fisherman... so why were you studying fisheries?

I: That is a long story...

D: And we have time.

I: When I was at high school I wanted to study for a doctor but my father didn't allow me because it was so expensive and complicated and long way. So I found another major but they did not

allow me. I also wanted to study in Jakarta but also they did not allow me. They only wanted me to study in Jember. Because I'm the first daughter. So I told them I don't want to study at all because whatever I study they tell me that I can't. And my mother talked to my friend, saying 'please talk to Icha, make Icha want to study'. And then, all my group, all my friends wanted to study in Malang so I said 'ok', I will continue studying and I want to be with my friends in Malang. And finally, we had like 3 exams. The first, only the score, and two exams. The difference was only in the payment. My first choice I was accepted but all my friends failed. I was the only one accepted. I only chose Fisheries and Technology because of my mom. I had no idea which major I should take. And my mom suggested that maybe Fisheries is a good one because not a lot of people want to study it. You know, mom is from a village and people from there think about what is possible.

D: So, she is practical.

I: Aha. So, I went there but all my friends went to Jember. At the beginning it was ok. I had no idea about Fisheries. It was really hard for me. Every 3 times a week I had to work in the laboratory and it was really awful for me. I should be there from early morning to late night and they after again. And so many... homework. And also I don't like that major. I told my mom I want to stop in the first semester. They gave me the spirit to do that. And in the second semester I went to Yogya to visit my friend. She studies at the Art University and I spent a week here and I really liked it. And I say, ok, I will look for something here and I left Malang.

D: So, you had to take an exam to get here?

I: Aha. I had to take 3 exams. The first exam I took for fine arts, I failed. The second one same major, I failed and the 3<sup>rd</sup> one was art management and I got accepted. I entered the university and after 3 or 4 days my family learned about that. So they called me like 'hey, where are you? What are you doing? I here from someone that you are not in Malang, you are in another city? What are you doing there?'. And I talked to my mom and I told her 'I left Malang, I'm not coming back there'. They said, 'we want to talk to you'. I went home to talk to them and I did. I was sure they would be angry with me but they were not, actually. Just asking – 'why did you choose art, what do you want to do with art?' Because they think it was only for fun. And they asked me about the payment. Because it is more expensive than my previous university. And they asked about what I want to do after. And I told them I know what I want to do with my life so they just accepted me. That a nice story.

D: That is a really nice story! And where did you stay when you got to Yogya?

I: I had a friend but I wasn't with her because she was really busy. I knew people from here, from my previous visit so they helped me sometimes. At first, I stayed at my friend's house. They rented a place and then I was looking for my own place, for a student. I was living next to the university at that time.

D: And your parent agreed to send you money even though you changed the university?

I: Actually I asked my parent to give my money for the next semester in Malang. I had it, almost 10 million and I took it and I brought it to Yogya. And I payed for everything, for the university, for the house, to buy everything.

D: And where you looking for a job?

I: Not at the beginning. But after two years I got bored with my life, just doing something that belonged to studies, meeting friends, making exhibitions but only at the campus. I felt bored with that. And I said to myself – let me try other things. I wanted to work but what kind of job I didn't know still. I asked a friend who was working at the bar is it possible that I work at that place and I just said that I needed a job urgently but actually I didn't. So they accepted me and I started. So I was working there for 6 months.

D: What kind of bar is it?

I: Just like resto and bar. And then after 6 month I though it was enough. I already had the experience. I applied for a job as a receptionist at the hotel. I was working for two weeks and I was really bored. So, I quit and I decided to work at the radio.

D: And... why radio?

I: Why radio? Aha... at the beginning I just wanted to try and I was thinking, it was impossible. And then I tried to apply, I had an interview with the program director and after a week they called me to come for training.

pause

D: So, I'm studying how migrants create new lives in Yogya. Is the job in the radio formal or informal?

I: It's really formal. I don't like that. I accept that because it's a great job for me for now. I meet so many people from the radio and important people from Yogya. At the beginning it was hard for me because the radio is all about business and inspiration. And my major is art. So I had to learn about business and everything.

D: But as far as you told me you started to change the radio itself. You are planning programs about art investments. You are creating your programs.

I: I learn every day, everyday it's a different program. I asked my manager, it is possible for me as an announcer to make a new program and he said yes, it's possible. I said I want to make a program about foreign students and it was the first program belonging all to myself. When I was hanging out with my friends they always wanted to know about the radio and I kept inviting them and we just kept talking so I asked them at the radio. I was thinking 'why don't I make a program with them' so they can come once a week and talk.

D: Was it in English or Bahasa?

I: It was in Bahasa. But some students couldn't speak Bahasa so it was mixed.

D: Do you have any other programs?

I: Now we are planning to establish an arts program. Maybe it would be similar to my previous program, interviews with art managers and artists and the collectors, the investors but I want to make not live interviews but I want to record it and edit after that and play in the radio a recorder program.

D: Some people also tell me that you are a star of the Beatles community in Yogya.

I: (laughter) I'm not a star! But because maybe in the community there are not many women, and I'm always active in the program and events and maybe that is why they like me in that community. At some events they think I am important for them because sometimes I become a state manager and I'm an MC, the master of the ceremony. And sometimes we talked about it on the radio.

D: And you also have a weekly program about the Beatles in the radio.

I: So, our company has two stations, the other one is Sonora and the Beatles have the program in Sonora. So, since I'm a member of the community my manager said I should handle the program since you know all the people there. So, every Tuesday night I do that.

D: Do you have a contract in the radio?

I: No, since it's a part time job we don't use contracts. For example, if I want to be a real stuff maybe I should make a contract but for now I don't.

D: And it's ok for you?

I: Yes, it is.

D: And you also have like side jobs, right?

I: yeah, I do...

D: You don't want to talk about it?

I: Which one you mean...?

D: Yeah, exactly!

I: So at the moment I also help people to find apartments to buy, or land or a hotel to buy. I help them to find a seller and I sometimes... make appointment with the seller and tell them I have a buyer. And when there is a deal, I get some percent out of that. That's it.

D: And these buyers are Indonesian or bule?

I: Mostly bule but I have two Indonesian buyers too.

D: What else changed since you came here to Yogya?

I: I changed a lot about myself...

D: Do you want to talk about it?

I: Aha... I was born in a small town and people are really religious. I was Muslim before but now I don't have a religion at all and I became agnostic since I was in Yogya. I changed everything. And also... because in Islam we are not allowed to drink or smoke, especially for women. For wearing clothes, we should not wear like sexy clothes. But I changed everything.

D: So, you also think you moved to Yogya because you wanted to feel more free?

I: At the beginning no. after I moved, I felt like, this is my time to be free. And well, that's it. It was really hard, especially for my parents to accept it. I slowly told them that I wanted to be myself. For now it's ok, especially my mom, she knows everything about me and she accepts me if I do something.

D: She seems really proud of you.

I: Maybe... I don't know.

D: So, is it hard to live in Yogya for a young woman who decided not to be religious?

I: At the moment yes, because sometimes I smoke somewhere and some strangers ask me 'are you smoking?', I say yes what is the problem. And they ask me 'is it ok for your family that you are smoking?'. I say yes, my parents know this.

D: And do your friends accept it?

I: At first no. they were shocked when they knew me as a religious person. That I smoke and drink. They didn't want to be my friends.

D: So you lost some friends because of that?

I: Aha. But it's ok, I don't care if they don't accept me. I have my own life and because of them I should be not happy?

D: So what are your plans for the future? What are your dreams? Is it in Yogya or somewhere else?

I: Well, I talked about it with my parents. I don't want to go back to my town. If I stay in Indonesia I could stay in Yogya. But I have this dream to study and work in another country.

D: Where?

I: Melbourne. I want to study there. I'm still looking for a scholarship to check if it's possible.

D: Why Melbourne?

I: I've heard from my lecturer and some other people that for studying art there is one or two good universities to study art. And also my lecturer studied for his PhD in Melbourne and he told me he could help. And Australia is not really far from Indonesia. I told about that to my father. At the beginning he wasn't accepting me. He said, you will not go home anymore if you are in another country. And I say, but this is my dream, I want to make it happen. And they accepted me slowly. I want to change my life, shape my life. Because my family, they just study and then work. They just live with the family. But I don't like to live with the family.

D: So, you also seem to have a lot of new friends here.

I: Aha...

D: So, your new friends don't have problems with accepting this?

I: Yeah, some friends are ok and accept me, especially people from Yogya.

D: What about them?

I: They don't really care about the religion or anything. It's like, I don't care about you when you are good to me, I don't bother you.

D: Why do you think people are like this in Yogya?

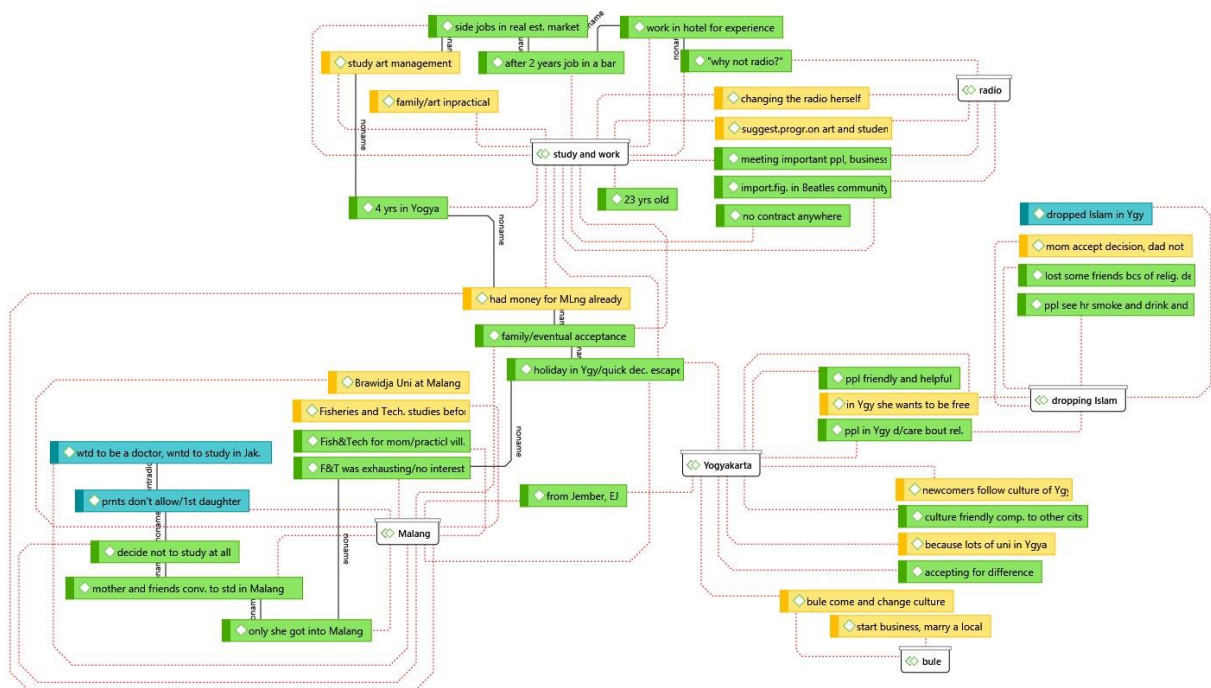
I: Maybe because the culture is really friendly compared to other cities. Locals are really friendly. They also accept different cultures and different people.

D: Yes, but why??

I: I also don't know about that. I'm not from Yogya... I don't know how to say that. At least I don't bother them and it's ok.

D: More and more people come to Yogya. Do you think this is changing the culture or they rather adjust to Yogya?

I: Yogya was central to study because there are so many universities here. I'm not sure about that but my opinion is that they come from another city and some of them just follow Yogya's culture. The language, the habits. That's my opinion but I don't know.  
 D: And what about tourists' presence? Does it change Yogya?  
 I: I don't know... because the only thing I know is that they like Yogya because people are so nice and friendly and helpful. Some of them want to live here.  
 D: So they come and stay?  
 I: Yes, a lot of people come and stay here .they make business, sometimes they marry a local.  
 D: Did I forget to ask something? Do you want to add something?  
 I: About me?  
 D: I don't know...  
 I: I don't know... I think it is enough.  
 D: Ok, thank you Icha.  
 I: Sama sama!



## Appendix 16 (inclusivity research) Zero/Christian

06. 04. 18 Yogyakarta

Both interviewees are the members of a reggae band called East Jam. I met them during their concert at Asmara Pub near Prawirotaman. We became friends and I followed them in their following performances. After some time of being friends I decided to ask them for the interview.

Z- Zero  
 C - Christian

D: Could you tell me your names and age?

Z: My name is Zero and I'm twenty six.

C: Christian, 23.

D: So you are both from Flores...

Z and C: Yes!

D: Is it a city or a village?

Z: A city.

D: How many people live there?  
 C: Oh, we don't know...  
 D: And what is the name of the city?  
 Z: Lubahan bajo.  
 D: Ok. And for long have you lived here?  
 C: 3 years here.  
 D: And you, Zero?  
 Z: 9 years.  
 C: Oh, really?  
 Z: Yes!  
 D: So maybe a will separate the questions a bit now. Why did you decide to come here then?  
 Zero?  
 Z: First I came for studies. First I studied nursery, but it was not for me. Than I moved to information systems, like computers.  
 D: Do you like it?  
 Z: I liked it (not convinced)... because I like to may some design, editing...  
 D: Do you still do that?  
 Z: Yes, sometimes but for now I focus on music.  
 D: yes, I know! How did it happen that you became a musician? Did you start already in Flores?  
 Z: I started here. First I played rock, then hip hop, rnb, now reggae. I love reggae.  
 D: So, reggae is the best for you?  
 Z: Yes, it is. It's peace music.  
 D: And when you arrived here... what made you come here? Where did you live at the beginning?  
 Z: I had my brother here. So he taught me about Yogya, let's go places, you can meet people from Indonesia here.  
 D: Did you know it's good for music also?  
 Z: I discovered it here.  
 D: And first you moved with your brother?  
 Z: Yes  
 D: And now?  
 Z: I live with my... people!  
 D: Do you live together?  
 C: No, but it's close.  
 D: And why you moved here?  
 C: I came here for study. I wanted to go to Surabaya but my parents didn't let me because I didn't have any family here. But my sister was here so they let me come here. My sister was studying here. So, I came here to study avian engineering.  
 D: Do you still study?  
 C: Yes, I still study. But one day, I want to become a musician like Zero. I see him as a talent. He is also a drawer. I want to follow him. I like to be a drawer too, a musician too.  
 D: So you don't want to be an engineer?  
 C: Maybe... maybe... but I want to be a musician.  
 D: And you still live with your sister?  
 C: No, my sister is back in Flores already.  
 D: So after 9 and 3 years what do you think of Yogya, what kind of place is it?  
 Z: For me, Yogya is my second home. I get many things from Yogya. Like, *sopan*... the culture. It's more... our culture is more strong, harsh. They are more polite here.  
 D: Oh! So in Flores it's not like this?  
 C: No  
 Z: If you meet Flores people there are hard people, yelling everywhere. But they are good people. In Yogya everybody is calm. Everything is different.  
 D: What do you think Cristian?

C: I think Yogya is very busy. But it's a second home. So many experiences I get here. I found my friends here.

D: What experiences?

C: I play guitar, I draw with my brother. Amazing people here. Same as LB, so many amazing people. But I feel comfortable here.

D: So you don't think about going back?

Z: If I go back, I always return here. Yogya is like a big magnet.

C: I want my parent living here... But maybe I want to come back later.

D: And... you think, in Yogya there are different opportunities than in Flores?

Z: I think it doesn't matter. I think it's the same.

D: So, you say it's your second home, so it's the second home from the start or you had some difficulties?

Z: Yeah, the hard thing is the language. I can't understand Javanese. Javanese is hard for me.

C: Yeah... that's the problem.

Z: That's our big problem here.

D: Still?

Z: Still.

C: It's hard to learn Javanese.

Z: Hard to make new friends because they are afraid of us and our stigma here.

D: What stigma?

C: For us, we are from LB, it's like Eastern people. It's bad for the Javanese.

Z: They think we are the 'bad boys'...

C: They think we are like that.

Z: So, we try... as a musician I try to... actually we are not like that. Everyone call my island a smiling place. Because everywhere you go, they smile there.

D: I met so many people from Flores and they are so friendly. Why people here think it's bad to be from Flores.

Z: Because our old brothers, they did bad things before.

D: Ok... So, the stigma was at the beginning but do you still feel it?

Z: Yes, sometimes.

D: But they treat you worse?

Z: Yes, sometimes. But not like directly, just like the body language...

D: So you say people are polite but also they sometimes...

Z: Yeah, I don't know about their culture but sometimes they make me feel like... how to fix this problem.

D: So they are not always so polite...

Z: No.... not really.

C: Not really. But for the culture they are more polite, more soft than people from Flores.

D: They also like people from Papua, right?

Z: Because they think that Papua, us, Ambon, it's same, Eastern people. Melanesia. ( according to map it's not Melanesia, comment D). they think we are the same.

D: Everybody says Yogya is such a great place, everybody welcome, but you say not really?

Z: Our behaviour, we are young man, they can adaptation with... they can still.

D: For you adaptation is harder or easier?

Z: Harder.

C: I think the same too.

Z: It's harder for us to find house.

D: Really?

Z: Yes, they don't want to rent a house to us.

D: That's why you stick to people from Flores?

Z: Yes! Yes...

C: Some of them understand, some not.

D: Do you also have Javanese friends?  
Z: Yeah...  
D: And... I forgot... wait...  
(laughter)  
C: We have time, take it easy...  
D: But as musician you would have the same opportunities in Java or Yogya is better.  
Z: For music, Yogya always make something new. It's like... has something iconic.  
D: And what about religion?  
C: It's sensitive here...  
Z: We are the minority.  
D: But, you are Christians?  
Z: Yes  
C: So many trouble from Islam for Christian.  
D: So, you have religion in your ID, right?  
C: Yes.  
D: And people ask about it?  
Z: Yes... "Excuse me, I'm sorry, what is your religion".  
C: But in Flores we don't do that. We welcome, we don't care. What religion, where you are from, what is your skin colour, black or white...  
Z: We welcome  
C: We don't care. Tolerance in Flores is so good.  
D: You think Java is not so tolerant?  
C: I think so  
Z: No, not for now...  
D: For now? What do you mean?  
Z: It's because of politicians. Politics... it's like a snake.  
C: They mix religion to politics.  
D: Was it better in the past?  
Z: Yogya in the past was very very tolerant. But now, yeah...  
D: So you think the problem is because the politicians or the Muslim majority?  
Z: I think because politicians. They use religion.  
C: They mix religion.  
D: Do you think you will stay? What plans do you have for the future? What are your dreams?  
Z: For now, finish my study and make an album. For future, I don't have a plan  
D: Your songs are really good.  
Z: Thank you.  
D: Is it possible to record in Yogya?  
Z: Oh yes, they have the best facilities here.  
D: So, there is like a music industry?  
C, Z: yeah...  
D: What about you Cristian?  
C: My dream is simple. Just to be a musician and a drawer. So simple. But to fix it I have to finish my study. First, I have to fix this.  
D: Simple dreams are good. Do you think I should ask something more? And what about the jobs? Is it hard to find jobs here?  
Z: Yes, it is hard. Especially that we are not Javanese.  
D: And do you mean, a job as a musician?  
Z: As a musician it is more easy. Especially for reggae. They like when East people play reggae. Because when they play it, it sounds weird.  
D: So you say they don't feel reggae so much?  
Z: I think they are more into ska.  
D: And is it cheap compared to Flores?

C: Cheaper here.  
D: My last question. Did you learn to speak English at school?  
C: Yes, we learn English from elementary school.  
D: And also Bahasa?  
C: Yes, too.  
D: what is the language in Flores?  
Z: So many...  
D: So which one do you speak at home?  
Z: Manggarai.  
D: You also had it at school?  
C: yes  
Z: English, Bahasa and Manggarai.  
C: I am not Manggarai. I'm from the same city but I'm not Manggarai... We are all from NTT  
D: Are people sometimes aggressive because you are not Muslims?  
Z: For now not, maybe in the future...

