

# “Rain Does not Fall for One Roof Alone”

A qualitative study on community formation  
in an ethnically diverse community of Bukit Duri  
struggling with governmental intervention

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Master thesis in Management of Cultural Diversity



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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to explore the influence of two push factors, internal and external, towards community formation. Ethnic diversity as the internal factor is opposed towards political interventions as the external factor. Meanwhile, there are three concepts, which are social identity, social capital and ethnic boundaries that are used to identify the dynamic of community formation. The use of these three concepts to analyze the complexity of a community formation is firstly introduced in this study as an initial stage of combination. The fieldwork of this study was conducted in the Bukit Duri slum area, along the Ciliwung riverbanks for it is one of the areas that will be relocated due to the Ciliwung River normalization project. To address best to the research question, I used exploratory qualitative research as the method. In this way, I made use of data triangulation including observation, interview, and document collection to ensure the validity of this study. I first observed the current situation and condition in the Bukit Duri slum area as the fieldwork of this study, and then I continued with conducting 13 interviews with the residents of Bukit Duri, 3 interviews with policy implementer, 4 interviews with policy maker, and 3 interviews with NGO (Ciliwung Merdeka and Ciliwung Institute (Komunitas Peduli Ciliwung Condet)). Along with additional data from document collection, qualitative data was analyzed by identifying its selective coding, open coding, and axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Punch, 2009; Boieje, 2010). This study unfolded the influence of ethnic diversity and political interventions towards each indicator of community formation. Furthermore, my findings revealed the interconnection between each influencing factors towards two or three concepts simultaneously. Additionally, two new concepts and one concept extension found in the findings are defined in this study.

*Keywords* : ethnic diversity, political interventions, community formation, social identity, social capital, (ethnic) boundary-construction, (ethnic) boundary-spanning, *bridgehead community*, *contextual identity*, *community boundary-spanning*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The history of migration in Jakarta shows that people change their domicile for various reasons. Among others, economic reasons remark them coming from different regions to Jakarta to search for better living standards, jobs, or to gather with their family. This situation leads to a phenomenon of increasing number of unemployment in Jakarta and becomes the starting point of development of slum areas in Jakarta (Krausse, 1979). Additionally, the fact that these migrants come from different regions in Indonesia, results in the emergence of numerous ethnically diverse communities in Jakarta. Yet over the course of several years, the number of people who live in the slum areas is significantly augmenting, thus their presence is getting more prominent in some places especially along the riverbanks in the greater area of Jakarta.

Due to complex problems of environment including annual Jakarta flooding, water quality, river biodiversity, health, housing, and human rights, government has taken this issue in a very serious way. Several policies from several institutions have been and are being implemented along the Ciliwung riverbanks, as it is considered as the main cause of annual Jakarta flooding. Further, the Ciliwung riverbanks are also the preferred place for squatters, who came to Jakarta as migrants, to become their permanent or temporary settlement. Furthermore, this research focuses on a small part of the Ciliwung Riverbanks, called Bukit Duri slum area, which is affected by Jakarta government policy, in this case is the 2014 relocation project.

In sum, the sentence “rain does not fall for one roof alone” as the title of this study intends to give a global account of what readers will find in the next chapters. The roof symbolizes person, and if it is plural then it refers to people and / or community. Since roofs are usually very diverse, so they reflect exactly the (ethnic) diversity within the community. Further, the word rain has two semantic meanings,

first, denotative meaning, it refers to the hard pouring rain that becomes one of annual Jakarta flooding causes and therefore overflows the Bukit Duri slum area. Second, connotatively, rain might refer to political interventions from top to down, from policy maker to policy target. In a whole, either symbolizing flooding or political interventions, once the rain falls, it will affect not only one roof, not only one person, but the whole roofs in the area, the whole community members in the area.

### **1.1 Research Problem**

This research concentrates on the exploration of two push factors, internal and external, towards community formation in Ciliwung riverbanks slum area. Referring from the aforementioned issue, I deliberately choose political intervention as the external factor and ethnic diversity as the internal factor. In this case, political intervention refers to the Jakarta government’s policies. These two factors are indispensable in this research to uncover how the community formation could either proceed or discontinue in this particular community. Additionally, I combine three concepts: Social Identity, Social Capital, and Ethnic Boundaries, as the interrelation indicators of the current situation within the community.

The first concept is Social Identity, which is derived from social psychology (Mead, 1934; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It bonds individuals into a particular group membership; in addition, it plays a big role in the community formation (Asforth & Mael, 1989; Shanley & Peteraf, 2004). The second concept is rooted from sociology, called Social Capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990). It explains about the possession of a number of resources that links to a durable network of institutionalized relationship or mutual acquaintance and recognition in a community. However, Bourdieu’s social capital is limited to the stock held by the elites. Therefore, the

second corresponding concept of social capital introduced by Coleman (1990) is applied. Hence, Coleman’s concept covers a broader situation in a society, in which it includes the powerless and marginalized members of the community.

The third concept is Ethnic boundaries (Wimmer, 2008), which allow people to distinguish themselves as a member of a particular in-group, yet maintain their contact to the out-group environment. In this study, I focus on the two-fold approach of ethnic boundary, -construction and -spanning (Wimmer, 2008; Eigenfeld, 2013). For the first concept, I use ethnic boundary construction to refer to the process of making and modifying groups by creating boundaries between them (Wimmer, 2008). Nevertheless, for the latter approach, I extend Eigenfeld’s concept of the ethnic boundary spanning by implementing it not on an individual level but more on the organizational level in a community.

As one of the greatest slum areas in Indonesia, many studies have been carried out on various topics in which Ciliwung River becomes their corpus. However, the actual studies only focused on several aspects of Ciliwung River such as the water quality management (Fachrui, *et al*, n.d; Gracey, 1979; Papuli *et al*, 1995), people’s health (Soetomenggolo *et al*, 2008), regional and urban planning (Siami, n.d), or the sedimentation and the narrowing of the river flow (Tohru *et al*, 2011), hence there is an inadequacy of studies about cultural aspect of the community within the area. Accordingly, the in-group community constructed in this area, the interaction among them, also their sense of belongingness to each other as a community becomes an interesting topic to write about. In addition, for many years, the bond of membership within this community has saved them from several eviction attempts done by Jakarta government (Arditya, 2013). Nevertheless, the new elected governor of Jakarta, Joko Widodo, has developed new policies including the relocation project in 2014.

Therefore, the urgency of doing this research is prominent. The research was conducted in Bukit Duri district for the largest population of slum habitants lives there.

Inferring from the above-mentioned conceptualization, the following research question has guided my thesis project:

*How do political aspect of Jakarta government and ethnic diversity influence the community formation of slum areas along the Bukit Duri's Ciliwung riverbanks?*

Based on the research question, this Master thesis has two-sided aim. First, it aims at examining the influences of political interventions of Jakarta government in the community formation of an ethnically diverse community. Secondly, it envisages identifying the internal community structure, based on three mentioned concepts, and describing each role in the community formation in Bukit Duri.

While a lot of studies have been conducted concerning each concept including community formation, the combination of the three theoretical concepts in the process of constructing community formation remains understudied. Therefore, this Master's thesis becomes an initial exploration in combining these three concepts specifically in the community formation of Cilwung riverbanks slum area. I decided to use different perspectives, from sociology, social psychology, and anthropology as the approach to understand the on-going process of community formation.

In addition, acknowledging the dynamic culture especially in a metropolitan city like Jakarta, I consider that by analyzing social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries, I can give a more detailed and less biased perspective in explaining the internal process of community formation. This relates to criticism towards classical definition of culture (Herder as cited in Wimmer, 2009) in which culture is seen as a

way the members of a community or society share a stable, constrained and homogeneous system of artefacts, practices, and meanings (Siebers, 2013). Consequently, if we see this community only as an ethnically diverse community, we risk in failing to address the dynamics of social cultural situation within the community and this might lead to a discrepancy in the research findings. At this point, examining culture in regard to the post-modern definition will allow us to enfold the variability, multiplicity, fragmentation, uncertainty, and ambivalence of social cultural phenomenon within this community (Siebers, 2013; Verkuyten, 2005).

This thesis project is also aimed at filling in the scientific gap in the existing literature, we are in need of studies that highlight and reveal not only the complexity and dynamic, but also both internal and external social factors to the community formation.

## **1.2 Theoretical and Practical Relevance of the study**

On the whole, the aim of this study is to deepen and improve the understanding of community formation of ethnically diverse community, which is also affected by government policy. This study intends to give a new perspective for a research on community formation by analyzing it through multidisciplinary approaches that are suitable with the phenomenon in focus. Additionally, there are six major relating concepts that I used in this study, which are, ethnic diversity, political interventions, community formation, social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries.

In contrast to other previous studies, the approach of this study is to take ethnic diversity from its salience and see how it grows, transforms from one identity to another within a community. Furthermore, the choice of elaborating political interventions as one of the main concepts is closely related to the first idea in choosing

the Bukit Duri slum area as the research fieldwork. Along with the information about the ethnically diverse residents and the history of eviction attempts in this area highlight the residents’ resistance towards eviction, the salient group identification among people with various ethnic backgrounds, and the effects of the policy implementation towards the community.

The core concept that is used is community formation, in which it dichotomizes active and passive action within the community in the Bukit Duri slum area. The active action will show the prompt effects of political interventions as the external factor towards social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries within the community formation framework. The passive action will relate to the existing ethnically diverse community as the internal factor towards social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries within the community formation framework. In this case, the passive action refers to two different conditions. First, it refers to the initial condition of ethnically diverse community where people possess the three mentioned concepts on daily basis. Second, it relates to the consequences from the policy implementation as the external factors towards the community formation of ethnically diverse community while taking into account the three mentioned concepts.

Likewise, social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries function as the tools to identify the current process of community formation. Previous literatures limited the combination of the three concepts in which they only focused on the social identity among community members, social capital, its relation towards community formation, and ethnic boundaries in a community. Hence, this project intends to combine the three relating concepts as the basis for elaboration of a theoretical model of dynamic internal process of community formation. The model is expected to show

the complexity of two push factors that influence simultaneously the dynamic process of the community formation.

Despite taking a specific area as the fieldwork, I paid specific attention to the context of the Bukit Duri slum area as the research site from which no generalizations towards other slum areas may be derived. This project aims at understanding the basic mechanism of the five mentioned concepts at real-life pertinency. Further, based on the findings and discussions, later I attempt to deliver recommendations for policy maker, policy implementer, and NGO.

### **1.3 Thesis Outline**

This study is divided into seven chapters; the first part of this study is the introduction, which includes problem statement. The following chapter presents the theoretical background of this study in which six main concepts will be elaborated, ethnic diversity, political interventions, community formation, social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries. The third chapter serves the methodology that has been applied during this research. I continue with the context of this study, in which I introduce the area of fieldwork, Ciliwung River, the Bukit Duri slum area, and the relocation project of the Bukit Duri residents. The fifth chapter shows the findings that I have found during the fieldwork. In the findings chapter, I highlight the role of each concept in the community formation and how the push factors influence the community formation. Furthermore, I present the discussion of my study in the sixth chapter in which I will link the findings of chapter 5 to theoretical background of chapter 2. The last chapter will conclude this study by presenting the answer of the research question.

## **2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

The following chapter describes the theoretical background of the research subject. It provides not only certain concepts related to the subject, but also the influential operationalization of political interventions in the community formation of a culturally diverse community. In order to give a wider image of the research project, I start the theoretical background of this research with an in-depth information of ethnic diversity in a community and society context. In addition, I explore the governmental policies by compiling perspectives from policy makers, policy implementers, and policy targets. Further, I outline the existing literatures that enfold the three mentioned concepts as an approach to get broader yet deeper insights from the dynamic of community formation. At this point, I proceed to elaborate the conceptualization and operationalization of the push factors and the core concepts.

### **2.1 Ethnic Diversity**

#### **2.1.1 Ethnicity**

The concept of ethnicity has gradually changed in recent years. What is banal about ethnicity is the existing argument about whether ethnic identities are essentially primordial or situational (Levine, 1999). For these two arguments we have Herder with primordialism and Barth who combines the two elements (primordially and situationalism) (Levine, 1999). Additionally, ethnicity designates a nation or people with members sharing one idea of a common origin, kinship, descent, history, and destiny (Siebers, 2009). It is also related to a place and members' sense of content, specific cultural practices and meanings, such as language, legends, and rituals (Siebers, 2009).

An interesting discussion emerges between what *you* think your ethnicity is and what *they* think your ethnicity is (Nagel as cited in Verkuyten, 2005). The discourse about ethnicity is often revolving around the notion of ascribed identity and achieved identity. Yet ethnicity could rather be a repertoire of individual identifications or group formations existing in either social interaction or personal self-awareness in which they belong to and functioning as primary social identity (Jenkins, 1996).

In this project the word ethnicity is used situationally in order to determine differences and similarities. This way, the focus is on the ambivalent and flexible means where people define themselves in relation of others (Verkuyten, 2005). Further, ethnicity also is used for classifying people based on their origin as their primary reference, in which cultural identity and politics play a role in shaping someone’s ethnicity (Levine, 1999; Verkuyten, 2005). Although ethnicity entails the notion of group and society, it is closely related to an individual subjective belief in common origin, ancestry, and history. Thus in this project, I am in concordance with Verkuyten (2005) that despite ethnic diversity is characterized by the community members’ ethnic background, this term rather displays collective behavior produced by individuals in certain places that shape ethnic identities (Barth, 1969).

### **2.1.2 Situational Ethnicity**

Many studies have attempted to elaborate the concept of an ethnic group as an absolute category and the influence of the social situation towards ethnic identity (Kaufert, 1977). This statement leads to the awareness of situational ethnicity, which emphasizes “a phenomenon in which individual or group identity is defined in terms of categories which vary in their level of inclusiveness” (Kaufert, 1977, p. 126). Further, a situational ethnicity remarks the individual’s definition of his role as a member of more inclusive groups, where the political significance usually plays a bigger role in

directing someone’s ethnic identity than cultural similarity. In this way, Kaufert (1977) highlights the importance of situation where the question of “Who am I” is elicited in order to give a closer meaning towards description of an individual’s or group’s ethnic identity.

Categorization and related theories of situational ethnicity within an ethnically diverse community have been extended to distinguish one’s ethnic identity. It is further discussed whether ethnic identity is considered as a product of the self-definition of the members of the in-group (Kaufert, 1977) or instead it is a product of self-concept influenced by the amount of ethnic heterogeneity in the environment (McGuire et al, 1978). Although, Paden in 1967 as the first person who mentioned about situational ethnicity noted that “situational ethnicity is premised on the observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person’s communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time” (as cited in Okamura, 1981). In his own research, Okamura (1981) stress the aspects of situational ethnicity, which consist of the structural dimension of situational ethnicity and cognitive dimension of situational ethnicity.

Based on the research conducted in Ghana University, Kaufert (1977) distinguishes five different planes representing alternate types of situational contexts and ranks them based on the level of group inclusiveness. During the research, respondents were asked to describe the changes in the alternate identities in various situations, which they would assume themselves or would have attributed to them, by others. The five planes consist of *the kin group identity, the hometown identity, the ‘tribal’ and linguistic group identity, the regional or super-ethnic identity, and the national identity*. Further, by defining this hierarchical ethnic identity, Kaufert emphasizes the existence of patterns of identity formation at each level of community

accommodated by Ghanaian students in order to respond to the specific type of situation. The changing of level of ethnic identity happened when they interacted to the out-group members of their current level of ethnic identity in a particular setting of place or circumstances.

Thus, the situations, that involve interaction with people from geographically and culturally divergent from them, enhance the needs to emphasize their identity towards their most inclusive group (Kaufert, 1977). For example, when the Ghanaian students originated from the Northern part met people who live in the South, they tend to highlight their super-ethnic group of being Northern people. Yet during their day-to-day interaction inside a heterogeneous community, they reinforce their identity as a member of a linguistic or ‘tribal’ group, not as a Northern people anymore (Kaufert, 1977, p. 135). This shows a shift of ethnic identity depending on specific situation in which the interaction occurs.

At this point, context and situation becomes a tool to define one’s ethnic identity in a particular time being and setting, where it is dependent upon the immediate social situation and the actor’s perception of that situation (Okamura, 1981). Though Turner et al (1987) state that groups and group membership provide a specific identity from a particular context and self-categorization generates a systematic account of the role of context, ethnicity cannot be examined only as a consequence of the way information is contextually processed. Further, Turner et al (1987) explain that ethnic identity is a social product where people in the context of daily basis interactions use this term.

## 2.2 Political interventions: policy actors and policy cycle

Almost everywhere, government has important role in shaping a community due to their power as policy maker since it is the main actor in the policy making. Many studies of policy outputs suggest a better way to understand the policy process though some of them emphasize on how the policy process shaped the policy outputs or outcomes instead (Hill, 2005). While various scholars attempt to define policy, the definitional issues face the difficulty in treating policy as a very specific and concrete phenomenon. Therefore, it is sometimes identified in terms of a decision or groups of decisions (Hill, 2005). Jenkins (as cited in Hill, 2005) states that policy is “a set of interrelated decisions... concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation” (p. 7). Yet Hoogerwerf (as cited in Kroon, 2000) describes policy as a systematic and purposive activity that aims at achieving well-defined goals and in so doing it uses well-defined means in a well-defined time structure. In this sense, policy becomes an attempt to solve, diminish or prevent a discrepancy that occurs between norm and an impression of actual or expected future situation (Hoogerwerf as cited in Kroon, 2000).

Further, policies are often only viewed as outcomes of political and bureaucratic processes, in which it neglects its courses of “action adopted and pursued” or in other words, its sustainability and follow up of the policy outcomes. Models of policy stages or policy cycles have been developed to provide a better understanding of the complexities in the process of decision-making. Thus, Hill (2005) illustrates the policy stages as a tool in the analysis to chop up a complex and elaborate process. Further, there are several models of policy stages that gained considerable prominence

such as Easton’s model, Hogwood and Gunn, as well as Kroon’s model, yet this study will employ Kroon’s model of policy cycles.

The policy cycles designed by Kroon comprises eight relating stages, which starts with (1) ideology formation, (2) agenda formation, (3) policy preparation, (4), policy formation, (5) policy implementation, (6) policy evaluation, (7) feedback, and (8) policy termination (Kroon, 2000). Further, this shows hierarchical steps that also affect to the different actors that involve in the particular stage of the policy cycle. For instance, policy maker is in charge in the first four stages of policy cycle, followed by policy implementer who will put the decreed policy into practice in the stage policy implementation.

For the policy evaluation, both Kroon and Hoogerwerf agree about the importance of outside evaluators as the main actor to deal with the content, the implementation process, and the policy effects based on fixed evaluation criteria (Kroon, 2000). In this case, Non Governmental Organization (NGO) can be one of the institutions that participate in the policy evaluation stage. Further, in the next step, feedback, NGO can also contribute to suggest improvements or critiques towards policy makers so that they can re-design the policy plan or in an extreme failure, terminate the policy plan. For the last stage, policy termination, policy maker decides to terminate the policies due to either positive or negative reasons. Yet Kroon (2000) emphasizes that policies are usually not terminated but changed gradually into new policies.

In a whole, as this study employs the influence of political interventions done by former and current governments, an elaboration of stages in policy cycle will help out in tracking the history of policy implementation in the Bukit Duri slum area. Additionally, since the political interventions are likely to give significant effect to the

making of community formation, therefore the policies set by government for this area are chosen deliberately as one of the main focuses of this study. By following the eight cycles, we acknowledge from the reasons behind the eviction attempts in this area until the feedbacks so far during the policy implementation process.

### **2.3 Understanding Community Formation**

In general, community formation is often related to socio-economic and political issues in society (Breton & Pinard, 1960; Ulmer, 1966; Jumbala, 1974; Hechter, 1978; Domes, 1981; Schachner, 2010). Some studies specifically recount the community formation and identity construction within a community (Shi, 2005; Wendt, 1994), yet it neglects social identity as the internal factor of why individuals need to attach to certain groups or communities (see Code & Zap, 2009 for social identity and group formation). Furthermore, the in-group relation among community members shifts their mutual needs into social capital or social resources that can be used by the individuals to recognize their interests (Coleman, 1990, p. 305; Giargas, 2000). Lastly, ethnic boundaries, which are linked to external factor, also contribute in the community formation “as the outcomes of the classificatory struggles and negotiations between actors situated in a social field” (Wimmer, 2008, p. 970).

In this chapter, as noticed above, the social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries relate highly to the process of community formation and also they are highly relevant and usable. Accordingly, these concepts will be used to define and measure the community formation in slum area as the fieldwork of this research.

#### **2.3.1 Social Identity**

The arrival of people from different regions in Indonesia to Jakarta contributes to the increasing number of slum areas in Jakarta. Once they temporarily or permanently

settle in a slum area, they tend to approach people who have already lived there (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). This phenomenon is explained by Asforth & Mael (as cited in Gundlach, 2005) as social identity theory in which individuals identify themselves with particular group. Turner (as cited in Tajfel, 1982) defines the social identity as “the sum total of the social identifications used by a person to define him- or herself” in a society (p. 18). This concept is derived from Tajfel’s definition of it as individual’s knowledge that identifies them to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership. On the basis of this definition, it can be assumed that one’s social identity comprises three components: a *cognitive* component or self-categorization in a social group, an evaluative component or group self-esteem, and an *emotional* component or affective commitment (Tajfel, 1978). Furthermore, “social identity theory suggests that individuals recognize their own membership in groups by defining the social boundaries surrounding particular groups” (Gundlach, 2005, p. 1607).

The key proposal of social identity theory is the extent to which one’s identification towards a particular social group that determines or affects their behavior in terms of their group membership (Ellemers et al, 1999). In a similar vein, the categorization process of an individual is extended to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al, 1987). In this sense, social identification is initially used to refer to the emotional component where people seek for feeling of affective commitment to a particular group, not for the possibility under the cognitive component to differentiate among members of other social categories (Ellemers et al, 1999). Thus, self-categorization is an important step for one to feel emotionally involved with the group

in question; subsequently in-group and out-group awareness is formed during the course of membership (Ellemers et al, 1999).

According to Hornsey & Hogg (2000), there are two main reasons that motivate people to identify themselves in a particular group. First, the notion of ‘subjective uncertainty reduction’ explains how people strive to avoid uncertainty about who they are, how they should behave, and how other people will behave. *Second*, the notion of ‘enhancement of self-esteem’, this motive relates to two conditions where people try to build self-esteem and to feel good about themselves relative to other people; and when groups struggle to differentiate themselves favorably from other groups in order to compete for positive social identity and positive self-esteem to their members (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

In this research, the social identity refers to terms that denote one’s membership of various both formal and informal social groups, e.g. social categories such as sex, nationality, political affiliation, religion, etc (Turner as cited in Tajfel, 1982). Though Verkuyten (2005) mentions that social identity is closely related to ethnic identity, in this case the definition of social identity is limited to the motives behind self-recognition of slum inhabitant to particular group in the neighborhoods at the community level. Then, how the social identity monitors and interprets social acts in that community. It is also related to the process of identification oneself and creating meaning in the life of each member of the slum community. Therefore, this research highlights of what kind of motivational processes to which the members identify their self-description, their sense of belongingness, and their reasons and motivations to stay in the neighborhood.

### 2.3.2 Social Capital

Every community has their own social capital, which refers to “institutionalized forms of delegation which enable it to concentrate the social capital as the basis of existence of the group” (Bourdieu, 1990, p.88). The social capital is not a single entity but it is a process defined by its function (Coleman, 1990). Further, the social capital can be explained as the shared feelings of social belonging that enable groups to set up institutions and other networks that members can access in which members manifest trustworthiness and put extensive trust in one another (p. 304). Yet Bourdieu (1990) emphasizes that the reproduction of social capital relates to a continuous series of exchanges within a group of people where recognition always needs to be affirmed and reaffirmed. In other word, to attain certain level of social capital, one is also required to invest in it a specific competence (knowledge or skill) and to maintain this competence. Additionally, according to Bourdieu (1990), social capital implies in the accumulation of economic capital. Therefore, there are two different approaches of Social Capital, *first* according to Bourdieu, Social Capital focuses upon the middle and upper classes in a society, it is also used as a kind of tool to ensure that ‘the wrong’ kind of people do not enter their circles (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990). *Second*, Coleman (1988, 1990) emphasizes that social capital can also be applied to a broader social class. In this study, both concepts will be used hand in hand in order to complete each other.

Although slum community members have mostly low level of education, each of them can still contribute to the accumulation of social capital in their community. As Zhou & Bankston (Giorgas, 2000) explains that the social capital can be in the form of social networks inside and outside the community. According to Coleman (1990), there are two common aspects of any form of social capital: “it consists of some aspect of

social structure and it facilitates certain action within the structure” (p. 302). Furthermore, Coleman argues that social capital is not necessarily acquired from formal education or possession of certain skills but it inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons.

In line of Bourdieu’s concept, the network relationship as the first term that will be used in social capital is a product of investment strategies both individual and collective; it is aimed at creating or reproducing social relationships that can be used directly in the short or long term (1990). In this way, the limited social capital especially in terms of network relationship might drive the slum community members to get socially isolated and later on, further it is likely to result in an economic isolation. A second term is marriage, Bourdieu argues that it conceived no longer as a set of ritual acts but as a social strategy depend on its position in a system of strategies in order to maximize the material and symbolic profit (Bourdieu, 1990). In this research, the social capital will be limited to small-scale interaction or the strength of interpersonal bonds among members at the community level, in this case, the slum community with regard to their view of job networking, marriageable partner, and education (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Bourdieu, 1987, 1990).

### **2.3.3 Ethnic Boundaries**

A boundary displays both a categorical and a social or behavioral dimension (Wimmer, 2008). To distinguish from the previous term of ‘ethnicity’, the word ‘ethnic’ in ethnic boundaries refers to the Barth’s definition in which it is not only related to a historically grown, yet it is a product of social process (as cited in Wimmer, 2008). The ethnic boundary “does not necessarily imply that the world is composed of sharply bounded groups” (Wimmer, 2008, p. 976). In the meantime, this boundary also allows individuals to maintain membership in several categories or switch identities

situationally. In this study, I employ two types of ethnic boundaries, which are ethnic boundary-construction and ethnic boundary-spanning. Yet the focus of the boundaries will further be divided into two parts, on the boundary that is constructed on the basis of ethnicity and on the community. In this way, community boundary construction will employ the residents’ boundary making towards their neighborhood in the Bukit Duri slum area. Similarly, the boundary-spanning in this study will be regarded based on constructed boundary in a community. Hence, these two concepts, boundary-construction and boundary-spanning, help out in defining the boundaries that exist between the local neighborhood community and its outside world.

### **2.3.3.1 Ethnic Boundary-construction**

Since different ethnic group might compose a community, the differences in term of physical traits are one of easiest tools to recognize each other among the members. This distinction, according to Barth (as cited in Levine, 1999) facilitates individuals to or not to adopt an identity as their identity. Furthermore, Barth (1969) explains that among individuals and small groups, specific economic and political circumstances may change their locality, their subsistence pattern, their political allegiance as well as their household membership from their previous position (p. 24). However, the ethnic boundaries do not necessarily mark the lack of social interaction and acceptance of a community towards their outside groups. The boundary persists despite the mobility of individuals across them either from intra- or intergroup. Yet, it entails social exclusion towards other groups (Barth, 1969, p. 10). In other words, if a community maintains its identity when members have interaction with others, this shows criteria for identifying membership and means of signaling membership and exclusion.

Regarding the nature of ethnic diversity in a community, Barth (as cited in Wimmer, 2008) explains that the ethnic unit depends on the ethnic boundaries that

define the unit not only on the cultural thing it encloses. Barth (as cited in Levine, 1999) argues “the importance of boundaries rather than the cultural contents of ethnic groups”. Furthermore, Barth emphasizes that individuals are able to choose their ethnic identities from the ethnic groups available to them (as cited in Levine, 1999). Despite some ethnic boundaries are politically salient (Wimmer, 2008), the salience of the various levels of differentiation depends on the logic of the situation and the individuals interacting within the group. Also, differences in physical appearance are more likely to be used to draw boundaries for they are easy to recognize (Wimmer, 2008). Brief, Wimmer (2008) argues that ethnic boundaries do not divide a population by drawing cultural lines but “unite individuals who follow quite heterogeneous cultural practices” (p. 983). Although, Cohen (1969) mentions that ethnic boundary is also an instrument for generating informal organization in struggles for economic and political goals.

#### **2.3.3.2 Ethnic Boundary-spanning**

A second concept relating to the ethnic boundary is still quite recent. First mentioned by Eigenfeld (2013) and Binder (2013), *ethnic boundary-spanning* attempts to answer the discrepancy of boundary-making especially in organizational studies. This concept extends the previous studies of Aldrich & Herker (1977) which focus of the boundaries between organizations and their external environment (as cited in Eigenfeld, 2013). Further, a more recent study related to the development of this concept is dealing with intra-team boundaries in multidisciplinary teams (Ratcheva, 2009 as cited in Eigenfeld, 2013).

The term of ethnic boundary-spanning is defined as “practices where actors explicitly refer to constructed ethnic boundaries and engage in activities to overcome these and ideally reach a situation in which no ethnic boundaries exist or are

constructed” (Eigenfeld, 2013, p. 16). This concept is descended from the notion of cultural brokerage, where the role of native people in linking their community to foreigners, in this case to the Western society. Further, the concept of cultural brokers show a similarity to the basic definition of boundary-spanners in which it refers to individuals action in promoting intergroup exchange and communication while contacting individuals outside their in-group (Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Friedman & Podolny, 1992 as cited in Eigenfeld, 2013). In this sense, the awareness of actors to fill in the gap between two communities or groups, of constructed ethnic boundaries and of no constructed ethnic boundaries, becomes the core concept.

Further, the formulation of this concept relies on the general idea of contact theory by Allport in the 1950s where a hypothesis was introduced to highlight the importance of personal contact between members of different groups as a means to obtain a better understanding and to minimize hostility (Brewer, 2003 as cited in Eigenfeld, 2013). In this study, the general idea of ethnic boundary-spanning will be used as a basic concept to analyze the phenomenon that occurred during the fieldwork. Though this concept emphasizes in the organizational studies, I will attempt to operationalize it in a broader domain, the societal / communal level where the role of actors can vary from the initial definition.

## **2.4 Impact of Push Factors towards Community Formation**

Previous literatures have shown an account of push factors and their relation to each other applied in this study. Started with the general concept of ethnicity then followed by a deeper explanation under the situational ethnicity framework, I have attempted to show the dynamic changes of the existing ethnic diversity in the fieldwork. These two concepts will later be elaborated in terms of the internal factor of community formation

in the Bukit Duri slum area. Furthermore, moving towards the external factor of community formation, I have unfolded the definition of policy from different perspectives then deciphered the complex policy process by making use of the policy cycle stages., I have also linked the plausible actors for every stage in the policy cycle.

After perceiving the two push factors, I continued with the elaboration of community formation by connecting social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries. The reasons behind choosing these three concepts have been intrigued by the awareness of the relational relevance of each concept. Thus, in this chapter I attempted to draw a parallel line that allows us to associate the logic of these relational concepts. Lastly, based on all the concepts, including push factors that have been reviewed here, I aimed at giving a basic yet encompassing comprehension towards the issue that will further be discussed in the next chapters.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

This research aims to examine a social problem by starting with assumptions of the situation in Bukit Duri Ciliwung riverbanks and providing the possible use of a theoretical lens. Furthermore, it also aims to define the study of research problems inquiry, then attempt to relate the implication from the individuals or groups related to the problem (Cresswell, 2007). Therefore, to best address the research question, the following research uses a qualitative research as its methodology. I apply an exploratory, qualitative research strategy due to the fact that my research focus involves the interpretive nature of inquiry in society. The exploratory part is to unearth a concept from the data obtained during the fieldwork, especially for several issues that are in a preliminary stage. Therewith, this project concentrates in the influencing factors, internal and external, of community formation taking place in a natural setting (Cresswell, 2007).

#### **3.1 Research Design**

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) defines qualitative research as a naturalistic approach that consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that transform the world to be more visible using “a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self” (p. 3). Along the lines of Patton, qualitative research is a means to understand particular phenomena in context-specific settings, in other words, it is a kind of research that produces findings from where the “phenomenon of interest unfold naturally” (as cited in Golafshani, 2003, p. 600). Hence, Riehl (2001) explains that qualitative research is defined by any

research that uses methods such as gathering observational, communicative (interview), as well as documentary data taken from natural setting. Therefore this methodology is commonly used on micro-level such as individuals, groups, small settings, yet it is also applicable for macro-level (Riehl, 2001). The choice of using qualitative research for this project is to gain a deeper knowledge and understanding of community formation along the Bukit Duri’s Ciliwung riverbanks.

The research aim of this study is to explain how the political interventions and ethnic diversity influence the community formation in slum areas along the Bukit Duri’s Ciliwung riverbanks. The research was conducted in deductive reasoning by starting with thinking up a theory about the research topic of interest in this study, the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), the social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988, 1990), and the ethnic boundaries making (Barth, 1969; Wimmer, 2008; Eigenfeld, 2013; Binder, 2013) were used. Subsequently, in order to answer the research question this research uses of the data triangulation methods; it consists of interviews, observation, and document collection (Hyde, 2000; Bezemer, 2003; Kroon & Sturm, 2007; Cresswell, 2007). Finally, the last step is analyzing as the result of data triangulation methods. Taking into account above focus, aim and steps of this research, the qualitative research is found as the most congruent and appropriate methods to answer the research question.

To answer the research question, the following sub-questions are formulated:

**Ethnic Diversity:**

- Regarding their ethnic backgrounds, how various is the ethnic diversity in that particular slum area?
- From which regions in Indonesia do the slum’s residents mostly come?

- Are there any majority ethnic backgrounds among the urban-migrants?
- Among different ethnic backgrounds, how do they manage to live together side by side?
- Do they face any ethnic conflicts in daily lives?
- Living in a multicultural environment, how do they identify themselves as member of particular ethnic group?
- Do they organize some regular activities with people from the same ethnic backgrounds?
- Do they try to maintain their ethnic origin culture? If so, by which means?

#### Community Formation:

- What kind of social bond does exist in the community?
- Is there any local organization or institution within the community?
- Based on what criteria do the local organization or institution recruit their members? Ethnicity? Neighborhood?
- By which means do the slum’s residents identify themselves as a community?
- Does the political intervention by Jakarta government obstruct the community formation?
- How does social identity play a role in the community formation?
- How does social capital possession of community members play a role in the community formation?
- How do ethnic boundaries play a role in the community formation?

#### Political Interventions:

- What kind of political intervention does the Jakarta government apply to slum areas along the Bukit Duri Ciliwung riverbanks?
- How does the political intervention influence the current social economic situation in slum areas along the Bukit Duri Ciliwung riverbanks?
- Does the Jakarta government find some difficulties in executing the Ciliwung riverbanks’ relocation project in 2014?
- Does the political action taken in the area give significant influence towards the current situation in the mentioned slum areas?

### 3.2 Sample Strategy

In this following research, the data sampling was based on specific experiences and situations of the participants or with a context focus. This research was conducted along the Bukit Duri’s Ciliwung riverbanks, in Jakarta, Indonesia within 2 and a half-month, from February 12 until April 21 2014. However, due to the flooding issues in Jakarta since the beginning of January, the selected area was hard to access in February. Therefore, the fieldwork in slum area was started from the beginning of March 2014.

Concerning the interviewees, the sampling of respondents was selected purposively using several criteria that will be elaborated further. First, the respondents were divided into four major stakeholders based on their role in policymaking, the role in local community as internal members, the role in local community as external members, and their function as policy’s target group. The first stakeholder is policy maker; in this group at least four interviews in total were conducted at the Ministry of

Environment, Ministry of Public Housing, and Jakarta government. An interview with policy maker from Ministry of People’s Welfare was canceled due to the staff’s tight schedule. The second stakeholder includes policy implementer (local organization), for this particular stakeholder, the number of respondents depended on in how many RTs the research was conducted. To narrow the number of respondents, only two RTs in Bukit Duri district was studied, therefore two chiefs of RT were selected as respondents, RT 05 and RT 06.

The third stakeholder covers Non-Governmental Organizations, which have great impact and direct involvement in this particular area. At this stage, at least two major NGOs, Komunitas Peduli Ciliwung and Ciliwung Merdeka became the key informants. I intended to conduct an interview with Mapala Universitas Indonesia, but until I went back to the Netherlands, the interview was hardly to be scheduled. Finally, the last stakeholder included the policy target, in this case, the residents of slum area. There were 13 respondents, which were selected by their willingness, ethnic background, length of stay, and gender. In sum, there were 23 respondents from the four stakeholders.

### **3.3 Data Collection**

As mentioned in the research design, the data collection was done in three ways: document collection, observation, and interviews (Hyde, 2000; Bezemer, 2003; Kroon & Sturm, 2007, Cresswell, 2007). *First*, the document collection was the first thing that I could do on my first days in Jakarta due to the flooding that restrained me from getting the access to the fieldwork. I gathered some documents from NGOs in the form of theater booklet, annual review about rivers in Indonesia from the Ministry of Environment, relocation project map, Bukit Duri statistical population figures from

Bukit Duri sub-district office, and social cultural researches related to Ciliwung River from the Indonesia National Research Institute (LIPI). Additionally, the documents include photos taken from the area in order to give better visual image of the flooded areas, residents' common activities, and the vivid interaction among residents in the fieldwork.

The second method employs observations in the fieldwork. After I had my first contact with the NGOs, they accompanied me to visit the fieldwork. I was introduced to some local residents, which remarked my first contact with them. The NGOs as gatekeeper pointed out the natural setting of people's every lives. Later, this contributed in the research as background information when doing interviews with residents (policy target). During the observations, I took field notes to help me noticing interesting ideas, events, realities that I came across in the fieldwork.

Lastly, interviews were taken on institutional level and local level. In doing so, some key contacts were needed in order to extend my network and to enter the community. Therefore, prior to the research project, I contacted several institutions and the chief of Rukun Tetangga (RTs) and Rukun Warga (RWs) (local institutions lower than district) in the Bukit Duri district where the interviews and observations were held. However, it was not easy to contact them via email or via short message services. I was able to start communication with the chiefs of the local institution after being introduced by the gatekeepers. Yet for the two other stakeholders, policy maker and policy implementer, an intensive follow-up were needed in order to get scheduled for the interviews due to their limited availability.

The interviews were conducted using four different guidelines; I decided to alter the questions for each stakeholder so as to gain different perspectives based on their capacity, function, and experience. Some pilot interviews were conducted in order

to ensure that the questions in the interview guidelines are understandable to every socio-economic status, that the questions did not provoke any misunderstanding, etc. The pilot interviews itself consisted of 3 to 4 interviews with the first, second, third, and fourth stakeholder. However, I found some difficulties in addressing my questions towards the residents due to some cultural and language gap. Some questions were too sensitive, not understandable enough for them, and too direct or too blunt. Therefore, after the first pilot interview conducted with the residents, I discussed the interview guidelines with one of professors who has research focus on social psychology at Atma Jaya University in Jakarta.

The use of variety data collection method helped me to figure out the meaning-making process of community formation. This method allowed me to gain deeper understanding of how the in-group community is constructed in slum areas along the Bukit Duri's Ciliwung riverbanks, the inbound interaction among the in-group members and the outbound interaction with out-group members, and how the three concepts previously mentioned can be elaborated with the actual situation in the fieldwork.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

As the result of the qualitative approach, the data was collected in the form of transcripts, audio material, photos of the interviews and observation. In the process of analyzing the data, three types of coding: selective coding, open coding, and axial coding, were employed to break down the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Punch, 2009; Boeije, 2010). Those three types of coding were used one after another to get the whole picture of the interview results and observations in the fieldwork.

In this research, the decision to use selective coding as the first tool to analyze the data is based on the fact that this research uses deductive reasoning. Thus, social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries have been selected purposively as theoretical backgrounds and later they become the core category of selective coding. This type of coding ties core category with other categories found in the fieldwork together into a story. Furthermore, it is also important to ensure that the core category, in this case the three theoretical backgrounds, can explain the story line from the data collected in the fieldwork; can relate to other categories; and the core category can validate the story line.

The second and third step comprised the open coding and axial coding. These processes were used to define the ‘other’ categories beside the core category as mentioned above in the selective coding. Strauss & Corbin (1998; Punch, 2009) define the open coding as process to find conceptual categories in the data, whereas the axial coding is to conceptualize and account for the relationships at a higher level of abstraction. Furthermore, the open coding is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data. While the axial coding is to enclose the data founded in the fieldwork. With that, the axial coding utilized the assembled data in the selective coding and open coding, then make connections between the defined categories from the previous steps.

Finally, all the interview transcripts and codes were compared and analyzed at the same time, in order to guarantee the quality of data result with a deeper understanding. For the final display of the data collected, the focus is on the dominant patterns that emerged from the data. The use of quotation from respondents becomes a means to give better illustrations to the main themes and this way, I attempt to stay as close to the respondents as possible.

### 3.5 Research Quality Indicators

The first research quality indicator is reliability, which refers to the probability that the repetition of the same procedures produced the same results (Briggs, 1986, p. 23). This indicator is crucial to ensure that there is no potential biases or threats to this research's quality. Furthermore, Briggs (1986) emphasizes that a research should be reliable and in the same time valid. In a similar vein, Boeije (2010) states that judgments of research quality are based on the fact that the research is representative towards social reality. In this project, first of all I started by introducing myself as student. In some particular area I clarified my status by stating that this research has no affiliation with any governmental project, or particular company's project to avoid bias or any kind of rejections that might happen. In the fieldwork, I started by approaching the NGOs as gatekeeper. I continued with making contact with the chiefs of the local institution to get permission to enter the area and to conduct the research within the area. In doing so, I made use some presents to smoothen the first contact. This act applied to all the respondents.

During the interview, I tried to make the respondents feel comfortable at their own natural setting, for instance by buying some food that they sell. I found it as one of the best ways to establish trust and willingness to speak from the residents. As a measure of reliability level from my respondent, one of residents were almost cried when she talked about how important an education for marginalized people like them, and how happy she was when her son finally got a settle job. Moreover, the interview started by asking some general questions about them, let them talk about themselves, which helped out in strengthening the trust and rapport for all respondents. Furthermore, the differentiated topic guidelines for every stakeholder ensured the

coverage of particular themes. Overall, by following the same steps in the methodology, the reliability of the research will be hopefully attained.

The second research quality indicator is validity, which refers to the accuracy of a given technique. According to Briggs (1986, p. 23) validity is the extent to which the results conform to the characteristics of the phenomena in question. In this research, the validity will be based on the use of the same definitions including the same theories and concepts (the social identity theory, the social capital theory, and the ethnic boundaries in community formation). As I decided to use exploratory, qualitative research, it is also important to consider this method when conducting the similar method. Further, to attain internal validity, data triangulation becomes an important tool in this research, as for the exploratory part, secondary research such as literature review and qualitative approaches such as informal discussion, in-depth interviews and pilot interviews are promptly used in order to get valid data interpretations. In addition, feedbacks in thesis circle meetings and a comprehensive literature review during the period of writing also enabled to construct validity of this research.

### **3.6 Ethical Issues**

As I use different groups of stakeholder, I acknowledge the major ethical concern especially for respondents from policy maker and policy implementer, in which confidentiality of respondents are highly respected. Since the relocation project has become a sensitive issue in the past few years, this issue has become more reluctant during the fieldwork because of the coming of the legislative election on April 9 and the presidential election on July 9 2014. Many of the legislative candidates are benefiting this issue to mobilize voters' or to provoke negative issues towards the

current government. Therefore, the information that has been given by both mentioned stakeholders become elusive not only for the individual but also for their institutions. Yet, I considerably mention their function as specific as possible in order to serve as a contextual tool for readers while reading the data interpretation, in the same time I also discuss it in a very responsible and a balanced way. Regarding the other two stakeholders, most of them did not require me to carefully cite their name, yet I also use pseudonyms to ensure that the information they gave to me are treated in a safe way.

## **4. CONTEXT**

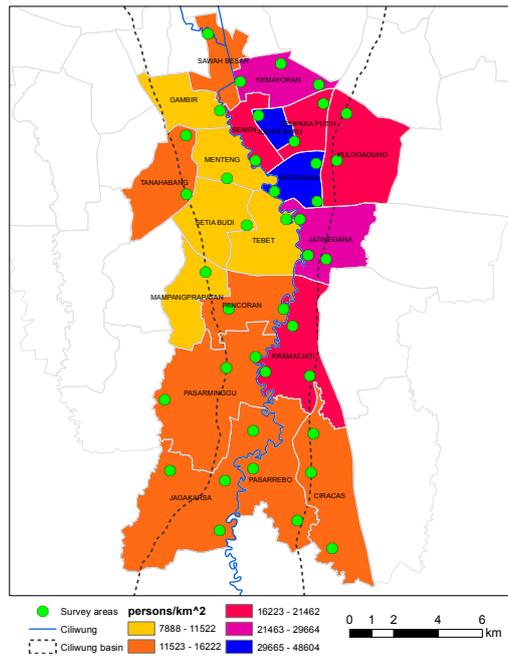
In this contextual section, I aim to account for the decision to conduct a research in Ciliwung riverbanks for its aptness with this project. In so doing, I first describe the geographical characteristic of Ciliwung River, lengthwise with the slum areas along this river, and I conclude this chapter by elaborating Jakarta government policies that have been and are being implemented in this area.

### **4.1 Ciliwung River**

Ciliwung River is the largest and longest river in Jakarta, which also passes four administrative districts. It flows from its headwaters near Puncak, Bogor on the highlands of Mount Gede, West Java to Jakarta Bay. Historically, during the Dutch colonization, Ciliwung River was designed for transportation as well as tourism. Based on the research taken by the Ministry of Environment of Indonesia (Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup, 2012) there were 4.977.515 residents of Ciliwung River watershed in 2008. Among them, many of poor citizens are forced to live by the river because that is all they could afford. According to the same source, Ciliwung River watershed is 117km long and it is divided into three parts, source (upstream), middles, and mouth (downstream).

The first part, the source (upstream), comprises Bogor regency and Bogor city. Regarding the ethnic composition, it is mainly inhabited by people from the same ethnic background, Sundanese. The second part, the middle, extends from Bogor city to Depok city, from this point, various ethnic backgrounds are present along the Ciliwung riverbanks. The last part, the mouth (downstream), passes the metropolitan

city of Jakarta from Manggarai floodgate to Jakarta Sea. In this part, the residents of the Ciliwung riverbanks are mostly people from outside the area and are ethnically diverse. Therewith, each part has their own characteristics and issues in terms of water quality, land use on river basin, residents’ social economic statuses, and the residents’ of the riverbanks ethnic diversity (Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup, 2012).



**Figure 1. The mouth (downstream) of Ciliwung riverbanks. (source: Singapore-ETH Centre for Global Environmental Sustainability, 2013)**

This research focuses on the middle part of Ciliwung River that is also being the main target of river normalization project in 2014. Research on water quality in this particular area shows that the Ciliwung River pollution has passed the highest rank of water pollution standard. Illegal industrial waste and residential waste contribute as the biggest parts for Ciliwung River water pollution. Though the Ministry of Environment has regularly checked and regulated the implementation of industrial waste policy, many of them sneaked their waste during the night so that it would be difficult to trace

the waste in the morning. Furthermore, the water pollution has become the main concern of the Ministry of Environment since it also damages the sustainability of Ciliwung River.

The second biggest issue related to Ciliwung River from the policy maker perspective is the land use on the river basin. The land occupation, especially for the residential use in the middle and downstream parts of the river has been blamed for years as the source of annual Jakarta flooding. Along with that, the construction of elite housing complex on the mouth (downstream) of Ciliwung River contributes to the water blockage so that the water flow cannot smoothly pass the river mouth. Finally, studies also found that the construction of elite villas on the mountain slopes of Ciliwung River source has reduced the soil capacity to absorb rainwater. These interconnected issues together are causing the annual Jakarta flooding. Yet, this research will focus on the mouth (downstream) of Ciliwung River, specifically on the one side of Ciliwung riverbanks located in the South of Jakarta Regency called Bukit Duri riverbanks.

#### **4.2 The Bukit Duri slum area**

Many attentions have been addressed to the development of slum areas in which studies from various perspectives were conducted (See Anderson, 1928; Chapin, 1938; Whyte, 1943; Monson, 1955; Rogler, 1967; Yelling, 1982; Costello, 1987; Rana, 2009). Especially in developing country cities, the impaired land development across parts of the urban landscape is mainly used by poor residents in the form of slum and squatter settlements (Lall et al, 2008). Therefore, the population of this particular area is increasing every year along with the expansion of cities and towns (Rana, 2009; Martinez, Mboup, Sliuzas, & Stein, 2008). It causes not only economic and health

problems (Rana, 2009; Izutsu, 2006), but also social and cultural issues (Chapin, 1938; Costello, 1987; Barker, 2009). This research focuses on the Bukit Duri slum area, which is located along the Ciliwung riverbanks.

The slum area of Ciliwung riverbanks is mainly located in the mouth (downstream) of the river. Based on the research conducted by the Ministry of Environment, the dense residences start from Kalibata to Manggarai area where the watershed narrows up to 5 meters due to the construction of semi-permanent houses and squatters along the riverbanks. Residents of Ciliwung riverbanks rely their daily activities on the river, for example from sanitary, washing clothes, to waste throwing to the river. Thus, a huge amount of wastes contributes to slow down the water flow in this particular area. The prompt effects of this condition can be seen during the annual Jakarta flooding where the water flow stayed and flooded the area (Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup, 2012).

The slum and squatter areas are populated by unemployed migrants who then end up doing scavenge or other informal jobs for a living (Barker, 2009). Krausse (1979) claims that the lack of job opportunities in Jakarta forces over 30% of urban-migrants lose their hope in their first weeks of arrival. Rodgler (1967) argues that slum neighborhoods are not equally integrated into the structure of facilities and services that are available in the cities of which they become part of. Regarding the people who live there, Rodgler (1967) defines them as economically impoverished, and relatively unskilled, also most of them have little to no formal education (p. 508). The contrast of economic condition between this slum area and some high-class neighborhoods surround it, such as Menteng and Kuningan, makes ‘group identifications’ become inevitable.

In addition, the slum areas along the Ciliwung riverbanks become one of the urban-migrant’s favorite areas for temporary settlement; one of them is Bukit Duri riverbanks (Siami, n.d). The slum area as core of this research will be limited to several Rukun Tetangga (RTs) (the smallest local organization), which are located near the Bukit Duri riverbanks. According to the Central Bureau of Statistic (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2012), this area is considered as one of the most populated slum areas in the greater Jakarta based on Tebet dalam Angka 2012 (Tebet in Figures 2012) (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2012).



*Figure 2.* Bukit Duri slum area along the Ciliwung riverbanks. (source: Singapore-ETH Centre for Global Environmental Sustainability, 2013)

As a slum area, Bukit Duri riverbanks are characterized as less developed area compared to its surrounding. Based on Bukit Duri subdistrict monthly report, in October 2013, there are 36.468 people or 3.526 families who reside in this area, and within this area, it is divided into 12 Rukun Warga (local formal institution) and 157 Rukun Tetangga (the lowest level of local formal institution). Regarding the

composition of ethnicity along the Bukit Duri riverbanks, people with various ethnic backgrounds from different regions in Indonesia urbanized to Jakarta, they then resided at the slum and squatter areas along the Ciliwung riverbanks (Krausse, 1979; Barker, 2009; Simone & Rao, 2011). In this research, the research fieldwork will be conducted selectedly at the 12<sup>th</sup> Rukun Warga (RW) and further will particularly focus in the 5<sup>th</sup> Rukun Tetangga and 6<sup>th</sup> Rukun Tetangga (RT).

### **4.3 Jakarta government policy**

The land use shift along the Ciliwung riverbanks has contributed the most in annual Jakarta flooding. According to the Ministry of Environment, in the year 2000, the number of residences along the Ciliwung riverbanks was around 24.832 ha or 47,6% of the total of the watershed area. Yet in 2010, the increasing number of residences reached 35.503 ha or 68,1% of the total watershed area. As mentioned in the previous section, the land occupation contributes to several practical issues that lead to annual Jakarta flooding. Thus, as one of the Ciliwung River normalization and revitalization plans, Jakarta government decided to relocate the residents of Ciliwung riverbanks to low-cost flats under a government urban revitalization plan (Suryanis, 2014).

This study focused on one of government policies related to Ciliwung River normalization and revitalization plan, in which the main focus was the relocation project in the Bukit Duri slum area. Regarding this relocation project, the governor, Joko Widodo, has provided two schemes for residents of Ciliwung riverbanks. The first scheme is land acquisition for residents who possess land certificates; the second one is relocation of illegal residents to low-cost apartments (Suryanis, 2014). Along with Jakarta government, the Ministry of Public Works focuses on the Ciliwung River normalization, while Jakarta Housing Agency under the Ministry of Public Housing is

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in charge of providing the low-cost apartments. Further, the Social Services Ministry involves by assisting the poor residents to organize them to move. The last one is the Ministry of Environment with the main concern is in the water quality management and environmental damage of Ciliwung riverbanks.



**Figure 3.** Design of the River Normalization Project, Ministry of Public Housing. (source: <http://achryoungprofessionals.wordpress.com/2013/03/08/loss-of-a-public-good-reason-to-celebrate-the-river/>)

As can be seen from the above image, the river normalization project includes a 7,5 m of access road on one side of the river. They will also provide new condominium towers in the area. According to the Ministry of Public Housing, the Ciliwung riverbanks relocation project is part of government’s target in order to make 30 percent of Indonesian cities free from slums by 2019 (Antara News, 2012). For this reason, this area was chosen as the fieldwork for its prominent area for relocation project execution.

## 5. FINDINGS

In this chapter, the empirical findings from observations relating to the fieldwork and 23 interviews of four mentioned stakeholders are introduced. The data obtained are processed in the form of transcriptions (texts) and then the excerpts are used as quotations to illustrate the findings. Since all the interviews were conducted in Indonesian, I have translated the quotations into English. Please note that pseudonyms are used for respondents' names in all cases since I have guaranteed anonymity for them. Further, I mention the respondents' age and profession to permit the readers to build contextual information that might help out in understanding the particular situation.

In order to present the findings to the reader, I follow the structure of my sub-questions where I first describe the internal factor of community formation, followed by the external factor of community formation, the complexity of community formation, and finally the social aspects as a summary of this chapter. For every section, I also provide a brief summary that allows the readers to draw a line between the current section and the next section. The structure of chapter reflects the process of community formation that I exposed from the data obtained. In this way, I attempt to give a full account of the subject's experiences towards community formation. Thus, for the first section, my objective is to extract the broad understandings of ethnic diversity and focus on its role in the community formation. Moving towards the second section, I explore the external factors of community formation in which political interventions become the main actor.

For the third section, I highlight the relation between social identity, social capital, as well as ethnic boundaries, and community formation. Therewith, I will

describe specific, considerable, and exemplary events of the three mentioned concepts that occurred during the fieldwork. Subsequently, the last section will also display a summarized story of the fieldwork, where I elaborate the internal, external, and operation of the three concepts into a conclusion stating my findings.

### **5.1 Ethnic Diversity: a dialogic term**

This first section of the findings presents the experiences of my respondents that will be further discussed, linked and analyzed in the discussion chapter. This section focuses on the ethnic diversity and attempts to sum up findings on its dialogic understandings. From the data collected from four stakeholders, various perspectives emerge in defining the ethnic diversity of the Bukit Duri slum community. In addition, a multi layered ethnic diversity composition is present in the two focus areas, RT 05 and RT 06. Therefore, it leads to a complex definition of ethnic diversity based on different points of view in regard to the same community. Yet, before presenting the findings of this project in-depth, I first explore the existing ethnic diversity in Bukit Duri slum area as the research primary variable and its role as an internal factor of community formation.

The term ethnic diversity was asked to my respondents with a twofold reference. First, they were asked to describe their ethnic background and second they were asked about other people's ethnic background. Almost all respondents from Bukit Duri inhabitants answered about ethnic diversity by referring to their place of origin. Only three respondents called themselves natives of Bukit Duri slum area since they were born there. When being asked about their ancestors origin, these three people insisted that it had nothing to do with their way of seeing themselves or identifying themselves to a certain ethnic group.

As mentioned by Ahmad, a 57-year-old motorbike taxi rider (*ojek*), “*My father is a Sundanese, but I was born here. I’m a Bukit Duri person.*” This shows a tendency to distinguish himself not by his ethnic origin but by his place of birth. His perceived identity is built situationally by the environment where he lives. The word “but” emphasizes two contradictory ideas of identity; in this case, it links to ascribed identity and achieved identity. The word “Sundanese” refers to an ascribed identity where it is assigned to an individual at birth, yet the phrase “I’m a Bukit Duri person” shows an individual achieved identity that is acquired during his lifetime living in Bukit Duri are. Therefore, I use the word “local people” to refer this particular group of people.

Although most policy target respondents reported on the variety of ethnic background in the area, they seemed not to be aware of the place where the other inhabitants originally come. They commonly assumed the other person’s ethnic background by distinguishing their ethnic markers, such as language, name, visage and other physical appearance. This way, Javanese and “local people” constitute the majority group in the area, and they are succeeded by Sundanese, Betawinese, and Sumatranese.

The policy target’s word choice when mentioning ethnic background showed concern and ignorance at the same time. Most of the respondents are originally from Java Island (including Betawinese, Sundanese, Cirebonese, Javanese) and “local people” generalized people who came from Sumatra Island as Sumatranese although Sumatra Island is divided into more than ten major ethnicities and hundreds of minor ethnicities. As mentioned by a 52-year-old Javanese food seller called Sri, “*There are also Sumatranese, but not many. Most of people who live here are Javanese and Sundanese*”. This shows that there is lack in ethnicity awareness towards other ethnic

backgrounds outside of Java. It is unlikely to happen when they talk about people from Java Island, in which they mentioned people’s specific ethnic background.

Generally, respondents remarked that language might be the starting point to classify someone’s ethnic background. Even though they speak Indonesian on their first encounter, one can directly distinguish other’s ethnic background from their pronunciation, vocabulary, and voice tone. It might be the case that they could not define from where the person was, but they would know whether this person came from the same region as them or not. This showed a boundary made between them since their first meeting on the basis of a symbolic marker that resulted in ethnic boundary-constructions. However, this boundary did not necessarily affect their further interaction, which in most cases they maintained contact among each other despite their different ethnic background.

Though Indonesian language is the main language for respondents’ daily basis communication, it does not function as an identity for them. Especially for Bukit Duri inhabitants, this is the kind of language that they learned during the course of life but it is only considered as a communication tool without any influence on their identity. When being asked about the language used, Rina, a 32-year-old Bukit Duri female local person replied, “*yaa speak the daily language, like this, Indonesian*”. Yet when asked about her ethnic language, she showed a more enthusiastic answer, “*I cannot speak (Sundanese –ed.), but I understand (! !)*.” From the first quotation, the use of “the daily language” words can be seen, as it is an unconscious action taken by her in her everyday live. This assumption is supported by the word “yaa” at the beginning of her sentence; it is actually a prolonged word of “ya” or “yes” in English. In this case it signifies a gesture of “a common knowledge” that everyone knows it already.

Thus, the first quotation indicates the fact that she speaks Indonesian on a daily basis is considered a normal thing that has no further relation to her identity. Additionally, it is only a tool used to communicate easier with other people. Compared to the second quotation, there was an increasing voice tone when she said “but I understand”. This shows that she wanted to emphasize her identity as a part of Sundanese through language acquisition.

When it comes to neighborhood life, conflicts are inevitable. Especially in an ethnically diverse community, a lot of adjustments must be made by inhabitants in order to fit within society. Understanding each other’s ethnic background traits or at least knowing certain ethnic background’s stereotypes helps to reduce misunderstanding among the inhabitants in this area. For instance, Javanese people are known for their politeness, their indirect style of communication, and laziness; also they avoid direct confrontation at any cost. This is in contrary with Batakese people, from North Sumatra, who are prompt and hard worker, speak loud, and prefer direct confrontation when it comes to disagreement. Several respondents reported the existence of this particular issue within the community, but none of them would relate these stereotypes when it comes to conflict.

When a 42-year-old policy implementer, named Budi, was being asked about ethnic conflict, he emphasized, “*No, there is no such problem here. Everything is fine here.*” However, during the interview, I noticed that he often said this negation sentence to deliver a normative answer and to avoid any further discussion about it. Yet, other respondents support the aforementioned statement and highlight that conflicts occurred between one person and another, regardless of their ethnic background; this means that they consider conflicts rather be individual problems.

### **5.1.1 Summary of the complexity of ethnic diversity**

In this subsection, I aimed at exploring the various forms of ethnic diversity and its dynamic within Bukit Duri slum area. The focus was to see it first from a broad perspective then to continue with the complexity of ethnic diversity in a more detailed view. Therefore I started with how inhabitants give meanings to the term of ethnic diversity (Ahmad and Sri), this helped me to figure out one of the several types of identity that are constructed, related, and opposed to each other within this community. They will be elaborated on in the next subsection.

Further, I distinguished ethnic boundary constructions within the in-group community members by presenting symbolic marker that results in the boundary making (Rina). I highlighted some key incidents that explained how the symbolic marker affects their ascribed identity, in this case, their attempts to be seen as having a particular situational identity based on their ascribed identity. Yet also as being part of a particular ethnic identity which relates to their ascribed identity (Rina). Last, I demonstrated how an ethnically diverse community is as vulnerable as a homogenous community towards conflicts (Budi).

The next section focuses on identifying the impact of political interventions, in this case, the policies of the Jakarta government in the Bukit Duri slum area. Therefore we need to disclose the nature of policies, their implementation, and their effect with regard to the Bukit Duri inhabitants. This way, we can draw a line between political interventions and its influence towards community formation. I will make use the recurrent policy of the Jakarta government on Bukit Duri slum area relocation project as the main discourse along with other minor policies.

## 5.2 Political interventions: Jakarta government policies’ and their implementation

In this section I will start by showing the variables that are involved in the initial process of community formation in Bukit Duri slum areas. These variables were previously pointed to as the internal and external factors and became the core of this research.

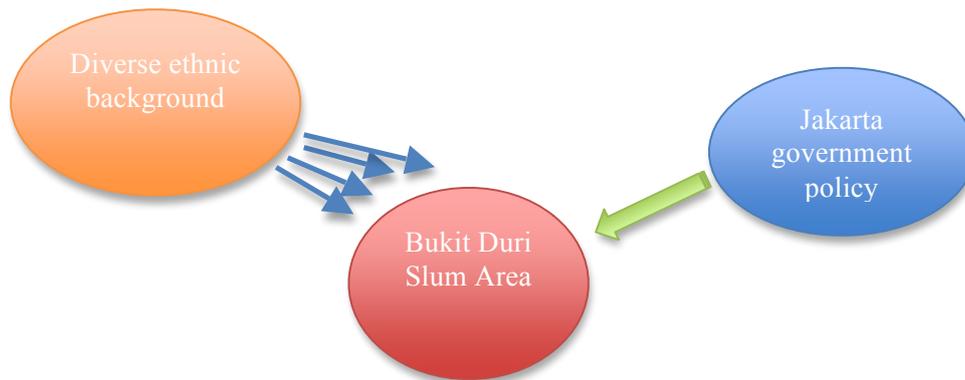


Figure 4. Variables of community formation in the Bukit Duri slum areas

As can be seen from the above figure, people from different ethnic backgrounds urbanize to Bukit Duri slum area. According to a high level officer at the Ministry of Environment, Soleh, the coming of these urban-migrants later becomes a serious problem relating to Jakarta’s annual flooding, the increasing rates of unemployment, and the increasing number of criminal acts. Therefore, from a policy maker’s perspective, a policy-based action should be taken into account to tackle this issue.

Bukit Duri slum area is located in a strategic place where it is one of the largest micro level economy markets in Jakarta. This place has existed since the Dutch colonization era, as Djoko, one of the founders of Ciliwung Merdeka NGO, insisted, *“the land occupation along the Ciliwung riverbanks has happened since 1936. They live there, why now government blamed them as if they were newcomers.”* Related to the nature of Ciliwung riverbanks residents, Ciliwung Merdeka NGO has

deconstructed the opinion about their recent occupation as the main source of Jakarta annual flooding through a recent report. In line with Djoko, Syaiful from Komunitas Peduli Ciliwung (Ciliwung care community, NGO) agreed that the annual flooding problem in Jakarta is a complex issue. Though there is always a suspicion towards Bukit Duri residents as being the cause of the annual flooding, the presence of elite housing complex along the mouth of Ciliwung River and the lack of attention paid to river sedimentation. This way, one cannot blame a party then set free the others, since various factors are interrelated in causing the annual Jakarta flooding. In this case, a systemic and economic-related problem plays a big role in shaping policy related to the annual flooding. Both NGOs are in charge of monitoring the balance of the policy implementation so that Bukit Duri residents are not being more marginalized than those who reside in elite housing complex on the mouth of Ciliwung River.

Although eviction attempts towards Bukit Duri slum area have been almost an annual threat for the residents, this year's eviction requires more serious attention for NGO and the residents. The residents mentioned that the new elected Jakarta governor is concerned about this issue and there is a bigger chance for it to be actually executed. Confirmed by Parno, an officer at Ministry of Public Housing, the 2014 eviction is part of a bigger plan in order to re-function and normalize Ciliwung River. This renders sequences of policies that will be implemented simultaneously and influenced each other. In this way, the river normalization project will force the residents to leave the area, and by leaving the area it also means that the government needs to provide a new place for them to reside.

None of the policy implementer respondents were convinced that the whole process of relocation project would lead to success. Besides a multi layered decision from policy makers to policy implementers would require strong cooperation among

them. As an observer, I noticed that disagreements from the residents could slow down the process. Regarding this disagreement, Wisnu, a high-level staff at Ministry of Public work stated *“We have started the project, we have proved it, yet the land acquisition still become a problem, it should have been cleared off. So, we are going to wait for the Jakarta government (to take action –ed. )”*. This quotation illustrates the fact that residents do not want to leave their place becomes a burden to execute the project, thus the project should be on hold.

However, a distant gap of power relation between policy maker as well as policy implementer and policy target (the residents) might cause a one-sided final decision on the relocation project. During the interviews, most of respondents from policy target emphasized their disagreement towards relocation project since it will cut off their current job. This means that by leaving the area, entrepreneurs who rely their business in this area such as chicken slaughterhouse and broom factory will need to find new place to restart their company. Yet they mentioned that finding place with cheap rent in Jakarta could be very challenging nowadays. Similarly, for those who work at big market across the Ciliwung river, if they have to leave, it will be difficult for them to get to their work especially when the transport expenses are quite high.

Most importantly they fear that it will take out their current settlement. For the latter reason, I learned from observation, interviews, and literature reviews from newspapers that the proposed place where they will be relocated is still questionable. Many initially reacted negatively to its location, its payment method, and especially its status of land ownership. Residents insist to own the new low-cost apartment as for they also has bought the land in which they live in the Bukit Duri slum area. Therefore they protest about the concept of low-cost apartment in which they have to pay monthly rent. Regarding this issue, Fira a staff at the Jakarta government emphasized,

*“our concept is to rent low-cost apartments, the Jakarta government, we are not allowed to sell our asset, in which the land should not belong to someone else (but the Jakarta government –ed.), so it should be for rent.”* It can be concluded from the quotation and the situation that is happening in the field, there are misunderstanding and conflict of interest for both parties. The residents want the same status as they already have for their domicile, yet the Jakarta government is obliged to follow their rule.

At this point, the policy implementers have to only introduce and execute the project, but not to listen to the inhabitant’s aspirations. Thus, Ciliwung Merdeka NGO becomes a place to accommodate inhabitant’s complaints, disagreements, and aspirations. Subsequently it plays a big role in mediating the gap between policy maker- policy implementer and policy target. As explained by a high level officer at Ministry of Environment, Soleh, *“Since we are not the policy implementer, so in Ciliwung area itself, how to deliver message to the residents, we have a mediator, one of the mediators is people from NGO, it acts as a communicator (between policy maker and policy target, -ed.)”*. This quotation indicates two things; first, despite being a policy maker, the ministry does not necessarily cooperate directly to policy implementer in handling issues of policy implementation. As I have mentioned earlier, this lack of coordination can slow the policy implementation process, in this case, the relocation project.

Second, I further learned from Djoko (Ciliwung Merdeka NGO), that the two separated actions taken by policy maker and policy implementer confused NGOs and residents. He explained how they were having a rough time in communicating and bargaining with policy maker to eventually only get disappointed by different point of views from policy implementer. For example, Djoko and the NGO team proposed an

alternative way to save the environment without neglecting inhabitant’s needs by constructing a Kampung Deret (chained floating village) along the Ciliwung Riverbanks.

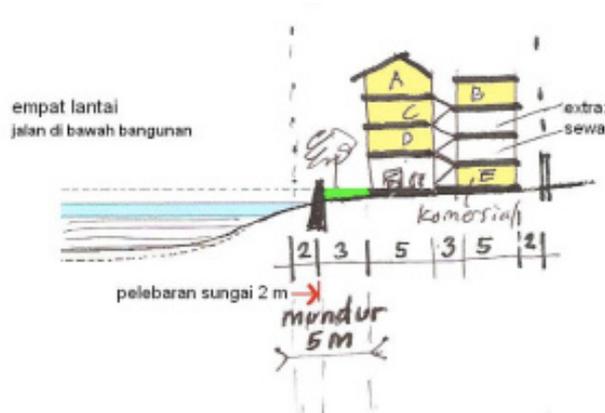


Figure 5. Proposed Kampung Deret (Chained floating village)

(source:<http://achryoungprofessionals.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/river-relationship.jpg?w=300&h=191> )

As can be seen on the *figure 5*, the Kampung Deret (chained floating village) will be located along the Ciliwung riverbanks. The building construction will be 5 meters away from the board of Ciliwung River, this is in line with relocation project which aims at expanding the width of the river. The Kampung Deret is proposed as a sustainable housing complex in which people will have a better access to sanitary, to green space, and better quality of building construction. Further, this Kampung Deret will accommodate the needs of residents in the area especially for those who depend their lives on informal jobs such as food seller, broom factory, etc. Within the Kampung Deret building, as it can be seen on the above figure, there are some spaces that can be rent for business purposes. This offered solution can benefit both parties, government and residents as they can normalize the river’s function without forcing people to leave their beloved domicile. However, though the policy maker has showed

a good intention to follow up this solution, policy implementer is still not adapting it. Therefore, this leads to confusions and skepticism from the NGO and the residents.

Although the residents have been living in uncertainty, I observed that this situation eventually has strengthened the community bond among Bukit Duri residents. All inhabitant respondents have indicated that this issue has taken their main attention in everyday lives and likely that their lives have revolved around it. Therefore, it has become a main topic in every communal meeting within the area, both for formal and informal meeting. A 36-year-old employee mentioned, “*Normally when I was buying cigarette at kiosk (in the neighborhood –ed.), but as I am newcomer here, I did not take part in the conversation, only listen to them when they talked about the relocation project.*” Though this quotation shows a boundary between newcomers and local people, both of them are concerned about this issue. Further, this issue fosters the feeling of similarity among the residents regardless of their length of stay.

In addition, I noticed other policies that are being implemented in this area related to health and education. In contrast with the relocation project, these two other policies are considered as very useful for the residents. Therewith, the government provides two type of cards for people with low-income. The first card is called Kartu Jakarta Sehat (Healthy Jakarta Card) and the second one is Kartu Jakarta Pintar (Smart Jakarta Card). By showing Kartu Jakarta Sehat (KJS), one can get a better access to public health facilities without paying any fees. Also, by possessing Kartu Jakarta Pintar, pupils have the right to get monthly allowances from the government to support their education. Almost all the respondents admitted that they get real benefits from these cards, and hoped that this policy will last for a long time.

### **5.2.1 Summary of Political interventions**

The purpose of this section has been to elaborate the political interventions implemented in Bukit Duri slum area. I have combined perspectives from four stakeholders, policy maker, policy implementer, policy target, and NGO so as to have an encompassing understanding about the current situation in the area. Notably, the first concern has been related to the relocation project as the focal political intervention. I have started with identifying the variables of initial process of community formation along with explanation of policy background. Next, I have highlighted some tension among the four mentioned stakeholders and how they coped with it. Moreover, I have continued with the role of NGO as mediator from governmental party and residents.

Finally, before I listed the other policies that have also been implemented in the area, I first explained the influence of political interventions towards community formation. This issue will be discussed in the following section where I will go into plausible explanations that show the internal process of community formation by indicating its social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries. This will lead to a complex discourse of ethnically diverse communities with regard to post-modern cultural definition.

## **5.3 Community Formation: complexity of ethnically diverse community**

### **5.3.1 Social identity: a feeling of sameness**

Despite of the various ethnicities that are present within Bukit Duri slum area, residents tend to leave aside their ethnic origin identity when it comes to community life. They are more likely to gather with people who share mutual values than with those who only have ethnic background relation with them. From this situation emerges a common social identity among them and further becomes their community

identity. In this case, the fact that people live side by side in Bukit Duri slum area and acquire common problems in daily lives, referring to eviction attempts and relocation project. This becomes a kind of foundation for them to build a community identity with the other residents.

By identifying social identity and ethnic boundary among Bukit Duri residents, this leads to the distinction of a multi-layered situational identity in the area. First, this relates to a new boundary constructed as being Bukit Duri people or community is an outbound identity. They normally wear this identity attribute to differentiate them from out-group members, for example from Kampung Pulo people who reside on the other side of Ciliwung riverbanks.

Second, despite their outbound identity, the residents simultaneously categorize themselves into several inbound identities. This is mirrored in the types of existing bonds that facilitate members to share their common sameness feeling to each other. Despite the formal local organization provided by the government such as RT and a larger one called Rukun Warga (RW, which comprises several Rukun Tetangga), residents re-categorize themselves from the pre-existing superordinate identity, Bukit Duri community members and RT members.

As a result, Budi, one of the policy implementer respondents mentioned that the social bond among residents from RT 06, RT 07, and RT 08 are quite strong compared to other RTs within Bukit Duri slum area, *“We have youth organization called Karang Taruna, the activities, on the birthday of Prophet Muhammad, independence day celebration, there are always activities conducted, especially for celebration days. Almost all the activities in RW 10 are focused in the RT 06, 07, 08 areas, because they know it already that we are very solid.”* Further he mentioned that this sub-community

employs several communal activities that result a strong solidarity among sub-community members. As mentioned in the quotation, the youth organization is actively organizing events as a means to strengthen their achieved identity as a recognizable sub-community in the area. Along with that, Budi also mentioned during the interview that they have a monthly meeting called “Arisan” where people can save up and borrow money from the other Arisan members. The bond among these three RTs indicates a notion of social identity, which constitutes a new sub-community within a situational community- Bukit Duri community.

Though data revealed that the motives behind people’s identification to a particular group closely relates to their feeling of sameness in terms of being Bukit Duri slum area residents, there is also one ethnic-based organization, which develops in the area. As indicated by Fakhri, 48-year-old policy implementer, only Betawinese people support this organization in order to highlight their ascribed identity as “local Jakarta people”. This shows a tendency towards ethnic exclusiveness in which only Betawinese people can join this organization. On the one hand, what I found during the fieldwork, the words “local people” are proudly used by people who were born in Bukit Duri area despite their ethnic background. On the other hand, Betawinese people seem to only grant this term to those who inherit Betawinese blood. Therefore, the words which local people refer to the two different groups of people in which social identity can be purely based on situational identity or a mix of situational identity and ethnic identity.

In summary, the social identity that is present in Bukit Duri slum area is in line with the ethnic boundary that is constructed there. This combination results a salience of situational identity which allows people to distinguish themselves towards outgroup members and towards in-group members. Further, ethnic identity is partly considered

as an influential factor towards social identity. Yet it seems not to legitimize the presence of various sub-communities in the mentioned area, only for a particular ethnic-based organization.

### **5.3.2 Identifying Social Capital patterns within the community**

Three major components, marriageable partner, job networking, and education highlight the dynamic of the social capital within the Bukit Duri slum area. Here, it is important to know that in this section, most answers were based on the interviews with the Bukit Duri residents. Two interviews with NGO staffs were selected, which allow us to see the patterns of social capital from internal perspective and external perspective.

#### **5.3.2.1 Marriage**

During the fieldwork, some interviewees mentioned about the Bukit Duri residents' tendency to get married with people within this area. Yet some said that this practice was no longer existed since residents have had more contact to outside world due to their job or their other affiliations. Thus, most of the interviewees agreed that there is no more patterns related to marriageable partner place of origin.

Explained by Budi, 42 year-old, one of the policy implementers, who is also a resident in the Bukit Duri slum area, “*(Before, -ed.), Most of them are from this area (partner, -ed.), but now they are from the outside area (partner, -ed.), now.*” Djoko, one of the founders of Ciliwung Merdeka NGO, supported this statement that the marriages sometimes were conducted for economic or political reasons. Furthermore Djoko emphasized that due to those reasons, marriage acts as a functional practice, and what is surprising, interethnic marriage becomes a common thing.

For example, Djoko cited “*but they got married with people from the same area, Sundanese and Bataknese, (they, -ed.) almost created a new culture.*” Later when

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I compared this situation with “normal” situation outside the area, Djoko acknowledged that the combination of ethnicity (Sundanese and Batakese) often created difficulties to legalize the marriage. Whereas within this area, ethnic attachments, values, and norms in terms of marriage were over shadowed by functional practices. This situation reveals two things, first it shows the existence of assimilation culture as the result of interethnic marriage; second, it indicates the fact that many of the residents have familial relation among other members in the area. Therefore, this also results in the making of communal bond, which enhances the community formation on the basis of diverse community within the area.

### **5.3.2.2 Job Networking**

Located near one of the largest business centers in Jakarta, many of the residents of the Bukit Duri slum area rely their jobs on this sector. Most of the people who work for the business center are those who show strong disagreement towards relocation project. This reaction is logically acceptable due to the fact that by living in another place, they will have to spend more time and especially more money to cover their transportation expenses. However, interviewees also mentioned other residents’ jobs such as shopkeeper, security officer, cleaning service officer, food seller, entrepreneur, and more importantly, almost all of them work for the informal sector.

Related to the job networking, ethnicity plays a big role within this community. People tend to inform about job vacancies to people either from the same ethnical background or to those who have strong relation with them. This practice was explained by the fact that the jobs normally are for the internal sector in which the employers are not obliged to guarantee them with the employment contract. However, since the number of unemployment in Jakarta or particularly in this area is quite high, people have no choice rather than to accept the jobs. Furthermore, the information

about the vacancies relies a lot on the word of mouth spread by the current employees. Therefore, the accumulation of social capital will help out a person to get a job or a better job.

It is further explained that the employee, who helped to find new employees, holds the responsibility towards their performance and behavior during the course of the work. Due to this reason, people find job networking sometimes becomes an elusive situation for them. However, it was also mentioned by many of the interviewees that they got their job on their own, in which they did not see the importance of the social capital accumulation with people within the area. They emphasized that contact with the outside world, especially during pursuing their higher education, or other source of information to find out about job vacancies.

### **5.3.2.3 Education**

Compared to other social capital components, education showed scarcely significant results in the sense of its relation towards community formation in the Bukit Duri slum area. As mentioned in the previous section about political interventions, most of the students who live in this area have the right to get a free education because of their economic status. This policy was issued during the government of Joko Widodo, by possessing Kartu Jakarta Pintar (Smart Jakarta Card, KJP), where students are exempted from school fees and get monthly allowances. Yet, the majority of young people who live in the area finished their education earlier than they should.

Most of them quitted during or after junior high school. Further, Rina, a housewife, indicates, *“It’s likely that they only reach the Junior high school level. The children are lazy.”* From this quotation, it can be seen that the motives behind this situation are sometimes none of the economic matters but the students’ motivation. Yet almost all of the respondents, especially parents, emphasized that education is a very

crucial asset in life. Though they live in such a needy condition, they still fight for their children’s education. This shows a high awareness among the residents of the Bukit Duri slum area about the importance of education as a means to lead to a better life.

### **5.3.3 Understanding the complexity of the twofold boundaries**

This section will be divided into two main concerns, the ethnic boundary-construction, and the ethnic boundary-spanning. These two concepts will be used to identify and divide the data obtained during the fieldwork in order to understand the process of boundary making towards the out-group members and the maintenance of the in-group membership at the same time.

#### **5.3.3.1 Ethnic boundary construction within the Bukit Duri community**

Rukun Warga 10 as a part of Bukit Duri sub-district, which becomes the focus of this research comprises 15 smaller local organizations called Rukun Tetangga (RT). The data reveals a multilayered boundary that is constructed in this particular area. I will elaborate the layers from the outer boundary and get closer to reach the internal constructed boundary. The first constructed boundary layer refers to their way to distinguish themselves as a totally different community compared to people who reside in Kampung Pulo, the other side of Ciliwung riverbanks. Undergoing the concept of ethnic boundary, though Bukit Duri residents firmly mark the differences of their community towards Kampung Pulo community based on their location, they maintain contact, interaction, and communication among each other.

The second constructed boundary layer shows a strong attachment to the ethnical identity. Within this area, there are two major groups consist of people from two different ethnicities, Javanese and Cirebonese. These groups come to Bukit Duri to work in a small company owns by a patron. The selection of the employees was based on the basis of the patron’s place of origin. Hence, basically the patron and his

employees came from the same origin. From the fieldwork, I noticed that the boundary was initially constructed because the patron gave his employees a common place to stay in front of his house. This, later results in the group exclusiveness and the tendency to stick together. Fahmi, a 29 year-old entrepreneur, explained “we know each other, with local people here, but rarely sat and talked together.” This excerpt indicates that though ethnical exclusiveness exists among the members of these two groups but they still interact with people within the Bukit Duri slum area.

The last constructed boundary layer within this area is indicated by the existence of sub-community consisting only three Rukun Tetangga (RTs), which are RT 6, RT 7, and RT 8. Budi, 42 year-old policy implementer, emphasized the strong solidarity among these three RTs, which has been elaborated in the previous section as for a notion of social identity. From the data, the constructed boundary preliminarily appeared when the three RTs often organized common events together every year. These events contributed in strengthening their sense of belonging towards each other and resulted in an unofficial sub-community within the Bukit Duri slum area. At this point, though they belong to a larger community, the Bukit Duri slum community, they construct a boundary that draws a line between the three mentioned RTs and other twelve RTs that are also parts of Bukit Duri slum area.

### **5.3.3.2 NGO as main actor in boundary spanning**

As the second concept of ethnic boundaries, ethnic boundary spanning focuses on the role of Non-Governmental Organization in bridging the existence of the constructed ethnic boundaries in the Bukit Duri slum area. Ciliwung Merdeka is one of the NGOs that is in charge with the social, cultural, and economic issues within the Bukit Duri slum area. Inaugurated in 2000, Ciliwung Merdeka started their programs by gathering volunteers and Bukit Duri children to facilitate extra school lessons in their

“Rain Does not Fall for One Roof Alone”

neighborhood. Along with that, this NGO has also contributed to help the residents during the annual Jakarta flooding. It also becomes residents’ spokesperson that delivers their opinion to policy agents (policy maker and policy implementer). Additionally, through art performance, this NGO reunited the two sides of Ciliwung River (Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo) to work and perform together.

The aforementioned actions taken by Ciliwung Merdeka NGO can be seen as having two major purposes. For both purposes, Ciliwung Merdeka shows its role as boundary spanner either on the horizontal level or vertical level. On the horizontal level, its aim is purely to engage the two Ciliwung River sides (Bukit Duri and Kampung Pulo). On the vertical level, it strengthens the community members’ empowerment in dealing with political interventions and at the same time it mediates the gap between the Bukit Duri residents and policy agents.

#### **5.3.4 Section summary**

In this subsection, I have elaborated social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries as the indicators of community formation. The focus has been to see the notion of influence from push factors towards the three mentioned concepts. I started with identifying the feeling of sameness among the community members and proved that ethnic diversity enhanced the social identity. For the second concept, I have highlighted that in certain conditions, social capital is closely related to social identity, in this case, their reasons to stay in the Bukit Duri slum area are mostly based on the job that they have. Lastly, I have elaborated the twofold of boundaries, in which I explained the multilayer boundary that exists in the area. Also, I have presented the role of NGO in bridging the communication between policy agents and policy target.

## 6. DISCUSSION

This section is divided into two parts, the first part will serve to link the research’s findings to the theoretical background, and the second part will relate subjects that emerged during the fieldwork to relevant additional literatures. On the second part I will construe a discussion about three additional findings, which are Bridgehead community, Contextual identity, and extension concept of ethnic boundary-spanning. Among these three additional findings, Bridgehead community and Contextual identity are arguably new concepts that were found during the data analysis of this study. Further, the concept extension of ethnic boundary-spanning will remark some additional usage of this recent concept.

### 6.1 Linking findings to literature review

Previous studies on ethnicity attempted to understand its complexity as a dynamic and situational entity that is changing over times. Siebers (2009) has recently argued that it refers beyond the notion of just a group of people sharing similar origin, yet it relates to a certain place and members’ from specific cultural practices and meanings. Subsequently, I have identified similar patterns during the fieldwork of this study in which people are aware of their self-categorization towards various ethnic identities. Besides, findings have shown a significant distinction between residents’ ascribed their identity and achieved identity, which is explained by Verkuyten (2005) and Levine (1999) as the nature of ethnicity and the influence of other factors such as common origin and politics in shaping someone’s view towards their ethnic identity.

Referring to Kaufert (1977) about situational ethnicity, I have identified that people tend to attribute different ethnic identities depending on the situation and type of interaction they are at. Additionally, along the lines of McGuire (1978), an

ethnically diverse community contributes to the urge to categorize themselves into a particular ethnic identity. This way, I have noticed that ethnic diversity in Bukit Duri slum area has favored the emergence of various layers from the situational ethnicity. Also, I have asserted that it does not only depend on the situation but also on the context in which the question about ethnicity is being asked.

Concerning the political intervention in Bukit Duri slum area, I have explained the delicate and complex situation, in which the four stakeholders should deal with. In the findings, I have indicated that there has been a discrepancy in the policy cycle stages (Kroon, 2000) where policy maker and policy implementer need a more effective way of the collaboration against the emerging issues during the policy implementation process. Besides, the policy implementation, in this case, the 2014 relocation project has appeared to be a salient means affecting residents' concern and communal life. Therefore, drawn by the significant findings of this issue, I discerned that the 2014 relocation project has shown its influence towards community formation in Bukit Duri slum area.

The study furthermore has yielded the interrelation among the three used concepts under the community formation framework. The pursue of a group membership with people in the same area (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000) has been indicated as the first step of social identity in Bukit Duri slum area. Findings support that common daily needs, fear, and uncertainty among people living in the area have become the reasons of their strong community bond.

Tajfel (1978) explains this situation by pointing at three components of social identity; first, a cognitive component or self-categorization in which residents feel the need to attach to a community within the area. Second, an evaluative component that explains joining Bukit Duri slum area allows residents to feel positive about

themselves because they know other people who share the same problems with them. Third, an emotional component or affective commitment that can be seen during the course of relocation project implementation process. Residents face the same anxiety of their status, their future domicile, their current job, and for some residents, the education for their children. This communal anxiety drives them to set many formal or informal meetings to share their opinion regarding these issues. Therefore, based on this situation, I argued Ellemers (1999), which emphasized the emotional component as the first step of social identity, then followed by the cognitive component; I have asserted that these two components can account for one's community membership simultaneously. En masse, I have concluded that the feeling of sameness upon different components of social identity has strengthened the community bond in the Bukit Duri slum area.

Drawing on the arguments from several sociologists (Bourdieu 1987, 1990; Coleman 1988; 1990), the study has yielded significant findings with regard to social capital. In relation of the two aforementioned authors, I have distinguished that social capital sometimes relates to social identity. From the findings, I have learned that residents' reasons to stay in the sum area are closely related to their current job and their networking. Since most of them make a living from informal job such as helper in a big market, motor taxi rider (*ojek*), mobile food seller, a large networking has become a valuable asset in case they lose their job. This situation is in line with Bourdieu's (1990) as he stated that a social capital is a product of investment aiming at reproducing social relationships that is useful for both short and long term.

Furthermore, marriageable partner has also become a concern in this study in which quite surprising result was found during the fieldwork. Data showed that in the past few decades, Bukit Duri people were subject to get married with people from the

same area. As Bukit Duri slum area consists of ethnically diverse people, thus, inter-ethnic marriage became foreseeable. Yet the reasons behind the inter-ethnic marriage were rather be financial matters, this is in line with what Bourdieu (1990) stated that marriage is no longer a set of ritual acts but as a social strategy in order to maximize the material and symbolic profit. The implication of this action is people in this area have familial relation to each other, which further results in a strong community bond. On the whole, the accumulation of social capital in this area, either the network relationship or marriageable partner, has contributed in strengthening their social identity as Bukit Duri slum area community members.

In regards to the last concept under the Community formation framework, this study found corroboration for ethnic boundary-construction and ethnic boundary-spanning from the interaction and sub-community making within Bukit Duri slum area. The initial concept of ethnic boundaries by Barth (1969) remarks the importance in acknowledging the nature of the boundary and its characteristic; an ethnic boundary does not mark the lack of social interaction towards outside group, it shows the persistence of the boundary despite the mobility of individuals either from intra or intergroup. On top of that, Barth (1969) emphasizes the boundary is in the context of ethnic identity. During the fieldwork, I have identified several layers of boundary-construction that exist within the area, yet only one out of three layers that can be defined as ethnic boundary-construction, the other two are more likely to be a community boundary-construction. Additionally, I noticed that the community boundary-construction is rather close to what Wimmer (2008) has argued that ethnic boundaries do not divide a population by drawing cultural lines, yet it rather unites individuals who follow quite heterogeneous cultural practices. At this point, the boundaries that exist within Bukit Duri slum area are in combination of ethnic

boundary and community boundary. Based on the findings, these two types of boundaries have different characteristics and serve different group identification.

With regard to the second concept of ethnic boundaries, ethnic boundary-spanning is quite recent. This concept allows us to distinguish one’s action to bridge the constructed ethnic boundaries and engage in activities to overcome the boundaries and reach a situation in which no ethnic boundaries exist (Eigenfeld, 2013; Binder, 2013). Yet this study has attempted to apply this definition in a broader domain, which is the societal/communal level where Bukit Duri slum area becomes the field for actors to practice the ethnic boundary-spanning. Similarly, Ciliwung Merdeka NGO has contributed to bridge a horizontal and vertical gap that has been faced by Bukit Duri people. However, I found that the term “ethnic” in the ethnic boundary-spanning does not explain the exact situation based on the findings. In this way, the term community boundary-spanning becomes more suitable to be used.

## **6.2. Discussion of additional findings**

This section will serve to elaborate three additional findings including the two primarily new concepts and one additional concept. I will start with introducing *Bridgehead Community*, *Contextual Identity*, and finally *Community boundary-spanning*.

### **6.2.1 Bridgehead Community**

The first new concept that is explored in this research is *Bridgehead community*. The term Bridgehead was first used in the army literary in which it signifies an area near the end of a bridge that is controlled by an army (definition taken from Merriam-Webster). In addition, this term is also defined, in a broader way, as a fortification protecting the end of a bridge nearest an enemy (definition taken from Merriam-

Webster). This broad definition provides a starting point to which I refer to the concept of *Bridgehead community*.

As demonstrated in the findings and elaborated in the discussion, the combination of ethnic boundary-construction and a strong social capital reinforces the emergence of a new sub-community in Bukit Duri slum area. Barth (1969) explains that the ethnic unit depends not only on the cultural entity it encloses but also on the ethnic boundaries, which distinguish the unit. This means that a group of people having the same ethnic background living together in the same neighborhood does not necessarily making them a community. This argument is supported by Barth (1969), who stated that an attachment to a particular community as their in-group identity requires “social exclusion to other groups” (p. 10). Furthermore, Cohen (1969) yields support to Barth’s argument in which Cohen emphasizes that economic and political struggles might drive ethnic-boundary construction to become an instrument for people to articulate informal organization.

The above-mentioned literatures on ethnic boundary-construction show how the homogeneity of ethnic identity might favor, or not, a boundary-construction that results in a community or sub-community formation. However, this is in contrast with Wimmer (2008) who argues that ethnic boundary unites individuals who follow heterogeneous cultural practices, yet it does not divide a population by drawing cultural lines among them. Nevertheless, the three authors agree that an ethnic boundary is present in a community if the members maintain their in-group identity or ethnic identity while they are still interacting and making contact with members of their out-group.

Along with ethnic boundary-construction, the *Bridgehead community*, in this study is formed under a particular circumstance that relates to social capital. Bourdieu

(1990) recognizes the importance of possessing specific competence and maintaining the competence simultaneously in order to attain social capital in a community. By the same token, one of the specific components of social capital that explains the *Bridgehead community* is the network relationship. In this way, in line with Bourdieu (1990), the network relationship is a product of investment strategies either from individual or collective in which it aims at creating and reproducing social relationships for the short or long term. Subsequently, the relationship bond based on the needs of social capital accumulation of a constructed ethnic boundary community becomes the basic element of *Bridgehead community*.

Based on this study, there are two dominant groups of ethnicity that are present in the area. The first group consists of Javanese people and the second group comprises Cirebonese people. Findings indicate that these two groups have similar patterns of community formation in which there is one main-actor, who plays a big role in the community formation process. Both groups demonstrate the importance of social capital accumulation since these groups are business-based group; specific competences such as knowledge and skills are required so as to be part of these groups. Each patron of these business-based groups hires people mostly from the neighborhood of their place of origin, in this case Central Java Province for Javanese people and Cirebon regency (West Java Province) for Cirebonese people. The selection of this action is related to the ethnic identity bond of the patrons towards their place of origin. Thus, the coming of people from Central Java or Cirebon to Jakarta is initiated by the patrons' inclination to invite and hire them as their employees.

Additionally, in this initial stage, an ethnic boundary is constructed between employees of these two businesses and the people in the neighborhood of Bukit Duri slum area, and results in the building of a new sub-community within Bukit Duri slum

area. Also, the prominent role of a patron that bridges people from the similar ethnic background to come for job vacancies, where this situation later generates these hired workers to construct a boundary that becomes the foundation of this new concept. Therefore, the interactions including inclusiveness and exclusiveness towards in-group and out-group, self- and group- identifications, social capital acquisition, and boundary-making enfold the basic process of *Bridgehead community*. Based on all the concepts and findings reviewed here, including the ethnic boundary-construction, social capital, and also the notion of social identity, *Bridgehead community* is conceptualized as a constructed community initiated by an actor who deliberately gathers people with the same ethnic origin to a new place for a specific purpose.

### **6.2.2 Situational ethnicity vs Contextual Identity**

The second new concept that is found during the analysis process of this study is termed *Contextual Identity*. The term *Contextual identity* is derived from the concept of Situational ethnicity, which was first mentioned by Paden in 1967 (Kaufert, 1977; Okamura, 1981). By definition, Paden noted that “situational ethnicity is premised on the observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person’s communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time” (as cited in Okamura, 1981). Furthermore, Kaufert (1977) adjusted the concept definition by adding individuals’ level of inclusiveness towards certain categories that they acknowledge as their identity. To complete the basic definition of Situational ethnicity, Okamura (1981) emphasizes the distinction between structural and cognitive aspects of ethnicity, which influence the actor’s or the subjective viewpoint on ethnicity.

Along the lines of Okamura (1981), the structural dimension of situational ethnicity refers to “the restraints enjoined upon parties within social situations as a consequence of the setting of social action” (p. 453). In this way, political and socio-

economic statuses of these groups, the distribution of education, income, wealth, occupation, and other factors might differ the setting of social action. A second dimension of situational ethnicity is the cognitive aspect, which embeds in the actors' subjective perception of the situation and in the salience they attribute themselves to particular ethnicity as a relevant factor in that situation. Moreover, (Okamura, 1981, p. 454) emphasizes on the actors' understanding towards categorical ascriptions of ethnic identity for the purposes of interaction. Thus, related to the aforementioned situational ethnicity aspects, *Contextual identity* then emerges to specify subjective cognitive dimension aspects.

In this study, findings yielded affirmation toward the shift of one's ethnic identity during a particular situation that involving interaction or without involving interaction. As for the concept of situational ethnicity, either interaction is involved or not, both of them are considered as a situational ethnicity, this is previously explained by the two dimension aspects of this concept (Okamura, 1981). As elaborated in the findings chapter, Bukit Duri slum area consists of not only various ethnicities but also different types of identity, which are ethnic identity and community identity. Yet on the daily basis, this situation influences their urge to assign themselves into a particular ethnic category depend on particular circumstances.

In line with the situational ethnicity and its two dimension aspects, findings depict a significant ethnic identity shift depending on the context of which the question refers to. The first case was from Ahmad, a 57-year-old motorbike taxi (*ojek*) rider who was born in Bukit Duri slum area. When being asked about his ethnicity, though his parents were Sundanese, he firmly mentioned that he is a Bukit Duri person. This shows a contextual answer of him towards certain question related to one of his ethnic

identities. Despite indicating Paden’s (1967) situational ethnicity, Ahmad’s case risks to fail in addressing Kaufert’s (1977) definition of situational ethnicity.

While Paden’s (1967) definition is rather broad, Kaufert’s (1977) definition emphasizes on the interactions that happen in a particular setting of place or circumstances which require them to assign their identity towards their most inclusive group at a point of time. The discrepancy of Kaufert’s (1977) definition could be illustrated in the second findings in which Rina, a 32-year-old Bukit Duri female local person switched her ethnic identity implicitly depending on the context. Although she inherited Sundanese blood, when it came to a question about her ethnicity, she also addressed herself as a Bukit Duri person, since she was born there. Yet, when being asked about the language that she in daily uses, there was a noticeable difference in the way she pointed out her language level of inclusiveness between Indonesian language and Sundanese language. An increasing voice tone in the way she said “*I cannot speak (Sundanese –ed.), but I understand (! !)*” can be seen as how she wants to show her inclusiveness towards Sundanese ethnicity as one of her ethnic identities.

By bringing Rina’s case to an analysis, a distinction between existing concept of situational ethnicity and *contextual identity* becomes possible to be acknowledged. First, the way Rina wanted to emphasize her Sundanese ethnic identity to me as a non-Sundanese person, is explained by Kaufert’s (1977) definition of situational ethnicity. This shift was subtle but significant for when she talked about Indonesian language as a daily language, there was no urge to prove any attachment to a more inclusive group. In this way, it can be explained by the fact that she has no upper or larger scope of ethnic identity, which might oppose her identity as being Indonesian. Yet for some other cases, being Indonesian might become one’s most inclusive group when it is opposed to similar level of identity in a particular circumstance. In this case, the

situational identity is salient, as Kaufert (1977) explains that the interaction with people from culturally and geographically different from them reinforces the needs to point out their identity towards their most inclusive group, for example between an Indonesian and a Dutch.

Second, taking the case of Rina’s ethnic identity shift, *contextual identity* is illustrated by the way she referred then addressed herself to one of the selections of ethnic identity she has in mind based on the contextual discourse. When she referred to be Bukit Duri person to answer, “what is your ethnicity?”, and when she showed a notion of being part of Sundanese people through her language acquisition depict her contextual identity. Even if it requires a particular situation to reveal it; interactions with and oppositions towards other people potentially have negative influence to her *contextual identity*. Furthermore, *contextual identity* allows people to switch from one identity to other identities regardless the types of interaction, the setting of place, the circumstances, and the people to whom they interact with. At this point, the act of shifting ethnic identity in the *contextual identity* is triggered by a certain discourse of context that is presented to a person.

The general idea of *contextual identity* is basically derived more from Paden’s (1967) definition than Kaufert’s (1977) definition of situational ethnicity. I asserted from the findings that Paden’s (1967) definition becomes the mother of Kaufert’s (1977) situational ethnicity and *contextual identity*. This means that in a broad definition of situational ethnicity, the presence of interactions with people from different ethnic backgrounds in a particular circumstance can narrow the variety of one’s situational ethnicity. In accordance with the previous literature review and findings from this study, *contextual identity* is conceptualized as the shifts of identity where discourse of context influences a person’s decision to determine a more

appropriate communal identities or loyalties, in which time-setting and interaction with other people have little to no influence to it.

### **6.2.3 (Ethnic) Boundary-Spanning**

The last additional findings refer to a concept extension towards the existing concept of ethnic boundary-spanning. The term boundary-spanning was first mentioned by Aldrich & Herker (1977) in organizational studies in the late 1970s which refers to boundaries that exist between organizations and their external environment (as cited in Eigenfeld, 2013; Binder, 2013). As mentioned in the theoretical background chapter, Ethnic Boundary-spanning is a new concept that was introduced by Eigenfeld (2013) and Binder (2013) who conducted a joint research at Henkel Norden in Sweden. The research's aims were to identify and describe the practices that build an ethnic boundary and span it in multiethnic teams, also to explain the practices by examining its influencing factors. This research resulted the primary stage of ethnic boundary-spanning in which it is defined as “practices where actors explicitly refer to constructed ethnic boundaries and engage in activities to overcome these and ideally reach a situation in which no ethnic boundaries exist or are constructed” (Eigenfeld, 2013, p. 16).

Moreover, the initial concept of ethnic boundary-spanning was formulated on the basis of individual and group practices in bridging ethnic boundaries. The study of Eigenfeld (2013) yielded ethnic boundary-spanning practices both on an individual- and a team-level, which indicated that individuals and groups within the team made efforts. However, the study that was conducted by Binder (2013) only resulted in practices of individual-level boundary-spanning. In both studies, as well as several previous studies on boundary-spanning, demonstrated the preference towards team-level efforts compared to individual-level efforts in the effectiveness of practices of

ethnic boundary-spanning. It is explained that the reason behind this preference relates to a tendency of individual-level boundary-spanning which leads to exhaustion and stress and further can make the individual disengage in such activities (Eigenfeld, 2013; Binder, 2013).

In line with the initial definition derived from Eigenfeld’s and Binder’s research, the findings in Bukit Duri slum area demonstrated a similar pattern of ethnic boundary. As the current ethnic boundary-spanning is applied on the meso-level and micro level, the extension of this concept brings it to a broader and higher level, which is societal level or macro level. Further, the extension also focuses on the role of bigger actors, in the sense that these actors possess significant influence in a community level. However, in this study, the usage of the word “ethnic” in the “ethnic boundary-spanning” will be less relevant to illustrate the situation based on the findings since the practices of boundary-spanning in Bukit Duri slum area does not enfold ethnic identity but social identity. Thus, the word “community” boundary-spanning will give a better description for the findings in this study.

Overall, I acknowledge the similar pattern of practices under the concept of (ethnic) boundary-spanning in the activities that were conducted by Ciliwung Merdeka NGO in Bukit Duri slum area and its surroundings. The fact that Ciliwung Merdeka’s headquarter is located within the area of Bukit Duri community and also due to its programs that mainly involve people from Bukit Duri slum area, this NGO is considered as an in-group member of Bukit Duri slum area. As mentioned in the findings and discussions, this NGO plays a big role in being Bukit Duri slum area spokesperson, mediator, and later becoming (ethnic) boundary-spanner towards its out-group members.

The two main practices of Ciliwung Merdeka that can be identified under the concept of (ethnic) boundary-spanning involve two different levels and directions. First, on the horizontal level which refers to the same power relation, Ciliwung Merdeka is actively conducting various activities that allow Bukit Duri community members gather along with its community neighbor, Kampung Pulo, which is located on the other side of Ciliwung River. The tension, especially between young people from these two sides of river, was successfully reduced, thanks to the initiatives from Ciliwung Merdeka to gather them together through communal theater performance. Second, on the vertical level which refers to the higher power relation, this NGO acts as Bukit Duri community spokesperson and mediator in regard to policy agents. Particularly related to relocation project, Ciliwung Merdeka and several other NGOs such as Ciliwung Institute, Komunitas Peduli Ciliwung Condet have contributed in guarding the policy implementation process and delivering advocacy towards the policy implementation. Thus, based on the practice of boundary-spanning conducted by Ciliwung Merdeka in the societal/communal level, I asserted that the word “community” boundary-spanning is more applicable to be embedded in this situation.

A quite similar concept in the field of Anthropology, called cultural brokers, indicates resemblance characteristics of mentioned situation in Bukit Duri slum area. The cultural brokers (Gentemann & Withehead, 1983; Michie, 2003; Press, 1969; Szasz, 2001) are described as “people who operate in the space between two culturally different groups, linking them together or mediating between them to promote more effective interaction, produce change, or reduce conflict” (as cited in Eigenfeld, 2013, p. 16). Compiling this argument with the findings of this study, I distinguish two salient differences that alter cultural brokers with community boundary-spanner. First, community boundary-spanners are member of an in-group constructed boundary

community; therefore, though they mediate two different groups, the entity should belong to a particular group or community. Second, the word “cultural” in the cultural brokers show a focus on the culturally different groups, yet community boundary-spanners accommodate different groups by their constructed boundaries, which might be influenced by either ethnic identity or social identity.

Generally, the additional remarks found in this study enrich the recently formulated concept of ethnic boundary-spanning. By bringing this concept from organizational studies to sociological domain, I made an adjustment to the concept without reducing its definition. Therefore based on Eigenfeld’s and Binder’s definition, the community boundary-spanning is defined as practices where actors explicitly refer to the constructed community boundaries either on horizontal or vertical level and engage in activities to overcome these or at least reduce its intensity in the mentioned community, and therefore reach a situation in which no ethnic boundaries exist or are constructed.

## 7. CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Conclusion

Before drawing a conclusion, firstly I would like to highlight the purpose of this study, which is to explore the influence of ethnic diversity and political interventions towards community formation in the Bukit Duri slum area. In a more detail way, this study attempts to see the complexity of two push factors, ethnic diversity as an internal factor and political interventions as an external factor, which influence the community formation. Meanwhile, it takes into account the dynamic of three components existing within the community, which are social identity, social capital, and ethnic boundaries.

The qualitative findings suggest an interrelated connection of ethnic diversity and political interventions with the three concepts under the community formation framework. Yet to conclude this study, I will provide the influence of ethnic diversity and political interventions to each concept. In this way, I attempt to show that, first, at some point, these three concepts are influencing each other, second, that the influence from push factors give relatively different impacts to each concept. I will start with social identity, social capital, ethnic boundaries, and wind up with the community formation as a whole.

The existing various ethnic backgrounds influences the social identity that is present in the Bukit Duri slum area, in which heterogeneity reinforces their need to attach to a particular group of people who share the feeling of sameness. In this study, social identity is narrowed to community identity due to the fact that these people categorize themselves to a more specific sub-community within the Bukit Duri slum

area based on either constructed ethnic boundary or constructed community boundary. Further, in terms of external factor, relocation project gives a significant impact to enhance their needs to strengthen the whole community of the Bukit Duri slum area as well as to identify themselves in a smaller community so as to cope with their uncertainty and anxiety.

In terms of social capital, findings also suggest that one of the resident's reasons to stay in the neighborhood is relevant with their current job and network relationship. This shows that social capital has prominent influences for a person's social identity. Further, marriageable partner within the community members also remarks the notion of communitarian social capital in which people tend to look for a partner within the area due to particular reasons including economic reasons. Although, regarding the last indicator of social capital, education, there is no significant influence of how social capital in this community could be beneficial in terms of advancing communal education. In this way, ethnic diversity has connection with communitarian social capital though it only serves as an actual condition of the community but it does not give any impact for further actions related to social capital. In a similar vein, political interventions give little to no influence to social capital, except that they risk losing their current jobs because of the relocation project.

Ethnic and community boundary-construction as well as community boundary-spanning were identified on different layers within this community. The presence of different types of boundary-construction results in local affiliation in the form of sub-communities. There are at least three sub-communities that have been identified in the findings, in which ethnic diversity encourages the sub-community formation of one of them. Although, in the ethnic based sub-community, the choice to stay together with people coming from the same region of origin is not triggered by the need of

attachment to a certain group due to uncertainty in the heterogeneous community. Yet this group identification process has contributed to the emergence of a new concept in this study, the *bridgehead community*. Further, based on findings, political interventions in this area show little influence towards the boundary construction.

The community boundary-spanning as practices to overcome constructed boundaries shows significant relation towards the political interventions implemented in the area. Especially due to the relocation project of the Bukit Duri slum area, NGO plays a prominent role as community boundary-spanner in mediating the Bukit Duri residents and policy agents. Furthermore, the NGO's role as community boundary-spanner also is represented in the conducted activities that facilitate the Bukit Duri residents to have common events with their outside group members, in this case the Kampung Pulo residents in the other side of the Ciliwung River.

In conclusion, by elaborating the influence of ethnic diversity and political interventions towards community formation including its three concepts, I identified a mixed type of influence. Therewith, on the one hand, the two push factors along with the three concepts demonstrate strength influences in the community formation but on the other hand it shows weak to no influence to the community formation. The strength influence in terms of social identity is identified by the needs of network relationship especially for job with the people within the area, however this also signalizes the weak of its influence since their workplace located in the outside of the area. Thus, by having contact with people outside of the area, it might allow them to broaden their network relationship, and this way it weakens the social capital of job networking within the community members.

Related to marriageable partner, as it is mentioned in the findings, residents in the Bukit Duri slum area used to get married with people within the same area. This

was considered as their strategies to expand or to strengthen their business or economy. In this way, social capital showed a strong influence in the community formation and contributed to the residents' social identity as Bukit Duri person. Yet, in recent years, the second generations of the Bukit Duri slum area residents tend to look for marriageable partner outside the community also because of their chance to interact with outside group members thanks to their job or their education. This latter situation show a decreasing communitarian social capital and further might affect the level of social identity in the community. In terms of education, though political interventions, in this case the Kartu Jakarta Pintar (Smart Jakarta Card), facilitate the access to education, I noticed that it has no influence to the accumulation of communitarian social capital since previously there was no such capital in the area.

The ethnic and community boundary-construction become a means to strengthen the community formation, especially related to their social identity and community identity. However, the emergence of NGO as an actor in the community boundary-spanning articulates the loose of community bond or residents' social identity. The role of NGO in spanning the community boundary either on the horizontal level with other community or on the vertical level towards policy agents show an evidence of vulnerability of this community formation. Further, the sign of strength influence of ethnic diversity is seen from how it reinforces people to attach themselves as Bukit Duri people due to the heterogeneity within the area. Yet political interventions also stimulate the urge of social identity in the Bukit Duri slum area in which the communal uncertainty, anxiety, and fears of relocation project incite the feeling of sameness.

## 7.2 Limitations and Future Directions

In this section, I acknowledge some limitations of this study that need to be brought to attention despite all efforts that I have been done to ensure the quality of the research. I also suggest building and elaborating more on these by future research. The first limitation relates to the methodology that I have chosen for this study. I used exploratory qualitative research while applying deductive reasoning. Yet after I have started the fieldwork, I found that this research would be best conducted with ethnographic approach so as to involve in the community and therefore to understand group behavior on a daily basis. However, as a Master thesis project, the duration of the study becomes a possible limitation in conducting the research in a longer period of time of fieldwork. In addition, because of this research was supported by Frans Seda Foundation scholarship, the duration is limited to three months maximum to conduct the fieldwork. As a consequence, I could not engage with and had little to no influence on the community. Therefore, I suggest applying ethnographic approach towards community-based research since it is a dynamic and complex entity. Nevertheless, as I had intense visit in this area, I managed to collect relevant data within the given period of time.

A second limitation is self-reflexivity in which researchers always influence their study, even only for interpreting and analyzing data. I acknowledged that during the fieldwork, while doing observations and conducting interviews, I might have influenced stories of my informants told me since I am also an Indonesian who has intertextual information related to the subject. In being an Indonesian, my own ethnic identity probably has influenced the perspectives on the study results. Yet, as I attempted to maintain the distance between researcher and respondents, this situation

turned out to be an advantage in building respondents’ trust, and thus it increased the reliability of this study. For future research, it might be better if the researchers can distance themselves from the respondents yet in the mean time they make sure that they are close enough to the respondents in order to obtain a reliable data.

A third limitation relates to “SARA” policy which forbid Indonesian people to discuss or even to mention anything about “S – Suku (Ethnicity)”, “A- Agama (Religion)”, “R- Ras (Race)”, “A- Antargolongan (Intragroup relationship)”. For respondents who are more than 40 year-old, they still avoid this “taboo” issue to be talked to. This became my biggest concern because ethnicity is the main concept of this study. Yet, I finally could overcome it by discussing the issue with an Indonesian expert of social psychology in order to rephrase the questions on the interview guide. Therefore, it might be best to know the basic history about particular word for particular area. This will help to assure the validity and reliability of the research.

The last limitation that I had during the fieldwork was the annual Jakarta flooding as a *force majeure*. From end of December until first week of March, Bukit Duri slum area was flooded. This condition restrained me from starting the fieldwork because the people were evacuated away from the area. Related to the first limitation, time framework, I was quite hesitant whether I could collect enough data out of it or not. Fortunately, in the first week of March, they went back to their house in Bukit Duri slum area. As a consequence, I lost half month out of 2 and half-month research period. Thus, for the future research, having a plan B as an anticipation of *force majeure* will help researchers to manage their time schedule and overcome the unexpected situation.

### 7.3 Implications for practice and Recommendations

This research presented the influence of ethnic diversity and political interventions towards community formation in the Bukit Duri slum area. Although once the relocation project is being implemented in the area, the constructed community will be destructed. In fact, discrepancies, especially, on the level of policy makers and policy implementers can be diminished for future policies. Due to the various levels of stakeholders that are involved in this study, I attempt to provide a tailor-made recommendation for each stakeholder. Additionally, I start with policy maker, policy implementer, and NGO together I include the policy target. I acknowledge that the recommendations for one or two stakeholders might be similar as their functions are linked to each other.

With regards to the main actor of political interventions, policy maker plays a big role in shaping perspectives towards a policy. Some ministerial institutions are assigned to only formulate a policy without being involved in the policy implementation. Yet some others are in charge in both policy-making and policy implementation. These two different functions of policy maker might result in a policy discrepancy on the top level. It is important that these two types of policy maker to have a clear job description and to highlight the general framework of collaboration and coordination with the lower level of policy agents. Yet the collaboration of ministerial institutions is still challenging in Indonesia, since each of them seems to have conflict of interest. As consequence, there is often lack of responsibility from each part during the policy implementations. Although this practice has been continued up to this point, it may lead to confusion to lower levels of policy agents and result in

giving uncertainty among the policy target. Thus, a good collaboration on the top level will facilitate a good coordination towards lower level of policy agents.

Considering the role of policy implementer as a policy mediator between policy maker and policy target, in the case of relocation project in the Bukit Duri slum area, it is crucial to approach the higher institutions regarding the policy agenda and policy implementation. Coordination from the bottom-up is also a good way to ensure that the policy is a dynamic term that can be adjusted due to the situation in the fieldwork. Yet in the case of the Bukit Duri slum area, policy implementer has little influence to the higher position for sharing their opinion or for improving the policy agenda. In this way, their role as the mediator between policy maker and policy target is still far from what is expected. Hence, NGO takes over the role of mediator of the policy implementer.

Concerning the role of NGO as mediator between policy agents and policy target, it is important to approach the two parts of the policy agents simultaneously. As I have mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the lack of coordination and collaboration between policy maker and policy implementer might confuse the grassroot level. As a mediator, NGO is expected to deliver the residents' opinion to the policy agents. Yet, if they only approach the policy maker, it might be the case that in the field, policy implementer has not yet been adapting the latest update. Therefore, among NGOs, repartition of task between advocacy towards policy making and guarding the policy implementation should be made.

In conclusion of my study, I advise policy maker to consider the development and improvement of the collaboration among high-level institutions (ministries) and coordination with lower level institutions (policy implementer). Similarly, on the side of policy implementer, coordination with the policy maker is also a crucial thing, so

“Rain Does not Fall for One Roof Alone”

that it will prevent the policy target from confusion and uncertainty. So as for NGOs, I recommend that the repartition of task will give clear strategies when approaching each level of policy agents.

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## Appendix

### 1. Interview guideline

#### 1.1 Policy maker

##### *Biographical information*

**1. What is your function level?**

Di institusi ini, Bapak bertanggung jawab atas bidang apa?

##### *Political Aspects*

**1. Could you describe the present condition of Ciliwung River?**

Menurut Anda, bagaimana kondisi Sungai Ciliwung saat ini?

**2. According to you, what are the main factors that cause the present condition?**

Menurut Anda, apa saja yang menyebabkan kondisi Sungai Ciliwung saat ini?

**3. Regarding issues on Ciliwung River, in which policy sectors are your institution in charge with?**

Berkenaan dengan masalah yang terjadi di Sungai Ciliwung, di bidang kebijakan apa institusi Anda bertanggung jawab?

**4. Could you mention the policies that have been implemented by your institution in this slum area?**

Apakah Anda dapat menyebutkan kebijakan-kebijakan yang sudah dilaksanakan dari institusi Bapak/Ibu terhadap daerah kumuh ini?

**5. Does your institution involve in the slum relocation project?**

Apakah Anda terlibat dalam proyek relokasi tersebut?

**6. What is your opinion about the existence of slum residents along Ciliwung River?**

Apa pendapat Anda tentang keberadaan pemukiman di sekitar Sungai Ciliwung?

**7. How do you introduce this project to the community members?**

Bagaimana Anda mensosialisasikan proyek ini ke anggota komunitas?

**8. Do they have similar view regarding this project?**

Apakah mereka menanggapi proyek ini dengan pandangan yang sama?

**9. Are there any objections from particular ethnic backgrounds?**

Apakah ada penolakan secara umum? Dan secara khusus dari suku tertentu?

##### *Ethnic Diversity*

**10. Do you think that the slum community along the Bukit Duri Ciliwung riverbanks consists of people with diverse ethnic background?**

**11. Menurut sepengetahuan Bapak/Ibu, penduduk di sepanjang kali Ciliwung itu homogen atau heterogen dari sisi etnisitasnya?**

**12. Do you consider the diversity in this particular area in the process of policymaking, especially the latest policy, slum relocation project?**

Apakah Anda mempertimbangkan keberagaman di kawasan ini ketika merumuskan kebijakan? Terutama kebijakan yang terbaru, proyek relokasi kawasan kumuh?

*Community Formation*

**13. Do you think that this community isolates themselves from other socio-economic status levels? Will that situation be a problem?**

Apakah menurut Anda, komunitas ini mengisolasi diri mereka dari level sosial ekonomi status yang lain? Apakah ini nantinya menjadi masalah?

**14. Do you think that the community members of this area help each other in finding and/or creating their jobs?**

Menurut Bapak/Ibu, apakah anggota dari komunitas di daerah ini saling membantu dalam mencari atau menciptakan pekerjaan mereka?

**15. What is your opinion regarding the informal jobs that they have, are those kinds of job legalized?**

Apa pendapat Bapak/Ibu terhadap pekerjaan informal yang mereka punya, apakah pekerjaan-pekerjaan tersebut legal?

**16. Do you see any positive or negative impacts of this community bond?**

Adakah dampak positif atau negatif dari ikatan komunitas ini?

*Social Factors*

**17. Do you find any difficulties in the process of policy formulation towards this area? If so, what kind of difficulties do you face?**

Apakah selama merumuskan kebijakan terhadap kawasan ini, Anda mengalami kesulitan? Jika iya, kesulitan macam apa yang Anda alami?

**18. According to you, do some eviction attempts strengthen the community belongingness in this area?**

Menurut Anda, apakah percobaan penggusuran memperkuat rasa saling memiliki di komunitas ini?

**19. Do you see that the ethnic diversity is affecting the community formation in this area?**

Menurut Anda, apakah keberagaman suku mempengaruhi pembentukan komunitas di kawasan ini?

**1.2 Policy Implementer**

*Biographical Information*

**1. How old are you?**

Kalau boleh tahu, berapa usia Bapak/Ibu?

**2. What is your function level?**

Di institusi ini, Bapak bertanggung jawab atas bidang apa?

**3. What do you do for living?**

Pekerjaan Bapak/ Ibu sehari-hari apa?

*Ethnic Diversity*

**4. Do you know that the slum community in Manggarai's- Bukit Duri Ciliwung riverbanks consists of people with diverse ethnic backgrounds?**

Apakah Anda mengetahui bahwa komunitas kumuh di sepanjang sungai Ciliwung terdiri atas orang-orang dari berbagai suku?

**5. From which region they mostly come?**

Dari mana biasanya mereka datang?

6. **How do you manage these diverse community members in daily lives?**  
Bagaimana Anda mengatur anggota komunitas yang sangat beragam ini dalam kehidupan sehari-hari?
7. **Have you experienced any ethnic conflict within this community?**  
Apakah Bapak/Ibu pernah mengalami konflik suku antar sesama anggota komunitas ini?

*Community Formation*

8. **According to you, why do they stay in this area?**  
Menurut Anda, mengapa mereka tinggal di kawasan ini?
9. **Do they have relatives in this area?**  
Apakah mereka memiliki saudara atau keluarga di kawasan ini?
10. **Do they register themselves as member of RT / RW of this area?**  
Apakah mereka mendaftarkan diri sebagai anggota Rukun Tetangga/ Rukun Warga dari daerah ini?
11. **Do they form any local organizations? If so, what kinds of organization they have?**  
Apakah mereka membentuk organisasi lokal antar sesama pemulung misalnya? Jika iya, organisasi yang seperti apa yang mereka bentuk?
12. **Do they send their children to public school?**  
Apakah mereka mendaftarkan anak mereka ke sekolah-sekolah negeri?
13. **Are they aware of the importance of pursuing higher education?**  
Apakah mereka menyadari pentingnya pendidikan tinggi?
14. **How do they find their marriageable partner? Are most of them get married with people within this community/this area?**  
Bagaimana mereka mendapatkan pasangan hidup? Apakah kebanyakan dari mereka menikah dengan orang-orang yang berasal dari daerah ini?
15. **Are there any mixed-ethnic marriages in this area?**  
Apakah ada pernikahan percampuran etnis di daerah ini?
16. **Do they organize activities among them?**  
Apakah mereka menyelenggarakan aktivitas-aktivitas tertentu di antara mereka?
17. **Do they interact with people from outside of their community?**  
Apakah mereka berinteraksi dengan orang-orang di luar komunitas mereka?
18. **Do you think that this community isolates themselves from other socio-economic status levels? Will that situation be a problem?**  
Apakah menurut Anda, komunitas ini mengisolasi diri mereka dari level sosial ekonomi status yang lain? Apakah ini nantinya menjadi masalah?

*Political Aspects*

19. **Could you mention the policies that have been implemented by higher institution in this slum area?**  
Apakah Anda dapat menyebutkan kebijakan-kebijakan yang sudah dilaksanakan dari institusi yang lebih tinggi terhadap daerah kumuh ini?
20. **Which institutions are in charge in the policymaking?**  
Institusi mana saja yang bertanggung jawab dalam penyusunan kebijakan?
21. **Do you know about the slum relocation project in 2014?**  
Apakah Bapak/Ibu mengetahui tentang proyek relokasi tahun 2014?
22. **How do you introduce this project to the community members?**

Bagaimana Anda mensosialisasikan proyek ini kepada para anggota komunitas?

**23. Do they have similar view regarding this project?**

Apakah mereka menanggapi proyek ini dengan pandangan yang sama?

**24. Are there any objections from particular ethnic backgrounds?**

Apakah ada penolakan secara umum? Dan secara khusus dari suku tertentu?

*Social Factors*

**25. Do you see any difficulties in the process of policy implementation towards this area?** Apakah selama merumuskan kebijakan terhadap kawasan ini, Anda mengalami kesulitan? Jika iya, kesulitan macam apa yang Anda alami?

**26. According to you, do some eviction attempts strengthen the community belongingness in this area?**

Menurut Anda, apakah percobaan penggusuran memperkuat rasa saling memiliki di komunitas ini?

**27. Do you see that the ethnic diversity is affecting the community formation in this area?**

Menurut Anda, apakah keberagaman suku mempengaruhi pembentukan komunitas di kawasan ini?

**1.3 Non Governmental Organization**

*Biographical information*

**1. How old are you?**

Kalau boleh tahu, berapa usia Bapak/Ibu?

**2. How long have you been working at this NGO?**

Sudah berapa lama Bapak/Ibu bekerja di LSM ini?

**3. What is your function level?**

Di institusi ini, Bapak/Ibu bertanggung jawab atas bidang apa?

*Community Formation, Political Aspects, Social Factors*

**4. Could you describe the present condition of Ciliwung River?**

Menurut Anda, bagaimana kondisi Sungai Ciliwung saat ini?

**5. According to you, what are the main factors that cause the present condition?**

Menurut Anda, apa saja yang menyebabkan kondisi Sungai Ciliwung saat ini?

**6. What is your opinion about the existence of slum residents along Ciliwung River?**

Apa pendapat Anda tentang keberadaan pemukiman di sekitar Sungai Ciliwung?

**7. What do you think about this act?**

Apa pendapat Anda tentang hal ini?

**8. Are you concerned with the policy implementation in this area?**

Apakah Anda mengurus pelaksanaan kebijakan di kawasan ini?

**9. Does your organization actively participate in the policy implementation? In which sector?**

Apakah organisasi Anda berpartisipasi secara aktif dalam pelaksanaan kebijakan? Di sektor yang mana saja?

**10. Do you know about the slum relocation project in 2014?**

Apakah Anda mengetahui tentang proyek relokasi tahun 2014?

**11. What is your opinion about this project?**

Apa pendapat Anda tentang proyek ini?

12. **Do you see any difficulties in the process of policy implementation towards this area?** Apakah selama merumuskan kebijakan terhadap kawasan ini, Anda mengalami kesulitan? Jika iya, kesulitan macam apa yang Anda alami?
13. **According to you, do some eviction attempts strengthen the community belongingness in this area?**  
Menurut Anda, apakah percobaan penggusuran memperkuat rasa saling memiliki di komunitas ini?
14. **Do you see that the ethnic diversity is affecting the community formation in this area?**  
Menurut Anda, apakah keberagaman suku mempengaruhi pembentukan komunitas di kawasan ini?

#### 1.4 Policy Target (Slum residents)

##### *Biographical information*

1. **How old are you?**  
Kalau boleh tahu, berapa usia Bapak/Ibu?
2. **How long have you been living in this area?**  
Sudah berapa lama Bapak/Ibu tinggal di daerah ini?
3. **What is your profession?**  
Sehari-hari, Bapak/Ibu kegiatannya apa saja?
4. **What is your highest level of education?**  
Bapak/Ibu pernah bersekolah? Lulus ijazah apa?

##### *Ethnic Diversity*

5. **What is your ethnic background? Where are you from?**  
Bapak/Ibu asalnya dari mana? Jadi Bapak/Ibu orang.....?
6. **Do you know people from other ethnic backgrounds who live in this area?**  
Kira-kira, Bapak/Ibu ada kenalan *nggak* orang yang sama-sama dari daerah Bapak/Ibu?
7. **From which ethnic backgrounds are the majority of the people in this area? From which regions in Indonesia do they come from?**  
Mayoritas di sini yang tinggal orang mana saja ya Pak/Bu? Kira-kira tahu *nggak*?
8. **Do you interact with people from other ethnic backgrounds? How often? For what purpose?**  
Bapak/Ibu sering *ngumpul* bareng orang-orang yang asalnya dari daerah lain, *nggak*? Seberapa sering Pak/Bu? Biasanya mau *ngapain* kalau *ngumpul-ngumpul* gitu?
9. **How do you experience live in a multicultural community?**  
Bagaimana pengalaman Bapak/Ibu tinggal di daerah yang banyak sukunya seperti ini?
10. **Have you faced any conflicts within the people in the neighborhood? Or have you seen any conflicts occurred in the neighborhood? If so, what kind of conflict? Ethnic conflict or other conflict?**  
Pernah mengalami konflik dengan orang-orang sesama yang tinggal di sini? Kalau iya, konflik apa Pak/Bu? Berhubungan dengan suku atau tidak?
11. **After having moved out from your hometown then residing in this area, are you still strongly attached to your ethnic background? If so, how do**

**you maintain your ethnic background? By doing traditional rituals for special occasion, such as marriage, baby-naming ceremony, for example?**  
Setelah pindah ke daerah ini, apakah Bapak/Ibu masih menjaga budaya asli daerah? Bagaimana cara untuk menjaganya? Pernahkah Bapak/Ibu melakukan kegiatan/ upacara tradisional untuk acara-acara tertentu, misalnya pernikahan, pemberian nama bayi, dll?

*Community Formation*

- 12. Why do you stay in this neighborhood?**  
Kenapa Bapak/Ibu memilih tinggal di kawasan ini?
- 13. Do you like to stay in this neighborhood?**  
Bapak/Ibu suka *nggak* tinggal di sini?
- 14. Do you think that living in this neighborhood facilitates your daily life?**  
Apakah menurut Bapak/Ibu tinggal di kawasan ini mempermudah kegiatan sehari-hari?
- 15. Do the people here help each other in finding job? By which means?**  
Apakah warga di sini saling membantu dalam mencari pekerjaan? Dengan cara apa?
- 16. Do you think that education is an important thing?**  
Apakah menurut Anda, pendidikan adalah sebuah hal yang penting?
- 17. Do you send your children to public school?**  
Apakah Anda memasukkan anak-anak Anda ke sekolah-sekolah negeri?
- 18. Do you find any difficulties in getting your children access to higher education?**  
Apakah Anda mengalami kesulitan mendapatkan akses ke pendidikan tinggi bagi anak-anak Anda?
- 19. How do people in this neighborhood find their marriageable partner? Do they get married with people within the community/ this area?**  
Kebanyakan orang sini nikahnya sama siapa ya Pak/Bu? Banyak *nggak* yang nikah sama orang-orang sini juga?
- 20. How do you see the people who live outside of this slum area?**  
Bagaimana Anda melihat orang-orang lain di luar komunitas kumuh ini?
- 21. Do you interact with other people outside of this neighborhood?**  
Apakah Bapak/Ibu berhubungan dengan orang-orang lain di luar komunitas ini?
- 22. In what circumstances does that interaction happen?**  
Untuk urusan apa biasanya Bapak/Ibu berhubungan dengan orang luar?

*Political Aspect*

- 23. Have you ever experienced any eviction attempts towards this area by the government?**  
Pernahkan Anda mengalami usaha penggusuran di kawasan ini?
- 24. What do you think about their decision to evict this area?**  
Apa yang Anda pikirkan tentang usaha mereka menggusur kawasan ini?
- 25. What do you think about government officers? Do you see them as outsiders?**  
Apakah Anda menganggap pemerintah sebagai orang luar?
- 26. What do you think of the relocation project in June 2014?**

- Apa pendapat Anda tentang proyek relokasi bulan Juni 2014 ini?
- 27. Do you have any special meeting among the community members to discuss about this project?**  
Apakah Anda menyelenggarakan rapat khusus sesama anggota komunitas untuk mendiskusikan proyek ini?
- 28. What do you think about the new government led by Jokowi (Joko Widodo)?**  
Apa pendapat Anda tentang pemerintahan baru yang dipimpin Jokowi?
- 29. Do you see any differences between the new ruling government and the former governments?**  
Apakah Anda melihat perbedaan antara pemerintahan lama dan pemerintahan sekarang?
- 30. Which one do you prefer?**  
Yang mana yang Anda lebih suka?
- 31. Do you mind to move and leave your present dwelling?**  
Apakah Anda tidak keberatan untuk meninggalkan tempat tinggal Anda sekarang?

### *Social Factors*

- 32. According to you, is ethnic background similarity better than ethnic diversity within a community?**  
Menurut Anda, persamaan suku bangsa lebih baik dibanding dengan keberagaman suku bangsa di dalam sebuah komunitas?
- 33. Does the different ethnic backgrounds affect the community formation?**  
Apakah keberagaman suku bangsa mempengaruhi pembentukan komunitas?
- 34. Do the eviction attempts influence the amount of interaction among community members?**  
Apakah percobaan penggusuran mempengaruhi jumlah interaksi di antara para anggota komunitas?
- 35. Will the different job network be important for the community? Maybe to help other members who do not have any jobs yet?**  
Apakah perbedaan jaringan pekerjaan menjadi hal penting untuk komunitas? Mungkin untuk membantu anggota lain yang belum mempunyai pekerjaan?
- 36. Do the government facilitate people to have better job? For example they facilitate the scavengers to easily sell their things?**  
Apakah pemerintah memfasilitasi orang-orang untuk mendapat pekerjaan lebih baik? Misalnya mereka memfasilitasi para pemulung untuk menjual barang-barang mereka?

## **2. Interviewee list**

<b>Stakeholder</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
Resident	1.	Ahmad	57-year-old motorbike taxi rider ( <i>ojek</i> )
	2.	Fahmi	Entrepreneur
	3.	Samiyem	56-year-old Housewife
	4.	Sri	52-year-old food seller

	5.	Rina	Housewife
	6.	Ikhsan	Employee
	7.	Diah	Volunteer at an NGO
	8.	Deni	27year-old unemployee
	9.	Yati	Housewife
	10.	Janah	Housewife
	11.	Rohana	Housewife
	12.	Taufik	47-year-old accessories seller
	13.	Yuli	Housewife
Policy implementer	14.	Budi	Policy implementer
	15.	Rahmat	Policy implementer
	16.	Andi	Policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri
Policy Maker	17.	Soleh	High-level staff at Ministry of Environment
	18.	Fira	Staff at Jakarta government
	19.	Wisnu	High-level staff at Ministry of Public Work
	20.	Jono	Middle-level staff at Ministry of Public Housing
NGO	21.	Djoko	One of the founders of Ciliwung Merdeka
	22.	Vani	Staff at Ciliwung Merdeka
	23.	Dani	Volunteer at Ciliwung Institute

### 3. Coding Scheme

This appendix presents most the important content and codes taken from the transcript of the interviews in order to give an overview of the study. The interview excerpts will be in Indonesian since it is the language in which the interviews were conducted.

Category/Code	Interview Excerpts
<i>Ethnic Diversity</i>	
Description of ethnic identity	<p>Ayah saya orang Sunda, tapi saya lahir di sini, saya orang sini. (Ahmad, motorbike taxi driver)</p> <p>Itu kalau ketemu itu bisa aja, Cuma kadang suka agak ribet. Karena kita emang satu udah nggak punya kampung ya Udah lama di Jakarta. Kebetulan istri saya orang Jawa. Kadang ngomong pake bahasa Jawa juga. Cuman masih ribet lah karena memang bukan aslinya. (Budi, Policy implementer)</p> <p>Iya Pulang pergi ke Majelengka itu, Majelengka kan Cirebon juga residennya. Pokoknya daerah-daerah Cirebon ke sana, perbatasan Ciamis dah. Antara Ciamis Majalengka saya. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p>

	<p>Kalau Ibu saya orang Jawa, kalau Bapak Bogor. Saya orang sini. Lahir di Jakarta. Saya lahir 58. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>Padang Sumatra Barat. (Taufik, accessories seller)</p> <p>Nggak, saya dari Jawa Tengah. (Sri, food seller)</p> <p>Ya Jakarta dulu. (Sri, food seller)</p> <hr/> <p>Iya, antara lain Jawa, Jawa, Sunda Betawi. (Andi, Policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p> <hr/> <p>Nggak, bohong, saya lahir di Jakarta, orang tua memang Jakarta sih, tapi Ibu juga Jawa, tapi memang lahir di Jakarta, dari kecil udah di Jakarta. Nggak punya kampung juga. Kalau lebaran ya di sini. (Deni, unemployee) Betawi</p> <hr/> <p>dari jakarta. Ya saya orang betawi asli. (Rahmat, policy implementer)</p> <hr/> <p>kenal banyak sini orang betawi, orang cirebon juga banyak disini. (Janah, housewife)</p>
<p>Knowledge of ethnic identity</p>	<p>Di situ ternyata banyak sekali percampuran etnis, itu biasanya berdasarkan usaha, usaha sektor informal misalnya, yang di situ cukup terkenal itu di situ, potong ayam, yang kalau kotorannya langsung dibuang di sungai. Itu dari Madiun, Jawa Timur. Jadi dia juga punya semacam Pak Sumo, dia punya semacam paguyuban yang mempunyai iuran, jumlah perputarannya itu besar sekali. itu cuma salah satu di situ. Tapi itu biasanya keliatan dari usahanya ini, banyak sekali yang belum minikah, pekerjajanya tidur di gardu, yang cukup sering datang dan pergi. Jadi semacam pekerja musiman, kalau lagi, bukan musim panen di kampungnya dia bekerja di sini. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <hr/> <p>ya kalau keberagaman penduduk ini ada beberapa, terkait dengan di bantaran atau di apa namanya di satu DAS itu kan beda. Kalau yang di bantaran memang lebih kepada penduduk penduduk yang sifatnya okupasi, pendatang segala macam. Kalau persentasinya saya nggak tahu persis ya tapi apa namanya kalau di setiap segmen mulai dari hulu sampai ke hilir itu berbeda-beda memang. kalau di hulu itu pasti lebih kepada homogenitas sampai dengan Bogor, mulai Depok itu mulai beragam. Keragamannya saya tidak tahu persis berapa, yang pasti beragam. (Soleh, Ministry of Env)</p> <p>Heterogen. (Soleh, Ministry of Env)</p> <hr/> <p>Iya kalau yang saya pahami, memang banyak beragam, saya kira itu dari sisi sosiologi dilihat keberagaman itu bisa jadi hal yang kemudahan, segala macam bukan menjadi kesulitan. Tapi yang jelas memang ada. Komunikasi lebih mudah daripada satu komunitas yang jadi kuat. Kalau satu komunitas pasti ada dominasi, kalau keragaman jadi lebih mudah komunikasinya.</p>

<p>Sebenarnya lebih mudah kalau di hulu, (DKI) kalau saya melihatnya, karena itu sudah compact. Nggak pernah riset tapi tanya aja dari temen-temen di lapangan. Saya sih dari sisi kan sering apa namanya berkumpul bersama segala macam, saya lebih mudah berkomunikasi sama mereka. Apa sih kamu yang pengennya, oh ini ada beberapa visi yang beda baru kita satuin, kalau gini gimana? gitu. Itu lebih mudah gitu.</p>
<p>Awalnya dari orang Jakarta ya, ada Sunda, Jawa juga ada, ada juga dari Sumatra, Batak juga ada. Jadi banyak. Yang paling banyak ya Jawa, kebanyakan pendatang. (Budi, Policy Implementer) Jawa sama Sunda. (Mayoritas, -ed.) Milih yang pertama tadi aja. Itu aja lebih gampang, yang beragam. Lebih kenal sifat-sifatnya aja, kita keluar ngobrol bareng, kadang-kadang nggak mau dibayar.</p>
<p>Campur-campur ada Sunda ada Jawa. (Mayoritas) (Rina, housewife) Tapi agak jarang-jarang ada pribumi di sini. Adanya pendatang semua. Nggak ada yang pribumi asli sini, pendatang. (Ikhsan, employee) Jawa sih, pedagang semua. (Ikhsan, employee)</p>
<p>Emm, banyak. Kalau dari kantor polisi tuh ya, pos ya, kalau yang saya tahu sih itu, dari yang kontrakan depan kantor polisi itu, orang Bogor, terus ini tukang ayam itu orang Jawa, Jawa Tengah. (Fahmi, entrepreneur) Iya. Ini Pak Mul yang tukang warung orang Cirebon, saya orang Majalengka, orang Sunda. Ke sananya orang Bogor itu, terus ke sananya lagi tukang ayam lagi orang Solo, terus sampai ke sini itu ada orang Batak juga (pelan) Campur sih ya, orang Jawa, antara Jawa Tengah, Jawa Tengah Solo tuh banyak, dari Sunda, Sunda Bogor. (Mayoritas) Positifnya kalau saya, saya rasakan sebetulnya saya mah sama orang mana aja, yang penting dari kitanya sih Mbak. Kita baik sama mereka, kita menghargai mereka, mereka pasti ngehargain kita. Kalau orang Batak, kenal orang Jawa, kalau ketemu negor. karena kita juga ngehargain dia, dia ngehargain kita. Di sini nggak ada ribut, seumpama orang Batak ribut sama orang Sunda, orang Jawa ribut sama, nggak ada. Yang pernah saya tinggal di sini hampir 20 tahun, belum pernah ada ribut-ribut antar suku. Nggak nggak ada, alhamdulillah nggak ada.</p>
<p>Ya tapi ada juga orang Jawa, orang pendatang, tapi udah pada punya rumah sini masing-masing. Iya asli Betawi. (Samiyem, housewife)</p>
<p>Kalau saya orang Sumatra ya umumnya merantau. Banyak ninggalin kampung. Ya nggak cewek nggak cowok. (Dialect Minangese) (Taufik, accessories seller) Ya ada dari suku Jawa, ada suku Sunda, campuran, Sumatra. yang paling banyak ya suku Jawa, orang Jakarta. Cuma kalau orang Jakarta</p>

	<p>adanya di pinggir-pinggir, kan rumahnya udah pada dijual. Sekarang banyaknya malah pendatang yang [hahaha] <b>nguasain</b>. (pelan, penegasan di kata nguasain tapi sambil ketawa. )</p> <hr/> <p>Ya enggak lah, biasa aja. Iya. Apalagi kalau hari Rabu, kumpulan ngaji, hari Jumat, jadi kan seneng. Sana sini.</p> <hr/> <p>Kebanyakan orang sini, banyak juga yang Cirebon, banyak juga yang orang Sunda Bogor, sama Jawanya terutama, baru Betawi.</p> <hr/> <p>ada sunda, ada jawa , sumatera, padang. Banyak pokoknya (Rahmat, policy implementer) (Rahmat, policy implementer)</p> <hr/> <p>kesulitan paling Cuma watak. Kalau wataknya kan beda beda, orang betawi rada keras, kalau ini semau nye, kalau jawa sabar juga sih sama orang betawi. (Janah, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>ada yang sunda, jawa dan ada juga dari medan tapi tidak terlalu banyak yang menetap disini (Rohana, Housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>disini sudah heterogen, karena sudah terjadi percampuran suku bangsa melalau pernikahan, tidak ada yang mayoritas seimbang (Vani, NGO)</p>
<p>Symbolic Markers</p>	
<p>- Language</p>	<p>Yaa biasa aja kaya’ gini. Bahasa Indonesia. “yaa speak the daily language, like this, Indonesian” (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Cuman nggak bisa ngomongnya. TAPI TAU. ↑ “I cannot speak, but I understand (! !).” (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Jawa sih kagak bisa ngomongnya, nyampeinnya nggak bisa, Tapi Ngerti yang diomongin, tapi nyampeinnya. Kan saya dari kecil di Jakarta, bukan Jawa asli.</p> <p>(Ikhsan, employee)</p> <p>Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa Jawa paling sama sekitar, sepupu, sama saudara-saudaranya aja, adek-adeknya, paling saudara-saudara kampung. Ngomong Indonesia. Nggak bisa ngomongnya. Tapi tau, tapi kalau Bapak mah ama adeknya ngomongnya Sunda.</p> <hr/> <p>Bahasa Jakarta. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <p>Bisa (emphasizing) Jawa juga.</p> <hr/> <p>Bahasa Indonesia, pakai bahasa Persatuan lah. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Iya masalahnya kalau saya nggak bahasa dia, dia juga nggak ngerti bahasa Sunda kan. Udah jadi pasnya bahasa Indonesia.</p> <p>Ini orang Cirebon, saya orang Sunda.</p> <p>Bukan, Cirebon bahasa Jawa, Jawanya jawa Cirebon. Beda lagi. Ada orang Jawa Tengah, bahasanya bahasa Jawa, Solo. Dia nggak ngerti bahasa Jawa Tengah nggak ngerti, lain-lain, bahasa itu, makanya ada berapa ratus bahasa di Indonesia ini. Beda-beda, saya orang Majalengka, dia orang Cirebon, itu sebenarnya satu residen. tapi dia bahasa Jawa Cirebon, nggak bisa saya. Itu sama, sama ini. Cuma dia (other employee) bisa bahasa Sunda, bisa tiga bahasa dia. Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Sunda,</p>

	<p>bahasa Cirebon. Oh gitu. Istrinya orang Bogor, makanya bisa bahasa Sunda.</p> <p>Kalau Bapak sendiri waktu pulang ke Majalengka pake bahasa apa? Sunda</p> <p>Bahasa, bahasa biasa aja, Betawi, ngomong Jakarta aja. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <p>Banyak keliatan dari mereka tinggalnya dan lahirnya, dan logatnya juga sih. Keliatan kental (Deni, unemployee)</p> <p>engga udah jarang, pake bahasa Indonesia aja. Cuma kalo ketemu sekampung ya baru pada pake bahasa daerah. Kalau kita mah pake bahasa Indonesia. (Yuli, housewife)</p> <p>saya biasa aja pakai bahasa biasa. (Diah, volunteer at an NGO)</p> <p>saya pakai bahasa Indonesia, sama anak saya juga bahasa Indonesia (Rohana, Housewife)</p>
- Local affiliation	<p>RE1: FBR itu kan dulu bentukannya masanya Fauzi Bowo membantu kegiatan program-program gubernur, dulu. Cuman, dalam perjalanannya itu kadang-kadang ada yang pas ada yang nggak pas. Tapi sekarang itu kaya'nya lagi agak adem. Kalau dulu waktu saya di Tebet Barat, dia kepingin memberdayakan anggotanya bikin warung di dekat lampu merah, saya larang ngelawan, itu kan nggak boleh itu, terus ada umpamanya kita operasi burung darat, ternyata yang punya orang FBR padahal saya tanya FBR tujuannya apa kan membantu program-program gubernur, sebenarnya pemberantasan itu kan program gubernur harus membantu bukan menghalang halangi. semua LSM yang bentukan itu, kan dulu sah di gubernur itu ada FBR itu. Bahkan di Jakarta aja ada Forum Betawi Rempuk, Forkabi, resmi. (Andi, Policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p>
- Ethnicity maintenance	<p>Betawi, (Nikah) (Ikhsan, employee)</p> <p>Nggak, biasa-biasa aja, cuma nikah doank saya Mah, biasa-biasa aja. Ijab doank, Ijab Kabul doank, nggak diraya-rayain kaya' orang-orang gitu enggak. (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Adat Sunda di sana. Pertama dibawa ke sini istri dapet dua tahun. Sekarang nggak ke sini-sini, paling ke sini main kalau Cuma liburan. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Oh iya ada. Masih menjaga iya itu, tujuh bulan, kalau anak lahiran itu dipotong rambut. Terus sunatan. Masih ada acara. Masih kental banget Sundanya? (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Jarang, setahun sekali pun jarang. Nggak pernah pulang aja pokoknya. (Samiyem, housewife)</p>
- Length of stay	<p>Ya paling masalah sepele. Biasa. Saya betah di sini. Dari lahir, sekarang udah 42 tahun. (Budi, Policy implementer)</p> <p>Belum, 6 tahun lah.</p>

	<p>Saya mah di sini aja. (Lahir di sini)</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau saya sendiri sudah dua puluh tahunan. 17 sampai 20 tahun, kalau orang tua sudah 30 lebih. Cuma karena sekarang sudah tua ya, jadi sekarang bukan dikasih sih, diteruskan. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <hr/> <p>Hampir berapa udah 20 lebih ya. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>Iya. Ya di sini bangsa 93 an lah. 93-94 lah. (Taufik, accessories seller)</p> <hr/> <p>Iya, anak saya yang umurnya yang gedhe itu kan 22. Jalan 22.</p> <hr/> <p>dari tahun 2003, itu dulu masih SMA kelas 1. Posisinya itu dulu itu karena nggak naik kelas akhirnya pindah ke sini, ikut kegiatan di sini dan tinggal di sini. (Deni, unemployee)</p>
<p>Conflict</p>	<p>Kalau di sini sih sebenarnya aman-aman. Saya jujur aja, dari tempat lain, di sini paling bagus, warga juga support apa. Ya nggak ada masalah sih. Kalau masalah ribet warga itu hal biasa lah. Tapi bisa selesai. (Budi, Policy implementer)</p> <p>Kadang-kadang individu kadang-kadang musyawarah. Kalau individu nggak bisa, ya diselesaikan secara musyawarah. Tapi selama saya kerja, ya belum ada hal yang ini lah, yang negatif. Aman-aman aja.</p> <p>Nggak ada, nggak ada kesulitan, yang namanya masalah kecil-kecil, pasti ada, Cuma nggak selesai, pasti ada aja gitu.</p> <p>Kalau saya sih nggak pernah ngeliat ada masalah tiap hari, biasa aja. Biasa aja, nggak ada. Ya biasa manusia kadang suka nggak suka sama RT kan itu biasa, lumrah. Kadang kita harus tegas, kadang kita harus lemah lembu.</p> <p>Memang udah risiko. Namanya pengurus kan nggak enak. Tapi kita biarin aja. ntar juga biasa lagi. Kan yang namanya manusia kurang puas.</p> <p>Nggak nggak pernah ada masalah. Biasa aja kok. (Ethnic stereotype – ed.)</p> <p>Nggak ada, nggak ada. Ya ada tapi nggak besar, ya biasa aja.</p> <hr/> <p>yang penting dia nggak ganggu kita, kita nggak ganggu dia. Gitu aja.</p> <p>Penyampaiannya baik-baik aja, jangan sampai menyakiti perasaan orang (JAVANESE) (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Justru cowok. Salah Paham (Ikhsan, employee)</p> <p>Belum pernah lihat sih, paling masalah itu doank, paling masalah kecil, biasanya sih masalah anak. Anak berantem ibunya nggak terima.</p> <hr/> <p>Itu hanya karena, kadang-kadang pernah sekali ribut, adek kakak. /orang Batak/ (softer voice) Cuma masalah itu mabok, itu dulu. Nggak pernah lagi. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Anak-anak nggak ada nggak pernah ribut di sini. Nggak ada ribut. Ibu-ibu nggak ada. Alhamdulillah nggak ada.</p> <hr/> <p>Eggak juga. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <p>Biasa. Ya tetangga sih ada aja yang cekcok, Cuma nggak diambil ati. Ya banyakan saya yang dipitnah ama orang mulu. Biarin deh.</p> <hr/> <p>Iya ada, lebih banyak kasus ini, ibu rumah tangga sama suaminya. (Deni, unemployee)</p>

	hubungan saya baik dengan ibu-ibu disini makanya saya ingin disini saja, sudah enak disini. (Rohana, Housewife)
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Category/Code	Interview Excerpts
<i>Community Formation</i>	
Social identity	<p>memang orangnya enak-enak gitu, cepet akrab. Jadi kalau ada masalah kita bisa selesai. (Budi, Policy implementer)</p> <p>Satu memang lebih dekat dengan kerjaan, memang di sini ada apa, kalau pendatang-pendatang datang kemari pada maju. Memang bener ya nggak tau mungkin ya, tapi memang bener sih di sini, kalau pada dateng, misalnya lumayan-lumayan, lumayan lah maju. makanya mereka yang baru pindah dateng lagi kemari. Kaya' ini, udah lama udah tahun tahunan ini.</p> <p>kadang-kadang udah ada saudara, yang nyariin kontrakan, kalau nggak ya dari temen, dibawa temen gitu.</p> <p>kadang iya. Ini di kelurahan udah tahu 678 kompak.</p> <p>Sebelumnya kita undang gitu, mereka dateng, diajak kerja sama, di sanggar ada acara apa diundang, masuklah 5678.</p> <p>Lapangan pekerjaan, maksudnya lebih nyaman, tempat tinggalnya. Betul tapi lapangan pekerjaan kan jauh, sekolah juga jauh. Bagi yang mampu, bagi yang nggak mampu.</p> <hr/> <p>Jarang ya kalau di sini ya, paling saya sama pendatang, kenal sih kenal sama orang-orang di sini, tapi kalau ngumpul-ngumpul begitu jarang. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Strategis, itu langganan sudah pada tau, itu masalahnya. Mungkin yang punya kontrakan juga begitu masalahnya. Yang punya kontrakan di sana. Nggak mau direlokasi karena mata pencahariannya hilang. Kalau saya sama, kalau seumpama direlokasi, pemerintah menyediakan tempat, apalagi nggak menyediain tempat, disediain tempat juga kadang-kadang ini, kan ini udah jauh juga perjalanannya , langganan juga banyak.</p> <p>Pertama karena ini tempat mata pencaharian, di samping tempat tinggal gitu ya, tempat tinggal kan ya yang pertama, nah yang kedua di Jakarta itu mencari tempat itu sulit.</p> <p>Kalau yang saya tahu ya, ayam, terus, yang di sebelah situ, ibu haji itu, kalau dulu mah tukang gas. Kalau anak orang-orang sini mah biasanya kerjanya di pasar. Di pasar yang jadi pelayan toko, banyak macam-macam. Makanya mungkin mereka nggak mau dipindah itu, salah satu alasannya kan mata pencahariannya jauh . Ya kadang banyak yang kerja di pasar, kalau seumpama dipindah jauh kan, dia harus ongkos lagi. Di sini tinggal jalan, mungkin di sini alasan, salah satu alesannya. Di pasar banyak yang, ini yang anak buahnya Pak RT Mul semuanya di pasar, punya tempat-tempat kios-kios.</p>

	<p>Sering diundang, Cuma kadang saya terbentur kesibukan kadang diundang saya lagi pulang, diundang kadang-kadang bentrok gitu, ada sering undangan kalau Maulidan di mesjid. Atau rajaban. Ada undangan di sini, maksudnya biaya, 17 agustusan juga ada.</p> <p>Kompak, solidaritas tinggi, Cuma ya kalau itu kan tergantung manusianya, kadang mau, tapi sikon nggak memungkinkan itu. Itu sebetulnya. Saya sebenarnya juga pengen, Maulidan, apa gitu, tapi kadang terbentur kesibukan. Karena di sini orang sibuk semua. Iya istilahnya kaya' ayam, itu harus kerjanya dari pagi sampai sore malemnya harus dagang. Kaya' sapu kerjanya ngejar target.</p> <hr/> <p>Ya seneng aja. Ya seneng aja. (terhadap ethnic diversity) (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <p>Ya seneng rame-rame banyak temen, ke sana-ke sini, ke pasar dekat. Pengajian dekat.</p> <p>Bahasa, bahasa biasa aja, Betawi, ngomong Jakarta aja. Kan kita bentar lagi mau digusur katanya. Tapi saya belum denger kan, belum kepastian, ya mudah-mudahan sih jangan sampai digusur. Kan soalnya ke pasar dekat, kemana dekat.</p> <p>Iya, jalannya gampang, usaha kita gampang gitu kan.</p> <p>Kalau nggak pada setuju ya pasti orang usahanya di sini, lemari-lemari gampang, penjualan lemari, nyari duitnya di sini semua. Kalau Ibu sih namanya orang ini ya orang nggak ini ya biasa-biasa aja.</p> <hr/> <p>Emang kesannya enak yang dilihat ya. Jakarta itu bisa cari duitlah secepat itu kan. Dagang-dagang, jadi uang. Ya gampanglah istilahnya. Nggak kaya' di kampung kan. (Sri, food seller)</p> <p>dari kenal-kenal aja. Ini atas dasar kepercayaan aja, ada bedcover 600rb, 3 bulan ya.</p> <p>Orang itu baru dateng nganterin aja, saya banjir nggak bisa nganter ya, saya sih iya iya. Kadang kenal lewat juga saya percaya aja. Dikasih nomer hp juga nggak pernah dihubungi, nanti kalau pas harus bayar ya dateng. Mungkin belum ada. Allah itu adil jadi nggak pernah kekurangan sedikit mungkin. Pasti ada. Saya ngiter muter pake nampan, ke sanggar Ciliwung situ, ke tempat Ariel. Kadang 80 potong. Orang itu udah pada tau semua, uli itu.</p> <p>Orang dari mana dari jauh, di sini tinggal, betah aja, udah kena banjir. Ini adek itu dari.</p> <hr/> <p>Iya karena dulu letaknya strategis, itu kan penduduk penduduk kelas bawah, jadi hanya usaha usaha kecil, cari rumah yang murah susah, jadinya ya jadi beban pemerintah. Otomatis kan, minta pembebasan jadi menghambat. (Andi, policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p> <hr/> <p>Banyak temen-temen yang berhasil di sini, ada juga temen-temen yang nggak punya kesempatan. Saya ngelihat di sini, cukup dekat persoalan itu, kebetulan saya juga aktivis bantu-bantu di Ciliwung Merdeka. Banyak banget pelajaran yang didapat di sini, dan saya terapkan juga sama keseharian di sini. (Deni, unemployeee)</p>
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<p>Social capital</p>	<p>Di situ ternyata banyak sekali percampuran etnis, itu biasanya berdasarkan usaha, usaha sektor informal misalnya, yang di situ cukup terkenal itu di situ, potong ayam, yang kalau kotorannya langsung dibuang di sungai. Itu dari Madiun, Jawa Timur. Jadi dia juga punya semacam Pak Sumo, dia punya semacam paguyuban yang mempunyai iuran, jumlah perputarannya itu besar sekali. itu cuma salah satu di situ. Tapi itu biasanya keliatan dari usahanya ini, banyak sekali yang belum menikah, pekerjajanya tidur di gardu, yang cukup sering datang dan pergi. Jadi semacam pekerja musiman, kalau lagi, bukan musim panen di kampungnya dia bekerja di sini. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <p>Iya, meskipun lain etnis, tapi menikahnya dengan orang di situ juga, Sunda ada Bataknya, nyaris bikin kultur sendiri di situ, awal 90, 80-90, mulai jadi ramai sekali. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <p>Justru di sini yang saya agak heran, meskipun sektor informal dan mereka dari daerah-daerah tapi kultur kota besar sudah ada, bagi mereka itu fungsional sekali, kawin itu, upacara akan diikuti maumu apa, yang penting kawin, selesai, kerja gitu. Jadi relatif gampang, nggak sulit untuk percampuran itu, mereka akan menjalankan apa misalnya orang Batak kawin secara Betawi, iya sangat adaptif. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <p>Saya lihat sih tergantung tujuannya, fungsinya apa, kalau mereka habis itu mau bisa untuk survive, kadang-kadang untuk bisa melanjutkan usahanya, pernikahan karena itu. De Factonya kan seperti itu. Untuk memperbesar perdagangannya. Ada itu. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <hr/> <p>buruh biasanya. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <hr/> <p>Outsourcing sih, karyawan. (Ikhsan, employee)</p> <hr/> <p>ya memang biasanya tetangga atau pertemanan. Karena dia kan pedagang-pedagang kecil gitu. Punya temen tinggal dimana, nyambung nyambung terus tinggal di situ. (Andi, policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p> <hr/> <p>hehehe.. Iya. Sangat (! ! ) (Deni, unemployee)</p> <p>huum, kadang mereka dateng ke sanggar, kaya' gini dapurnya dia diambil, ini kompornya bu lka, ada perahu dari botol, streofoam dianyam, kalau botolnya pake paralon. Kita nyoba juga sih mbak, kemarin pake lem nggak kuat.</p> <hr/> <p>Uang kerohiman, yang udah dikumpulin tiap-tiap RT, nanti disumbangkan ke warga. (Deni, unemployee)</p> <hr/> <p>saling tolong menolong, saling memberikan informasi tentang lowongan pekerjaan (Rohana, Housewife)</p>
<p>- Job</p>	<p>buruh biasanya. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <p>Biasanya sih pada kerja, kalau yang udah punya kerjaan, kalau buat nikah sih jarang ya. Kerja dulu.</p>

	<p>Kalau masyarakatnya sendiri saling ngebantu nggak Pak dalam nyariin/ mencari pekerjaan bagi sesama orang yang tinggal di sini gitu? itu dari temen. Kan malem lagi jaga, ya udah ikut. Harus lihat dulu orang mana yang digusur, kan nggak sama semua. Kalau udah aman, digusur, mulainya dari nol lagi. Susah nyari kerjaan, kehidupannya kita belum tau gimana di sana. Kalau kita udah di sini kan udah enak biasa aja, walaupun kita nggak makan tapi udah betah di sini. tapi kalau tempat lain kan kita belum tau. Anak sekolahan juga jauh, perlu biaya gedhe.</p> <hr/> <p>Ya ini, jual apa, supplier alat kebersihan ya, jadi apa, kalau bikinnya di kampung, dibawa setengah jadi di sini, sudah jadi, dikirim ke Pasar Lama, ada yang ke Priuk, ke Grogol, pedagang juga ada yang ke sini. Udah lama sih kak, jadi langganan juga udah pada tahu. (Fahmi, entrepreneur) Banyak, banyak cap yang saya punya. Itu lain lagi harganya, yang itu lain lagi harganya, mungkin variannya ada, variasinya ada lima macem ya. Bisa lima cap. Ini yang paling murah, ini agak mahal dikit, ini agak mahal dikit. Ya ini, ini jauh dari Cirebon, jauh dari rumah saya ini. Ini pedagang, tapi saya suruh bantu-bantu. Ini dari Cirebon (Pointing), itu jauh dari kampung saya sebetulnya, ini dari Cirebon (pointing), ini Bapak dari daerah Bojong Gedhe, daerah-daerah Bogor, dari Bogor ada, dari Kuningan ada, dari Cirebon ada. Kalau kekurangan saya ngambil dari kampung, tapi sejauh ini masih bisa dicover karena ini kan udah finishingnya aja di sini. Kalau di kampung ada lagi yang kerja, jadi di sini agak cepet, sendiri berdua aja bantu-bantu bisa lah. Tapi kadang-kadang kalau lagi musim ramenya ya ada yang bantuin. Itu enggak, itu susah (pelan), susahnya karena dari merekanya kadang. Enggak, emm. Sebetulnya, bukan dari saya memilih orang Cirebon orang mana ya, Cuma karena kerja itu cocok-cocokkan, karena banyak orang di kampung juga, adek saya sendiri, kerja di sini, kadang-kadang sama saya nggak cocok kerjanya. Mungkin karena sama saudara ya kadang bangun terlalu siang. Kalau saya maunya bangun agak pagi, kadang-kadang jam 10 jam 9 baru bangun, itu kan nggak cocok, bikin nggak cocok. Walaupun saudara gitu.</p> <hr/> <p>Ya ngurusin cucu aja, cucu udah 5 saya. (Samiyem, housewife) Boleh nyari sendiri. (Kerjaan)</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau nggak pada setuju ya pasti orang usahanya di sini, lemari-lemari gampang, penjualan lemari, nyari duitnya di sini semua. Kalau Ibu sih namanya orang ini ya orang nggak ini ya biasa-biasa aja.</p>
<p>- Level of education</p>	<p>SMK di Kelapa Dua Wetan, Ciracas (Ikhsan, employee) Nggak sekolah, cuma nyampe kelas 4 doank, SD. (Rina, housewife) (Nggak) udah rumah tangga gini. Habis itu dagang aja saya. (Rina, housewife)</p>

<p>Semampunya dianya aja, kalau masih mampu lanjut, ya lanjut, kalau enggak ya udah. (Anak) (Ikhsan, employee) Pengennya sih begitu, gantiin Bapaknya. Cuman kalau.....</p> <p>mau sih, kalau memang rezeki sih, tergantung juga, kalau anaknya mau sih, kalau rezeki ada masih lanjut masih bisa kuat kerja ya lanjut.</p> <p>paling sampe SMP doank. (Warga di sini) (Rina, housewife) Biasanya sih anak-anak udah keenak kebiasaan kerja jadi ikut kerja. Di sekolah males, mending nyari duit daripada sekolah.</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau pendidikan termasuk tinggi ya. Ya semua memang pada sekolah semua diwajibkan sekolah. (Budi, Policy Implementer) Ada yang dari ekonomi juga ada yang dari anak sendiri. Ada juga dari orang tuanya, kadang-kadang orang tua dibantu anak sekolah gratis masih bilang masalah biaya, tapi masalah ongkos. Kan gitu.</p> <hr/> <p>Sekolahnya SMA itu terakhir itu keluar 97. Pas kerusuhan itu, itu saya keluar SMA. (Fahmi, entrepreneur) Nggak, tapi waktu itu orang tua udah sakit-sakitan, jadi nggak tega. Ya nggak kuat katanya di sini, di kampung aja. Jadi saya yang ngurus semuanya. Jadi saya kalau kuliah nggak ada waktu. Karena kan, ilmu itu, pendidikan itu nggak sebatas kita udah tua juga malahan sempet juga saya kursus, kursus bahasa Inggris. Sempet sampai 6 bulan. penting, pendidikan itu sangat penting, karena segala sesuatu tanpa pendidikan itu nggak bisa, nggak bisa mbak. Orang nggak bisa maju kalau nggak ada pendidikan. Peluang bisnisnya itu kadang-kadang, bingung, ya dia, kita nggak bisa, dia nggak bisa bahasa. Itu pernah sekali itu, makanya saya kursus itu. Ada Cuma nggak. Ini, penting, penting itu pendidikan. Itu, itu kekurangan saya, makanya istri saya juga di kampung, kuliah. Cuma dia kan tadinya dari SMEA, kemudian di kampung kan peluangnya guru honorernya agak kurang. Jadi sekarang udah sarjana sih, sarjana pendidikan, Cuma bukan dari formal semacam universitas ya, ini apa namanya itu kalau kuliah ya, cuman kalau di ini Paket B, Paket C. Kalau di kampung itu namanya kelas jauh. Mudah-mudahan sih pengennya kuliah. Pengennya gitu. Karena saya nggak sempet kuliah, kalau anak saya ada rezekinya maunya sampai kuliah. Pendidikan itu sangat-sangat penting. Jaman sekarang, karena pengalaman, temen saya yang sama produksi sapu, tapi pendidikan dia sarjana ada kelebihan satu, dia main internet kan. Main internet. Sekarang sapu terbesar di Jakarta, Dragon, dari dia supplynya. Saya ketinggalan satu langkah dari dia. Dia tinggal enak aja main order, segala</p>
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	<p>macem lewat internet. Dia tinggal ngambil dari per-piece Rp 500 per bulan umpama bisa 20 ribu, dia nggak capek. Maksudnya, maksudnya kan pesen Dragon ke dia. Dia cuma nyampein dikirim barang, ntar kumpul di saya, Dragon ngambil ke dia, ambil. Dia kan nggak capek. Internet aja. Itu kelebihanannya.</p> <hr/> <p>Ibu nggak sekolah Neng. Buta huruf, dulu soalnya orang tua saya, orang tua Ibu, masih kecilnya orang tua Ibu susah. Ya ngesekolahkan saya, soalnya saya lahir di Jakarta. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <p>Anak-anak Ibu sekolah, soalnya dulu saya sempet dagang, biayain anak sekolah. SMEA. tinggi tapi sekarang udah nggak kerja lagi, udah ngurusin anak. Udah punya cucu lima saya.</p> <hr/> <p>Ya iya donk. Bagi saya (semangat) uh biar kerja keras anak belum bangun saya bangunin! Ayo harus sekolah harus! Mumpung sekarang sekolah itu masih murah lah ya termasuk bayarnya mungkin kalau yang negeri. Cuma kalau anak saya memang adanya dapetnya swasta jadi emang mengeluarkan duit aja. Kalau mau ngambil rapot kadang saya ngambil tiga ratus bayar buku semester dua 200. Tapi kalau yang anak saya yang besar itu, dulu ada yang bayar dari yayasan, bersyukur banget. Dari 2 SD sampai SMK. Sekarang saya berasa sekarang itu, bayar sendiri memang belum lama dapet KJP KJP itu bisa buat beli sepatu buat beli peralatan sekolah lah, buat bayar-bayar di sekolah. Tapi kalau sehari-sehari kan jajan uang transport kan dari orang tua dek. (Sri, food seller)</p> <p>Kadang kalau inget masa kecil itu kok suka sedih ya, anak sekarang itu sekolah kok susah bener ya kaya'nya [[hahahaha]] ada sampai kelas 5 SD saya. Dulu sekolah bukan Cuma bahasa Indonesia aja ya, sekolah Arab juga, bahasa Arab, mengaji. Kalau di Jakarta kan ngaji mau-mau enggak-enggak. Sekolah ya, terutama yak, pada sekolah. makanya kalau di sini ya ngaji itu jarang-jarang bisa lah. (RELIABILITY, She was almost crying)</p> <p>Ya ada juga, ada juga ya enggak, ada yang nggak sekolah, ada yang kerja juga, ada yang nggak sampai.</p> <p>Pengen ya dek sekolah kaya' adek, wah, kuliah, bisa jadi tinggi-tinggi banget. Enak kali ya ngeliatnya. Udah sempat kerja gitu sembari kerja?</p> <p>Pengen banget (EMPHASIZE). Kalau dipikir pengen kuliah lah ya, Ya Allah, kalau anaknya ada kemampuan. Itu yang jadi sekuriti aja kalau bisa baginya waktu saya suruh kuliah. Masih 20 tahun ini 21 tahun ini, pengen saya begitu. Mungkin yang murah-murah dek, kuliahnya. Biar bisa ini gitu. Emang orang susah, tapi ya, bersyukurlah gitu.</p> <hr/> <p>sekolah sampai SLTA lah SMA. (Andi, Policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p>
<p>- Marriage</p>	<p>Kadang-kadang dari kampung sendiri. Kalau saya dari kampung sendiri.</p>

	<p>Dari sini juga dapetnya. Dulu orang Jawa, ngontrak. (Budi, Policy Implementer)                  Kebanyakan justru dari dalam, kalau sekarang justru dari luar sekarang. Ada, ada tapi ya nggak begitu banyak. (Pernikahan beda suku)                  Itu Jawa Sunda beda suku, Padang sama orang Jawa, orang Cirebon.</p> <hr/> <p>Sama sih, biasanya sama orang luar. (Rina, housewife)                  Campur                  Ada juga yang sekampung sih.                  Jawa sama Jawa gitu ada, Sunda sama Jakarta juga ada.                  Nggak ada, yang Batak mah sama Batak</p> <hr/> <p>Orang di kampung itu yang ngurusin. (Istri orang mana) (Fahmi, entrepreneur)                  Adat Sunda di sana. Pertama dibawa ke sini istri dapet dua tahun. Sekarang nggak ke sini-sini, paling ke sini main kalau Cuma liburan.                  Nggak, dia dapetnya ketemu di pekerjaan. Dapetnya kan, dia adat Jawa, suaminya dari Betawi umpama atau dari mana, jauh gitu. Tapi kan pake adat Jawa kan ketauan.</p> <hr/> <p>Kebanyakan sih mana-mana, orang sini sih rada jarang. Tapi ada juga yang nikah sama orang sini. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau etnis paling Jawa Sunda gitu aja. Artinya nggak menyebrang sampai ke Cina. Nggak ada lah gitu. Batak-Sunda, Betawi-Batak, itu ada kaya' gitu gitu. Cuma kalau yang. Ini mbaknya lagi nanya itu, kalau perkawinan di pinggir pinggir kali itu antar etnis, paling antara Jawa Sunda, Jawa Batak, tapi kalau sampai yang Jawa sama Cina jarang ya, karena orang Cina nggak mau. Kelasnya lain. (Andi, policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p> <hr/> <p>Lebih banyak dari orang luar. Sebagian temen kerja, sebagian relasi di luar. Nggak satu kerjaan tapi kenal.</p> <hr/> <p>Iya, meskipun lain etnis, tapi menikahnya dengan orang di situ juga, Sunda ada Bataknya, nyaris bikin kultur sendiri di situ, awal 90, 80-90, mulai jadi ramai sekali. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <hr/> <p>Ya banyak, ada dari China, banyak lah. Ada dari Jawa Betawi ada, ketemu Sunda juga ada. (Rahmat, policy implementer)                  ya tergantung, kayak Betawi ya pakai Betawi assalamualaikum gitu pakai palang pintu. Kalau daerah sini udah jarang tapi. Cuma pake besan besan aja. Kita sederhanain aja, yang simpel simpel aja. Kalau simpel mah bawa barang bawaan sambutan bentar makan. udah enak. kan penghulu juga banyak jadwal.</p> <hr/> <p>adat medan karena nikahnya di medan trus pindah ke Jakarta (Rohana, Housewife)</p>
Ethnic boundaries	

<p>Construction</p>	<p>Kalau orang yang baru dateng, biasanya yang didatengengin terutama yang punya rumah, yang punya rumah ya lapor diri. Di sini sih nggak ada perbedaan.</p> <p>Kadang-kadang kita minta juga. Ya namanya manusia kan susah, tergantung kepala keluarganya juga gitu. Tapi sini selama saya jadi pengurus, nggak ada perbedaanlah dalam hal sembako contohnya, sama, semuanya dapet.</p> <p>ada namanya Karang Taruna, kegiatannya, kalau 17 Agustus tasyakuran, maulidan, pokoknya di sini kegiatannya selalu ada, hari besar. Namanya hari besar kita RW 10 di kelurahan namanya udah terkenal RT 6 7 8. Itu gabungan RT 6 7 8, jadi kita kegiatan kita pusatkan di tiga RT ini.</p> <p>RT 5 mungkin beda ya. Ya mungkin emang beda, meskipun sebelahan.</p> <p>Awalnya sih dari RT (ketua RT), ketemuan, ada acara apa lomba apa-apa, jadi mereka ini sendiri lama-lama bisa bekerja sama.</p> <p>Ya kaya' arisan ya, ada di sini arisan ke RT 7, 8. (Kontak dengan outsider)</p> <p>Iya. Di daerah Bekasi, Jawa. (Sering ke tempat saudara di)</p> <hr/> <p>Enggak sampe sana-sana, paling sini doank, tukang PS. (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Iya, apalagi kita bagian pelayanan juga, kita bagian pelayanan kebersihan. (Ikhsan, employee)</p> <p>Oh, kalau yang dari sana sih udah berkeluarga semua, udah pada <i>Married</i>. Jadinya jarang. Mungkin dulu-dulu sih sering ngobrol.</p> <p>Nggak, nggak ada. (Kenalan di luar) (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Jadi pendengar aja paling, kita kan bukan orang sini. Pendengar doank. Paling sama temen sekerja, di seberang.</p> <hr/> <p>Pernah ada, suatu saat, ada orang ke sini, orang Pakistan, dia bisa, dia dokter, pendidikannya tinggi, sarjana, sarjana, dokter, Cuma dia beralih, beralih bisnis, Cuma saya nggak bisa bahasa Inggris, ada penerjemah gitu, jadi. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Iya. (Dikelilingi pedagang)</p> <p>Jarang ya kalau di sini ya, paling saya sama pendatang, kenal sih kenal sama orang-orang di sini, tapi kalau ngumpul-ngumpul begitu jarang.</p> <p>Sering diundang, Cuma kadang saya terbentur kesibukan kadang diundang saya lagi pulang, diundang kadang-kadang bentrok gitu, ada sering undangan kalau maulidan di mesjid. Atau rajaban. Ada undangan di sini, maksudnya biaya, 17 agustusan juga ada.</p> <p>Kompak, solidaritas tinggi, Cuma ya kalau itu kan tergantung manusianya, kadang mau, tapi sikon nggak memungkinkan itu. Itu sebetulnya. Saya sebenarnya juga pengen, maulidan, apa gitu, tapi kadang terbentur kesibukan. Karena di sini orang sibuk semua. Iya istilahnya kaya' ayam, itu harus kerjanya dari pagi sampai sore malemnya harus dagang. Kaya' sapu kerjanya ngejar target.</p> <p>Sama aja. Saya mah sering bergaul sama orang kan, kebetulan di Pasar</p>
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	<p>Lama saya kan punya tempat ya, jadi masih sering gaul sama China, sama orang mana-mana ya, orang Jawa.                  Sering, kan kalau di pasar ada ini, ada toko.                  Toko ada saudara nungguin, di sana kan banyak China, orang Jawa, nyampur. Jadi nggak kenal sama siapa-siapa.</p> <hr/> <p>Suka ngumpul kalau ngaji bulanan ngumpul-ngumpul. Sorean di Tanjakan ngaji juga.</p> <hr/> <p>Ya enggak lah, biasa aja. Iya. Apalagi kalau hari Rabu, kumpulan ngaji, hari Jumat, jadi kan seneng. Sana sini. (Sri, food seller)</p>
Spanning	<p>Dulu saya membantu di sana itu untuk banjir. Lama-lama karena saya buat kelompok belajar untuk anak-anak, kemudian orang tuanya ketemu lah. Jadi kemana-mana, programnya berkembang, karena buka semacam open house buat sanggar gitu. Intinya sebenarnya pendidikan pemberdayaan memang dengan warga itu, tapi akhirnya ada dimensi ekonomi.. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <hr/> <p>Karena LH bukan eksekutor/ pelaksana langsung, kita lebih kepada awalnya apa namanya mengkoordinasikan maka segala sesuatu harus dibicarakan dengan kepala daerah, termasuk pertimbangan-pertimbangan tadi. Pertimbangan bagaimana sosial segala sesuatunya pasti kita ini kan. Kenapa karena LH ini kan ada divisinya tidak hanya unit saya dari sisi teknis segala macam tapi di sini juga ada sisi pemberdayaan masyarakatnya. Bagaimana sih bisa melaksana itu, maka di Ciliwung ini sendiri bagaimana untuk bisa menyampaikan suatu policy kepada masyarakat, ini kita ada mediator, mediatornya salah satunya adalah teman-teman di NGO, NGO kelompok-kelompok masyarakat ini adalah kelompok-kelompok komunikatornya.</p> <p>Itu formal, lembaga formal yang lebih ke pemerintah daerah. Pemerintah daerah harus bisa menyampaikan hal tersebut, tapi kalau di LH mediatornya adalah temen-temen di komunitas. Contohnya misalkan, ada Matpeci ya komunitas salah satunya? Ya? Masyarakat peduli ciliwung, istilahnya. Jadi itu, dia punya komunitas bagaimana kita ada satu program jadi di sini memang ada jembatan memang kementerian ya bukan hanya LH kementerian semuanya, ada satu program yang mungkin ada resistensi di sini maka kita perlu sampaikan, maka mediator itu kita bisa ke sini juga bisa ke sini ya kan. Nah ada beberapa hal yang mungkin kepentingan di sini, masyarakat nggak cocok, dengan apa yang ada di sini, nah dia yang menyampaikan, pasti nanti Matpeci yang menyampaikan contohnya nanti Carrefour, Carrefour itu mau dinormalisasi sampai sini, padahal itu tanaman segala macam sudah banyak. Nah hal-hal tersebutlah yang harus dikomunikasikan, kalau dengan masyarakat langsung, wah kita nganu, ya tadi itu apa soal penyampaian, ya di sinilah NGO itu berperan.</p>

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Category/Code	Interview Excerpts
<i>Political interventions</i>	
Governmental policy	<p>Saya melihat dari sisi apa namanya persoalan teknisnya, persoalan teknis di bantaran ini adalah terkait dengan perilaku buang sampah, kemudian dari sisi buang limbah domestiknya, jadi ini permasalahan yang ada di sungai Ciliwung itu. Semua posisi MCK, mandi cuci kakus, itu masih terjadi, di hampir semua segmen di Ciliwung, sehingga dominasi pencemaran atau kualitas air itu disebabkan sumber pencemaran dari limbah domestik. Nah itu kan pasti ada apa namanya aktivitas, perilaku, yang saat ini ada di sekitar bantaran sungai. Sekitar 70% itu perilakunya seperti itu. Membuang sampah ke sungai, dulu kita coba dengan introduce stop pembuangan sampah pada sungai. (Soleh, Ministry of Env.)</p> <p>Dari sisi teknisnya itu udah pasti kita menangan hal yang terkait dengan apa yang ada di daratnya. Sungai jadi indikator. Kalau memang seperti itu, kebiasaan sampah dsb, maka kita harus lakukan hal yang prinsip di situ. Kedua namanya bantaran itu tidak boleh untuk dilakukan. Maka kita kedepan perlu lakukan ya, penertiban di bantaran sungai bahkan di sepadan sungai, kalau di bantaran itu kan memang di wadah sungainya sendiri kan, kalau di sepadannya kegiatan yang ada di sekitar sungai itu sendiri. Itu seharusnya sudah bebas dengan aktivitas yang ada. Jadi seharusnya sepadan itu sebagai kawasan lindung sampai ke bantaran sungainya. Aturan ini ingin ditegakkan tapi tidak serta merta. Kita harus lakukan upaya dan sebagainya, sekurang-kurangnya memindahkan, atau merelokasi, kegiatan untuk menyelamatkan. Bagian dari menyelamatkan sungai itu sendiri adalah menyelamatkan bantaran sungainya itu sendiri. (Soleh, Ministry of Environment)</p> <p>Jadi kalau LH memang di sini sebagai lembaga pemantau, memantau kualitas segala macam, kita lihat dengan kualitasnya, setelah kita lihat kita tau apa yang harus dilakukan di situ dilakukan koordinasi. Apa yang harus dilakukan kementerian lembaga dan juga daerah. karena di situ yang harus kita lihat, apa langkah-langkah dari mananya kementerian lembaga harus berbuat apa untuk itu. Kalau misalkan pembebasan sepadan di bantaran sungai itu, kita dorong PU, bagaimana untuk membuat kegiatan pemukiman, maka itu adalah kewenangan kementerian perumahan, terkait dengan sosial pemerintah daerah juga harus bantu, maka harus dibina dan sebagainya, ini di apapun itu harus kita dudukkan sesuai porsinya. Sesuai dengan aturan/ policy yang ada.</p> <p>ya, positif dan negatif itu dari perspektifnya mereka, pasti mereka punya kepentingan ya di situ, untuk tetap hidup layak, apalagi sampai ke layak segala macemnya ya, tapi kita perlu tahu persis, kalau bertahan</p>

<p>seperti itu apakah ada dampak bagi masyarakat umum atau keseluruhan. Kan tidak hanya memikirkan hal yang sifatnya setempat, karena air itu mengalir, dan itu ada kepentingan, air itu ada kepentingan, bukan tempat sampah gitu, bukan tempat pembuangan. Itu aja sebetulnya jadi hal tersebut yang ini. Jadi pasti mereka dari sisi masyarakat pasti ada namanya hal yang kesulitan untuk bisa berkomunikasi.</p>
<p>Kalau kebijakannya sih, yang penting warga saya sudah maju. Aspal jalan, sebelum pernah ada aspal jalan. Akhirnya saya punya inisiatif bekerja sama dengan kelurahan untuk dapetin aspal jalan. Saya juga punya temen dalam kota, dibantu sama beliau. Rapatnya saya undang semua 5678, arisan ada kumpulan, ada yang setuju ada yang enggak. Bantu tanpa biaya. kita udah bikin proposal. tapi semua sia-sia lah, jadi waktu saya kerja, biaya itu dari saya semua, makanan atau apa. Pake uang pribadi, akhirnya tahun 2008 dibantu. Pokoknya apa yang nggak ada di sini harus saya punya buat warga. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <p>Nggak ada. (Bantuan lain dari pemerintah)</p> <p>Kaya'nya nggak ada deh. Paling dari Pemkot aja.</p>
<p>sedangkan kebakaran aja dulu ya paling dapat semen pasir, seng. Cuma ya begitu. (Taufik, accessories seller)</p> <p>Ya masih banyakan ngeluarin uangnya sendiri. Kita ngejual-jual apa yang ada. Lama bangun rumah itu. Kita tinggal di mushola, musholanya kebanjiran lari lagi ke BCA saya.</p>
<p>Itu dari pemerintah pusat, kalau normalisasi sungai itu pemerintah pusat, kalau rusunawa itu pemda. Kalau kita itu mengkoordinir aja. Menyampaikan ke warga aja, bukan kita yang punya kebijakan, karena kita yang punya wilayah terlibat. Penyambung gitu. (Andi policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p> <p>Ya kita masalah kebersihan, keamanan itu kan program-program kita itu, kita ada di sini. Jumantik, tiap hari Jumat ada program-program itu, kita ada. Penghijauan, anak usia dini, Paud itu juga ada, nyampe mbak program program pemerintah itu. Itu dari pemda. pemda itu memang kita dari anggarannya ada itu.</p>
<p>Tapi untuk beberapa kasus ini, kita menyediakan rusunawanya bersama-sama dengan kementerian, seperti misalnya di lokasi pasar rumput, atau di Jati Negara Barat. Itu kita menyediakan tanahnya, dari pemrov DKI, kemudian yang membangun pihak kementerian. Kemudian kalau yang di Pasar Rumput, itu kementerian perumahan rakyat, kalau yang di Jati Negara Barat itu oleh kementerian PU. Itu entar, tujuannya itu untuk merelokasi warga di sepanjang kali Ciliwung. Tapi warga Ciliwung yang spot mana itu belum ditentukan. (Fira, Staff at Jakarta government)</p> <p>Perumahannya kan dikasih rumah sendiri. Jadi kita membangun</p>

	<p>perumahan itu tidak di bantaran sungai Ciliwung itu kan. Tapi kita dikasih lokasi oleh Pemda, sekarang kita dikasih Pasar Rumput, Pasar Rumput sama Pasar Minggu. Tapi kalau mengenai relokasi penduduknya itu, itu enggak tugas kita, itu adalah tugas daripada Pemda gitu jadi kita dalam hal ini hanya menyiapkan perumahannya, rusunawa tingkat tingginya. Tapi kalau bagaimana tadi mengenai sungainya kita nggak berkaitan di sana. Untuk normalisasi sendiri adalah PU Pak, gitu. Jadi itu yang bisa saya jawab tentang apa namanya tentang sungai Ciliwung itu. Kalau secara langsung menatanya seperti apa itu bukan tugas kita. (Jono, Ministry of Public housing)</p> <p>sebetulnya itu kan, pertama itu kan nggak ada ketegasan dari Pemda itu untuk menjaga itu dulu kenapa dulu diizinkan, sebenarnya Pemda itu tau, kenapa dikasih listrik kenapa dikasih air, dan dikasih sebagai macam pajak.</p> <p>kalau sehari-hari harusnya Pemda itu Pak. Ada kebijakan atasnya kan, tapi daerah itu kan harus menguraikan itu dari pemdanya. Jadi yang operasional itu pemdanya karena mereka yang punya lingkungan. Sebetulnya kita ini sudah punya tupoksi masing-masing cuma belum dilaksanakan, karena di Indonesia ini kurang koordinasi, koordinasinya paling sulit.</p> <hr/> <p>contoh sekarang yang sedang dilaksanakan, ruang tampung Ciliwung sudah sangat kecil, upaya normalisasi dengan memperbesar penampang aliran kali Ciliwung. Seperti yang sudah kita ketahui bahwa luas atau aliran tampung kali Ciliwung hanya berkisar maksimum 200m<sup>3</sup> per-detik, kita tingkatkan menjadi 500m<sup>3</sup>. (Wisnu, Ministry of Public Work)</p> <p>Secara teknis belum pernah dibicarakan. Dan saya sendiri belum tahu ada rencana kampung deret di situ yang sudah saya tahu itu adalah penataan masyarakat terhadap pemukimannya yang terkena dampak normalisasi akan dipindahkan kepada rumah susun sewa yang disediakan pemda dki berdasarkan ketentuan dan aturan yang berlaku.</p>
<p>- Eviction attempts and relocation project 2014</p>	<p>Sering kali kan pandangan masyarakat itu mempermudah blaming, mempersalahkan mereka jadi penyebab banjir, dengan mengatakan bahwa ini adalah warga yang tiba-tiba datang mengokupasi tanah di bantaran kali, tidak benar lho. Karena dulu itu bahkan di Mester itu kan, pusat perdagangan ini, bahkan di Jatinegara itu kan di Jakarta itu kan pusat perdagangan besar. Sejarah perdagangan Jakarta itu. Percampuran etnis, menurut saya untuks satu kampung begitu sangat dinamis, keragamannya macam, di situ, dan apanya, tidak kelihatan lagi yang dominan gitu. Seperti di beberapa daerah, di sini saja ya, di sini banyak sekali chinese, kebon pala ini, tapi chinese yang hampir seperti cina beteng, yang ekonominya lemah. Kalau di Bukit duri nyaris sulit untuk menyatakan mana yang dominan, karena percampurannya macem-macem. Tapi secara umum, ya kalau jadi bendahara di sini, Santi, biasanya masih bersaudara satu sama lain, masih ikat-ikatan, (Djoko,</p>

	<p>Ciliwung Merdeka) Jadi setidaknya-tidaknya tahun 1990an saya sudah sering ke situ, sampai tahun 2000 saya tinggal di situ, kurang lebih 9 tahun. Dulu jaman gubernur Sutiyoso, dan Foke itu, isu penggusuran sudah ada, dan berulang-ulang jaman menteri Belanda dulu, ketidak pastian itu pada warga juga besar. Efeknya yang paling nyata sampai sekarang itu, adalah ketidak percayaan, tidak percaya bahwa pemerintah punya program yang serius. Kalau mereka bilang ada relokasi malah paling nggak jadi lagi. Nah kalau sudah begitu, meskipun kita bersama sudah membuat perencanaan yang meyakinkan, itu bisa buyar semua, dihadapan warga yang sudah punya sikap apatis seperti itu, terlebih jika dari pemprov DKInya tidak punya sikap sementara tradisi di sini, tradisi birokrasi di negeri ini, lurah tidak akan berani mengambil keputusan apa-apa jika camatnya belum bersikap. Begitu juga dengan camatnya kalau wali kotanya belum bersikap. Bahkan jika warganya misalnya sudah dengar nih di TV, Pak Jokowi membuat statement, mereka tidak percaya kalau lurah belum berkata apa-apa. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <p>Penting sekali. Tapi lurahnya tidak peduli sama sekali. Lurah tidak tahu kondisi masyarakatnya sama sekali. Saya kalau ngurus banjir, seingat saya kelurahan hanya kasih satu supermi untuk satu warga kalau banjir besar. Jadi warganya malah bisa ngirim ke kelurahan itu. Warga harus secara independent buat sendiri. Tahun 2002, ada 42 rumah yang rusak, kemudian kita cari bantuan dari beberapa teman saya, kita bangun rumah yang rusak-rusak berdasarkan kesepakatan tim wakil warga. Ini jadi warga membuat semacam DPR, wakil-wakilnya tiap RT, karena bantuannya sangat terbatas, maka dari 42 itu hanya dipilih 14 rumah yang akan dibangun, atau direnovasi total di situ, dengan prinsip bahwa dikerjakan secara gotong royong, lalu juga 50% dari bahan bangunan yang ada itu bisa digunakan lagi. (Djoko, Ciliwung Merdeka)</p> <p>Iya kalau yang saya pahami, memang banyak beragam, saya kira itu dari sisi sosiologi dilihat keberagaman itu bisa jadi hal yang kemudahan, segala macem bukan menjadi kesulitan. Tapi yang jelas memang ada. (Soleh, Ministry of Environment)</p> <p>Komunikasi lebih mudah daripada satu komunitas yang jadi kuat. Kalau satu komunitas pasti ada dominasi, kalau keragaman jadi lebih mudah komunikasinya.</p> <p>; Memang ini tantangan ya buat saya, bukan masalah buat saya, karena kan tantangan itu, karena kan aturan sudah ada. Maka kita harus berani untuk menyampaikan bahwa ini adalah sesuatu yang bisa merusak mencemari, melanggar. Ya kalau soal bagaimana nanti kedepannya dengan mereka ya kita coba kompromikan dengan mereka, sebetulnya kan kita memberikan fasilitas bagi orang yang melanggar. ada sesuatu</p>
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yang dilanggar, berada di bantaran sungai dan melakukan aktivitasnya. dan di situ adalah sesuatu yang harus, kalau kita berhadapan dengan masyarakat pasti harus ada pembinaan, bukan langsung, semata-mata langsung enforce. Ujung-ujungnya pasti enforcement karena itu kan berada di daerah terlarang.

Ya, apa namanya, dari masyarakat secara umum ya, karena mereka wajar kalau merasa nanti tempat tinggal mata pencaharian segala macam terganggu. Jadi saya nggak bisa menspesifikan apakah level-level tertentu menjadi peran-peran.

Saya nggak tahu persis ya, karena 20 tahun ya karena ada pembiaran seperti itu, merasa ada rasa memiliki di situ, jadi memang nampaknya ada suatu komunikasi yang memang tanda kutip putus antara aturan yang ada dengan partai yang ada itu.

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dari pemerintah, dari dinas PU. Itu kan belum jelas, masa depannya kita belum tahu, masih katanya, kapan digusur itu kan belum jelas. (Budi, Policy Implementer)

pernah sekali, Cuma warga nggak mau digusur, maunya di sini terus. Mau bertahan di sini. (sosialisasi dari kelurahan)

Nggak setuju banget! (emphasizes)

Jadi jauh dari pasar, ini misalnya kerjanya di pasar, jadi kan kejauhan kalau dipindah.

Sebenarnya semua menolak, Cuma apa boleh buat. (Power relation, no power to bargain)

saya emang selalu saya, selalu saya sampaikan, pokoknya apapun yang berhubungan dengan pemerintah, tukang repot ya memang tugas saya.

Tugas saya kan menyampaikan, ya menyampaikan aja. Kita belum tau, belum jelas kan. Ntar saya yang ditanya. Dari pemerintahnya aja belum jelas.

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Ah rencana udah dari tahun berapa (skeptical) (Rina, housewife)  
Iye mau digusur-mau digusur. Tapi nggak tau kapan gitu  
Tapi kemarin sih ada, pengukuran. Tapi baru pengukuran bangunan doank. Tanah kan belum.

Kemarin juga sempet ketemu, dari kelurahan, ketemu warga. Ke Kelurahan, sanggar.

Enggak. Paling Bapak doank yang ikut.

Oh, ke Sanggar mah Bapak.

	<p>Misalnya kalau habis dari rapat gitu kan. Baru tuh diomongin, kalau nggak rapat dari sanggar enggak. Enggak diomongin. (Rina, housewife) nggak tau saya. (Mau dipindah kemana?)</p> <p>Misalnya kalau habis dari rapat gitu kan. Baru tuh diomongin, kalau nggak rapat dari sanggar enggak. Enggak diomongin.</p> <p>Ya mesti gimana lagi, kalau harus pisah ya pisah. ((Hahaha)) pada pulang kampung paling tetangga-tetangga mah.</p> <p>[Iya kan pedagang-pedagang semua. Di sini paling pada ngontrak aja] Jadi pendengar aja paling, kita kan bukan orang sini. Pendengar doank.</p> <p>Kalau yang nggak punya rumah ya paling kita ada penggantian dari Jokowi, paling kita ke situ.</p> <p>suruh bayar ya tetep bayar kalau bayar ya bayar. Kalau gratis ya gratis kalau bayar ya bayar, kalau masih mampu.</p> <hr/> <p>Sering, [hehehe] saya 97 malah saya lagi sekolah, udah bingung. Saya 96, saya sekolah kelas 1 SMA, ada di koran itu. Kata Bapak Gubernurnya, 97 pinggiran kali Ciliwung udah bersih. Panik saya, diterusin nggak sekolah. Saya udah bingung, kan otomatis saya pulang kampung kan. Kalau Ibu bilang "Kita susah cari tempat lagi paling pulang". Saya sekolah gimana Bu? Ya sekarang terusin aja dulu, Ntar kalau seumpama digusur ya mau gimana lagi. Alhamdulillah sampai sekarang. Alhamdulillah belum. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Dibilang formal itu, nggak ada dari pihak pemda atau pemprov nggak ada. Itu kita-kita aja, gimana ke depannya, gimana ini kita. Cuma kalau misalnya itu kebanyakan kalau di sini, semuanya nggak mau. Mereka udah betah di sini kan?</p> <p>Ya itu, kalau dulu ada dari Pak Sutiyoso juga pernah, Pak Fauzi Bowo nggak sekaget ini gitu. Karena Jokowi pernah ke sini, pernah ke bawah, turun, pernah ke sanggar, pernah ke Pulo. Pas Sutiyoso sama Fauzi Bowo nggak pernah. Makanya di sini agak ketar-ketir agak kagetnya karena Gubernurnya udah turun ke bawah kan. Udah tau daerahnya tuh begini. Mungkin karena pertama Jokowi menginjak Jakarta di antaranya ke sanggar. Dia waktu kampanye di sini. Saya ada fotonya waktu kampanye, ke bawah turun. Agak-agak sekarang agak-agak khawatir juga. Mudah-mudahan sih jangan.</p> <p>Iya makanya dulu kan, ada pada dateng Cuma karena ada kadang-kadang beritanya itu simpang siur kan, kalau di daerah Pulo, katanya mau di daerah pulo dulu buat percontohan. Itu enggak, belum jelas.</p> <hr/> <p>Wah sering sih, kalau gitu mah, lagi pertama juga kaya' gitu udah gusar-gusur, tapi biarin ajalah ini toh ini juga rumah saya. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>Saya dagang di sini baru setahun jadi masih aman lah, tapi selanjutnya kan kita nggak tau. Apalagi pemimpinannya baru kita kan nggak tau ya. Namanya orang kecil kan. Pengennya sih iya aman-aman aja jangan dibongkar. Tapi kan nggak tau kita, tau nanti bikin kotor lah nggak tau kan? Namanya kan kita belum tau, cuma yang diminta kita kan biar aman, pemimpin tau lah kita orang kecil-kecil ya. Iya mau ya dek. Tapi</p>
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	<p>kan nggak tau kemungkinan nanti sampai 2015-2016 gitu kan belum tau ya. Yang akan datang gitu kan. Mungkin akan lebih baik dari yang sesudah ya. (Sri, food seller)</p> <p>Belum, baru kabar-kabar aja. (Sosialisasi proyek)</p> <hr/> <p>Yang jelas itu mereka terletak di bantaran kali di bantaran kali yang jelas-jelas memang menurut tata ruangnya sendiri memang adalah peruntukannya hijau, nah hijau kan harusnya untuk peresapan, nggak boleh untuk hunian tapi malah untuk hunian, makanya harus dipindahkan, selain itu banjir setiap kali banjir, itu apa juga mau ada program normalisasi kali Ciliwung nah itu salah satunya. (Fira, staff at Jakarta government)</p> <hr/> <p>ya kalau ngumpul sebelum sebelumnya juga sering ngumpul dan kalau soal diobrolin malah kadang orang orang takut ngedengernya soalnya pasti mereka khawatir pisah dan lain lain (Diah, volunteer at an NGO) kalau saya malah nananya ketika misalkan bukit duri di relokasi, dan kalinya diperbesar apakah pemerintah bisa meyakinkan kalau jakarta ga banjir lagi. Kalau itu benar-benar terjadi, pasti masyarakat bantaran kali akan merasa oh iya ya. Jadinya mereka akan nurut. kalau udah digusur kita diusir dan jakarta tetep banjir ya mending balik lagi. pasti ada alternatif lain.</p> <hr/> <p>ya kalau soal penggusuran ya pernah cuman kan belum pasti aja sampai sekarang kalau masalah penggusuran. (Yati, Housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>ya ikut rapat rapat di kelurahan gitu. Katanya kan kita mau dipindahin ke marunda, tapi bingung aja kalau misalnya rumah susunnya sewanya mahal kan kita gabisa, kalau misalnya rumah susun gitu kan ada yang jadi milik ada yang sewa kan. Kadang tuh orang berantem disitu. kita kan sama aja ngontrak, sedangkan usaha kita kan disini kalau harus disana dan juga sewa kan sama aja ngontrak, bayar jauh dari usaha. mendingan ngontrak. nah kalau misalnya bayar jadi maunya jadi milik. (Janah, Housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>secara keseluruhan pada awalnya iya, setelah mendapat respon positif dari jokowi membuat warga menjadi bersemangat tapi selanjutnya ada masa panjang yang kita tidak mendapat kejelasan membuat warga disini tidak percaya (Vani, NGO)</p>
<p>Agreement/disagreement towards relocation project</p>	<p>Ya pengennya nggak setuju, ((hehehehe)) pengennya sih.. Pengen tinggal di sini aja.. udah betah di sini. (Fajar, employee)</p> <p>Kalau misalnya kita pindah kan temen harus baru. Kalau di sini kan udah dari kecil.</p> <p>Maunya kita sih nggak usah digusur ((hehehe)) (hehehehe?)</p> <p>Semua juga orang sini maunya, kalau yang punya rumah di sini semuanya sih nggak mau digusur. Yang asli sini kan.</p> <hr/> <p>Ya paling nanyain itu, ngobrol2, mudah-mudahan sih, warga di sini semua nggak direlokasi dulu, gitu. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Masalahnya belum ada tempatnya mbak, maksudnya kalau saya</p>

	<p>pribadi kan ini tempat usaha ya, susah nyari tempat di Jakarta. Mungkin kalau yang lain nggak tau ya, kalau saya pribadi.</p> <p>Saya nggak setuju, paling nggak setuju. Romo juga kemarin ngobrol nggak setuju. Saya kan kemarin dipanggil di situ, saya ngobrol di depan Romo, saya bilang, "Romo, saya orang yang bilang kalau penggusuran itu nggak setuju."</p> <p>Kalau pendapat saya sih kalau digusur ya setuju nggak setuju dek. Kalau dia XXX apa boleh buat, daripada sama pemerintah kan nggak boleh. Ya masyarakat sih semuanya nggak pengen digusur gitu. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <p>Nggak. Nggak ada yang setuju</p> <p>Kalau nggak pada setuju ya pasti orang usahanya di sini, lemari-lemari gampang, penjualan lemari, nyari duitnya di sini semua. Kalau Ibu sih namanya orang ini ya orang nggak ini ya biasa-biasa aja.</p> <p>Ya itu tergantung warga, warga mah ada yang mau, ada yang nggak. (Sri, food seller)</p> <p>Penolakannya kan bentuknya kalau nggak ada tempat tinggal lagi terus gimana, kan gitu dek. Kalau gantinya bisa buat ngontrak lah berapa tahun mending. Kalau digusur aja, terus ngasihnya Cuma ongkos doank <u>gimana?</u> Ya masih mending di pinggir kali, istilahnya begitu.</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau ini, karena kan memang yang mau digusur itu nempatin lahan pemerintah yang notabenernya emang kali. Bantaran. Jadi ketika dikasih sosialisai, mereka berharap cepat mendapatkan, ditempatkan di rumah itu. Malah berharap dia. Jadi secepatnya kepengen mereka pindah. (Andi policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p> <hr/> <p>pokoknya kita menawarkan ke mereka, kalau mereka mau tinggal ya silakan, kalau nggak ya mereka harus di tempat lain. Tapi kan itu tawaran yang bener-bener, mereka yang tadinya tinggal di tempat yang nggak sehat di tempat yang itu kan harusnya mau donk. Gitu aja, kalau seumpama mereka nggak mau ya pilihan mereka adalah pindah itu aja. Kan mereka itu nanti kalau tanah yang tergusur itu ada sertifikat tanahnya, milik mereka, itu pasti diganti kan, kecuali kalau mereka menempati tanah yang bukan tanah mereka. terus bangunannya juga nggak ini kita nggak bisa ganti. (Fira, staff at Jakarta government)</p> <hr/> <p>Itu dalam arti kata yang hambatan sosialisasi tidak masalah tetapi yang menjadi itu penerimaan daripada sosialisasi itu harus dibedakan. Hambatan sosialisasi nggak ada, datang sesuai jadwal kita lakukan selesai pulang, yang harus dilihat itu seberapa besar respon dari masyarakat, jadi harus dilihat apakah hambatan nggak? Respon masyarakat seperti yang mbak bilang ini terjadi masyarakat masih membutuhkan sesuatu yang menjadi permintaan dari masyarakat itu, tapi semua itu adalah domain dari pada pemda dki.</p>
- Education	Saya juga kurang paham, anak saya SD juga nggak dapet, SMP juga

	<p>nggak dapet. Saya juga nggak tau itu dari mana, malah sebaliknya orang yang mampu malah dapet. Jadi pemerintah pun belum jelas juga. (Budi, policy implementer)</p> <hr/> <p>SD malah kita dikasih duit kan pendidikan. (Rina, Housewife)          Malah dikasih duit kalau udah SD. (repeating, to emphasize)          per tiga bulan, dia. (Rina, housewife)          Ya itu paling sekarang-sekarang aja, ama Jokowi. Positifnya itu aja pendidikan sama pengobatan gratis. Kalau jaman Fauzi Bowo kan belum ada.          ((hhahaha)) udah cukuplah, apalagi dulu nggak ada. Dulu mah waktu presiden dulu nggak ada. Kita bayar coba, dulu kita mbayaran, sekarang udah nggak mbayaran.</p> <hr/> <p>Dari Gubernur tapi dilewatkan sekolahan. (KJP) (Sri, food seller)</p> <hr/> <p>Iya, tinggal minta bantuan pendidikan aja di DKI, jadi kita tinggal bantu, bahkan kita bantu, BLSM ada, beasiswa yang langsung, jadi kita udah, sekolah di Jakarta udah, dan itu bukan Cuma dari jaman pak Jokowi aja, dari sebelumnya udah ada. (Andi Policy Implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p>
<p>- Health Care</p>	<p>Ada bedanya, pengobatan juga gratis. (Rina, housewife)          Saya dapetnya Jamkesmas          Ya itu paling sekarang-sekarang aja, ama Jokowi. Positifnya itu aja pendidikan sama pengobatan gratis. Kalau jaman Fauzi Bowo kan belum ada.</p>
<p>- Likeability (Jokowi government)</p>	<p>Saya sih Jokowi, karena bener-bener merakyat dia turun ke jalan langsung warga. Dia mau sama warga miskin, kaya, susah, nyampur. Bisa membaur dia. (Ikhsan, employee_)</p> <p>Tapi kalau dia kan juga mikirin rak... keluarganya juga, mungkin diarahin kemana apa pergantian. Denger-denger sih kabar mau ada rumah susun nggak tau jadi atau enggak. Katanya dia,</p> <hr/> <p>Sebetulnya kalau bagi saya, kalau boleh milih. Saya bingung mau milih Jokowi karena baru berapa ini ya. Kalau semuanya juga, nggak, buat saya, nggak terlalu ngaruh, dari Pak Sutiyoso, pak, karena saya tetep aja dagang sapu kan. Dan enggak, sekarang Pak Jokowi, omzet saya jadi, enggak, sama aja segitu. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Katanya, bagus Jokowi. Katanya. Saya dalam lubuk hati, iya kalau dia ngegusur saya, nggak jadi bagus donk. Masalahnya kan ini mata pencaharian saya. Pak Jokowi bagus, iya bagus karena dia bisa masuk ke kampung, blusukan, Cuma kalau seandainya pas itu dilakukan, ya buat mereka yang rumahnya kumuh jadi umpama digantiin rumah jadi bagus kan, bagus. Cuma bagi saya yang tempat usaha begini, nggak bagus, ini saya ya, ini bicara saya. Saya sudah betah di sini, mata pencaharian saya</p>

	<p>ini.</p> <hr/> <p>suka! (smiling, enthusiastic), orangnya sopan, baik, (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>Waktu nyalonin, ke bawah sama saya salaman. Terus gubernur yang satu lagi yang dari PKS itu kan nyalonin juga. Jadi bareng-bareng sama saya, salaman lihat bebek. Nyetak-nyetak telur, anak-anak dibeliin apa. Eh barang udah jadi, nggak pernah ke sini, paling ke romo sih pernah. Ke sanggar ciliwung pernah. (Sri, food seller)</p> <p>banyak, foto-foto. Sama saya aja ngomong bahasa jawa semua. Nanya sama saya, bagaimana Bu permasalahan sehari-hari, ya saya ngobrol aja sama dia, begini-begini begini.</p> <hr/> <p>kalau saya ngelihat pak Jokowi ini ada harapan baru lah, karena Pak Jokowi ini bener-bener unik dan belum ada gitu sosok pemimpin yang peduli dan nggak dibuat-buat. Saya denger sendiri, ngomong sendiri, polosnya cara penyampaian komunikasinya yang cuma sederhana, tapi maksud dan tujuannya saya ngerti gitu. Ya tapi yang jadi khawatir itu kebaikan Jokowi akan dimanfaatkan, Jokowi nggak ada sikap ngelawan, nggak ada gregetnya. Jadi ya, nggak ada sifat ngeberontaknya. Contohnya lawan-lawan politik yang udah jelas-jelas menjatuhkan, dia nggak ada sifat berontak.</p>
<p>Influence towards community</p>	<p>Orang sini juga kan kadang udah punya rumah, dimane-dimane gitu. Pada paling ceritanya gitu, “biarin digusur juga, punya rumah ini gw di kampung” kan begitu ngomongnya. (Rina, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau kadang-kadang, iya seputar itu aja mbak, kalau lagi begini mau ada pengusuran, kadang ngobrol ini nanya nanya, ini direlokasinya kapan? Kadang sering ngobrol-ngobrol gitu aja. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Ya paling nanyain itu, ngobrol2, mudah-mudahan sih, warga di sini semua nggak direlokasi dulu, gitu.</p> <p>Dibilang formal itu, nggak ada dari pihak pemda atau pemprov nggak ada. Itu kita-kita aja, gimana ke depannya, gimana ini kita. Cuma kalau misalnya itu kebanyakan kalau di sini, semuanya nggak mau. Mereka udah betah di sini kan?</p> <p>Sebetulnya mereka juga bingung gitu, kalau seumpama ini digusur, saya lihat Pak Mul (warung) juga bingung, yang di situ, semua yang waktu di Romo itu, semuanya bingung. Mereka sepakat sebetulnya dalam hati kecilnya mereka nggak terima gitu, nggak terima walaupun memang ini program pemerintah. Tapi seandainya (Gimana ngomongnya tapi susah ya). (Reliability)</p> <p>Iya sering ngobrol makanya kan berapa kali pertemuan itu, semuanya dari raut muka semuanya bingung. Karena ada kabar dari atas, katanya mau digusur, terus yang menjadi pertanyaan kita, pemerintah sudah menyediakan tempat buat kita belum? Kalau seumpama harus, enggak ada keputusan lain, dan harus digusur, masalahnya kalau di pinggir kali</p>

	<p>Ciliwung, berapa ribu orang itu bukan binatang, mereka manusia. Dia nggak layak tinggal di sini kan, ya sediain sama pemerintah. Kan itu diatur undang-undang. Kan sebetulnya, semua warga Indonesia berhak mendapat penghidupan yang layak istilahnya, masak digusur gitu aja, dan yang terpenting bukan ganti rugi tapi tempat. Tempat setelah digusurnya masyarakatnya dimana. Kalau masalah ganti rugi gampang. pemerintah punya kok, kadang warga nggak nerima dianya ngasih. Pemerintah jangan, "terserah mereka apa urusan gue" ya jangan begitu maksud saya.</p> <hr/> <p>Sama dekat juga, kita kan berunding xxx. (penggusuran) (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>ya kalau disini beda beda itu kompak ya, jadi ga harus sama. Tergantung orangnya suku ga pengaruh. Dia biar orang mana sama mana itu engga aman lah. (Yati, housewife)</p> <hr/> <p>Ya, mempengaruhi! Ya itu saya bilang tadi kita biasanya kita akur. Pas nanti digusur kita gimana, 78 nggak kena. Iya kan kemarin belum jelas, 10 justru kena. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <hr/> <p>Makin kuat karena di Bukit Duri itu sering kena kalau lagi banjir kan ngungsi, jadi makin dekat makin tau, jadi dia nggak, malah makin kuat merasa senasib. (Andi, policy implementer in sub-district of Bukit Duri)</p> <hr/> <p>Tapi kalau warga di sini justru malah lebih solid, kemarin yang kebakaran di RT 05, temen-temen sini anak mudanya ngebantuin, ngambil apapun yang bisa buat ngambil air. Siram. (Deni, unemployed)</p> <hr/> <p>sudah mulai solid sekarang seiring berjalannya waktu, apabila terjadi musibah mereka sudah bergerak sendiri untuk menolong sesamanya (Vani, NGO)</p>
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Category/Code	Interview Excerpts
<i>Social factors</i>	
Togetherness	<p>Kadang-kadang individu kadang-kadang musyawarah. Kalau individu nggak bisa, ya diselesaikan secara musyawarah. Tapi selama saya kerja, ya belum ada hal yang ini lah, yang negatif. Aman-aman aja. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <p>Ada namanya Arisan RT. Itu pasti ada, jadi kadang-kadang ada masalah kita selesaian di Arisan RT. Itu sebulan sekali. Karena sekarang lagi banjir, kita belum ada Arisan RT lagi.</p> <p>Kalau untuk dateng semuanya sih harusnya dateng. Semua kepala keluarga diambil, kadang-kadang dititipin, kadang nggak sempet kadang sempet.</p> <p>Iya pokoknya semua kegiatan kita lakuin bareng-bareng. Acara</p>

<p>maulidan, tasyakuran, 17 agustus, kerja bakti.</p> <p>Iya bareng. Bantu. Kadang ngasih undangan semua, 3 RT diundang. Masing-masing RT RT minta nama warga.</p> <hr/> <p>Suka sih, nggak sering suka aja. Kadang kalau lagi pengen ngumpul ya keluar. Kalau mau di dalem ya di dalem. (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Paling ya cuma satu dua tiga doank yang kenal. Xxx xxx xxx. (Ikhsan, employee)</p> <p>Kadang tapi ya nggak tiap hari. Kadang kalau perlu aja kalau mau beli rokok. (Ikhsan employee)</p> <p>Eggak sampe sana-sana, paling sini doank, tukang PS. (Rina, housewife)</p> <p>Kalau misalnya kita pindah kan temen harus baru. (TEMAN!) Kalau di sini kan udah dari kecil.</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau di luar, jarang-jarang juga. Kan saya sibuk. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Sibuk, karena sibuk aja, tapi kadang keluar ke warung, ngobrol di situ, sering, Cuma nggak, karena kesibukan masing-masing di sini, sibuk semua sih ya, tukang ayam juga sibuk.</p> <p>Sebetulnya mereka juga bingung gitu, kalau seumpama ini digusur, saya lihat Pak Mul (warung) juga bingung, yang di situ, semua yang waktu di Romo itu, semuanya bingung. Mereka sepakat sebetulnya dalam hati kecilnya mereka nggak terima gitu, nggak terima walaupun memang ini program pemerintah. Tapi seandainya (Gimana ngomongnya tapi susah ya).</p> <hr/> <p>Nggak ini saya kalau siang itu nggak, jarang ada di rumah, paling pulang sore dari rumah anak, maghrib. Pulang dari rumah anak langsung mandi sholat, tidur, makan. Ya ngobrol Cuma sepintas aja, paling kalau ada perlunya aja. (Samiyem, housewife)</p> <p>Ya seneng rame-rame banyak temen, ke sana-ke sini, ke pasar dekat. Pengajian dekat.</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau kelurahan nggak pernah mengurus, apakah itu ada kegiatan arisan warga misalnya mungkin juga dari Tegal jualan nasi goreng kita nggak tau, karena itu memang tidak perlu didaftarkan di kelurahan itu. Karena itu kan arisan keluarga jadi kita nggak mendata.</p> <p>Waktu kapan mereka mau melakukan kerja bakti, kesadaran tinggi, namanya juga daerah dekat banjir, tapi kadang juga kelurahan turun. Karena banjir sudah bertahun-tahun, jadi udah tahulah harus sadar itu (! !).</p> <hr/> <p>Kalau ngumpul sering sih, enggak sih mbak, paling berinteraksi, kaya' kemarin banjir itu, kan temen-temen bikin posko tanggap darurat nah kita kadang interaksinya melalui perahu gitu, kadang kita terjun langsung di lapangan. Misal pak ibu ini rumahnya ada berapa orang kita tetep koordinasi ada air bersih atau makan. (Deni, unemployee)</p> <hr/> <p>awalnya ada pertemuan rutin, untuk membahas pengurusan dan langkah-langkah menhadapinya yang harus direncanakan, tapi karena</p>
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	<p>tidak ada kejelasan menjadikan warga malas dengan pertemuan tersebut (Vani, NGO)</p>
Newcomers	<p>Kalau orang yang baru dateng, biasanya yang didatengengin terutama yang punya rumah, yang punya rumah ya lapor diri. Di sini sih nggak ada perbedaan. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <p>Kadang-kadang kita minta juga. Ya namanya manusia kan susah, tergantung kepala keluarganya juga gitu. Tapi sini selama saya jadi pengurus, nggak ada perbedaanlah dalam hal sembako contohnya, sama, semuanya dapet.</p>
Religion	<p>Muslim. (Mayoritas) (Budi, Policy implementer)</p> <p>Natal biasa aja. Ada yang ngerayain, ada berapa rumah paling 2 rumah ya, tapi biasa aja sih.</p>
Bridgehead community	<p>kalau saya sih milihnya yang berbeda-beda jadi kita tau sifat-sifatnya. Ada sunda jawa padang betawi. (Budi, Policy Implementer)</p> <p>Tergantung sukunya (TERGANTUNG SUKUNYA!!!) ada betawi, jawa, cirebon, kalau di RT 5 itu betawi sama jawa. Ya tergantung kita juga sih, kalau orang naikin ini biaya, lahan ya lahan basah, ya sumbangan-sumbangan mereka gampang, kalau nggak punya duit ya bilang nggak apa-apa, kesulitan sih ada tapi cepet selesai. Namanya juga udah 4 periode.</p> <hr/> <p>Enakkan di sini, beda-beda, kalau di sana kan, xxx adatnya dia doank sendiri, etnis dia sendiri Jawa doank, kalau dia kan nggak mau baur sama yang lain. Kalau di sini kan kita baur sama yang lain, Jawa, Batak, Sunda, Palembang, enakya begitu mbak, nyampur. (Ikhsan, employee)</p> <p>Sama aja, bareng-bareng. Enggak masing-masing, nyampur, orang Sunda kek orang Jawa.</p> <p>Yang nyampur aja bareng-bareng.</p> <hr/> <p>Ya ini, ini jauh dari Cirebon, jauh dari rumah saya ini. Ini pedagang, tapi saya suruh bantu-bantu. (Fahmi, entrepreneur)</p> <p>Ini dari Cirebon (Pointing), itu jauh dari kampung saya sebetulnya, ini dari Cirebon (pointing), ini Bapak dari daerah Bojong Gedhe, daerah-daerah Bogor, dari Bogor ada, dari Kuningan ada, dari Cirebon ada.</p> <p>Sibuk, karena sibuk aja, tapi kadang keluar ke warung, ngobrol di situ, sering, Cuma nggak, karena kesibukan masing-masing di sini, sibuk semua sih ya, tukang ayam juga sibuk.</p> <p>Kalau kekurangan saya ngambil dari kampung, tapi sejauh ini masih bisa dicover karena ini kan udah finishingnya aja di sini. Kalau di kampung ada lagi yang kerja, jadi di sini agak cepet, sendiri berdua aja bantu-bantu bisa lah. Tapi kadang-kadang kalau lagi musim ramenya ya ada yang bantuin.</p> <p>Dari kampung. (Mengambil pekerjaanya dari)</p>

	<p>Di sini susah, di sini kalau kerja gini kan perlu skill juga ya, kalau kaya' ini nih (pointing), kalau seumpama yang baru, nggak bisa tuh. Nggak cepet. Itu enggak, itu susah (pelan), susahnya karena dari merekanya kadang.</p> <p>Ya waktu itu pernah diundang ke sanggar. Kalau Romo bilang juga sebetulnya kita udah enak di sini. Kalau seumpama direlokasi dipindah ke tempat lain kita harus memikirkan segalanya. Segalanya dari awal lagi. (Mewakili karyawannya untuk ke Sanggar)</p> <p>Ya itu sebenarnya lebih enak sama yang deket=deket. Cuma bagi saya nggak masalah semuanya. Karena ini kan juga orang Bogor, tetangga, ini yang samping rumah saya orang Jawa, orang Jawa Tengah, baik sih nggak apa-apa, nggak masalah. Selagi kita baik, mereka baik juga. Saya nggak, oh ini harus orang dari satu kampung. Atau satu daerah enggak.</p> <p>iya nanya juga biasa gitu. Kalau ketemu, Pak Haji. Jarang nongkrong bareng, kalau ketemu ya nanya, saling nyapa aja gitu. Kalau ngobrol-ngobrol enggak.</p>
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