

Education, Modes of Resistance and the Preservation of Urban Kampung

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In the 2003 Indonesian state budget the allocation for education was just 3.8%. This means that state budget for education in Indonesia is the lowest in Asia (Kompas, 2003). In consequence, the quality of education is not improving and schools are forced to squeeze parent's pockets for extra funds. For marginalised communities in sub-urban areas the burden of educational costs puts a difficult strain on the family economy and actually perpetuates poverty. The perspective often reflected in government policy surmises that the urban poor are responsible for their own economic deficiencies. In contrast to this point of view is a critical perspective which seeks to unravel the present social and economic problems by looking at a number of powerful processes and how they have worked to create dependency and poverty in Indonesia today. Modernization and the emphasis on economic growth, industrialization and the Green Revolution as well as the international system of economic management, whereby developing countries are provided with aid in order to spur economic growth, are all responsible for this situation.

Furthermore neo-liberal economic globalisation has seen the perpetuation of economic restructuring schemes such as the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) stipulated by the IMF and the World Bank which have had and are still having impoverishing effects on developing countries. Under these conditions the power and protection of the state is diminishing. One consequence is the increasing costs of education. However, despite such increases evidence suggests that the urban poor possess strategies of resistance which keep their children in school. Such strategies include entering informal sector employment and maintaining traditional informal social institutions and networks. However 'survival' in marginalized sub-urban areas is often dependent on existing in a state of perpetual debt or living at a mere subsistence level.

This paper will seek to shed light on the lives of kampung¹ people in the face of an increasingly unprotective state. It will take the issue of education and economic

¹ Residential area in town or city often associated with lower classes.

reality as an entry point into answering the following questions. 1. What shape do the struggles of kampong people take? 2. What means, strategies or tactics are used to survive? 3. And why do people continue the impoverishing process of sending their children to school when the chances of significant economic change are minimal?

The case study used in this paper is based on qualitative research that the writer conducted in RW² Pogung Rejo, Dusun³ Pogung Kidul, Kelurahan⁴ Sinduadi, Kecamatan⁵ Mlati, Sleman Yogyakarta during August-December 2004. Its validity is given strength by the fact that the writer has lived and been involved in the community from February 2004 up until the present time.

Modernisation, Industrialisation and the Green Revolution

The current stage in Indonesia's history is labeled *reformasi*. It is an era characterised by change, reform and continuities. The longstanding effects of Modernisation and the Green Revolution are deeply entrenched and contribute to an understanding of why Indonesia and many third world countries are in the position they are today. Modernisation stressed the need for developing countries to emulate the technological, intellectual and cultural superiority of the "civilized" and "wealthy" nations of the west. One of the more strongly argued positions that poor nations must imitate rich nations, was that of Walt Whitman Rostow who made a significant contribution to this school of thought (Halevy). According to Rostow's work on "The Take-off into Self-Sustained Growth" there are five stages of economic development. The first stage is traditional society and the final stage is a society with high-mass consumption. Rostow argues that following the traditional phase, which is characterised by little social change, countries on the path to development will experience a "precondition stage for economic growth," with the increase in industries and expansion of markets. However at the same time as this economic growth there occurs an increase in population and decrease in death rate and therefore self-sustained economic growth cannot be achieved. He suggests that the problems facing third world countries are a result of their lack of productive investment which leaves them stagnant in the pre-condition stage. To overcome this, Rostow prescribes an increase in productive investment with the help of foreign aid from the international

² Rukun Warga – Second lowest administrative unit at the city level

³ Village level administration

⁴ Political district administered by the village chief

⁵ Subdistrict

monetary institutions and the developed countries. The rationale behind economic growth is enticing; however the reality paints a different picture. It is argued that following this prescription economic growth will be realized and with it there will occur an increase in employment opportunities, growth in national income, rise in consumer demands and the creation of a strong domestic market (So,1990).

A further process, that is inextricably linked to modernization, which is useful to explain the condition that Indonesia finds itself in today, is the Green Revolution. The Green Revolution in Indonesia is particularly relevant for this paper, which takes the city as its focus, because this course of action can explain the phenomena of urbanization which began in Yogyakarta during the 1980s (Khudori, 1998). The Green Revolution, an agricultural development program, was shaped by the intensification, expansion and commercialization of agriculture. The introduction of machines, pesticides and the facilitation of credit in rural areas all had the aim of maximizing production/surplus for not only domestic use but for export also. The consequence of such “development” in rural areas, aside from further increasing dependency on industrial countries for capital, was a sharp increase in rural unemployment which in turn propelled rural populations to move on mass to urban areas in search of a livelihood.

Indonesia filled the fatal prescription for ‘economic growth’ and was subjected to the Green Revolution. In consequence the golden fields of economic prosperity, for most, remain allusive. During the Suharto era economic growth did occur (Muybarto, Bromley, 2002) however like in many developing countries under “the helping hand” of foreign aid, such as Brazil (So, 1990), the general population did not see real improvements in their circumstances. This view is expressed by Atkinson et.al “There is gradual recognition that economic growth has not produced equality, social justice – either within or between countries,” (cited in Mubyarto, Bromley 2002:2). Instead, contrary to the predictions of economic growth and increased employment opportunities propounded by modernization theorists, industrialization and the ensuing process of urbanization have in fact had very harmful effects. After moving to the city in search of an income rural populations were faced with the reality that industrialization required full capital and not full employment. Most migrants to urban areas were not equipped with the skills or technology to benefit from

industrialization and therefore today Indonesia is faced with a serious unemployment problem.

Globalisation

The very practices of modernisation and industrialisation have formed the basis of the processes of global integration dominating Indonesia today. Globalisation is characterized by a spatial reorganisation of production, an increasingly common interpenetration of industries across borders, the broadening of financial markets, the diffusion of identical consumer goods and an emerging world-wide preference for less statism and more democratic decision-making (Mittelman, 1997: 2). The economic development that began in Indonesia during the 1960s has led to a situation where in order to pay the interest on previous loans the Indonesian state is forced to borrow more money. This dependency means Indonesia is forced to accept SAPs as conditions of the loan payments. SAPs, underpinned by neo-liberal economic theory prescribe privatization and free trade as the cure to economic ill health. Such globalization of the economy has paved the way for the development of economic processing zones in Indonesia and many developing countries. These zones, a sanctuary for trans-national corporations (TNCs), permit the exploitation of the poor to suit corporate interests. Furthermore, increased global integration means that poorer countries become more vulnerable to world financial markets. The East Asian Crisis was a direct result of globalisation and resulted in intensifying poverty (Begg, 2001). Globalisation also meant that there was a rapid transition of the crisis to the other East Asian countries - the 'contagion effect' - having devastating human consequences (Begg, 2001). The reimbursements of the global market provide for only a relatively small proportion of the world's population. The stronger become stronger and the weak become weaker.

The economic crisis in Indonesia and the city of Yogyakarta

If we view only raw economic data the development process which began in Indonesia during the 1960s can be said to have had some positive effects on reducing poverty levels. For example in 1993 the total population considered to be poor was 25.9 million people. This figure declined in 1996 to become 23.9 million (Rika, Listyaningsih, 2001). However the effects of the monetary crisis which struck Indonesia in 1997 show the vulnerability of the Indonesian state and economy to

changes in the global market. In the space of one year during 1997-1998 there was a sharp increase in poverty with 79.4 million people classified as poor. Across Indonesia one of the most significant consequences of the monetary crisis was a rapid escalation in unemployment. With the onset of the crisis many companies were unable to pay wages and forced to dismiss workers. This situation was the result of an increase in the costs of raw materials and a decrease in the buying power of the population. Of course the economic crisis affected many other aspects of life such as health and education. One consequence of the crisis in Yogyakarta was related to the impact on the total number of students who were unable to continue their schooling. In the teaching year of 1998-1999, 2533 students from primary to senior high school dropped out of school (Bernas). Speaking at the time the head of the regional office for education and teaching (Dinas P&P), Drs Wahyunto, commented that there were a variety of reasons why students discontinued their education. However he stated that the main factor was a lack of funds to pay for education.

A micro view: economic reality in an urban kampong, Pogung Rejo.

Some of the consequences that the above mentioned arrangements have had can be viewed by examining one of Yogyakarta's marginalized communities, that is, Pogung Rejo. This community is located on the upper northern banks of the Code River, one of three major rivers cutting through Yogyakarta. Up until approximately 15-20 years ago the area was characterised by dense forest, rice fields and just a spattering of houses. Today, the houses, in some cases just one or two rooms, cover most of the land running down the slopes of the river. In the formal sense this land is 'illegal'. In other words the residents do not possess a certificate of ownership for the land and they pay annual rent to the kelurahan. We can see the difficulties that this kind of arrangement poses for local residents by taking the recent landslide in Pogung Rejo as an example. For over a year members of the local community had been requesting that the government do something to prevent a landslide. However initially a conventional economic stance was adopted by the government whereby the costs of building a retaining wall to stop further erosion were considered far greater than the human damage caused by not acting at all. Consequently four houses fell off the cliff and into the river as a result of the river flooding and the subsequent landslide. Ten families were left without safe places to live. The government has finally decided to partially build a masonry wall on the lower part of the river bank.

The disparities in wealth amongst and between communities are glaringly obvious in this locality. Within the Dusun, Pogung Rejo quite obviously houses the poorer members of the urban population. This judgment is based on such things as the width of paths and the state of housing in the kampung. In his study carried out in Ledok, a kampung situated also on the Code River, Guinness (1986) points out that the differences in social rank amongst kampung members are accorded based on whether the member's house is street-side or off the street in the kampung. He suggests that street-side residents are accorded higher social rank, whereas people living off the street and in the kampung are considered dirty and are even to be feared. In Pogung Rejo there are very few street-side residences, most of the paths running through the kampung are not wide enough for cars to pass through and in some areas the paths are only suitable for pedestrian use. Most of the houses on the lower bank of the river don't have toilets or bathrooms and so the residents must use the communal pipe on the side of the river for washing clothes and bathing etc. On the other hand Pogung Baru approximately 200 meters away exhibits wide roads, well kept gardens and larger modern housing made of more solid weather proof materials. This well off area houses many wealthy Indonesians and foreigners. To the north of Pogung Rejo, a five minute walk away lays an extremely affluent housing estate; here the houses are more like the extravagant villas lining The Sydney Harbor in Australia than homes on the northern fringes of a city in the developing world.

Compared to other settlements on the Code river, such as Gondalayu which started to absorb inward coming migrants at the beginning of the 1980s (Khudori, 2002) Pogung Rejo is not as densely populated. One reason for this could be its location away from the central business district. The fact that it is slightly less populated means there is some empty land (although this land is rapidly being absorbed by the building of students dormitories and houses) that is used for small vegetable patches or children's playing areas. These characteristics are more particular to rural areas than urban space. According to the urbanization theory propounded by Clark (1996) there are two ways of explaining the behavior of rural immigrants when they move to the city. The first is related to the process of 'adaptation' where immigrants involve themselves completely in urban culture. The second explanation refers to the way migrants continue to use patterns of interaction

and behavior commonly found in village areas. This account has produced the phrase “urban village”. The high level of social interaction, familial ties as well as the endurance of traditional cultural practices found in Pogung Rejo suggests that the latter explanation of urbanization could be used to describe this urban community.

Due to the effects of urbanisation the demography of Pogung Rejo began to change dramatically from one of rural village to one with urban characteristics. The largest percentage of the population migrated to Pogung Rejo from the provinces of Gunung Kidul and Wonosari located east of Yogyakarta in the last 20 years. Approximately 80 percent of the current population comes from the aforementioned regions. The most commonly stated reason for moving to the city is related to the need to search for *nafkah* or a livelihood. This motivation to move to urban areas is found among rural migrants across the developing world (Tadjuddin, 2005:10). According to most migrants living in this community life in the village was, economically, not easy. Farming was no longer able to support the day to day needs of the family and therefore the choice was made to move to the city where, it was hoped, money would be easier to find and life would be better for their children. After making the shift to the city many migrants found that they could just meet the family’s day to day economic requirements. However life, they discovered, was also not easy in the city due to a low level of education and the lack of skills required to enter formal sector employment.

Despite working long hours and numerous jobs many kampung members still find themselves poor. McClelland (Halevy) an important figure in the modernization school, talks about the relationship between economic growth and the *need for achievement*. He purports that those with a high *need for achievement* will work harder, faster etc. He suggests that the cause of economic growth is directly related to a high need for achievement. There are many cases not only in Pogung Rejo that dispel this theory. One such example is Mrs. Dina who has three children and lives in Pogung Rejo in a small bamboo walled house on the very edge of the river. Her house doesn’t have a toilet, bathroom, kitchen or telephone. Six days a week she leaves home at 7.30 in the morning to earn a living as a domestic worker in a neighboring affluent kampung, Pogung Baru. She works until 4 o’clock in the afternoon and then returns to her bamboo walled house for a half an hour rest. At approximately 4.30 she

climbs up the steep river slope in Pogung Rejo and washes clothes for a wealthier member of the community for an hour. For this work she receives 250,000 rupiah a month or approximately \$A35. Her husband, a pedi cab driver, sometimes receives as little as 5,000-10,000 rupiah a day or less than \$1A-\$A1.40. However recently he has been sick and unable to work and therefore Mrs. Dina is the sole income-earner. Another example of a slightly better off economic situation is that of Mrs. Sri. Her house is situated on the divide between the upper and lower areas of the kampung, this space possesses imagined meaning suggesting a division between those with greater and lesser economic status respectively. Mrs. Sri has three children, her eldest child died last year due to a late detection of cancer. Everyday Mrs. Sri goes to the market early in the morning to buy the goods required to open her cooked food stall at night. During the middle of the day she runs a tailor shop from her living room where her sewing machine can be heard running non-stop, while her husband works as a driver for a hotel. In the afternoon she prepares the food to be cooked and sold later in the evening. Before 5.30 Mrs. Sri and her husband push the food cart up the hill to the front of the kampong and set up the bamboo sticks and canvas which become their workplace for the evening. The stall stays open until approximately 10.30 at night. Mrs. Sri told the writer that the collective income of her family is changeable, however it amounts to approximately 1,000,000 rupiah a month or \$A142. These two cases show that the causes of poverty are not inherent to the individuals involved or explained by a lack of the 'need for achievement' attitude as propounded by McClelland. Rather the causes of poverty can be found in the macro-structure which makes it impossible for the poor in urban areas to gain equal access to the economic and political processes available to the rest of society.

Education and the family economy

"You calculate 5,000 (average daily income) by how many days before I have 2 million rupiah to send my child to high school."

Mr. Fredi

"My third child doesn't have her junior high school certificate because I can't pay the remaining 200,000 rupiah that I owe for her school fees. She doesn't have a job and it will be difficult to get one without proof of her junior high school level education."

Mrs. Heni

People with lower economic status in Indonesia today wont hesitate to tell you that to be educated in the formal sense nowadays there is one prerequisite, that is, get rich first. The cost of school fees, yearly donations, books and uniforms are exorbitant when compared to many kampung members' monthly incomes. Government policy, which dictates liberalization in the education sector through the decentralization and privatization of schools, has without a doubt severely affected the ability of poor parents to put their children through school (Kompas, Rabu, 2005). Under the regional autonomy laws implemented in 1999 the national education department is only responsible for national education programs and curriculum. All other decisions, including the handling of funds, have been given to regional governments (Rulianto, 2000). If regional governments gave schools in their regions the proper portion of their budgets then education would not have to suffer. However improvements in the education sector are highly doubtable as regional governments, who are not so different from the central government, in that they don't have great concern for something, like education, which, it is believed will not bring profit to the region. As a consequence the portion of educational costs managed by parents is 53-73 per cent of the total cost of education (Kompas, Rabu, 2005).

The expenses for parents are increasing but the quality of education in schools is not. The local primary school in Pogung Rejo is without a grade two teacher. The headmaster has been making requests to the regional government, without success, for this position to be filled by another teacher. As a result the grade two students continue to go to school much later than usual so that they can be taught by the grade one teacher. According to some mothers this has negative effects as the teacher is tired and without the full energy required to teach effectively. Furthermore they are confused as to why the quality of their children's education is not up to scratch when in 2004 the monthly fees (SPP) increased by 4,000 rupiah, not an insignificant amount for poor families. Many families are not able to pay SPP consistently. At the local primary school there are a number of students who can't pay their SPP, despite the small amount of money, 10,000 (\$A1.40) rupiah, required. One such student is one of five children, her father left the family seven years ago and has never returned or sent money. Her mother works as a cleaner at an Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) where she receives 200,000 rupiah (approximately \$A30) a month. Another case is a student who has one other sibling. This student's parents have not paid the SPP in

months. According to them the reason is that they struggle on a daily basis to accumulate the capital required to open their tempe and rice stall at night and therefore hardly ever have anything extra for their other needs. There are many more students at a junior and senior high school level whose parents are unable to keep up with the monthly payments. Many parents have reported that their children wag school in order to avoid the embarrassment of being the student whose parents can't pay the fees.

For poor households the largest expenditure, aside from food, is for education (Wahono, 2001). According to a survey done by the department of education's team for research and development (Tim Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Depdiknas) 20 per cent of household monthly expenditure is used to pay for education. (Kompas, Rabu, 2005). Information collected through informal interviews with 25 families in Pogung Rejo portrays the extent of the burden educational costs put on the family economy. The most alarming finding from these interviews is the number of families with an income that does not or almost does not cover the costs of education. The costs of education were calculated based on the following expenditures: reenrollment, monthly fees, uniform, stationary and books, courses related to education and pocket money spent at school. Four families out of the 25 families interviewed admitted that the costs needed to put their children through school actually exceed their monthly earnings. As an example one family with three children, two of whom are in primary school told the writer that the amount of money required for education a month was 390,000 rupiah (\$A55.70) whereas the monthly family income is 200,000 rupiah (\$A28.55). It is not a surprise that one of the children in this family, Titik, sells small bags of flavored ice in her break time at school. Titik and her sister Dewi are both ready to move up a class at school. However they both have debts to the school. Dewi still owes 112,000 rupiah for her SPP and school uniform. She has been told by her teacher that she won't get her final grade or her school report if this debt is not paid.

One educational expense not calculated was that of entrance fees paid at the beginning of primary, junior and senior high school as most respondents were unable to remember this cost. However for primary school this cost is between 125,000-400,000 rupiah (\$A17.85-\$A57.15), for junior high school 250,000-one million rupiah (\$A35.70-\$A142.85) and for senior high school (including technical school) is

550,000- two and a half million rupiah (\$A78.57-\$A357). It is this fee that prevents many students from making the shift between primary and junior high school or from junior to senior high school. Titik, mentioned above has been told by her mother that unless their economic circumstance changes significantly Titik will not go to junior high school. Many students in this kampung don't go on to high school or if they do it is usually to a technical high school (SMK) where they learn vocational skills such as sewing, mechanics or accounting.

Strategies, modes of resistance for survival

“The reproduction of lower income groups, of “the poor”, of the urban marginal masses, as well as the reproduction of the city as a social and economic system is ensured only so long as urban subsistence exists. The latter is therefore an essential and indispensable characteristic of the urban economy.”

Hans-Dieter Evers and Rudiger Korf (2000:23)

There is a variety of strategies or modes of resistance that communities use in order to continue schooling their children and keep on reproducing themselves. In Pogung Rejo the strategies that are used to fulfill educational costs can be broadly categorized into the following: informal traditional social networks and informal sector employment that provide for a subsistence level of survival for the majority of families.

It is the strength of social capital such as informal social networks, social responsibility (*tolong-menolong*) and community social security that provide a means for communities to *resist* the persisting social and economic pressures due to an increasingly unprotective state. Social tradition, particularly traditional social networks are utilized by kampung members when they are unable to fulfill their children's educational needs. Furthermore within such informal social institutions the principle of social responsibility exists and functions to provide a helping hand to those in need. The existence of high levels of social interaction and social or family networks provides not only employment opportunities within the informal sector, but also functions to build an information network between members which, amongst other uses, functions as a strategy to find work (Tadjuddin, 2005:10). Networks such as these operate throughout the kampung and also often stretch to the original village

that kampung members still call home, in the case of Pogung Rejo that is Wonosari or Gunung Kidul. One neighbor found that once he moved to the city his wife was able to find work as a domestic household worker, whereas he was left unemployed. He still held strong ties with his home village and decided to return there and work. He comes home once a fortnight to visit his two young children who attend school in the city. Mrs. Muji is frequently out of work but never for long periods of time. She uses the social network in Pogung Rejo to receive information about job opportunities as a clothes washer or domestic household worker.

Ironically modernization is simultaneously eroding and increasing the need for these social institutions in many parts of the lesser developed world. However in Pogung Rejo it appears to be the case that social and family networks are still strong and are definitely a part of the survival strategy of families in this kampung. To paint the picture, in one block of one large RT (RT16 blok C) every household with the exception of two is somehow related. An illustration of how family and social networks are used as a strategy to pay for education, is the way those kampung members with a more fortunate economic situation assist lesser off members by finding them extra work. For example, Mrs. Ida who has four children, two of whom are school aged, primary and junior high school, finds the money to put her girls through school by washing clothes higher up on the riverbank for a wealthier member of the community. Another example is that of Mrs. Senin whose husband works on building projects. Mrs Senin finds female kampong members, who are momentarily or permanently out of work, a means of meeting their families' minimum living costs, including education, by giving them the job of cooking lunches for workers on the building sites. The women are free to flow in and out of this job depending on their employment and economic needs.

Another function of this social network is the rotating credit associations and the informal borrowing and lending system that operates among kampong members included in the social network. In Pogung Rejo there are a number of rotating credit associations, known as *arisan*. *Arisan* has the dual function of disseminating information on government programs related to health and family planning etc. and more usefully it provides households with credit. There are many of these associations at different levels of the social structure. The association at the lowest level is *Dasa*

Wisma which involves ten female household heads, following this there is an *arisan* association which is a combination of four *Dasa Wisma* groups at the RT (sub-neighborhood association) level. Then there are *arisan* groups between RT at a RW level and then right up to the Kelurahan level. At the lower levels of *arisan* in Pogung Rejo most married women with children are members, while at the higher levels only a representative attends and passes on any information that she receives. At the *Dasa Wisma* and RT level each member of the group contributes 10,000 rupiah and on a rotating basis receives a lump sum that can be up to around 500,000 rupiah. Some women report using this money as the capital to re-open a bankrupt stall, repay debts or pay school fees. Also kampung members frequently borrow from their family and friends in order to pay the enrollment fees to enter school or the yearly re-enrollment fee. At any given time there is a complex web of debt whereby one person borrows from not just one source but many. Often in order to repay the loans with the incurred interest the borrower has to borrow from another source and so on and so on.

Within this interdependent community a number of kampung members take on the role of a social security department by paying the monthly school fees of those kampung children deemed underprivileged economically. However this is limited to a few children and there are many others who would benefit from this kind of assistance. Other ways in which social security networks benefit the community, other than those related to paying for education, is through helping out with donations of food or money when someone is ill, experiences disaster or an accident. It is clear that these networks, underpinned by the strong sense of community, are a crucial component of the survival strategy used in this kampung.

A further mode of resistance that kampung members employ to continue educating their children in the formal system is by seeking out a living in the informal sector. According to Tadjuddin (2005:10), the creation of job opportunities in the modern sector actually expands the level of open unemployment as the flow of workers from rural areas can't be accommodated in the formal-modern sector. Therefore sections of society, which have a, 'very precarious basis of subsistence,' (Hans-Dieter Evers and Rudiger Korf, 2000:135) will try to survive and secure their reproduction by using all possible economic opportunities, most often by combining a number of income and production sources usually in the informal sector. The informal

sector cannot simply be viewed as a part in the dual economy of cities, alongside the formal sector because cities are much more heterogeneous than that. Indeed the distinction between the formal and informal sector is blurred, despite this Breman (cited in Manning et al, 2001:4) offers us a clear explanation of the informal sector by dividing the work force in cities into three groups. The first is the petit bourgeoisie: those with the capital and skills to open their own business, the second are the sub-proletariat group: workers in small industry and those with their own small business without capital or with a small amount of capital and finally paupers: the very poor, beggars and those participating in criminal activities (Manning et al, 2001:4). The second category is the most useful to describe the case in many lesser developed countries and it is this explanation of the informal sector that most aptly describes the employment situation in Pogung Rejo.

Most households in Pogung Rejo seek out a living in the informal sector by opening their own small businesses, riding rickshaws, pushing food/drink carts or providing a service such as domestic household work or massages for wealthier members of society. It is often a combined income gained in this sector that pays students school expenses. However, ironically government policy reflects a fear that the informal sector will invade the city, dirty it and make it look 'poor' when really it is this sector that is supporting and producing the human resources necessary for 'economic development.' One family affected by such policy is that of Mrs. Nining. Mrs Nining and her husband used to be farmers, they moved to the city because, as they said, 'the land dried up and farming wasn't meeting out daily needs.' Mrs. Nining sells cakes, noodles and drinks to rickshaw drivers, bus workers and passersby, while her husband rides a rickshaw and fixes passing motorist's punctured tires. In Yogyakarta they have been running the show on what is called the 'civil corner' (*pojok sipil*) out the front of Pogung Rejo on the fringes of Gadjah Mada University for the last ten years. Mrs. Nining used to set up bamboo sticks and canvas for her customers to sit under. However since she has received a number of notices from the university and the local government requesting that she stop selling her food on the pavement, she now works behind the stone wall. Her work is almost invisible not only to university and government authorities but also to potential customers. Due to the combined work of Mrs. Nining and her husband in the informal sector their

children have now reached junior high and senior high school. Mrs. Nining admits that their income is enough for food and education but nothing more.

Highlighting the efforts to rise above the realities of being unemployed and the strategies needed to meet educational costs is the proliferation of informal laundries and small stalls in kampung houses. The large number of university students makes laundries a potentially lucrative business, but due to the fact that many people use this strategy the profits are small. However combined with another income laundries provide a viable means to meet needs. Small stalls are often opened up in the family's living room or a side window of the house. The goods sold are just vegetables and other basic household goods. A number of families with two or three children manage to pay for education using the income gained from stalls such as this and one other small income, such as a soft drink seller or worker in a mechanical workshop (*bengkel*). According to some kampung members if income in this sector is not enough to pay for their children's education they are able to extend their working hours in the hope of increasing their takings. Employment in the informal sector is an indispensable strategy, albeit most often not a choice, that most families in Pogung Rejo create in order to ensure their reproduction. Once again despite hard work and long hours it is most often the case that the informal sector, due to its marginal status, produces a mere subsistent level of existence.

Continuing school, perpetuating poverty, so why?

As has been outlined above education places a considerable strain on the family economy in sub-urban areas, such as Pogung Rejo. In order just to meet daily needs, including education, innovation, initiative and hard work in the informal sector are required. Or if informal sector income doesn't suffice a family has to begin locking themselves into a cycle of debt or extend already long working hours. When 36 million Indonesians are unemployed (Pilger, 2001) and the phenomenon of the 'educated unemployed' is well known then why do parents continue the impoverishing process of schooling their children? To answer this it is necessary to make an attempt at describing and explaining social behavior and also understand the meanings that education has for parents.

To explain basic social behavior Homans uses two bodies of theory, that is, behavioral psychology and rudimentary economics. Both these theories can be combined as they both view human behavior as a 'function of its payoff: in amount and kind it depends on the amount and kind of reward and punishment it fetches' (Poloma, 1979). In other words both interpret the exchange of human activities in terms of reward and cost and therefore human activities are explained in terms of the cost of certain activities compared to the gain for the actor. For that reason social interaction is an exchange of "goods" and services through which each party or actor endeavors to decrease costs and capitalize on profits. Homans argues that an exchange will continue so long as both parties perceive the exchange to be profitable (Poloma, 1979). So one explanation as to why humans interact in certain ways is related to the exchange value they acquire in return for their behavior. In Pogung Rejo parents continue to pay the monthly school fees and the expensive enrollment fees on the premise that in return they receive prestige and feelings of hope. The exchange between the school and parents continues as it brings profit to both parties. The more money parents pay the more they perceive to gain.

What parents receive in this exchange is not material goods in return for their money but instead education provides prestige and feelings of hope. Despite the real returns that education provides it is a matter of pride for parents to be able to school their children. Many parents in this community only had the opportunity to attend some years of primary school and others didn't have any formal education whatsoever. One parent said that it is important that her child gets an education so that he doesn't become "impolite" (*kurang ajar*). Other parents state that if their children have an education they will be able to get good jobs and take care of their parents, which provides prestigious gossiping material to be reported in the alleysways and to be known by other kampung members. A large number of parents in Pogung Rejo have the aspiration that through formal education their children will become public servants, a job of considerable prestige in Indonesia.

For many parents in this kampung education provides the hope that life will be better for their children and because of this they continue paying school expenses. Modernisation offers the hope that with education individuals will be able to improve their circumstances, find work and advance. This element of 'progress' or

'advancement' is indispensable to modernisation theory and the ideas and images which support it are transmuted through the mass media which reaches even the poorest households. In Pogung Rejo a major reason why parents consider education for their children to be vital, despite its impoverishing effects, is so that their children "won't be left behind by the epoch" (*biar nggak ketinggalan zaman*), or in more apt English terms, so that children "will be able to keep up with the times." Others continue educating their children because of the view that "it is difficult to advance without education...with knowledge from a formal institution it is possible to advance" (*Susah maju tanpa pendidikan...dengan ilmu bisa maju*). Education symbolically provides prestige. It also offers hope which is generated by guarantees that education will ensure advancement.

Closing words

This paper has attempted to show that kampungs are not sites of hopeless apathy but rather dynamic collectivities bearing sturdy means for survival which sustain large portions of the urban population whose interests are usually ignored in urban planning. The strategies that kampung dwellers use to survive are admirable but, the fact that they have no choice in this is not. It has been explained here that with decreasing state assistance and increasing pressure on parents to provide the economic resources necessary to be educated, families possess modes of resistance and strategies to survive. In shedding light on the resistance of kampung people the intention is not to express that this situation is tolerable and without need for attention. But rather to bring to the fore the reality that kampungs, such as Pogung Rejo, should not be spaces feared and discarded by government authorities and the middle classes, but instead supported and deemed a vital element in the development of cities. Furthermore in the field of education the duping of parents into a perceivably profitable exchange must stop and the burden on families relieved. The education budget should be increased according to the constitution which states that 20% of the state budget be allocated for education (Setiogi, 2004). A scholarship program for poor families must be implemented widely and fairly. Furthermore because the situation in education today is inclined to exclude those students who cannot afford to pay for their knowledge, informal and semiformal education, which provides certification, must be put into practice.

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