

Dealing with Brawls in Jakarta's Slum Area: Pursuing Social Development through Social Engagement.

Paulus Wirutomo[†]

Abstract: Brawls (*tawuran*) in the slum areas of Jakarta has a complex factors, not simply economic poverty, but social exclusion. Sociologically, the problem of these slums is weak communities structurally, culturally and *processually*¹. What they need is not only economic development but a proper social development.

This study reveals how the structural-cultural and *processual* elements are interacting and cross-cutting each other creating a certain quality of socio-cultural life of the slums. The City Government believes that technocratic and bureaucratic development, with an emphasis on economic and physical sectors, will automatically improve the quality of social development. This study however, shows that a “social engagement” approach is needed to balance the deterministic and bureaucratic approach of the existing technocratic Development toward more inclusive Social Development.

Keywords: collective fight, urban violence, slum, social development, structure, culture, process, social engagement.

1. Introduction

The existing growth-oriented development strategy has unmistakably failed to develop people's essential well-being, social inclusion, and quality of socio-cultural life. The economic development strategy has been criticized as being too technocratic, too materially oriented, and too limited in its view of human beings as “one dimensional” actors, hence, reducing them to objects of development. The coming future social sciences should play a more prescriptive role to balance the strong materialistic drive of development with the quality of **socio-cultural life** which is structurally, culturally and *processually* conducive to social inclusion. In short, we need a more sociological concept of social development.

[†] IAB : International Advisory Board, Center for Social Well-being Studies and Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia. paulus_sosiologi@yahoo.com

[date of submission: August 2, 2016] [date of acceptance: August 4, 2016]

¹ The word *processual* is a conceptual terminology specifically used here to refer to the dynamic aspect of society, the ongoing process of informal and un-patterned social interactions beyond the binding of structure and culture. It also refers to the *quality* of public sphere in which people could negotiate the existing order and express their aspiration.

The World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 saw eradication of poverty as a central issue. However, we should admit that besides poverty, there are many other destructive factors to socio-cultural life of human kind, such as violence, terrorism, exploitation, discrimination of the minorities and so on. These all are caused by social exclusion. That is why inclusive socio-cultural life, must instead be the basic target of socio-cultural development, material poverty is only a part of the problem.

Reviewing the existing concepts of social development shows that this particular concept tends to be perceived as a specific field or sector, thus very partial and even residual such as: the provision of basic social services (Kammerman and Khan, 1979), social work for community development (Payne, 2005), individual improvement such as self-actualization, entrepreneurship, capacity building (Midgley, 2003), as the programs of bringing back indigenous culture as the basis of development (Sukamoto, 2003). Even MDGs as the developmental target of the millennium is only emphasizing the improvement of some “social sectors” like education, health, etc. Midgley has defined social development as:

“ .. a process of promoting people welfare in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development” (Midgley, 1995: 8).

However, Wirutomo has warned:

“...the “conjunction” may not only be a politically trivial lip service or a compromise with the capitalistic economic interest.social and economic domain essentially belongs to the same domain i.e. socio-cultural life of a society“(Wirutomo, 2011: 284).

As a matter of fact, economic life is essentially a socio-cultural life. Marx proclaimed it to be: *“...social relation of production”* (Marx, 1970). Hence, social development must be considered as the basis or root of economic and other sectors’ development. Wirutomo said:

“...any developmental endeavor must be rooted in the same purpose that is the improvement of the quality of “socio-cultural life”. To achieve that, we definitely need a social development concept which simultaneously covers the improvement of all basic elements of socio-cultural life namely the structural aspect (the pattern of power relations), cultural aspect (the internalized values, norms, traditions) and processual aspect (the dynamics of everyday interactions among people, the quality of public sphere in which people could express their aspiration)(Wirutomo, 2011:284). This is the proper way to locate socio-cultural aspect in its right position.

The ultimate goal of social development is to achieve an **inclusive society**. The concept of inclusion refers to the provision of opportunity for all members of society to obtain fundamental rights and material resources as to enable them to participate in all aspects of socio-cultural life (Giddens, 2009; Harolombos, 2008).

Socio-cultural life must be considered as the central goal of development, it does not constitute as “sector” (like education, health and others), but as the root of all sectors (see picture below).



Figure 1. Socio-cultural Life as the Center of all Development Sectors

2. Sociological Reconceptualization of Social Development

Being heavily oriented to economic growth, our basic problem in development is confronting the crisis of the quality of socio-cultural life. The newly “People Centered” paradigm has correctively put more emphasis on humans, and to some extent societal capabilities, such as human capital, social capital and cultural capital (Aspalter, 2006; Korten, 1990). This is indeed an important substantial contribution to the concept of development. Nevertheless, I argued that we need a more sociological certainty which guarantees that all development program endeavors are producing a real impact on the basic elements of socio-cultural life, i.e., the structure-culture-social process holistically. Every human society is based on the system of interaction and interrelation which is the basis of “social life.” Thus, every development endeavor must be directed to fundamental or basic elements of “social life.” Hence the concept of socio-cultural development has a more fundamental sociological meaning as societal development, not merely “socio-cultural sectors” development.

2.1. The Basic Element of Social Development: Structural Element

Wirutomo wrote:

“Social structure is basically a pattern of relation (particularly power relation) among individual or social groups that coercively and imperatively constrains and regulates the interactions and interrelations in society” (Wirutomo, 2014 : 285).

The elite groups in every society tend to maintain the social structure that are consistent with their own interests through some structural instrument such as legislations, regulations or

development policies which are legally and formally institutionalized by government, or informally institutionalized by influential powers of the “capitalistic” business world. This structural power is monopolized by the *elites* to maintain domination that oppresses and exploits of economy of common people. Given that natural inclination, social development must be targeted to essentially improve the quality of the social structure which is the balance of power relations between the government and the common people or between the rich and the poor toward a more equal and inclusive society.

2.2. Cultural Element

Wirutomo has written:

“Culture here is defined specifically in purely subjective terms as: system of values, norms, beliefs, customs as well as traditions internalized by individuals, communities or all members of society, thereby it forms the pattern of behavior and attitudes from “inside” (Wirutomo, 2014:286).

If the structure is established by institutionalization, the culture is characterized by internalization of values and norms in the system of personality of an individual or groups in the social system. Internalization of culture in a specific environment is similar to the concept of “habitus” (Bourdieu 1992). The existing culture however, does not always guarantee the well-being of the people. Some elite groups in society from a historical perspective tend to use the cultural elements to oppress the “powerless” groups through “cultural hegemony”. Thus, a cultural development is needed to improve the quality of society’s system of values and tradition to provide more prosperity for the majority of the people.

2.3. Processual Element

Wirutomo wrote:

“Social Process is the dynamics of the informal and day to day interactions among society members which have not yet been formally structured or cultured. Through these fluid” social processes, individuals or groups more freely express, discuss, negotiate their aspirations dynamically and creatively. This “open arena” is the source of changes of the existing structure and culture. Basically “social order is a negotiated order” (Wirutomo 2014:286).

Social process is manifested in the daily life as: fluid and un-patterned daily interactions, creative, participatory and dynamic activities in social networks, community, clubs, associations, and even the family. It also includes the spontaneous emergence of social trust, reflexive communications, collaborations, disputes, negotiations, conflicts, un-patterned civic activism and every type of public sphere. (see Wirutomo 2011: 286).

The quality of “Social Process” could be improved by giving a larger access and “opportunities” for the people to express their aspirations and opinion. It could be done through providing public space and developing public sphere (see also Habermas, 1984).

3. Research on Brawls (*Tawuran*) in Joharbaru: a Crisis of Social Development?

3.1. Methodology

This study was done using Participatory Action Research (PAR) and survey methods. The surveys purposively were focused in slum areas in each four *Kelurahan* (village level) of Sub District (*Kecamatan*) Joharbaru (100 respondents in each *Kelurahan*). In addition, Focused Group Discussion (FGD) and In-depth interviews were conducted with prominent people in each *Kelurahan*. FGDs were also conducted with young boys who have committed in *Tawuran* and their parents (total of FGDs: 4 times). A social Mapping using Geographical Information System was conducted to identify the locations of “*Tawuran*”, the location of each “*Gang*”, the centers of local people’s social activities, social facilities etc.

3.2. Overview

Joharbaru sub-district is well known of its brawls (*tawuran*) phenomenon. In 2011 there were 21 this collective fight incidents in Jakarta, 13 were in Joharbaru alone. The crime rate in Joharbaru is generally higher than in other places in Jakarta, and tends to increase each year. Joharbaru is the most densely populated sub district in Jakarta City (practically in Asia) which is 48.910 people/km², one of its slum areas were inhabited by 71.550 people/km². According to Social Vulnerability Index of Jakarta City in 2013, three out of four *Kelurahan* in Joharbaru are among the worst. Four main indicators are: availability of basic social facilities, community voluntary service, community organization and crime rate.

3.3. *Tawuran*: the Product of Structure-Culture-Process Interconnections

3.3.1. Structural Aspect of the Brawls (*Tawuran*)

The main structural problem in the slum area of Joharbaru is the uncontrolled population density. The scarcity of space has created an extremely poor housing condition; the average size of houses is only 4.6 m², while the architectural standard is 7.8 m². This makes it hard for families living in this condition to live and sleep. At night the teenagers usually have to stay outdoors until the place are available for them in the morning. The whole night chatting among those deprived young men has produced so much “rubbish” communications such as: gossips, bad informations, negative thinking, especially when it is accompanied by alcoholic drinks, “... *with it everything becomes so exciting...*” they said. This continuing condition is the root of violence and collective fights. This tradition is passed down to the younger generations. Thus, the scarcity of public space for houses, public facilities has created “*nongkrong*” (hanging around) tradition as the most important socialization process for aggressive solidarity value system and pattern of interaction.

The local government’s policy in general does not give enough priority to provide public space and social facilities for the slum dwellers. Even worse, the poor slum dwellers fail to utilize the existing social facilities like formal educational institutions as essential agent of socialization. According to the survey, play groups are utilized by 33.3%, primary school by 53%, junior high school 32%. The reasons according to them are associated with the lack of

money (59%), dislike of schooling (26%) or lack of jobs (15%). The utilization of non formal educational institutions is also very minimal, only 7% of the respondents are utilizing community library, but ironically 64% respondents admit that their members of the family- even the very young - spend most of their recreation time in the “internet shops” to play games, chatting or visiting indecent sites.

The government indeed has provided skill trainings for unemployed youth, but the implementation of this programs showed the good example of how social exclusion works. The trainings designed by the government are evidently not fully accessible for some people because the majority of them do not get clear information (38.6%), even those who have joined the training only 2% could utilize the skills for practical work. Moreover, some poor people have excluded themselves by deliberately refusing to join the trainings (39.3%), this is a manifestation of subjective exclusion.

It is noteworthy that the training itself are not necessarily useful. Many people could not utilize the trained skills to obtain works, one respondent said he has already collected 10 training certificates, but remain unemployed. These marginalized low educated youth seem to be excluded from formal jobs even the low level ones, like security guard, driver, office boy, waiter etc. According to them, some informal jobs accessible for them to earn money are: joining demonstrations, becoming object of medical test, cleaning cemetery, collecting trashes, becoming prostitute or gigolo, street musician, drug trafficker, pick pocket etc.

They explain that, basically what makes them difficult to get jobs is because they do not have school certificate (33.7%), skills (31.8%), or capital (86.4%). Access to capital is another problem that poor people face in such slum communities. It may not be so surprising that very little percentage of the poor get credit facilities from formal financial institutions like community credit institutions (16%), cooperatives (21%) and the like. Meanwhile the favorite credit institutions for the poor are informal/illegal money lenders (75.5%), family (44.4%), or neighbors (69.2%).

In the case of health facilities, about 50% of respondents admit that they have financial problems. So that only 46.6% could afford government owned hospitals and only 37.9% could go to private hospitals. The only accessible health services is government-owned community clinics (93.4 %). It still needs to be proven however, whether community clinics could properly fulfill the needs of the poor.

Besides all the structural exclusion above, in general the legal-formal government’s bureaucratic development plan and its implementation tend to be too rigid, less flexible to the aspirations, negotiations of the community, thus cannot accommodate aspirations from below, let alone innovations. This developmental approach lacks social engagement between the government officials or non-governmental development facilitators with the local people such as good communication, companionship, partnership, networking, consultation which could facilitate consciousness building, sense of organizing needed by the people. Government bureaucrats typically perceive youth’s “hanging-around groups” (*kelompok nongkrong*) as

deviant gangs and *tawuran* is basically treated as criminal action. The police are trained to use power to stop the fighting but not to eradicate the basic causes.

3.3.2. Cultural Aspect of the Brawls

Generally, the social life of Joharbaru is characterized by a “poverty culture” created by the process of adaptation to structural poverty which has persisted for so long. For instance, bad housing conditions have disturbed the socialization process in the family; it has created the seeds for aggressiveness, permissiveness, lack of good conscience, and low morality. The most important cultural condition that traps poor people is the lack of cultural capital, which in this case relates to the poor quality of positive socialization in the house and in the community. Consequently, culturally they are excluded from the general city’s civilization.

More seriously, the structural pressure has also stimulated the development of a counter culture (a culture that confronts the normal social order) such as: drinking, drug using, *tawuran*, vandalism, etc. This culture has trapped poor youth even deeper into social exclusion (subjectively as well as objectively). This situation has sustained their poverty. Drunkenness is one of their cultural elements, which has been internalized to various segments of the population (particularly among young and middle age population). Its intoxicating effect allows the youth to escape from their day to day poverty stricken reality. The intoxicants could range from drinks, drugs and even songs which could bring them into ecstasy (*dangdut*, reggae). *Tawuran* very often is stimulated under these influences.

It is not easy to judge whether *Tawuran* is becoming cultural or not, because it may not be their ideal values to which they give appreciation, but for sure it has become their actual values which actually drive their actions. For instance, the outsiders could consider *tawuran* as a “*collective violence*”, but on the contrary they perceive it as a “*solidarity fight*,” or as an effective instrument to attract the government’s attention to their condition (coping mechanism). Thus, their “*counter culture*” has its own “*definition of the situation*”.

With the excuse of land scarcity, the local government has scarcely and inappropriately provided slums areas with proper facilities for public space (sport activities, parks, playing grounds etc.), that’s why only 27% of respondents are utilizing the existing sport facilities and only 29% are utilizing public space built by the government. The scarce areas which could be used are most likely being misused by authorities for other activities (parking lot, street traders etc.), or taken charge by certain local elites for their own interests. Meanwhile, the marginalized youth are utilizing streets for playing futsal. Research has shown that the most utilized recreational facilities (61%) are “rental computer shops” where the young generation (starting from 8 years old) are playing games or visiting improper sites.

The extreme population density, a structural factor, does not produce cultural condition based on harmony and proper social relationships. Despite of its intensive social interaction, this community actually has weak social capital (high distrust and low sense of organizing). What is

meant by “youth gang” is evidently not indicating a formal organization. Like “clique” or “peer group” they do not have formal organizations, no clear leadership or membership, no target of operations, and a narrow social solidarity. Many of the youth simply claim to be members of a certain group for peer status. The intrinsic value of group membership to the youth is solidarity and sense of identity, not a formal economic one. The “gangs’ ” names are symbolically representing their inner feeling of hatred toward the establishment, cynicism toward normal life, aggressiveness and opposition, and last but not least, representing their group’s identity.

There is no single culture of slum community; we found conflict between various sub cultures. In the context of generation, the older population generally feels unhappy about the attitudes and behavior of the young people. They claim that the youth gangs are trouble makers. But this is not necessarily an indicator that the older people do not adopt violent culture. In terms of violence behavior, even the very young teenagers have already been socialized to imitate the acts of *tawuran*. The structural conditions of the slum has maintained this violent culture. However, it is not easy to draw a sociological conclusion on this matter. The research shows that in general the majority of the slum dwellers do not like *tawuran*, including the young men who are involved in it. They are aware that *tawurans* produce damages, casualties and the negative labeling effect on these communities. However, the conditions in these slums are structurally, structurally, culturally and processually supporting this violent tradition. Sociologically speaking, *tawuran* is not their ideal values, but it could be considered as their actual values which they need to maintained it for certain purposes.

This community needs structural improvement to change their culture. The local government tends to perceive *tawuran* as a cultural problem rather than structural problem. *Tawuran* is actually a byproduct of structural pressures. It is not a genuine culture of the slum community; it is subject to change.

3.3.3. Processual Aspect of Tawuran

Processual arena is basically created by the dynamics of everyday interactions, it is very fluid, flexible, negotiable, because it is not yet formally structured or cultured.

“Through “fluid” social processes, individuals or groups more freely express, discuss, negotiate their aspirations, dynamically and creatively”(Wirutomo, 2014).

This “arena” is to some degree coerced and constrained by the established power of structure and culture, but at the same time it could become the source of incremental changes of the existing structure and culture. So, basically “social order is a negotiated order”.

Even if *tawuran* is strongly influenced by the structural and cultural context, some *processual* factors could intervene and make this phenomenon even more complex. The influence of drugs and drinks for instance determine the level of unconsciousness, ferocity and braveness of the actors.

The availability of modern gadgets is a structural phenomenon, but it has facilitated the *processual* condition significantly. Through this process, “bad” information (rumors, gossips, mutual insults and mockery) is more easily spread, so it increases the phenomenon of *tawuran* making it harder for the police to anticipate the violence. The selection of terrifying gang names is a *processual* form of “negotiation” or even “threat” of those frustrated and angry young men to the authorities and their social surrounding. These names which are promoted through graffiti on the walls inflame the situation and create the nuances of violence in these slum communities.

The role of women as “mother” in the continuation of *tawuran* is very important. One day, a group of women organized a demo toward the police to demand a more strict action to handle the *tawuran*. This *processual* power actually has been accommodated by the structural authority e.g. by inviting the mothers to the official meetings to discuss *tawuran*.

The quality of “social process” is absolutely very important, it could be improved through providing public space and public sphere by giving a larger access and “opportunities” for the people to express their aspirations and opinion through various arenas, from informal chatting in public spaces (coffee shops, community parks), to the official space (government office, public seminar) and to mass media or social media.

3.3.4. The Cross-Cutting of Structure-Culture-Process

In general the quality of socio-cultural life depends on the interconnection of the structure-culture and process. The picture below shows how structure-culture and process cross-cut each other.

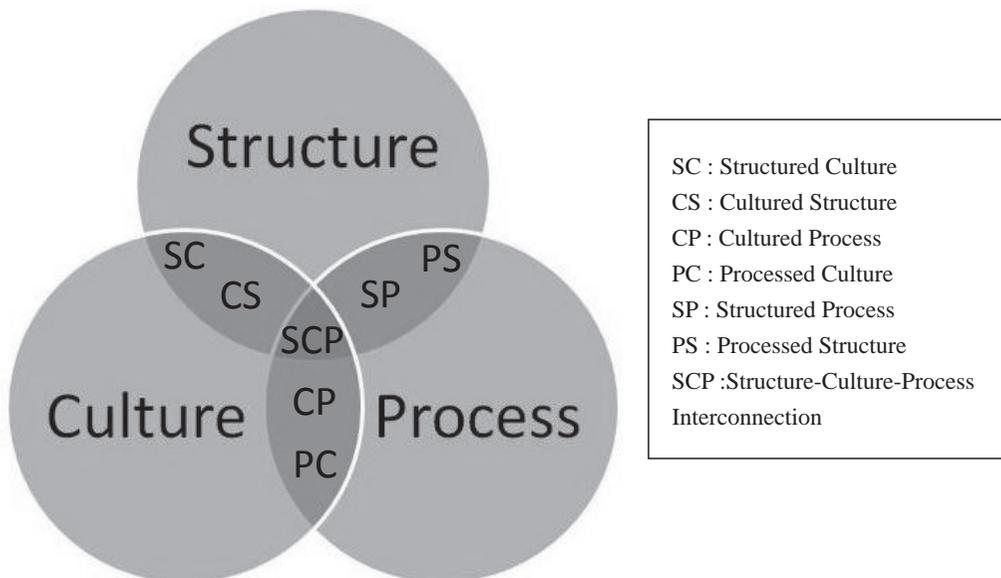


Figure 2. The Cross-Cutting of Structure-Culture-Process

The description below tries to give a picture of the cross-cutting between those elements in Joharbaru slum areas. The cross-cutting between structural and cultural elements will produce *Structured Culture* and *Cultured Structure* phenomena. **Structured Culture (SC)** is a sociological condition where a certain cultural element is “adopted” or legalized by the Government to become formal regulation.

The government assumes that the rural origin of the migrant population in Joharbaru slum area still believes and lives by the strong tradition of “social solidarity,” which is characterized by *gotong royong* (voluntary work for common purposes) adopting this tradition to become regulation, sociologically the government will not have many problems with the process of socialization and internalization. Surveys show that around 80% of respondents conform to this regulation or instruction. Some experts however, doubt whether the harsh social life in urban areas can sustain the basic values of this rural based tradition. Instructive, legalistic and impersonal approach of the bureaucracy seems insufficient; it must be balanced by more socially-engaged approach of the city development programs.

Cultured Structure (CS) is a condition where formal regulations, with its basic values, are internalized to become a part of people’s culture. Sociologically this is an ideal situation where regulations and its values can be internalized into patterns of behavior or habitus of the people. However, in reality this “successful” internalization of the regulation rarely happened because the government approach tended to be impersonal and very often inconsistent. A more socially engaged approach is needed. For instance the Joharbaru Community School (SKJB) with approach that uses more social engagement (primarily through arts), has been able to internalize peaceful, nonviolent attitudes and conformity to the social order, in general, by its members. In the future, the policemen and village officials, as the structural apparatus, must accommodate the role of non-governmental institutions to internalize the structural components into the culture of the people. The collaboration between formalistic and legalistic government officials and the non-governmental actors will improve the level of social engagement of the development program and will facilitate the internalization process.

The cross-cutting between Structural and Processual elements will produce a *Processed Structure* (PS) and *Structured Process* (SP). **Processed Structure (PS)** is a condition where the Structural elements, for example, governmental regulations or policies are being processed by the local community. On the one hand, the dynamic daily interactions of the people are taking the existing regulations into discourse (criticizing or negotiating for a betterment), but on the other hand, the existing regulations or programs are interpreted in such a way by some local elites, so the implementations are more often deviated to other directions. The former is less likely to occur because of a low critical thinking by the uneducated in these slum areas, which might result from the low educational level of the residents. The latter is more often to happen. That is why the existing structural condition tends to benefit the powerful groups.

Structured Process (SP) is a condition where informal daily interactions among people are promoted by the Government (or other authorities) into formal regulation. *Tawuran* is something that is always discussed by the members of the community, this discourse happens in

the coffee shops, parks or other public spaces. These informal discussions are important discourses to negotiate the meaning of *tawuran* among the member of the community. The Government has promoted this *processual* thing into a formal (structural) arrangement through seminars and small group discussions where the young men committed *tawuran* and some other stakeholders are invited. This idea is basically good, but these events were very often so formal and artificial (treated simply as a project, not as genuine problem solving mechanism), thus the people were often unmotivated to participate, except for the money.

The cross-cutting between the Cultural and *Processual* elements will produce *Processed Culture* (PC) and *Cultured Process* (CP). **Processed Culture (PC)** is a condition where existing traditions or value system are renegotiated and questioned by the people through the dynamic of daily interactions. The living condition of the slums which is characterized by high population density, scarcity of land, high unemployment, poverty, etc. has produced a pragmatic, aggressive and permissive *processual* condition which opens the door for renegotiating and questioning their culture and traditions. In this anomic situation, the slum dwellers, especially the youth are gradually replacing the ideal peaceful values of their village origin with the aggressive and violent way of life of the urban slum.

Cultured Process (CP) where some practices in daily interactions are internalized and become cultural elements. The daily practices of the slum dwellers, such as “*nongkrong*” (hanging around) in the street corners, drinking, gossiping, vandalism, graffiti, gambling and so on gradually become their habitus (cultured). So the quality of their culture is shaped by “bad” patterns of interaction which are ameliorated by the existing structural conditions. In the daily interactions, the local police as government officials have also trapped into this *Processual* situation which eventually becomes their culture. That’s why every police officer stationed in this kind of community must be regularly rotated before they are totally coopted by some negative local culture.

The overall **Interconnection between Structure-Culture-Process (ISCP)** is a sociological condition of the socio-cultural life of a particular social unit which is shaped by triple cross-cutting of Structure-Culture and Process. The level of social unit could be of micro level (individual), mezzo (community or organization) to macro (society, national or global). So, Joharbaru slum community is sociologically shaped by interconnection of existing Structure-Culture and Process. A social development of this community must deal with this triple interconnection.

The socio-cultural life of Joharbaru definitely needs some improvement. Culture, however, cannot change by itself, it tends to be self-reinforcing. To change the cultural situation in Joharbaru we need a structural force through government regulations and policies. But, the existing government regulations do not seem to improve cultural condition, on the contrary it tends to complicate the situation more through structural poverty and social exclusion. To survive in this situation, the people are forced to adjust or negotiate through various informal actions (*processual* actions), but it will not change the quality of Socio-Cultural Life (SCL) significantly until significant structural changes are initiated by the Government. The existing

tendency unfortunately shows that the power holders do not seem to care about the degradation of the quality of Socio-Cultural Life of the slum. So the essentially the problems of Joharbaru slum areas are weak communities, structurally, culturally and *processually*.

The government tends to perceive *tawuran* more as a cultural problem rather than structural one. Actually, *tawuran* is mainly a byproduct of structural pressures. It is not a genuine culture of the slum community. This community needs structural improvement to save their culture.

In general the development program in Joharbaru tend to be dominated by the structural aspect of government “rigid” bureaucracy. It lacks a *processual* approach such as giving room for active and dynamic interaction, negotiation, openness to aspirations, creativity etc. The research team of the University of Indonesia (UI) used an engagement approach with action research. They lived in the community, involved in their daily activities, conducted a collaborative social mapping through which people could described their life style and condition more systematically and define their problem properly. The UI volunteers are using the art-activities approach. It evidently became an effective engagement approach that produced expressive-creative products with high motivation and commitments.

The local government tends to believe that some economic or physical development programs will automatically change the quality of the community life; we would argue that the development action should be directed to the improvement of the quality of “Socio-Cultural Life” which comprises its basic elements namely the Structure-Culture and Process.

3.3.5. *Tawuran*: Poverty or Exclusion?

Collective fight in Joharbaru is definitely triggered or stimulated by poverty, but as social pathology we find some other sociological causes of this phenomenon beyond financial weakness. The research findings has identified some potential causes of “*tawuran*”:

- Structurally: high population density and bad social facilities, no place for young boys to sleep at home during the night, unaccessible education facilities, scarce employment opportunities, vulnerability to narcotic trafficking, vulnerability to provocation, the emergence of new I.T. facilities which creates negative “culture shocks”.
- Culturally: the emergence of poverty culture (values of aggressiveness, permissiveness, vadalism, drunk, fatalism etc.).
- *Processually*: a condition of too much social contacts which stimulate aggressiveness, mushrooming youth’s informal “gangs”, whole night hang-around, coarse interactions which stimulate conflict, mutual mockery etc.

This study confirms that besides all poverty phenomena above, collective fight is more deeply representing the reaction of the youngsters for being excluded from various rights for survival as civilized citizens of the city. As the underclass, they are always excluded from the “civilized” urban culture or the social order of the city. As slum dwellers that can hardly survive in their basic schooling, it is difficult for them to adopt the same standard of what is right and wrong, ethical or not ethical, moral or immoral, good or bad. In the absence of access into other educating institutions (informal education, organizations etc.), they develop their own “social

order”. In some degree it becomes a *counter culture* which is characterized by civil disobedience and defiance. Their social order is not always criminal or lawless, but more often “*extra-legal*” or beyond the legal frame of “civilized” city culture. This social position is created by poverty but sustained and aggravated by social exclusion. Indeed, they always in a constant struggle to get out of poverty, but exclusive practices of the city social order contributes to their failure. The example of social exclusion in Joharbaru is the fact that on average only 20% of poor respondents have received financial aid from government’s “empowerment” programs like cash transfer, credit provision, training etc. Thus, poverty and exclusion are mutually reinforcing each other. Haralombos (2008) has described social exclusion as follows:

“... *lack of resources, lack of opportunity to work, lack of opportunity to learn, suffering health inequality, access to decent housing, disruption of family life or living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood* (p. 225).

In other words:

“...*social exclusion includes a broader range of ways in which people may be disadvantaged in society*” (p. 227).

Sociologically the problem is not only physical or economic, but more deeply a matter of the degradation of the quality of “Socio-Cultural Life”, since exclusion is not only imposed by the structural power from “outside” the individual, but it has been internalized and created the attitudes of the “victims” to exclude themselves subjectively toward their socio-cultural environment.

One way of relieving exclusion from those marginalized youth is mentoring them to organize themselves. This action needs an intensive *social engagement*. The existing community organizations in Joharbaru are mainly “government induced” which in practice tend to exclude those marginalized young men. That’s why they need to have their own organization, not for exclusive purposes but as an educative means for bridging them to enter the network with other organizations. This organization could improve the social standing and recognition of “the street-corner gangs” and at the same time could re-socialize them to be able to enter the urban civilization. It must be noted however, that organizing the people must be based on genuine engagement, otherwise it would be artificial. The Police indeed have been trying to organize the local people to participate in handling the *tawuran*, but this “government induced” organization – despite some positive contributions – tends to be too formalized and dependent on the government’s budget. We learn from this case that quality of power relations in society is not only structural but also cultural construction. Thus, a cultural development program is needed to improve the quality of society’s system of values and customs that inhibit their prosperity or manipulate them directly or indirectly. We need a comprehensive approach of Structure-Culture-Process development.

3.3.6. Social Development in Joharbaru: Social Engagement Approach

Social problems more often remained or un-effectively solved, because it always defined subjectively and wrongly by the government or even by the Universities and NGOs. The

solutions are always dominated by highly technocratic and bureaucratic government plan which is very often based on the false definition of the situation. Thus it tend to be artificial and superficial, rootless, miss-targetted and unsustainable. The government's concept of people participation is basically emphasizing conformism, lack of people initiative and no "gentlemen" agreement with them on the problem solution and as a consequence no full commitment of the people to involve in the actions.

Social engagement is more than just intensive encounter or interactions but as equal partnership between the facilitators of development and the local people which are characterized by honesty, synergy and committed relationship for the sake of the local community. All parties should agree on what is their shared problem and work toward a genuine solution. Engagement requires using a participatory action research method, in which community members are active participants at every stage of the research process. Research is built in the process of development itself rather than just an instrumental element. Thus, engagement is the development of processual aspect which is full of dynamism and negotiation.

Considering the complex societal problems of the slums, this study tried to adopt a social engagement approach. Action Research was used to enable the researchers to combine research and actions, including the involvement of the local people to participate in the process of collecting data and information. In so doing the people are not treated as the object of the study but the subject, hence the process of the study became part of the problem solution.

The intensive and equal interaction between researchers and the local people has produced a "Joharbaru Community School" called SKJB (*Sekolah Komunitas Johar Baru*). This non formal school is an important vehicle to accommodate all of our joint activities with high flexibility. The initial activities are directed to build the trust between the researchers and the local people through living in the community and doing various self-identification games and group dynamics. Second step was concentrated on stimulating the creativity of those marginalized young boys especially in the field that they really are keen on such as music, dance, stencil arts, mural painting and graffiti. These common interest stimulated their motivation, energy, creativity and most importantly self-esteem. Through this informal encounter, trust and commitment grew. This is the essence of "engagement". Next step was mentoring them how to organize not only themselves but also involving their community. They were accompanied to organize a street art competition, music festival and carnival in their community. These organizing skills have promoted their confidence and sense of existence in their community. In other word, this activities broke their subjective, and at the same time objective exclusion, as member of the community. Moreover SKJB has also connected those young men with people from outside their community through social media or direct visits, by joining competition or other social events. These creative social actions have reduced their negative social stigma as "bad" communities. SKJB also taught them skills to generate income. Last but not least, this informal community school has driven its members who mostly dropped-out to continue their formal education, so they could attain formal school certificate which enable them to enter formal employment sectors. Thus, despite of its limitation as a small institution SKJB is an effective

and flexible vehicle to open access for the marginalized young men to various opportunities and break their social exclusion. In short, SKJB has improved the quality of socio-cultural life not only in the personal level of those marginalized young men, but in their community level and even to a certain extent to societal level of Jakarta.

4. Conclusion

This study yielded several conclusions:

Firstly, *tawuran* as a social pathology is evidently not the product of poverty alone, but more complex than that, it mainly relates to social exclusion. Hence, the problem is not merely financial, but a matter of the general quality of “Socio-Cultural Life” comprising the structural, cultural and *processual* aspects of these communities we studied. So the analysis and the solution must systemically and consistently include those aspects. The operationalization of each concept and its specific indicator must be explored in the next studies as an important step to build an index of social development.

Secondly, the development program in Joharbaru (and the whole Jakarta) tends to be dominated by structurally “rigid” governmental bureaucracies. It lacks a *processual* approach, such as providing room for active and dynamic interaction, negotiation, creativity, openness to aspirations from the individuals, groups or organizations. This is a social engagement approach.

As a consequence, we need a new orientation in social development, from the *sectoral* and materialistic orientation to the societal quality of Socio-Cultural Life.

4.1. Theoretical Implications

Sociologically, social development may not be *sectoral* oriented, but societal and must be directed to the improvement of the quality of socio-cultural life which comprises its basic element namely structural, cultural and *processual*.

Development must also be value based, its ultimate values of socio-cultural life are social inclusion, but in reality the basic values are always “lost in translation” during the process of institutionalization of the development programs. So institutionalization ideally involves the process of translating the basic values of development into policy and regulations. Thus, institutionalization should give more space to internalization of the basic values. In other words it should give way to social engagement which rely more on “*Processual* element”.

The analytical approach of Structure-Culture-Process and its cross-cutting must be improved consistently to give more holistic and systemic pictures of socio-cultural life’s condition.

4.2. Policy Implications

First, the poverty alleviation program of the local government must be based on the sociological analysis by using the sociological concept of “social exclusion”.

Second, structural domination of the government bureaucracy must be balanced with “*processual*” approach which is more flexible, negotiable and creative. In other words social

engagement approach must be on the mainstream in city development.

Third, the approach of engagement through art done by UI researchers is clearly a very effective means of dealing with violence, apathy, and aggressiveness among marginalized young men in slum areas. This kind of approach must be accommodated and facilitated by the city government, such as providing a community center in each community. More importantly, this engagement approach needs to be institutionalized into the existing governance system at the community level namely *Rukun Warga* (Neighborhood Organization) through the empowerment and capacity building program.

The Social Development through the engagement model in some respect needs social voluntariness and public participation. Our challenge in the future is to develop **a cultural and structural conduciveness for voluntarism.**

Acknowledgement

The researcher would like to thank the Directorate of Research and Community Services in the University of Indonesia for funding the research and the members of the research team: Linda Darmayanti, Francisia E.E.S. Seda, Evelyn Suleeman, Daisy Indira Yasmine, Ida Ruwaida, Catherine Wirutomo, and Agung Ananta, Miere. The researcher would also like to thank Professor Rochman Achwan for his brilliant suggestions and comments.

References

- Aspalter, C. 2006. Toward a more People-Centered Paradigm in Social Development. *Asian Journal of Social Policy*, 2(1), 65-86.
- Conyers, D. 1982. *An Introduction to Social Planning in the Third World*. Chicester: John Willey and Sons.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens, A. 2009. *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Habermas, J. 1984. *The Theory of Communication Action* (Vol. 1). London: Heinemann.
- Haralambos & Holborn. 2008. *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*. London: Harpers Collins Publisher.
- Korten, D. C. 1990. *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*. Kumarian Press.
- Korten, D. C. 2006. *The Great Turning*. San Fransisco: Berret Koehler Publisher Inc. and Kumarian Press.
- Midgley, J. 1995. *Social Development: The Development Perspective in Social Welfare*. London: Sage Publications.
- Midgley, J. 2008. Developmental Social Policy: Theory and Practice. In S. Singh & C. Aspalter (Eds.). *Debating Sosial Development: Strategies for Social Development*. Hongkong: Casa Verde Publishing for the Asian Association for Social Welfare.
- Nee, V., & Swedberg, R. 2005. *The Economic Sociology of Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Osborn, D., & Gaebler, T. 1993. *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Transforming the Public Sector*. Plume Publisher.
- Singh, S., & Aspalter, C. 2008. *Debating Social Development: Strategies for Social Development*. Hongkong: Casa Verde Publishing for the Asian Association for Social Welfare.

- Sukamoto. 2003. *Social Development, Culture, and Participation: Toward Theorizing Endogenous Development in Tanzania*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, Japan.
- United Nation Development Program 1997. *Human Development Report*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wirutomo et al. 2011a. *Pengembangan Indeks Pembangunan Sosial bagi Sektor Informal di Kota: Studi Kasus Kota Depok dan Surakarta*. Unpublished Research Report. Collaboration Research between Labsosio Department of Sociology University of Indonesia and Depok Local Government.
- Wirutomo et al. 2011b. Social Development Policies on Informal Sector in Solo. *Journal of Administrative Science & Organization: Bisnis&Birokrasi*, 18, 92-107.
- Wirutomo, P. 2012. *Defining Social Development: A case study on Informal sector in Solo*. Paper presented in International Seminar "Social Development". Jogjakarta – Indonesia
- Wirutomo, P. 2014. Sociological Reconceptualization of Social Development: With Empirical Evidence from Surakarta City, Indonesia. *Asian Social Science*; Vol 10, no. 11; 2014.
- Marx, Karl. 1970. *Capital*, vol I. Lawrence and Wishart, first pub. London.