

"...Jalanan Are Also the Nation's Children...":

Street-Associated Youth Identities in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract

Identity is seen by several academic disciplines as a concept critical to adolescent development. A singular, stable identity is often considered the idealised outcome of the bio-psycho-social development process. However, performing multiple distinct identities tailored for diverse contexts can be argued to be adaptive and productive for young people in difficult circumstances, such as those who are economically or socially marginal. This thesis explores if, how, and why street-associated youth in Yogyakarta, Indonesia perform distinct identities in diverse social and spatial contexts. The findings from a year-long ethnographic study form a basis for understanding better how youth perceive and enact their agency towards crafting identities as workers, as members of communities, as peers, as occupants of public space, as citizens, and on social media, within the context of rapidly changing urban landscape.

To my partner, Dewi.

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Abbreviations

BCB—*Base Camp Besar* [the Big Shelter]

BCK—*Base Camp Kecil* [the Small Shelter]

DPRD—*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* [The Provincial Level Assembly]

DIY—*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* [The Special Province of Yogyakarta]

FGD—Focus Group Discussion

ICT—Information and Communication Technologies

KTP—*Kartu Tanda Penduduk* [National Identity Card]

Law No.1/2014—The Regulation on Vagrants and Beggars [*Peraturan Daerah Gelandangan dan Pengemis*]

MP3EI—Masterplan of Acceleration and Expansion of Economic Development

NGO—Non-governmental Organisation

PAG—Pakualaman Ground

PMKS—People in with Social Welfare Problems

RT—*Rukun Tetangga* [Village Administrator, lowest level]

RW—*Rukun Warga* [Village Administrator, second lowest level]

RPJMN—*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional* [Mid-Term Development Plan]

SG—Sultan Ground

Glossary

Angklung—Traditional musical instrument with bamboo tubes that produces sounds when struck

Budhi pekerti—Ethics and moral guidance

Campur sari—Literally meaning a mixture of essences, is a blend of Javanese and contemporary musical styles

Dangdut—A traditional style of Indonesian music that has Hindustani and Arab influences

Gotong royong—Mutual aid or reciprocal cooperation

Halus—Refined

Ikhlas—Wholehearted

Jalan tikus—Narrow street

Kaki lima—Mobile food stand

Kampung—Small neighbourhood, often clustered together and away from a main thoroughfare

Kost—Dormitory housing, like a bedsit in the UK

Krismon—Monetary Crisis

Mandiri—Independent, self-reliant, self-sufficient, self-governing

Ngamen—Busking

Nongkrong—To hang out or kill time

Nyaman—Comfortable, healthy, pleasant, and agreeable

Panti (asuhan)—Orphanage or reformatory

Pencak silat—A style of martial arts practised throughout the Malay Archipelago

Premanism— Organised crime

Rukun—Harmony

Sombong—Overly proud with a negative connotation

Sopan—Polite

Satpol PP—The Municipal Police

Tentram—Equanimity

Zakat—Alms, one of the five pillars of Islam

Introduction

Indonesia is rapidly changing. For instance, it had an annual growth rate of over 5% in 2017 (World Bank, 2018). The Government sees youth development as a key domain through which the country can increase human capital (Bappenas, 2015), and an approach that is considered critical because it is estimated that the country will have its largest proportion of working age to non-working age citizens between 2020 to 2030 (Adioetomo, 2005; Hayes & Setyonaluri, 2015). Thus, from an economic perspective, effectively including as many young people in the labour market as possible is critical to sustained growth and development. However, multiple measures of inequality show that wealth is disproportionately going to the wealthy (Oxfam, 2017). Moreover, studies have indicated several labour markets have had trouble integrating young people (Tadjoeddin, 2014; Tadjoeddin, Chowdhury Guo, & Islam, 2009), and the number of young people working in the informal economy remains disproportionately high (Schut, 2018). Youth unemployment also remains a key issue of concern (ILO, 2016), and young people's readiness for the jobs of the future are in question, with an estimated 5.9 million adolescents out of lower or upper secondary school (UNESCO, 2016).

The scale of these challenges has led to a keen focus on economic development through young people. However, this emphasis on young people's role in shaping the country's economic development clearly effects how young people are seen from a social perspective as well. Recent studies indicate that the metrics against which youth are measured by adults include several processes of becoming, including: becoming good citizens, increasing educational attainment, finding contract-based labour, achieving independence, having a dignified self-presentation, and adhering to administrative aspects of citizenship (Aspinall, 2015; Naafs & White, 2012; Tadjoeddin, 2014; Tjandraningsih, 2013; World Bank, 2011). For young people working in the informal economy in public spaces with unstable housing conditions, hereby referred to as street-associated youth, these socio-economic metrics can be difficult to achieve. Moreover, although Parker & Nilan (2013) find that middle-class Indonesian adults and youth perceive the concept of youth as a period of becoming, or a training ground for adulthood, other scholarship focuses on

the being dimension of youth (White, 2012b). For instance, one study finds that youth are seen by peers as a “successful youth” by enjoying life and other dimensions that are focused on the present, rather than regarding how well they are preparing for adulthood (See White, 2012b).

In Yogyakarta, the site of this study, rapid change is also occurring. The physical landscape is developing at a very fast pace, with dozens of new hotels, apartment buildings, and malls being built. Many of these structures represent significant investments from individuals from outside of the city. These changes to the built environment have reshaped the physical landscape in which many street-associated youths work. Much of this investment is focused on developing the key industry of ‘cultural tourism’ (Maharani, 2016; Sani, 2012), and so ensuring that the city is perceived as amenable to visitors is part of its economic strategy. Thus, alongside the increased investment in structures and cultural tourism, public spaces have been regulated in new ways. Law No.1/2014 was passed to make the city “free from vagrants and beggars by 2015” (Dinas Sosial DIY, 2014). The law fundamentally changed the way that street-associated youth were identified and categorised in public. It broadened the way that beggars and vagrants were defined, and thus many street-associated youths, who had previously been legitimate occupants of public spaces, became subject to potential arrest.

Within this socio-economic context, this study seeks to elaborate upon a decades-old body of work on youth and identity. This is merited because entering adulthood in late modernity is seen as increasingly involving young people’s understandings and personal choices (Côté, 2000). Easthope (2009, p. 65) claims that contemporary life is “characterised by endless flows of people, money, ideas and a requirement for flexibility”, and thus, youth identities are also becoming more flexible. Theoretical work on gender, and empirical work with street youth, has found that the relationship between identity and context is becoming more dynamic (Butler, 1990; Herrera, Jones, & Thomas de Benítez, 2009), and thus, revisiting the concept of identity in a rapidly changing context like Indonesia is merited.

Guided by the empirical data collected during 2015 and 2016, notions of membership and belonging were described as core components of street-associated youths’ identities, and thus

will drive much of the discussion of identity. Belonging is of particular relevance to marginal populations like street-associated youth because it is an aspect of identity that they cannot take for granted due to their socio-economic status, social class, or other factors (McDowell, 2011; Malkki, 1992). More broadly, utilising the frame of belonging to explore young people's lived experiences has provided valuable understandings about how social structures generate individuals' ability to act on their own lives (Alkire, 2010; Sen, 1999). The respondents expressed their agency through their desire to be heard (See also Buonfino & Thomson, 2007) and sought to cross social boundaries (See Crowley, 1999; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Based on these ideas, the thesis seeks to understand street-associated youths identity performances in the context of and in reference to community members, peers, the state (citizenship), public space, and digital social media.

Research questions:

1. How do street-associated youth perform identities in various contexts?
2. Is there context specificity to how they identify and categorise themselves?
 - a. If so, how and why do context specific identifications and categorisations arise, and to what degree are they flexible?
3. What do these performances say about how they see their role as community members, peers, citizens, and other roles in rapidly urbanising and modernising spaces?

Research objectives:

1. Understand how street-associated youth in Yogyakarta construct, present, and perform context-specific identities; and explore the continuities and discontinuities between social contexts.
2. Determine if and how multiple or fluid identities are expressions of agency that help street-associated youth in Yogyakarta cope with, or make use of, challenges that they face; and explore how youth use belonging in various social domains as a key component of their identities.

3. Consider how multiple socio-cultural and political-economic influences in street-associated youths' lives present contradictory expectations for youths' current and future identities; explore how public policies regulating space and work exclude or include street-associated youth, and thereby shape youths' identities; and, consider if and how youths' responses to socio-cultural and economic changes can provide additional challenges, but also allow them to observe and take advantage of opportunities for inclusion, participation, membership, and citizenship.

Thesis Overview

To these ends, the thesis will develop in the following way:

Chapter 1 will provide the required background, considering: the push towards modernisation and development taking place in Indonesia, the way that the nation considers its demographic dividend generation, and changes in regulation and land use in the study site.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. It will posit that understanding street-associated youth identities through a relational lens is particularly apt, given the high level of social and physical dynamism present in the study site. It will consider how identity was conceptualised and operationalised, through the notions of identification and categorisation. Moreover, it will show how most of the discussions of identity in the study take place in reference to belonging – that is, the respondents often spoke of belonging-related ideas like commonality, mutuality, and attachment. In other words, belonging is the primary aspect of identity that is considered in this thesis. Finally, it will establish a framework through which the empirical material can contribute to current literatures relating to agency and uncertainty.

Chapter 3 will provide necessary background on the methodological aspects of the study.

The first empirical chapter, Chapter 4, will begin by focusing on a non-governmental organisation (NGO)-run homeless shelter where I encountered most of the core respondents for the first time. It will explore the social relationships that young people had with the NGO and the neighbourhood in which their shelter was embedded. It will be the first of several chapters that

emphasise the way that young people in this study were willing to comply with adult expectations about their behaviour, but within limits. To be included, respondents desired the social and spatial standing to negotiate their roles and identities in their communities. Their relationship with the NGO will show a domain in which they had this standing, and thus took on identity markers that indicate their belonging in this group. Conversely, their relationship with some neighbours did not provide the same standing, and the relationship suffered as a result. From a theoretical standpoint, this shows that these young people critically engaged with their surroundings and navigated towards identities that suited belonging on their own terms. Finally, the chapter will provide a vignette of another community in which street youth were afforded the standing that the core respondents sought.

Chapter 5 will consider how the respondents discussed and enacted lived citizen identities in reference to some adults' ideals about Indonesian youth. It will take into account both traditional notions of citizenship in terms of rights and responsibilities, but also draw on geography literature that views citizenship as something that is lived or enacted. The young people in the study used very similar constellations of concepts to appraise their citizenship as state actors and other adults interviewed for the study, however, youth felt that their achievements towards being considered full adult citizens were not always recognised, and rather, remained young people still in the process of becoming adults. From a theoretical perspective, this chapter will contribute to a core discussion in global youth literature about if, how, and why, young should be seen as *beings* or *becomings*. Youth often said that they sought recognition of their already *being* good citizens in some way.

Chapter 6 will focus on how youth perform their identities in the context of rapidly urbanising, privatising, and modernising urban spaces. Their access to space was shaped by their willingness to perform cultural 'legitimacy' or cultivate particular social relationships. The relational dimension of young people's identities will become clear in this chapter through a consideration of how they express their subjectivities in various physical spaces. Additionally, the chapter will show that the respondents, many of whom will have already been shown to have personal

attachments to spaces in the city, shared similar concerns about development as other young people in Yogyakarta.

Chapter 7 will, then, explore aspects of sociality in the respondents' lives, including how they manage peer relationships, how they moderate violent behaviour to make themselves appropriate in some social contexts, and why they believe that they should be accepted even if their physical appearance seems different to others (e.g. due to markers like tattoos). The ways that youth categorised and identified themselves, and advocated for others to categorise them, will bring to light how youth crafted relational identities which sometimes would foster and at other times resist various social relationships. The unique nuances of street-associated life will become particularly important to this discussion, because young people's daily realities, as well as markers of their pasts on the streets, play a large role in shaping relational identities in a number of social contexts.

Finally, the last empirical chapter, Chapter 8, will explore how online, and online adjacent², environments allowed for new identity performance venues. It will seek to impress upon the reader that street-associated youth are no different from other youth in the fact that the Internet is having revolutionary effects on the ways that they socialise. However, it will show that there are some unique opportunities and risks for street-associated youth in online environments. It will do this by exploring how and why the unique properties of social media spaces function specifically for street-associated youths. In particular, new economic, stylistic, and personal expression opportunities will show new possibilities for young people to use their capacity for agency. The thesis will end with a conclusion that synthesises the findings and discusses key theoretical, empirical, and methodological implications of these findings.

² Meaning physical spaces in which youth regularly used the Internet or had access to others who were using the Internet.

1. Background and Context

1.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide brief descriptions of the geography, culture, and history of Yogyakarta. Further, it will outline how trends of rapid urbanisation and modernisation shaped a new regulation, Law No.1/2014. Then, it will describe this new anti-vagrancy law³ which shaped most of the data in the thesis. The law effectively re-categorised many of the work and leisure behaviours of the youth in the study as vagrancy and begging, and made them subject to arrest. Finally, it will provide some specific background for understanding changes in the lives of the respondents – namely, their shift from busking⁴ with string instruments to playing in *angklung*⁵ bands, and how their housing condition changed during the study.

1.2. Modernization and development in Indonesia

Indonesia has the fourth largest population in the world with over 230 million people (Edwards, 2016; Utomo, 2016). With around ninety per cent of its citizens registered as Muslims, it is also the world's largest majority Muslim country (Stodulka, 2017a; Utomo, 2016). It has now been twenty years since its transition to democracy via the removal of Suharto from power, and the economic crisis of 1998. In response to both the political and economic challenges of twenty years ago, the country implemented an aggressive decentralisation programme that economists credit with helping its economy grow by 5.7% on average between 2001 and 2011 (Tadjoeddin, 2014). Although it was elevated to lower middle-income status by the World Bank in 2011, with a per capita GDP of over 3000 USD, this figure hides considerable poverty (Tadjoeddin, 2014).

³ Provincial Regulation No. 1/2014, additional details will be provided later in this chapter and in the empirical material.

⁴ Playing music in public spaces for donations. Throughout the thesis, busking will be used as a short-hand for a the mobile practice of singing, playing string instruments, and playing drums while moving about the city. Some definitions include the notion of an itinerant performer (Busking, 2011), which provides an important distinction in this thesis, the fact that the performer can easily move from one place to another during his performance.

⁵ *Angklung* is a melodic instrument comprised of a chromatic set of bamboo reeds. It is usually accompanied by drums. Many of the instruments are large and require setting up and taking down – therefore it is difficult to be mobile with one's instruments. Many of the young people in the study had been working as buskers when Law No.1/2014 began to be enforced in 2015 but moved to playing in *angklung* bands as a stylistic and aesthetic adaptation to the law. Several of the reasons for this will be explored throughout the thesis, but in short, the musical form, its instrumentation, and embodying its style all helped my interlocutors access public space.

Poverty reduction remains a difficult challenge, with 43% of the population living on less than 2 USD per day (Global Affairs Canada, 2015).

Alongside this economic growth, the country has also been undergoing processes of modernisation and development (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). This trajectory existed well before the transitions of 1998. During the New Order era⁶, progress and development were at the centre of the Suharto's regime's priorities. Suharto even referring to himself as the "father of development" [*Bapak Pembangunan*] (Stodulka, 2017a). Progress was made on several fronts during this period, for instance, in 1968, only 41% of children attended grammar school, and now Indonesia has achieved almost universal attendance of basic education (Stodulka, 2017a). However, during this era unemployment was a genuine structural problem, with not enough labour demand and an excess supply (Manning & Junankar, 1998). Post-1998, the trend of insufficient labour demand and excess supply has continued (World Bank, 2011). Infrastructure improvements and developing relevant labour force skills have been at the forefront of ensuring that Indonesia's economy continues to modernise and grow (Edwards, 2016). Some estimates find that it will become the world's seventh largest economy by 2030 (Oberman, Dobbs, Budiman, Thompson, & Rossé, 2012). There are also countervailing forces for this process of modernisation, for instance, Indonesia's regulatory frameworks for business and the economy are lagging, for instance, it ranks in the bottom quintile for ease of starting a business (World Bank, 2015).

Although the economy is still growing at a strong pace, it is decelerating. Moreover, some research suggests that the economy experiences "jobless growth" because the unemployment rates have been dropping more slowly than would be expected based on overall economic figures (Schut, 2018). Moreover, the proportion of people in the informal economy remains high (Schut,

⁶ The regime under the authoritarian leadership of Suharto between 1966 and 1998 during which the state was highly focused on an economic and technological development (Solvang, 2002) and sought this goal, in part, though a keen focus on idealized citizens and social institutions (Bessell, 2009). The state during the New Order was sensitive to "disturbances" in the social order (Bourchier, 1990). Key aspects of this period will be mentioned as this chapter progresses.

2018). Although there is considerable focus on national employment rates, they are likely not good indicators of overall development progress. In many surveys, if a person worked at least one hour in the previous week in some form of employment, they are considered employed (Tadjoeddin, 2014). This approach to surveys masks the issue of underemployment, which several economists have cited as a central concern for workers in Indonesia aside from unemployment (World Bank, 2011).

These trends are of largest concern to young people (Naafs & White, 2012), who make up a significant proportion of the 2.3 million people who enter the Indonesian economy each year (Armstrong & Rahardja, 2014). Nationally, people between the ages of 15 and 29 account for 70% of Indonesia's unemployed (Allen, 2013). Even though youth unemployment rates are decreasing, and the rates of those with an employment contract are increasing (Allen, 2013), the challenge remains significant. Unemployment for people between the ages of 20 and 24 was found to be 2.5 times the unemployment in the overall population (World Bank, 2011). Another analysis found that unemployment amongst youth (15-24 years) is the highest of any age category, although it has been declining at a faster rate due to focused interventions in the 2000s (Tadjoeddin, 2014). Several manpower-related regulations have created a rigid labour market that ensures an increasing minimum wage and security, like severance packages (Tadjoeddin, 2014; World Bank, 2011). These regulations may promote good quality growth and productivity in the long run (Dhanani, Islam, & Chowdhury, 2009), however, in the short term, the opportunities for such quality employment are not available to a large enough group of people (Dhanani et al., 2009). Based on the last concern, several young people are working, at least part-time, in the informal economy.

Nearly two-thirds of young people are in the informal sector, and this experience is prone to underemployment and lower income (Tadjoeddin, 2014). Informal work is also related to significantly worse labour market outcomes (World Bank, 2011). Increasing numbers of Indonesian young people are in several forms of precarious working conditions (Tjandraningsih, 2013); for instance, large numbers of children are working. The first national survey on child

labour took place in 2009, and it estimated that almost 7% (approximately 5 million) of children between the ages of 5-17 were defined as working children (Tadjoeddin, 2014). Of this 7%, more than 40% of them (an estimated 1.8 million) were either in one of the worst forms of child labour or in formally employed below the legal age (ILO & BPS, 2010). One of the suppositions of this thesis is that young people's responses to these precarious conditions, and how the social and regulatory systems consider their responses, can show us how young people view the systems in which they are embedded (Ortner, 2005; Schut, 2018). This understanding could be valuable to finding more durable and high-quality labour market opportunities that recognise young people's lived experiences.

The Government of Indonesia has taken this issue seriously for some time. For instance, the Mid-term National Development Plan (RPJMN)⁷ 2004-2009 placed a strong emphasis on increasing rates of formal employment. However, the proportion of people in informal work only declined slightly, during 2004-2009, young people's earnings notably declined (Tadjoeddin, 2014). In a subsequent national development plan, RPJMN 2015-2019, the Government has focused on youth development as human capital (Bappenas, 2015). Moreover, in more recent years, the Government has taken the position that the marginal position of youth in the workforce draws concerns about them being enticed into joining fundamentalist movements (Ansell, 2005; Naafs, 2012). Such handwringing about youth has led to the Indonesian Government to take a number of strategies seeking to reduce such marginality, and as a result redefine how adults value young people as potential workers and citizens (Smith-Hefner, 2007). The next section will explore this topic in more detail.

1.3. Young people, human capital, and Indonesia's demographic dividend

Given that so many young people are working in or destined for informal work, it is also valuable to understand the social expectations for these young people around work and their contributions to society. First, sociality is critical to young people in the informal job market, as other studies in

⁷ *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional*, The mid-term national development plan from the Ministry of Development Planning (BAPPENAS)

Indonesia show that youth often rely on their networks to find work (Naafs, 2012). Globally, youth in contemporary thought are increasingly seen as primarily responsible for their *individual* fortunes, and therefore, in aggregate, societal progress (Edwards, 2014; Schut, 2018). Based on this idea, young people are “trapped between declining state support and increasing familial and personal ambitions” (Jeffrey & McDowell, 2004, pg. 132). These trends have been observed recently for Indonesian youth as well. The Government has focused since 2004 on youth as human capital, and concerted efforts to reduce so-called risky behaviours as a means of making successful transitions to adulthood (Diaytka, 2010 in Naafs, 2012). Both these perspectives place increasing onus on young people themselves for making what the Government regards as good decisions, and to develop themselves as individuals to support the collective good (Diaytka, 2010 in Naafs, 2012).

Researchers often regard youth in Indonesia as the “vanguard of political and social change” (Naafs & White, 2012, pg. 7). Thus, in recent years, the Government has sought to develop human capital⁸ with an emphasis on youth having several attributes, including: work preparedness, educational attainment, fostering entrepreneurship, and a role in the “creative economy” (see Bappenas, 2015; Suhendra, 2017). These last two points are critical to this thesis. Moreover, a review of other recent literature expands this vision to further include: contract-based labour, independence, dignified self-presentation, and adhering to administrative aspects of citizenship (Aspinall, 2015; Naafs & White, 2012; Tadjoeddin, 2014; Tjandraningsih, 2013; World Bank, 2011). Young people’s transitions to social adulthood via the labour market are increasingly considered to be individually-driven, creative processes, and thus, the government must have a means of recognising the unique, adaptive ways that young people – even marginal ones – make their lives work under the current conditions.

Two core components of human capital development are employment and education – topics which are closely linked (Tadjoeddin, 2014). In Indonesia, senior secondary school is a critical

⁸ e.g. breaking into the job market, climbing the skill ladder, starting a family, and civic engagement (WorldBank, 2013). Some of the theoretical implications of this will be discussed in Chapter 2

stepping stone for many young people entering the labour market. It is the final stage of Indonesian formal schooling which ensures that school leavers have at least the minimum qualifications required for employability and further education. However, only around 60% complete this stage (Chen, Negara, & Setiawan, 2012). Although there are public subsidies to compensate for fees, these subsidies are provided uniformly across classes and wealth quintiles, rather than providing more equitable subsidies for those who are the poorest (Chen et al., 2012). Thus, the potential financial burden for low-income families to send a child to senior secondary remains high. Fees for senior secondary can comprise as much as 30% of household expenditure for households in the poorest quintile (Chen et al., 2012). A large proportion of the young people in this study were unable to start senior secondary school due to these fees, and several of them cited the financial burden of attending as a critical juncture in their life paths. This fact is particularly relevant to the local economic changes that are occurring to Yogyakarta discussed later in this section – namely the rapid growth of the service industry. Nearly 70% of those employed in the service sector have completed senior secondary education (World Bank, 2011). Many of the respondents in this study had not yet met the minimum requirements for many service sector jobs, yet, some of the evidence presented in this thesis may support the idea that they could integrate into the growing tourist economy in numerous ways.

The suggestion that these young people could integrate into the service sector may make sense from an economic standpoint, because some research indicates that the skills obtained through senior secondary school receive a smaller premium in wages. This fact likely indicates that either there is less demand for the skills from vocational schools, or that the quality of the graduates' skills are lower (World Bank, 2011). For Indonesian young people, it seems that having transferrable vocational skills, rather than a certificate of completion itself, are particularly critical to labour market success because the education sector is unable to provide all the skills necessary for a changing labour market (World Bank, 2011). Based on this, completion of schooling may be valuable, however, engendering an understanding and recognition of labour-

market relevant skills developed in other ways may be a means of dealing with the challenges for youth without requisite qualifications.

If the above complexities were not enough, there is significant pressure on Indonesia to better utilise the opportunity that today's youths provide. The Government sees them as the generation that will decide the fate of the country's demographic dividend, or a historically low dependency ratio: "the demographic dividend refers to the accelerated economic growth that begins with changes in the age structure of a country's population as it transitions from high to low birth and death rates" (Gribble & Bremner, 2012, pg 2). In other words, today's youths are viewed as the nation's engine of economic growth (Hayes & Setyonaluri, 2015), and therefore the generation that will further catalyse Indonesia's modernisation. In brief, Indonesia has a disproportionately young population. Around 40% of its citizens are under the age of 25 (Edwards, 2016), and countries with large working-age populations are at an advantage for producing high per capita income (Mason, 2005). As was indicated earlier, Indonesia is estimated to reach its demographic dividend soon (Adioetomo, 2005; Hayes & Setyonaluri, 2015). However, the economic and employment conditions mentioned above indicate that the realisation of the demographic dividend is highly uncertain. Changes in the country's consumption needs and productive activities have important implications for family welfare and economic growth in windows of opportunity such as this one (Hayes & Setyonaluri, 2015). Data show that young people in Indonesia take a long time before they produce more than they consume, by some estimates most young people only pass this threshold after age 30 on average (Hayes & Setyonaluri, 2015). Moreover, several recent studies call attention to the missed opportunity of better integrating young, educated people in urban areas into the labour market (Tadjoeddin, 2014; Tadjoeddin et al., 2009). Thus, making sure that there is an increased demand for the growing supply of workers is the keystone to ensuring the benefits of Indonesia's demographic dividend.

From the human capital perspective, skills and education are valuable insofar as they contribute to employability (Brown, 2007; Naafs, 2012). Some argue that to reap the benefits of the dividend, today's youth needs to be skilled, educated, and employed (Hayes & Setyonaluri,

2015). These goals place the individual at the centre of the equation; it is *individuals* who must be prepared for an assumed labour market demand. However, others place focus on the fact that the availability and quality of work are of utmost importance. One recent study argues that the improvement of the quality of employment, rather than a simple reduction of unemployment, should be emphasised (Tadjoeddin, 2014). That is, full and productive employment is the real goal that must be achieved per the ILO's definition of decent work – that is full and productive, respects workers' rights, gives workers freedom and, again, affords them social security and protection (ILO, 2012). Thus, fostering an increasingly flexible labour market may allow for conditions to best capitalise on the dividend from an economic wellbeing perspective (Hayes & Setyonaluri, 2015). Providing youth with a more rigid market that affords more rights may provide today's youths with sustained progress (Tadjoeddin, 2014). However, it is unclear how youth will fare in the short term. Exploring how youth themselves explore and define flexibility for themselves in their work lives could help to ensure that young people have diverse means of achieving their goals. Moreover, this flexibility may even create the opportunity to reach adulthood within the frame of the social capital model's linear step-wise notion of becoming a full adult in society.

In short, the stakes are high for this generation of youths in Indonesia. The labour market conditions, and adult understandings and expectations for modes of youths' success may not be optimal for including *all* young people into the vision for Indonesia's future. Moreover, for young people with fewer-than-average social, educational, and economic resources, like those in this thesis, the challenge is particularly large.

1.4. Entering adulthood and young people's priorities

Defining youth and adulthood in Indonesia also provides a challenge. There is substantial disagreement about how to chronologically define the term "youth." Some non-governmental organisations (NGOs) use the international standard of 15 to 24, but the range of ages potentially includes 13 to 35. There is even discordance between Indonesian Government Ministries on the term's chronological definition (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2005; White, 2012a). However, the

national Youth Law⁹ indicates that youth are between the ages of 16 and 30. The academic draft¹⁰ of that same law states a lower boundary of 18 (Naafs & White, 2012). Another guidepost that demarcates the lower limit of youth might be 17 years old, because Indonesian young people can receive their national ID card (KTP), gain the right to vote, and establish a legal household with the Civil Registration Office at that age. Given this relative lack of clarity, and given the fact that age often does not co-occur with social rites of passage into adulthood, defining youth in terms of chronological age poses a challenge.

Entering adulthood in late modernity in many contexts is less mediated by social norms than by personal choice (Côté, 2000). Some research argues that young people increasingly become adults through their self-perceptions of being an adult or feeling responsible (Côté, 2000; Schut, 2018). In short, the process of becoming an adult is becoming more individualised, and young people increasingly have expectations that place responsibility for their human capital development squarely on their shoulders. This process of individualisation has had a destructing effect in social organisation in the west (Woodman 2009 in Schut, 2018). It is less clear the effect that it has had in Asian contexts. Several authors cite that Asian economies, including Indonesia, have never fully opened up to the neoliberal project of individualisation, and this includes conceptualising the end of youth as entering the workforce (Naafs, 2012; Nevins & Peluso, 2008; Rudnyckij, 2009). The structural barriers present for young people mentioned earlier, as well as class, ethnicity and education play an important role in how young people experience and navigate their current position in life. Such structural factors, furthermore, meaningfully shape the economic, social, and cultural capital that they deploy to navigate uncertainty (Naafs, 2012). However, what young people feel is important or not important can be highly flexible and difficult to say definitively (Naafs, 2012). The individual identities of young people, or groups of young people, foster heterogeneity in their priorities (Jeffrey, Jeffery, & Jeffery, 2008), and thus,

⁹ Law Number 40/2009.

¹⁰ An academic draft, or *naskah akademik*, is a manuscript that provides substantial background for the preparation of and justifications for the scope, purpose, and reasoning within a law.

provides a strong basis for the study of individual and group identities as they pertain to this particular generation of youth in Indonesia.

For their part, young people in Indonesia have cited the importance of their role in national development and modernisation (Naafs, 2012). The young men in the industrial town on Java where Susanne Naafs focused her research, highlighted that the climate of economic uncertainty for many young men also made them believe that they are not ready to take on adult responsibilities (Naafs, 2012). These sorts of shifts in understanding youth and adulthood are explored in more depth in several parts of the empirical material. However, at this juncture, it simply bears noting that the way youth view the inequalities that they experience, as well as political and economic changes in their lives, shapes the way that they make strategies within these contexts (Jeffrey et al., 2008).

Specifically in Yogyakarta, young people similar to those featured in this thesis have sought to fit into social and economic landscapes. Previous studies, notably those of Stodulka (See Stodulka, 2017a), as well as Beazley (See Beazley, 2003b), describe street life in Yogyakarta as fitting well into subaltern perspective (See Guha, 2011; Hall & Jefferson, 1993; Rogers, 2008). Those previous studies showed that street-associated youths fitting into a lively sub-culture which had access to a range of physical spaces, had a well-outlined set of norms and practices, and even had political and social movements buttressing their position in society. This study will provide a portrait of similar young people, but will show that the respondents were not immersed in the substantial sub-culture present in those previous studies. For the young people encountered in this study, this subaltern culture was not as present or prominent. This loss of a critical mass of street sub-culture has its roots in several changes occurring at the city level. Much of the rest of this chapter will focus on how the city of Yogyakarta is changing in terms of space, legislation, and economics. Moreover, it will seek to frame the youths' perspectives shared in the empirical chapters in a way that brings to light their interest in being a part of, rather than outside of, the social, spatial, and economic changes occurring in the city.

1.5. Javanese values and the *Kampung* in Yogyakarta

The Javanese ethnicity has meaningfully shaped modern Indonesia's identity. During the New Order, Suharto's emphasis on Javanese culture being at the heart of the national historical consciousness played a central role in his discourses attempting to unify the country. A part of these discourses was the presence of significant Hindu and Buddhist temples, as well as the historical capital of Mataram sultanate¹¹ on the edges of the city (Stodulka, 2017a). The rich religious diversity represented by these landmarks fit into national ideas about the country as culturally, religiously, and ethnically pluralist. Although the post-1998 process of decentralisation sought to reduce the emphasis on the island of Java and the ethnic majority Javanese, the island remains the centre of Indonesia's population and economics (Stodulka, 2017a). The national motto even remains an old Javanese saying, “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*” or “unity in diversity” (Stodulka, 2017a).

The province of Yogyakarta holds a special designation (*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, or DIY*), a status that was conferred due to the city's significant contribution to the independence struggle in 1945 (Stodulka, 2017a). DIY is the only Indonesian province in which the Sultan is also the Governor¹². The city of Yogyakarta is one of 5 subdivisions within the province of Yogyakarta. The others are Bantul, Sleman, Gunung Kidul, and Kulon Progo. The city is home to more than twenty state and private universities, and over 25,000 students (BPS Yogyakarta 2010 in Stodulka, 2017a). The current city motto is “*Yogyakarta Berhati Nyaman*”, which is an abbreviation for several words meaning clean, healthy, faithful pleasant and safe (Solvang, 2002), but also can be taken to mean “Yogyakarta with a warm heart” (Stodulka, 2017a, pg. 50).

Javanese ways were at the core of the national ideology espoused by Suharto's New order – including ethics and moral guidance [*budhi pekerti*], harmony [*rukun*], and equanimity [*tentram*] (Stodulka, 2017a). There is cultural emphasis on establishing oneself through wealth,

¹¹ A Muslim majority sultanate that ended in the early 18th century, of which an area near the city of Yogyakarta was the capital.

¹² It should be noted that this arrangement means that the governorship follows the rules of succession of the sultanate, rather than the electoral process followed by all other provinces.

professional, or ethical performance. Moreover, one achieves good social standing through the performance of Javanese forms of cultural refinement, in particular acting refined [*halus*] and polite [*sopan*], being modest and caring and being economically successful (Stodulka, 2017a). Thomas Stodulka's recent work with a similar group of street-associated youth in the city gathered street-associated youths' own appraisal of similar Javanese values as including the following: honesty, sincerity; social harmony; patience and whole-hearted [*ikhlas*] acceptance; non-egoism; and mutual aid or reciprocal cooperation [*gotong royong*] (Stodulka, 2017a). These values dictate the contours of much of the sociality depicted throughout this thesis as well.

These structures of social life are manifest in neighbourhood structures called *kampungs*. Clifford Geertz¹³ defined *kampung* as an urban social structure organised around rural patterns (Geertz, 1973). Patrick Guinness has used a similar definition, indicating low income, off street settlements (Guinness, 2009). Sociality in these settings is dyadic—that is, one's relative senior or junior position in relation to one's partner (Stodulka, 2017a). Of note for this thesis, in the 1970s, the areas surrounding the city of Yogyakarta were victims of a prolonged economic crisis, recurring drought, lack of labour-intensive industries, and scarce work opportunities (Husken & White 1989, Booth 1992 in Stodulka, 2017a) and so several rural people moved into the city and established houses on wasteland. These communities are interspersed with *kampungs* of much older origin. Therefore, the city remains a blend of people with long histories as urban residents close to the heart of Javanese and national identity and more recently arriving citizens.

1.6. Development, land use, and mobility

Indonesia is urbanising rapidly, with 53% currently living in cities and that figure growing to 70% by 2030 (Edwards, 2016; Oberman et al., 2012). This fact is indicative of the situation in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta's land use is changing rapidly due to recent economic policies. The city is a critical part of the Java corridor of the national Masterplan of Acceleration and Expansion of Economic Development (MP3EI), in which the Government designates Yogyakarta as a hub of

¹³ An American anthropologist noted for his work on symbolic anthropology and articulating the notion of thick description. He was also a pre-eminent scholar of Java.

service sector activity for Meetings, Incentive, Conventions, and Exhibitions (Indonesia Investments, n.d.). The development processes and plans put in motion have put land use at the forefront of the provincial discourse, calling into question a range of thorny issues relating to large swaths of land that are legally owned by the sultanate but that have, in practice, been used by ordinary citizens for decades. Law No.13/2012 on Special Privileges of Special Region of Yogyakarta, broadened the scope of topics potentially managed by the Governor and Vice Governor of Yogyakarta to include not only the regulation of cultural traditions but also land and public space. This change has been the source of a few conflicts in rural areas over lands designated as Sultan Ground (SG) and Pakualaman Ground (PAG). Some SG and PAG land within DIY province has been managed by citizens for a long time, but to which they do not have deeds and are not technically the owners. provincial property. Some development efforts seeking to reallocate land in recent years have been met with resistance from the habitual users of the land (see Muryanto, 2018 for an example). The respondents have had similar experiences in spaces of their habitual use.

Yogyakarta is a generous and welcoming city, and there are very many examples of the state and its citizens' care and generosity towards marginal people. Due to a range of factors, including decreases in poverty, the implementation of social welfare programmes, and several interventions from private charities, there were many fewer young people on the streets during the study period than in previous years. However, there were still young people in this condition. Moreover, from an historical perspective, there have been incidents during which the lively street youth sub-culture has experienced marginalisation or stigmatisation (see Beazley, 2003b; Berman, 1994; Ertanto, 1999; Solvang, 2002). During the study period, the core respondents in this study adapted to a new law that legally defined youth working in public as vagrants and beggars, and made them subject to removal from public spaces in which they had been work. If and how this new legislation served to marginalise the core respondents economic and social identities will be explored.

The redevelopment trends in the city salient because a few spaces are SG or PAG areas in which street children and youth have utilised with frequency in the past. Indeed, the hangouts of similar young people in other studies have been redeveloped (Stodulka, 2017a). The loss of these space has been a part of a wider trend that has changed the social and spatial landscape of street-associated youths' lives in recent years. Thomas Stodulka (2017a) found that: "increased competition for space, income, and social support in the city centre...fostered the atomization of a formerly spatially, culturally, and socially unified street-related movement into locally dispersed communities" (pg. 91). There is some disagreement amongst scholars about the degree to which street communities were united in previous eras, as others have found that there have been rivalries between groups (Beazley, personal communication). Regardless of its origin, an increasing atomization of social and physical space for street-associated youth is at the centre of the research presented in this thesis. Indeed, this is a trend that affects a range of people who habitually occupy the streets, including Waria¹⁴, the aged, people with severe disabilities or mental health problems (Hegarty & Thajib, 2016; Nanwani & Siagian, 2017; Stodulka, 2017a).

This reconfiguring of space is directly related to increasing investment in cultural tourism (Maharani, 2016; Sani, 2012), as well as the process of modernisation and development described earlier in this chapter. In part, this has entailed the establishment of new hotels, new businesses, and the professionalisation and scaling up of several existing programs around this industry. Several developers are building hotels in Yogyakarta. This trend had reshaped several main thoroughfares where the street youth used to spend time. Although many of the places where the respondents spent time – empty plots of land or the fronts of derelict buildings –were not theirs in terms of legal ownership, in practice they often occupied them.

Street youth often inhabit and find safety in places that are not considered 'homes' by adult standards (Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). Although in many places, community members can be uncomfortable with the presence of such young people in strongly classified spaces (Kraack &

¹⁴ The word "waria" is the blend between an Indonesian word for woman, *wanita*, and a word for man, *pria*. It is a gender category with similarities to both transgender woman and notions of a third gender (See Boellstorff, 2004; Murtagh, 2013; Oetomo, 1996)

Kenway, 2002; Malone, 2002). This was not the case in some of the aforementioned SG spaces. In short, the real and unseen lines of demarcation around these areas of the city are changing, and this includes the areas where street youth can and cannot spend time. These boundaries often organise geographies and shape boundaries of power in street youths (see Malone, 2002), and thus give us important insight into if and how young people, like those presented in this study, can be a part of, or belong, in their city and communities.

Lastly, migration and mobility have been documented as supporting the process of modernisation and urbanisation in Indonesia (Li, 2012; Schut, 2018). Circular migration has long been a strategy to find work for a great many workers in Indonesia (see Hugo, 2003 and Beazley, 2003a), however the particular modalities that enable street-associated young people to move about the country have become limited. Namely, travel without tickets on Java's railway network was central to young people's ability to move between rural homes and urban areas, as well as from one urban setting to another. However, as a part of a portfolio of interventions to reduce the number of street children and youth, the national railway services tightened their security, both in stations and on trains (Stodulka, 2017b), and so young people no longer were able to occupy those spaces. Some of the empirical material will discuss how mobility has declined for street-associated youth and what impacts this has on their integration into social and physical spaces.

1.7 A brief history of street youth in the Indonesian context

Before further framing the contemporary context around the empirical material, this section will provide key information about historical events, the informal economy, busking, and the literature pertaining directly to street youth in Yogyakarta. First, although there had been street children in Yogyakarta in some form since at least the late 70s (see Solvang, 2002; Beazley, 1999), the monetary crisis [*Krismon*] of 1997 changed trends in this area. During *Krismon*, the value of the value of the Indonesian Rupiah depreciated rapidly and had several effects (Bunnell & Miller, 2011), including a rapid increase in the number of people working in the informal sector (Bunnell & Miller, 2011). This increase included children and youth for several subsequent years (Van Daalen, Hanson, & Nieuwenhuys, 2016; Richter, 2012).

Moreover, as noted earlier, the informal economy continues to make up a substantial portion of the Indonesian economy (See Bunnell & Miller, 2011), and the young people on the street due to *Krismon* were a part of this (Beazley, 1999; Solvang, 2002). Beazley (2003a) documented that street boys take great pride in many forms of work in the informal economy, and moreover, there was a discernible hierarchy of activities that includes shining shoes, selling newspapers, and at the top of the hierarchy, busking. Playing music [*ngamen*] has long been a central aspect of street youth's economic and social lives in Yogyakarta (See Beazley, 1999; Solvang, 2002; Stodulka, 2017). In fact, multiple popular films, *Jalanan* (Ziv, 2013) and *Daun di Atas Bantal* (Nugroho, 1998), raised the profile of street children and youth nationally and internationally by telling stories in which *ngamen* was a prominent part of their economic strategies.

Having made these historical points, more recent trends show real improvement. Spending has increased on permanent social welfare programmes, and new ambitious plans have been implemented since 2010 (World Bank, 2017). In recent years, progress has been made in reducing the poverty rate, and in March 2017 it stood at 10.7 percent (World Bank, 2017). Moreover, programmes have more effectively targeted and supported poor populations, but there are improvements still to be made. For instance, Nanwani and Siagian (2017) find that some poor populations were still unable to benefit from expanding social welfare programmes due to inability to qualify or register, and this barrier is in part due to some populations inability to obtain legal identity documents. This dynamic has been present since at least the work of Beazley and Solvang. Both their studies found that street youth often had significant difficulty obtaining an identity card, and therefore have difficulty enrolling in school, receiving healthcare, or accessing other services (see Solvang, 2013; Beazley, 2000). With the implementation of new and generous social welfare programmes (See World Bank, 2017) like the national health insurance scheme, legal identity has become even more critical, but many street children and youth remain unable to obtain legal identity due to a range of factors, including estrangement with their families (Nanwani & Siagian, 2017).

A few academics have undertaken research with street youth and children specifically in Yogyakarta in the past. The following paragraphs will briefly describe some of the key contributions from these individuals that are relevant to this thesis. Before describing these points, it is worth mentioning that this thesis contributes to a chronological progression of research with street youth and children in this setting. Harriot Beazley's field work was undertaken in the 1990s. Solvang's took place in 2000-2001. Thomas Stodulka's work took place during a series of field visits between 2001 and 2015. Additionally, this section briefly describes a legal research focused on the period between 2006-2012. In a modest sense, thesis contributes a novel step in the progression of street youth research in Yogyakarta. It draws on these previous studies to provide insight into the theoretical and empirical implications of how some social dynamics have changed and others have remained the same.

The work in this thesis draws most substantially on the work of Harriot Beazley. Her work explores several matters central to this thesis: identity performance, belonging, agency, space, among others. Much of the work focuses on how her interlocutors developed a rich subculture and repertoire of skills to make their lives work, and through these actions, developed and maintained their identities, as well as made cultural meaning. In Beazley (2000, 2003a, and 2003b), she describes young people performing membership in a lively street child subculture, called Tekyan. Her interlocutors responded to the relative powerlessness of their social positions by subverting dominant social norms, and thereby expressing agency. Her interlocutors cultivated identities – through styles of dress and tattoos, preferences for music, and other actions like drug and alcohol use – to as to reinforce strong within-peer-group bonds that helped them to stay safe, meet their basic needs, and insulate them from the critiques of outsiders. The development of a strong subculture provided an alternate reality to a world in which they were stigmatized and marginalized. During the period of her fieldwork, she observed that her interlocutors often performed identities that might reinforce outsiders' stereotypes of street children, and therefore further stigmatize them in social contexts beyond the street.

Her work also provides a valuable foundation for discussions about how street children and youth are or are not integrated into public spaces and state ideals. In Beazley (2016), she directly engaged with prominent themes of this thesis, the regulation of public spaces and how young people found means to construct, articulate, and enact their identities in those spaces. She found that the street provided a range of spaces near the city centre that were potentially fluid, and therefore sites in which young people could express their agency to varying degrees. Moreover, in Beazley (2000) she showed that conceptualisations of childhood are idealised as being situated firmly within a family home, and that the state had codified the administrative importance of being a part of a family. She makes the point that the very existence of these children living outside of home and family subvert the state ideal. This condition, in some form, persists during the study period, and will be described in the empirical chapters. Lastly, Beazley will be referenced throughout the thesis regarding other contributions directly relevant to the empirical material, including, performances of masculinity, the contexts of mobility, and gendered aspects of street life.

Moving on, Solvang (2002) also underlines the agency of street children and youth, a theme that unites all the works cited in this section. Specifically, she highlights the relative importance of dignity and respect to street children. Her findings indicate that street children have some control over their circumstances and often take responsibility for themselves, and that these actions are critical to cultural (re)production in Yogyakarta. Moreover, like Beazley, she finds that these actions, and the perspectives on which they are based, often subvert state ideologies about family and home. Finally, in direct relevance to this thesis, she found that young people's aspirations depended upon whether they were expressed in reference to their lives "on" or "off" the street. The life worlds that her interlocutors occupied were often distinct, and would, therefore, engender divergent aspirations.

Van Daalen, Hanson, & Nieuwenhuys (2016) argue for the importance of ensuring that children's perspectives in the conceptualisation of their rights – not merely adults' interpretations of the law. They do this through providing an account of the activism and deliberation around a

child protection law in Yogyakarta between 2006-2012. They describe how the law sought to achieve maximal well-being of children by protecting them from the pernicious effects of being on the street and out of family care. However, they indicate that children themselves, and activists acting on their behalf, argue vigorously for the notion that children should be regarded as active participants in society, and therefore, the idea that realising protection involves actively seeking to understand children's subjective life experiences and interpretations of their rights.

Thomas Stodulka's published work focuses on the emotional and affective lives of young men similar to those in this thesis. He places focus on the emotional demands of the process of coming of age, which contributes a novel element to the economic and social developments described by other authors. However, the findings from over more than a decade of fieldwork (See Stodulka 2017a), like Beazley and Solvang, touches on economic and social elements of street youth lives as well. Stodulka observed how his interlocutors avoid harm and seek attention as they navigate the process of coming of age. The agency they express in this process is often deployed to subvert or contest externally imposed social identities. Moreover, with his emotional and affective lenses, he extends the important work that was started by Beazley engaging with the meanings of freedom, masculinity, and in-group solidarity as they pertain to youths' repertoire of survival techniques (see also Stodulka, 2015 and 2017a). Like Solvang, some of the work explores his interlocutors' aspirations and actions towards leaving street life in young adulthood. He places explicit focus on the notion of "street careers", as does Beazley, and seeks to underline the temporality of street youth as phenomenon. Additionally, Stodulka (2017b) describes how substantial emotional investments in a stigmatized in-group identity can continue to "stick" with interlocutors as they seek to navigate social life in other settings or after they have mostly left street life. Finally, to foreshadow some of the empirical content of this thesis, he touches on a rapidly changing economic and social climate in Yogyakarta. Stodulka (2016) observes the social norms around desire and conspicuous consumption are changing, and thus

emotional performances of envy that had historically been socially unacceptable were changing. Finally, his 2017 book, *Coming of Age on the Streets*, contains an epilogue that frames the starting point of this study of this study, the passage of a new anti-vagrancy law that will be described in the next section.

Section 1.8 will describe a law that led to the forcible removal of street youth from public spaces, and so the historical precedents for removal, as well as prevailing discourses about street youth, must be mentioned before moving on (see Beazley, 1999; Beazley, 2000; Bouchier, 1990). During the New Order, Suharto's regime used a range of tactics to remove undesirable or poor people from the streets of a modernizing Indonesia (Aspinall & Fealy, 2003; Baulch, 2002; Murray, 2002; Jellinek, 1991). One particularly shocking period occurred during the 1980s, called *Petrus* [mysterious killings], in which several young men, perceived to be *preman*¹⁵ or involved in other crime, were arrested (Beazley, 2003a; Bouchier, 1990). The individuals picked up during *Petrus* often had long hair and tattoos, which at the time, was interpreted to be a marker of participation in organised crime. Some aggressive tactics with street children and youth were documented, for instance being subject to *garukan* or cleansing operations (Beazley, 1999; Solvang, 2002). Moreover, Beazley's work, subsequent to *Petrus* but still during the New Order, found that the media and mainstream society often reflected a pattern of paternalistic thinking about poor communities (see Beazley, 1999, 2000).

In sum, there has been substantial scholarship focusing on street-associated young people in Yogyakarta. These works contribute to global discourses about young people's agency and situate it in the contexts of social stigma and structural constraints. Several of these authors showed that street children and youth are active contributors to the cultural and social life in their city. Indeed, all these works emphasizes the importance of better integrating young people's own lived understandings of rights and their roles in society as critical to any intervention seeking to

¹⁵ A word derived from the phrase "free man", meaning a member of organized crime.

protect or support them. Thus, these authors lay a substantial foundation for this thesis to focus on contemporary identity performances, senses of belonging, and agency.

1.8. The passage and implementation of a new anti-vagrancy law

Much of the empirical material in this thesis was shaped by the effects of the passage of a new anti-begging and anti-vagrancy law. Although Yogyakarta has historically been safer for street people than many other cities, many young people had already been pushed out of the city centre by the forces mentioned above (Stodulka, 2017a) by the time the research began. Beyond the economic forces mentioned in the previous section, the Provincial Regulation on Vagrants and Beggars [*Peraturan Daerah Gelandangan dan Pengemis*] (DPRD DIY, 2014) passed in 2014 and hereafter referred to as Law No.1/2014, made illegal most forms of informal work at intersections and in several public spaces, including musical performance¹⁶. Law No.1/2014 widened and codified the definition of both vagrants and beggars, and made street-associated populations fitting the definitions subject to arrest so as to be linked to relevant welfare services. Vagrancy was defined as being in public space: without government identification, a letter of employment, and proof of residence. Begging was included the notion that one was relying on the pity of others to make a living, and wearing shabby clothing. The passage of Law No.1/2014 was part of a wider effort by the Ministry of Social Welfare to make the city “free from vagrants and beggars by 2015” (Dinas Sosial DIY, 2014). The drafters wrote the law in such a way that it sought to holistically stop informal work in public by also fining members of the public who give small amounts of money or material support to beggars¹⁷ (Department of Social Affairs in Bantul, 2014). Stodulka's recent reflection on this law, was that it codified sociocultural stigma categories into a legal means of criminalising street communities.

¹⁶ The primary form of work for most of the respondents in the study.

¹⁷ It should be mentioned that the author is unaware of any instance in which an individual was charged under this provision.

The Law gave the Ministry of Social Welfare primary responsibility to implement the “rehabilitative” elements of the law, and the Municipal police¹⁸ had responsibility for much of the frontline engagement with those breaking the law. The Ministry of Social Welfare developed a protocol for social workers to assess and categorise vagrants and beggars into one of 26 “People with Social Welfare Problems” (PMKS) groups (Government of Yogyakarta Special Region, 2012). Through this assessment and categorisation, individuals arrested under Law No. 1/2014 could then be referred to the appropriate social services and potentially residential welfare facilities.

The law indicated that a new *panti*¹⁹ would be established for the processing of individuals picked up under the new law. This facility will be called the Referral Centre from here on²⁰. Indeed, Law No.1/2014 was not implemented in a vacuum; it wisely sought to link those arrested under the law to the government social welfare system, as well as a number of charitable organisations’ services. However, during this study, staff gave conflicting accounts about the Referral Centre’s remit – some said it sought merely to process PMKS as was written into the law, but others indicated that it had a role in the Ministry’s rehabilitation programmes for youth. For youth like those in my study, who often actively sought to avoid connection to services, referrals beyond family settings were often very difficult, and so those who were of the age of adulthood would often be detained at the centre until they met requirements to be released once their place of residence could be reasonably be established²¹.

This thesis will briefly engage with the aforementioned administrative categories for PMKS, but primarily from youth perspectives. In the interest of space, it must merely be stated that from a policy perspective, the law framed approaches to youth that could be characterised as either

¹⁸ The Municipal Police are police charged with local and regional peace and public order, and who primarily implement regional regulations. The respondents in this thesis most regularly were in contact with them because they were tasked with implementing Law No.1/2014.

¹⁹ Residential welfare facility, e.g. a youth shelter, orphanage, or home for the aged.

²⁰ A pseudonym for the facility.

²¹ It should be noted that street youth like those in the study were often detained for increasingly longer periods of time if they had broken the law more than once. The determination of duration was at the discretion of the Centre staff.

“correctional/institutional”, understanding street youth as deviants or threats to public safety, or “rehabilitative”, individuals who need to be “fixed” and reintegrated into society (see Karabanow, 2004; Lyons, 2012). However, there were also individuals and groups, especially some local NGOs or the collective efforts of informal settlements of street-associated people, took a “street education” approach – understanding street-associated youth as subject to powerful structural factors and therefore indeed of affirmation and empowerment (see Karabanow, 2004; Lyons, 2012; Stodulka, 2017a).

Criticisms of Law No.1/2014 have said that it “hints to a national movement of disciplining and normativization of Indonesia’s citizens” (Stodulka, 2017, p. 249), including those who might be marginalised or stigmatised (Hegarty & Thajib, 2016). In other words, that the law made only certain modes of performing economic identity or culture, for instance, those deemed in accordance with the human capital ideals set out earlier in this chapter

As mentioned earlier, the law sought to refer those arrested under the law into the appropriate social services or conditions of care (Government of Yogyakarta Special Region, 2014).

However, one of the broader challenges for the law was that when possible, rehabilitation efforts sought to rely heavily on families. The family is the primary site of care administration in the Indonesian system. During the New Order regime, national development was linked closely to “family principles”. An idealised conceptualisation of a family with rigid, heteronormative, gendered roles was socialised as a means for both development and social control (Milone & Sears, 1998; Suryakusuma, 2011). The New Order established the family as the very basis of the nation-state at this time (Suryakusuma, 2011). Thus, social and legal identity and belonging in society is and was contingent on being part of a nuclear family (Boellstorff, 2005). The legacy of this organisation remains in place in the social service administration at present. Some authors even argue that it has become more central to the social welfare system (Tajima, Samphantharak, & Ostwald, 2018). Regardless of the degree, having both social and administrative recognition connected to families presents challenges for individuals who are outside of a nuclear family

setting both in the formal sense²² and in the informal sense²³. They are often unable to access healthcare services, obtain documents for civil procedures, among other challenges. So, in short, if one is not a member of a family, it can make one's life more socially and administratively complicated.

1.9. Conclusion

This Chapter has shown Indonesia to be in a period of rapid development. Due to this process and the current demographic breakdown of the population, youth remain the vanguard of the nation's development agenda, and thus, are subject to policies that seek to maximize their economic and social potential. The Yogyakarta is no exception. The growth of the tourist industry and rapid development have led public spaces where street-associated youth have habitually been present to change and be more closely regulated. This thesis explores the stated research questions in the context of these changes.

²², E.g. not listed on an adult family card or without other legal identity documents linking them to a family.

²³, E.g. a child who is outside of family care, who has complex relationship with the adults in her/his family, or who is being neglected by caregivers.

2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Introduction

A few core theories and concepts will drive the analysis, namely, discussions of identity performance situated in language of belonging, specifically concepts of commonality, mutuality, and attachment. Moreover, it will explore if and how youth have the capacity for and possibility of agency. It will deploy these concepts to argue for the value of understanding youth identity performances through a relational lens. The empirical material will show how and why identities were performed differently, or not, in different social and spatial contexts, and that several relational dimensions shape these performances, including their notions about: gender, social adulthood, citizenship, inter-generational relationships, aspirations for the future, past experiences, among others. Thus, this framework will first consider how youth is conceptualised in both global and Indonesian literature, and articulate a viewpoint that youth is socially constructed. Then, theories relating to identity performance will be considered, and specified to foreground notions of belonging. It will, then, demonstrate that belonging identities are particularly critical components of street-associated youth's lives in Yogyakarta. This goal, in particular, builds on Beazley's work on similar issues, by exploring if, how, and why agency and belonging identities remain critical components of street-associated youths' lives. It considers this question twenty years after Beazley's during which time large societal shifts including a financial crisis, a transition to democracy, and two decades of rapid development have taken place. Moreover, the work naturally contributes to Beazley's work by being primarily situated in geographies of children and young people.

Finally, theory relevant to agency will be presented. The youth demonstrated substantial agency throughout the study by creatively, thoughtfully, strategically performing identities for and in several contexts. Therefore, the second section considers theory about what agency is and how and why agency is deployed based on several dimensions of context. Due to some of the unique aspects of street-associated youths' life circumstances, this section will concentrate on

dimensions of space, time, bodily performance, gender and masculinity, and uncertainty. These concepts will provide the lexicon for understanding street-associated youth as potentially highly agentic but often limited by rigid structures. Chapter 1 has already indicated that the social, spatial, and legal implications of Law No.1/2014 that will feature prominently in substantiating this theoretical supposition using the empirical material.

In the end, it is my intention that the empirical material will make clear that the unique, and sometimes challenging circumstances of the street-associated youth make it valuable to understand their identities as relationally performed. This idea is of value to better exploring if and how they can be included in their social and spatial contexts. For the young people in the study, being included, in part, involves having enough standing to negotiate their roles and identities in communities. A relational perspective can provide critical nuance about street-associated youths' agency in experimenting with potential selves, defining the how they enact the constituents of their belonging identities, and using these components to move towards aspirations and selves that they believe suit them and their society. Moreover, a relational perspective allows one to consider how traditional ideas and values are being changed by Indonesia's push towards development and modernity. Therefore, this thesis seeks to demonstrate that a relational approach provides a valuable framework for understanding the political, economic, and social implications of this societal change for individuals in the study.

2.2. The relationality of youth

This thesis primarily treats youth as a social age category that resides between childhood and adulthood. It is considered a category that is constructed through a dynamic social process that is based on the collective knowledge and interpretations of members of a social context²⁴. Due to this approach, youth is a category that may change shape based on context (Bourdieu, 1993).

Also, youths are considered capable of acting on their environment, and embedded in a social and

²⁴ Context in this thesis refers to both a social context, in which interactions with other individuals, interpretations of others' behaviour and individuals' behaviour takes place; and, a physical or virtual place in which interaction can occur.

cultural context (Meeus, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999). Further, adolescence²⁵, which overlaps with youth in several ways, is a period in which the development of identity is highly important (Erikson, 1968), and thus, issues of identity have a historical connection to studies of adolescence. Much of the psychological literature describes a process of identity formation in which a young person is engaged in a process that has categorisable outcomes in reference to a singular, unified, and stable identity (see Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980). However, there are several theoretical approaches to understanding youth, and their identities. For instance, it has been conceptualised as a period of transition, as a period critical to identity formation, as a cultural production (Berman, Schwartz, Kurtines, & Berman, 2001; Cole & Durham, 2008; Côté, 2002; Hardgrove, 2012; Herrera et al., 2009; Jeffrey & McDowell, 2004; Jones, 2009; Leyshon, 2008; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995; Polhemus, 1996; Skelton, 2013; among others). This thesis seeks to apply a relational approach that has been suggested in recent years (Huijsmans, 2016; Huijsmans, George, Gigengack, & Evers, 2014) as a means to acknowledge the complexity of youths' lived experiences (Uprichard, 2008), and to provide a means to overcome the binaries sometimes applied to their experiences (Worth, 2015). To elucidate this relational approach in more detail, a few of the dominant perspectives on youth and young people are considered in this section. Moreover, key dimensions along which the relational approach to analysing youth identities will be established.

2.2.1. Constructing youth from social, chronological, and biological perspectives

This thesis will take a constructivist approach to understanding young people's lives. The justification for this perspective will be presented through several sections of this Chapter. In this section, I hope to make it clear that adolescence and youth are conceptualised, experienced, and have outcomes that are diverse and vary along several relational dimensions. Briefly put, from very early on, anthropological approaches to adolescence and youth have questioned Western models that emphasise the *storm* and *stress* of the process of transitioning into adulthood (Benedict, 1934; Mead, 1928, 1986), many of which are derived from psychology. Moreover, age

²⁵ A category that is often tied to biological development and classified within the age range of 10 and 19.

is often used to characterise an end to the Piagetian biological, phased, and linear process towards adulthood (Hart, 2008). Several international bodies conceptualise youth as being aged between 15 and 24 (UNDP, 2006; UNESCO, 2014). Though 15 to 24 years of age demarks a window of time in which social, biological, and psychological events associated with youth co-occur, this window may be too prescriptive for any one context. The window of chronological time constituting youth is not universal. Moreover, some youth are, from a legal perspective, children. The Convention on the Rights of the Child²⁶ (CRC)'s definition of a child is below the age of 18 (UN, 1989), and although this legal definition provides young people under the age of 18 with vital protections, it also risks depicting youth between the ages of 15 and 17 as having a lack of capacity or a lack of competence (Qvortrup, 1994; Valentine, 2003). Youth who are legally still children are often highly competent and capable. For instance, they are often capable enough to migrate, find work, and send remittances back to their families (Bourdillon, Levison, Myers, & White, 2010; Denov & Bryan, 2012). These competing claims of competence and immaturity put youth in the position to both be expected to be active agents in their own lives and society, but they are also considered unable to fulfil those expectations (Durham, 2000; Hardgrove, 2012).

Contemporary scholars criticise chronological definitions of youth because they depict youth as a discreet period from which young people arbitrarily emerge and are often misaligned with social understandings of the concept (Christiansen, Utas, & Vigh, 2006). Criticisms are also lodged because several perspectives characterise human development as primarily driven by biology (Boyden, 2007). In recent years, a strong case has been made that biology and culture work in consort to generate a diverse array of experiences and outcomes of being young (Boyden & Levison, 2000; Rogoff, 2003). Indeed, several authors challenge the notion of a universal, staged process of psychological and biological development (Prout & James, 1997; Rogoff, 1997; Woodhead, Littleton, & Faulkner, 1999), and take a more Vygotskian perspective that understanding social environments and young people's roles in them are critical to the process of development (see Boyden & Levison, 2000). This perspective sees young people as developing

²⁶ Indonesia is a signatory.

in diverse ways that are often not predictable, uniform, or having a singular end. Although several studies confirm that development can and sometimes does take place along this path of sequential stages to a certain degree (Feldman, 2004; Perry, 2002), denying the role of the social world and its diverse implications and outcomes, does not help us fully understand youth. Even within staged, linear theories, variability across cultures in this process has been emphasised in recent years (see Bornstein et al., 2012; Singer, 2006; Wellman, Fang, Liu, Zhu, & Liu, 2006).

Many authors indicate that youth are “active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live” (Prout & James, 1997, pg. 8). Others provide direct support for this notion that childhood and youth are socially constructed (among others, see Corsaro, 1986; Mayall, 2002; Qvortrup, 2009; Solberg, 1996). The way that young people are categorised is inherently constructed along the lines of socio-cultural dimensions in particular settings, and therefore, shape how they are represented, the competencies that people consider them to have, and how they experience social reality (Bornstein et al., 2012; Hart & Boyden, n.d.). Primarily focusing on chronological or biological age can create rigid assumptions about how one progresses through particular life phases (Jauhola, n.d.) even though in many contexts, age, and therefore youth or adulthood, is a status that is accomplished through dynamic and changing social relationships (Huijsmans et al., 2014). Adults place varying degrees of value on the youth, and the process of moving towards adulthood, depending on the social context (Christiansen, Utas, & Vigh, 2006; Hardgrove, 2012). Thus, the way in which the notion of youth is socially constructed has vital implications for how youth experience this period of their development (Sommers, 2006).

A relational perspective to the notion of youth is particularly merited for this thesis because social relationships are particularly relevant to Asian contexts. For example, relative age is of critical importance to suiting external expectations of youth²⁷ (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2014). Therefore, when I went into the field, social age was the starting point for this study. Clark-

²⁷ For instance, how one is supposed to speak or behave when interacting with relatively junior or senior people.

Kazak (2009, pg. 1310) defines it as “the socially constructed meanings applied to physical development and roles attributed to infants, children, young people, adults and elders, as well as intra- and inter-generational relationships”. Considering socially constructed boundaries around youth helped the research to be more sensitive and aware of how social and spatial relationships shaped whether they were young in their own eyes and the eyes of others. Moreover, the research sought to explore how being categorised, or categorising oneself, as a youth shaped young people’s identity performances in these diverse contexts. One can argue that the transition out of the social category of youth is context specific, mediated by both an individual’s perception of their current social category and the perceptions of those around them (Christiansen et al., 2006; Parker & Nilan, 2013; Robinson, 2016). Thus, a relational understanding that seeks to consider several of these dimensions is important.

2.2.2. Conceptualising street-associated youth

Before going any further, street-associated youth must be defined. From a practical perspective, street-associated was defined as having an unstable housing condition and working primarily in informal, street-based settings, however this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. From a theoretical perspective, in the past street-associated have been reduced to a simple depiction of the degree to which they are involved in family life. This thesis includes people who would have been considered both as ‘on’ (having housing and family care) and ‘of’ (those without either housing or family care) the street (Lalor, 1999). The categorisation above has been used by several studies (Williams, 1993; Woan, Lin, & Auerswald, 2013), however this focus solely of family involvement unfairly reduces young people’s circumstances to being determined primarily by one dimension of their lives.

In fact, street youth are a heterogeneous group, whose life circumstances greatly vary (Aptekar & Heinonen, 2003). This thesis will avoid making normative assumptions about youths’ family structures, domestic lives, or usual activities of young people (Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003; Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003). Indeed, their reasons for being potentially categorised as street-associated may be due to, many factors, including poverty, hunger, lack of education, death of a

caregiver, family economic strategies, peer pressure, domestic violence, work opportunities, availability of education, among others (Bessell, 2009; Bourdillon et al., 2010; Edmonds & Shrestha, 2009; Gibson & Gurmu, 2012; Heissler, 2008; Hillier, 2007; Punch, 2007; UNHR, 2011). Much of this literature places focus on how street-associated people may be detached from the everyday norms of society. Norms relating to ideas of ‘badness’ or ‘delinquency’, or their reinforcing street-associated group norms through distinctive style, language, and drug use are well documented (Colls & Hörschelmann, 2009; Davies, 2008; Kraack & Kenway, 2002; MacDonald & Shildrick, 2007; Sandberg, 2008). Moreover, discussions of their lives also are often framed within literature pertaining to subcultures, including work that has been done in the same study site as this thesis (e.g. Beazley, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b; Stodulka, 2017a). However, the reader will note that much of the analysis finds that the young people in the study have strong social bonds with people outside their street communities, good connections to particular places, senses of belonging to Indonesian society, and a deep sense of identity that is beyond a close group of peers. This does not contradict these earlier studies; however, it does make the case that the study period is a departure from previous generations of street-associated young people. Therefore, understanding the complex dimensions through which street-associated young people construct their ideas about themselves and their roles in society, makes a strong case for taking a relational perspective. To put these points more concretely, this study builds on the studies of street children and youth during the New Order era (e.g. Beazley), but explores the post-Suharto era. It considers what relational factors have made some aspects of street-associated youth identities and belongings change, and others remain the same. As was described in Chapter 1, the space for these young people is becoming increasingly narrow, and thus, a critical mass of young people to support a strong subculture in this setting may no longer be present. Due to this narrowing space, the heterogeneity of their life circumstances, and pre-existing, sometimes rigid categories about street-associated young people’s lives that may exist in the current literature, I believe that a discussion of how youth construct and perform their identities makes a timely and valuable contribution the literature on street children and youth.

2.2.3. Temporal and generational dimensions of youth

According to the life course perspective, youth is located between the generative category of childhood and the destination category of adulthood, and is thus treated as inherently liminal (Boyden, 2001). It is often characterised as a process in motion, in which young people become, or transition towards adulthood. Young people's experiences of this period in their life, how they and those around them construct the temporal elements of the category, and whether they regard their current developmental process as liminal are critical to the analysis in this thesis. Based on this, I will briefly engage two bodies of literature – social transitions and the *beings/becomings*. Through this process, I hope to foreshadow the importance of temporality as it pertains to how young people have power to shape how they are categorised and move towards adulthood.

The temporary event of being young (Boyden & Ennew, 1997; Medrich, 1982), can be seen as a process in which body, self, and society interact (Hockey & James, 2003). As one ages, the body is the site of much change and, in part, contributes to the social experience of ageing (Hockey & James, 2003). Discussions of demographic dividend generations often frame young people as groups who hold both potential and danger of development (World Bank, 2006). Such discussions focus on ensuring a successful transition to adulthood, but these models can be critiqued for being too constrained and linear (Huijsmans, 2016; Punch, 2002). Social transitions are the movement from one social status to another (van Gennep, 1977; Hardgrove, 2012; Vogler, Crivello, & Woodhead, 2008), and institutional and social structures shape the way these transitions take place and how the life course is defined (Crivello, 2011; Vogler et al., 2008).

Transitions are closely linked to trajectories, or the life course patterns that individuals are expected to follow in a social context (Crivello, 2011). However, the notion of a transition to adulthood implies that youth may only make this shift on one occasion, and that they are moving to clearly, defined and discrete category – adulthood (Wyn, White, & White, 1997).

Contemporary thought about socially constructed youth indicates that these transitions occur in multiple dimensions of life, and therefore, it is possible to make a partial transition (James & Prout, 1997). Several markers of this transition are, in fact, “transitory, reversible, and

impermanent” (Wyn et al., 1997, pg 96). Young people often seek of manage the risk in transitions by cultivating context-relevant identities, social networks, or engaging in contextualised political action (Côté & Levine, 2002; Jeffrey, 2004). Specifically, relevant to this thesis, it has been found that being forced to understand one’s role in the labour market at an early age has been found to engender more flexible ideas about if and how one can make this such a transition (Evans & Heinz, 1995). Thus, it is critical to understand youth as situated in their social contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1996), and further, how their life trajectories give meaning to the processes through which social transitions occur within these contexts (Elder, 1994). The Indonesian Government currently has a strong focus on ensuring smooth transitions to adulthood. However, the young themselves often emphasise their lived experience in the present (Naafs & White, 2012). The empirical material will reflect this dynamic.

As was described in Chapter 1, the labour market is still not yet integrating young people effectively and consistently into formal, contract-based employment. Thus, many young people rely on informal social networks to help them find informal or less than legal work (Naafs & White, 2012). Much of the recent scholarship in Indonesia indicates that the most important marker of the ending of youth and the entry into adulthood is economic independence²⁸ (Guinness, 2009; McDonald, Reimondos, & Utomo, 2012, Parker & Nilan, 2013; White, 2012a).

However, these transitions are made more complex by research that highlights the importance of defining youth from youths’ perspectives. This thesis takes a constructivist perspective and hypothesises a relational notion of youth; therefore, defines youth from youths perspective. Parker & Nilan (2013) find that Indonesian adults and youth perceive the concept of youth as a period of becoming or a training ground for adulthood (Parker & Nilan, 2013). Adults often see youth as "works in progress", and the age category is a "stepping stone to maturity" (Parker & Nilan, 2013, p. 3). However, other scholarship focuses on the *being* dimension of youth. Youth are seen by peers as a “successful youth” by enjoying life within the age category, rather than

²⁸ Alongside other key markers including entry into the labour force, marriage, becoming a parent, and leaving home (McDonald, Reimondos, & Utomo, 2012).

regarding how well they are preparing for adulthood (White, 2012b). Simply because youth are more focused on the being dimension of their lives does not mean that adults respect this notion. Much of the *becoming* orientation of adults has led to a focus on young people as prone to risky behaviours, and therefore many programmes seek young people's rehabilitation and reintegration (Ali, Amir, & Duse, 2007; Gordon & Gordon, 2003; Naafs & White, 2012) rather than on their current well-being. Moreover, adults view their near ubiquitous engagement with social media with suspicion, and recent attempts at control and censorship are reminiscent of the New Order Era (Naafs & White, 2012). The disjuncture between adults' and young people's perspectives, therefore, necessitates understandings that consider political and socioeconomic changes in Indonesian society via the lens of young people's lived experiences in the present (Naafs & White, 2012).

The tension between whom Indonesian youth should become in the future, and whom they are allowed to be in the present, touches on a valuable and ongoing debate concerning conceptualising young people as *being* versus young people as *becoming* (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998; Qvortrup, 1993). The *being* and *becoming* discussion has taken place vigorously in childhood studies, but is also relevant to youth in this setting. In short, discussions of youth as *being* often give primacy of young people as agents and view childhood and youth as life phases that are worthy of research without depicting those life phases as steps towards adulthood. *Becoming* studies often consider young people as adults in the making (Brannen & O'brien, 1995; James & Prout, 1997; Qvortrup, 1994). At the core of the arguments supporting *being*, is the idea that young people are often competent and able actors in some contexts (Alanen & Mayall, 2001; Lee, 2001). Alternatively, *becoming* is explicitly future-oriented and questions to what degree young people are able and competent actors in their own lives (Uprichard, 2008). Adults in many settings appraise young people to be a potent means to access potential futures for society (Smith, 2013), and thus they are often shepherded towards particular futures by adults. The legacy of the staged, linear theories of youth mentioned previously is present in this perspective and can be criticised for viewing young people as not fully competent agents.

Conversely, social constructionism can be accused of exaggerating young people's competency. In other words, compelling arguments can be made for the primacy of either *being* or *becoming*, however, reducing youths' experiences to one or the other would constitute an epistemic fallacy (Bhaskar, 1975). Therefore, this thesis will provide a necessarily complex view of young people's experiences and actions in the present (*being*) as well as in dialogue with the future (*becoming*). Uprichard (2008) argues that this a *being and becomings* perspective not only acknowledges the complexity of being young but also allows extends the notion of agency. Section 2.4 will describe agency as a capacity and a possibility. However, for now, it merits noting that this thesis views people's agency as embedded with their present capacity for it, but also shaped by an individual's and others' perception of the possibility of agency. Moreover, they can be seen as potentially having an active role in making their social role, rather than being entirely subject to force exerted by external social structures (Durkheim, 1982).

Structures, relationships, and norms also constrain agency— this is at the heart of the relational approach applied by this thesis. For example, a young person may have a strong ability to learn construction skills and may competently undertake several jobs independently. However, their progression to a position of more responsibility on their building site may be incumbent upon them learning a more complex and difficult skill. In this case, both the young person's perception or confidence of her ability to learn the new skill, as well as her manager's willingness to teach her the skill meaningfully shape her transition to that role. In short, the young person's present capacities (*being*) in dialogue with her and her manager's understanding of her potential future(s) (*becoming*) tells us more about her agency than either being or becoming alone. Based on this, it is clear the relationship between being and becoming dimensions of a given moment in a young person's life both function to shape how they express their agency.

In addition to temporal dimensions, generational dynamics also make a critical contribution to conceptualising one's social age.²⁹ The concept of "generationing" of children (pg. 27) indicates

²⁹ A valuable contribution from the sociology of childhood (Alanen & Mayall, 2001; Mayall, 2002)

that there are a set of practices through which categories like youth and adult are recurrently produced (Alanen & Mayall, 2001). Moreover, this body of work indicates that these social categories are constructs that only exist through their relationship to other relational categories – like generation – and that the interactions between these social categories are mediated by power and degree of social connection (Alanen & Mayall, 2001). Put another way, each individuals' category is dynamically interdependent on the other's (see Punch, 2005). Generation can be conceptualised as a cohort, or as a relational group (Alanen & Mayall, 2001), or as a historical concept (Naafs & White, 2012). The question of generation can further help to understand how processes of economic and social development might reshape or cause young people to renegotiate their generational position (Huijsmans et al., 2014; Koning, 2004). This notion, in turn, helps to better situate a given conceptualisation of youth in historical and local context (Ansell, 2009; Ruddick, 2003). A young person's perception of his or her generational position may or may not align with the categorisation made by others (Christiansen et al., 2006). Discordance between youth and adult's categorisations of the respondents will be a central theme of the analysis.

2.2.4. Section conclusion

The previous subsections were presented as a means of framing the analysis in this thesis around a few key notions. First, the concept of youth is socially constructed. Moreover, the way in which this concept is constructed occurs through relational processes between young people themselves and others. Although chronological and biological definitions often depict adolescents and youth as engaged in an inherently liminal process, their experiences in the present are clearly important to young people. Moreover, the intersubjective processes that occur between young people and others, along temporal, inter-generational, and spatial dimensions, and power expressed within those relational dimensions, bring the notion of youth into being. Based on these observations, a relational approach to youth incorporates the abovementioned dimensions and power dynamics. Exploring these relationships can establish the range of ontologies, map boundaries that can aid in gaining an of understanding how and why categories form and consider how young people are

embedded in social relationships, and thus can bring to light how various relational modalities change or persist in the context of Yogyakarta (Huijsmans, 2016).

2.3. Identity

The vital role of identity in this research must be considered early in this chapter because it was the primary lens that I carried into the field and was the theoretical starting point of the analysis of the empirical material upon completion of data collection. More importantly, versatility in performing identity was hypothesised to be a valuable means by which street-associated youths could express their agency. The primary research question explores if, how, and why street-associated youths perform different identities in different social and spatial contexts. Thus, this section will discuss key works relating to identity and identity performance from various fields of social science and consider how this focus of the thesis became more nuanced by including belonging as a constituent of identity. It will set the stage for empirical chapters showing that different identities – as citizens, as members of a neighbourhood community, as a valid occupant of public space, as a member of a peer group, as an adult – function differently in different social and spatial contexts. Youths actively cultivated and tactically deployed (Utas, 2005) such identities as a component of their efforts to belong in social and spatial contexts. Again, this thesis will build on Beazley's important work during a different era, seeking to consider how rapid development and social change have reshaped street-associated young peoples' identities.

The potentially broad and malleable notions of identity across the social sciences provide a challenge for this thesis. Brubaker & Cooper (2000) argue that, although the term is useful in practice, it may have less analytical value. They believe that identity is used to describe too broad a range of concepts. Additionally, they say that some uses of identity are too strong, as they argue that identity is something that people or groups ought to have or for which they should be searching. Strong conceptualisations also indicate that groups are highly bounded and homogeneous, which may not be accurate (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Cohen, 1994). Weak conceptualisations are often overly qualified with additional descriptors that rob the term of meaning and make the term too elastic for some forms of

analytical work (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). In other words, some identities can be considered to be reasonably stable, sturdy and have clear boundaries around them. In this perspective, they are, therefore, understood as having unified ideals. These are valid concerns, and this thesis seeks to address them by first, specifying and explaining why identity *performance* is the object of exploration rather than identity more broadly; second, indicating that the research sought to observe identification and categorisation; and third, utilizing the mediated-action approach to understand these identifications and categorisations from multiple perspectives.

To understand identity performance, one must first consider the roots of the concept of identity. One natural starting point for this discussion is Erikson's concept of identity formation. Much of the literature stemming from this concept views "successful" adolescence as being primarily concerned with forming stable, continuous identities. Identity formation is considered to be one of the primary tasks of young people (Erikson, 1968). Erikson (1968) describes it as occurring in adolescence and as one in a series of progressive linear, age-defined stages of psychological development. The notion of identity in this view emphasises stability, continuity, and homogeneity. Stability refers to ideologies and values to which one has committed, and some of the foremost theorists placed central importance on commitment (Marcia, 1980). Continuity refers to, among other aspects, an autobiographical memory that indicates a consistent pattern of commitment. Homogeneity refers to an identity that does not contradict itself. Lack of commitment to values or ideologies is common in early adolescence, however, it is said that if confusion persists into late adolescence or adulthood it engenders negative outcomes like isolation, delinquency, over-identification with one's peer group, drug use, and petty crime (Rose, Rodgers, & Small, 2006; Schwartz, 2005; Schwartz, Mason, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2008; Stringer, 1994). Others argue that some degree of lack of commitment throughout the lifespan is adaptive (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001), and they find that self-chosen commitments tend to remain stable, but those assigned by outside agents may or may not remain firm. To put it more plainly, if a young person has been free to select an ideology or commitment independently, she is more

likely to commit to it for an extended period. Imposed commitments are more likely to be revised. In short, a sense of efficacy in the process is important.

However, there are disciplinary disputes about this identity (Côté, 2006), and scholars criticise the idea that identity formation is a linear process culminating in a stable, continuous identity for making such formation overly universal (Cohen, 1994; Meeus et al., 1999; Prokkola, 2009). The notion that all societies share the same understanding of what is adaptive or successful in adulthood can also be questioned. Indeed, there is a parallel in the previous section on youth transitions, that identities may not be a singular, unified, end result within a development process occurring in adolescence. This thesis will show that for many youths, "success" may mean developing identities, embedded in the sense of belonging, that are neither stable nor continuous. The social constructivist perspective, thus, has a contribution to make in this discussion as well (Berman et al., 2001), for instance, Baumeister & Muraven (1996) argue that identity is an adaptation to social context. McNay (2000) argues that this perspective maintains too strong a dualism between an individual's psyche and society; in other words, that this psyche and society should be understood as dynamically inter-related. This work further asserts that such a dualism inevitably leads to one or the other having causal priority, which may be an overly simplistic description of this relationship. The relational lens presented earlier seeks to account for this dualism and causal priority (Huijsmans, 2016; Huijsmans et al., 2014).

One perspective on identity that helps to access this proposed relational viewpoint is that of Irving Goffman. Goffman's *The Performance of Self in Everyday Life* argues that individuals perform their identity to an audience as a means to reveal the self to others (Goffman, 1990). One can be fully committed to the performance, believing that the self they convey is real, or one can be aware of the performance and express a self that is for the audience's good. Moreover, he makes a distinction between front-stage contexts, in which individuals generally seek to conform to the norms of their surroundings, and back-stage contexts in which individuals can be more honest. McNay's critique of overly binary understandings of identity also applies to Goffman's work.

Additionally, Buckingham (2008) criticises Goffman for not allowing sufficient space in his theory for improvisation or habit. Goffman's original theory implies that back-stage behaviour is somehow more authentic than front-stage (Buckingham, 2008), thereby asserting a similar dualism to Erikson and giving primacy to one entity in said binary. Indeed, this criticism was particularly apt for young people living and working in street contexts, in which they very regularly inhabit public spaces, and thereby limit their ability to be "honest" in both front-stage and back-stage settings.

Judith Butler provides useful additions to Goffman's work that attend, in part, to the above concern (Butler, 1990). Goffman and Butler's work challenges assumptions about the stability, continuity, and homogeneity of identity via the notion that flexibility and adaptability are not necessarily dysfunctional. Butler does this by engaging with issues of authenticity. She describes identity as performed, but rather than emphasising the authenticity of the back-stage self, she highlights that personal identity is a deeper aspect of performance that can potentially take place across social contexts (Buckingham, 2008). She and others add that the practice of the performance of identity is that which engenders this personal identity (Bourdieu, 1977; Butler, 1990; Rogoff, 2003). One develops identity in retrospect after repeated acts that lay its foundation (Butler, 1990). Because she makes the distinction that the acts that engender identity do not always conform to or resist contextual pressures, as Goffman implies, the relationship between identity and context becomes more dynamic (Butler, 1990; Herrera, Jones, & Thomas de Benítez, 2009). Indeed, Easthope (2009, p. 65) claims that contemporary life is "characterised by endless flows of people, money, ideas and a requirement for flexibility". Some authors argue that successfully formed identities demonstrate favourable adjustment or adaptation to new situations (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Meca, & Ritchie, 2012). This argument holds across several other theorists. Sociologists (Wood, 1988) highlight the value of a sense of self that is highly flexible and includes an autonomous capacity to modify/control self-concepts and to experience various components of self in varying social contexts (Cohen, 1994). In anthropology, the 'self' is often seen as a plastic, variable, and complex composite that exists and that one performs in both

public and private (Cohen, 1994). Developmental psychologist James Marcia also developed this idea of plasticity when he reflected that a “healthy” identity is achieved by someone who will not be overwhelmed by sudden shifts in his or her environment, or by having to accept unexpected responsibilities (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995). The study population regularly experienced rapid physical, social, and technological changes, and many of them had to take on economic responsibilities. Flexibility and adaptability helped youths account for the dynamism in their lives. The relational nature and dynamism of the identities observed in the research indicate that focusing on identity *performance* is a valuable way to understand individuals’ understanding of themselves as belonging in a dynamic social interaction between themselves and a context or group.

Some researchers warn not to overemphasise this versatility. Côté & Levine (2002) have offered the critique that some conceptualisations allow identity to become an overly pliable narrative in which the self is disorganised and is perpetually changing. They argue that people recognise that something about them exists beyond or deeper within their narrative and that forces outside their control or subconscious thoughts can influence them. This debate implies that there is a balance to be achieved between the flexibility and adaptations required by an individual's life circumstances, and the probable need, on some level, to maintain a type of identity stability. In response to the idea that youths' narratives of their identities may be overly pliable, the mediated action approach was selected as the analytical framework for this study when entering the field (see Chapter 3).

As a solution to the problems with conceptual clarity, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) provide useful terms for analysis – identification and categorisation. These terms are value for describing identity because they allow us to know the agent who is doing the identifying or categorisation. For instance, if a young person gets a specific type of tattoo to indicate his membership in a group, and then a peer also indicates approval of the tattoo through action or speech. Through these combined actions one can understand more about the individual’s seeking to identify with a certain group of people, as well as how that social group may perceive him based on that act. The

wider community or institutional representatives may categorise the same young person as a certain type of young person based on that same act of self-identification. For instance, others may view him as a delinquent due to his tattoo, whereas the tattoo may refer to senses of belonging for the youth. Hence, these terms will help to specify aspects that constitute the amorphous concept of identity. Moreover, Brubaker & Cooper (2000) suggest that the term self-understanding may be used to describe another aspect of identity, as it can help to conceptualise an individual's subjective understanding of their cognitive and emotional life. This term lacks objectivity and privileges individual cognitive awareness but can provide another angle from which to view the larger whole of identity. Therefore, the methods included interviews in which self-understanding was an analytical concept applied to data collected through interviews. Youths seldom spoke about their self-understanding using that term, and very consistently depicted themselves as in deeply embedded dynamic relationships shaped by senses of shared culture and values, mutual commitments to rights and responsibilities, and shared attachments to places. This fact is why the next section will focus on explaining how youths deployed belonging as the primary analytical tool for understanding identity performance.

2.3.1. Belonging

A lack of a sense of identity and belonging can lead to 'unsuccessful' transitions (Marcia, 1980), and street-associated youths, in particular, are thought by some theorists to struggle more than other youths to gain a sense of identity and belonging (Tsang, Hui, & Law, 2012). This thesis argues that the ways street-associated youths in Yogyakarta enact, seek, define, and perform belonging are critical means by which they exert agency. The thesis further takes the lead from other theorists in attempting to raise the conceptual clarity and analytical value of belonging (see Gammeltoft, 2014; Jackson, 2002). Belonging is of particular relevance to marginal populations like street-associated youths because it is an aspect of identity that they cannot take for granted due to socio-economic status, social class, or other factors (McDowell, 2011; Malkki, 1992). More broadly, utilising the frame of belonging to explore young people's lived experiences has provided valuable understandings about how social structures generate individuals' ability to act

in their own lives (Alkire, 2010; Sen, 1999). The respondents expressed their agency through their desire to be heard (see also Buonfino & Thomson, 2007) and sought to cross social boundaries (see Crowley, 1999; Lamont & Molnár, 2002) when faced with the limitations on the way they were categorised – namely becoming seen as vagrants and beggars under Law No.1/2014. Belonging research has informed discussions of the politics of youths looking to define their space and place in society (Gerharz & Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2017), and about large infrastructure programmes. Finally, the empirical material's overwhelming depictions of identity as being embedded in relationships justifies this theoretical approach. The empirical material will demonstrate that in the face of these macro-level trends, street-associated youths sought belonging that "is created by individual persons in their negotiating collective constellations..." (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011).

Although many scholars treat belonging as a common-sense concept, it often lacks conceptual clarity (Buonfino & Thomson, 2007). Some researchers engaging with the concept merely leave it undefined (Duruz, 2002; Malone, 2007; Nagel & Stacheli, 2005; Schueth & O'Loughlin, 2008). Others consider it related or potentially subsidiary to other concepts, for instance identity or citizenship (Clark, 2009; Colombo, Leonini, & Rebughini, 2009; Fortier, 1999; Getrich, 2008; Hampshire, 2005; McNevin, 2006; Nordberg, 2006; Secor, 2004; Valentine, Sporton, & Nielsen, 2008; Varsanyi, 2005; Warriner, 2007; White & Gilmartin, 2008). Driven by the empirical material, belonging is thought of as part of or subsidiary to identity in this thesis. However, this conceptualisation was taken from words of the respondents themselves, and I inductively placed their statements about belonging within frameworks that respondents presented to me.

A useful starting point for a discussion of the concept could be the definition from Mahar, Cobigo, & Stuart (2013):

“a subjective feeling of value and respect derived from a reciprocal relationship to an external referent that is built on a foundation of shared experiences, beliefs or personal characteristics. These feelings of external connectedness are grounded to the context or referent group, to whom one chooses, wants and feels permission to belong”.

Based on this, one must be able to describe both a referent and the groups, places, beliefs, and other contexts in which the referent is embedded. In this case, the referents are individuals or groups of street-associated youths. They were embedded in social (e.g. peer groups, interactions with authority figures) and spatial (e.g. street corners, homeless shelters) contexts where they spent time after the passage of Law No.1/2014. Because the thesis sought to understand youths' belonging inductively, I sought to avoid defining belonging too precisely at the outset of the analysis. This analysis understood it as merely sharing values, relations, and practices (Anthias, 2006). Anthias (2006) argues that belonging must involve "...recognition of the... intersectional nature of social bonds and interests and the need to move away from ethnocentric and national based lens for achieving inclusion and social justice..." (Anthias, 2006, pg. 1). This perspective allowed for an analysis of belonging that involved a number of potential dimensions, a perspective that others have taken as well (see Sicakkan & Lithman, 2005; Nira Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005; Nira Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran, & Vieten, 2006). Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011) views belonging as a continuous and dynamic interaction between individuals and collectives, and emphasises that belonging can exist in many ways, including more personal feelings and as an official membership in formal structures (Fenster, 2005). The empirical chapters will explore in detail how formal and personal notions of belonging were present during the study, and along the lines of Anthias (2006), indicate that recognition of both these forms would be critical for young people's inclusion. The research inductively discovered that the respondents often discussed their identities as persons who belong along several dimensional lines in terms of common attributes, reciprocal relationships of various kinds, and their personal connections with places, groups and histories. Pfaff-Czarnecka's (2011) dimensions of belonging were present in the data, and thus, her conceptualisations of commonality, mutuality, and attachment were selected to be the analytical language applied to the empirical chapters.

2.3.1.a. Commonality

Individuals often use symbols of an identity to assert their commonality. Conversations about identity generated data in which young people described and expressed shared traits, values, beliefs and cultures with others – in other words, commonality. Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011, pg. 3)

defines commonality as "a perception of sharing...cultural forms (language, religion, and lifestyle), values, experience, and memory constructions". The respondents made significant efforts to avoid, shed, or resist newly formed categorisations thrust upon them, about which they regularly spoke. These efforts were very consistently a part of more extensive discussions of how and why they should be included as legitimate occupants of public space and members of society; hence the commonalities that they articulated as part of their sense of or proposed belonging was at the very centre of the empirical material. However, the commonalities observed in the research also distinguished themselves from Brubaker & Cooper's (2000) notion of categorisation which indicated that categories were in some ways discrete. Commonalities in this study were multiple and sometimes contingent on context. As will be depicted in the empirical chapters, both rigid boundaries between social positions, but also blurred boundaries existed simultaneously (Zolberg & Woon, 1999) for the youths. In some contexts, they were highly marginalised; however, when they articulated some forms of commonality in terms of culture, they were treated by others as belonging. The study period saw rapidly shifting boundaries concerning potential commonality.

Commonality of culture, values, and memories were also concepts that were regularly present in youths' narratives about the past and future, seen in other literature about the past (Geschiere, 2009; Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011) and the future (Kannabiran, 2006). Youths employ these commonalities when they seek to establish boundaries around a social category (Bhambra, 2006; Nira Yuval-Davis, 2006). This idea is again reminiscent of writing on identity that indicates that young people often engage in the testing or contestation of identities in the process of forming an identity. However, much of the empirical material was focused less on this testing or contestation of individual identities in relation to a group, and was much more often about "sharing experience and the tacit self-evidence of being...jointly taking things for granted, and sharing common knowledge and meanings" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011). Thus, commonality provides a useful component to integrate belonging into the discussion of identity in this thesis.

2.3.1.b. Mutuality and lived citizenship

Mutuality is built around shared understandings, actualised as expectations and obligations to adhere to norms relating to reciprocity or loyalty (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011). This concept is often characterised by enjoying civic rights, and responsibilities entail this sense of mutuality (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011), but involves the use of everyday, ordinary language related to mutual relationships (Ignatieff, 2013; Therborn, 1991). Much of mutuality can be understood or explored through legal administrative aspects of life (Alexander, 2008; Buonfino & Thomson, 2007; Ignatieff, 2013; Valentine et al., 2008; Vieten, 2006), but this viewpoint is too limited. An individual's ability to be safe in social and spatial contexts links to the concept as well (Ignatieff, 2013). Mutuality in this thesis is again conceptualised first and foremost from youths' perspectives and based on this, expectations and obligations exist in many domains beyond administration, including social and cultural domains.

The analytical value of mutuality in this thesis is most prominent in reference to notions of citizenship. Crowley (1999) argues that belonging, and thus mutuality, is somehow "thicker" than citizenship, yet many markers and discussions of citizenship can be useful starting points for understanding mutuality. Chapter 5 will explore the divergent ways in which youths articulate their belonging as citizens, and explore this from a relational perspective, meaning that citizenship will be understood as it is already practiced (Hörschelmann & Refaie, 2014). Their statements about citizenship are not strictly in terms of simple rights and responsibilities towards administrative membership in a state (Marshall, 1950). The young men in the study articulated several ideas about how they meet expectations and obligations in their social lives, and further what they expect of others based on this fact. In other words, they had lived experiences that explored the underlying questions of "who a citizen is" and "what makes a citizen" (Isin, 2008). Geographers have called for more "inclusive, generous, and youth-centred" views of citizenship (O'Toole, Lister, Marsh, Jones, & McDonagh, 2003; Wood, 2014) rather than the traditional rights and responsibilities of legal citizenship. The field has articulated these ideas as "lived citizenship" (Lister, 2007), "everyday citizenship" (Dickinson, Andrucki, Rawlins, Hale, & Cook, 2008), and "citizenship as practice" (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). Young (1995) offers a

framework that describes the "lived citizenship as tied to the ideas of independence and care. In this framework, independence is broken into autonomy, the ability to act on one's choices, and self-sufficiency, not needing support. Care is akin to the idea of stewardship. Autonomy, self-sufficiency, and care were prominent themes that emerged from the data. They have therefore been described in this chapter to articulate the ways in which my interlocutors expressed how they identify as citizens in their day-to-day lives as "lived citizenship", and to open up a discussion on their being through the assertion that they are citizens now and by their definition (Trell & van Hoven, 2016). Isin & Nielsen's (2008) work indicating that youths actively perform citizenship further informs this analytical lens. Embedded within these discussions about responsibilities to become self-sufficient are valuable insights into whom young people are meant to become, and how they are supposed to be to achieve this goal. This thesis can make a novel contribution to a growing body of research from human geography that explores the tension between young people being seen as "not yet" or "becoming" (see Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009; Trell & van Hoven, 2016) and young people's own statements about what constitutes meeting their mutual obligations as citizens.

2.3.1.c. Attachments and place

The last component of Pfaff-Czarnecka's (2011) conceptualisation of belonging that will be applied in this thesis is attachment. The data presented in the thesis will further show that the basis of many young people's articulation of belonging is rooted in their attachments.

Attachments describe how people are connected to and feel connected to different life worlds – both material and immaterial (Bhimji, 2008; Davis, 2006; Flinders, 2010; Hooks, 2008; Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011). The everyday micropolitics (Valentine, 2008) of this sense of connectedness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Sicakkan & Lithman, 2005) inform these attachments, and the degree to which such attachments exist can mediate if and how young people fully belong. Moreover, being seen as less than fully belonging in social and physical space can have an impact on one's ability to form attachments, for instance without full citizenship rights individuals are often unable to create attachments (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2009). Young people in the study, when prompted and when not, often spoke of their sense of connection or attachment to

their social and physical worlds. However, much of this was in reference specifically to a place, a trend that other writing on belonging documents (Gustafson, 2009; Hernández, Carmen Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007; Pollini, 2005). Having a sense of place (Feld & Basso, 1996; Hay, 1998; Mackenzie, 2004) or feeling embedded in place (Mellor, Stokes, Firth, Hayashi, & Cummins, 2008; Menzies & Davidson, 2002) were frequent topics of discussion in the work. Youth perspectives depict the attachments in this study, and they echo the relational dimensions of other concepts already discussed. Other writings also observe young people's personal histories, culture, work, and legal status as relational dimensions (Antonsich, 2010; Buonfino & Thomson, 2007; Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Fenster, 2005; Hooks, 2008; Pollini, 2005; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005), and this was also the case for the youth in the study. Based on this, attachment will be another critical word in the vocabulary of identity applied in this thesis.

In a similar way to citizenship's prominence in discussing mutuality, place was at the heart of discussions of attachment. Thus the literature on this matter will now be briefly discussed. Relationships to particular places can support the development of an identity associated with that place (Ager & Strang, 2004; Buonfino & Thomson, 2007; Chow, 2007). One's economic life in a place can shape attachments to a place (Chow, 2007), or in other words, having a stake in the future of the place makes one feel they belong (Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008; Valentine et al., 2008). This idea will be used to explain how and why youth sought to perform identities that allowed them to remain valid occupants of public spaces to which they were economically attached. Other studies have observed this phenomenon (Fenster, 2005; Mee, 2009; Munro, 1998; Savage et al., 2005).

Moreover, places associated with familiarity and comfort, security and emotional attachment are critical to identity performance (Hooks, 2008; Relph, 1976). Moreover, there is a negative correlation between insecure status in place and feelings of belonging (Fenster & Vitzel, 2006; Yuval-Davis & Kaptani, 2008). The empirical material on respondents' home lives and other places where they feel secure will show how they perform identities towards safety, comfort, or preferred living conditions. Lastly, youth's senses of ownership or being possessed by a place

have been observed to be resources for managing feelings of insecurity (Fortier, 1999; Loader, 2006; Manning, 2004), and so how and why they are attached to spaces and social groups will help to show the ways in which they seek, or do not seek, to belong. How youth use their agency to move towards feelings of spatial and social attachment, and thus particular identities, will be an additional means of addressing the research questions.

2.3.2. Social dimensions online

The nature of identities performed in online social contexts must also be considered in this Chapter because a small but substantial portion of the empirical chapters relies on discussions of online identity performances. First, much of young people's use of social media can be regarded as an extension of other social worlds they inhabit, which aligns with findings from youth in minority settings that asserts "that online identities are rooted in the everyday offline performance of self" (Nisbett, 2006, pg.141; see also Boyd, 2008; Hardey, 2002; Leander & Mckim, 2003; Miller & Slater, 2000). However, there is also support for the notion that online social spaces allow for the performance of identities other than those possible in physical space. Sfard & Prusak's (2005) notions of real and designated identities will be applied to this analysis. Second, many of the differences in these performances are mediated by the unique characteristics of online social spaces and so some of these unique characteristics will be described (Boyd, 2014). The thesis will also seek to make the methodological point that there may be yet-to-be observed or unique ways in which street-associated youth in majority³⁰ settings may use such technology, and articulate how and why incorporating technology use in studies with marginal young people is merited (see Livingstone, 1992); however this point will be made in subsequent Chapters of the thesis.

The empirical material compares online performances in social media to embodied performances, and explores why, how (dis)continuities in identity performances arise, and what this says about how youth enact belonging for different publics. Social media, like other technologies, are

³⁰ "Majority World is an alternative term for Developing World, Global South, or Third World. It describes countries in Africa, Asia, South and Central America and the Caribbean more geographically accurately and less pejoratively than other terms" (RISC, 2015)

socially constructed by the broader social, political, economic and cultural context (Bijker, Hughes, Pinch, & Douglas, 2012), and so experiences of belonging and expressions of identity are situated in these broader constructs. Additionally, there is a similar relational dynamism to sociality in social media because such technologies influence human activities; and humans, in turn, influence how technologies develop and come to be used (MacKenzie & Wajcman, 1999). Online spaces are fora in which respondents could make their own rules and explore their identities that, in other contexts, would likely be regulated by powerful external forces (Nisbett, 2006; Osella & Osella, 1998). Many performances reference forms of belonging well established in other social spaces.

To structure the discussion of identity performances online, I will reflect on the data through Sfard and Prusak's (2005) model of online identities as containing actual and designated identities. Actual identities are present-tense identities that reflect the realities of an individual's life. Designated identities are aspirations that necessities, obligations, or commitments structure to guide aspirations for the future, and actions towards those aspirations. Through these lenses, the analysis compares online performances in social media to embodied performances, and explores why, how (dis)continuities in identity performances arise. Moreover, the analysis will frame such (dis)continuities as being sometimes mediated by Boyd's (2014)'s description of four properties that differentiate unmediated publics from networked publics, like Facebook. These concepts will be used to explicate how street-associated youth utilize social media in ways that are often very similar to their middle-class peers, but simultaneously highlight some of the unique vulnerabilities that they experience. The properties are: persistence, communication is recorded for a long period and can be asynchronous; searchability, expressions of identity and belonging are often easily accessed through search due to the fact that they are recorded and indexed; replicability, recorded elements can be copied, reproduced, or iterated upon; and the invisibility of audiences, there are potentially a great many audiences of which a person expressing oneself is unaware (Boyd, 2014). How these properties manifest themselves in the wider life narrative of the youth in the study will show the development of hybrid modes of

belonging in public space, in peer groups, and in the labour market, and identities. The presence of the state and adult perspectives become less visible, yet, the street youth subcultural “other” role is also transformed into a hybrid belonging and identity.

2.3.3. Section conclusion

In sum, identity is treated as a central concept to studies of adolescence and youth. However, there is substantial disagreement between academic disciplines about how it should be defined and conceptualised. This thesis will seek to explore how identities are constructed, and it will do this by observing and analysing young people’s performances towards identification and categorisation. For several reasons, much of this exploration will pertain to identities relating to belonging, and therefore use the language that Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011) theorises, namely, commonality, mutuality, and attachment. The ways in which youth actively cultivated and tactically deployed (Utas, 2005) such identities as a component of their efforts to belong in social and spatial contexts, will comprise the core of the analysis. Moreover, the relational reasoning for particular identities being deployed will be explored..

2.4. Young people’s agency in the context of uncertainties

This section will provide the agency theory relevant to this thesis. It will seek to take the view that young people are competent agents whose present experiences need to be taken seriously; however, it will integrate the powerful effect that adults' and young people’s ideas about youths' futures shape experiences in the present. Through exploring facets of street-associated youths’ agency, an image of youths whom have agency as a capacity and also as a possibility will emerge. Agency is a capacity that is characterised by feelings of being efficacious, self-esteem, or confidence; and actions based on these feelings (Aitken, Lund, & Trine Kjørholt, 2007; Vigh, 2008). Agency as a possibility means that there is an opportunity and ability to express that capacity (Aitken et al., 2007; Vigh, 2008). One measures this by observing whether the capacity is present, but also if, how, and to what degree it is used to act or engage (Seymour, 2012). Much of this thesis argues that street-associated youth adeptly perceive limitations, vulnerabilities, and challenges to their agency. Thus, the following subsection will conceptualise agency within

limits, and then consider a few key ways in which agency can be limited that are relevant to the analysis, namely spatial, temporal, gendered, and bodily limitations.

2.4.1. Bounded agency

To relate agency more tangibly to identity, I will briefly return to Erikson's work to touch upon his concept of fidelity, which Erikson defines as persons making ideological commitments to values that they have arrived at through a process of exploration and reflection (Stringer, 1994). Côté & Levine (2002, p. 220) describe identity as "an intention to make commitments when that intention is differentiated from external pressures to conform, and is, instead, reflexively coordinated with a sense of ego identity". Further, they highlight that Erikson's idea of fidelity was rooted in the idea of freely choosing. Freely choosing gives a person a sense of continuity and purpose (Marcia, 1980). Linking this back to the research questions, to understand a youth's ability to choose and perform a particular identity, he must be free. However, it is unclear if, and to what degree the respondents are free to choose their identities and to what extent they are agents in forming what Erikson describes as commitments.

Some research depicts youths as victims/lacking agency (Bhabha, 2008; Denov & Bryan, 2012; Heissler, 2012). Similarly, street children and youths are often depicted as vulnerable (Williams, 1993; Woan, Lin, & Auerswald, 2013). To outsiders, street youths' lives may seem chaotic, but they often have networks; groups; hierarchies; and even internally monitored and policed sets of rules, norms, and values (Beazley, 2003a; Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). For instance, although adults see gangs as threatening to many members of a community, for youths, they may provide protection, sustenance, and nurturing (Lalor, 1999). On the other hand, research on children and youths, much of which has focused on young people in similar circumstances to those in the study, has also shown that youths actively shape the world around them (Beazley, 2003a; Bourdillon et al., 2010; Boyden, 2013; Boyden & Howard, 2013; Crivello, 2011; Davies, 2008; Dobson, 2009; Gibson, 2011; Pells, 2012; Sandberg, 2008; Seymour, 2012; Wessells, 2009). Though researchers find that street youths are agents in several contexts and situations, it may be unwise to exaggerate their agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

Youths may experience real limitations on their ability to find shelter, protection, work, education, and other basic needs while on the street. Much of the work on agency in children and youths in developing contexts has tried to understand the ‘boundedness’ of young people’s agency (Bordonaro & Payne, 2012; Evans, 2002; Klocker, 2007; Woodman, 2009). Youths are often highly constrained by structures like family, caste, class, gender and other structures (Dyson, 2008; Gough, 2008; Hashim & Thorsen, 2011; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). For instance, intergenerational power dynamics may tend to place more power in the hands of adults. Adult outsiders’ perspectives often form the basis for descriptions of the very concept of ‘boundedness’. Therefore, upon entering the field, the data collection took Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi's (2013) suggestion that agency should be placed in the context of youths' understanding of their constraints. Indeed, much of the discussion on if, how and why youths perform context-specific identities in the empirical chapter will show youths being highly creative and adaptable, but within a particularly rigid group of boundaries. Taking this “bounded” approach is also merited from a methodological perspective because youths' lived realities may often be quite different from adults' perceptions of them. For instance, Denov & Bryan's (2012) study of independent child migrants' strategic decision-making found that although these young people are often characterised as powerless by adults, youths make thoughtful strategic decisions and take calculated risks. This fact reflects McNay's (2003) argument that inclusion of both mediated and non-mediated data regarding agency allows for good analysis. For instance, in a case mentioned above, although adults may see a young person's situation as singularly dire, the young person may see opportunities to act. This thesis sought to gather data that depicts subjective reflections on an action, but then also to observe the actions themselves when possible.

Space and time are two key boundaries around young people’s agency. As Hopkins & Pain (2007) note that spaces can help us understand and identify the way that identities intersect, and which are prioritised over others. The way in which youth engage in sociality in space – their experiences, interests, and perspectives are closely related to the other people with whom they share their social location (Wyn, White, & White, 1997, p 97). These relationships are not merely

manifest in the present. They are comprised of trajectories of interaction, built on histories of interactions with other people and anticipate future interactions (Crossley, 2010; Donati, 2014, 2016). Moreover, power is expressed within these interactions (Dovey, 2002). In other words, spatial and temporal boundaries comprised important observable boundaries for agency. Indeed, Skelton and Gough (2013) argue that young people need recognition as actors in cities, and Worth (2013) states that others must view them as competent spatial actors, and so this proposed focus provides a means to operationalise this notion. Gaining an understanding of how young people's agency changes when temporal and spatial shifts occur helps to understand their lives on a micro level (Valentine, 2003). Moreover, the way that they deploy that agency towards particular identities can show us how global shifts are manifest in their lived experiences (Jeffrey & Dyson, 2008; Valentine, 2003; Worth, 2015).

Public spaces are important for youths to develop social identities, assert and contest social values, and express and understand power (Beazley, 2003b; Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003; Malone, 2002). Writing about youths in public spaces from minority countries indicates that shared public spaces can often function as narrative spaces, 'where time can begin' and where creative serendipity can occur; and that, paradoxically, public spaces can offer youths privacy and anonymity (van Lieshout & Aarts, 2008). Street youths often inhabit, are visible in, or even find enjoyment and safety in places or spaces that are public (Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003; Landolt, 2013). However, studies also find that community members around street youths often have anxieties about their presence in public spaces (Kraack & Kenway, 2002; Malone, 2002; Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003). Community members may be uncomfortable with the differences, uncertainty, and non-conformity that youths may present, (Malone, 2002). Through such a process, youth in public space may be perceived as loitering, using drugs, or potentially as criminals (Kraack & Kenway, 2002; Malone, 2002). In other words, street youth may experience observable or unseen boundaries comprised of such community perceptions. Indeed, the majority world literature on street children and youth indicate that youth sense these boundaries, actively seek means in which to fit into spatial niches (e.g. van Blerk, 2005 and Ansell, 2009) or are seen

as valid occupants in public space when engaged certain activities like play (Punch, 2016). Specific to the study site, Dovey & Raharjo (2009) noted for an informal settlement in Yogyakarta that public and private boundaries are not often clearly defined in places that have unclear ownership. They argued that based on this idea, identities of those spaces are highly negotiable, and furthermore imbued with many individualised meanings through the networks of individuals socialising in those spaces (Dovey & Raharjo, 2009). The ways in which hard boundaries are set and observed by young people in space, as well as the means by which they seek to negotiate these boundaries, are central concepts in this thesis.

Lastly, time of day also plays a role in perceptions of youths. Adults sometimes see night as a time when the only ‘appropriate occupant’ of public space is the police, and as a time when youths should be at home (Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003). Social constructions of family, home, and domesticity can necessarily ‘other’ youths who are on the streets at night (Bourdillon et al., 2010; Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003; Herrera et al., 2009). Indeed, how street-associated youths are different from others is again important to understand the contours of their agency in the present and future. Often, young people's use of time is understood through a developmentalist lens and invokes a *becoming* perspective (Skelton, 2002). Thus, this thesis seeks a complex understanding of temporality that expands on and reconceptualises linear and chronological notions of youths (Ansell, van Blerk, Hajdu, & Robson, 2011; Worth, 2009). How and why they perform identities from a temporal perspective can inform this.

The street is also a gendered space. For instance, there are gender differences between who ends up on the street. Globally, more boys than girls are on the streets, and boys and girls often have different reasons for going to the streets. For boys, the street can often be a place for becoming, to undergo a rite of passage, forge adulthood, and make money (Aptekar & Heinonen, 2003; Veale & Donà, 2003). Whereas fears of sexual abuse may prevent girls from going to the streets (Veale & Donà, 2003), or if they end up on the streets, they may have different financial arrangements from boys. For instance, girls may owe more money to their families (Aptekar & Heinonen, 2003; Wolf, 1992). Especially if girls go to the streets at a later age, they may be perceived by others in

sexual terms, and it may be hard for them to make a living without the support of men (Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003). Beazley (2002) has written about street girls in Yogyakarta as well, indicating that they are doubly marginalized by the state and society, and that street boys consider the street a male space not appropriate for girls.

Moreover, the performance of normatively masculine characteristics might be a path to subcultural capital for youths on the street. This performance of such normatively masculine traits can reduce their capital in the wider community by making them seem overly threatening to those who are not part of the broader street milieu. Further, that may not be transferrable between street-based groups. Herrera, Jones, & Thomas de Benítez (2009) found that some gang-affiliated youths hid or omitted their performed masculinity when interacting with other street-based groups for whom violence and strength were not valuable. This idea echoes Connell's (1995) description that masculine performances are often complicit in reconstituting a man's social position in a hierarchy, rather than necessarily speaking to personal identity. These young men can feel powerfully judged if they do not act according to social norms (Creighton, Oliffe, Butterwick, & Saewyc, 2013), especially in contexts where strength is an important means to capital. Previous studies highlight the dominant notions of Javanese ideals of masculinity, including emotional self-restraint, being controlled and having a gentle affect (Clark, 2004; Clark, 2010; Sears, 1998; Suryakusuma, 2011). Recent scholarship indicates that norms around masculinity are changing in Indonesia, and some young men must negotiate contradictory ideas. Nilan (2009, pg. 327) concludes of that young men in contemporary Indonesia "...are under various kinds of pressure: to become a good citizen and dependable provider for the family on the one hand, and on the other hand, to match the fantasy images of global 'hypermasculinity' – tough, hard and heroic". Also, Beazley (2003c) documented that the performance of several masculine norms outside those of mainstream society were a means to gather subcultural capital for street boys. How and why young men engage with masculine ideals can show to which audiences respondents target their identity performances, and in turn, help to understand which communities in which they seek to belong.

Finally, moving to the bodily limitations around agency. Judith Butler's perspective on bodies describes them as a means of production of the identity performance process through which meaning can be found and shared (Butler, 2011). The body in her work becomes a stable notion through repetitive acts of identity performance. These identity performances can further telegraph the forms of belonging described earlier. Also, she says that these repetitive patterns can be changed at any time and in any context. Thus, the relationship between the embodied belongings and contextual social pressures can help to further draw to the surface how youths enact their agency. The participant observation element of this study enabled such learning.

Observing the way street youths perform identities using their bodies show if and how they actively engage in the production of their belonging, their perception of the boundaries around their agency, and how they signal and experience belonging. Young people have been found to perform specific roles on the street to accumulate capital and position themselves in their networks (Christiansen et al., 2006; Cole, 2011). The performance of identity in street youths often occurs by youths taking on an air of badness or delinquency, using language, style, drug use, or other performative habitus (Butler, 1990; Colls & Hörschelmann, 2009; Davies, 2008; Frost, 2003; Kraack & Kenway, 2002; MacDonald & Shildrick, 2007; Sandberg, 2008). Habitus in this thesis refers to norms, values, dispositions and expectations that are co-produced by an individual and society, habitually³¹. These co-productions help to create youths' social lives and identities and are made manifest by their bodies. Sandberg (2008) describes such a performance in a study of street capital. He found that the hierarchies of gangs—groups that are often responsible for individuals' protection and economic well-being—were often organised by those who were willing to engage in physical violence. This idea echoes Bourdieu's insight that agents are partially defined by their relative position within multi-dimensional space, and that social capital often establishes these relative positions (Bourdieu, Thompson, Raymond, Adamson, & Thompson, 1999). The study population exhibited similar performances. Being perceived as

³¹ It should be noted that this thesis places an emphasis on habitus, as opposed the emphasis on subculture in other foundational studies, because the study observed that the core respondents were much less focused on a well-defined sense of street youth culture than observed in previous studies. This will become readily apparent as the empirical evidence is presented.

‘bad’ or ‘violent’ may serve the vital need to ensure protection or their ability to earn money. Therefore, the research sought to describe such behaviour, and situate it within youths’ contexts. Finally, Herrera, Jones, & Thomas de Benítez (2009, pg. 3) cite in a study of street youths in Mexico that “youths’ bodies may be marked by being on the street in ways over which they have little control”. This idea reflects Goffman’s idea of stigma, or not having full social acceptance. Others often impose stigma, thereby, forcing youths to either conform or resist (Herrera et al., 2009). This resistance can often lead adults to view street youths as socially deviant. Differences in their bodies may contribute to this notion of deviance, their strength may make them seem dangerous, or they may engage in disruptive behaviours (Beazley, 2003a; Herrera et al., 2009). From these states and actions, society may transpose a wider series of social facts that become mixed with other facts about the individual (Bourdieu, 1993). From these social facts, broader schema about street-associated youths can often be applied, labelling youths as broadly more deviant. The way in which youths choose to conform or resist these accusations of deviance may bring to light their identity and the social contexts in which they use their agency.

2.4.2. Uncertainty and agency

In dialogue with the abovementioned conceptualisation of agency, this thesis will explore youths’ *becomings* through the lens of uncertainties. This body of theorising allows one to take a close look at the vulnerabilities and opportunities (Huijsmans, 2016; Sayibu, 2016) experienced by young people and provides a balanced view of how the future and the present can be integrated. Similar to the shift from identity to belonging, the empirical material led to a shift from a focus on precarity to one on uncertainties. The research initially sought to explore youths’ experiences of precarity (Butler, 2009; Banki, 2013; Standing, 2011) to explore how and why they perform certain identities and therefore use their agency to belong. There was useful literature from that body of work on the role of legal documentation (Goldring & Landolt, 2011); housing and social relations (Neilson & Rossiter 2005); and gender (Fantone, 2007). Much of the empirical material provided evidence for an argument akin to much of the emerging uncertainties literature. This body of work frames young people as not exclusively stuck (Hansen, 2008; Christiansen et al.,

2006). Rather, they are both stuck and hopeful (Di Nunzio, 2015), and uncertainty is potentially productive (Cooper & Pratten, 2015).

This thesis takes a similar approach to Cooper & Pratten (2015, pg. 1) treating uncertainty as experiences of “vulnerability, anxiety, hope...mediated through material assemblages that underpin, saturate, and sustain everyday life”. In short, it is a way of acknowledging the information deficits present in individuals’ lives and the contingent possibilities for future action based on those deficits. Recent literature has regarded uncertainty in a positive light; rather than being a feeling to be overcome it can also be positive and productive (Berthomé, Bonhomme, & Delaplace, 2012; Cooper & Pratten, 2015). Experiences of uncertainty accompany many practical activities and are taken as the basis for action (Di Nunzio, 2015). Indeed, it can be a mood of action, utilising hope, caution, doubt, and other feelings (Haram & Yamba, 2009) to inform action within an individual's landscape of potential *becomings* (Di Nunzio, 2015).

The empirical material documents young people, as well as the adults around them, who are quite forward-looking. This finding diverges meaningfully from Beazley’s work which finds young people very much living in the moment. Thus, the empirical material, and its engagement with uncertainties constitutes a substantial contribution to the street youth literature in Yogyakarta. Moreover, recent work on uncertainty may help anthropology recalibrate towards future making – anticipation, aspiration – from a strong focus on the past (Appadurai, 2013). The empirical material showed the important role of how speculation about the future shapes the present (Cole, 2010; Piot, 2010; Wallman, 1992). Uncertainty enables young people to think about their lives in a way that is neither final nor irreversible and is a state of contingency in which one cannot fully predict or know (Bledsoe & Banja, 2002a; Di Nunzio, 2015). Because the street-associated youths in this study were growing up in uncertain times (Amit & Dyck, 2012) they were often hypervigilant (Cooper & Pratten, 2015) about the possibilities presented by their dynamic social, spatial, and legal statuses. Through this vigilance, they found new ways to engage with or resist the vulnerabilities that they experienced (Simone, 2005).

The literature on uncertainty characterises this feeling as potentially making people curious to explore and possibly change their situation (Haram & Yamba, 2009). However, this productivity is not a given; rather you must see the potentialities (Miyazaki, 2004). Individuals must be able to appreciate the relations between the present and future to allow this (Di Nunzio, 2015), in other words, to envisage new social horizons (Cooper & Pratten, 2015). The empirical material showed that both young people and adults were actively engaged with attempting to act on new social contingencies (Bledsoe & Banja, 2002) towards certain futures. Youths often did this when dealing with opacity and unpredictability (Vigh, 2015). When something or someone contested their routines³² or unsettled imaginaries³³ (Vigh, 2015), youths acted in ways that showed that “productive uncertainty is at the heart of human sociality” (Berthomé et al., 2012, pg.130). They engaged in making and re-making their legal or social category, and thus, how they sought to belong in social and spatial contexts. A pervasive theme in the study was expressing agency, in respect to uncertainty, to reshape how others categorise them in space and social life.

Their actions were not without risks and taking future-oriented risks is a crucial part of agency (Certeau, 1984). The empirical material will demonstrate that the respondents often accepted the contingent indeterminacy (Webb, 2007) embedded in their actions to invest in future *becomings* and belongings. Such actions made uncertainty productive in a way that was like Di Nunzio's (2015) description. Uncertainty itself can be a tool to see life, in part, as what is possible (Whyte, 1997). For the street-associated youths in this study, whose presence and being in the present was highly constrained, exploring what is possible for future life was sometimes a useful aspect of uncertainty.

2.4.3. Section conclusion

Agency is enacted, and identities are performed relative to spatial, temporal structures, as well as in reference to norms about adulthood and masculinity. The empirical chapters will show that that social norms and other factors structuring street-associated youths' agency are often distinct

³² For instance, when busking was outlawed.

³³ A future they thought was possible, became seen as less so.

depending on context. If, how, and why youth tactically deploy their agency differently in different social contexts, further elucidates the relational dimensions of the identity performances considered in this thesis. During the study young people's agency could be best described as becoming increasingly bounded. However, as those boundaries narrowed, and the uncertainty of their economic and social lives increased, the pressure of this condition catalysed new, sometimes valuable avenues for agency that may have been left undiscovered in less uncertain times. This will be particularly clear in the novel contribution of this thesis pertaining to expressions of agency online – increasing uncertainty in physical space led young people to pursue their aspirations in a number of compelling, digitally-mediated contexts. These sorts of new avenues for agency are, again, expressed in diverse ways, across several relational dimensions.

2.5. Chapter conclusion

To briefly sum up the theoretical framework of this thesis. First, it will treat concepts of youth and street-associated youth's identities as socially constructed. Moreover, it will argue that these very concepts are brought into being by the intersubjective process between individuals and others along the relational dimensions described in this Chapter. To this end, language central to understanding belonging from Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011), will be used to elucidate young people's means of articulating their relationally performed identities – these concepts are commonality, mutuality, and attachment. Finally, how agency is understood and expressed by young people within these relationships and in various contexts will provide the insight that young people's lives are increasingly bounded in the study site. However, this discussion of agency will be linked to emergent literature on uncertainties to show that these increasing boundaries engender substantial challenges for young people, but also push them towards new expressions of agency (e.g. those taking place on social media) that may not have been documented in previous work on street-associated youth.

3. Methodology and methods

3.1. Methodology

This research took a social constructivist approach in which the possibility of multiple realities is assumed that the intersubjective processes between researcher and subject engender concepts and meanings (Charmaz, 2000; Punch, 2005; Ramalho, Adams, Huggard, & Hoare, 2015; Young & Collin, 2004). Concepts and theory were substantiated through the process of data collection (Arcidiacono, Procentese, & Di Napoli, 2007; Charmaz, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Through this process of interaction, the researcher's understandings of social phenomena within the scope of the research emerges, is adjusted, and refined. This process, which involved making adjustments to research questions, methods, and the sample due to these emerging discoveries allows for the generation of a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the phenomena studied.

As noted in the previous chapter, young people's views are historically marginalised in social science research (see Christensen & James, 2000). This study considered youth as subjects with whom research is taking place, rather than objects on whom research is done (Christensen & James, 2000; Mayall, 2002). To engage in this exercise in interaction and perspective taking, I took an ethnographic approach through which I was able to have long-term engagements with young people who are often difficult to reach. Taking an extended, in-depth view of the lives of these young people helped me to understand the meanings that youth ascribed to their social conditions and their own actions (Bryman, 2008). Moreover, this approach is akin to similar work that has been done with similar groups in the study site (Beazley, 2003b; Stodulka, 2017a).

Critical to the intersubjective process of ethnographic research is being self-reflexive. Reflexivity involves being thoughtfully aware of one's own position, and how the view from that position shapes accounts of the social phenomena. A critical awareness of this position must involve taking stock of a range of factors including, but not limited to one's personal economic and social status, academic training, personal history, and experiences and relationship with geographical and social place studied. These factors that shape positionality must be recognised before the

researcher can then consider if and how they are shaping intersubjective processes themselves, as well as how the researcher interprets those processes. The researcher must also consider that each of their interlocutors also approaches their social world from their position, and therefore have their own active engagement with social realities as well (Cameron, 1992). In other words, self-reflexivity can be defined as a generative intersubjective process between researcher and interlocutor that generates knowledge. I took very seriously the way that my position as an American, male, white, privileged doctoral student whose partner is Javanese shaped my interactions with subjects in the research, as well as the way those factors shaped my analysis. Moreover, as a person who has pre-existing knowledge and experience of the study site, as well as young people in similar circumstances as the respondents, my biases and opinions were constantly being assessed and reflected upon so as to maintain reflexivity in my data collection, writing of field notes, analysis, and writing of this thesis.

Moreover, seeking a deep engagement with young people's stories, from their perspectives, helped to undermine the power differentials that may exist due to the different positions of researcher and subject (Caretta, 2015). In fact, reflexivity emphasizes the primacy of interactive process between researcher and interlocutor, and thus, the data reflects both the researcher and interlocutors' unique positions. Nelson and Wright (1995, pg. 48) state:

analysis of that experience for an understanding of how identities are negotiated, and how social categories, boundaries, hierarchies and processes of domination are experienced and maintained. Reflexivity is the means through which the fieldworker's double perspective of insider/outsider, stranger/friend, and participant/observer is kept in tension.

This approach to reflexive ethnography has been criticized. Aside from individual researchers limited ability to understand important aspects of other's perspectives like affect and emotion (Beatty, 2010), giving such primacy to empathising with the other reduces this "otherness to sameness" (Lather, 2008, pg. 19). In other words, one can argue that contemporary ideas about reflexivity are too self-absorbed and not sufficiently sensitive to cultural difference (Rosaldo, 1993). However, it can also be argued that this reflexive ethnographic approach facilitates one's

ability to empathise with interlocutors and remain aware of one's own positionality. Moreover, critical theory offers us the perspective If proper care is taken, one can be deliberate about both seriously maintaining a critical distance, while still immersing oneself in others' perspectives. In relation to identity, a reflexive approach can make one sensitive to the way in which interlocutor's self-representations comprise a means of acting upon their lives even in highly constrained circumstances (Utas, 2005) – observations that may not be visible from a more distant vantage point.

3.1.1. Triangulation and the mediated action approach

The research sought to triangulate several data sources to confirm my understandings, provide sufficient complexity to depictions of events, and to glean social meanings from individual experiences. Having multiple sources provided the opportunity to have understandings of events from beyond those of any one individual (Charmaz, 2000).

One of the ways the research sought to undertake this triangulation process was by entering the field having considered applying the mediated action approach. The mediated action approach is not a theory, nor is it a method of data collection or analysis, rather, it is an approach in which multiple methods of data collection and analysis take place (Rowe & Bachman, 2012). The approach seeks to learn about an individual, their social and historical context, what skills and resources they apply in the performance of identity, and how these aspects interact during an event (Rowe & Bachman, 2012). The approach highlights the socio-cultural embeddedness of actions, rather than solely evaluating an “inner sense of identity, continuity, or sameness...as the primary unit of analysis” for understanding identity (Tappan, 2001, pg. 81). Though individual actions like speech and movement are touchstones for the approach, it embeds those actions in the social, cultural, and historical processes that shape the performance of identities. To further elucidate, I have included an example of how the mediated action approach can be used: a young person gets a new tattoo that signifies his belonging in a gang³⁴. In individual interviews with the

³⁴ Gang, in this setting, is defined broadly as a group of people who regularly associate with each other.

young person before getting his tattoo, he highlights his desire to get the tattoo, as well as the desire to get the approval of others higher in his social hierarchy. The transcript data from this discussion may provide some subjective self-understanding in relation to the tattoo as well as yield information about the young person's perception of his social position.

Additionally, the young man invites me to accompany his group while he gets the tattoo. As he is receiving his tattoo, members of his group tell me about times that they got a similar tattoo, how the tattoo may show other youth how dangerous he is, voice congratulations or approval. My participant observation field notes based on such an interaction highlight a range of information about the action, for instance, part of the self-described social history of the gang, how the tattoo confirms that other members identify the young man as a member, how the young man seeks to be perceived by other young people on the street, and how the action may change the way institutional agents categorise the young man.

Additionally, if I were to observe how the young person is doing his best not to show that he is in pain, upon analysing my field notes, I may interpret this as indicating that he is seeking to embody a strong masculine ideal in the group. Lastly, the young person posts a photo of the tattoo on Facebook, and it receives positive feedback from several members of affiliated gangs in other cities. This text and photo data again affirm other people's identification of the young man. In short, using the mediated action approach allows for one action to be subjectively described from a number of perspectives – interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, and digital text and photos. Showing the social and historical embeddedness of this action brings to light aspects that would not be brought to light using a singular method. Further, the emphasis on action allows there to be an objective reference point connected to a range of subjective meanings being collected in the data. By giving voice to multiple actors relating individual's actions, it further balances the disproportionate emphasis on either the individual or an individual's context present in other approaches (Côté & Levine, 2002; Erikson, 1968; McNay, 2003).

Understanding the origin of the approach may also help explain why it was justified. It is built around the work of Vygotsky (1978) who sought to integrate social and cultural contexts into

understanding of human development. Vygotsky viewed identity development in terms of the use of “tools”³⁵ for higher-level mental functioning, individual development, sociocultural history, and development on a brief present-time scale of a percept, a thought, an object of imagination, or an expression. By emphasising sociocultural history and the cooperative aspects of high-level mental functioning, Vygotsky opened the door to discussing identity in a way that includes cultural tools that allow individuals to shape, empower, constrain, and transform action (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995). It is oriented to evaluate not only the language people employ, but also the other symbolic actions made in context to learn about how people construct their identities (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995). It further includes:

highlighting the importance of studying identity in settings where forming identities are at stake in the course of the activity; cultural and historical resources for identity formation as key tools to empower or constrain the process; tool-mediated actions, as the unit of analysis; and the various ways in which youth used cultural resources for identity... (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995)

The approach uses multiple forms of data collection to integrate a number of modes of communication, including language, gestures, body language, and use of objects that have symbolic meaning. Indeed, this approach was simply the way in which I approached the process of triangulating data and was useful in thinking about how actions provide a range of subjective evidence including data that speaks to self-identification, self-understanding, and categorisations made by an individual, as well as others and institutions in the social milieu. This triangulation of several forms of subjective data helped to create thick depictions of identity performances. Moreover, it has been used for studies of identity performance online (Larsen, 2008), and so having methodological and analytical similarities to such work may help this research contribute discussions of online identity.

3.2. Sampling Frame, Selection Criteria, and Data Overview

The core respondents were street-associated youth who were purposively sampled from a group of young people who were present in a local NGO-run homeless shelter, or recipients of NGO

³⁵ Capacities and skills that allow people to bridge lower and higher level mental functioning, including language, behaviours, thoughts, cooperation, and feelings.

activities, using the selection criteria listed below. All the core respondents were male; this was due to two factors. First, the majority of the youth whom I encountered on the street were male³⁶, and second, there were very few socially appropriate situations in which I, as a male, could have unmediated long-term interactions with female members of the potential study population.

Selection Criteria: Between the ages of 15 and 24; working in informal, street-based work and/or having an unstable housing situation for at least part of the study³⁷.

The research had initially sought to sample youth from public places where they work or from informal settlements. However, potential respondents were difficult to locate at the beginning of the study. After several weeks of seeking to encounter young people independent of any intermediary – that is by spending time in public spaces like at food stalls or Internet cafes – I was unsuccessful in finding a sufficient number of core respondents. Thus, I sought advice from social workers in my personal networks who advised me that the implementation Law No.1 / 2014 had led many potential respondents to avoid public spaces when they could. Based on this, I sought to encounter respondents through a local NGO intermediary which was successful. It must be noted at this juncture that my role as a researcher and my independence from the NGO was expressed up front and iteratively to potential respondents. I made very deliberate efforts to distance my work from any services that NGO provided, a process that is expanded upon in sections 3.3. and 3.4. Approaching introductions through a mutual acquaintance was helpful to more quickly build trust than an independent encounter. Moreover, the NGO helped me be aware of key social actors in the neighbourhood such as local officials, informal power structures, or other relevant community members. Lastly, my personal networks provided me with several reference persons and organisations that helped me to ensure that my presence did not cause unintended harm.

³⁶ Street work is often gendered (see Aptekar & Heinonen, 2003; Matthews, 2003; Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003; Stodulka, 2017b; Veale & Donà, 2003), many girls end up in household labour.

³⁷ Informal work and housing instability were used as the definition “street-associated” throughout this thesis.

There were nine core respondents included in the empirical material presented in this thesis. For more depth about the background of each of the core respondents, I have included brief biographical sketches based on life history interviews (see Annex).

In addition to long-term engagement with the core respondents, I undertook a series of opportunistic informal interviews with their associates if they also met the selection criteria. The data from these encounters were recorded without any personal identifiers in my field notes and was treated as context and background information relating to the core respondents.

Four focus group discussions (FGDs) were undertaken with other street-associated youth who also fit the selection criteria. The first was with a subgroup of transgender youth as a potential means to cultivate a group of core respondents. The other three were near the end of the study to cross-check the transferability of the findings from the core respondents. A detailed list of these focus group is in the Annex.

Twenty-five formal key informant interviews were undertaken to confirm and contextualise the core respondent data. Adults who had a legal, administrative, or service provision role for the core respondents were purposively sampled and included in structured or semi-structured interviews. A list of these interviews is in the Annex. Several less structured, informal, opportunistic interviews took place with similar adults in the lives of the respondents, including shopkeepers, neighbours, street vendors and food stall owners, and parking lot attendants. Those data were recorded primarily as field notes and were treated similarly to data pertaining to the extended networks of the core respondents.

Two street-associated key informants above the age limit of the selection criteria were regularly consulted. These individuals maintained active links to street work and relevant NGOs. Their insights were recorded in audio files and field notes, and those data were again treated primarily as data to increase the confirmability and transferability of the core respondent data.

In sum, the following figure is an overview of the data utilised for writing this thesis. The methods described in this figure will be expanded upon in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Data Overview		
Participant Observation		
June-January 2015; March-May 2016 – occurred a range of work, home, and leisure sites and yielded field notes in each occurrence		
Core Respondents (all generally present during the whole period of fieldwork, except for Fuad, who became more substantially involved in phase two)		
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Methods</i>
Setiyo	18	Informal interviews (group and individual), life history interview, walking interview, mental map interview, facebook interview
Tri	19	Informal interviews (group and individual), life history interview, walking interview
Yudhis	19	Informal interviews (group and individual), life history interview, walking interview, mental map interview, facebook interview
Muhammad	16	Informal interviews (group and individual), life history interview, walking interview, mental map interview, facebook interview
Haki	17	Informal interviews (group and individual), life history interview, walking interview, facebook interview
Anaes	17	Informal interviews (group and individual), life history interview, walking interview, mental map interview, facebook interview
Santoso	16	Informal interviews (group and individual), walking interview, mental map interview,
Fuad	19	Informal interviews (group and individual), life history interview, facebook interview
Doni	15	Informal interviews (group and individual), walking interview, mental map interview
25 Key informant (elite) interviews with duty-bearers (See Annex)		
interviews primarily in phase two of fieldwork; pseudonymized participants listed in		
1 Focus Group Discussion with NGO Volunteers (See Annex)		
5 NGO volunteers participated in a focus group about their role in core respondents		
3 Focus Group Discussions with other street-associated youth (See Annex)		
focus groups with street youth were held to triangulate and confirm preliminary analyses, additional information included in annex		
1 Focus Group Discussions with Waria (another group who often earn their living on		
This was undertaken at the beginning of the study in an effort to seek potential core respondents as well as orient myself to the context.		

3.3. Research Process, Location, and Methods

The research took place between June 2015 and May 2016 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The primary locations were NGO-run shelters and core respondents' workplaces. Most of these were in the City of Yogyakarta regency, one of five regencies within Yogyakarta province [*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*]. Occasionally, the work would also take place in Sleman and Bantul regencies, which both overlap significantly with the greater metropolitan area of the city of

Yogyakarta. The primary language that was spoken was Bahasa Indonesia, a language in which I have advanced-level proficiency. Respondents also often spoke Bahasa Jawa as well, a local language that is spoken by approximately 90 million people in Indonesia. I do not speak Bahasa Jawa. However, all respondents were able to understand and express themselves in Bahasa Indonesia, and it was often the language that they used in day-to-day life³⁸.

3.3.1 Phase one – June to January 2015

The research took place in two phases. The first phase lasted approximately eight months and primarily involved participant observation, ethnographic interviews, life history interviews, and drawing-based community mapping with core respondents; an FGD with a Waria³⁹ community; two FGs with other youth who met the selection criteria; and a small number of formal and informal interviews with adults. Before the research period, I had been in Yogyakarta for several months while completing my transfer paper and awaiting the appropriate ethical clearances from the University of Oxford, approvals and permits from the Indonesian Ministry of Research and Technology, and a hosting arrangement at the University of Indonesia. My presence in the city helped me to already be aware of the scarcity of youth in public spaces due to Law No.1/2014, and so I was able to immediately reach out to youth through the NGO.

The research began in earnest when I encountered an NGO that was housing a group of street-associated youth. I was introduced to this group through a colleague who volunteered at the shelter. Introducing myself to the core respondents and assessed if they fit the selection criteria, and most of the residents did. I sought community consent from them to be present at the shelter and individual consent from all those who met the selection criteria. As a group and as individuals they almost immediately agreed to my spending time regularly at the shelter. However, I was keen to ensure that respondents had a strong understanding of how I was different from the NGO volunteers who would visit them much in the same way. Therefore, the first two months of the study were spent primarily focused on building rapport and iteratively gaining consent and

³⁸ The implications of these languages will further be discussed in the ethics section.

³⁹ Refer to Chapter 1 for the definition of this term.

confirming with the respondents that they understood my role as a researcher. Although there were some data collected in that period through informal interviews pertaining to the research questions, the focus was to ensure truly informed consent and a hearty, knowledgeable rapport with the core respondents. Moreover, because I was cognizant that my presence could affect their lives in many ways, I wanted to ensure that I was in truly “invited” into any social space of their lives.

In the subsequent six months, the NGO run shelter functioned as the primary hub of much of the data collection. I focused primarily on observations and undertaking ethnographic interviews (see Hockey & Forsey, 2013). I also undertook life history interviews, drawing-based community mapping, and opportunistic interviews with relevant adults. Much of the focus during this time was focused life on the home lives of the respondents, and work-related adaptations to Law No.1/2014. I have provided brief descriptions of the primary methods applied during this phase:

Participant Observation: Participant observation sought to understand youths’ lived realities including, how they relate to peers and other community members, and what aspects of their identities are performed in various public contexts. I kept daily ethnographic field notes based on this practice. Much of this activity was in the form of “deep hanging out” with respondents for long periods of time in specific social environments (see Geertz, 1998), and occasionally moving from one social microcosm to another with one social group. I took great care to carefully consider ethical and data quality concerns in this practice (Jarvie, 1969) by regularly reflecting on my observations, asking discreet and anonymous questions of knowledgeable confidants and my supervisor, among others.

I will briefly note that mobile phone interactions were treated as an aspect of participant observation, as they are becoming a ubiquitous technology in the study population and were treated as one of many potential modes of communication. Hein and O’Donohoe (2011) confirm that mobile phones can extend the abilities of a researcher by supporting access, building relationships in a way that is familiar to participants, and enabling the dual role of researcher and participant.

Life History Interviews: This method was used to engage participants in direct discussions about how they have performed their identities over time, how and why various social or spatial contexts may have shaped these performances, and how their ability to perform identities that are pragmatic in their context has changed. The topics that youth treated as most important, challenging, confusing, or supportive are important aspects about how they view their personal stories (Jackson, 2002; “Mandelbaum.pdf,” n.d.; Powles, 2002). Post-colonial scholars have criticised life histories because they may reproduce the very power relations that they seek to undermine – that is there is something inherently wrong about one’s life story being told by another, often of privilege (Hoppe, 1993). This research sought to mitigate this concern by foregrounding data that was confirmed through triangulation, and utilising life history data as primarily illustrative, explanatory, or to add nuance.

Drawing mental maps: This technique served to explore and understand how youth perceive various spaces in their community and therefore, the social norms present within them . In short, then I asked respondents to draw a map of the neighbourhoods the BCB or their places of work. Then, after the drawing was completed, I first asked them to explain what they had depicted, and then asked them probing questions about how and why they had foregrounded matters relevant to the research questions of this study. The core respondents did not particularly enjoy this method, and so the images are not a part of the empirical chapters. However, the community mapping work in other modalities was quite successful, and this will be described in Phase 2.

FGD with NGO volunteers: Stewart & Shamdasani (1990) guided me in structuring this interaction. In undertaking the FGD with NGO volunteers, I first asked 5 NGO volunteers to take a short survey about their view of their role as volunteers about a week before our FGD. I asked about their views concerning work and home situations of young people like the core respondents, and how and why the shelter closed. During the FGD I asked probing questions about the same questions as well as asked the participants to generate a timeline of the previous several months highlighting events, both positive and negative, that shaped the core respondents’ relationship with the BCB community (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999).

At this juncture, it is important to briefly introduce the social milieu around the respondents' lives at the NGO-run shelters. I first encountered the core respondents when they were staying in the *base camp*⁴⁰ *kecil* (BCK), but the NGO quickly moved them to the, *base camp besar*, BCB by August of 2015. Most of the core respondents stayed in the BCB during most of the period of August-November 2015. The shelter was closed in November 2015, a fact that will be described in the empirical chapter. After that, individuals made their own alternative housing arrangements. A brief depiction of the housing conditions during the study is included here.

3.3.1.a. *Changes in housing*

The reader should be aware that there were three distinct time periods in the housing lives of the youth presented in this study: first, living in a small shelter close to a large thoroughfare, second, living in a much larger, better-suited shelter deep in a *kampung*, and third, individualized housing solutions sought after the second, larger shelter was closed. The BCK and BCB periods were both during phase one of the field work.

The majority of the respondents were first encountered while they lived in the BCK, which was a homeless shelter run by the NGO. The small shelter was in a lower-class neighbourhood that has been built by [Words removed to protect identities of respondents]. The BCK area was near a thoroughfare that provided the entrance to the southern parts of the city not far from residents' favourite work and hangout places just north of the city centre. Most of the young people staying there had, by happenstance, moved into the shelter shortly before a raid on their hangout spot engendered by the new enforcement of Law No.1/2014 (Kurniawan, 2015). The young men staying there not only been prevented from an arrest and subsequent integration into social services that they were trying to avoid but also found that they would not need to commute to their previous hang out spot. *Basecamp kecil* was too small for the number of residents who had moved in [Lines removed to protect identities of respondents...]. Although

⁴⁰ "Base camp" is a slang phrase used to refer to a place of habitual residence or use.

BCK was relatively new, the demand for their shelter services meant that they immediately sought and found a larger house nearby.

This second shelter will be referred to throughout the thesis as *base camp besar*, BCB, the big base camp. BCB was relatively private by local standards, [Lines removed to protect identity of respondents ...]⁴¹

...]. The owner of the BCB rented the front garden to [Lines removed to protect identities of respondents]⁴²...

...]. Even though the BCB itself was relatively private, the way in which one accessed the structure was not private. It was embedded deep inside a tidy middle-class *kampung*. The structure⁴³ of the BCB suited the needs of the NGO much better. Relevant to this background is first the fact that moving into *base camp besar* required a substantial amount of negotiation on the part of the NGO's current director, [Lines removed to protect identities of respondents ...

...

...]. It was situated in a tidy middle-class *kampung*, and it could only be accessed by passing through a series of narrow alleyways adjacent to some houses. Due to this fact, the young people's presence in the neighbourhood became quickly apparent and became a topic of discussion and some controversy. Through a series of events that are described in some detail in Chapter 4, some of the young peoples' behaviours were considered to be problematic by some neighbours after a series of incidents in which neighbours requested that *base camp besar* be closed. The NGO granted their request in November of 2015.

In the final period of the field work, the young men first encountered in *base camp kecil* found housing in a number of settings: a rented room near *base camp kecil*, one's family home, an

⁴¹ [Footnote removed to protect identities of respondents]

⁴²[Footnote removed to protect identities of respondents].

⁴³ This structure had a wide entry and sitting area with two discreet spaces – so two separate groups could comfortably carry on in different ways in a public space. Directly behind that was a hallway with six small bedrooms that had been used in previous times as a *kost*. Behind that was the kitchen and further beyond in a different structure was the bathroom.

outdoor pavilion in a tolerant neighbourhood, or a religiously affiliated orphanage. How and why young people moved to the housing they did after the closure of *base camp besar* will be a component of the analysis at several junctures of this thesis.

3.3.2. Analysis break – January to February 2016

During this window of time, I organised and analysed the data collected in phase one. The process of thematic analysis, which was used in this phase will be described in section 3.5.

3.3.3. Phase two – March to May 2016 and the shift to *angklung*

Phase two of the research was an intensive period of fieldwork that lasted approximately two-and-a-half months. During the period I used intensive participant observation primarily in work sites, frequent informal and semi-structured interviews, and social media interviews, and walking-based community mapping exercises with the core respondents; key informant interviews; and one focus group of youth who met the selection criteria at *Omah Kita*⁴⁴.

Facebook interviews: These interviews were undertaken as means by which to gather youth-guided data about their “public” use of social media services and were structured around reading on digital ethnography (See Boellstorff, Nardi, Marcus, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012; Case, 2011; Gubrium, 2013). Specifically, eight of the nine core respondents used social media frequently and therefore exploring this aspect was important. The text, images, and videos that they felt were important to their online identities served as the starting point for interviews (See Case, 2011). To ensure that youth had sufficient control of their data in these interviews, I used a conservative approach. Namely, I asked youth to scroll through the public posts on their Facebook page and describe to me the meaning of their selected images or statements. When relevant, I would also ask them about posts relevant to things that they had already highlighted in the conversation, or during previous interviews. I verbally confirmed their agreement to an occasion on which I

⁴⁴ See Chapter 4, Section 4.5.

screen captured, anonymised, and used these images in my thesis. All the images from social media in this thesis are the result of this process.

Although these interviews were youth-led, with a rigorous process of informed consent, broader social media interactions were treated as an extension of the field for participant observation. In the same way that I waited to be invited into other social contexts, similarly, if a core respondent “friended” me on Facebook, I would accept. However, my participant observation related interactions in this domain were limited to messaging them only if they contacted me first or asked me to view something online during an in-person interview. Any information from this domain was valuable because many youths have been active on the site for at least a year. The relationships and experiences they represented on Facebook provided strong reference points for how performed identities have changed across time and space.

Walking Interviews: In these interviews, youth were asked to select a neighbourhood that had a particular meaning for them. We walked through the neighbourhood and discussed their reasoning for sharing those places with me and memories in or about those places. Through this process, I gathered a more in-depth knowledge of the surroundings; found the meaning of various places for youth; and determined where, by whom, and why youth were deemed, appropriate occupants. To elicit stories about how they have complied or resisted their appropriateness. This method was chosen in part to contribute to a body of literature that indicates the mapping can be a qualitative endeavour (Powell, 2010). Moreover, given the research question which sought to explore the juncture between identity performances and spatial contexts, it was merited.

Elite Interviews: Interviews with several adults that had a legal, administrative, or social role in the lives of the respondents were undertaken during the last weeks of the study. These interviews were structured or semi-structured so that they could be comparable if I interviewed individuals about similar topics (Fontana & Frey, 2006). The content of these interviews was guided by the analysis that took place between phase one and phase two, as well as the raw data collected in phase two. These interviews were undertaken last so that the core respondents’ perspectives would frame the way in which I wrote and structured questions, and, indeed, selected questions to

ask. In other words, I sought to seek adults' perspectives only once I had a strong sense of the perspectives of young people to give primacy to their voices.

I also continued participant observation and ethnographic interviews during phase two, and it bears noting that the work lives of the core respondents changed notably between the first and second phases, notably, they stopped busking and began playing in *angklung*⁴⁵ in response to the implementation of Law No.1/2014. There is a strong history of busking [*ngamen*] on Java.

Recent studies and documentaries have captured a rich street life in which individuals or small groups of street-associated young people play global pop songs or songs of their composition on guitars and ukuleles (e.g. Stodulka, 2017a; Ziv, 2013). This practice has historically been a highly mobile means of economic activity, during which young people only carry instruments that can move easily from a traffic-filled intersection to a privately-operated bus, to street side food stalls. Recently studies have also observed that having guitars on which to busk provided economic opportunity as well as social position (Stodulka, 2017a). In this scenario, if one had a guitar, one was able to earn money based on one's efforts, as well as collaborate with others for the same purpose. Moreover, the practice of busking was also a way in which to enjoy one's time with friends. Specifically, previous studies have found that the mode of busking described above was also important to young people because it provided an opportunity for *nongkrong* [hanging out]⁴⁶ (Stodulka, 2017a).

The respondents underwent a marked shift in the style of music that they played due to the economic, social, and historical factors already mentioned in this chapter. Many street-associated young people who had relied on busking for at least of a portion of their income were no longer able to do so. Law No.1/2014 strictly prohibited the practice of busking described above. Arrests began after the government prohibited street-associated populations from busking in hot spots like key intersections for the tourist trade and in many traditional markets (e.g. Kurniawan, 2015). Between the beginning of this study in June 2015 and December 2015, busking became

⁴⁵ A traditional reed based instrument played with mallets to be described further later in this section.

⁴⁶ *Nongkrong* is a word that refers to "hanging out" both in leisure and in work time.

precarious. Youth were more frequently getting arrested, or at minimum having their instruments confiscated if they played in popular areas. For some time in late 2015, the streets were quieter than usual because such groups were developing alternative economic strategies – several of which are described in the empirical Chapters. However, one general trend was that several strategies sought to avoid disturbance of the city's "Javanese" cultural mystique (Stodulka, 2017a), which had an increasing role in the growing tourism industry. In particular, after about six weeks of silence on the streets between November 2015 and December 2015, many *angklung* bands began appearing on several of the street corners where one could have previously found a lively scene of buskers. Several dimensions of this musical practice were notably different from busking. First, it gave an air of professionalism or formality – most of the bands did their best always to wear matching uniforms made of local textiles, have a placard with the band's name, and play concerts outside of their daily work on a street corner⁴⁷.

Moreover, these bands were not physically mobile – the instrumentation of *angklung* involves a large series of chromatically organised reeds on a rack and stand, and several drums, all of which are on stands and therefore difficult to move. The bands all began keeping regular working hours, mostly working from mid-morning until just after rush hour. Finally, the bands began playing a great deal more "local music", namely *campur sari* and *dangdut*⁴⁸ style songs. *Dangdut*, named for the sound that a table drum makes, is a traditional style of Indonesian music that has Hindustani and Arab influences (Weintraub, 2010). *Campur Sari*, literally meaning a mixture of essences, is a blend of Javanese styles from traditional music like gamelan, to contemporary styles like dangdut (Weintraub, 2010). In short, the shift to *angklung* was a means by which several people maintained their legitimacy concerning both cultural performances, and performing as a participant in the modernisation process of the city.

⁴⁷ Some bands, in fact, did not have this outside business.

⁴⁸ Dangdut, named for the sound that a table drum makes, is a traditional style of Indonesian music that has Hindustani and Arab influences. Campur Sari, literally meaning a mixture of essences, is a blend of Javanese styles from traditional music like gamelan, to contemporary styles like dangdut.

Stodulka's recent reflection on this trend at the end of his book found that staging Javanese-ness and formality for tourist's sake (Stodulka, 2017a) was reminiscent of the New Order's highly crafted rhetoric about the appropriateness of certain social behaviours. He found that the shift to *angklung* reflected the New Order's ideas about what progress and modernity look like, and the establishment of social categories of those who "lack morals" due to physical appearances or family background (Stodulka, 2017a). This brief coda to his book nicely frames much of the empirical material presented in this thesis, as it will explore in detail how the factors that engendered this shift were manifest in the social and spatial landscapes of the generation of street-associated youth directly after the interlocutors in his book. How young people perform identities and make themselves belong in street-related contexts, in dialogue with a number of referents, can show us how street-associated youth situate themselves in the present and future of Yogyakarta as it undergoes larger historical and social processes. The following sections will describe the two *angklung* bands that were at the centre of this study.

At this juncture, a brief description of the two bands in which they played will support a clear understanding of the empirical chapters. It must also be said that the friendships between the core respondents in this thesis were not static – affinity, fault lines, allegiances, conflicts, and care shifted with time – and so the characterisations of these two bands is sufficient for understanding core differences, but not indicative of the relational nuances among and between their members.

3.3.3.a. *The Northside Band*

Yudhis was the founder and leader of the Northside Band. He sought to apprentice with an *angklung* band after his guitar was confiscated by the police in late 2015. He was able to get a chance to apprentice with a better-established band through an older friend whom he had made while busking. The apprenticeship band had been playing on a busy thoroughfare near an amusement park for several years and had an established business of playing private performances around the city. An older man effectively managed this group. He owned several sets of musical instruments and would rent them to bands playing on the street when they were not in use. When Yudhis was ready to manage his band after several weeks of practice, he

organised several of the other core respondents to play in the northern part of the city near an area that had a large amount of tourist and student traffic. The management structure was strictly under Yudhis' control. He recruited younger or more marginal members of his community to join, and he managed the money and payments, rental of equipment and uniforms, and personnel changes. He was therefore singularly responsible for decision-making in the group. Yudhis was averse to creating too close relationships of patronage with local officials who could approve or disapprove of the band's presence. He would do the minimum of this sort of work that was required to allow his band to play, but beyond this, he advocated for bands to have a formal administrative means to play in public.

3.3.3.b. The Southside Band

The Southside band was comprised primarily of Tri, Fuad, and Setiyo. Fuad likely played the most critical role in establishing the band because he had close relationships with the informal protection apparatus in the area near their location, and they claimed to have a friend in the municipal police. However, Setiyo and Tri were both very competent members of the group. Tri was an expert at playing the styles of music that were popular for *angklung* bands and had a nearly encyclopaedic knowledge of tunes. Setiyo, for his part, was charismatic while performing, business-minded, and good with money. So, their leadership structure was more democratic than the Northside band. The three of them established the band with the blessing from a neighbourhood man who controlled informal parking attendant businesses in the neighbourhood. This group, which occasionally included other members not included in the data collection for this study, were adept at ingratiating themselves with neighbours and other occupants of the public space where they played and therefore had a great deal of community support around them.

3.4. Ethics

First, this research was approved by several ethics bodies, and given permission by several more. Most notably, the University of Oxford's Central University Ethics Committee approved the work on 16 April 2015 (letter SSD/CUREC2/15-005) and the Indonesian Ministry of Research

and Technology approved of the research on 11 June 2015 (letter 180/SIP/FRP/SM/VI/2015). The latter also required that I first be hosted by an Indonesian institution, and thus I was also subject to an ethics review through my hosting arrangement with the Center on Child Protection and Well-being at the University of Indonesia. Beyond this, due to Indonesia's decentralisation policies, the requirements for receiving permission for research in various localities is complicated. However, I adhered to all relevant local requirements to the best of my ability, which included getting formal research approvals from the Governor's office and the Ministry of Welfare Development and Community Protection on the Provincial level; Regency-level approvals in the city of Yogyakarta and Sleman; and in lower-level localities. All Indonesian laws and regulations relevant to this research were followed.

Regarding ethical practices during the fieldwork, many of the principles contained within this section were informed by a short research project with undocumented North African youth working in the informal sector in Norway that I undertook in 2014 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the transfer paper. Thus, some of the citations rely on a body of literature about marginal youth in migration settings, specifically, the work of Brunovskis & Bjerkan (2008). The principles of autonomy [an individuals' right to self-determination], beneficence [seeking other people's well-being], non-maleficence [first, do no harm], and justice [fairness] were held as central (Edelsohn, 2012). At the heart of ethical research is informed consent (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017), and was guided by the pioneering practices of my supervisor, Jo Boyden, and her colleagues in participatory research and an emphasis on informed consent (see Boyden & Ennew, 1997). Thus, I first requested that the NGO first seek the community's consent to my possible presence with potential informants because I was introduced to the core respondents by this community-based NGO. Upon arrival, I also sought and obtained community consent from the neighbours and the local RT and RW⁴⁹ authorities. They agreed, and I was invited into the BCK and then the BCB. Upon my first visit to the BCB and BCK, I undertook traditional informed

⁴⁹ Village administrators on the lowest levels of organization within the desa system of administration in Indonesia. *Desa*, a word meaning village, is also the nomenclature for a system of government that gives significant autonomy on the very local level. These individuals' approval can be seen as comprising both social and administrative consent of a local community.

consent procedures with all core respondents including an information sheet (See the Annexe, based on University of Oxford Guidelines MSD/GUIDE/1.1) and oral consent through careful, plain-language verbal explanations about the information. Close attention was paid to non-verbal cues of understanding (Fahy, 2013). Because I was introduced by the NGO, the respondents may have felt less free to decline their participation (Brunovskis & Bjerkan, 2008; Homan, 2001; Zhang, 2008). I expressed to them that non-participation was free from any negative consequences relating to service provision from the NGO, that there was no time pressure on their decision to participate. Although all the core respondents gave their informed consent immediately, I took the time to ensure that they understood my role by demonstrating my distance from the NGO's work. I consistently arrived independently after my initial introduction. Moreover, I regularly took natural moments in conversation to emphasise how my role as a researcher would be different from that of the NGO volunteers, and interactively gain consent. Oral consent was also an on-going, iterative process. Additionally, online and mobile phones interactions involved specified consent for those domains. If a respondent told me to call his phone to arrange interviews, I would ask specifically if I can use the information that we discuss over the phone⁵⁰ or text messages⁵¹ as a part of my research. During the research, I had frank discussions about data ownership and presentation took place, and I also involved some of the core respondents in cross-checking some of my analysis of these data near the end of the study (Gubrium, 2013).

I prepared myself for the possibility that respondents would experience an emergency or request help from me (based on Oxford Guideline MSD/GUIDE/1.1/9.1) by preparing a list of contacts that may help them respond to these situations. Additionally, I arranged so that I had three reference people with whom to discuss complicated ethical concerns: my supervisor at the University of Oxford, a colleague who is an expert on street youth at the University of Indonesia,

⁵⁰ There was no data collected via this means. Phone conversations were brief and usually for arranging an interview.

⁵¹ These were recorded in my field notes, only when the individual had consented to my using them and the topic was directly relevant to the topic of the study.

and a member of the NGO community in Yogyakarta. Moreover, in discussions with the University of Indonesia and several local NGOs that provide youth services, I developed a list of appropriate responders for medical, psychological, safety-related emergencies; experiences or the threat of physical or sexual violence; coping with past traumas, and other concerns. I intended these resources to only be employed upon request or in an emergency. During the research, there was only one incident in which I needed to utilise this network, in which a respondent confided an experience of trauma and feelings of guilt about a tragic incident involving a close friend. In this instance, I discussed my planned actions with my reference people who provided useful insights about how to respond to the concern in a culturally appropriate manner, and I encouraged the respondent to seek support through a trusted service provider. In short, the preparations were sufficiently robust and flexible for this research.

Confidentiality and anonymity were held as central to the research, and the University of Oxford MSD/GUIDE/2.1 guidelines were utilised to inform these matters. Beyond the norms of data processing in the guidelines – anonymising data, password protection, encryption, among others – ‘public’ confidentiality⁵² and ‘social network’ confidentiality⁵³ were given serious consideration in all interactions and data collection practices (Hopkins, 2008). One practical way in which this was manifest in the work was that I approached with caution any issue that related, or naturally led, to the discussion of sensitive personal information when in public. One way in which I ensured social network confidentiality was by allowing youth to lead the process of determining when, how, and where we would meet for individual interviews. There was significant diversity in the sample about how they managed this matter – some selected locations in which they would regularly encounter their peers, while others selected sites where they could be sure their conversations would not be overheard by their social networks.

Core respondents, as well as respondents in the FGDs, were compensated for their time in any formal discussions, including community mapping exercises. This was done not only out of

⁵² Relating to published and wider dissemination.

⁵³ Relating to people known to the respondents.

fairness but also because it is a cultural norm. Compensation was always in the form of non-monetary gifts, usually food that would accompany a conversation. Occasionally, this also took the form of mobile phone credits or hygiene products but was always commensurate with their participation. There was a strong orientation towards reciprocity for informant time and effort, and compensation reflected this but was careful not to incentivise participation. Some of the research results cannot directly benefit participants, so ensuring that research findings are disseminated (Millum & Emanuel, 2007) is also an important way in which I sought to provide indirect benefits to similar populations in the future. Additionally, the research is currently being used as the basis for planning a participatory action research project in Yogyakarta.

The research was sensitive to the fact that participants may have had past traumatic experiences as well as other sensitive topics, and were in complex, stressful circumstances during the research (Marfleet & Blustein, 2011). Therefore, I rigorously weighed the costs and benefits of engaging in research with a young person who has experienced severe traumas. If it was in any way possible that participating in the research would have a negative effect on a potential respondent's mental health, they would not be included in the research. Moreover, before the research began, the contacts list that I developed included appropriate resources for youth who have had such traumatic experiences. The orientation of this aspect of the research was first to do no harm, and therefore, if when I had any indication that a young person's mental health was at risk, I would not begin discussions, or would discontinue research with them. To ensure that I noticed cues of mental health concerns, I reflected on my field notes on a regular basis. Moreover, I shared anonymised accounts of any matters of concern with my University of Oxford supervisor and my expert host from the University of Indonesia.

Additionally, my wife was born and raised in Yogyakarta, identifies as Javanese, and has worked in youth service provision in the area of reproductive health. She was also prepared to help me interpret verbal and social cues of mental health problems from respondents that may benefit from local cultural insights. Her support was not utilised. Having several culturally-grounded

resources was important to ensuring that I was prepared for reflecting on local sensitivities about poverty, uncertainty, or marginality (McDonald, 2004; Rogers, Leydesdorff, & Dawson, 1999).

Moreover, because some of the participants were under 18, I was careful to maintain rigorous standards in regard to disclosure, understanding, competence, voluntariness and consent. For instance, if a respondent was aged between 15 and 17 and I had the indication that I could access their parents to gain their consent to their participation, I would do so⁵⁴. These rigorous standards were buttressed by on-going verbal confirmation of young people's understanding and consent to my research. Before the study, I determined that most youths over the age of 15 years old were likely to have the cognitive ability to understand the information disclosed to them and to make informed decisions. However, if ever I was in doubt about whether a young person understood and consented to my research, I first, would temporarily discontinue research with them, and then solicit advice from my supervisor and the experts at the University of Indonesia for guidance.

As Hashim & Thorsen (2011) emphasised, privileging young peoples' voice is paramount. This was considered in several aspects of the data collection. First, the reader will note that the research took place in a phased process in which young people's perspectives were the core focus for the first ten months of the research. During the analysis break, the corpus of the data was almost entirely from the youth perspective, and so the subsequent discussion with youth and with elite interviewees was dictated by those perspectives. This approach was taken because discussions about the study population with NGOs, the government, or other researchers may provide a substantial source of bias towards adult perspectives. Therefore, I gave primacy to the core respondents' data before expanding into elite interviews with adults. Additionally, artefacts generated online notably served to privilege youths' voices by including information that they

⁵⁴ Only one of respondents of this age group included in the study met this criterion, and verbal consent from his mother was sought. Additionally, there was one young man who was frequently present during my work with two of the other core respondents whose father was involved in informal street-based work elsewhere in the city. The young man was keen to participate in the study, and so I requested that I be able to gain his father's consent. However, the young man rebuffed several requests in this regard. He clearly understood my role as a researcher and agreed to my presence. He was, in fact, quite talkative. However, because he was 15 years old and it was possible to obtain his father's consent, I decided against including him in the analysis.

have expressed in a medium where they may have felt comfortable⁵⁵ was another approach that sought to give primacy to their perspectives.

Finally, it is important to an ethical and power dimension of the language spoken during the research. Prior to the research, I was primarily concerned that my inability to speak Bahasa Jawa, one of two languages commonly spoken by the study population, would primarily be a limitation of the work. Indeed, there were instances in which conversations took place during which I had very little comprehension. Regarding data quality, after I had an established rapport with the respondents, they would usually be willing to translate any Bahasa Jawa-expressed sentiments into Bahasa Indonesia for me. I found that as the research process progressed, the fact that respondents had a language in which they could have a private conversation in my presence allowed for the respondents to have a form of control that helped to push the balance of power in their direction. As an adult, foreign, privileged doctoral student with considerable social and financial resources when compared to the respondents, the power imbalance was tipped far in my favour. As the research progressed, having this private language in public settings allowed them to make the occasional joke, editorial remark, or discuss things that they deemed irrelevant to me. At least from my perspective, this dynamic led to opportunities to access a safe, comfortable linguistic space at any time in my presence. In terms of data quality, I believe this is a limitation but one that was managed well through clarifications in Bahasa Indonesia, and triangulation through multiple data sources or multiple conversations and observations over time.

3.5. Analysis process

After all, data were compiled, both during the analysis break and at the end of fieldwork I used thematic analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006) to inductively extract themes from all forms of data including audio recordings, interview and focus group transcripts, field notes, and community mapping drawing. Briefly, this method of analysis proceeds in the following way: first, developing an initial set of codes based on the an initial reading of the whole

⁵⁵ Chapter 8 will depict a few incidents that show the differences between how youth felt about expressing their political subjectivity online versus in offline settings.

corpus of the data; then applying codes developed through this open coding process to text segments; while applying the codes, they are being constantly reconsidered, expanded and revised; once the coding is complete, organizing codes under basic clusters that represent basic themes on the lowest possible level of abstraction above the codes; then, developing, refining, arranging, and selecting basic themes based on clusters and cross-referencing those codes with the raw data; then, creating and rearranging organizing themes that are comprised of the basic themes and again cross-referenced against the raw data; and finally, inducting global themes based on the organizing themes and verifying this network through another cross-check of the raw data. This process was undertaken using NVivo software (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2010).

3.6. Limitations of the research methodology

Although the research methodology and methods were appropriate for the research questions, such research has several limitations. In terms of credibility, I sought to triangulate and cross-reference social facts through multiple data sources whenever possible, however, given the individualised and sometimes hidden nature of these young people's experiences, some information was difficult to confirm. For instance, some stories told to me during life history interviews may be inaccurate due to poor recollection, reframing of past events, or dishonesty. However, another strength of the constructivist approach is that the meanings of unconfirmable facts are of analytical value – young people's perceptions of those events and the intersubjective process through which they are shared are the purpose of the work. Having said this, I will note that I sought to do my best to triangulate many claims to achieve sufficient credibility and dependability of data through several approaches, including triangulating data from multiple sources, for instance, an interview and observation, an interview with "person a" and an interview with "person b", or confirming statements made by an individual at multiple times or in multiple contexts.

Regarding transferability, the intention is not to make generalisable findings. Of course, this is because the project was in-depth ethnographic work. However, a few matters are worth noting. First, the fact that I met the core respondents through an NGO may indicate that these young

people are more amenable to interacting with social service providers than others young people in similar circumstances. In this way, one would need to thoughtfully consider if these young people's experiences might be indicative of other similar young people in Yogyakarta. I dealt with this concern, in part, by undertaking opportunistic interviews and four FGDs with similar young people to cross-check if some of the core respondents experiences were similar to that of others in the community, however, it is possible that other, more marginal young people were inaccessible to me during the course of the study and may have notably different perspectives.

Additionally, in terms of the transferability of these findings to other cities on Java or elsewhere in Indonesia, there is some possibility. Several cities and regions have implemented similar regulations to Law No.1/2014 in recent years⁵⁶, having some similar effects. However, cities have written and implemented these regulations in several different ways, and so the applicability of this research would need to be considered carefully.

Another weakness of the study is that I am not a native Bahasa Indonesia speaker and I am not from the culture and community in which this study was immersed. Although I have substantial experience with these things, I sought to make my findings more credible and dependable by iteratively confirming my understandings with respondents both during data collection and during the analysis. Moreover, I relied on key-informants, family members from this community, and an Indonesian Professor familiar with street youth in this city, to confirm that my understanding and analysis were credible. Additionally, in the analytical process, as I moved towards more abstract ideas, I continuously checked back with the raw data to ensure fidelity. Lastly, I worked with colleagues who are professional Bahasa Indonesia-English translators to ensure that key translations of words and concepts were accurately portrayed.

3.7. Conclusion

To briefly sum up, an ethnographic approach and constructivist lens were appropriate for the research questions. This methodology and epistemological position ensure that in-depth data

⁵⁶ See Bowono, 2014 and Tambun, 2014 for examples.

about multiple possible lived realities are represented. The research maintained quality in several ways, including a rigorous reflexive practice, using multiple data collection techniques from multiple sources to increase confirmability and an analytical approach that frequently returned to the raw data to ensure the accuracy of the conclusions drawn from the empirical material. The study also took a range of measures to ensure that the project was ethical, with particular care for the nuances of working with vulnerable young people in cross-cultural settings.

4. “A place where I can be myself”: NGO and *kampung* identities

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will explore the core respondents’ identities at home and in relation to a key provider of services support in their lives. The NGO, the shelters that they ran, and the areas surrounding those shelters gave the first glimpse of how the core respondents articulated their desire to have a sure-footed position from which to negotiate their identities in different relationships. The core respondents’ relationship with the NGO and the area around the shelter showed that the young people in the study were interested in being integrated into new groups and communities, but they wanted first to affirm that they had their own space – both social and physical – from which to start such negotiations. The NGO-run shelters provided a safe place that affirmed young people’s ability to make decisions about their own lives and did not subject them to criticism about their street identities. The youth, in turn, claimed identities that included their belonging as a part of the NGO. This chapter will show that the core respondents were quite interested in being integrated into new social groups and settings as long as they were accepted, to a degree, at face value. Moreover, they wanted adults to affirm their ability to be good faith actors.

This chapter will first show how and why the core respondents substantially identified with the NGO. Then it will move to explore a few examples of how young people negotiated relationships with adults inside the NGO-run shelter and in the near vicinity. The contrast between the young people’s negotiations inside and outside the shelter will show the importance of respecting and affirming the respondents. NGO volunteers sought to co-produce street-associated youth identities along with the respondents, whereas compliance to adult-managed social rules characterised many interactions outside the shelter. The youth responded to *kampung* neighbours’ lack of acceptance with ambivalence and resistance. Indeed, the complex neighbourhood obligations and idealised standards of moral conduct of a Javanese *kampung* (Beatty, 2010;

Newberry, 2006; Reddy, 2001; Stodulka, 2017a) can be difficult to navigate⁵⁷. Moreover, young people were subject to neighbours' misgivings about them as street youth similar the literature presented in Chapter 2 (see Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003; Kraack & Kenway, 2002; Malone, 2002). The process of navigating standards and misgivings was made further complex through discussions of the young people's relationship to charity and their identities as both residents and functionaries of the NGO-run shelter. Finally, this chapter will provide an example gathered from another field site that might provide a model for how to realise youths' desire to be accepted as they are, with standing to negotiate their identities.

4.2. Terms of negotiation: Compliance and inclusion in the BCB *kampung*

This subsection will explore how youths negotiated social boundaries after moving from the BCK, in a lower-class neighbourhood that knows and understands street life to the BCB, deep in an upper-middle-class one that does not.

When I first met several of the respondents they were residing at the BCK, administered by the same group of NGO volunteers that ran the BCB. It was a small building usually used as a storefront with a two-metre-wide roll-up door as an entrance. There was enough space for five or six young men to sleep there and have some modicum of comfort. *[Lines removed to protect identities of respondents...]*

....

...] originally built as low-income housing by Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX⁵⁸, though most of the original low-income families had sold their deeds by the time the study took place. It rested just metres outside the Sultanate walls that surround much of the city centre.

The neighbourhood was mostly comprised of lower and middle class individuals whose families had long histories in the city. Moreover, several residents had, at one time, worked in similar

⁵⁷ See the author's forthcoming chapter (Kellner, n.d.)

⁵⁸ The Sultan directly preceding the current one. Hamengkubuwono IX ruled during the New Order and was, in part, known for his social programmes for low income residents.

ways as many of core respondents, or at least in contexts that might allow them to get to know young buskers. For instance, some of the residents sold things at local markets, were street vendors, or worked at some of the trade shops nearby. Many community members took the time to get to know the respondents, notably, Tri, Muhammad, and Haki, and those community members would talk to me about how they care for and were supportive of them.

The BCK's location was also well-suited to the respondents' work, which was, at that time, either busking or working at food stalls. Its proximity to the main thoroughfare and several small alleyways close to their shelter made it so that they could come home late at night without being too disruptive. When I first came to know both the NGO and the core respondents, the NGO had just received a donation sufficient for them to move into the BCB, which would more comfortably house the young men already at the BCK, and would allow them to take in a few more residents. The BCB was only about one kilometre away. However, the immediate surroundings of the BCB itself was quite different from the BCK. *[Lines removed to protect identities of respondents...]*

...

...

To get there, one had to find a particular *jalan tikus*⁵⁹. The road then funnels one into a series of turns in which one passes directly by the front doors of several houses. *[Words removed to protect identities of respondents...]*, but there remains a tall cement wall on one side. That wall ended up being a problem for the respondents because it reflects a great deal of sound, especially when the area is otherwise quiet. For instance, when the core respondents were returning from work late at night.

The BCB had a large front garden, and there was constant coming and going of food vendors on their way to a tourist area nearby. When the NGO volunteers agreed to rent the BCB, they

⁵⁹ A colloquial term for an alleyway or path that is very narrow. Usually, these are so narrow that a car could not pass through them, but often *jalan tikus* still have slow, cautious motorbike traffic. Some details of this description have been omitted to anonymize the location

initially gained approval for the space being used to house street youths from two people: the owner of the BCB, and a local police officer with whom the NGO volunteers were already acquainted. Whereas, at the BCK, the RT and RW of the community, the primary administrators on a local level, were aware of and supportive of the work.

Based on the lack of public knowledge about the BCB, it was not entirely surprising that shortly after the respondents moved in some neighbours raised concerns about the new tenants. One resident said to me of that time: "we have just cleaned this area up [of people like them], and now they move in" [12 October 2015]. They were referring to how another resident mentioned, "things have been getting better around here, but I am not sure about them" [12 October]. According to these residents, the neighbourhood had been, throughout many years, slowly working together to become a respectable upper-middle-class neighbourhood. [*Lines removed to protect identities of respondents...*] *premanism*⁶⁰, and they were happy to be rid of that element when those residents moved away. So, when the respondents moved in, some residents felt that their presence was a step backwards. In short, they inferred from the respondents' histories and appearance that they were connected *preman*, and were not entirely incorrect, because some of the respondents had connections with such groups. However, this inference led to some negative feelings about the respondents.

Some of the *kampung* neighbours' discomfort was immediately palpable to the respondents: "This place isn't like that place [the BCK], this place does not feel as comfortable [*nyaman*]" [Muhammad, 05 September 2015]. Indeed, as a visitor to the shelter, I observed an atmosphere of disapproval that I was not used to feeling. A few residents looked at me without smiling when I arrived – which is uncommon in *kampung* life. Only when I introduced myself to neighbours did the air of distance evaporate and the usual social niceties emerged. Alongside these niceties, second-hand accounts of complaints from neighbours also began. These complaints mostly focused on the respondents returning home late at night, and being loud or having disrespectful behaviour. Whereas at the BCK, the youths were able to stay in the shelter without a strong sense

⁶⁰ Organised crime.

of feeling “other”, the baggage of their life situation was heavier at the BCB’s *kampung*. It would soon become clear that they needed to negotiate actively if and how they can belong as street-associated youths in this neighbourhood. They would come to find that they would either need to comply with some adults’ expectations about their behaviour and stay, or resist and potentially need a new home.

The noise complaints began to pile up amongst the neighbours, and the NGO volunteers quickly found themselves justifying the shelter to the administrators, as well as a Ministry of Social Welfare official who knew about their work more generally. These officials, with some trepidation, decided that it would be best to be charitable to young people in such difficult circumstances, but that the NGO must establish some discipline amongst the young people and manage inappropriate sounds and behaviour better. In response, the NGO and the youths together, wrote and unanimously ratified of a series of rules that would respond to the community’s concerns. They included: prohibiting female youth from visiting the shelter without a volunteer present⁶¹, logging all visitors, maintaining clean spaces, and being respectful of each other and their neighbours.

Adhering to community norms was not just about neighbours’ specific expectations about their day-to-day conduct. It was also about social and cultural norms that connected to membership in the nation-state. The NGO volunteers sought to build a stronger bond between the respondents and their neighbours after the first round of complaints with an expression of stewardship for their community. Specifically, the youths were encouraged to participate in cleaning up the neighbourhood for Independence Day [*Hari Kemerdekaan*]. In many parts of Java, it is traditional for each *kampung* to engage in a community clean-up and beautification⁶² process before a day of sharing food and playing games to commemorate Indonesia’s declaration of independence from the Dutch on 17 August 1945. Clean-up efforts are also traditionally

⁶¹ It is important to note that in Javanese, and in many other cultures in Indonesia, unsupervised socializing between young unmarried males and females is considered unacceptable (see Beazley, 2002).

⁶² During clean-ups before Independence Day, communities hang festive decorations, and paint entryways to the *kampung* in the national colours. Often districts will even commemorate the year by writing phrases like “dirgahayu RI hari kemerdekaan ke-71”, or “long live Indonesia on the 71st Independence Day”.

important for performing *gotong royong*, or mutual aid, an important mutualistic social obligation. Members of every household are expected to participate in these efforts. A few of the respondents participated in the clean-up efforts but were not interested in participating fully in the festivities that followed. One of the NGO volunteers explained: "...it would be good if our friends [the core respondents] would help the clean-up and greet the neighbours...". In other words, this push was a means by which the respondents could perform normal community obligations. Some *kampung* residents were receptive to these young people's participation but a few took a moralising in tone. Rather than acknowledging their efforts on that day, they emphasised that this should be an ongoing process: "they need to participate in community life" [neighbour, 15 September]. The landlord of the BCB took a gentler approach in a discussion about that day months later, saying "they are just in need of guidance..." [10 November 2015]. This comment was particularly warm because the landlord had on multiple previous occasions expressed serious doubts to me about the youths' presence in their community. The respondents were able to sense the frigid climate from some of their neighbours, and this made it easy for them not to engage. After Independence Day, Haki said: "...they don't want us here...so I continue [*jalan terus*]..." [early September]. So, it was not much of a surprise that both during the clean-up and on Independence Day the core respondents kept to themselves and mostly engaged with the celebrations based in the front garden of the shelter, rather than mixing with the wider community. Their reticence reinforced the sense of division that the youths felt between themselves and their new community. Such a feeling led to less engagement in the social expectation of shared stewardship of their community, and therefore, they were less engaged in building a sense of mutuality in the BCB neighbourhood. The respondents then amplified that reticence by not performing their obligations.

After Independence Day and the establishment of the rules mentioned on the previous page, things were quiet for a few weeks. The respondents adhered to rules for a few weeks, but soon there was a second round of complaints from neighbours about the noise. "Some of us work late

at night...we must return home...”, Setiyo explained [05 September 2018]. He was implying that some of the noise they made in the evenings was reasonable.

Additionally, the second wave of complaints focused on the fact that there would be other young people visiting the shelter, with particular concern about unsupervised visits from females in violation of the rules.⁶³ One resident said, "they [the respondents] need more help than this...it's inappropriate" [early October]. They elaborated by explaining that some of the volunteers were very young themselves.⁶⁴ Some of the neighbours expressed that these young volunteers might not be capable of managing the BCB properly without additional supervision. Due to this, the NGO volunteers had to go again to the local authorities and defend their project, and this time the authorities were much less charitable and threatened to shut the shelter down. Briefly, the community leaders' initial cautious but charitable approach had evaporated and given way to responses more focused on control, compliance, and the protection of the respondents and their visitors. The NGO volunteers were able to convince the authorities again that they would establish a more rigid set of rules by ensuring that volunteers were present at the shelter much more frequently than they had been in the past.

In a few short weeks, the youths' inability to meet the social expectations about noise and conduct in their new *kampung* led them to move from being seen as objects of charity to young people who were in immediate need of discipline. Not only that, young people, who were perceived by some neighbours as incapable of implementing this discipline properly, were overseeing the respondents. The respondents' met the community's expectations with a blend of resistance and ambivalence. The youths articulated their resistance by sharing the idea that the community should reasonably take into account some of the basic realities of their lives, like returning home late as long as they keep the noise to a minimum. Setiyo said, "...if we can be quiet, they should not complain" [05 September 2018]. The ambivalence was when they favoured their desire to have visitors over their desire to meet social expectations. Santoso shared "...yeah,

⁶³ The shelter was for males only.

⁶⁴ [Footnote removed to protect identities of respondents]

but I want my friends to visit...” [14 September 2015]. Residents of the BCB expressed these feelings, but they did not directly say these things to their neighbours. The youths in the shelter only had a small role in articulating this resistance or ambivalence to authorities. [*Lines removed to protect identities of respondents...*]. Their social position afforded them additional standing to negotiate this relationship. There were from a different social class than the respondents – mostly middle class – and thus were the position of benefactors rather than beneficiaries.

The fact that these important negotiations were left to the NGO volunteers, and to a lesser extent Tri, showed markedly bounded agency for the respondents. Setiyo's comment about reasonably complying with the neighbours' expectations about noise shows that the youths actively engaged with the idea that they could belong in the neighbourhood. He considers potential contingencies for how he could perform mutuality and suggests one. Specifically, he cites that the youths return home late at night because they are working, a marker of self-discipline, as well as being cognizant of their noise as a means of achieving mutuality with neighbours. The basis of this position is that the core respondents were willing to comply, especially if adults acknowledged their standing to continue to live their lives. This concession would be a real means to more effectively include these young people in the *kampung*. However, Santoso's ambivalence underlines heterogeneity in the group. Sometimes these young people chose to ignore outside expectations to select a lifestyle that they preferred. If adults seek to include these young people more effectively, compromising with perspectives like Setiyo's would likely help.

An additional nuance that complicates the inclusion of these young people further is the fact that volunteers mediated their communications with neighbours seeking compliance. The NGO volunteers sought to support incremental steps towards a compromise through two sets of negotiations in this example. However, the fact that the residents of the BCB were unable to be full participants in such negotiations shows the degree to which the respondents' agency was limited. In their direct interactions with neighbours, they had a stark choice between compliance and expulsion. Volunteer-mediated actions relegated the youths to awaiting the results of

negotiations led by others who could just as easily be their peers or their caretakers. The volunteers' class and role in the NGO served to make them more valid negotiating partners in the community, and this shows additional ways of affirming the core respondents' class backgrounds is necessary for their inclusion. Otherwise, people like the core respondents will be afforded only the starkest of choices – comply or be excluded – and Santoso's sentiments indicate that many young people will choose the latter if forced to choose.

4.3. Belonging with and in an NGO

This section will show that affirming street identities and treating young people as competent negotiating partners facilitated youths taking on new relational identities. Some background on how youths became affiliated in the first place, and some of the outward indicators that they felt they belonged within the NGO, will help to establish that the youths identified with the NGO and even self-categorised as a member of it. This self-categorisation as a member can be further broken down into the components of belonging described in the theory chapter⁶⁵. How and why youths came to feel senses of commonality and attachment to the NGO will be discussed.

4.3.1. "Anak NGO"

There was ample evidence throughout the study that the core respondents had integrated a notion of membership in the NGO into their identities. The NGO building trust and showing youths that they could be accepted as they are encouraged this. Shortly after the beginning of the study, I came into contact with the NGO, who had a new group of volunteers who often spent time in the evenings doing outreach in the *Jalan Utara*⁶⁶ area where some street-associated young people congregate and work. Their outreach was usually effective in part because most of the volunteers were still quite young. [*Lines removed to protect identities of respondents...*

...]. The core respondents were between 15 and 19, and many other recipients of their services were of similar ages. The volunteers would most often hang out [*nongkrong*] and make themselves available to attend to

⁶⁵ Please also note that Beazley's work applies a similar notion of self-categorisation from Turner (1996).

⁶⁶ This is a pseudonym.

the youths' needs as they arose. They built substantial trust through this process. For instance, during the fieldwork, a street-associated teenager who was not part of the study became pregnant⁶⁷, and she asked the NGO to help her access medical care. However, she also asked them for help negotiating the complex process of telling her parents that she was pregnant and integrating her and her boyfriend's families whom both disapproved of their relationship and their desire to marry based on the pregnancy. So, in short, this cohort of NGO volunteers included a few people who were adept at building bonds with the youths.

Around the same time, the BCK shelter was established to ensure that some of the youths in *Jalan Utara* were housed. Several young people from the *Jalan Utara* area were encouraged to move in, and they were assured that they would not have to change many aspects of their habitual ways of being. The opening of BCK was not undertaken due to the implementation of Law No.1, however, it was well timed. Near the beginning of the fieldwork, in early May 2015, many young people moved into the first shelter. It so happened that [Date removed to anonymize respondents] large-scale raids by the Municipal Police for Law No.1 took place in *Jalan Utara*. Hundreds of people were arrested for breaking the law, many of whom were friends and associates of the respondents. Moreover, they would have likely been arrested had they been busking or sleeping on *Jalan Utara*. There was a sense of gratitude to the NGO amongst the core respondents for helping them to avoid arrest, and were thus grateful to the NGO. After several of the respondents moved to the BCK, most of the core respondents had to relearn where, when, and how they could work, and having a safe, stable place to stay supported this process. Muhammad said, "...those other guys were arrested, but we were at the shelter...luckily [*untunglah*]..." [17 April 2016].⁶⁸

During the fieldwork, I came into contact with street-associated youths with a wide spectrum of ideas about connecting with government institutions or NGOs – from young people who almost entirely eschewed interaction with any institutions to young people fully integrated in the government rehabilitation programmes. Based on my year with the core respondents, and from

⁶⁷ See Chapter 3 for more detail about why all the core respondents were male.

⁶⁸ Muhammad and his close friends had been primarily busking at this time, and were quite susceptible to arrest in that area.

what I could tell from other occasional interactions with similar young people, street-associated youths actively engaged with the possibilities of taking part in a range of social services, and often navigated towards settings and situations that suited their present identities and their aspirations for the future. Many of the core respondents were cynical in discussions about government or religiously-affiliated shelters or rehabilitation programmes. Thus, most of the core respondents mostly sought their services when it suited them, or when they were compelled to use them.⁶⁹ For many youths, it was clear that many service providers emphasised that youths were in need of serious changes in how they present themselves. Though there were more superficial matters at play, much of what emerged was that the young people should become more disciplined, skilled, credentialed, or able in the eyes of adults. Muhammad said about a religiously-affiliated shelter, "...they are generous, but I don't like it there...I have to pretend [to want to become something I don't want to become]" [17 April 2016]. Conversely, the core respondents felt they could be themselves with the NGO, and at BCK and BCB, in part, because the volunteers often sought to acknowledge the realities of youths' lives. The NGO volunteers took the perspective that youths should be allowed to make their own lives in a democratic process within the NGO about secure housing, livelihood, and other aspirations. Setiyo said, "...they [NGO volunteers] talk with us about how we can make the shelter a good place...this is one of the reasons that this place is good for me..." [05 September 2015]. Rather than the rigid discipline that was part of many of the more formal programmes, the inexperienced and young volunteers of the NGO sought to more directly respect and recognise the realities and opinions of the core respondents.

This recognition, in turn, opened up dialogues that supported their sense that they were a part of the group, sometimes referring to themselves as "*anak NGO*".⁷⁰ What was surprising to me as time went on was that the core respondents had not referred to themselves as "*anak yatim*"⁷¹

⁶⁹ Additional information about this can be found in the biographical sketches included in the Annex.

⁷⁰ Literally, "the children of the NGO" is derived from a more general phrase *anak buah* which refers to someone affiliated with a group or organisation. It is a common way of marking one's belonging to a group or affiliations.

⁷¹ Word referring to an orphanage.

about other shelters where they had stayed. The phrase *yatim* refers to the idea that they might be at any number of charitable facilities. However, they consistently used the specific name of their NGO. This self-identification marked a sense of belonging to the organisation that they were willing to share more widely. Moreover, it would be common to refer to oneself in a way that connects you to a geographic location or a group of peers, but in this case, the core respondents chose the phrase “*anak NGO*”, thereby deprioritising other potential identities. A study of NGO-affiliated youths in India found that such identifications may have been simply tactical with their selection of an NGO (Romani, 2014), and the data in this thesis supports this notion of being tactical. However, it extends to a relatively sturdy attachment to an organisation and place because they deprioritised other potential self-identifications. Moreover, as Setiyo said, this is due to their ability to have some control over their own lives, as well as the NGO. This NGO connection suited the needs of the core respondents quite well, and therefore shows that these youths were active consumers of NGO services, and this consumption led to them adding a new layer to their identities.

4.3.2. "...I can be myself here..." and shedding names

The youths in this study frequently spoke of themselves as belonging to the NGO when outside their temporary home, as was shown in the previous section. This sense of belonging was, in part, built on the experience of stability of a safe, private place to stay. Additionally, the fact that it was a space in which the NGO accepted them as they are and treated them as young people who can autonomously make decisions about their lives supported this belonging. This fact made clear that several core respondents highlighted their ability to “be themselves” at the shelter as a reason for their belonging. They described it as a place where they could shed some performed identities that they feel they need for other social contexts. For instance, within the fence and the walls of the BCB, my observations over the months showed that the cliques and friendship groups that had existed before the respondents moved into the shelter to a certain degree persisted, but that new relationships between peer groups were emerging.

The BCB was also the first time that several respondents had their own private or semi-private space in some time, if ever. Several of them were able to have a private room or a room that they shared with just one other resident. Moreover, for those like Muhammad and Haki, who sometimes slept outdoors, it was very heartening to have a stable home for at least a few months. "I like knowing that this is where I will stay..." Muhammad explained one day when asked about the benefits of staying in the shelter, "...when I was staying at that other place [*Rumah Singgah*⁷²], it was different. My friends are here" [late September 2015]. Most residents shared a similar sentiment, even though multiple distinct peer groups moved into the shelter simultaneously. The fault lines within and between these groups were often shifting, enough so that for the NGO volunteers and me, it was hard to keep track on any given day. The BCB became a common "base camp" for three friendship groups that clustered around Muhammad, Setiyo, and Yudhis respectively. These three groups expressed a new shared sense of belonging in part through a sense of stewardship.

For instance, the core respondents, along with the NGO volunteers had developed a set of house rules, and for some weeks, the core respondents would internally enforce the house rules evenly across the social groups. This arrangement was distinct from the way that the groups are self-regulated when working outside. Santoso observed regarding a visitors' log procedure⁷³ that had been implemented in the house rules: "...I make sure that everyone does it in the same way...when I'm outside [working with the band] I don't worry about what they [those not in his clique] do..." [late September 2015]. Although Santoso said this in his characteristic wry tone, likely indicating that he found implementing the rules to be a silly endeavour, the idea was borne out in my observations. This internal policing, now formalised through the NGO, is a characteristic critical to street youths collective identities in Yogyakarta in Beazley's (2003a) work. It should be noted that when working, the core respondents who lived at the BCB listened

⁷² A local orphanage.

⁷³ Created in response to neighbours' concerns about visitors.

more closely to their bandmates than other residents of the house, but some of these divisions were less prominent in the shelter.

Along with the putting aside of divisions between cliques that may have existed in other social contexts, the respondents expressed a more basic idea. As Tri put it once, "[the BCK]... I can be myself here...we make decisions with them [the NGO volunteers]...". The belonging literature speaks of this in that some findings indicate that to feel free to express one's identity one must feel one belongs (Sporton & Valentine, 2007). Indeed, many of the core respondents spoke about the BCK and the BCB, as well as the social milieu of the NGO, as places and groups in which they could "be themselves". Muhammad's comment about not needing to pretend from the previous section also describes the sentiments of the larger group. Based on the above observations, it is clear that the core respondents felt that they belonged with and in the NGO and its shelters. Also, the "anak NGO" identity included the notion that they had the agency to participate meaningfully in the governance of their home.

Another indicator of the core respondents' feelings of belonging in the NGO shelters was the ways that they left behind some of their performed identities from street contexts. One sunny afternoon when Tri was in the mood to chat, we sat down on the front porch of the second shelter and spoke while Santoso was up fetching fruit from the tree in the front garden. I was pursuing a line of questioning regarding how he felt about the BCB, and how it compared to the BCK, and he answered with what I initially thought was a non-sequitur. He told me about his time living in a city to the east of town. At that time, he was living with a small group of friends who spent much time near the river. This period was after Tri had returned from Jakarta, where the rivers are mostly quite dirty, and so Tri described how much he enjoyed bathing and messing around in the river. He was given a new nickname because he enjoyed it so much: "...they called me catfish [*ikan lele*] because I spent so much time in the water" [10 October 2015]. He had a look on his face that shared the idea that it was a particularly fond memory. He said: "that was a good time...I miss [*kangen*] those friends, I miss that place...sometimes this house is like that..." [10 October 2015].

Building on the sentiment of comfort at the BCB, but more directly to the point, I did not always know Santoso as Santoso. For the first few months, I knew him by his apparent street name, “Hercules”. As we built up trust, and as Santoso felt safe at the BCK, he became comfortable to share his given name. What I found even more compelling was the way in which Santoso’s peers also paid close attention to who could know his real name. For several weeks, I had conversations with Santoso and other youths, and all the while the others referred to him only as “Hercules”. “Hercules” was the name that he most commonly used with people who he newly encountered in public. I came to know that several of the respondents used it interchangeably with his given name, but the way in which his name was protected by his peers was systematic. At one point, one of the new volunteers at the shelter paid a visit, and I told him something about “Hercules”. The volunteer was confused about the person to whom I was referring. A physical description of Santoso ensued, and he said, “Oh, you mean Santoso, you are talking about Santoso. I did not know that people called him Hercules” [12 October 2015]. This statement was made after I had spent a good amount of time at the BCB with Santoso and we had built up a relatively good rapport. So, later that day, I tried my luck by calling him Santoso. He immediately smiled with recognition. I think he was pleased with my gentle goading tone, as much of a conversation with him centred around teasing and sarcasm. At an interview a few days later, I asked him what most people call him at the shelter, and he said Santoso. He said: “I know you well enough that you can call me Santoso” [12 October]. Though his given name was a public secret for many – a marker of trust and comfort – he primarily chose to use it at the BCB. Several of the respondents had nicknames or other chosen names in several geographic locations. Though most often, this would be explained to me as simply having to do with being given a nickname by friends who spend time in those places. Moreover, one could easily posit the value of being known by a different name in several locations if one has regular low-level contact with law enforcement.

Both of these experiences show how youths began to be willing to shed the means by which they self-identified on the street for a range of purposes. Over time, the identities that they were willing to share shifted, and so did how they sought to belong. The temporary relief from some of

the uncertainties of street life engendered by time at the BCB led several participants to let down their guard and express their deeper senses of self in quiet moments. The NGO and the shelters became places where the core respondents felt comfortable sharing their more enduring identities – rather than those performed in public. The way that they took the time to reminisce about comforts and make a positive comparison to the BCB, as well as their willingness to use their given names, provides evidence of this.

In sum, the NGO and its shelters were places where the core respondents felt they belonged and this belonging was taken on as an aspect of their identities. Moreover, they tell us that part of what engendered this belonging and identification was the fact that their current situation was not one of which they should be ashamed and that they are young people who are capable of making their own decisions.

4.4. Critical engagement with terms and negotiation

4.4.1. Emphasis on self-sufficiency and autonomy

The feeling of belonging described in the previous section was not entirely free from expectations from some adults in the core respondents' lives. The NGO volunteers emphasised that the youths living in the BCK and BCB should be more self-sufficient and autonomous. The following chapters will explore these discourses in greater depth from both youth and adult perspectives. This chapter will merely seek to establish a foundation of understanding about how youths felt about these ideas on a micro-level in their own home. Within the confines of the NGO and the BCB, youths saw externally imposed notions of self-sufficiency and autonomy as reasonable and complied with them. Moreover, an emphasis on self-sufficiency and autonomy was observed by Beazley (2003a), but was focused on these notions as critical to individual youths' membership within groups of peers. This thesis will look more closely on these concepts as they relate to street-associated youths' relationships outside their peers.

The NGO's orientation towards charitable giving was a meaningful departure from other social service providers' orientation towards notions of rehabilitation. The NGO emphasised an

approach that gave the youths in the shelter greater agency in some aspects of their lives. There still existed clear power differentials between the NGO volunteers and the respondents. The way that social class and wealth functioned to create this differential was laid bare by the fact that many of the volunteers were of a very similar age as many of the respondents. As mentioned earlier, [*Words removed to protect identities of respondents...*].

The volunteers controlled respondents' access to safe housing, held positions of relative authority when negotiating with neighbourhood leaders, and shaped the way that respondents might use their time on a regular basis. Volunteers encouraged, and often expected, youths to participate in occasional neighbourhood events as well as NGO supporting visits from future donors or volunteers. The youths factored these mutual obligations of belonging to the NGO into their decision to remain there. Indeed, earlier sections speak to the notion that the shelter was a place where they could be themselves, and one could easily speculate that this atmosphere may have been present in part because the respondents and volunteers were so close in age. However, as an observer, the stark difference in roles between donor and recipient youth felt strange on occasion. One volunteer was frank when asked what he thinks about the fact that the core respondents and the volunteers were so close in age and came from the same community: "we can help them, so we do..." [field note from early October 2015]. In probing this topic, he only expressed similar pragmatic statements about meeting a simple need in their community. Throughout the fieldwork, I observed that the young volunteers often relied on a holistic vision of youth building self-sufficiency. One of my field notes indicated: "the volunteers rely on [some of the] the same logic as the Ministry of Social Welfare but apply it in a different fashion..." [field note, 15 April 2016].

After a few months of getting to know the respondents, it became clear to me that their willingness to spend time with me was based on an informed understanding of my research, and moreover, that the expectation of some transaction like money or food⁷⁴ did not mediate our interaction. Once comfortable with this understanding, I decided to begin occasionally cooking

⁷⁴ See Chapter 3 for detail.

dinner with the youths at the shelter as a shared task that would facilitate different types of discussions. I thought doing something together might take the focus off their work lives, their life histories, or their tension with the neighbours. Within a week or two, one of the volunteers took me aside and said: "they enjoy cooking with you, and you should keep doing it, but don't do it too often, they need to learn to be independent [*mandiri*⁷⁵]" [22 October 2015]. He had taken a pragmatic approach about the realities of the young people's lives, that their charity may not be permanent and the youths will require skills to meet their own needs. He was also pragmatic about the NGO's budget; he had told me in another part of the conversation that their budget fluctuates a lot, and so food aid was not feasible even if they wanted to provide it. This volunteer told me that their role was to give them a little help, but that a full range of services would undermine the overall goal of giving the youths enough support to make their own choices, to sustain themselves within the realities of their lives. The NGO would give them enough to keep them safe, and then provide individualised attention to help them cultivate their ability to be *mandiri*. For their part, when asked about this, the youths were generally accepting: Setiyo said: "...I can do that myself; I don't need their help with that..." [05 September 2015]. Setiyo, in another unrecorded conversation [late October 2015], said that this lack of provision of food aid did not limit his involvement in the NGO because he felt that he belonged in many other ways.

This strategy made sense. Throughout the research, the majority of street-associated youths whom I met explained that they found the housing and vocational training options offered to them weren't well suited to them. The volunteer said that their approach would help them to more effectively deal with their realities. Their decision to become "*anak NGO*" also factored in the fact that the services were likely insufficient for respondents' daily needs. Based on this, it is clear that belonging in a way that they deem appropriate, even without the full provisions that other NGOs could provide, like those from other shelters, was a meaningful aspect of the core respondents' negotiation with adults.

⁷⁵ Literally meaning independent. This concept will be a core focus of Chapter 5, and will be explained in further detail then.

4.4.2. The other side of the table: Shame and charity

Youths were frequently observed to be critical consumers and producers of potential social identities. Building on the previous section, it was clear that they critically engaged with their position as “beneficiaries” of charity. Moreover, if and how others perceived them as “beneficiaries” mattered to the respondents. Specifically, they found that the stigma or shame that they felt when receiving charity in public sometimes conflicted with their self-image. In short, taking charity risked categorisation as belonging to a group who needs charity rather than being seen in some other way. The way Setiyo and Fuad joked about each other’s “shamelessness” one day during a group interview may best express this categorisation. Their friendly altercation began when Setiyo accused Fuad of being much too direct about many of his opinions. Fuad snapped back by saying that Setiyo always takes food during sahur⁷⁶ from charitable organisations during the month of Ramadan. Setiyo wryly smiled and responded: “Yeah, I will be on the side [of the table] next year...” [03 May 2016].

This statement was a surprising comment from Fuad because Setiyo, and his mother, had been recipients of such support in the past. From a strict interpretation of Islamic law about *zakat*⁷⁷, Setiyo had a right to take charity. They were often food insecure, and such people are entitled to support. As Retsikas (2016) observes elsewhere in Java, the basic underlying premise of *zakat* and its social practice in Java outlines the notion that people with more than they need must make their excess available to those in need. Moreover, the people described in Retsikas’ (2016) work indicate that wealthy people do not own their resources, but rather, that excess resources are community property and the poor must receive them through redistribution. In short, there are many people on Setiyo’s earning level who feel fully justified in taking such community resources – and that this does not constitute charity. It is simply the appropriate use of resources

⁷⁶ Sahur is the meal just before beginning the daily fast during the holy month of Ramadan. A range of charitable groups provide Sahur meals in areas of town where low-income residents and street-associated people congregate. Though the food is given freely, there is often the implied idea that many of the providers are seeking to feed those who are in need, rather than anyone who is present on the street.

⁷⁷ Zakat is one of the Five Pillars of Islam and is a form of alms-giving in which the wealthy are obligated to give to those less fortunate, and the poor have a right to alms (see Tusi, 2005).

as *zakat* outlines. Setiyo felt differently. A great source of pride later in the fieldwork was to feed his mother and siblings through steady and substantial income.

Both Setiyo and Fuad had well-established aspirations to become successful businessmen⁷⁸, and in particular, Setiyo also articulated that he had the desire to be wealthy enough to give back to young people who were in similar situations to him: "I'm going to start my own NGO then...when I have a business..." [03 May 2016]. Later in the same interview, Setiyo said: "...I don't need that [aid]...I plan to be able to help my community very soon..." [03 May 2016]. He had a clear aspiration to have economic or social mobility, but not one that would make him leave his home behind. He was earning well through playing *angklung* at the time, and so he felt less need. However, the fact that he emphasised his aspiration to take the role as a donor in his home community indicates that he understands charity in a way in which there are donor and recipient roles, rather than the way Retsikas (2016) describes. Moreover, Setiyo sees himself as a person who will soon be filling the role of donor, and so he seeks to identify with the donor role in public going forward. In other words, Setiyo, at least when talking to me, sought to categorise himself by making choices that pertain to his aspired identity.

4.4.3. Tri's liminal role

Youths were also often stuck between two or more identities that had vastly different implications for their behaviour. This discussion will again be borne out throughout several chapters of this thesis. This section will begin that discussion by exploring how the tension between being a beneficiary of the NGO's services but also a representative of the NGO caused frustration in Tri's life. This frustration, moreover, depicts the challenge of navigating identities that are not always congruent. Tri was one of the oldest people in the shelter at 19 years old, and his belonging was made more complicated by his process of taking on adult responsibilities beyond those of a member of the NGO community. During the period in which the neighbours around the BCB were growing more impatient with the core respondents⁷⁹, Tri was designated as

⁷⁸ See section 5.3.1. for further comment on this.

⁷⁹ See Chapter One for a brief history of the housing conditions, as well as individualised accounts of housing in the biographical sketches in the Annex.

a representative of his peers by the NGO volunteers. They asked him to play the dual role of BCB and liaise with the wider community. Tri is a helpful person, who was always making use of himself.⁸⁰ When I visited him at the BCK, or at his other places of residence later in the study⁸¹, he was often playing around in the street with neighbours, helping tidy up street-side areas, supporting local events⁸², or whatever else came up. He naturally ingratiated himself with his neighbours, and so, when the neighbourhood threatened the BCB with closure, Tri became a *de facto* liaison between the shelter and his peers.

The NGO volunteers who also had busy schedules [*words removed*], most of the time mediated the relationship with the neighbours as things became tense. However, others increasingly saw Tri as a key actor in ensuring that his peers behaved and that the neighbours were happy. As tension mounted between the neighbourhood and the residents of the BCB, Tri became laconic in our interactions, and for several weeks I would find him sitting listlessly on the front porch as opposed to his usual active demeanour. Finally, one day out of the blue, he said: "it is not fair, [the volunteers] treat me like I am one of the kids ... I am not paid, even though I am doing work for them" [22 October 2015]. Though there existed strong mutual respect between Tri and the volunteers, Tri became increasingly frustrated by his dual role as both a recipient of support and a reluctant representative of his peers and the NGO. He took great care in managing the many problems with neighbours, all the while seeking to downplay his current work. He became highly frustrated that the NGO did not give him the respect of an adult worker for taking up such responsibilities, and he continued: "...they sometimes treat me like a child."

Because Tri was often privy to the details of the negotiations between the NGO volunteers and the neighbours, he often had to decide how much information his peers could or should know about whether or not the BCB would be closed. In a short time, he shifted from an affect that was generally energetic and engaged to looking increasingly strained. In his home life, his

⁸⁰ Based on my observations over nearly a year.

⁸¹ After the BCB was closed and he moved back to the BCK neighbourhood.

⁸² E.g. on more than one occasion I paid him a visit at home, but he was engaged with large neighbourhood events like a neighbour's wedding or a funeral.

relationships with his peers went from jovial and light-hearted to often taking on the role of a serious disciplinarian. After all, he was acutely aware of the threats of closing the BCB that the neighbours had made, and so his moderating his younger peers' behaviour might very well ensure that they had a place to sleep. The duty of care that he carried due to both his age and his helpful personality served to make him feel as though he no longer belonged amongst his peers, but he was also clearly not a full member of the NGO volunteers.

Tri's frustrations clearly show that his relative age, his willingness to engage with the community, and his affable and reliable nature, had all led him to be categorised into two groups between which there was real tension. Part of this may simply be the tension of taking on more adult responsibilities for the BCB and by proxy his younger peers. Based on Tri's comments, he felt he was not respected and that someone else taking up the role would be compensated. In other words, he was not given full standing to negotiate the terms by which he would take on new aspects of his identity, and this caused him frustration and to feel alienated from his peers.

4.5 *Omah Kita*: Making space for yourself

The final section of this chapter will describe a supplemental subset of the data that was collected for this thesis. It will describe *Omah Kita*⁸³, an informal self-settlement comprised of former street youths and others living on wasteland. Over the years, the community has won social and bureaucratic recognition from neighbours and the local government, while maintaining perspectives and social rules that are more welcoming to street-associated youths like those in this study. The establishment of this place provides evidence that supports the primary argument of this chapter – that the street-associated youths were happy to be integrated and included in community life. However, they stipulated that they wanted to be given social and spatial standing from which to negotiate their inclusion. Some of the literature from minority countries finds that shared public spaces can function as “narrative spaces” in which youths can be creative, and paradoxically provide youths with sufficient privacy and anonymity (van Lieshout & Aarts,

⁸³ A pseudonym.

2008). In other words, being welcomed into such spaces both allows them to perform identities that they deem authentic, but also to actively engage in the processes of becoming—processes that are particularly salient to youths. The literature on street children and youths agrees with this notion, finding that public spaces in which they are treated as welcome enables them to express alternative cultures and allows for subcultural capital⁸⁴ to be objectified (Beazley, 2003b; Malone, 2002). *Omah Kita* was a place where subcultural capital could be recognised, and further worked to subtly shift what behaviours provide for social capital – acknowledging youths’ active participation in creating their sub-cultures (Davies, 2008; Sandberg, 2008). In making an accepting environment for street-associated youths, but also linking them to the social norms and bureaucratic requirements of the wider city community, they sought to better equip these young people for realities outside of their street contexts.

On the approach to *Omah Kita*, one drives down a street full of relatively new mansions. It seems like most wealthy neighbourhoods in this area with high walls, and an occasion well-washed Toyota Kijangs taking kids to and from school. *[Lines removed to protect identities of respondents...]*

...

...

...

...] you can see the reason for the community's ability to occupy that space – an unfinished public works project. The head of the community told me that a funding dispute had doomed the project several years previously, and so it was abandoned. In the subsequent years, the area nearby had been developed, but wasteland remained. The land nearby was bought up and built on, and effectively blocked in the public works project site, and a large plot of low-lying land on which the wealthy people who were moving into the neighbourhood were wont to build. After several of the wealthy people's homes at the top of the hill had been built, the head of the community, a former street-associated youth

⁸⁴ In Beazley (2003, pg.185) this capital “confers status on the owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder”.

and some colleagues of his established an informal colony on the space. Over time, the community grew as friends came to stay on the wasteland, and over time a common set of norms around mutual respect and care for space emerged. Moreover, they established an approach to new street-associated young people who may want to join their community.

When I undertook an FGD with some of the residents who fit my study criteria there, they said that they were both welcomed as they are but also had to meet a few community standards. “It is not a problem if I drink...as long as I take care of the animals...” [FGD, 12 May 2016]. The *Omah Kita* community emphasises the idea that youths should be allowed to behave in ways that are usual for them. Other community shelters for street-associated youths would very likely prohibit behaviours like alcohol use, but *Omah Kita* tolerated them. One of the only requirements is that the behaviour is not disruptive to the community, does not cause them to be unsafe themselves, and does not cause problems with their expected duties in the community [early May 2016]. In this case, the young person had recently been accepted into the community and was tasked with the care of a paddock of goats and to do some cleaning of their own and communal spaces. Totok⁸⁵, the head of the community, said, “this is one way that we make sure that the youth at least have a safe place to stay... [begin] learning...and get connected to services...” [early May 2016].⁸⁶ When street-associated youths come to *Omah Kita*, performances of delinquency and other street habitus are accepted within reason, because the residents know that these are valuable for building street capital (Butler, 1990; Colls & Hörschelmann, 2009; Davies, 2008; MacDonald & Shildrick, 2007; Sandberg, 2008). However, an additional message is impressed upon young people, that they must preserve the community’s shared functioning, meaning, that they must limit some of these behaviours over time. Engaging in efforts towards mutuality in maintaining the community was central to the negotiation between existing community members and new street-associated youth members.

⁸⁵ A pseudonym.

⁸⁶ This reflects the findings of several studies on homelessness that suggest stable housing is critical to subsequent reintegration of housing insecure people (Mayock, O’Sullivan, & Corr, 2011; McNaughton Nicholls & Atherton, 2011).

The community leader additionally explained that this informal self-settlement faced several challenges in its early years due to its unofficial nature. For a long time, it did not have official representation from local administrative authorities, and some neighbours were sceptical about their presence. The head, over a period, negotiated with the local administrators to be able to be represented even though it was unclear how this could take place in the formal administrative structures of the municipality. They came to a solution in which the households in the community did not have traditional legal administrative status like most in Indonesia,⁸⁷ rather, the community as a whole is considered to be a household, [*words removed to anonymize respondents...*].

Many of the youths in this context lack a legal residence, identity cards, and family card [FGD, 12 May 2016]. Several of the youths in the study, and several residents of *Omah Kita*, thus, had challenges accessing several government services that require such documentation. However, Totok being able to add them to his card provided one means of giving them some access⁸⁸ to a range of other social services directed at the poor, including an exemplary healthcare scheme that was available for poor people in Yogyakarta province.⁸⁹

When I asked Totok about the longer term outcomes of some of the street-associated youths in the community, he said, “Several of them still live with us, but have other jobs...when we accept them into the community we plan to accept them as members of the community for a long time...” [12 May 2016]. Most of the people whom he mentioned later in the conversation were still working in the informal sector and had established themselves as members of the

⁸⁷ Meaning that some residents did not have a family card for the members of their residence, and moreover, the residences themselves are not considered to be autonomous units of an RT’s administrative area.

⁸⁸ Being added to a person’s family card would facilitate access to any number of services. It must also be stated that such an arrangement creates and reinforces an asymmetrical power relationship between the head and the young person because he became a gatekeeper for the young person’s access to services, and if the young person wants to leave the community and move legally to a different household, it must be with the participation of the head.

⁸⁹ There was stress about changes to this programme during the time of the study. First, communities like *Omah Kita* had invested a great deal of time in learning how the programme worked and had become adept at utilising it. However, with the rollout the new national health insurance scheme, the local scheme participants were being transitioned off of the provincial programme. For communities like *Omah Kita*, who occupied unique, special statuses, it was difficult to see how the community members might fit into a system in which people must have more traditional places of residence and family cards.

community. Some had married and started families there. Totok said: "...we have some of the same experiences...we start from there...". The commonalities of street-associated experiences served as a starting point for the integration of the young people in the focus group: "I'm happy to have a place to stay...the work is not so bad...I would not want to do it in other [shelters]..." [12 May 2016].

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the social spaces in which the core respondents felt they could substantially belong, and lays critical foundation for subsequent chapters' exploration of self sufficiency and independence. It contributes to the literature by showing a group of interlocutors who are much less inwardly focused than those observed by Beazley or Solvang. The core respondents valued many of the same things as the respondents in previous studies, but had aspirations and relationships that were much more closely aligned with non-street youth perspectives. Beginning with the core respondents' relationship to the NGO is partially pragmatic because the NGO's BCK and BCB were the sites where I first came to know the core respondents well. However, these sites were also central to laying the foundations to answer the research questions of this thesis. The example of the core respondent's "home" life at the BCB and BCK showed how the youth in this study were open to being included into settings outside of their street-associated lives. However, they very much preferred living in settings that acknowledge their identities, and treat them as having some standing to negotiate the terms of their inclusion. Section 4.2 depicted the idea that the adult neighbours in the vicinity of the young people often had a great deal of power in dictating what identities young people could perform. This depiction highlights the notion that young people's agency in this context was highly bounded—a notion introduced in Chapter 2. The respondents were often expected to comply with social and cultural norms if adult neighbours were going to be willing to accommodate them in their community. From this perspective, performances of commonality with the neighbourhood norms of quiet in the evenings and other forms of personal conduct were critical to their inclusion. Moreover, showing mutuality through the care of the neighbourhood was also a

prerequisite set by adults for the young people's belonging. There was heterogeneity amongst the core respondents about whether or not they should comply with those expectations. Section 4.3 showed that there is clear evidence that the core respondents performed distinctly different identities in some street settings, but in places where they acknowledged and that they had power, more stable "home" identities emerged. These settings showed potential for belongings in which they were active participants. This finding establishes that identities, even in a close vicinity were often multiple and relationally performed. The BCB setting engendered several respondents to take on new forms of self-identification – namely, as "*anak NGO*". Section 4.4 extended this discussion by showing that in the context of charity, youth still seek acknowledgement and power to negotiate. Finally, Section 4.5 described a setting, *Omah Kita*, in which this ability to perform one's preferred identity and have negotiating power was possible. This example was included to show that a version of what the core respondents were asking for was possible, namely, recognition of their street identities and reasonable negotiating power. Throughout the rest of the thesis, it will become clear that those two requests form the foundation for much of the way that youth performed identities and understood and expressed their agency. This discussion provides valuable support for the idea that young people wanted to be acknowledged as *being* competent actors in the present, to actualise what they assess as their capacity and possibility of agency.

[Pages removed to protect the identity of respondents]

7. Dimensions of sociality in street-associated youths' lives

7.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on respondents' relationships in peer groups, a community of practice, and social spaces beyond the street. Much of the chapter will describe the characteristics and means that respondents used to identify and categorise themselves to fit into peer groups: being capable of violence; styles of clothing and grooming; and tattoos. Peers are particularly important in the lives of adolescents and youth (see Erikson, 1963; Tarrant, 2002). This fact is even truer for street-associated youth because peers often provide support systems for safe housing, access to work and livelihoods, and provide close kin relationships (among others Beazley, 2003b; Fikre, 2016; Hecht, 1998; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013; Stodulka, 2017a). Moreover, the literature on street-associated young people affirms that these peer groups often have established and unique within-group social norms (Beazley, 2003; Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003; Kraack & Kenway, 2002; Lalor, 1999).

The empirical material shows that several identity performances are relational on a micro-level, shifting based on the particular peers present, the group norms that an individual prioritises, an individual's self-perceived future, and their personal history. In short, the people with whom street-associated youth choose to perform commonality and attachment, are important to understanding how the youth seek to belong. The groups to which respondents sought to belong, or to which they resisted belonging, provide insight into the way that they navigate the changing social and economic landscapes. However, this thesis depicts the respondents' lives as often uncertain, and the norms of the social contexts they inhabit as discordant. Based on that idea, this chapter argues that uncertainty increases the risks associated with performing the wrong identity in a given social context, but also that uncertainty can be productive. Moreover, these uncertainties have direct implications for young people's socially- or self-defined transitions to adulthood and manhood (see Burrow, O'Dell & Hill, 2010) and therefore, their belonging in several social groups.

The chapter will acknowledge young people's agency⁹⁰, further seek to emphasise the boundedness of street-associated youths' agency by bringing to light the notable discontinuities between the identities that they sometimes perform, and the moments in which they persist and argue that other social groups should accept their identities. Adaptation and resistance were in some ways mediated by the divergent aspirations of individual youth. Some identities were more transferable than others, and so, how and why respondents chose specific strategies to navigate uncertainties provide insight into if and how they have agency in different contexts.

7.2. Pragmatic uses of style: Making meaning using clothing and tattoos

As this chapter explores the effects of new limitations in the lives of the core respondents, this section may speak most directly to some of the street youth literature from other settings. Namely, the notion that there still exists some form of street youth subculture documented in Yogyakarta in the past (Beazley, 2003; Solvang, 2002; Stodulka, 2017a). The core respondents can be seen as undertaking a natural developmental process, that of testing and exploring identities. This exploration is an endeavour that many disciplines of social science believe to be an almost universal aspect of youth (see Marcia, 1980). However, the core respondents' specific performances in the context of their agency and vulnerability show us how their lives are, in some ways, unique when compared to other young people. Specifically, context-based expressions of commonality were as much about personal safety as they were about trying out a new style. A prominent way that the youths in this study were observed to seek peer group belonging was through style. In Chapter 6, it became clear that the youths in the study were willing to adjust their styles to indicate their legitimacy in public spaces, but also felt that being categorised on this basis was unfair. This section will show how the youths refused the idea that they should be categorised based on their outward appearance.

⁹⁰ See references Baulch, 2002; Beazley, 2003a; Bourdillon et al., 2010; Boyden, 2013; Boyden & Howard, 2013; Crivello, 2011; Davies, 2008; Dobson, 2009; Gibson, 2011; Pells, 2012; Sandberg, 2008; Seymour, 2012; Stodulka, 2017 among others

In Chapter 5, “dressing up” (Polhemus, 2010) in matching *batik* uniforms was discussed as a means for youths to re-categorise themselves as legitimate workers in the tourist economy. However, several members of the Northside band, including Muhammad and Haki, found these uniforms quite cumbersome and took on a very distinct style in their leisure time with peers. When they finished playing for the day, they immediately changed into “old school” [17 April 2016] style clothing. This change of clothes provides an insight into how these young men experience and respond to uncertainties about their physical safety, and, in parallel, make space for developmental work. To me, the style looked very much like the hip-hop styles of the mid-1990s from Los Angeles blended with metal/punk/hardcore styles. It involved skinny jeans, button-down shirts with only the very top button buttoned, black t-shirts with elaborate white-lined designs involving skulls, and bandanas tightly folded around their neck or forehead. It was an eclectic group of styles that had several origins. As soon as Muhammad finished his duties with the *angklung*, he would go to wash⁹¹ and change into his “old school” clothes. After getting food from a roadside stall, he would often join Haki and others, dressed in the same distinct style, to go out busking in the evenings. Throughout the study, I rarely saw them go out busking in their leisure time without first changing into these clothes like those in the image below.

[Image removed to protect identity of respondent]

This observation was important for understanding belonging because Muhammad recounted that his evening busking was “...not just for the money. We *nongkrong* [hang out] like this. Going out busking is for fun [*menyenangkan*]...” [17 April 2016]. He made this statement in the period after several raids had taken place, and so he was aware that he was at risk of arrest. He took the

⁹¹ Muhammad regularly slept outside, and said that he paid for access to the washroom at a guest house.

risk so that he could enjoy his free time in public wearing these styles.⁹² Beyond this enjoyment, this style had utility. Muhammad explained that their style was distinct enough that he can "see his friend from far [away]" [17 April 2016]. Muhammad and Haki were regularly subjected to eviction from their outdoor sleeping sites by business owners, neighbours, Municipal Police, or other youths, and so knowing who was approaching at a distance was a useful adaptation to physical vulnerability. My field notes include observations of other such indicators pertaining to safety, for instance, other friends or allies whistling from afar as an indication of something about which he might want to be aware. This style was an indicator of a strong sense of kinship amongst these young men. They were bound together, in part, because they were the same age and had grown up working in the same area. They had developed intense trust through helping each other find shelter safely, and food [multiple life history interviews, see Annex].⁹³ Other studies of street children document similar notions of kinship, including one in Yogyakarta (Beazley, 2003). "They [Haki, and other young people who were not included in the study] are like brothers to me. My [biological] sister and brother are sometimes out here too, but I am always with these guys..." [Muhammad, 17 April 2016].

The intimate link between these "old school" clothes and both the practicalities and enjoyment of leisure time with peers was clear. Law No.1 had made how these young people socialise with their peers more precarious, that is, instead of evening busking sessions that were very unlikely to have problems with authorities, such sessions were now a calculated risk. Muhammad emphasised that this style reinforced the internal boundaries of a small group of peers whom they knew and trusted: "...if I see that [old school style], I know it's one of them..." [Muhammad, 17 April 2016]. In life history interviews, they often mentioned their distaste for staying in the religiously-affiliated shelters where they had previously been forced to stay. Moreover, both Muhammad and Haki only have distant relationships with their parents. They were both

⁹² Other aspects relating to the use of online spaces to refine his style will be explored in Chapter 8.

⁹³ This trust and housing conditions will be discussed more in Chapter Five.

concerned with safety and were out of adult care, and this style was one way in which they could both manage safety concerns and build and maintain a group identity.

There is varied literature that indicates the practice of subculture can support agency by giving youths a means by which to actively reinforce identity and associated social bonds through language, style, drug use and other performances of identity (Butler, 1990; Colls & Hörschelmann, 2009; Davies, 2008). Moreover, some studies have argued that identifying as a ‘delinquent’ may offer an alternative form of personal dignity (MacDonald & Shildrick, 2007; Sandberg, 2008). Street youths may actively manipulate or reinforce negative views about their subcultures as a means to build social capital (Davies, 2008; Sandberg, 2008). In reference to this literature, it seems that the “old school” style pointed towards a particular group identity that suited the group’s shared housing and working life. Muhammad said, "...we gave ourselves a name" [17 April 2016]. This statement marked the first time that he told me they had begun calling themselves *the demi-god squad*.⁹⁴ They often spent leisure time actively co-creating this group identity. Muhammad and Haki would sit in a local internet café refining designs, symbols, and styles for the group. When I visited them at the café one night, they were creating new designs and posting them on Facebook, rather than playing free Facebook-based games as I had become accustomed to seeing.⁹⁵ They were also editing and posting digital photographs of themselves with serious faces, middle fingers raised, and a puff of tobacco smoke coming out of someone’s mouth. They looked serious, older than their years, and a bit threatening. Muhammad explained that he thought they looked “cool” [*keren*] and he was keen to know which images would get more ‘likes’ when he posted them. Though he gave his laconic, monosyllabic explanation of their group image, if I considered his group’s lack of housing and precarious work alongside the group bonds that they had formed, it seemed clear that this more serious, more adult, more threatening group identity might also again be pragmatic for him. They as a group could manage safety through such an image. The ways Muhammad and Haki manipulated their

⁹⁴ A pseudonym.

⁹⁵ Chapter Eight will expand on the ways in which youths enact identities towards belonging in online spaces.

style was by delineating "our kind of people" (Polhemus, 1996) in a very literal sense. However, their shared visual idiom was as much about safety as it was about exploring identities in the way that similarly aged people who are housed and in school do.

7.3. Violence and belonging in peer groups

This section explores the prevailing notions that the respondents shared in different social and spatial contexts concerning violence. Being capable of violence, or being perceived to be capable of violence, were both valuable currency for respondents in some of their social groups – both as men and as street-associated youths. Throughout the research youths, duty bearers, and other adults often talked about being able to "take care of yourself". As noted in Chapter 5, narratives about independence were at the centre of the data. Although being able to take care of oneself regarding finances and adult responsibilities were critical to seeing oneself as a citizen, taking care of oneself in terms of the ability to keep one's body safe, for example by threatening others' bodies, was an asset in the peer groups studied. Being perceived as capable of violence or having a violent history helped youths find a place within peer groups, as has been found in other studies (e.g. Sandberg 2008). This relationship with violence will be explored from the perspectives of masculinity and the street.

Violence as a means to gain or maintain one's social position with peers was a common theme in the data. However, this use of violence had a particular meaning within and outside peer groups and was employed in distinct ways by youths. The best example of this is a story Yudhis told me about his first night at the Centre after being arrested in 2016. When I visited him, Yudhis said that he had got into a fight with other buskers. "He [another busker] acted like he was 'big' and so I hit him. I fought him on my own [even though my friends were around] ...it did not take much" [*date removed to anonymize respondent*]. Yudhis used violence to establish his dominance over another street youth in a new, potentially threatening, social environment. I questioned him about what exactly the other busker had done to provoke the fight, but Yudhis simply said that the other young man was acting as though he was "cool [*asyik*]" and "important [*penting*]". When Yudhis told the other busker to stop acting that way, the young man told Yudhis that he was only

confident because he was with his friends. Yudhis said that this statement forced him to decide to establish his position in the social hierarchy of the Centre, as well as to remind his friends – all of whom were working for him in his *angklung* band – that he was in charge.

This moment was particularly telling because when I first met Yudhis around July 2015, he was much smaller than in 2016. So much smaller that many of the other shelter residents would mock and bully him. Yudhis moved out of the shelter in August 2015 and was hard to contact for several months, and by the time I reconnected with him, he had already grown what seemed to be several inches and had started growing a moustache. By the second phase of fieldwork [April 2015], he was taller, and his frame had filled out. He told me that he had started exercising to get bigger and that this had reshaped his relationship with his bullies. He was now able to defend himself and his friends, and his detractors were afraid of him [12 April 2016]. Yudhis used a growth spurt leading to increased size and strength to reposition himself in his social hierarchy, as well as to establish himself in other hierarchies. Physical development led him to be able to perform the potential for violence – a means by which he responded to the uncertainty that he experienced in his previous social position. He never knew when and how others would bully him.

However, Yudhis was opposed to letting such behaviour define him. For instance, he chose many of the social settings where we had interviews, and in those spaces, he cultivated a very different demeanour. He sought to look and act in a way that others might describe as respectable. When asked about this difference, he noted that violence was only currency in a very limited group of people, mainly his current busking peers. Yudhis had strong aspirations for his future and was acutely aware that violent posturing and behaviour was less welcome in the groups he hoped to inhabit – amongst performers, foreigners, and well-off Indonesians in tourist cafés or even TV studios. He noted: “I can't be that way in a place like this...” [23 April 2016]. More to the point, whenever I requested to conduct a one-to-one interview, he always sought to visit cafés on a tourist thoroughfare, which showed me that, in part, he wanted to cultivate an identity that belonged in those places. Most of the other core respondents usually chose to have interviews in

their regular haunts—mostly, streetside food stalls. Yudhis seemed to use our interviews as an opportunity to learn about and cultivate a way of being for his future, specifically, as a professional musician playing in the cafés where I interviewed him. He pointed to the corner where bands sometimes play at one of these cafés and said: “I want to play there in the future [*masa depan*]... [23 April 2016]”.

In one sense, this was a clear discontinuity between how Yudhis embodied his efforts to belong in different contexts. At work and the Centre, he sought to be a dominant leader, and sometimes a threat, and at leisure, he sought to project respectability⁹⁶ that did not involve threats. In the other case, Yudhis felt that his violent demeanour might meaningfully undermine his ability to belong in new, different social groups, and so he moderated such behaviour. The two very distinct versions of Yudhis presented in these two examples show that young people can have multiple identities that are relationally defined. These identities are performed differently in different contexts, for different groups of people. This fact, moreover, shows that the core respondents, in this case, Yudhis, are highly resilient and adaptable to the uncertainties and demands of street life.

The schism between the prevailing norms that youths negotiated between different social contexts was present for other respondents as well. Tri's ability to commit violence had real currency in peer groups but also endangered outside relationships. At the midpoint of the fieldwork, Law No.1 had come into effect and made busking more tenuous. Thus, he diversified his earning strategies by doing odd jobs for a local businessperson who, among other things, *[Lines removed to protect identity of respondent...]*

]. He

told me more than once that “the money was good in Jakarta, but that is a hard life. I am not strong enough for it.” Although Tri had a history of using the threat of violence as part of his work life, he regularly said that this was not part of his deeper sense of self: “that [work] is not

⁹⁶ This is reminiscent of the work of Linda McDowell, finding that respectability is often of most significant concern for those who may not have it (McDowell, 2011).

me..." [30 October 2015]. He further confided "...I can do it... but I came back to Yogyakarta to get away from that" [30 October 2015]. His distaste for this work was clear when he took up other work as soon as it was available. As soon as playing in an *angklung* band became a viable option, he left his job with the business man. Moreover, I observed him embody the Javanese ideals of masculinity – emotional self-restraint, being controlled and gentle (Clark, 2004; Clark, 2010; Sears, 1998; Suryakusuma, 2011) in his home life at the BCK and BCB. Thus, much like Yudhis, his street life sometimes required a different masculine identity than his life in other contexts.

Around the same time, the BCB closed and Tri moved back into the neighbourhood of the BCK. In this old place, many people knew about his homelessness and his financial situation, but very few knew about his previous work. Tri told me that he was deliberately vague about this work and was forward thinking in his neighbourhood life. He described his neighbours and his neighbourhood as allowing him to cultivate a life where he could be "himself". Indeed, I visited him there regularly, and as the weeks went on, his naturally calm and passive side came to the fore. Again, I observed in this new setting that he increasingly embodied these Javanese ideals of masculinity. Moreover, because this new housing was so close to the corner where he was playing *angklung*, it seemed that these characteristics could be carried with him as he went to work, but he also noted the risk "...I do not want [a neighbouring matriarch who always treated him kindly] to know..." [08 May 2016]. Tri felt that his work history [*words removed to protect identity of respondent*] put him in a precarious position, potentially making others in the neighbourhood fear and exclude him. For a short time, under the duress of Law No.1, he reverted to performing this threatening identity. At the same time, that very action made him uncertain about his ability to belong in his desired community. This concern is why he articulated great relief when he could leave his job. So, again, multiple identities were performed based on context-specific norms. Yudhis was prospective in the first examples when he stated that he moderated his ability to be threatening due to the social and professional spaces he hoped to inhabit. Whereas for Tri, he worried that his past behaviours might show his neighbours that he is

someone other than whom he hoped to be at home. Both these examples provide nuance to what the core respondents thought about street-associated identities when it was their genuine hope to spend more time in contexts away from the street.

Finally, there was a third perspective on the role of violent behaviour in belonging amongst peers in the data. Fuad frankly discussed his violent past: "They all know that I [have been violent]⁹⁷. They all know I went to jail for that" [03 May 2016]. Fuad had spent months in jail for attacking another young man. This event was first made known to me during a conversation about how he and Setiyo protect themselves and how they achieve their professional goals: "They know I did that, and it is not a problem..." [03 May 2016]. He was not shy about sharing this information, explaining that his neighbours at his *kost* know about it. He went on to claim that he no longer behaves in that way, but that he would not apologise for his past.

Fuad situated his future aspirations within the informal sector. Fuad wanted to succeed within his current social world. Whereas the other core respondents mostly claimed to aspire to something outside of or beyond their current circumstances – e.g. Setiyo hoping to use informal work for gathering capital to become a successful businessman or Yudhis hoping to hone his singing skills and jump from the street to bars, clubs, and Indonesian Idol. Fuad said: "I will take the next steps; just like I did when I was a kid. First, I begged, then I sold [plastic toys], now I am playing *angklung*..." [03 May 2016]. Fuad often framed this perspective as merely being realistic. It was clear that he understood that the social capital he had accumulated on the street might not be helpful in contexts beyond the street – just as Yudhis and Tri seemed to understand due to their vastly different relationship to violence in off-street settings. However, unlike Tri and Yudhis, the fact that he had been violent enough to be imprisoned was common knowledge, in part because Fuad so brashly spoke about it in moments like those described above. Most people with whom I spoke knew this part of his past. Fuad acknowledged that his history of violence could be a

⁹⁷ Specific details of the incident have been removed to further anonymise Fuad.

liability, but chose to aspire to a future within street contexts in which his history might provide social capital.

From all three of the above examples, it is clear that the capital and affirmation of violent street-based norms were non-transferable in several other settings (Stoebenau et al., 2011), and each coped with this in his own way. These facts reveal the unique constraints for these young people, and those who are most adaptable and resilient develop identities that are not stable and continuous as developmental psychology (see Erikson, 1963; Marcia, 1980) might argue they must. Rather, the individual who has the most stable and continuous identity, Fuad, is most accepting of his violence past and the most difficult to integrate into contexts in which the norms dictate that such violence is inappropriate.

7.4. Agency and manhood and mastery of cultural idioms

The respondents engaged in a range of modes of becoming men through mastery. They provided evidence for the ways that they move towards belonging as an adult, and specifically an adult male. As mentioned previously in this thesis, self-control and emotional restraint are tenets of Javanese masculinity (Clark, 2004; Clark, 2010; Sears, 1998; Suryakusuma, 2011). One of the examples in this section will describe how Setiyo sought to cultivate and outwardly demonstrate these characteristics through local martial arts. Additionally, as the citizenship chapter stated most plainly, notions of independence and autonomy have come to be synonymous with fully-fledged adult citizenship in this context. Thus, Yudhis' mastery of *angklung*, a local style of music, functioned to achieve these characteristics, and moreover, his taking on a leadership role will again emphasise how he found agency towards becoming a man through mastery of cultural idioms.

The act of developing one's body, strength, and perception was at the beginning of this process, but more important was the achievement of mastery, or control, of these characteristics. To know when and when not to use strength and perception were the essences of a man who belongs as a full member of his community. However, the significant differences between the norms of manhood in different social groups created unique boundaries around these youths' agency. The

best example of this was Setiyo's efforts to develop skills in Javanese martial arts. Specifically, he was part of a martial arts movement called *Merpati Putih*, a group practising a Javanese form of *pencak silat*, a style of martial arts practised throughout the Malay Archipelago. Merpati Putih, or "white dove", is an abbreviation for the expression in Javanese, "Mersudi Patitising Tindak Pusakane Titising Hening", meaning "Searching for Truth through Tranquillity". The practice of *pencak silat* and its connection to the Sultanate goes back nearly 500 years, and Merpati Putih, founded in 1963, views itself as a carrier of that heritage.

A year before I met Setiyo, he had been invited to join a Merpati Putih group. Along the way, the NGO bought him the necessary clothes to participate. Setiyo explained that aside from his religion, this endeavour had helped him discover his ability to master his body, mind, and spirit [several discussions in April and May 2016]. Although he had become proficient in acrobatic physical movements associated with *pencak silat*. He also found videos on the internet of people utilising related extrasensory skills, like navigating obstacles while blindfolded, to be compelling reasons to keep learning about his physical and sensory abilities.

[Image removed to protect identity of respondent]

The photo above is a student learning to 'see' without using his eyes. "Look at this...he can go through this without his eyes..." [21 April 2016]. During interviews, he would regularly show me YouTube videos of people who had cultivated this ability – blindly making their way through lengthy, sometimes dangerous obstacle courses. "I can do some of that too..." [21 April 2016] he told me that developing this skill had required him to develop calmness, strength, focus, and confidence. Moreover, he said that the benefits of this mastery extended beyond his martial arts

practice into his daily life “...Merpati Putih has helped me maintain my *sopan santun*⁹⁸” [21 April 2016]. *Sopan Santun* refers to a wide range of behaviours regarded as ideal in Javanese culture, from being modest, respectful, humble and kind, to using the appropriate tone and volume of voice, to norms of politeness while eating. I often observed him build strong relationships with his elders by being emotionally self-restrained, smiling, and always *sopan*. He said that joining the dojo had helped him focus on developing these Javanese characteristics, and this was helping him become the type of man that he hoped to be “...this helps me be a good man [*laki-laki yang baik*]...” [21 April 2016].

One aspect of becoming a good man in Setiyo's eyes was to have enough strength and power that he would not need to prove it or even outwardly show it. As mentioned in Chapter 5, he felt that he had been an adult ever since he achieved financial independence, however, when he described manhood, he defined it by the idea that one did not need to prove one's power. His involvement in Merpati Putih helped him do these things. He said the following when describing his regular practice of pencak silat, “...I am getting stronger...more disciplined...body, mind, and spirit [*jiwa*]...” [21 April 2016]. However, his desire to cultivate this strength and his mastery of it extended to other parts of his life as well. Two themes from Setiyo's comments and behaviour during the fieldwork show this best, first, his interest in military service, and second, his relationship with women.

Although Setiyo's most often cited aspiration was being a success in business, he also mentioned that he would very much like to be a member of the Indonesian military. He posted extensively about the military on his Facebook feed. After several discussions about this, two themes emerged. First, he focused on elite units that embody the same sort of strength and self-discipline that he felt he was cultivating through martial arts, he said, “...you know, they [the special forces] practice [martial arts] too...” [21 April 2016]. He often described these units as having undeniable power, and that they were people who had nothing to prove, “...they aren't

⁹⁸ Noun form of the concepts described earlier.

*sombong*⁹⁹, they know their strength..." [21 April 2016]. He explained to me that these elite units would use this power in the service of building and maintaining a great nation. This perspective was depicted in the photo below, in which disciplined soldiers make way for a small child on his way to school. He said about this post "...that is their role, build up the nation..." [21 April 2016]. He said that he wanted to be part of a group like this. He agreed to let me use the screen capture of his Facebook posts because he said it showed how Indonesia could and should be: "...they are doing what is right, that child is our future..." [21 April 2016].

[Image removed to protect identity of respondent]

He was matter-of-fact about his life circumstances and his family's lack of connections making it unlikely that he would join such an elite unit. However, he was undeterred by this awareness and often spoke of how he is and would continue to cultivate these values. He told me that he would do this regardless of whether or not he would join such an elite group as the Special Forces. As stated earlier, he attributed his mastery of this local style of martial arts as helping him have *sopan santun*.

The idea of having power and using it wisely to be a responsible member of society extended to Setiyo's relationship with women. He was averse to establishing or maintaining traditional gender hierarchies. His response to a comment that Fuad made during an interview over dinner best depicted this idea. Fuad was responding to a question about why none of their female friends

⁹⁹ Overly proud with a strong negative connotation.

were playing in their *angklung* bands even though they had sometimes joined them in busking or selling. Fuad said that they only needed a few musicians, but that he had thought of "...putting a woman to work..." [03 May 2016] because it might attract more donations. This statement caused Setiyo to immediately intervene to clarify Fuad's statement because Fuad had used the transitive verb *mempekerjakan*, which means "I", the subject, "will put" an object "to work". The phrase can also mean to hire, but in daily parlance, there is a strong connotation of a subject's control over the object, thereby implying domination or exploitation. Setiyo clarified saying that "what he meant was that we would *invite* one of our friends to join". During the conversation, I took Setiyo's action to show that he astutely recognised that someone like me would find that phrase problematic, and him trying to save face. He was a socially intelligent young man, and I wondered if he might simply be trying to be appropriate for a discussion with me – that is, he accepts or supports Fuad's opinion with his peers, but when I am present, he does not. However, after careful analysis of Setiyo's other opinions and behaviour, this statement seems to be in line with his belief that a good man in his community does not need to perpetually prove his strength.. In other group settings, when it was not so apparent that outsiders might be judging him, he was consistent about both this value¹⁰⁰ and how it applied to his female peers [several field notes October & November 2015, April 2016].

The above was a notable statement because it contradicts Connell's (1995) assertion that masculine performances are complicit in reconstituting a man's social position in a hierarchy, rather than primarily a manifestation of personal identity. From my observations, Setiyo based his respectful treatment of women on his self-identifying as the type of man who seeks to steward a respectful and safe society and therefore engages self-control and strength to use power appropriately rather than apply it arbitrarily and with cruelty. Setiyo would likely receive harsh judgement if he did not act according to the social norms of a social group including Fuad. Based on my observations, Setiyo's behaviour was being driven precisely by core aspects of his identity

¹⁰⁰ It should be emphasized that this conclusion is based on triangulating a range of observations over time, however, these were all in contexts in which data were generated in an intersubjective process with me.

– his values and aspirations – rather than by the norms of his peer group. Previous examples in this thesis explore how multiple distinct identities contradict one another and on some occasions force young people to choose which context they aspire to belong to. However, this story about Setiyo leads to the notion that there are also aspects of identity that can be foundational and persist regardless of the rigid norms of a given context. This notion emphasises Buckingham's (2008) assertion that people often perform deeper senses of personal identity across social groups. Setiyo was aware that *sopan santun* are values that should be present in all aspects of one's life. Although they may not necessarily be congruent with the norms amongst some of his closest peers, the common value of respectfulness within the Javanese worldview prevailed for him. This value prevailing was likely further buttressed by his other steadfast beliefs within these Javanese values, namely his desire to develop his power, *and* its judicious and wise use.

Similarly, Yudhis developed a sense of agency which supported his expression of commonality through cultural forms and his mutual notions of what constitutes adulthood. He did this through his mastery of the *angklung*. He discussed mastering all the instruments of the *angklung*, as well as managing the *angklung* as a business, as a means by which he would persevere until he achieved success. This idea was made most apparent by his time spent as an apprentice in an *angklung* band on the West side of town. It took several months for his mentors in the Westside *angklung* band to deem him worthy of being a leader. For Yudhis, when asked about what it means to be a good man, he would often say that it means to take up a leadership role: "...a good man is a leader...he can help others have success...make decisions..." [12 April 2016]. The mastery of his craft led directly to the opportunity to lead his peers – to not only belong in his and other groups, but to also be seen by outsiders as a leader. This desire to not only belong but also to lead was driven by a concern that he may end up doing the same work that his parents did, trash picking [October 2015]. Yudhis felt that crafting his leadership skills in this group might further indicate to others that he was a competent and capable leader [life history interview, October 2015]. So, Yudhis made significant, deliberate efforts towards mastering several skills related to leading an *angklung* band as a direct adaptation to the new social norms imposed by

Law No.1/2014. He told me, "...I studied *angklung* because they took away my guitar...I still wanted to play music but didn't know how..." [12 April 2016]. On several occasions, he articulated that he was proud that he had mastered the skills of *angklung* and running a small business, and he often used those notions to assert his manhood "I don't understand why they [officials] don't let me choose...I finished school, and I run this business [which is related to tourism]..." [11 May 2016]. What he did not highlight is that his previous work as a busker had not afforded him the same possibilities.

Although Yudhis' perspective was focused more on his achievement of adulthood and on the means of doing so, he had still gained an additional right to claim adulthood through the mastery of a local art form. In this way, he was able to situate his achievements in the cultural economy¹⁰¹ of his home city (Warren, 2014). Mastering a skill that connected him more tangibly with his city's past and his culture's traditions was a compelling narrative that helped him to justify his use of particular public spaces. Although the examples referring to Setiyo describe a young man more overtly seeking to preserve the cultural heritage of the city, both he and Yudhis' actions reproduced this culture. This process of reproduction provided a means by which both of them could claim male adulthood, and versions of it that were specifically Javanese.

7.5. "It's his fault the shelter closed..."

Additionally, individuals' actions could shape how the communities around them perceive groups of street-associated youths. When individual actions have implications for the wider group, the actors can be drastically re-positioned within their social hierarchies. This section will unpack how Santoso's actions led to the shelter being closed and several young men having an uncertain housing situation. On a theoretical level, this section will explore a situation in which street-associated youths' identities were negotiated within their group, to create a perception of the group as a whole – or in this case prevent a negative perception of the group's identity becoming too strong.

¹⁰¹ Referenced in Chapter 6.

The closure of the BCB marked a sea of change for many of the respondents.¹⁰² After more than six months of stable housing, they all had to use new strategies to find housing – some returned to their family homes, others relied on new relationships that they had built in the interceding months, and some were again functionally homeless. Although friendship groups and cliques persisted even while staying at both the BCK and BCB, these groups again became more pronounced. Several respondents needed to rely more heavily on their most trusted friends to find safe places to stay and navigate their way to a livelihood now that they could no longer busk. All of the shelter residents stayed in Yogyakarta after the BCB closure except for Santoso. This fact was likely [*Lines removed to protect identity of respondent...*

...]. This transgression and the resulting eviction of all of the shelter's residents made Santoso's standing with his friends instantly evaporate.

As mentioned earlier, Santoso's sharp wit was a central part of his character in the early days of my fieldwork. Our most common mode of interaction would begin with me having a conversation with another BCB resident, and he would come and sit in the corner of the same room. He would act as though he did not want to participate in the conversation but would chime in with editorial remarks or jokes when he saw an opportunity. He'd often switch to Javanese when he wanted to remark only to my conversation partner.¹⁰³ During this period of fieldwork, it became clear that he was at the higher end of the social hierarchy, not only due to his age but also his resourcefulness on the street.¹⁰⁴ [*Lines removed to protect identity of respondent...*

...

...

...

...]. In the evening when the weather was nice, a makeshift used-electronics market was set up near a busy intersection. It was a somewhat surreal sight because

¹⁰² See the brief synopsis in Chapter 1.

¹⁰³ This was often to make fun of me, or so Yudhis explained to me once. He would comment on my way of speaking Indonesian or the strangeness of the topics of my questions.

¹⁰⁴ There was evidence of this due to his physical and verbal dominance over his peers via some behaviours that are akin to Beazley's (2003a) work.

they had access to electricity and so most of the TVs were plugged in and turned on as they sat on the pothole-riddled sidewalk. I asked him how he got into that work, and he said: "I supply some of the electronics" [21 September 2015], so I asked, how he did that, and he just smiled. It was clear that some of the younger respondents respected his abilities. I interpreted Santoso's confidence and witticism to be another way in which he could manage his relationships with his peers and show power over their conversations with me. He did this in other ways, for instance, he was often keen to reinforce markers of shared group belonging, for instance, he sought to dominate verbally or physically younger members of the group. He was often the first to make jokes about another person's mistakes.

On several occasions when jokes were not working to subdue his conversations, he would wrestle with others and get them to submit physically.¹⁰⁵ He was also the only member of the house to break the rule that people could not be intoxicated or use alcohol or illegal substances at the house. *[[Lines removed to protect identity of respondent...*

...

...

] ¹⁰⁶.

Santoso struggled with this, and his degree of intoxication and rowdy behaviour was problematic in a way that others wanted to manage the behaviour but not take more drastic action. For instance, one of the NGO volunteers said: "...he has told him he needs to stop that, these are the kinds of things that hurt our relationship with the neighbours..." [undated field note, October 2015]. Indeed, this eventual breakdown could be traced all the way back to *kampung* residents' reticence the moment that the youth moved into the neighbourhood, but the BCB residents were cognizant that affirming the neighbours' stereotypes about street-associated youths would not end well. At one point, Tri, who was also a senior member of the group, intervened as well. Tri recounted in retrospect: "I told him that he needs to calm down [referring to his rowdiness]..." [02 December 2015]. Due to social conventions, the residents and volunteers agreed that the

¹⁰⁵ He also engaged in behaviours similar to the initiation rites described in Harriot Beazley's work with similar young people, see Beazley (2003a).

¹⁰⁶ Footnote removed to protect identity of respondents.

respondents must make a record of any visitors to the shelter in a log book and that there should not be any unsupervised female visitors of the same age as the respondents at any time. On more than one occasion, the neighbours complained about the fact that female visitors, sometimes from the neighbourhood, would be present when there were no volunteers or other adults¹⁰⁷ at the BCB. One neighbour, in particular, was concerned because he believed that Santoso and his daughter were dating – of which he did not approve.

Between Santoso's sharp wit, utility on the street, and being older than some of the others, he had accumulated enough social capital that he would often lead the younger members around when they were out in the neighbourhood or dictated control over the card games they played. His social position withstanding, his shelter-mates confided that they felt he had a problem with compulsions.¹⁰⁸ [*Lines removed to protect identity of respondent...*

...] lead to the BCB's closure.

Moreover, it led to the evaporation of a significant amount of Santoso's social capital. In late November 2015, the process of the BCB closing began due to an incident in which Santoso was caught [*Lines removed to protect identity of respondent...*

...] around the same time that Santoso's dating of a neighbour had come to the community's attention. His romantic life led to a process where the local administrative heads¹⁰⁹ put sufficient social pressure on the owner of the shelter building to give the NGO notice that they would need to find another place.

Within little more than a week, they had been evicted, and many of the respondents dispersed throughout the city. Santoso immediately disappeared, and others could or would not tell me his whereabouts. The others found a range of solutions for housing – Setiyo went back to his

¹⁰⁷ E.g. me.

¹⁰⁸ Footnote removed to protect identity of respondent.

¹⁰⁹ In this case, the RW of the neighbourhood, see earlier notes on the role of this individual in a neighbourhood.

extended family home for a while, Yudhis went to live with his parents, and Muhammad and Haki went back out onto the street. Some months later, Santoso returned to town having gone back to stay with his family in a rural area a few dozen miles from town. He had found occasional work at the night market there, but complained that the money was bad and that he hated staying in his hometown. When he returned, he was not the same person. When he had left town, he was on an equal footing with his peers at the BCB like Yudhis, near the top of the social order. Whereas, upon his return, he had ended up truly at the bottom. In the new *angklung* bands that had formed from the social groups who had been staying at the BCB¹¹⁰, he was only allowed to play, and therefore earn money, when one of the regular players did not show up. Younger youths like Muhammad could make jokes at his expense with impunity. His posture was modest, and he rarely made the cutting or snide remarks that were common when I was getting to know him. When I first came to know Santoso, he had occasionally come to the shelter intoxicated from huffing glue or drinking moonshine. After returning from exile, I observed him in this state a lot more frequently. His biting wit had been dampened in part by his frequent intoxication, but it also seemed to be that he felt intense shame amongst his peers. His head was often down when they sat in groups; he would be on the periphery. He would not defend himself when someone was mocking him with the same vigorousness as before if he even defended himself at all. It must also be said there was very little data that I could collect on Santoso's shift in position and demeanour, as he became more difficult to find, and when I found him, he was usually intoxicated. During one of these moments, when I had merely asked him about how he was doing, he said, rather intoxicated: "...yeah we all moved out. It's no problem [*tidak apa-apa*]..." [14 May 2016], and then immediately moved on to another topic.

This incident is reminiscent of a passage of Beazley's (2003a) article on individual and collective identities. A young person is expelled from his peer group due to having acted aggressively towards the owner of a local food stall who often watched out for him and his peers. In her case

¹¹⁰ Note that the *angklung* bands began appearing on the streets only in the period after the BCB had closed.

the young man was fully jeopardized from the group for a violation that *potentially* threatened the wellbeing of the group, whereas in Santoso's case, he had properly changed the lives of his peers, but was still accepted back into the group in some fashion.

In this case, Santoso's behaviour, which had won him approval in some street settings, was counterproductive for the BCB residents in maintaining a group identity that was acceptable to their neighbours. It was clear that other BCB residents saw confirming neighbours' suspicions about them posed an existential threat. Thus, they unsuccessfully sought to police Santoso's behaviour more vigorously than they would have in other settings. His inability to moderate behaviours that were valuable to his street-associated identity led not only to his social repositioning, but also the eviction of most of his close peers.

7.6. Tattoos

Finally, this section will return to the notion that several of the core respondents wanted to have standing to negotiate their identity beyond their peer groups. Another mode of self-expression that shaped the ways that youths were perceived as belonging outside of their peer groups was through their tattoos. As mentioned earlier in the comments about *shock therapy*¹¹¹, historically, tattoos had a strong connotation of being a part of street life and possibly being affiliated with organised crime. Thus, the youths in this study who had tattoos often felt that adults outside of their street-associated communities misperceived them. In particular, Anaes the only core respondent with a considerable number of tattoos said he felt that people often make unfair assumptions about him. Beyond this, he felt that they often treat him dismissively because they have categorised him as a thug.

Anaes identified more readily with the "punker"¹¹² scene than the other young men in the study. This identification meant that he attended metal, hardcore, and punk concerts; occasionally wore studded leather, patches, and zippers; and was keen on getting tattoos. In fulfilling the last

¹¹¹ Section 5.4.

¹¹² He came from a subcultural group of punk-style wearing street youths who were more commonly present in public as recently as 5 years ago.

criterion, he was lucky because a close friend of his was an increasingly in-demand tattoo artist, and so Anaes regularly got new tattoos. Several were in locations that he could not easily conceal. He told me that he often feels as though people treat him differently because he has visible tattoos: "I think it is unfair. Other, [middle class] people have tattoos, but it is fine. They treat me [like I am] different" [20 April 2016]. It is true that in Yogyakarta it is very common to see men, and increasingly women, with tattoos, openly displayed. Anaes made an important distinction that he perceived his tattoos as being more about class than about the tattoos themselves. I asked him if that affected the way he felt about getting more tattoos. He said that it would not. He said that his tattoos were an important part of the way he expresses who he is and that he wishes people would respect that [20 April 2016]. One of the FGDs that I held which included several members from punk communities echoed this sentiment. Anaes reflected on more than one occasion that his tattoos link him to a wider community of people like him [life history interview, October 2015]. Based on his life history, this is a critical insight. His parents told him that he could no longer live in their home when he was around fourteen years old, and the punker community was where he initially could find safe places to sleep and a means of making money through busking. Anaes had an affinity and skill for drawing, and so designing the tattoos that were the norm in this group was also a way to make friends. The tattoos on his body, as well as those that he designed for others, were symbols that linked to finding a reprieve from his difficult family life and building a new group of peers. It then makes sense why he would feel very frustrated by others misinterpreting the meaning that these tattoos held regarding his character.

Anaes powerfully made this argument in November 2015. When I arrived at the riverside community where he was staying with Musli for most of the study, I immediately noticed his fresh tattoo on his forearm – it was two-inch-tall letters reading "*bunuh diri*" [suicide].¹¹³ I told him the design was nice and asked him what it meant. He said: "You know, it is like that story I told you before...and it looks cool" [02 November 2015]. It took me two beats to remember that

¹¹³ The location and wording of this tattoo has been anonymised.

during a life history interview he had shared that he had been depressed in the year before this study and had tried to take his own life.¹¹⁴ A close friend had found him semi-conscious, and took him to the hospital. It turned out that the tattoo commemorated that near-death experience and the friend who had saved him designed it. We were in a public setting, so I did not follow up with more questions on that potentially sensitive topic.

We ended up discussing the tattoo in an interview the following year, but we did not return to the story of his suicide attempt. Rather, he, a usually calm and reserved character, aggressively returned to the theme that he might be judged for this tattoo unfairly: "I do not think I should be judged by this..." and later in the conversation, he said, "...if they want to know about my tattoos, they can ask me...I don't want them to make assumptions based on my tattoos..." [20 April 2016]. The image below was from our Facebook interview, during which he highlighted the same sentiment. He said of this image, "...they [some adults he encounters in public] don't know if I do, so they shouldn't act like I don't..." [20 April 2016].

[Image removed to protect identity of respondent]

Anaes and others often indicated that they felt they were unfairly categorised by others simply for how they look, and what this may indicate about their class background. The image implies this class related nuance as well. Many of my respondents made substantial arguments about why it was unfair to judge them to be *preman*, other kinds of criminals, lazy, or in need of guidance

¹¹⁴ He specified the method of his attempt; however, this was omitted for anonymisation purposes as well.

based on physical traits like Anaes' tattoos. For instance, in a conversation with both Musli and Anaes, Musli said, "...they just assume that we are criminals because we are *kaum miskin Kota*¹¹⁵ [urban poor] and have tattoos..." [undated field note, October 2015]. Yudhis consistently shared his frustration with the notion that some adults felt he needed guidance given his strong track record in meeting their expectations: "...I don't need a training [in fixing motorbikes], I will be successful with my hard work..." [11 May 2016]. One of the ways respondents resisted these unfair categorisations was to reaffirm their membership to alternative social groups like the punkers or the *demi-god squad*. However, another mode in which youths resisted negative categorisations was to cultivate aspirations structured around how they could and would succeed on their terms, despite other people's superficial judgements. Anaes showed me several Facebook posts that spoke to this point [20 April 2016]. "It looks cool. I'd like to have clothes like that someday" [20 April 2016] said Anaes, referring to the following image of a person in a suit. I asked him why, and he said, "...people might see that I am different..." I took this to mean "different" to how they assumed him to be by categorising him based on his tattoos.

[Image removed to protect identity of respondent]

True to his personality, his resistance was also yielding in a Javanese way: "I would cover them if I were supposed to wear a suit. But, I wouldn't want to cover them because they are a problem..." [20 April 2016]. He made these comments without a hint of anger or frustration in his tone, but rather expressing confusion about why people bother so much. I also sensed disappointment

¹¹⁵ During the study, Musli began to claim this label more often. Because he was not a core respondent and I made this observation quite late, I did not ask him about it. However, his claim to it may have been because he had begun socialising with and going to more advocacy events from groups affiliated with the Urban Poor Consortium and other groups advocating for better conditions for *kaum miskin kota*.

about the stigmatisation that he experiences. Anaes often described an aspirational life as a successful businessman, much like the way Setiyo and Fuad did in other sections of this thesis. He was even working towards it. Through my participant observation with him and Musli, it was clear that they had explored several avenues of revenue generation, including selling flowers and buying and selling *batu akik*¹¹⁶ [gemstones] through informal Facebook-based markets. After the interview, I could not help but think about the fact that that picture focuses quite closely on his neck – an area where he has several tattoos. The suit and tie not only represented a style of dress that might allow him to belong in wider social circles but might also obscure his tattoos; tattoos that he felt were immaterial to his ability to be accepted at face value by strangers.

Anaes' suit and tie photo, on the one hand, indicated his assertion that he has the agency to be whom he wants to be, on his terms. He staunchly believes that his bodily expression of commonality with the punkers who took him in when he was most vulnerable should not preclude the notion that his *batu akik* business could make him a dignified, successful person. This notion may provide a challenge for Indonesia as it approaches its demographic dividend and seeks to integrate young people into the economy. Anaes' tattoos, which would be difficult to hide, might always be a stigma for him in certain social settings and thus limit some of his opportunities. Anaes felt that people should see past these images representing his creativity and his past, and judge him on his behaviours in the present and his aspirations for the future. In this way, he might have standing to build commonalities with people beyond his already accepting peers.

7.7 Conclusion

Many of the ways that youth performed identities within their peer and wider community environments showed the ways they seek, resist, or believe they can, belong. The experiences of these street-associated youth indicate that styles and behaviours that have only limited currency beyond the street can concurrently allow for security and certainty in their day-to-day lives, but

¹¹⁶ Gemstones, worn mostly by men, which were trendy at the time. *Batu akik* are often thought to be imbued with spiritual power such as the power to protect the owner.

sometimes create real liabilities for socialising with those outside of street-associated communities. The data indicate that the youth made substantial efforts to belong in these other social spheres with other people beyond the streets. Several respondent assertions towards belonging involved conventional cultural idioms like a local style of martial arts, participating in cultural life through playing traditional music, and adhering to Javanese cultural norms. Beyond this, they actively resisted what they deemed to be unfair categorisations of them by wider social groups, e.g., regarding tattoos. Through these assertions, it is clear that they experience uncertainty and their responses highlight the limits of this agency. Managing the social uncertainties of being perceived as violent led to the cultivating of other identities, or hemmed them into a limited number of professional aspirations. Social exclusion and housing uncertainty based on dress and tattoos shaped how they sought to make themselves safe or develop aspirations. These within-peer-group codes for belonging are resonant with a large body of literature on street youth subculture that emphasises the notion that delinquent or ‘other’ identities can provide alternative forms or means by which they can navigate complex social landscapes (e.g. MacDonald & Shildrick, 2007; Sandberg, 2008; Davies, 2008).

The respondents show that they sought ways in which they can or hope to integrate their sense of self into the norms several social groups beyond their peers, for instance, by indicating the ways in which they also seek to integrate into cultural norms of Javanese masculinity [Tri and Setiyo] or national ideas about building human capital through youth entrepreneurship [Anaes]. Moreover, Setiyo’s continuity of values across settings with distinct social norms reinforces this idea and therefore provides evidence to the contrary of some masculinities research that places social norms ahead of personal values (Creighton, Oliffe, Butterwick, & Saewyc, 2013). In particular, Anaes believed people beyond society cannot see him as a person who can fulfil national ideals for youth and still have a visible tattoos in locations like his neck. This likely means that for him youths’ agency is a “possibility” (Aitken, Lund, & Trine Kjørholt, 2007; Vigh, 2008) rather than a “capacity”, because these highly structured ideas about youth only create a very narrow window of opportunity for him to assert his ideas about how he can both be

himself and belong. Thus, it remains an open question for each individual in this study whether actions towards belonging and adhering to current norms can overcome lack of compliance with the cultural and legal criteria for belonging in community and public space.

Youth in this study acutely experienced the large-scale shifts taking place in their city and their traditions. They often made stark choices about whether to perform identities that suited modern and developmentalist notions of the city and their futures or rely on personal histories and attachments to culture to find ways to be included. These young people actively perceive and manage uncertainty with a range of dynamic and creative strategies – wearing clothing that functions towards both safety and style, moderating or emphasising their potential for violence in different groups, and mastering traditional skills. However, the stakes are high when they push too hard against the limitations around their agency – e.g. Santoso's action threatened the safety and wellbeing of the entire group in part because it confirmed a community's stereotypes about street youth. Thus, documenting how and why individuals relationally performed identities can help to understand better how youth make their lives work, and ways in which to support this better.

8. Street-associated youth identities online and off

8.1. Introduction

This final empirical chapter explores sociality and the use of the internet as a complement to and replacement for physical spaces occupied by young people in Yogyakarta. It seeks to contribute to an emerging literature that asserts online identities have their foundations in everyday offline performances of identity (Boyd, 2008; see also Hardey, 2002; Leander & Mckim, 2003; Miller & Slater, 2000; Nisbett, 2006). It compares and contrasts online performances in social media to embodied performances and explores why and how (dis)continuities in identity performances arise, and what this says about how youth enact belonging for different publics. The chapter further observes that online spaces are forums in which respondents could make their own rules and explore their identities that, in other contexts, would likely be regulated by powerful external forces (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018; Nisbett, 2006; Osella & Osella, 1998). Many performances reference identities well established in other social spaces. The respondents, the majority of whom were frequent users of the internet, demonstrated that online and online adjacent social environments allowed for new and modified forms of identity performance. In other words, the Internet provided new, different, or extended opportunities and boundaries for maximising their livelihood and social options. There are two bodies of literature relevant to these points, one about how the social media contexts differ from other social environments, and the other referring to how online identities might differ from those in other social contexts.

Very briefly, Indonesia has very high levels of internet, mobile phone, and social media usage. In 2018, it had 95 million internet users, and 56% of its citizens are active social media users (Statista, 2018). Facebook has very high penetration in the market at 81 percent (Statista, 2018). These factors are critical to social life as well as the economic wellbeing of the country, for instance McKinsey (2016) estimates that At this juncture, it should be noted that Indonesia can integrate an additional 1 million informal workers or non-working people into the workforce in the next 5 years by more strategically using digital platforms.

he research for this thesis was undertaken with the assumption that social media and mobile phone based interactions would likely be an extension of the field. However, due to the fact that offline spaces were the primary intended focus of the study, the complicated ethics of online ethnography were approached with caution. Thus, it should be all the more remarkable how prominently social media and mobile phone-based data were used as empirical material in this thesis. All but one of the core respondents used social media on nearly a daily basis despite not always having regular access to an internet enabled device. Setiyo and Fuad were the only core respondents who had acquired internet enabled phones and did not sell them again relatively quickly. Their internet use was as frequent as their proximity to a wireless internet network to which they knew the password. Most of the others, especially Muhammad, Haki, and Yudhis, would access the internet at the Warnet on a near daily basis.

To engage with how social media are different from other social environments, Danah Boyd's description of four properties that differentiate unmediated publics from networked publics. First, to put it briefly, she first discusses that a public is a difficult term to define, but relies on two critical aspects of the concept. First, as an adjective, the word is in some ways opposite to private, meaning that unknown others may bear witness. Second, as a noun, the word is analogous to an audience, but that it indicates a group that has a common identity or inclusiveness claim (Boyd, 2007). In her conceptualisation, in an unmediated environment the "boundaries and audiences of a given public are structurally defined" (Boyd, 2007, pg 125). As was stated in Chapter 3, Boyd (2014) has theorised four properties of networked publics, persistence, searchability, replicability, and invisible audiences. How these properties manifest themselves in the wider life narrative of the youth in the study will show the development of new and modified identities within this context. Moreover, these identities will show how youth seek belonging in public space, in peer groups, and in the labour market.

To structure the conclusion of this chapter, I will reflect on the data through Sfard and Prusak's (2005) model of online identities as containing actual and designated identities. Actual identities are present-tense identities that reflect the realities of an individual's life. Designated identities

are structured around necessities, obligations, or commitments and they guide aspirations for the future, and actions towards those aspirations. Using these concepts, the analysis compares and contrasts online performances in social media to embodied performances, and explores why, how (dis)continuities in identity performances arise; and explores how social technologies are constructed by the broader social, political, economic and cultural context (Bijker, Hughes, Pinch, & Douglas, 2012). This perspective will function to understand better how information and communication technologies (ICTs) influence human activities; and humans, in turn, influence how technologies develop and come to be used (MacKenzie & Wajcman, 1999).

8.2. The opportunity of rapid iteration

Muhammad engaged with forms of control and in social worlds in the networked publics of Facebook. He used the unique characteristics of his peer groups on Facebook to experiment with, and rapidly, iteratively develop styles for implementation in the physical world. First, the development of a symbolic language for Muhammad and Haki's group of friends was, indeed, an important aspect of this behaviour. Many people use online social spaces to communicate, as well as widen and stabilise social networks. Buré (2006) confirms this for homeless individuals. In particular, the stabilisation function was helpful in reinforcing the already sturdy friendship with Haki and helped them both attend to the necessity of staying safe on the street.¹¹⁷ However, Muhammad also sought to widen his social networks through the unique replicability and searchability (Boyd, 2014) of the networked publics of Facebook. He did this, in part, by using Facebook to "try" [*coba*] styles before he committed to them more substantially in the physical world. A great example of this was when Muhammad used a simple digital drawing and photo editing programme to superimpose a tattoo onto his arm and neck about which he said: "that got many likes, and from lots of people" [17 April 2016]. The image below is similar to the result.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 7.

[Image removed to protect identity of respondent]

Figure 1 - Speculative tattoos

In our interview about his Facebook feed, Muhammad had characterised his social network on Facebook as consisting of a large number of people, many of whom he did not know.¹¹⁸ Muhammad did not have the money to pay for tattoos during the study, nor did he have a close friendship with a tattoo artist who might do them for free or reduced cost.¹¹⁹ However, he told me: “I want tattoos...I want to know which ones other people think are cool” [17 April 2016]. He was able to share images that showed his idealised or aspirational self easily. If the tattoos received a substantial response regarding likes and comments, then he might consider putting it on the short list of designs that he may get. He was also savvy about the types of feedback he received, and what he could know about the popularity of his ideas through Facebook. He not only considered the total volume of responses but also honed in on what he referred to as “quality” [*berkualitas*] likes from particular users. When I asked him to explain whose opinions mattered the most, he said: “...people who I am good friends with or people who have good style...” [17 April 2016]. So in other words, he was thoughtfully curating his potential future selves. Moreover, he did this not only with a crude metric of total likes. He knew that some of that feedback was more valuable than others. Thus, he contextualised his “likes” within his social network, so he could be increasingly seen by the peers he most wanted to impress.

¹¹⁸ Muhammad, moreover, claimed to have multiple accounts on Facebook, some of which he used to multiply the impact of his or others' activity on social media. He claimed that he was sometimes paid for this sort of activity, somewhat a claim made by Yudhis, but I was unable to substantiate either of these claims. Moreover, although several of the respondents said they used multiple accounts, in the facebook interviews they chose to only share one account with me.

¹¹⁹ For instance, like Anaes.

This speaks very directly of Sundén's (2003) notion that on social media people need to engage in an active process of articulating their self in written word or images in a way that is more explicit and conscious than in other realms. Moreover, it very directly reflects Danah Boyd's observation that:

Doing so makes visible how much we take the body for granted...This process also makes explicit the self-reflexivity that Giddens argues is necessary for identity formation, but the choices individuals make in crafting a digital body highlight the self-monitoring that Foucault describes. (Boyd, 2007, pg 129)

Indeed, Muhammad is highly self-reflexive in the process of identity formation, because he identified the sorts of potential selves that appeal most to him, *and* his potential social audiences in other contexts. In Foucault's terms this would be that he is engaged in a self-monitoring process to conform to existing norms as well as engaging in a discourse about what stylistic norms "should" be. This self-reflexive process is clearly seen in earlier chapters in which nearly all the core respondents revised their physical appearances and music performances in public space to suit the expectations of state authorities and community members. In Muhammad's case online, he engaged in *potential self*-monitoring to the degree that he has actively and overtly created a mechanism by which he can receive feedback on his many aspirational selves through crowdsourcing¹²⁰ what sorts of tattoos might make the best future Muhammad. Conversely, in the batik-wearing, *angklung*-playing bands in physical space the core respondents would likely have been arrested if they tested *potential selves* that were too far beyond what others deemed acceptable. The latter example shows that when respondents were online, they could make their own rules and explore their identities that, in other contexts, would likely be regulated by powerful external forces (Nisbett, 2006; Osella & Osella, 1998). Through this, it becomes clear that young people had forms and degrees of agency online that may not have been present in physical space. Both online and in physical space, the core respondents were often testing social

¹²⁰ The practice of gathering information, funds, or other inputs from a large number of people, often relying on the Internet to reach a large audience.

boundaries to maximise their livelihood and social options, but online spaces markedly increased their ability to undertake that process.

8.3. Opportunities at the *WarNet*

8.3.1. Social and spatial contingencies of Internet-adjacent places

Another finding from the analysis of the data was that wealth and paucity of information are also socially and spatially contingent (Richardson & Le Grand, 2002). This section will show that for certain resources regarding skills, knowledge, or time, some of the respondents are more or less able to navigate towards the opportunities present in digital spaces. How digital spaces for socialising and physical spaces for socialising blend show how attachments to social groups that are manifest in both contexts are useful for the respondents belonging in the present.

One day I set out to meet the Southside band, only to find roadworks in their usual spot. The government-owned telecom company was laying new fibre optic cables under the *Jok-Urang* to widen the reach of services into an area of town that is the hub of activity for international tourists. Tri's accommodation at the time was not far from the corner, and I soon found him still groggy having slept late. He told me: "the local police officer¹²¹ told us that we have to take the next few days off – there is work going on" [09 May 2016]. We discussed a bit about how that would affect his budget, and he said he would be fine. Then I asked him how he would spend his time, and he immediately asked: "...can I get a ride to the *WarNet*? I have not seen those [Northside band] guys in a long time" [09 May 2016]. I said sure, and he borrowed a helmet from his landlord. While we rode north in the light midday traffic, he said, "I have been so tired after work, I usually go home. I miss [*kangen*] hanging out there in the evenings, but it's just too far" [09 May 2016].

For the others in the core group, the *WarNet* was a hub of socialising in physical space. If a respondent did not attend an interview, at the agreed upon time, stopping by the *WarNet* was one strategy for locating them and determining if the interview would, indeed, take place. Tri was

¹²¹ The traffic officer mentioned earlier, who does not have remit to manage their behavior.

likely illiterate¹²², and so it was unsurprising that I observed that he saw little use in communication technology other than a standard phone. However, physical presence was critical for him to feel connected because he lacked both the equipment and skills to engage in this increasingly standard mode of interaction for his peers to feel connected. The norms of socialising in the *WarNet* could easily include Tri and sometimes did. Another person would pilot their way through Facebook, they, together, could talk about friends' photos, make comments and watch each other play games. However, more often than not Tri and his counterparts became tired of this arrangement and would part ways after a brief spell of collaboration. Muhammad said, "...if we do this too long, I don't enjoy it..." [09 May 2016]. When this split happened, Tri would return to using the *WarNet* as a rallying point to go out into the surrounding neighbourhood and socialise.

Due to his illiteracy, Tri was often simultaneously included and excluded socially in the *WarNet*'s particular time and place (see Atkinson & Hills, 1998). He was an active participant in the socialising going on in the physical background of online interaction, but he was never able to render himself an agent in the online space without an intermediary. His lack of ICT capability led to a lack of confidence in using Facebook (see Kleif & Faulkner, 2003). Muhammad asked him if he wanted to set up a profile that he could use when he was not around¹²³, and even offered to teach him how to use it¹²⁴, but Tri turned him down. An interesting finding, given that the preponderance of studies on middle-class minority country teens' social media use is usually closely tied to their peer groups in a way that extends the norms and habitus of physical space to interactions with the same peers online (Boyd, 2014). In this case, Tri's lack of functional abilities prevented him from participating in a social space that was increasingly relevant for his peers. Tri was often an active social participant in physical spaces but diverged from this pattern due to his self-perceived limitations.

¹²² See Chapter 6.

¹²³ Although Muhammad shared one Facebook account with me, he claimed to have set up dozens of others for marketing schemes and garnering more likes.

¹²⁴ Muhammad said that it would be easy enough for Tri to learn the functions of the site,. Moreover, he thought it might support Tri's reading abilities.

Tri did not seem to mind because the speed of communicating through social media was present in his life. He was connected, albeit indirectly. The rate at which Tri got the gossip was much faster at the *WarNet*. So, although he did not catalyse his social life through Facebook, his physical presence in this space functioned similarly to having a Facebook account for himself. This dynamic was particularly true during evening visits to the *WarNet* when many of his friends were present. Some findings relating to ICT and the homeless indicate that information wealth and paucity are spatially and temporally contingent (Richardson & Le Grand, 2002), and this situation reflects that finding. He could get all the latest social details when present at the right time. Especially for Tri, both the information sharing with his peers, but also his interactions with ICT, were catalysed by his physical presence at the *WarNet*, especially in the early evening. Indeed, the *WarNet*'s role as a social hub in Tri's life makes the term *WarNet*, or *Warung Internet*, apt for Tri's experience of it. *Warung*, which usually refers to informal food stalls that are often in makeshift locations, are fundamentally social businesses (de Boer & Smith, 2017). They have critical social functions as meeting places for the many social networks present in the dense urban environment (Glaeser, 2011), as well as feeding the neighbourhood. In the same way, this *Warung Internet* served as both a meeting point for Tri's network, but also a means of taking his fill of the information on offer from that network. For Tri, the *WarNet* served this role in its more traditional embodied sense, but the impact of ICT on this more traditional use of the space was still present through its internet adjacent nature. As was shown in the previous section, ICT directly facilitated the rapid development of Muhammad's styles. The above example shows that ICT can have a catalysing effect even in the lives of individuals who do not access it directly. However, these effects are indirect, as Tri's relationship to them was socially, spatially, and temporally contingent. Due to this fact, Tri's terrain of possibilities is likely different than for those who directly use ICT.

8.3.2. The *WarNet* as shelter

The *WarNet* was also often used as a *de facto* shelter by some of the core respondents. Near the end of 2015, Yudhis got a job as the receptionist at the *WarNet*. It quickly became clear to the

respondents that the facility was often empty late at night. Moreover, Yudhis was asked to implement a reduced fees scheme between 11 pm and 4 am because the facility was not particularly full late at night. The *WarNet* was often a rallying point for Northside band members well before the study began, but having an insider like Yudhis working there helped to move the group inside much more frequently. In short order, many of the respondents would spend the extra money that they had made from *angklung* by playing online games and using Facebook at the *WarNet*. Moreover, if they did not have a place to stay that night, some would deliberately come in rather late and take a stall in a secluded area from which the night attendant¹²⁵ could not see them. Haki once relayed to me that “it is better here [than staying outside]” [24 April 2016], because the late fees were cheaper than renting a poor-quality room, and it was hourly so they could rent space for more flexible amounts of time. So, the opportunity to have an indoor, well-lit, known place in which to sleep was sometimes a way for young people to solve their housing insecurity. This idea reflects Buré’s (2006) finding that when homeless people have little control over places and their use over time, they turn to public spaces for the majority of their needs. Although the *WarNet* was technically a private business, it could be considered a privately-owned public space¹²⁶ because it was a meeting place for several members of the public that was open at all hours. This public nature facilitated their access to it in the way Buré (2006) observed—when they ran out of private options they turned to this privately-owned public business to solve their housing needs. However, the youths could exert some forms of control over the *WarNet* because it was privately owned and because it was not truly a public place. Namely, their relationship with those who ran the establishment and its late-night fee schedule allowed them to make a bit of time and space for themselves when they could afford it.

8.3.3. Economic opportunities and being in the present at the *WarNet*

Whereas the social and spatial contingencies of the *WarNet* facilitated Tri’s social life and the temporal contingency of the *WarNet* allowed for Haki to have an indoor place to sleep, those

¹²⁵ Especially when Yudhis was working.

¹²⁶ See, for example, (Németh, 2009).

contingencies offered economic opportunity for Yudhis. He told me that after the implementation of Law No.1, he hung out at and around the *WarNet* a bit more frequently. This fact led to a short-term job. It was work that he found to be tiring, working long, often overnight, shifts. However, it carried him through an economically difficult time. He said, "it was hard, but it was good to have a salary [*gaji*] at that time..." [12 April 2016]. He explained that he had been offered the job in part because he spent substantial amounts of time at the *WarNet* before being hired. Because I was on a fieldwork break during this window of time, I only have Yudhis' retrospective comments time and no observational data to corroborate his claims. However, he said in our Facebook interview that he highlighted the selfies¹²⁷ that he took of himself while on the job.¹²⁸ He told me: "I always took these at the beginning of the day when I am looking smart [*rapih*]" [12 April 2016]. Throughout the interview, he talked about that series of selfies, and he emphasised liking having a job at the time, even though it was gruelling. This period was a critical window in his economic life because it was after he had his guitar taken by the police and therefore ending his busking career, and a few weeks before he began his apprenticeship in an *angklung* band. This income bridged an important gap in his economic life, and it was brought about by his more regular physical presence at the *WarNet*.

As observed in earlier chapters¹²⁹, Yudhis had a strong desire to be, and be perceived as, having had success and being professional, and this job helped to promote that image. Reflecting upon the corpus of data collected about Yudhis' experiences, the way he spoke about this time was different from others. Much of his discourse about his work as a busker was about his aspirations for better things in the future, whereas his short-term job provided the appearance and experience of being a more common member of the labour market. He regularly focused his comments on his family's past economic shock or how he was going to succeed through persistence eventually. When he was playing *angklung*, for instance, he shared an image of his football team when he was at lower secondary school: "...we took a trip together for a tournament...that was a different

¹²⁷ A self-portrait photograph, traditionally taken using the camera on a mobile phone.

¹²⁸ I have not included these images because they contained information that make him identifiable.

¹²⁹ As well as in his biographical sketch in the Annex.

time” [12 April 2016]. However, the period when he was working at the *WarNet* was one of the few periods from which he spoke about moments closer to the present. The majority of these posts were selfies in which he was trying to look nice and professional. He said “...I liked looking smart [*rapih*] for that job...” [12 April 2016]. Yudhis did not find the *WarNet* work to be ideal, but the fact that he found the opportunity of that short-term work enough to stop fixating on past difficulties or future successes made it seem like that short-term job provided him with a reprieve from the stresses of his pursuit of a profession in music.

8.4. Economic opportunities online - the bird market

Online spaces were also observed to provide real economic opportunities for one of the core respondents. Anaes, in collaboration with his mentor Musli, was active in cultivating a new market for online songbird selling. Indeed, this was an example of a young person seeking to fit into the growing “creative economy” (see Bappenas, 2015; Suhendra, 2017) through an attachment to a cultural tradition with a modern twist. At a Labour Market Uncertainties conference in Singapore in 2017 Yusuf, Rachmad, & Riveong (2017) described how Indonesia is potentially well positioned to take advantage of the fourth industrial revolution¹³⁰ because the nation has experienced comparatively little development in the manufacturing sector. Due to this fact, automation will have a relatively smaller effect on Indonesia than other countries. Moreover, the nation has a very high rate of technological uptake (Yusuf et al., 2017), and so these available workers with technological savvy could potentially make substantial and creative use of ICT as a tool for fitting into the labour market. Beyond this, there is a paucity of scholarly research on the very large home-based informal business sector in Indonesia (Yusuf et al., 2017), and how it is integrating ICT into their existing business practices.

Before Law No.1/2014 came into effect, the traditional bird market that had long been in the centre of town was moved both due to the revitalisation of the area and concerns about the health of the city¹³¹ (Kompas, 2010). The process of moving the market and the new market's more

¹³⁰ A new industrial era in which digital and physical technologies work together closely.

¹³¹ Specifically, concerns about avian influenza and the market being at the heart of a busy tourist area.

distant location led some vendors and buyers to move market activities online.¹³² Several online groups popped up for buying and selling birds, and several pages that already existed as a meeting point for songbird enthusiasts gained a great deal more membership. Musli and Anaes reasoned that becoming more substantially involved in these groups was wise and soon Musli had been named a co-administrator of one of these groups. This group and its function as an online bird market was a near definitional depiction of hybridity in action. At one time, this social media group was devoted to the bartering of the same types of songbirds that had been bought and sold in Javanese markets across the island for centuries, but at the same time were full of manifestations of modern culture.

The nature of the medium consolidated and connected a large number of buyers and sellers, but whereas in the physical market one could use one's wits and understanding of your counterpart buyer or seller's body language, self-presentation, bird, or cash, to evaluate a transaction. Making such a deal on social media was rife with risks concerning the identity and intentions of one's counterpart, the actual existence and quality of the product, and the safety in making a real-life transition. Based on these factors, there was room for a known and trusted intermediary. Musli, having established a name for himself in both the online and offline bird market communities, capitalised on this need by offering his and Anaes' services as brokers [*calo*].¹³³ They very quickly had regular business, and every time I visited the room that Musli rented for his family and Anaes, there would be different birds there dropped off by a seller and awaiting a buyer to pick them up. Musli and Anaes's trusted position was the strength of this approach. This fact allowed them to preside over asynchronous transactions – meaning that the buyer and the seller did not necessarily even need to meet at the same time. If they both knew and trusted Musli and Anaes, the seller could simply take the bird to them, and Musli and Anaes would pay the seller as

¹³² This was also driven by a particularly opportune moment in bird sales. There had recently been a resurgence in interest in song bird competitions.

¹³³ The term *calo* refers to intermediaries in several sectors. For instance, to undertake any number of government administrative functions, one might hire a *calo* to navigate a complicated system and/or expedite the process.

long as they also trusted the buyer. They would, of course, take a small profit for their role in holding the birds.

The online bird market is another example of traditional Javanese cultural ideas being remade for the contemporary labour market. Several earlier sections of this thesis focused on the adaptation of *angklung* performance to the growing tourist industry in Yogyakarta. For Anaes and Musli, rather than shifting to *angklung* in response to being arrested and briefly detained under Law No.1/2014¹³⁴, they decided to work in places other than the street if they could. Musli said: “I was smart to try other things” [undated field note, early November 2015].¹³⁵ Thus, they decided to supplement their income with a business related to the traditional practice of keeping and training songbirds. They had already built social networks amongst the regular buyers and sellers at the bird market through their work as buskers. In addition to this, they also told me that they were motivated to visit the bird market due to an interest in the birds. Anaes said, “...I want to start being more involved in *lomba* [song bird competitions¹³⁶]...” [25 November 2015]. Musli had also long been an enthusiast of buying and selling songbirds.

As the business grew, Musli and Anaes' role in managing an online group dedicated to buying and selling birds also grew. Managing the content posted on the site and adhering to the online community's stated rules – which stipulated that the page was strictly used for buying, selling, or enthusiasm for songbirds – became a time intensive job. Musli and Anaes found that as the group became more popular, the number of posts about things that violated the community's rules and that merited removal also grew. A kaleidoscopic array of memes¹³⁷ and clickbait¹³⁸ were becoming a real impediment for brisk, efficient online commerce. Hence, one of the more inane

¹³⁴ Musli and Anaes met in detention, and began busking and working together in other ways. Musli confided that he saw himself in Anaes.

¹³⁵ This was not their only strategy. They also involved themselves with selling handicrafts to domestic tourists at large events.

¹³⁶ A very popular pastime, in which individuals who collect song birds take them to a competition to be judged.

¹³⁷ A digital image, video, text segment, or other artefact that is rapidly shared via the internet.

¹³⁸ The practice of creating hyperlinked text or images that draws viewers' attention and convinces them to impulsively click on the link. Often, this has the connotation that the content to which the hyperlink leads is of poor quality, or has some other problem with it.

tasks of an administrator of this group was to clean the marketplace of this large volume of spurious posts. Anaes was often given this cleaning task while logged into Musli's laptop: "all those links...most of them are probably viruses. We don't want people to get viruses. Also, we don't want [hosting site] to close our page because of those pictures [referring to more explicit clickbait]" [25 November 2015]. In the physical world, Anaes also had cleaning tasks, as Musli often asked him to clean the sheets of newspaper at the bottoms of cages and replace the birds' food and drinking water. In other words, Musli had the traditional roles that one might have had with a seller at the bird market, however, related to these duties in the online world – cleaning the detritus that seems to emerge from some online communities.

The pair quickly realised the opportunity that was presented by their role in this growing online market and so Musli set about more refined work towards maximising potential opportunities for making money, like building new cages that he could offer to buyers. Both online and offline, Anaes took the role of an apprentice, much like he had done in other economic endeavours with Musli.¹³⁹ As Musli became more trusted, Anaes started by managing some of the simpler transactions with known clients under Musli's watchful eye. Musli retained his role as the guarantor of a fair deal, but Anaes was learning how such interactions took place. He was also quickly included in the building of cages.

Anaes was gathering modern, creative skills for the current economic environment. This economic endeavour mirrors much of a rich, but understudied trend in the Indonesian labour market, that of small, home-based informal businesses moving to social media as their storefront (Jakarta Post, 2018). It is very common to see individuals who have small side businesses for clothing, jewellery, and baked goods sold exclusively online to one's social networks.¹⁴⁰ So much so that some researchers argue that much more aggressive investment in this sector is necessary (Hanoteau & Vial, 2018) and investment firms have developed digital services for them. Anaes was getting very practical experience in integrating into the labour market realities for people of

¹³⁹ Namely, busking.

¹⁴⁰ For instance, this researcher, an informal count of his amongst his Indonesian friends on social media who engaged in occasional online selling yielded a figure of about 10-15% of friends..

his age group – online marketing, sales promotion, and creative use of new ICT tools. Indeed, learning modern ICT skills is a potential salve for some of the challenges faced by a large number of unemployed young people in Indonesia (e.g. Plan International, 2018). However, beyond this interesting example of fitting into the changing economic landscape, Anaes' move to selling birds also depicts an interesting mode of performing cultural belonging via commonality and attachment. As Anaes' peers shifted to *angklung*, a traditional style of music, Anaes and Musli similarly shifted to using very modern modes of commerce to engage with a niche market that had been driven by culture for centuries. The traditional practice of songbird keeping and songbird competitions were being transferred into the Internet domain by Anaes and Musli. Moreover, through this process, Anaes and Musli industriously staked a larger space in the cultural production rooted in their attachment to their culture and the bird market of which they were a part. It is unclear whether or not there would have been such a vigorous online market for songbirds without the closure of the bird market. Moreover, it is unclear whether they would have worked in that market if Law No.1/2014 had not been enforced. The confluence of these factors made their life very uncertain – they lost a workplace and their livelihood in rapid succession. This uncertainty very likely was, in a way, productive for them, because they needed to reimagine how they could use their existing networks and cultural knowledge in their new social, spatial, and regulatory landscape.

8.5. Bullying online – searchability and a persistent past

The increasing integration of ICT in the core respondents' lives provided risks as well as opportunities. At least one core respondent experienced online bullying during the study. The example in this section shows how the persistence of statements made on social media, and those statements' searchability allowed young people's relational identities to remain static online even after those same identities had been left behind in the physical world.

Yudhis was savvy and thoughtful about the items he shared with the networked public of Facebook. Yudhis often communicated to subgroups of his friends associated with his life before his family's financial difficulties – specifically, his friends from the mosque and school. He

described how his motivations to communicate with certain, specific publics was framed around a desire to feel included in the communities: "I used to see them [school friends] more often, but these days I work so hard that I rarely have time. I'll hang out with them again someday, *Inshallah*¹⁴¹, but for now, I mostly see them on FB" [23 April 2016]. He further described the fact that Facebook was a forum in which he could be himself in a way that his current circumstances did not allow. Namely, he could be the young man who was still at school, playing in a band, and going on a trip with his indoor football team, rather than a person who spends long working days playing on the street in an *angklung* band. His posts about his current life always had a strong air of professionalism – he only posted when the band had a nice uniform and a new sign or if he had some side work in an office.¹⁴² In short, Yudhis narrowly defined his online identity – that of a successful professional. He also had a specific audience – friends from school and the mosque who value the same things as he does.

During his stay in the BCB in 2015, a few other residents bullied Yudhis. At least some of the motivation for this bullying seemed to be that Yudhis overtly set himself apart from other residents of the shelter. While hanging out at *Jok-Urang*, he told me, "We are working in this place at the same time, but we're not together. We have different plans..." [02 December 2015]. They traded off busking using Yudhis' guitar on the private buses as they passed. While Yudhis was purely a performer, Tri busked and identified pickpockets for the bus drivers simultaneously. Indeed, they had cultivated slightly different businesses and articulated different life goals in part based on them.¹⁴³ However, this was not what Yudhis meant, or was interpreted to mean, by his peers. He was saying that he was on a meaningfully different life course than them – that he would succeed in his life. Others took this assertion to be particularly *sombong*¹⁴⁴ and told me

¹⁴¹ The reader may notice the lack of data pertaining to the faith lives of the core respondents. This absence does not indicate a lack of faith life on the part of the respondents. Rather, it is due to the fact that I waited to be invited into many social worlds of the respondents. The respondents knew that I was not a Muslim. We spoke about religion and faith when it came up, but during the fieldwork, they never saw fit to invite me to visit their mosques. Moreover, I did not request this from them. I was interested in letting them lead what parts of their lives they would share.

¹⁴² Much like many users on social media.

¹⁴³ Yudhis' aspirations reference.

¹⁴⁴ As before, *sombong* means proud, with a strong negative connotation.

this on several occasions. Once when interviewing Yudhis while in earshot of Setiyo, he said as much directly. Setiyo had been making the occasional snide remark while Yudhis and I were talking about his hopes for the future. I had asked him to stop being rude to his housemate, and he answered back “why should I? He is very *sombong*” [undated field note, October 2015]. Fuad agreed on another occasion when he acerbically declared: I wouldn’t want to work with that guy [Yudhis]...he thinks he is better than us...” [03 May 2016].

As described in section 7.3, the bullying that took place in the BCB mostly stopped for Yudhis during the study due to a growth spurt and his move out of the shelter. However, this was not the whole story. Setiyo, an active Facebook user, simply moved his bullying into online space. However, the themes and domains of his bullying shifted with the medium. Some of the themes were closely related to real-world bullying, for instance, Yudhis would often write comments on his own Facebook wall to encourage himself through difficult economic times, and Setiyo would deride such comments in the same way that he would treat Yudhis’ aspirational comments in the real world.

This comment frustrated Yudhis to a great degree, who told me one day during an interview, “he is always posting on my comments, but they are not for him” [23 April 2016]. I asked him to clarify, and he said, “Most of the time I am talking to my futsal friends” [23 April 2016]. This statement reflects a key observation from Boyd (2014) in which she notes that Joshua Meyrowitz found that electronic media “collapse seemingly disconnected contexts”.¹⁴⁵ Yudhis had been using his Facebook wall, a page that was a space that could be seen by all of his friends and friends of his friends, as a combination of a diary and a mode of communication intended for only certain segments of his peers. Facebook seemed to be an important context in which Yudhis used discourse as a means to cultivate a particular identity (Bruner, 1999; Gee, Allen, & Clinton, 2001).¹⁴⁶ Moreover, he intended to cultivate that identity with only certain publics in mind—namely those from his school and mosque. The collapsed contexts of Facebook led to Setiyo

¹⁴⁵ In other words, several publics may be present in the same mediated social space.

¹⁴⁶ Sfard and Prusak (2005) argue that identity is, itself, the narratives told by people.

having the opportunity to bully him further. Boyd (2014) found that young people often have difficulty simultaneously managing the norms and identities of multiple publics. This thesis finds that the core respondents are quite adept at navigating between the norms of multiple contexts, however, young people experience stress when multiple contexts overlap or commingle in new ways.

For Yudhis, the economic shock that occurred in his family led him to think about his street career and life trajectory slightly differently from his peers. His relatively short street career led him to ignore his peers from the street in favour of friends he had made in the past at school. He told me: "...I won't be here long..." [undated field note, November 2015]. Much like other marginalised young people, he seemed to want to account for his lack of participation in "normal" or socially-valued activities (Richardson & Le Grand, 2002) by relying on his "normal" past. However, Setiyo's persistent online bullying reminded him that he was still working on the street, that his current peers were not those from the school or mosque, and that he had not yet transcended this circumstance. In essence, multiple groups, not just one, determined his experience of inclusion on Facebook (Thomas & Wyatt, 2000). Setiyo used the persistence and searchability to identify Yudhis' past statements online to continue to be aggressive towards him and to make the imbalance of power that had existed in the real world continue.

When one views Setiyo's particular type of aggressiveness towards Yudhis – the fact that his desire to leave the street behind becomes *sombong*— it calls to mind Willis and Aronowitz's (2017) assertion that attempting to shift one's socioeconomic standing can alienate one's current communities. Previous chapters have shown that Setiyo's identity was rooted in his commonalities, mutuality, and shared attachments with street-associated people, whereas Yudhis' identity emerges as one intently focused on aspirations beyond, and perhaps above, the street. This dynamic is emblematic of the tensions between modernity and tradition existent in Yogyakarta during the study. Yudhis' perspective represented leaving behind some traditions in favour of modernity, whereas Setiyo felt that these common values were at the heart of his

identity as a citizen of Yogyakarta, and therefore justify his belonging in society. It is no wonder these differences caused friction between Yudhis and Setiyo.

8.6. Political subjectivities online

Several respondents used social media to question who belongs in public Law No.1/2014. Through their online political discourse, they explored how being considered a citizen can reconfigure the power structures that directly shape how youths navigate the uncertainty of street life in Yogyakarta in the era of Law No.1/2014. The youths enacted their role as citizens through participation, or lack thereof, in political processes. The reasons for and sites in which political, or apolitical, identities are performed provide insight into how they feel they can and should enact their roles as citizens.

Like Haki, Setiyo used social media to speak more frankly about his political subjectivities. However, unlike Haki, he had very specific audience targets for this communication. I asked him about the intended audience of an online petition mentioned to abolish Law No.1 that he showed me on his phone during an interview. He said, "...it's for all the people of Yogya, but especially I want DPRD and the governor to read this" [*Date removed*]. He additionally shared some cynicism about whether either the governor or DPRD [*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*] or the provincial level assembly, would act. Setiyo was rather enthusiastic about the idea other people might sign on to resist what he viewed as an unfair law. On several occasions, Setiyo shared these views with me and raised the value of the online petition. Setiyo did not post the petition to his social media page. However, Setiyo's confidence in sharing his political beliefs was not as strong as his statements might indicate.

Setiyo and the Southside band were engaged and thoughtful about the systems of control in the near vicinity of the corner where they held their *angklung* performances. In these contexts, Setiyo's political outspokenness would likely not have been as welcome, and it was clear that he moderated the views he shared more vehemently when in one-to-one interviews with me. I asked him about the political posters in Chapter 6, and he quipped: "let's not talk about that here..." [21

April 2016]. In our Facebook interview, I asked Setiyo if some of the individuals for whom he might dampen his political views were his friends online. He said yes. In response to a later question about whether he had posted the petition to his feed, he was coy, saying, "...I use FB [referring to Facebook] to share ideas more than actions..." [17 May 2016]. Indeed, he did. When he showed me around his feed, he regularly reposted other people's content rather than writing his own like some of his other peers did. One could very likely surmise how Setiyo felt about the law from the items that he posted, but he did not make that political stance explicitly known in that forum. This observation speaks very directly of the classic notion of impression management, in which one attempts to influence other people's perceptions by controlling information (Goffman, 1990). This concept is constituted of what is given, the things one chooses to express, and what is given off, the unintentional expression that accompanies or that is produced by our social interactions (Goffman, 1990). In this case, on Facebook, Setiyo was very deliberate about what was given, namely expressions about his viewpoints on a more abstract and less contentious level, and what was given off was his deeper subjective political perspective. The fact that his expressions on Facebook might be visible to individuals who held power over him and may take his active resistance to the law as symbolic of him being disagreeable or problematic in other ways led him to very targeted communication in Facebook's networked public. The disjuncture between online and offline actions again shows the complex sets of norms that the core respondents navigated when moving between different social contexts. On social media, he saw the opportunity to target new audiences, like DPRD and the Sultan, with his explicit and implicit political messages.

8.7. Remaking "street children" and "delinquents" online

The previous section provided evidence that some respondents relied on social media to express their thoughts and opinions in new and different ways. Moreover, several sections of this thesis have indicated that many of the core respondents used social media in a way that was consistent with Boyd (2014) finding that youths' online expressions are often an extension of their offline worlds. Although this was true in some cases, the core respondents also engaged in social media

use that employed the unique characteristics of networked publics in attempts to reshape how others perceive them in their community. Specifically, the following examples show quite clearly how youths used Facebook to engage directly with social welfare categories in ways that I did not observe during the study. They sought to reformulate dominant' ideas about "street children" and "naughty children"¹⁴⁷ to include the notion that these categorisations of a person could be only temporary, or that such notions did not preclude their status as citizens. The unique ways in which youths can access wider audiences without a gatekeeper online gave them an increased sense of agency that they used to reconceptualise their identities. Thus, the findings of this thesis fit naturally into a growing literature on the internet which examines the idea that online identities and online sociality can be differently constructed because there is more freedom to invent and express one's future (see Sfard & Prusak, 2005). Moreover, this study adds nuance, and these particular young people are highly constrained in their daily lives, so online posting gives new freedoms.

Some of the core respondents treated their Facebook wall as a forum where they could set the record straight about misperceptions about them as people. Close to the end of the research, Haki posted the phrase on Facebook, "*street children, are also the nation's children*"¹⁴⁸. This statement was much more direct than he might have shared in public outside of trusted peers. Haki started by applying a category commonly mentioned by duty bearers in the study – street child – but is seeking to reconceptualise it. Street child is often applied to children who are found outside of care and generally viewed as being innocent or irresponsible.¹⁴⁹ They are objects of pity and potential recipients of charity but are also seen as having been abandoned outside the family systems that are central to the Indonesian state (see Suryakusuma, 2011). Haki was claiming this categorisation, but also reframing it. The choice of the word "*bangsa*" is important: "*Bangsa* imagines Indonesians horizontally, in their national totality, and can sometimes be

¹⁴⁷ A formal PMKS category of young person in the social welfare system, akin to juvenile delinquent.

¹⁴⁸ A phrase that has been a part of street NGO rhetoric, but its expression in digital space may be novel in the literature (Beazley, personal communication, 2019)

¹⁴⁹ Whereas, *anak nakal* meaning naughty child, might refer to a child who is behaving badly and needs guidance.

translated as ‘nation’, in the sense of ‘folk’ rather than ‘state’” (Akhmadi, 2009, pg 17). The term *bangsa* is at the root of much of the nationalist rhetoric during the Suharto era. Thus, in this statement, he is firmly stating that mainstream society should treat *anak jalanan* as a subset of *anak bangsa* rather than children who are outside of the nation. On an analytical level, he is affirming that his experience of being a young person involves both of these elements and that his belonging as an Indonesian is not contingent on his being on the street.

This argument calls to mind Sundén's (2003) notion of youths "writing themselves into being". Boyd may put it best in that "Unlike everyday embodiment; there is no digital corporeality without articulation. One cannot simply ‘be’ online; one must make one's presence visible through explicit and structured actions" (Boyd, 2008). However, this notion, when applied to “*street children, are also the nation’s children*” can be extended to corporeality of a different sense, that of national social corporeality. By applying the term *bangsa*, rather than “Indonesia” to mean I am an Indonesian, Haki is writing himself into being as a member of the national folk discourse from which he feels he has been excluded due to his street child designation. When asked about how he views the idea of *bangsa*, he said “...it’s every Indonesian person...” [17 May 2016].

During our conversation about this post, I also asked whom he was addressing with this post, and he simply replied "everyone". I had asked him to characterise his friends on Facebook to me, and he said that they were mostly people whom he encounters in his street-associated life. Although others in his peer group described having friends on Facebook that showed a wider array of social networks, Haki described his group as mostly people who have similar life circumstances to him. When asked who he hopes will read his post, he again simply said: "...everyone...citizens of Yogya" [17 May 2016]. He viewed Facebook as a megaphone with which he might potentially address wider audiences, though the mechanism through which this platform might provide such an opportunity was unclear to him. In part, this observation speaks of the notion that networked publics like Facebook provide a "potential audience who can bear witness" (Boyd, 2014).

Moreover, expressing these notions so directly in public would likely make him even more subject to arrest. Haki was aware that he could speak to any number of potential invisible audiences through Facebook and hence used this medium. He said in his Facebook interview: “I can say what I want here...” [17 May 2016].

Haki’s attempt to redefine these terms – and through them, himself – also contributes to a conversation about inequality. Boyd (2014) indicates that young people most often reproduce existing social divisions and inequalities online. However, Haki and most of the other young men are different in this way. Social media was often a forum through which they could shout into the void and resist the social divisions most salient in their lives. Though Haki found it hard to articulate the specific ways in which he could use social media to reconstruct the social differences that he experiences in the physical world, he demonstrated that he senses the opportunity to do so. His frank speech online, when he contextualised his hope that a large number of people will see and change their minds based on his posts, indicates his intuition that he “*write himself into being*”. He has the capability and possibility of agency.

On another occasion, Haki shared: “[*Words removed to protect the identities of respondents*]”, *remember, naughty but not yet surely broken in the future* is how one might transliterate this phrase. The meaning is closer to *delinquent, but not destined to have a bleak future*. This statement represents a particularly astute and sophisticated articulation of many of the youths’ discourses described in this thesis, in dense, colloquial language. First, he applies the word “*nakal*”, meaning naughty, likely referring directly to the PMKS designation of “*anak nakal*”, similar to juvenile delinquent. He was deliberately using the formal language of state duty bearers, and conceding that he was viewed as an *anak nakal*. He sought to reconceptualise the idea of *anak nakal* with the rest of the phrase “*belum[sic] tentu buruk*”, meaning *not destined to have a bleak future*.

When asked about this post, Haki explained, “...I can do many things, but they don’t think so...” [17 May 2016]. Converse to the idealisations about Indonesian youths in Chapters 1 and 5, Haki is making an argument that his experience was that some duty bearers have been too judgemental

about the valid ways for him to make progress towards becoming a productive adult and citizen. Moreover, Haki explained that these prescriptive life paths align with distinctly negative ones as well, "...they think that if I am *anak nakal* that I will become a criminal" [17 May 2016]. Like many of his counterparts, Haki had made his life work by taking a highly adaptable, combinatorial approach (Rizzo, 2017) to work and social life, and he said "...I've had jobs in construction, and I know how to make money on my own" [17 May 2016]. However, several aspects of his life still put him on this normatively negative path towards criminality. Haki's formal work, namely construction and occasional work at carnivals, was subject to day-to-day demand and could not be relied upon to sustain him. So, Haki often busked in the evenings to supplement his income or to fill in the gaps between short-term, more formal-looking day labour. Given these circumstances, Haki felt that his categorisation as *anak nakal*, implying that he was on the path to criminality, was pejorative because he clearly showed that he was both willing to engage in more formal-looking work, and he was responsible and entrepreneurial when that formal work did not meet his needs. His statements acknowledge dominant viewpoints, but take the stance that his life requires a nuanced understanding of his realities. He felt he was making his life work, and also believed that he could make it work in the future.

In these examples, Haki identifies that the way in which people like him are made subjects and the assumptions about his and others' potential futures are based on this subjectification. In short, he felt that duty bearers' categorisations robbed him of his belonging as a citizen and his potential future as a "not yet broken" young man. He sought to act on this by using his understanding of the unique way in which networked publics may allow him to speak to a broader audience than he could access on the street, and he used this platform to reshape others' understandings of the social categories of "*anak jalanan*" and "*anak nakal*". The alternative that he offered was to remake himself as a citizen with more potential yet-to-be realised. This fact not only shows an attempt to express his agency but also the dynamic interplay between present and future. Haki has intimately understood the link between how others conceptualise his possible futures and how he is understood in the present.

8.8. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that youths designated identities arise from social interactions that are mediated by power and authority. Yudhis structured his online identity around his commitment to returning to a lifestyle that he had experienced in the past and his wish to return to it. On Facebook, he had the power to write that designated self into being for himself, not only as a way to cultivate an image for himself amongst his peers but seemingly to help him move his actual identity towards that designated reality. However, the unique aspects of networked publics like Facebook allowed social power dynamics from the offline world to persist in his life. Setiyo's bullying to undermine the designated identity that Yudhis had cultivated online served as an all too stark reminder to Yudhis of some of the harsh realities that his actual identity faced in the present. This tension framed his idea of with whom and with what level of social standing he belonged.

Moreover, Sfard & Prusak (2005) observe that closing the gap between designated and actual identities is substantially mediated by learning. Anaes' shows this in his work in the online bird market pages and in taking the role of an online moderator of fora and real-life mediator of sales. His learning of both very old traditions (e.g. songbird sales) and very contemporary modes of online entrepreneurship, were both valuable in moving his actual identity closer to a designated identity in which he is committed to becoming an entrepreneur who has community respect. Interestingly, the forms of learning in which Anaes engaged were hybrid, just like the business itself. There was a substantial component of a traditional apprenticeship with Musli, but then there was also the rapid, iterative learning that ICTs facilitate. His ability to learn both traditional and modern entrepreneurship and hybridise the two in a unique economic moment (i.e. when the bird market moved), led to a substantial step towards his designated identity, and therefore a step towards being a part of a changing labour market.

Finally, the most complicated relationship between actual and designated identities presented in this chapter is that of how Haki very directly challenged the actual identities of the respondents in the eyes of mainstream society, by expressing designated identities of street-youth as *anak*

bangsa and *belum buruk*. Power and authority mediate this relationship, but Haki used social media in an attempt to upend structures of authority. He overtly acknowledged his and the other respondents' actual identities by presenting his positions as equivalencies. Rather than attempting to reformulate street-associated youth entirely in the eyes of the reader, he starts from the hegemonic legal/administrative/normative categories that are actual identities for them – they are young people who are on a troubling life trajectory. However, he takes these actual identities and creates designated identities through a process of elaboration by saying that it is unfair to assume that street-associated youth *are destined for a bleak future*, and that street-associated youth should not be singular and monolithic and that they are also “children of the nation”, in the same way as other young people are. In this way, Haki works within a very rigid structure of power and authority that categorises him with negativity and certainty but uses the replicability of social media to express his agency to reframe himself positively and as having potential.

Conclusions

This conclusion summarises some of the key findings and implications of this study. Moreover, it is structured to indicate that the thesis makes a timely contribution to the literature on street-associated youth lives in Indonesia that was described most directly in Section 1.7, and additionally, throughout the empirical chapter. Finally, it seeks to highlight the way forward for subsequent research based on the limitations of the study.

Relational identities towards belonging

Pursuant to the first and second research question concerning how street-associated youth perform identities in various contexts, and the context specificity of such performances. The research very clearly found that the respondents adapted the way that they identify and categorise themselves in various social settings. The most prominent example of this was the shift from working as buskers to playing in angklung bands. Due to the changing legal and social rules about what sorts of physical appearances, economic behaviour, and styles of music were deemed ‘legitimate’ by authorities, youth made themselves acceptable in public space. They did this, by being clean, wearing traditional clothes, playing traditional music, and generally adjusting their performances to allow adults in authority to more easily categorise them as participants in a growing tourist economy. The regulatory context of Law No.1/2014 created a powerful boundary for the respondents to engage in identity performance. Moreover, it led to performances that were distinct from identity performances in different places and in different times. This reflects key findings from earlier work from Beazley and Solvang.

The respondents’ performances in public often indicated the degree to which they wanted to be accepted in public, and therefore placed focus on the social relationships in those places. To remain “legitimate” workers and occupiers of public space, they sought social membership—to belong. The research produced so much empirical material that pertained to belonging, that this notion merited inclusion in the theoretical framework’s understanding of identity. Specifically, respondents frequently cited expressions of commonality, mutuality, and attachment as key aspects of how and why they performed identities within various social and spatial relationships.

The belonging vocabulary for discussing identity is complementary to the core supposition that youth identities are relationally performed because implicit in a discussion of belonging is both the actor and the referent.

There was substantial heterogeneity amongst the core respondents, and this functions to highlight the benefit of the relational lens – uncovering the diverse logics that may engender similar identity performances. The Northside and Southside bands took the same action in a broad sense – they chose to fit into the new regulatory climate by playing angklung. They both sought to perform commonality with more formal businesses focused on cultural tourism, for which the city is known. However, the type of group they were in relation to the other individuals in their direct vicinity and their values and aspirations engendered notably different ways of performing belonging identities. The Southside band invested in traditional modes of social capital accumulation by cultivating close social ties with their neighbours and key local individuals. They sought to build a mutualistic relationship on a local level to belong. They place primacy on meeting local social expectations in exchange for access to space and their chosen work.

Conversely, Yudhis and his Northside band focused on the modern notion of a state in which fairness takes precedence. He sought a mutual relationship with a state that had not yet created pathways for him to actualise his perceived rights as a citizen in the form of a permit. However, the state was unable to be as modern as Yudhis had hoped because there was not yet a formal means to get that permit for the Northside Band. The very distinct logics relating to very similar identity performance adaptations to Law No.1/2014 showed that identity performances vary relationally.

Exploring identity through other means may have merely observed two groups engaged in the same form of performance, in part of the same reason, Law No.1/2014. Applying a relational lens uncovered critical diversity in the logic that the respondents applied to acting within their social relationships, and thus, exposed diverse values, notions of citizenship and social adulthood, and aspirations. This variability was shown to occur within several dimensions as well. In other words, street-associated youth, whom some studies treat as having homogenous needs, sought

diverse forms of mutualism, placed primacy on mutualism with different referents, and deployed their agency towards different aspirations. Even on the small scale on which this study took place, street-associated youth are not a homogenous group. This idea has both theoretical and practical implications. On the practical side, this may mean that interventions seeking to integrate these young people's work into the formal economy likely needs to take seriously this diversity. On the theoretical side, it shows that the way young people deal with uncertainty is intimately tied to their individual histories, their existing social relationships, and other relational dimensions considered in this thesis. Even young people who make their uncertainty "productive" in superficially similar ways might do so for vastly different reasons towards very different ends. The following three sections will synthesise three dimensions in which relational identities were performed and understood: citizenship, work, and close peer relationships.

Re-conceptualising street-associated youth towards inclusive, lived citizenship

The research found that youth were acutely aware of and conversant with adult expectations and categorisations of them, but there was a tension between respondents' understandings of adults' perspectives and their ability to act upon or within those expectations. This tension was engendered partially by the respondents' desire to be recognised as already having met expectations or already *being* good adult citizens based on their own criteria. From their perspective, they were already self-sufficient; autonomous; and were often stewards of their communities, culture, and city spaces; and thus, unfairly categorised by adults. Law No.1/2014 codified the potential for adults to view the respondents as 'beggars', a view that was antithetical to the respondents' senses of self. The respondents had strong claims to actively and creatively making their economic lives work, supporting kin when they could, and solving a number of problems autonomously, and on this basis, they sought to re-conceptualise how others categorised them in online petitions, in speech on Facebook, through their clothing at work, and through moderating their behaviour in the BCB *kampung*. However, their marginality in the eyes of adults led to a failure to acknowledge their skills, accomplishments, and the concessions towards being identified as people who belong.

If communities seek to integrate these young people into the demographic dividend generation, it is clear that state actors may need to engage more meaningfully and mutually with the respondents' terms. This notion, in turn, requires listening to how the respondents broaden, diversify, or add nuance to categories like "*anak nakal*" or "*anak bangsa*"; or understanding the reason why they outright disagree with such designations. These young people advocated a more inclusive, lived notion of citizenship for themselves, in which they are conceptualised as people who are fulfilling some of their responsibilities, and therefore should be afforded rights. Chapters 1 and 6 highlight one reason that may have made youth more conversant – physical and social spaces for these young people to "be" in the present are narrowing in Yogyakarta. Alongside this process, the boundaries around the agency of people like the core respondents are also narrowing in some domains. This finding lends credence Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi's theoretical point that children and youth agency literature has done a strong job in emphasising how young people are agentic, but we need to place that emphasis in the context of young people's own understandings of their vulnerabilities.

Traditional identities and the labour market

In the face of their perceived vulnerabilities, the respondents relied heavily on performing identities that indicated their membership in the long-standing traditions of their city. They demonstrated considerable creativity and ingenuity in this endeavour making the shift to playing in angklung bands. This shift to being socially acceptable in public stands in contrast to the resistance or ambivalence towards traditional norms that has characterised depictions of similar young people in other studies. This is not to say that the shift to angklung was not an act of resistance, indeed, by performing traditional styles of music in spaces where such work was illegal the respondents could be seen as subverting Law No.1/2014. However, the analysis uncovers these performances went deeper than mere subversion to make their economic lives work.

For several of the core respondents, playing angklung required learning new instruments, expanding their repertoire of songs, engaging in more complicated negotiations about access to

space, and managing the finances of renting equipment and uniforms. Such vigorous actions demonstrate the productive uncertainties posited in the theoretical framework. The economic uncertainty engendered by Law No.1/2014 led the respondents to actively re-categorise themselves and their work to belong in public space. Respondents took these and other actions towards belonging in a modernising tourist industry. To this end, the performance of traditional music, on traditional instruments, wearing traditional clothes shows us that the respondents sought to emphasise their commonality with others in their social environment. This emphasis on commonality was the basis for a central finding of the thesis, that youth were willing to comply to, or *highlight their agreement with*, other people's expectations as long as they also felt that certain aspects of their identities were recognised. They resisted the manner in which one fulfils the expectations. Rather than acquiesce to state actors' expectations and take up a profession deemed appropriate for them, the youth underlined that they still wanted to be able to make a living by playing music in public space. They argued that it was possible for them to have some agency and still meet adult expectations. Indeed, they showed their willingness to negotiate their role in their communities by adjusting the styles and format of that work. Their personal histories, skill sets, and social relationships were bound up in their work on the street, and they sought to navigate towards a work life that continued to rely on those resources, while also meeting duty bearer expectations. In this way, these actions are more complicated than mere subversion. The shift to *angklung* showed that the core respondents in this study negotiated their belonging identities in reference to multi-dimensional relationships with both social and administrative authorities and navigated towards the identities and aspirations that suited them and seemed possible.

Having a too narrow range of potential futures for the respondents prevented youth from finding their aspired roles and identities in a state-sanctioned option. For instance, Fuad had attended a motorbike repair training, enjoyed it, and even did such work in his spare time, but continued to play music on the street to make his life work. He could not see a future *for him* in the sectors that rehabilitation programmes prescribed for him. All of the core respondents from this study

felt similarly. They wanted additional alternatives or wanted a way to make their current work legitimate. This desire was taking place alongside the rapid growth of the very industry that the respondents sought to join – that of cultural tourism. Thus, some duty bearers' appraisal of young people's potential futures excluded them from being potentially valuable contributors to a growing, changing labour market and the demographic dividend generation. Moreover, the respondents often cited deep personal attachments to and stewardship of the cultural traditions driving the Yogyakarta tourist industry. These findings show that failing to recognise these young people's identities in the present, and their proposed role in the future, constitutes a missed opportunity for achieving the shared prosperity by utilising such attachments and mutualities.

Distinct identities in distinct social worlds

This research project also affirmed the body of literature about this context that indicates that some aspects of the street-associated youth's lives are distinct or unique. These findings further complicate the depiction of their identity performances from the previous section. The young people in this study often sought to belong and performed identities towards this belonging. However, several contexts of their lived realities made them subject to norms that are distinct from other young people's experiences. The examples of this were the moments in which context- or interlocutor-specific identities were discordant with identities performed in other settings. The empirical material pertaining to the potential for violence is exemplary. Where and with whom respondents hid, moderated, or emphasised this capability uncovered the contexts of which those respondents aspired to be a part in the future. It also showed the contexts from which they felt their pasts might exclude them. Identity performance, based on multi-dimensional relationships, was a key tool for them to enact agency towards belonging with these people or in these contexts and shows just how adeptly some of the respondents moved between social worlds. In particular, some respondents used style with resourcefulness by creating distinct, visible markers of group belonging that functioned both as a means of expression, but a means to manage safety concerns.

However, some identity markers, like tattoos, were not so easily hidden or changed. In such cases, respondents often underlined their desire not to be stereotyped based on what they regard as misinformed or superficial information. Respondents described many of these more permanent markers as, first, being important to their personal histories, and therefore important to how they are and will be in the future. Second, such markers also carried class distinctions that some respondents felt to be unfair. These findings indicate that generational and class differentials within relational identities mattered a great deal to the respondents and that their agency was moderated by how malleable a specific identity marker was.

Lastly, it is important to note that the respondents in this study were much more open to belonging in communities outside of the street communities that are so well documented by researchers like Beazley and Stodulka. One of the drivers of this difference are changes in the nature of street life in the city – namely due in part to the success of some social welfare and poverty reduction programmes, as well as tighter regulations, there is arguably not a critical mass of young people on the street who can maintain such a subculture. In other words, the nature of street life has fundamentally changed, and thus identity performances and actions towards belonging have changed with it.

Spaces where they can be themselves

From an applied theory perspective, we can extend the finding that youth sought recognition as *beings* instead of *becomings*, to indicate that a ‘street education’ approach is merited for interventional work with young people like the core respondents. The NGO sought to provide housing in an environment that did not seek to “rehabilitate” them from street life, but rather sought to modestly provide enough safety and stability so that youth can make freer, more informed choices. The affirmation of this approach came through respondents self-identifying as “anak NGO” even after the shelter was closed. Many respondents took on an identity that included commonality, mutualism, and attachment with and to the NGO. The *Omah Kita* example solidified this interpretation of the data. Thus, recognition of street-associated youths’ *being*, seems vital to any effort to include young people like the respondents in future endeavour.

The respondents also valued *being* one of the agents that has a role in their own *becomings* and the *becomings* of the city. Several respondents felt a considerable attachment to their city and therefore were stewards of its culture and traditions. These young people experienced first-hand the political-economic changes taking place in Yogyakarta –being evicted from spaces that they had habitually used for long periods. They expressed political subjectivities that suggest that they have clear opinions about how the city should change and their role in that process. Indeed, they shared many of the sentiments expressed by other young people in art and song. However, again, their agency was subject to stark social and political boundaries in many contexts that rendered them silent or impotent. Thus, some sought new forums in which to express their subjectivities, including Facebook. This insight is critical for the study of street associated-youth in majority settings: late modernity offers a growing panoply of contexts in which to experiment with, craft, edit, and revise one's identity performances. This idea, again, provides credence to the value of a relational approach to understanding identity. As the contexts in which youth perform their identities diversify, the topographies of power to which they are subject in each of these contexts also become increasingly diverse. Thus, a nuanced, robust understanding of what engenders performances and constitutes relationships in each context is critical.

Reflecting on uncertainties and agency

This thesis sought to contribute a small but growing literature on uncertainties by applying the notion of “productive uncertainties” to understand better how young people used their agency within the context of considerable constraints. Indeed, the identities performed during the study were constrained considerably by Law No.1/2014. Regarding bounded agency, respondents were summarily treated as illegitimate or unwelcome in spaces where they had previously been tolerated or welcomed. It took months for several of them to craft identities that might allow them to avoid arrest. This finding shows that youths’ identities were relationally defined, in this case by their uncertain legal and administrative statuses. In the face of this uncertainty, respondents advocated for nuanced, complex understandings of their lives. Similar to the findings of previous studies, they sought to perform identities that acknowledged their past and present

circumstances. In a departure from previous work, the respondents more readily performed identities that attempted to reconcile adult expectations and their own self-identification, rather than resist or subvert expectations. They also expressed frustration when these overtures towards a compromise were not recognised. Part of this frustration was due to respondents' sense that some adults were applying overly simplistic or rigid categorisations of them and their lives. However, many of the ways that youth discovered new avenues or possibilities for agency were instances in which creatively dealt with considerable boundaries and uncertainties.

The young people in this study clearly showed that uncertainty fostered the respondents' engagement with potential *becomings* (see Di Nunzio, 2015). Their economic uncertainty after being prohibited from their habitual forms of work led to creative means by which they used their agency in reference to their relatively increased interest in belonging in mainstream society. Many of these strategies deployed newly observed hybrid identities towards belonging that involved a component of traditional culture, for which Yogyakarta is known, and a component of the contemporary, modernising labour market and regulations. Most prominently, the shift to *angklung* showed us that the respondents wanted to fit themselves into the future of Yogyakarta by showing just how much they connect themselves to its past. They performed identities that were distinctly part of the growing tourist economy and embedded in cultural tradition, and they reasoned that such performances might mitigate the economic uncertainty of working as musicians in public. Much of the empirical material clearly shows the respondents putting considerable effort into this social entrepreneurial strategy by learning new instruments and songs, developing their ability to run small businesses, and developing new strategies to build relationships with the social actors in their work environments. All of these actions were socially and economically productive for them even though they were driven by economic and social uncertainty.

Productive uncertainties in this context engendered unique hybrids of modern and traditional for others as well. Some of these make substantial contributions to our nascent understanding of how street-associated young people might use social media as a forum for agency. Anaes' role in

developing an online business confirms this notion. His example involves several traditional elements: first, the leisure activity of keeping songbirds; second, the role of working as an intermediary in business; third, the considerable portion of the population who run informal, home-based businesses. Due to Law No.1/2014 and movement of the traditional bird market, he and Musli brought all of these elements together in a very modern context, a group page on Facebook. Moreover, they built a lively online business that turned a very difficult situation into one with strong earning potential and future prospects.

These examples contribute to the uncertainties literature, further, because they indicate that the actions spurred by uncertainty were dictated in no small part by individuals' aspirations.

Moreover, the relationship between youths' responses to uncertainty and aspirations was cyclic – the success or failure of their actions reinforced or inhibited particular aspirations. For Tri, this meant gaining enough stability to make a home in a place in a community with which he had great commonality and attachment. Alternatively, for Yudhis, playing angklung reinforced his aspiration to be a professional musician in a way that made that potential future more detailed and realistic. Again, a relational perspective on identity was vital to coming to this understanding. The identity performances that constitute these data were made in reference to individualised histories and perceived futures. Moreover, their hybrid nature shows us that these young people are adept at assessing the boundaries around their agency, building a strategy based on those perceived boundaries, and deploying it towards a role that reconciles their aspirations with external expectations about them.

Why do these findings matter?

Finally, I would like to offer a few brief reflections on why these findings may matter to theoretical and policy discourses.

Inclusion in the demographic dividend

The government of Indonesia's expressed intention is to include as many young people in the demographic dividend generation as possible. The respondents clearly found that programmes and actors that framed them as individuals in need of rehabilitation were not of interest to them.

Conversely, they advocated for being acknowledged as having potential and already having considerable knowledge and skills that could be utilised to make their lives work. Moreover, they felt that those skills and knowledge, when applied in social contexts, indicated that they should be treated as already *being*, in some ways, adults and as citizens. They acknowledged many of the challenges in their present circumstances, and adversity in many of their personal histories, but wanted support in using their accumulated skills and knowledge in ways that *they* found appropriate. Thus, including them in the demographic dividend generation requires such an approach.

Belonging identities in the Indonesian context

This research uncovered that the respondents discussed their identities in terms that foregrounded belonging – commonality, mutuality, and attachment. However, much of the western theorising on identity and youth begins from an individualist perspective. This work posits that young people can and should differentiate themselves from others as a core component of having a healthy adult identity. The findings of this thesis do not contradict the notion that how and why individuals choose to identify and categorise themselves provides insight into both individuals and the societies of which they are a part. However, the positionality of the researcher undertaking the work that of a western, minority world, individualist perspective. I sought to reflexively account for this positionality, but future research projects, structured similarly but undertaken by individuals with a true insider perspective of Yogyakarta, could provide additional analytical insight into relational identities.

Including digital identities in future studies

I want to conclude this thesis on an important methodological point: studies of street-associated lives in the majority world would greatly benefit from meaningfully including their online lives as an extension of the field. It is increasingly clear that homeless people, including young people in the majority world, have access to the Internet and use it in many ways to many ends. As one can see from the empirical material, the Facebook interviews in this study provided rich data about both online and offline identities, and this method was used only in a very limited fashion.

Although the Facebook interviews were limited in scope, the thesis was able to claim that the nature of networked publics facilitated several unique opportunities and risks for the street-associated respondents. Muhammad found an opportunity to iteratively experiment with photos from the offline world and ideas that he created using photo-editing software. He accessed a large audience and interpreted both the quality and quantity of online feedback so he could optimise his identity performances. The persistence and searchability of Facebook created a risk for Yudhis. Setiyo was able to bully him about past comments in a forum where Yudhis was not a physical threat. Anaes used the searchability of networked publics to engage himself in the bird market that he could no longer access in the offline world. He, and his patron Musli, found an opportunity on Facebook to respect both the government's desire for an increasingly entrepreneurial and creative economy *and* the City of Yogyakarta's strong emphasis on maintaining culture. Finally, youths saw online spaces as ones in which they could reach invisible audiences with messages directly relevant to the research questions of this thesis. There is strong evidence that the respondents believed they had the possibility of agency online because they expressed their viewpoints and made statements about how adults should categorise them in ways that they did not in offline spaces.

Both the bird market and self-re-categorisation examples illustrate the notion that online spaces are new and important contexts that facilitate the possibility of agency. This idea is true specifically regarding how young people are identified and categorised. Both examples provide some insight into how street-associated youths' agency can be conceptualised as a possibility and capacity in online spaces. The fact that in both these cases youth used this agency to assert an identity is critical for this point. For Anaes, he was underlining the notion that he should be allowed to be a legitimate member of the bird market's economic community. For Haki and Setiyo, they were reframing themselves as having potentially positive futures and as people who have the right to an opinion. In both cases, these young men were crafting their identities online in ways that were not available offline.

The research made only a modest effort to involve social media and mobile phone-based communications by treating them as an extension of the field. Moreover, I treated these communications with considerable caution due to several ethical concerns about undertaking digital ethnography¹⁵⁰. Even within the modest scope of including only online expressions that were explicitly selected by respondents and discussed during interviews, the online context of Facebook was a rich data source for this thesis. Future research on this topic would do well to incorporate street-associated youths' online lives more substantially and seamlessly. Such inclusion would mirror the respondents' nearly seamless transitions between online and other social spaces. This thesis merely touches the surface of what likely are several rich avenues for research. For instance, informal online businesses are very common and under-researched in general, and specifically, in Indonesia and in regard to street-associated youth-run businesses. Both Anaes' work in the online bird market and the online political operations that Yudhis avoided, could merit doctoral-length research projects. The process of writing this thesis made it abundantly clear that researchers must integrate the online aspects of Indonesian young people's lives in future inquiry, and this includes socially or economically marginal young people. Including the online lives of street-associated youth in future studies would ensure thicker, higher quality data, and, more importantly, create a clear line of sight to important potential forms of agency that researchers may neglect in a solely offline study.

¹⁵⁰ Among others: several forms of online data are much harder to fully anonymise and lack of clarity on what constitutes online participant observation (See Boellstorff, Nardi, Marcus, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012).

Annex

Biographical sketches

[removed to protect identities of respondents]

Street-Associated youth FGDs

NOTE: These data were primarily used for to confirm data quality from core respondents.

Location	Affiliation	Number and type of participants
Café in Western Yogyakarta	<i>None</i>	4, Young men from Musli's neighbourhood who currently, or in the last 6 months, had met the selection criteria
Café in Northern Yogyakarta	<i>None</i>	5, Youth from Musli and Anaes' personal networks who fit the selection criteria
<i>Omah Kita</i> Housing Area	<i>Omah Kita</i>	7, Youth, 5 males and 2 females, who fit the selection criteria, prior to housing at <i>Omah Kita</i> , and who still work in street-based informal settings
PLUSH offices	<i>PLUSH</i>	5, Waria youth who fit the selection criteria at some time in the last 6 months and who also were regularly engaged in street-based, informal work

Key informant interviewees included in analysis

Pseudonym	Organisation	Section and/or Role
Pak Budi	<i>Ministry of Social Welfare</i>	Senior Official, People with Social Welfare Problems
Bu Budiwati	<i>Ministry of Social Welfare</i>	One of the drafters of the Vagrancy Law
Pak Basuki	<i>Ministry of Social Welfare</i>	Senior Official, Youth Shelter
Pak Arief	<i>Ministry of Social Welfare</i>	Senior Official, Referral Centre
Bu Dr. Citra	<i>Ministry of Social Welfare</i>	Psychologist at Referral Centre
Bu Annisa	<i>Ministry of Social Welfare</i>	Child Protection Unit Officer
Pak Joyo	<i>Ministry of Social Welfare</i>	Social Worker
Pak Setiawan	<i>Ministry of Social Order</i>	Senior Official, Municipal Police for the City of Yogyakarta
Pak Ajij	<i>Corrections and Rehabilitation Center</i>	Senior Official, Children's Unit
Bu Fifi	<i>Corrections and Rehabilitation Center</i>	Social Worker, Children's Unit
Bu Nurul	<i>Ministry of Tourism (Yogyakarta Province)</i>	Officer
Bu Putri	<i>Ministry of Tourism (City of Yogyakarta)</i>	Officer
Pak Ahmad	<i>Ministry of Tourism (City of Yogyakarta)</i>	Licensing body for performers on Jalan Utama
Pak Putra	<i>Panti Hafara</i>	Senior staff member
Bu Wulan	<i>Panti Hafara</i>	Assistant to staff member
Totok	<i>Omah Kita</i>	Director
Greg	<i>The NGO</i>	Volunteer/President during 2015
Farid	<i>The NGO</i>	Volunteer/President during 2016
Doni	<i>The NGO</i>	Volunteer/Founder
Vani	<i>The NGO</i>	Volunteer/Education Unit
Dini	<i>The NGO</i>	Volunteer
Pak RT	<i>RT containing BCK</i>	Village administrator
Bu RW	<i>RW containing BCB</i>	Second-lowest level village administrator
Ibu Kost	<i>BCB</i>	Owner of the BCB
Galing	<i>Lestari (Milas)</i>	Street youth activist and NGO worker

Above names are pseudonyms to avoid identifying core respondents, and to re-emphasise the primacy of the core respondents' perspectives in this study.

Walking interview protocols (abbreviated questions and processes)

Community walk method

Documentation: Field Notes

Possible questions for the discussion that accompanies the Walk:

Leisure time

- How long have you liked to hang around here?
- Does the time of day matter to where you hang out?
- What do you like about this spot?
- Who comes here?
- Is everyone OK with you being here?
- What do you like to do here?

Work time

- Does the way you act here affect how successful you are at work?
- Do you dress any differently?
- Do you act differently when you're working? Why does this matter?
- If you see your friends while you're working, what do you do?
- Do you ever work elsewhere? Are the rules about how you dress and act different there?

Changes in Space

- Tell me about how this place has changed over the time that you've been here.
- Has the new Perda (anti-vagrancy law) changed this place?



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Oral Informed Consent Script [TRANSLATED INTO BAHASA INDONESIA]

Hello. My name is XXX and I am a doctoral student in International Development at the University of Oxford working on a research project called “Identity Performance of Street-Based Youth in Yogyakarta”. Even though I have arrived with NAME OF COLLEAGUE, I am an independent researcher. The research project that I am working on looks at how young people like you think about themselves and their identity. I want to learn what things you do to show who you are to the world, and how you think other people think of you.

I want to talk with people in your community because people have not done this type of research in communities like yours in Indonesia before.

From time to time, I would like to ask you some questions about your life including where and how you spend your time, why you might act a certain way in a particular place, and how other people’s view of you might affect how you act.

Please feel free to ask me any questions you have about the study before you decide to participate in the research.

Is it OK if I record your voice during our discussion? Everything you say will be confidential, and it will only be seen or heard by me. The information will not affect your relationship with MY COLLEAGUE or anyone else. We won’t share any information with anyone. There is only time that we would share any information from our interview with other people. It is if you are in serious danger, and, in that situation, only the information that could be used to help to stop you from being seriously harmed would be shared.

I will write a report about the research, but I will change any information that might allow people to know that it was you who was talking.

You are free to refuse to answer any question, and free to stop our conversations, or participation at any time.

You should know that during the conversation, we may end up talking about some stressful or difficult situations in your life, but remember again, that you are free to stop the interview whenever you want. Also, I will avoid talking about issues that seem too stressful to you.

If you have any concerns or questions about the research after were done, you can contact me [hand them business card].

Lastly, can you tell me how old you are? [If below 18, will ask if there is a parent or caregiver who can give consent for their participation]

So do you have any questions about the research? Can we begin?

Name: _____ Date: _____

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INFORMATION SHEET MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL PARTICIPANTS
[TRANSLATED TO BAHASA INDONESIA]

Identity Performance of Street-Based Youth in Yogyakarta

Paul J. Kellner, a student at a University in England is studying how youth in Indonesia show their identities. He is asking questions like how do young people's identities change from place to place? He wants to know how act out, talk about, and share their identities. Lastly, he wants to know how they put themselves and other people into groups.

The research will happen using a number of tools: participation, interviews, drawing, and interviews in small groups. He will do the study in just one or two neighborhoods. The first part of the research will get to know the neighborhood and talk to people in small groups. After he gets to know the neighborhood, he will ask some young people to participate in many interviews over several months. They will be between the ages of 15 and 24 and working or living on the street.

The second part of the work will take about 8 months. Paul will have many discussions with a few of the people who he met during the first part of the research. He will ask more questions during these interviews, but only if young people agree to participate in this part of the research.

He is doing this research to add to the things that people already know about identity in Indonesia. Other people have interviewed youth in Indonesia, but they have not used the same approach as Paul does. Paul wants to get to know how young people in Indonesia talk about and show how they fit into groups, how they think about themselves, what kind of support their community provides, and what kinds of challenges they face. He hopes that the research will help to inform future studies of youth, and to help the government make choices for youth services.

The research will follow ethical rules from Paul's university. He will make sure that all information is kept private, that people are free to participate in the research, that the research doesn't hurt anyone, and that the research can be used to help the participants. Paul will use his research finish is degree at the University of Oxford. He will also share his findings with organizations that helped him, the participants, and other people who request it.

The research will happen June 2015 and May 2016. All personal information will also be deleted or changed to be anonymous within a few months of the project end. This follows the University of Oxford Guidelines. This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.

If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to Paul Kellner, paul.kellner@qeh.ox.ac.uk or his supervisor, Jo Boyden, + 44 (0)1865 (2)81800 who will do his/her best to answer your query. Paul or his supervisor will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how he/she intends to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford (using the contact details below) who will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner: Chair, Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee; Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD

Ethical approval letters

University of Oxford, CUREC: SSD/CUREC2/15-005

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