

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Christopher R. Foertsch for the degree of Master of Arts in Applied Anthropology
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Students in Malang, Java.

Abstract approved:

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This research explores the experience of the growing number of students from Eastern Indonesia who attend universities on Java. It asks key questions about the challenges these often maligned students face as ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities exposed to the dominant culture of their republic during their years of education. Through interviews and observations conducted in Malang, Java, emergent themes about this group show their resilience and optimism despite discrimination by their Javanese hosts. Findings also reveal their use of social networks from their native islands as a strategy for support and survival.

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Educational Migration in Indonesia: An Ethnography of Eastern Indonesian Students
in Malang, Java

by
Christopher R. Foertsch

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APPROVED:

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Christopher R. Foertsch, Author

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of my parents, Rick and Sally Foertsch.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Malang is a mid-sized city in Indonesia of some 800,000 inhabitants in the Province of East Java, 100 miles south of the bustling, sweltering port city and provincial capital of Surabaya. Malang sits at 1453 feet elevation, surrounded by active and inactive volcanoes in the distance. The elevation makes the climate much cooler than coastal areas, which is one of the key reasons that Dutch colonial administrators developed the area in the 19th century to administrate agricultural plantations and other interests in the region, including coffee, tea, sugar cane, and even apple and strawberry cultivation which are unusual crops to be grown in the tropics (“History Malang | Malang” 2016). In the center of Malang can be seen vestiges of this colonial past, drawing Dutch and other tourists to take photos of architectural gems from the early 20th century through the Art Deco period of the 1930’s, including the mayor’s and district chief’s offices, the Hotel Tugu, and the Catholic Cathedral. Indonesian tourists and locals visit the famously haunted Wisma Tumapel, a derelict administrative building that has served many purposes before its current status as the site of ghostly encounters with the tortured souls of long dead colonial bureaucrats.

Compared to other cities in Indonesia, Malang is relatively calm, a pleasant place to grow up, work, or study, large enough to provide a cultural atmosphere of cultural events, festivals, ceremonies, as well as several malls and markets. Yet, despite its

growth in recent decades, Malang retains much of its charm, and has so far been able to avoid the kind of crippling traffic jams, blatant pollution and overtly impoverished slums of Jakarta, Surabaya, or Semarang.

On Sunday mornings, original “Arek Malang” (Children of Malang) and newcomers from other islands and other parts of Java, from all social classes, crowd the broad boulevard of Jalan Ijen for “Car Free Day” to walk, ride bicycles, or join group aerobics with hundreds of others. Lining Jalan Ijen, and in leafy green side streets are the former homes of colonial elites, carefully preserved or remodeled by Malang’s current elites, in many cases by ethnically Chinese businesspeople. Wealthy couples take “pre-wedding” photos on these shady, photogenic boulevards.

Meanwhile, in contrast to these relics of the colonial era, barely two blocks away from the Cathedral sits the Brawijaya Military Museum, a testament to the Indonesian Republic’s guerrilla resistance and struggle for independence from the Dutch in the years after WWII, and to the locally headquartered Brawijaya Division’s subsequent military exploits in eastern Outer Islands. These Outer Island military operations include Irian Jaya (now the provinces of Papua and West Papua) and East Timor, which was a backwater Portuguese colony until 1975, when it was invaded and occupied by Indonesia, finally gaining independence in 2002 after a referendum and decades of civil war.

Other tourists, foreign and domestic, come to Malang to stage forays to the otherworldly Mt. Bromo for a sunrise photo of three volcanoes—often smoking—lined up in the distance; others are headed to the burgeoning destination of Batu, just ten miles into the foothills of other, inactive volcanoes, for “agro-tourism” in and around apple orchards, tea plantations and the like, with opportunities for middle and upper class families to try a “flying fox” zip line, ride an ATV, or buy local snacks and gifts as souvenirs (“oleh oleh”).

Thousands of others come to Malang from elsewhere in Java, and from other islands for another reason. They come to Malang, drawn to “Education City,” or “Kota Pendidikan,” by the dozens of universities, polytechnics, academies, institutes, and other institutions of higher learning, public and private, large and small. The official city of Malang website acknowledges this aspect of the city, as well as its several other nicknames (Flower City, Military City, Resort City, History City, etc). The city’s website describes the composition of the city’s residents: “the Ethnic Community of Malang is famous for being religious,dynamic, hard-working, straightforward and proud of their identity as Arek Malang [children of] (AREMA). The composition of residents is from various ethnicities (mainly Javanese, Madurese, and a small number of Arab and Chinese descent)” (“History Malang | Malang” 2016).

The city website also notes the many “newcomers” to Malang: “Most newcomers are traders, workers and students who do not settle within a certain time and return to

their home areas. Most come from the region around the city of Malang as merchants and workers. While for the educational group of college students, many come from outside the region (particularly Eastern Indonesia) like Bali, Nusa Tenggara, East Timor, Irian Jaya, Maluku, Sulawesi and Kalimantan” (“History Malang | Malang” 2016). It’s interesting to note the outdated and Java-centric term of “Irian Jaya,” which was changed to Papua (and West Papua) in 2002 to reflect the Melanesian heritage of the residents of this Indonesian-administered half of the island of New Guinea (McWilliam 2011, Vickers 2013). Westerners might consider this a lack of political correctness on the part of the city of Malang, but the name was officially changed to Papua nearly 15 years ago in the legal act that created a condition of “Special Autonomy for Papua,” (McWilliam 2011) and this kind of stubborn adherence or simple neglect might reflect the politics of the Javanese leadership in Malang, or at least their webmaster.

In residential neighborhoods just off the crowded main streets, along so called “mouse streets” or “jalan tikus,” and in outer areas of recently developed former rice paddies ringing the city, you can spot darker faces, rounder eyes, and curlier hair of young adults from outside Java. In groups of boys, one might hear louder voices and witness slightly more rambunctiousness than in a group of Javanese of the same age. In these areas of the city, many of the homes serve as boarding houses, or “rumah kost.”

These young outsiders in Malang are at the heart of this study. Hailing from hundreds of large and small islands, from cities and villages, mountains and coasts, across the vast region of Eastern Indonesia, they come to Malang to pursue higher education and for the chance to experience the cosmopolitan “Center” of their country: Java, the economic, political, educational, military, and cultural center of Indonesia, exerting “centripetal” force that keeps the Outer Islands in a Javanese orbit (Dove and Kammen 2001, Elson 2008). The informants in this study come from a variety of backgrounds, including from rural farm families of humble means, who are among the first generation in their families (and possibly from their villages) to attend a university or travel to and live on Java, the “*pusat negeri*,” or center of the country. The fact that sons and daughters of farmers and fishermen are now included in the national project of higher education in the country is testament to Indonesia’s growth in recent decades, and the expansion of middle class aspirations beyond the Javanese, Sundanese, and others at the Center.

Research Questions

This research explores the experience of the growing number of students from Eastern Indonesia (specifically those from Papua, Maluku, and the province of Nusa Tenggara Timor (NTT)) who attend universities on Java. It asks key questions about the challenges these often maligned students face as ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities exposed to the dominant culture of their republic during their years of education. Through interviews and observations conducted in Malang, emergent themes about this group show their resilience and optimism despite discrimination by

their Javanese hosts. Findings also reveal their use of social networks from their native islands as a strategy for support and survival.

The research questions guiding this study are as follows: What challenges do Eastern Indonesians face living as minorities among the dominant culture of Indonesia? What strategies do Easterners use to negotiate the challenges of life among the dominant culture in Java? How do Eastern Indonesians and Javanese perceive each other? I intentionally use the word “challenges” to refer to the problems that Eastern students face in Java in the realms of systemic inequality, housing discrimination, and exclusion stemming from the dominant culture’s biased “language ideologies” which privilege the Javanese tongue and Javanese-accented Bahasa Indonesia (Ahearn 2012). From my etic perspective, it is easy to label these “challenges” with the charged language of racial inequality and victimhood—racism, prejudice, discrimination, etc.—but to do so ignores the agency of the educational migrants whose story I share in these pages. While ethnic discrimination on personal and systemic levels remains a grave issue in Indonesian society, the Easterners interviewed and profiled in this study do not experience them as victims. By looking at their means of negotiating the challenges they encounter in Java, they emerge in an optimistic light, more as resourceful, adaptive, resilient survivors, and *not* as victims.

Throughout my investigation, participants enthusiastically shared their experience with me, in part because their story has not been shared before, and they wanted their own voices to counter the many negative stereotypes that Javanese have about

them—evil, lazy, drunk, stupid, belligerent, and so on. As Randi from North Maluku explained that when Javanese see their dark skin and hear their loud voices “they think we are evil [‘jahat’], but when they get to know us, they see that we are good on the inside [‘sisi baik’].” By including the voices of Eastern Indonesian students themselves, this study aims to provide a nuanced ethnography of this population, and the following chapters paint a portrait of them that is neither “evil” nor “victimized.”

Chapter 2: Historical Background and Context

Overview

In a country with 250 million inhabitants belonging to hundreds of ethnic groups and six officially recognized religions spread across as many as 15,000 islands, including Java—the most populated island in the world—Indonesians largely manage to coexist harmoniously despite their many differences. In Indonesia, as in other countries, a national educational system has been seen as an important instrument for modern nation-building and an attempt to establish elements of a national culture (Castles 2009) that unifies what recent studies have indicated is the most multicultural society in the world (Kuipers and Yulaelawati 2009). In very real ways, Indonesia's public education system enables this vast and diverse republic to live up to its national motto, "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*," or "Unity in Diversity" as translated from Old Javanese. This system is the third largest in the world, serving approximately 50 million primary, middle and high school students, and has made ambitious achievements towards unity, including a 90% literacy rate and the widespread promotion of the national lingua franca, *Bahasa Indonesia*, among groups that speak over 600 mutually unintelligible languages across a territory larger than the continental U.S. (Kuipers and Yulaewati 2009). However, the strides towards societal unification made through education in Indonesia tend to privilege dominant cultures, languages, regions, and social classes at the expense of others (van Zanden and Marks 2011). Meanwhile, real tensions persist along religious, ethnic, and

political fault lines, often at the country's political and economic margins, including some areas of Eastern Indonesia (Wilson 2008, Duncan 2013). University and vocational students from these peripheral and underdeveloped regions migrate to cities like Malang, Java where they earn degrees and learn skills for future careers in their home provinces or elsewhere. During their years of education, they are also exposed to the dominant culture of their republic, and face challenges as ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities. The number of these students has grown, as decentralized regional governments devote funds towards scholarships for top performing young people to augment local human resource capacity in business and bureaucracy (Elson 2008, Hill 2008, Meng 2000, Noorhaidi 2014).

While existing research describes aspects of regional economic inequalities (Sakai et al 2009, Manning and Sudarno 2011, Miranti 2011), as well as other internal mobility in Indonesia (Meng 2010, Goebel 2010, Elson 2008, Barter and Cote 2015), such as the state-designed and promoted “transmigration” program from an earlier political regime (Elson 2008, Tirtosudarmo 2009, Barter & Cote 2015), and aristocratic Outer Islanders who have come to Java for education since the late colonial era (Magenda 1989, Vickers 2013), little academic inquiry has been made regarding the population in this study. Despite a lack of accessible data on Easterners studying in Java, anecdotal evidence from friends and colleagues in Indonesia support my understanding that this is a relatively new phenomenon that has grown in recent decades. These anecdotes come from two Florenese university professors I worked with in Malang, as well as two lecturer friends from Flores and Timor who studied in

Jakarta and now live and work there. All report that when they were university students in the 1980's and 1990's, they were among very few Easterners in Javanese universities at the time, especially compared to today.

Five centuries of Resource Flow from Periphery to Center

Immense wealth is spread across Indonesia's five major islands and thousands of minor islands in the form of timber, agricultural products, fisheries, minerals, oil and gas, as well as extraordinary biodiversity. For centuries up until the present, these commodities have fueled empires and made fortunes for those who were able to control their exploitation, even before Europeans came to the fabled Spice Islands in the 15th century seeking a more direct supply for valuable cloves, nutmeg, and mace (Ricklefs 2008). The Dutch East Indies Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, known by the initials VOC) waged bloody and costly wars in their attempt to gain a monopoly on the spice trade, which they centered in Batavia, a steamy port they established on the north coast of Java that later became Jakarta (Ricklefs 2008). Resources flowed in to the Dutch trading "factory" in Batavia, eventually destined to be unloaded on the docks of Rotterdam where they would provide profits for investors as well as the Dutch crown. After mismanagement and corruption led to the VOC's bankruptcy in the early 19th century, the Dutch East Indies became an official colony of the Dutch Crown, which then emphasized the need for its immense oversea possession to turn a profit through intensive plantation agriculture (van Zanden and Marks 2011). Rubber, coffee, tea, tobacco, pepper, sugar and other cash crops became the new form of riches that the periphery contributed to

the wealth of the Center—for European investors in Holland, and for the fortune seekers, plantation owners, and bureaucrats who braved tropical disease and privation in the emerging cities on Java. Tellingly, this period was euphemistically called the “Cultivation System” by the Dutch, and “Forced Labor” by the natives (Ricklefs 2008, Elson 2008). The flow of riches out of the Indies to Europe continued in the early 20th century, even though progressive Dutch reformers implemented the “Ethical Policy,” opening schools to educate the children of Javanese and other aristocrats—a miniscule fraction of the colony’s youth (Thomas 1973, Vickers 2013, Bjork 2005, Buchori and Malik 2004).

During the period of the Cultivation System and Ethical Policy of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Dutch used military force to bring all the territory of the East Indies into its administrative fold, including areas that had earlier been left alone since they held little economic or strategic value—Bali, and the islands of Nusa Tenggara to its east, for example (Vickers 2013, Ricklefs 2008, Elson 2008). Thus, by the first decades of the 20th century, the perimeter of what would become the Republic of Indonesia had been drawn to include all the islands and waters across a vast territory, inhabited by otherwise unrelated and diverse cultures (Hitchcock 1997, Elson 2008). In an essay on the creation and significance of *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah*, the Disneyland inspired cultural theme park and open air museum in Jakarta, Michael Hitchcock describes the formation of this unlikely nation in the imagination of “the inhabitants of this vast region, [who] regardless of ethnic or religious

affiliation, shared Dutch overlordship, and this introduced a kind of negatively defined consciousness of an entity known as Indonesia” (1997, 229).

The Western style education that elite “natives” received during the late colonial period (early 20th century) laid early foundations for the educational system an independent Indonesia would inherit after the Dutch finally relinquished its claims to the country in 1949. Begun as centers for training native doctors, teachers and bureaucrats for the burgeoning colonial administration (Thomas 1973), the universities enrolled very few students at first, but in the decades since Independence, the numbers have increased dramatically. The relative youth of the system, and its rapid growing pains, are central to the problems with quality and inequality in Indonesian higher education (Buchori and Malik 2004, Hill and Wie 2013). The early educated and literate natives (largely Javanese, but including others from Sumatra, Makassar and elsewhere) were exposed to ideas of thinkers in Europe and across Asia through print journalism, broadsheets, newspapers, and other publications that often advocated an end to colonial and imperial rule in China, Japan, the Philippines, and elsewhere (Anderson 1983, Adam 1995, Vickers 2013).

Many of these young intellectuals formed social and political organizations that debated and discussed various configurations for a nation independent from Dutch rule, some along religious lines (an Islamic Republic like followed in Malaysia), others following a model of Federated States, and others imagining a free Java without including other islands (Elson 2008, Vickers 2013). The Republic of

Indonesia ultimately prevailed, announced to the country and world in Sukarno's Independence Proclamation on August 17, 1945 ostensibly uniting the archipelago in its diversity by the common Indonesian language and first President Sukarno's Five Principals of "Panca Sila." Vickers succinctly describes the principles of Panca Sila, which "were to become the official philosophy of independent Indonesia: belief in God, nationalism, humanitarianism, social justice and democracy" (2013: 245-6). Panca Sila is currently taught as a subject at all levels of education, and is often ritually recited before formal events.

After the post-war independence struggle finally put the country in native hands, the economy was stagnant during the Sukarno years as the charismatic leader experimented with left-leaning politics and policy that were too close to Socialism for the taste of many in the elite and military, not to mention the US and its first world anti-communist allies (van Zanden and Marks 2005, Vickers 2013). Sukarno's populist message of pan-Indonesian unity and solidarity was replaced by the strongman Suharto's authoritarian centralization of the economy, military, politics, and even corruption in Java—specifically Jakarta, and even more specifically, in the dictator's own circle of family and cronies (van Zanden and Marks 2005). The transition from Sukarno's leftist populism to Suharto's neoliberal authoritarianism in the mid-1960's was bloody and tragic, leading to the deaths of as many as a million suspected Communists and Communist sympathizers (Vickers 2013). Through the 1970's, '80's, and until his downfall in 1998, Suharto and his circle gained an immense fortune as they opened up their country to international development

schemes financed by the IMF and World Bank, and through contracts and partnerships with Western multinational corporations and the prevailing neoliberal forces they represented (Anderson 2001). During Suharto's "New Order," skyscrapers rose in Jakarta as monuments to capitalism, a state run aircraft company built aircraft in Bandung, West Java, and Suharto's wife spent millions to create her Disneyland-inspired "Taman Mini Indonesia Indah," a theme park outside Jakarta to display the traditional costumes, architecture and culture from all the provinces of the Republic (van Zanden and Marks 2005, Vickers 2013, Hitchcock 1997, Barker 2008).

Meanwhile, copper, gold, nickel, and other mines in Papua, NTT and elsewhere created some of the largest man-made holes in the world where misty forested mountains had once stood (Tirtosudarmo 2009, Gellert 2010). The ancient rainforests of Sumatra and Kalimantan were burned to make way for the cultivation of palm oil and sugar cane. The wealth of these Outer Islands was again directed to the Center, through Java, and into the stock portfolios of first world investors. The ecological and social health of the Periphery was sacrificed on the altar of capitalism.

Though many of the provinces of the Outer Islands are the sources of the commodities that create wealth for the relatively developed Center of Indonesia in Java, many of these regions remain relatively underdeveloped in terms of infrastructure, education and economy (Gellert 2010). In an attempt to develop certain remote areas of Outer Islands and relieve overpopulation at the center, the central government instituted a program of "Transmigration" for Javanese

homesteaders to farm and live in remote parts of Kalimantan, Papua, and elsewhere (Elson 2008, Tirtosudarmo 2009, Barter and Cote 2015). Begun under the Dutch, and continued until the early 2000's, the program has been largely discontinued, since confrontations between local cultures and the intruding Javanese often proved violently disastrous (Ricklefs 2008). Nonetheless, in many places, these transmigrants and their descendants had a profound impact on the social landscape of the areas they settled. Other Javanese move from the Center to the Periphery as civil servants, police or military. In some subdistricts (kabupaten) of Papua, for example, non-Papuans outnumber original Papuans (Sakai, Banks, and Walker 2009, Chauvel 2009).

This is not to say that the Javanese intrusion in Outer Islands is uncontested and unresisted. In the introduction to their book *The Politics of the Periphery in Indonesia*, Sakai, Banks and Walker describe “an unruly periphery that represents a centrifugal axis that seeks to spin power and authority out from Java” (2009, 7). Their prime examples of this include East Timor—which successfully gained independence at the start of the 21st century; Aceh—which gained special autonomy in recent years after decades (and centuries) of resistance to Javanese-Indonesian (and Dutch) authority; and Papua—where an armed resistance movement continues to seek independence—defiantly, illegally flying the *Bintang Kejora* flag of their imagined homeland and nation (Chauvel 2009).

This study focuses on the flow of human resources—human capital (Hartog and Maassen Van Den Brink 2007)—from Periphery to Center.

My Experience and Interest in Indonesia

The context of my own personal interest in this quite specific topic of inquiry perhaps deserves a brief description. Before pursuing my MA at OSU in 2014, I worked at a Seattle area community college (Highline) that has an active international office that applies for and receives a lot of federal program grants.

I was first introduced to Indonesia's remarkable diversity of languages, traditions, ethnic groups and landscapes, while working as a coordinator for a State Department funded exchange program to host cohorts of Indonesian college educators in 2011 and 2012. It was called the Community College Faculty and Administrator Program for Indonesia (CCFA), and I was the project coordinator both years. Many of these colleagues are from Java, but others come from NTT, North Maluku, Sulawesi, Sumatra and Kalimantan (Borneo). Working with this network of educators, I became close friends with many of them, and they introduced me to the fascinatingly complex and diverse society of Indonesia. My bosses sent me to Indonesia several times for conferences and to explore institutional partnership projects, including a 5 month stay in Semarang in 2013 where I was a guest lecturer at the State Polytechnic.

Still, why Indonesia? Friendly people, to be sure—friends, colleagues and acquaintances who have been a joy and privilege to know and work with for their

kindness, hospitality, cooperation, and willingness to share their culture(s) with me and learn about mine. So why then, am I driven to research the often difficult experiences of Indonesian minorities, when my own interactions have been so positive? The answer comes from the exceptional and unsettling stories told me by the relative of a close friend from the East, about his troubles as a university student experiencing challenges and discrimination in Java. (I interviewed this cousin, whom I call “Alvin” in this ethnography, by phone during this research.) His story complicated my understanding of Indonesian society and intercultural relations, which are exalted in the national motto “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*,” –“Unity in Diversity”—but prove more nuanced and conflicted in practice. His explanation of misunderstandings, fights, as well as friendships with his “Javanese brothers” has made me uncomfortable since I first heard it over four years ago. But as I reflectively consider “why Indonesia?” and “why Easterners in Java?” I realize that the uneasiness his story planted in my mind was actually the seed that has since germinated and grown into my research topic, my commitment to explore, to listen to, and to share the larger story of the brave young people who undertake this difficult and transformative educational endeavor.

In the summer of 2015, I participated in the State Department's Critical Language Scholarship (CLS) in Malang, where I studied Bahasa Indonesia, then stayed an extra month to continue collecting interview and observation data for my MA thesis among Eastern Indonesian students there. Since then, I applied and was accepted to return to Malang as a Fulbright Research Scholar to continue and expand the research

described in this Master's thesis. For my Fulbright, I intend to build on my thesis research and include Javanese perspectives as well as travel to some of the participants' native islands in NTT and Maluku to gain their sending communities' perspectives on their young people's educational migration to Java.

Chapter 3: Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

In the post-colonial era, the official boundaries of modern nation-states often contain very heterogeneous societies, diverse peoples politically aggregated through histories of empire, conquest, and resource acquisition. A map of Africa, the Middle East, the former Soviet Union, or Yugoslavia demonstrate this, and a consideration of the many recent conflicts and wars in those territories underscore the serious problems that arise in such places of human diversity. Indonesia is an interesting case, as a nation that has achieved a remarkably durable national identity—not without important examples of tension and ethnic violence—among what some demographers consider the most multicultural population in the world (Kuipers and Yulaewati 2009). In the 21st century, technologies enable increased human mobility and interconnection through improved transportation, online social and mass media, and global cultural and economic integration. In Indonesia, the national identity is strengthened through media and education, while members of hundreds of diverse ethnic groups meet in contact zones as they travel (internally migrate) for work, education, and resettlement programs such as the controversial “transmigration” program (Ruth-Heffelbower 2002). While transmigration sent settlers from highly populated islands like Java to outer islands (Elson 2008, Tirtosudarmo 2009, Barter and Cote 2015), professionals and bureaucrats have likewise left urbanized Java (and elsewhere) to represent the interests of state and industry in resource rich islands like Papua and Kalimantan (Borneo). In both cases, the presence of outsiders can lead to

conflict, but can also reinforce the presence of an Indonesian identity, one that is heavily oriented towards Java. The more prominent direction of internal migration in persistently centralized Indonesia is from the outer islands to Java (Goebel 2010), seat of the national government, economy, education, and popular culture, as well as approximately two-thirds of the population (Bell 2001). Higher education then becomes a key pull factor for young people who migrate temporarily or permanently to Javanese cities for their university or technical education, where they live and study as minorities surrounded by the dominant, majority culture. The push and pull factors in the contemporary world that have led to increasing movements of people between and within nations, largely for work and education (Castles 2009, Meng 2010), are of course not unique to Indonesia. Improved transportation infrastructure since the 1980's and 1990's has enabled previously sedentary populations, such as rural inland and highland islanders (Magenda 1989), a mobility previously unknown to them (Meng 2010). Thus, previously isolated young people from inland Flores, Timor, Papua and elsewhere have recently been able to travel for education and work, joining already mobile coastal populations with a history of seafaring, fishing, trading, and other forms of “merantau” (a term for fortune seeking travel) (Magenda 1989, Barter and Cote 2015).

Language plays a key role in education, particularly when instruction occurs in the dominant group's language, at the expense of minority languages (Anderson 1983, Goebel 2008, Keane 1997). Often, instruction in the dominant language is concomitant with intentional and unintentional indoctrination into the culture and

values of the dominant culture to the detriment of the minority cultural values and identity. The role of Bahasa Indonesia is somewhat unique in its role as a national unifying second language for the diverse ethno-linguistic groups of Indonesia (Sneddon 2003, Elson 2008). Nonetheless, certain dialects—especially those spoken in urban, developed Java—are privileged as more prestigious than others, as are particular local languages, such as Javanese and Sundanese (both spoken on Java). Zentz looks very specifically at the role of language and society in Indonesia, and at the changing roles of Javanese, Indonesian, and English languages in “‘Love’ the Local, ‘Use’ the National, ‘Study’ the Foreign: Shifting Javanese Language Ecologies in (Post-) Modernity, Postcoloniality, and Globalization” (2014). To clarify: the local means mother tongue, such as Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, or any other of the hundreds spread across the archipelago. The national refers to Bahasa Indonesia, and the foreign overwhelmingly means English for globally minded students and professionals with aspirations towards participation in globalized modernity that extends beyond Indonesia’s borders. The net sum, in Zentz’s estimation, is a gradual shift in Indonesia towards monolingualism in forms of Bahasa Indonesia that include more and more loanwords from English, especially among educated, urban elites on Java. Despite this broad trend of language shift, the Javanese language and dialects of Indonesian from urban areas of Java generally retain higher prestige than other languages and dialects from other parts of the country. Chapter 6 explores this experience of Eastern Indonesian students’ experience with this.

To understand the role of education in Indonesia, including the different experiences of Javanese versus non-Javanese, it is necessary to look at the origins and contemporary reality of Indonesia's educational system. Altbach examines the educational context of the region in "The Past and Future of Asian Universities: Twenty-First Challenges" (2004), while Buchori and Malik look specifically at "The Evolution of Higher Education in Indonesia" in a later chapter of the same collection on Asian universities (2004). Modern education's humble beginnings in the late colonial era initially trained a miniscule fraction of Dutch East Indies "natives" to participate in the burgeoning bureaucracy developing in the late 19th and early 20th century. The privileged elite who benefited from this came from the aristocracy, primarily on Java, but also eventually in certain Outer Island cities like Makassar on Sulawesi and Medan on Sumatra. Kuipers and Yulaewati (2009) contribute a chapter to the *Routledge Companion* titled "Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Indonesian Education" that looks at the overlap of those factors in the Indonesian system (2009). Moeliodihardjo looks at the intersection of "Equity and Access in Higher Education: The Case of Indonesia" (2010), highlighting the well-known economic inequality between regions and ethnic groups studied by Suryadarma (2006). Since Post-War Independence, and especially since the Post-Suharto Reform Era (1998—2002), efforts have been made to include more Indonesians in basic, secondary and higher education, bringing literacy, numeracy, and professional training to millions. Nonetheless, the regional differences and inequalities in access to quality education persist, and the roots of these problems reach back to colonial origins of the modern educational system.

Published research on the educational experience of ethnic groups in Indonesia focuses in large part on primary, middle, and high school levels (Sunarto, Heng, and Saifuddin 2004), while few look at higher education. As well, these studies look at the multicultural classroom in outer islands like Kalimantan, where children of transmigrants from Java study with peers of local origin (Therik 2004, Kuipers & Yulaelawati 2009). Chinese-Indonesians are one minority group about whom several studies have been written in regards to the group's exception in many ways for its relative wealth and business standing as well as the persecution and discrimination the group has suffered for generations (Hoon 2013, Turner 2003, Tan 2001). The research on the identity and experience of college students from outer islands coming to Java is scarce, and this study proposes to fill this gap in knowledge about this interesting population.

Center-Periphery

Key to understanding and situating the experiences of Eastern Indonesian students in Java is the entrenched notion of the “center” and “periphery,” which emerged from the works of Wallerstein (1976, 1980, 1989, 2011) and other “world systems” theorists. These theories posit that there are “core areas of capital and technology” that control and extract resources and labor from “peripheral areas” (Dove and Kammen, 621). From a global perspective this core-periphery dynamic applies to the centers of economic, military, technological advantage in the “developed world” of Western Europe and North America, leaving Latin America, Africa, and Asia as

backwaters of labor and extractable natural resources. The dynamic also applies on regional and national levels as well. In Indonesia, Java is clearly the core of the country, with the largest claim to capital and technology, while Outer Islands are the periphery, the source of labor and natural resources for the service of the political and economic elite at the center.

Indonesia is an excellent case for demonstrating the Center-Periphery aspect of World Systems Theory described by Wallerstein. On a global scale, the Centers of power and capital are in places like Western Europe, the United States, and arguably in a few other places, like Japan. And the center of this power and capital might even be more precisely located in a few key cities like New York, London, Washington, DC, and Tokyo. Further out from these centers in distance and connected-ness, relative capital and power diminishes until one is at the peripheries of the larger world system, in places often in the developing world. On one end of this web then, is Wall Street, or the Pentagon, and at the other end, at the end of these spokes are the powerless sweatshop seamstresses in Southeast Asian slums, West African cotton farmers, Central African miners and Amazonian villagers displaced by logging and development. Between these extremes exist intermediary regional centers that connect “upwards” toward the Center, and “downwards” towards the Periphery.

While definitely on the global periphery, Indonesia as a nation could be seen as a regional, intermediary center, with some relatively wealthy and powerful individuals, groups and institutions that connect up to global financial and commodity markets

(Evans 1979, Shils 1975, Elson 2008, Zanden and Marks 2011). Jakarta, the political, cultural, and financial capital of the country, is the country's link to the World System. Meanwhile, Jakarta and the island of Java on which it is found, is the Center of the country, while more than 10,000 islands across the immense Indonesian Archipelago radiate outwards through various degrees of remoteness and proximity towards the periphery. Java and Jakarta's position at the Center of Indonesia predates post-war independence, with origins in Dutch colonial administration and the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) obvious orientation towards extracting wealth from resource rich peripheral areas, through Jakarta (previously called Batavia) and ultimately sending it back to the Netherlands (Zanden and Marks 2011), which itself was and has been a peripheral state in world and European affairs (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989, 2011). Over the course of their 350 year enterprise in the East Indies, Dutch consolidation of power and wealth in Jakarta and Java incrementally co-opted existing power and commercial structures of indigenous Javanese, Malay and later other feudal kingdoms (Zanden and Marks 2011, Ricklefs 2008).

The Indonesian Independence movement that emerged among native elites in the first half of the 20th century seized the opportunity afforded them after Japanese Imperial occupation displaced the Dutch colonial grip on the country. While some leaders on Java, and the others involved in the independence movement in Ambon advocated independence for separate independent states in Aceh, Maluku and elsewhere, including proponents of an "Islamic State" in West Java, the vision that ultimately prevailed proved to be one of "unity in diversity" ("Bhinneka Eka Tunggal" in Old

Javanese) across the Dutch East Indies promoted by founding fathers Sukarno, Hatta (Vickers 2013, Elson 2008). The youth pledge (“Sumpah Pemuda”) of 1928 declared “one country — Indonesia, one people — Indonesian, and one language - Indonesian” (“Satu Tanah—Indonesia, satu bangsa—Indonesia, satu Bahasa—Indonesia”) (Vickers 2013). Rather than allow the post-colonial landscape in the archipelago to be defined along the many ethnic, tribal and geographic fault lines, the entirety of the Dutch East Indies remained intact as the Republic of Indonesia, despite challenges on diverse fronts.

Besides seeking unity in collective resistance to centuries of colonial abuse and subjugation, Independence leaders sought legitimacy for the parameters of the new post-colonial state by harkening to pre-colonial native empires. The Republic of Indonesia’s modern boundaries are roughly analogous to the extent of those of the Majapahit Empire at its peak of influence in the 14th century (Ricklefs 2008). With its capital in East Java, the Majapahit Empire ruled directly or through lesser vassal states on from Sumatra to New Guinea. Like other Javanese, Malay, and Buginese or Makassarese Empires, the Majapahit derived its power through control of maritime trading networks, linked to markets in medieval China, India, the Middle East, and Europe. 20th century independence leaders looked to the Majapahit as a source of indigenous pride for all “Indonesians,” regardless of where they lived in the archipelago, regardless of tribe (“suku”), language, religion, or other affiliation. They promoted this despite the fact that the Majapahit had in fact been a Javanese empire,

ruled from the Center, demanding tribute from lesser kingdoms and societies on the Periphery (Vickers 2013, Ricklefs 2008).

Thus, the modern Republic of Indonesia took its shape from earlier Java-centric models, both colonial and pre-colonial. Although many founding fathers were from Outside Java (Sukarno's mother was Balinese, the first Vice President Mohammed Hatta and Prime Minister Sutan Sjahrir were Minangkabau from Sumatra), Java and the Javanese have persisted at the heart of the country's politics, economy, military, and bureaucracy. The Reformation period since Suharto's fall in 1998 has ushered substantive changes, especially in the push towards "decentralization" across various sectors, yet Jakarta, Java, and the Javanese remain at the Center.

The young educational migrants at the heart of this study live out in practice the theory of Center-Periphery, as they move from the Indonesian Periphery towards the Center of the country in Java. Along with thousands of others from Outer Islands, they are motivated to undertake this risky and expensive migration because they believe it will benefit them, their communities, and even their country. Java draws young, dynamic students from the Periphery, pulling their *human capital* toward the country's economic Center, much as it does other forms of capital in the form of commodities destined for international markets (Wallerstein 1974, 1981, 1989, 2011; Tirtosudarmo 2009; Gellert 2010). The low intensity cultivation of cloves, coffee, cacao and other agricultural products grown in participants' home regions of Makian, Flores, Kei, and other sending communities is of less value to the Center than other

extractive products from other regions such as minerals, oil and gas, and timber—not to mention manufacturing and information industries on Java and certain major cities on other islands. Hence it is not surprising that Indonesian provinces with the fewest contributions to the national and international economic system remain the poorest in GRP (Gross Regional Product), Poverty, per capita income, and other indices; this includes NTT, Maluku, and North Maluku, the home provinces of 22 of 26 participants in this study (Hill and Vidyattama 2014).

Some participants express a desire to stay in Java after finishing their studies, which can be seen as a contribution of human capital to the Center by their Peripheral communities, in lieu of other material capital contributions. Experience shows this can be a struggle, with economic and social success far from guaranteed. Other participants will return home, intending to help their communities develop and “advance” (maju) as teachers, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, and “clever” (pintar) university graduates. On a personal level, this can be interpreted through Bourdieu’s lens of improving one’s social and cultural capital through education on Java in order to translate it back home into economic capital, as well as additional social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Javanese Power

Renowned Indonesianist Benedict Anderson provides a lens that complements Wallerstein in imagining the gravitational pull Java has on the Outer Islands. Whereas Wallerstein’s World-System, in mostly economic and capitalist, terms does much to

explain the Periphery to Center migration of the educational migrants of this study, Anderson is able shed light on cultural, political, and even mystical aspects of the power relationship between Java and the Outer Islands that are outside the scope of Wallerstein's theories.

Building on his ideas on the creation of national identities in his 1983 work *Imagined Communities*, he explores the concept of power as it is imagined in Java in contrast to how it is imagined in the West in his 1990 book *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia*. Anderson traces much of modern Indonesia's sociopolitical landscape through centuries of independence, colonial domination, and precolonial kingdoms. At the heart of the modern core-periphery dynamic is the Javanese cosmology, worldview, and concept of power, all framed by the Javanese elite's language and thoughts about Java's place at the center of power, with vassal states and lesser leaders paying tribute and pledging loyalty to the center. Anderson deftly describes the profound differences between Western and Javanese ideas of power (Anderson 1990, 17—77), which have an enduring impression on Java's relation to the neighboring and distant islands of the archipelago: "Java and Sabrang," which the Dutch occupiers adopted as "Java and the Outer Islands" (Anderson 1990, 42).

In comparing and contrasting Javanese and Western concepts of power, Anderson makes several salient points related to the Center-Periphery question. In Javanese thought, according to Anderson, power is an existentially concrete entity,

homogenous in nature, derived from the “intangible, mysterious, and divine energy which animates the universe” (Anderson 1990, 22). As well, it is finite, such that it can neither be created or destroyed, merely moved from place to place, person to person (23). Its last attribute in the Javanese worldview is that power is beyond good and evil and thus “does not raise the question of legitimacy” (23).

These Javanese modes of thought persist, despite the contemporary Republic of Indonesia’s modern era Constitution and electoral democracy intended to govern over thousands of islands and hundreds of ethnic groups, which would ideally be equal under the law—an idea Anderson claims is hard for many Javanese to swallow (a situation that may have changed in 25 years since the publishing of *Language and Power*.”) “Centrifugal” and “Centripetal” are a pair of terms that come up in Anderson’s description of the difference between Western and Javanese ideas of power (Anderson 1990). While the Javanese state is defined by its Center—and not by its perimeter, as in the modern concept of nation-state—its power is centripetally concentrated at the heart of the state, and grows weaker at the periphery. Western modes of thought, conversely, emanate power centrifugally from the Center (and even multiple Centers) to the very edge of the border (Anderson 1990). In theory, residents of North Dakota, Alaska and the New Mexican boot-heel are under the same authority as Washington DC and New York. Yet, in a Javanese worldview, one can see the anxiety that transferring a limited amount of power to the peripheries could produce, potentially causing far flung patron states to centrifugally break off from

relations with the center, as happened in East Timor, and is threatened in Papua and Aceh.

Benedict Anderson's comparison of Javanese vs. Western conceptions of power provides an interesting lens through which to understand the political and social gravitational pull Java holds over the Outer Islands of the archipelago. Anderson contrasts the Javanese model as opposed to the modern Western definition of a nation, in which all the territory within its borders are presumably under the same jurisdiction and authority of the central government—even at its extreme edges and borders with neighboring states (Anderson 1990). Yet this is not necessarily the case for the Javanese, whose idea of power diminishes the farther one is from its source, Anderson explains. Washington DC's authority is ostensibly from sea to shining sea, whereas Jakarta must deliberately exert military or other force in Papua, Aceh, or Timor to maintain its hold. Another important aspect of Javanese power is that it is understood to be finite, impossible to create or destroy, rather than the Western sense that it can be created by any number of actors who generate it in relation to others (1990). For the Javanese, this power always exists, and it moves from one person or group to another (1990). As such, if Java shares some of its power with Outer Islanders, its own strength would necessarily diminish.

As power in Java has the above attributes, the manifestations of its possession and use can be seen in its possessors' wealth and fertility, as evidenced in Suharto's pilfered billions, and Sukarno's legendary romantic exploits and many wives and children

(Anderson 1990). Power shifts from kingdom to kingdom, ruler to ruler, waning in one place and growing in another, going through periods of slackness and tautness, relative chaos and control (1990). The most recent period of slackness of power and widespread chaos followed the end of the Suharto regime in 1998.

In the brief and turbulent era of transition, or “Reformasi” (1998—2002) following the Suharto regime, conflicts broke out on several ethnic fault lines across the country, especially in Kalimantan, the Moluccas, and in massacres of Sino-Indonesians in Jakarta and other major cities on Java and elsewhere. Though the causes and dynamics varied according to specific context, the view from the Center often ascribed the causes of this kind of “horizontal conflict”¹ to innate characteristics of the groups involved (Nordholt 2008, 3). In Kalimantan, for example, “‘Madurese are violent’, ‘Dayak are head hunters’” (3). Nordholt describes the attitude succinctly: “This perspective also represents the arrogant view of ‘civilised’ observers looking down upon the ‘backwardness’ of irrational cultures on the margins of Indonesia” (3). Other prevailing explanations for violence and indeed civil war on these margins of the country pointed to outside agitators, military or other centralized manipulation and orchestration, or in economic terms in which underprivileged and exploited local groups fight back against usurpers stealing their resources and land. In the retrospective years since, several scholars have analyzed specific regional conflicts (Aragon 2001, Davidson 2008, Duncan 2005, Bubandt 2008, Spyer 2002), while

¹ “Horizontal conflict,” here, and elsewhere in this study, refers to confrontations, usually violent, between groups of people of similar social standing, such as between ethnic groups, religious affiliations, gangs, etc. In contrast, this would not include, for example, vertically oriented conflict between the more powerful military or police and subordinate groups of citizens or residents.

Gerry van Klinken's 2007 *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars* attempts a comparative study of the various conflicts of the post-Suharto era. In van Klinken's estimation, these conflicts occurred during a vacuum of power from the centralized state, in which unrest and instability prompted and enabled local elites to mobilize their political, ethnic, and religious connections in pursuit of economic and political power in the new sociopolitical landscape (van Klinken 2007). Despite the official inclusiveness of the Indonesian state motto—"bhinneka tunggal ika,"—the violent conflicts of the late 20th and early 21st century "showed the ugly face of ethnic and religious identity politics in Indonesia" (Shulte Nordholdt 2008, 5).

Edward Shils echoes some of the tendencies of the Center of almost any society to see the periphery as inferior in his essay "Metropolis and Province in the Intellectual Community" (1975). He describes the viewpoint of intellectuals from the Center, or Metropolis, "which asserts the primacy of the metropolis..." and holds that "provincial existence is "rude, unimaginative, awkward, unpolished, rough, petty, and narrow" (Shils 1972, 357). The terms "rude, unpolished, and rough" emerged frequently in interviews and conversations with the participants of this study; Anderson as well, underscores the Javanese value of being "halus" (polished, refined) as supreme, especially in contrast to that of being "kasar" (rough, rude, unpolished) (Anderson 1990). Shils goes on to describe a "sensitive provinciality" that regards itself as inferior to the metropolis and must acknowledge the "moral, cultural, intellectual, and political" standards that are set in the societal center, as well as the

global center—in this case in Jakarta/Java and also in the American/European West (Shils 1972, 357). An infusion of English into middle and upper class Indonesian speakers' everyday speech belies this social class's aspirations to 21st century globalized modernity (Zentz 2014, 2015, Sadtono 2015).

When examined through Benedict's understanding of Javanese power, the Eastern Indonesian educational migrants of this study could be traveling to Java, to the "Pusat" (Center), in order to seek what has been the source and origin of power in the archipelago, ostensibly since even before the Javanese Majapahit Empire of the 14th and 15th century had naval and commercial influence across much of what is now Indonesia (Ricklefs 2008, Elson 2008, Anderson 1990). The Javanese elite's foundational understanding that power is finite could help explain why it is so reluctantly shared with the Outer Islands, and why efforts at decentralization since the early 2000's have done little to erase economic inequality between Central and Outer provinces (Hill and Vidyattama 2014). After the profound shocks of the economic and political crises that brought an end to Suharto's authoritarian rule in 1998, Jakarta was forced to implement measures of decentralization in order to get Outer Island elites to remain supportive of the central government, amid fears and speculation that the several ethnic and religious conflicts in the peripheries would lead to disintegration of the republic (Erb 2011, Vickers 2013). The "blossoming" (pemekaran) of new provinces, districts, and sub-districts of Decentralization intended to give more direct political representation to Outer Island citizens; it also diverted revenues from local resource extraction to local governments (and increased

local corruption among politicians and elites) (McWilliam 2011, Erb 2011, Cribb 1999). For educational migrants, the political shift of Decentralization provided some locally available funds to support study in Java (i.e. asramas (official hostels provided by regional governments) and scholarships), as well as a new need for more educated bureaucrats, teachers and others to serve the new administrative divisions.

Beyond the flow of commodities and people between Java and the Outer Islands, the Center also broadcasts ideologies and values to the Periphery through images in popular media and through the primary and secondary education system that is the third largest in the world (Kuipers and Yuliani 2009). A new program sends recently graduated teachers from Java into remote schools in “daerah terdepan, terluar, dan tertinggal” parts of the country—“advanced, remote, and left behind regions.” One of the well-intentioned and adventurous young teachers who performed this form of national service (akin to the American Peace Corps or Teach for America) told me that the local teachers resented the intrusion of Javanese sojourners making them look bad, projecting images of Javanese superiority to students and to the community. TV and movies transmit images of advanced Javanese cities, as well ideals of Javanese beauty (fair skin, straight hair) that are internalized by some of the participants I spoke to. Other Javanese values are projected on the country, like the stereotypical Javanese idea of what it means to be “halus” and “sopan,” refined and polite, which contrasts to the somewhat brasher nature of many Eastern Indonesian ethnic groups.

It would seem that the official ideology promoted in schools, of an egalitarian “Unity in Diversity” enshrined in the five Guiding Principles of Sukarno’s Panca Sila contrast with the unofficial ideology of the media and popular culture which reinforces Javanese chauvinism and ethnocentrism. Both serve the mission of unifying the “unlikely nation” in its extraordinary ethnic, cultural, geographic, and religious diversity, while ensuring that the Center remains firmly in Java (Ruth-Heffelbower 2002).

Theoretical Complementarity

Whereas a World System viewpoint sees a *flow* of wealth, power, and other forms of capital from Periphery to Center, in a complicated capitalist system of financial transactions, a Javanese conception of power (as Anderson synthesizes and explains) imagines Java and the Javanese as possessors of Power. The possession of Power is indexed by manifestations of wealth, fertility, and overall halus-ness of the leadership. I imagine Java as the center of gravity in Indonesia, whose gravitational pull keeps Outer Islands in its orbit. In times of chaos, in which Power is diffuse and in transition from one (or more) regime to another, Java’s hold on the Periphery is “loose” (Anderson 1990, 33). Anderson uses the metaphor of a magnet that aligns metal filings pointed towards it:

“Power is also the ability to maintain a smooth tautness and to act like a magnet that aligns scattered iron filings in a patterned field of force. Conversely, the signs of a lessening in the tautness of a ruler’s Power and of a diffusion of his strength are seen equally in manifestations of disorder in the natural world—floods, eruptions, and plagues—and in inappropriate modes of social behavior—thrift, greed, and murder.” (33.)

This happened most recently in the post-Suharto period, when Java’s hold on Outer Islands was weaker, as East Timor’s example illustrates, as well as do the several

ethno-religious conflicts of the era (Duncan 2013). In the decade and a half since the loose, chaotic post-Suharto transition, Java has consolidated its Power, and consequently its hold over Outer Islands, ironically even as Jakarta has worked to implement decentralization efforts that direct a portion of locally generated wealth to local communities, especially local political and business elites.

On the surface, the reality looks the same whichever theoretical lens one chooses. Wealth and human capital (educational migrants from the East, in this case) from Outer Islands becomes concentrated in Java. But the underlying mechanism differs depending on how one approaches it.

Educational Migrants

In terms of the Center-Periphery framework, my study concerns itself with the human resources Java attracts from the Outer Islands, the thousands of young people who come to the “pusat negeri,” in turn to partake of the centralized educational resources of the country. Their reasons for coming to Java to study will be explored more in-depth in later sections, but the underlying theme for them is that they understand education to be of a lesser quality on the Outer Islands, and a degree from a Javanese university will lead to better career opportunities throughout life. Another reason concerns the intrepidity of a youthful need for adventure and to see the world, to know more of their country than their natal village and surroundings. In an American context, we can imagine a prototypical Midwestern farm kid trying her luck in Chicago or New York. In this sense, the Center-Periphery model is also an urban-

rural distinction. The phenomenon of educational migration (Visconti 2015) in Indonesia and across the globe, within nations and between them, is an important topic of study that touches on issues of human rights and global inequality. As higher education is increasingly understood as necessary for citizens and workers of the 21st century, it is vital to examine who receives what form of education and in what context. In an ethnically, regionally, and socio-economically diverse nation such as Indonesia (or the United States), it is important to consider the social conditions and context in which disadvantaged individuals and groups access and experience the educational opportunities available to them. Understanding what social and systemic barriers exist to educational and vocational success for minority students and how they negotiate them is a first step towards possible improvement. This study is a humble contribution toward understanding and documenting these issues as they relate to Eastern Indonesian university students in Java.

Chapter 4: Methods

Research Site

The research site is the medium sized city of Malang, East Java, Indonesia, home to approximately 825,000 inhabitants and several public and private universities.

Because of the many institutions of higher education in Malang, it has earned the nickname “Education City,” an appropriate moniker useful for marketing to potential students for other areas (“History Malang | Malang” 2016). According to the official City of Malang website, there are a number of other nicknames that speak to more aspects of this pleasant city, like its tourist activities, military bases, and cultural and historical resources. Other nicknames include “Recreation City,” “Military City,” “History City,” and “Flower City” (“History Malang | Malang” 2016).

Malang has a comfortably cooler climate than other places because of its elevation at 1453 feet above sea level (443 meters) (“Malang, Malang City, East Java, Indonesia Map Lat Long Coordinates” 2016), which made it attractive to Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) representatives who entered the area in 1767, and later 19th and 20th century colonial officials who made the city a center of tobacco, sugar, and other plantation commodities and industries (“History Malang | Malang” 2016). Nearly all study participants referred to Malang’s fresh air and cooler climate among their favorite things about living and studying in the city.

In Malang, I participated in the US State Department funded Critical Language Scholarship (CLS), which improved my communication skills, and helped me learn about the local context in which the study participants also live and study. The CLS program connected me to many vital people who were helpful to me for networking in the city and adapting to life in Indonesia. My teachers, tutors, and hosts are among many for whose help I am exceedingly grateful. Since research is not the focus of the CLS Program, I performed my research interviews and other research related tasks at times and places that did not conflict with my responsibilities to the Program. Upon successful completion of the CLS in mid-August 2015, I extended my stay in Malang for an additional month, which allowed me to dedicate myself wholeheartedly to arranging and collecting interview and observation data.

Participant Recruitment and Sampling

Participants include college aged (over 18) university and college students (and graduates) from Eastern Indonesia who live and study in the city of Malang, Indonesia. Particularly, students from the provinces of Maluku, North Maluku, Papua, West Papua, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) are of interest in this study, as ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities living among the Javanese, the dominant culture in Indonesia.

Research participants were recruited through my personal contacts in the city of Malang, some from CLS, and others who are friends and colleagues from unrelated earlier work and collaboration. Snowball sampling was the main method to recruit

additional participants. Also known as “chain referral sampling,” Bernard identifies this as an appropriate sampling method when members of a population are few and spread out over a large area, or in this case around a relatively sizeable city (Bernard 2011, 147—149). Additionally, students from other parts of the country often stay in guest houses or dormitories (“asramas”) owned by the government of the province they hail from. Through personal introductions and by simply introducing myself at various “asramas,” I was able to meet students at the official guest houses for the Provinces of North Maluku, South Sulawesi, and the District of Manokwari, West Papua Province (although the latter asrama didn’t ultimately lead to any recorded interviews). Still more participants were recruited simply by walking through areas of Malang where I suspected Eastern Indonesian students might live, because of their proximity to particular universities and colleges.

The method of walking provided me the opportunity as a researcher for nuanced observation and perception of my physical and social surroundings, as well as a chance to inwardly reflect on the meanings and connections of my observations, a “tactile, feet first engagement with the world” (Ingold and Vergunst 2008).

Participants

Over the course of my fieldwork in Malang during the summer of 2015, I conducted 13 semi-formal interviews with a total of 26 unique informants, since some interviews were one-on-one, while others included two, three, four, and once even six participants at a time. Three of the interviewees were women, while the other 23 were

men, ranging in age from 18 up to two in their early 30's. The wide age range was unintentional on the part of the researcher, but it proved quite instructional, as the different ages reflected different experiences and attitudes towards their time as students in Malang.

Also important to my research is the participant observation I carried out during my fieldwork, recorded in weekly journals. Besides general and specific observations regarding the city and its educational migrants, instances of participant-observation also took place during particular formal and semi-formal gatherings with participants and their peers. As well, my observations are informed by personal conversations with trusted experts, including my host, Professor Sadtono, fellow anthropologist (and native Eastern Indonesian) Hatib Negress, and other professors at local universities.

My intent was to find students who were presently studying at a university or other higher education in Malang and had come originally from the Eastern Indonesian regions of Maluku, Papua, and Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT). In previous work, I had collaborated and befriended individuals from Maluku and NTT who had undertaken a similar “educational migrations” (Visconti 2015) from their native and remote “Outer Islands” to earn degrees in Javanese Universities, and they had shared with me some of the challenges and pressures of being regionally, culturally, economically, phenotypically, linguistically different among the dominant Javanese culture in the “pusat negeri,” the “center of the country.” I also intended to include Papuan students

in my study, since it could be argued that there might exist even greater cultural differences between them and the Javanese.

I successfully interviewed representative participants who met the above criteria, but not exactly according to my expectations before beginning the research. For example, I was only able to interview one Papuan student face to face, plus another by phone, whose profile is somewhat different than the others, given that he had already graduated from a university in a different city on Java—Yogyakarta. This was one of two phone interviews, and one of four participants who had already graduated from university on Java (three in Malang, one in Yogyakarta.) Another interview that didn't match the above criteria was with two students from the Province of South Sulawesi, from the city of Makassar. These students' experience as outsiders to Java overlapped in some ways to the other Easterners, but was markedly different in many ways, especially in their self-estimation as being different than the students from NTT, Papua, and Maluku who were the main focus of my study. This was interesting in the fact that I was introduced to these young men from Makassar by a young Javanese classmate of one of them who considered them to match the profile I described to her about the Easterners I was looking for. In her mind, they were "Easterners." In their mind, they weren't.

More precisely, many of the participants in my study were from a few particular areas, given my methods of snowball and convenience sampling. Out of the 26 interviewees, 16 are from NTT, representing the three major islands of the province:

five from Sumba, five from Timor, and six from Flores (from several different ethnic groups there.) Three interviewees are from the province of North Maluku, but a key participant-observation opportunity came when I was able to meet nearly thirty students in this community when I was invited to a discussion on multi-culturalism at the group's official "Asrama" or boarding house. Three interviewees come from the province of Maluku, particularly the remote Kei Archipelago, which is closer geographically to Papua than to the provincial capital in Ambon. I met these students early in my fieldwork and visited their private boarding house (where they live with students from parts of Flores) for a social visit, but unfortunately, circumstances didn't permit more interaction with them and introduction to more of their peers from Kei. As mentioned above, I interviewed two people from Papua, and two from the South Sulawesi city of Makassar.

Researcher as Instrument

"In qualitative inquiry, *the researcher is the instrument*," which requires a degree of reflexivity in order to be aware of the biases and preconceptions one brings to interviewing and participant-observation (Patton 2002, 14 (emphasis in original)). My attempt at self-awareness regarding my position as the principal instrument in collecting research data from participants guided my decision to write this ethnography using the first-person voice. This is intended to remind myself and the readers of this thesis that the observations presented have necessarily been filtered through my lens, and that the personal interactions between me and the research participants influence the nature of the data they chose to share with me.

The lens I carried into the field necessarily is defined by my own experience and identity, which in turn affected my relationships with and understanding of participants in the study. My experience as a relatively privileged white American male includes being educated, well-traveled, and with years of cross-cultural communication experience in Indonesia, Africa, and at Washington state's most diverse community college. Despite this modicum of cultural competence, my experience and obviously differs greatly from that of the study participants.

Acknowledging that I can never completely understand participants' experience and background, I aspire in my researcher's lens to what can be labeled "cultural humility" in my interactions and observations with them (Gallardo 2014).

In my humble way, this ethnography attempts to follow the intellectual tradition of other foundational anthropologists who acknowledge their physical presence in the events and interviews they describe to provide useful context for the "thick description" of their ethnographies. In this light I give a respectful nod to Clifford Geertz's seminal research in Bali and Java, which find him and his wife rubbing shoulders and running from the police with villagers in "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" (Geertz 1972, 1976).

Data Collection Methods

Participant interviews and participant-observation of activities and events are the primary data collection methods used for this study. Interviews took place in informal settings such as coffee shops, parks, and front rooms of boarding houses in

order to make participants feel comfortable. Most interviews lasted between 30-45 minutes, but sometimes went longer if the participants were engaged and wished to continue. Interview conversations were recorded with participants' verbal consent, and I took written notes on sheets on which the guided interview questions (in English and Indonesian) were printed. Before beginning each interview, I briefed participants on the purpose of the research, possible risks, and confidentiality, using a verbal consent guide printed in English and Indonesian, according to Oregon State University Institutional review Board (IRB) protocol. I normally left participants with a copy of the informed consent guide to keep, as it was in two languages and contained my contact information as well as the Principal Investigator's email address. Regarding confidentiality, I informed participants that I would change their names to pseudonyms in my published thesis.

Two interviews were conducted by phone. One was with a friend's cousin who had met me in 2012 and shared his experience as a graduate student in Malang a few years prior. He now lives in his native city of Kupang, on the Island of Timor in the Province of NTT. In retrospect, it was my conversations with Alvin on my first visit to Indonesia in 2012 that planted the first seeds of the idea of this research project. The other phone interview was with a man who had graduated from a university in a different Javanese city, Yogyakarta, and had since returned to Papua, where he now works for a major mining company.

Participant-observation included attending informal student gatherings, such as an impromptu “hang out” (“nongkrong”) at the guest house of six interviewees, a “discussion” of multiculturalism I was invited to attend at the North Maluku Asrama, as well as general observations while living, studying and working in Malang. The point of observing these events was to gather contextual information about the lived experience of this population. Additionally, I took notes and photographs with subjects’ verbal consent.

When I began my time in Malang, my proficiency in Indonesian was basic conversational, but improved over the course of my language studies with the Critical Language Scholarship program. Most interviews were conducted in Indonesian, with English words and phrases mixed in occasionally when necessary and appropriate. Two interviews were conducted in English because the participants’ language skills were adequate in that language.

Additionally, I maintained field notes from each interview based on handwritten notes as well as a weekly field journal that supplement the data from interviews and participant-observation.

Data Analysis Methods

Interviews were recorded, then transcribed upon a second, third or even fourth listen. Certain key interviews that yielded richer information than others and included useable quotes to illustrate emergent themes were transcribed in their entirety. Others

were transcribed partially as I listened to the recordings and identified important statements and quotations from participants. I listened to all interviews at least two times, and others more. Analysis included identifying themes in the interview and other field data. While listening to the interviews I identified themes that emerged in the participants' reports about their experience in Java. While listening to interviews wearing headphones, I simultaneously recorded audio notes of aspects that were relevant to the research questions and supported or contested the larger emergent themes.

I also analyzed my field notes and the field journal for themes that I noted on each interview's field notes. Though my practice of identifying themes in the research data didn't include use of Dedoose or other social science software for formal coding, my intuitive process did indeed produce useable results that are demonstrated in following chapters and tell the ethnographic story of this study population. The practice of coding qualitative data into themes and categories is a useful and well established method in the social sciences (Bernard 2011, Creswell 2014, 197-198). The emergence of themes informed me in answering my guiding research questions. As these themes converged, reaching data "saturation," with fewer or no new themes resulting from later analysis, I was reasonably confident to have found answers my research questions (Creswell 2014, 189).

Validity and Reliability

My goal of 20-30 interview participants was an attempt to achieve “saturation” in the results of the interviews and observations. My success in interviewing 26 participants was indeed sufficient to reach a level of saturation in my results. The themes that emerged from participant interviews were then triangulated for accuracy with comparisons to other data, including my field notes and observations, statistics on education in Indonesia, and member checking with informants, as well as Indonesian colleagues and contacts in Malang, at OSU and elsewhere. Member checking refers to the practice of presenting emergent themes identified by the researcher to informants or other members of the community in order to check the validity and reliability of the findings (Maxwell 2012, Creswell 2103).

Limitations

An obvious limitation in this study’s methodology is my proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia, which the CLS staff assessed as “High Intermediate” at the start of the program and as “Low Advanced” by the end. My previous work in Indonesia as an English teacher and community college administrator put me in contact mostly with students and educators who have reasonable proficiency in English, and this falsely led me to a presumption that I would be able to conduct most interviews in English. As I determined that most interviewees were uncomfortable expressing themselves in English on these sensitive topics, we resorted to using the Indonesian language for all but two of the interviews. In order to assure participants that it was safe to share their thoughts and experiences with me, despite my language gaps, I explained that I would

be able to listen more carefully later to the recordings, even if I didn't understand every word of their testimony at the moment of our meeting.

Another limitation is in the sampling of students from various areas of Eastern Indonesia. Snowball sampling was chosen for reasons described above, as well as the fact that it proved an efficient way to recruit sufficient participants in the short amount of time I was able to be in the field. This resulted in higher numbers of participants from islands in the province of NTT, particularly because two informants proved effective in helping me recruit their friends and roommates to join my study. Jonas, Juventus and their friends comprise half of the participants in my study. Meanwhile, just two participants are from Papua. Although the data provided by the underrepresented students from Papua and North Maluku converged in many ways with the others, perhaps a larger sample size from those groups would have exposed divergences in the experiences for students from those places and NTT. Advice from professors of Anthropology and Linguistics recommended narrowing my research in the future to two or three more specific regions, rather than the immense and diverse entirety of "Eastern Indonesia." In my upcoming Fulbright Research Fellowship, I intend to do just that.

Finally, I must speak to ways that my positionality, identity, privilege, and gender affected and limited which students participated in my research, and what kinds of things they shared with me. A clear example of this is the fact that I was only able to recruit three female participants, which is something I hope to remedy in my

Fulbright research. As I illustrate in following chapters, two of the three female participants—Maya and Selfia—seem to have been more traumatized by their negative experiences with Javanese on Java than the male participants described. I can speculate as to whether females are indeed more traumatized than their male counterparts, or whether they are more willing to communicate that to me. But until I have a larger sample size of women, there's sparse evidence to support these speculations. In future study, I hope to recruit more female perspectives, hopefully cultivating a good rapport with one or more key female informants who may be helpful in recruiting young women to participate in my research.

My positionality as a privileged white Western male undoubtedly influenced which participants were willing to interview with me. This selection bias would have preferred the recruitment of individuals who are willing to engage with someone like me. While some Eastern Indonesian university students were enthusiastic and interested to talk to a tall, white guy asking questions about their lives, others avoided me and declined to participate, usually passively, by failing to return my communication by email and text message. In chapter 7 I briefly illustrate this selection bias with an example of some Eastern students from the Kei Islands who were not interested in talking to me, and may represent a group in Malang with a markedly different experience than the overall optimistic and successful students whom I was able to interview.

Chapter 5: Outside to Center—Educational Migration to Java

Introduction

This chapter will familiarize the reader more specifically with the experience of educational migration for the participants of this study. The 26 young men and women interviewed came to the medium-sized city of Malang on the island of Java with high hopes and expectations for their sojourn to the “pusat negari,” the “Center of the Nation.” They have come from rural villages on the margins of the Indonesian Republic, places like Wukir in the mountainous heart of the island of Flores, where cell phone coverage has yet to reach the farmers who grow corn, rice, cacao, and coffee for subsistence and for market. Others have come from the distant Kei Islands in Southeast Maluku, their journey by sea lasting 6 days aboard the State-owned PELNI transport ships—stopping first in other Eastern ports: Ambon, Kupang, Makassar, Bali, until finally reaching Java and disembarking in Surabaya then riding a bus to Malang. While the students from Sumba were proud to discuss their culture and traditions, including the captivating yearly Pasola Festival featuring mock battles on horseback, their island has not featured prominently in the history, politics, or economy of the archipelago. Keane points out that Sumba is mentioned only 4 times in Ricklefs’ *History of Modern Indonesia Since C. 1200* (Keane 1997, Ricklefs 2008), and it is listed only five times in Vickers’ *History of Modern Indonesia* (2013). Others come from provincial capital cities such as Makassar, Jayapura and Kupang and for them the transition from Outer Island periphery to Javanese Center is less

related to a rural-urban divide than it is to cultural, ethnic, religious, and other differences.

The stories in this chapter of young educational migrants' journeys from Eastern Outer Islands to Java are meant to serve as authentic demonstrations of the Center-Periphery theoretical framework proposed by Wallerstein, and introduced in earlier chapters. This chapter intends to illustrate the two quite distinct ends of the Center-Periphery reality as it is lived by this study's participants: from the largely rural, poor, agricultural East to the busy streets, malls, and universities of Malang. Indonesia provides a prototypical example of this concept, as Java is clearly the Center of the country in many domains, including government, economy, military, popular media, and education, despite efforts at decentralization since the turn of the 21st century (Hasan 2014, Meng 2010, Charras 2005). Among the most prominent reasons participants gave for choosing to study in Malang was a desire to know the cosmopolitan heart of their country. Their desire to experience the advanced "facilities" of Java, including higher education and possible job opportunities, can also be understood in light of Anderson's complementary concepts of mystical Javanese power, which is strongest at the Center and weaker at the peripheries (1990). In this sense, Java's gravitational, or "centripetal," pull keeps the Outer Islands in its orbit, while individuals like the participants of this study are attracted to the source of power in the archipelago with the hope of partaking of it themselves in the form of higher education and cultural capital.

As it is for young people the world over who leave home to attend higher education, studying in Malang is a defining, transformative experience for the Eastern Indonesian students of this study. They are eager to try out their independence from family, to know their nation better, to gain skills and knowledge for their adult lives and careers. Participants are drawn by images of Java learned through TV and movies, primary and secondary education, traveling university marketers, and stories told by older siblings who made earlier educational migrations to Java. Their expectations before coming to Java included hopes of meeting pretty Javanese girls, learning from and about other Indonesian “tribes” (*suku*), learning and using advanced “technology” and “facilities” at well-equipped Javanese schools, and perhaps finding work and making money during and after their education. Push factors from parents and communities also motivated them to come to Java to become “*pintar*” (smart/clever), to learn useful skills with which to return and develop their home islands and communities.

Like other types of migration, the movement from Outer Islands to Java is not without risk, despite its potential for personal, intellectual, and professional growth. This journey is an economic hardship for students and their communities, especially considering the temporary—and potentially permanent—absence of able bodied young adult workers from family farms and other domestic labor needs. Families of humble means are able to scrape together sufficient funds to send their students on their way, yet it may be unclear how they will find funds for next month’s rent, or for next year’s tuition. Eastern Indonesian students run physical risks during their time in

Malang, especially young men, who encounter tensions with Javanese students and other residents, as well as with other ethnic groups. These tensions and hostilities can erupt into violent brawls and rivalries that are sensationally reported in local and national media, and serve to reinforce popular negative perceptions of Papuan, Ambonese, and Florenese “thugs.” Finally, these educational migrants face psychological and emotional risks during their time away from home, which are exacerbated by the above economic and physical factors, as well as by homesickness, the condescension and discrimination of Javanese peers and neighbors, feelings of inferiority and otherness, not to mention the usual stressors of class assignments, tests, and grades.

Participant Origins

The majority of the participants in this study are originally from the Eastern Indonesian regions of Maluku, Papua, and Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) and were pursuing university or other higher education in Malang at the time of the study. There is spectacular diversity among the hundreds of ethnic and language groups in this vast, and somewhat arbitrarily defined region of “Eastern Indonesia,” yet they are often lumped together in Javanese and Indonesian imaginaries because of certain generalizations. In overwhelmingly Muslim Indonesia, the populations of NTT and Papua are majority Catholic and Protestant, while many parts of Maluku also include large numbers of followers of these faiths. Next, the physical appearance of Easterners differs from the Javanese, the former tending towards darker Melanesian skin tones and curly hair compared to the Austronesian features of the latter. Lastly,

the economy, infrastructure, and development of Eastern Indonesia as defined is generally poorer than the Center in Java, as well as other non-Eastern islands like Bali, Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), and Sulawesi. As a result of these generalizations, these Easterners encounter similar problems during their university studies in Java, and frequently form official and unofficial alliances with each other for mutual support and encouragement. (More will follow on this last point in chapter 7.)

The handful of exceptions to the prevailing profile of research participants provided useful counterpoints and comparisons to my findings. The two students from South Sulawesi didn't consider themselves in the same category as the other Easterners, even though their Javanese classmate introduced me to them as such. Also exceptions were the four interviewees who had already graduated months or years prior to their interviews with me. One of the graduates had attended university in the city of Yogyakarta, rather than Malang. These outliers shed useful light on the study in the subtle ways their experiences differed from the others. The perceptions of different ethnic groups and regions will be explored more fully in chapter 6.

Three of the interviewees were women, while the other 23 were men, ranging in age from 18 up to two in their early 30's. The wide age range was unintentional, but it proved quite instructional, as the different ages reflected different experiences and attitudes towards their time as students in Java. Only six of the interviewees were

Muslim (3 from North Maluku, 2 from Sulawesi, and 1 from NTT). Meanwhile, most in Malang and in Java are Muslim, as are 85% of the national population.

Out of the 26 interviewees, 16 come from various islands of the province of NTT—Flores (5), Sumba (5), Timor (5), and one from Adonara—representing at least 10 different ethnic backgrounds. Another 6 interviewees come from the vast region of Maluku, including three from islands in the province of North Maluku, and three more from the Kei Islands of southeastern Maluku Province. Two come from the Province of Papua, on the Indonesian administered Western half of the enormous island of New Guinea. The two young men from South Sulawesi were interesting outliers in that they didn't consider themselves in the same category as the Easterners I was looking to interview.

Generally speaking, the Eastern Indonesians in my study come from relatively economically disadvantaged regions of the country compared to Java and other parts of the country (Hill & Vidyattama 2014). In earlier chapters I reference how wealth, resources, and infrastructure are centered on Java (especially Jakarta) and certain Outer Island provinces with economies that include large-scale extractive industries such as mining, oil and gas, timber, and others. Gellert defines Indonesia as an “Extractive Regime” in order to differentiate it from other types of nation-states in the periphery and semi-periphery (Gellert 2010). While parts of Kalimantan (Borneo), Papua, North Maluku and Sumatra have high aGross Regional Product (GRP, as opposed to GNP), this hides a high level of inequality, in which there are some who

benefit from the income made from extractive industries, and others who remain impoverished (Hill and Vidyattama 2014, Hill 2014, Ilmma and Wai-Poi 2011). Especially since decentralization efforts begun in the early 2000's have increased shares of extractive revenues for provincial, district (kabupaten), and other levels of government, funds have become available for human resource development, including education (Hill 2008, Erb 2011, McWilliam 2011). This manifests itself in Malang in the official "Asrama" guest houses that some regional Outer Island governments are able to provide for their university students. I conducted interviews at asramas for the province of North Maluku and South Sulawesi, and I visited the asrama for the District of Manokwari, the capital of West Papua, although this didn't yield any interviews. I also observed asramas for several provinces of Kalimantan and parts of Sumatra. Tellingly, there were no asramas for the provinces of Maluku or NTT, which are among the poorest GRP and per capita incomes in the country (Hill and Vidyattama 2014, Ilmma and Wai-Poi 2014).

The official asramas of Malang are often found in particular neighborhoods like Tlogomas, on the northern edge of the city, where various private and Islamic universities are located. The neighborhoods were built in recent decades on former farmland, remnants of which remain, and residents of Malang—such as my educator friends from the polytechnic and the police chief (Ridwan 2014a)—know them to be places where Outer Island students from the East and other areas are concentrated. In Tlogomas I visited the North Maluku Asrama for an interview with three students and for a community "discussion" on multiculturalism in the US and Indonesia. I also

observed several others for students from parts of Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Papua. The South Sulawesi Asrama was in the Klojen neighborhood, across the street from Merdeka University, and had been established decades earlier than the ones in Tlogomas and it felt a bit like an American fraternity, with young men and women lounging on couches on the front veranda, playing guitar and drinking coffee. Meanwhile, most students rent rooms in private boarding houses called “rumah kost,” or simply “kos,” a term borrowed from Dutch. The study participants live with 5-15 other students, who frequently come from the same home island or other eastern region, and rent is paid to a Javanese landlord. Rent varies depending on location and facilities, but I expect that most of the participants and other Easterners are near the cheaper end of the spectrum. The few participants who reported their rent pay less than IDR 200,000 (~\$15 USD) monthly.

Besides asramas, another way regional governments with means can support the development of promising students is through scholarships. The students I interviewed from Papua both had regional and national government scholarships, as did the MBA student from South Sulawesi. Family and community were funding the education for the rest of the participants.

The participants in my study and their peers come largely from humble rural backgrounds and are among the first generation in their families to receive higher education and to live in Java. Parents of seventeen of them work as farmers in their home communities, and at least one related that his parents were illiterate, never

having attended primary school. A few participants' parents have non-agricultural work as a taxi driver, as a mechanic at a plantation in Malaysia, and as shopkeepers. Six have educated professional parents working as high school or middle school teachers or civil servants (PNS).

Although parents of most of the interviewees had not been to university or other higher education, several of them explained that older siblings ("kakak") or other kin from their families and communities had already studied or were currently studying in Malang. These slightly elder pioneers were able to show their newcomer younger siblings ("adik") how to navigate life and studies in Java. (More about the strategy of kakaks, adiks, and surrogate family arrangements will come in chapter 7.) Anecdotal observations during my fieldwork and professional experience with higher education in Indonesia suggest that in recent decades, the numbers of Easterners coming to Java generally, and Malang specifically was much lower, and has been increasing especially in the post-Suharto era since the early 2000's. Dr. Umiati, a lecturer and administrator at Kanjuruhan University, originally from the Island of Flores related that when she came to Malang as a university student in the early 1990's, there were very few other students from her home island or elsewhere in the province of NTT.

Juventus, Rutwan and Nathan: Journeys to Java

The 26 participants of this study were chosen through convenience and snowball sampling methods, and their experience of educational migration as Outer Islanders in Java is intended to provide a rough snapshot of this phenomenon. This snapshot

would aspire to shed light on the broader experience of regional and ethnic minorities in multicultural higher education in Indonesia and elsewhere. But a closer look at the specific stories of just three particular educational migrants can serve to further personalize this kind of migration and intercultural navigation. Juventus is a newcomer to Malang, recently arrived from rural Flores, NTT, not having started classes at the time of our interview. Rutwan from North Maluku is midway through his university studies at Unitri, and Nathan has been in Malang since 2000, long enough to reflect on his experience and his interactions with the Javanese and his fellow Outer Islanders.

Juventus: 7 weeks in Malang, from rural Flores, NTT

Juventus, the charismatic young man from rural Flores who stopped me on the street, gave a delightful interview, and also connected me to several of his peers. When asked to tell about how he came to Malang, Juventus took advantage of the open-ended opportunity to give a quite literal account of his journey. He began the story in his home village of Wukir, in a mountainous inland area of the Manggarai District of Flores, where the head of the village had collected money from other families to contribute to his transformational journey. This amount came to around 4 million IDR (~\$350 US). From there he spent the morning walking to a highway, where he then summoned a “taxi” (a van that travels between cities and towns) to the District capital in Ruteng. Another taxi took him to the western-most port on Flores, Labuhan Bajo, where he spent the night before boarding a ship that sailed for two days until he

disembarked in Java's principal port and Indonesia's second largest city—Surabaya. The final leg of Juventus' journey involved a two-hour bus ride to Malang.

As he related his story, Juventus was careful to report the cost of each piece of his travels—lodging, taxis, boat passage, bus, and finally the amount he spends per month on his boarding house in Malang. Juventus seemed to be demonstrating to me a sincere account for how seriously and responsibly he is handling the investment his community has entrusted in him. His account also included summaries of the conversations he had with helpful people along the way, for example shopkeepers near the port in Surabaya who showed him where to catch a bus to Malang, and a food stall owner near the bus station in Malang who gave him advice about where to look for a boarding house. This journey had happened less than two months before I met Juventus, and the excitement of his adventure had yet to fade, as it seemed to for others I interviewed with a few years already in Java. His interactions had been positive with Javanese on the street, in his neighborhood, and then on his campus.

Rutwan: 2 years in Malang, from Makian Island, North Maluku

Rutwan is from Makian Island in North Maluku Province and has been in Malang for 2 years where he is studying National Management at the small private university known by its nickname Unitri. Makian is a small volcanic island, among the original “spice islands” that made fortunes for the Sultanates on the nearby islands of Ternate and Tidore, and drew 16th and 17th interlopers from Europe, including Magellan's cousin Francisco Serrao (Ricklefs 2008). Islanders still cultivate cloves in Makian,

Ternate and Tidore, including the families of Rutwan and the other North Maluku participants, Rian and Alfian. Remains of European fortresses testify to the violence waged by Portuguese, Spanish, British and Dutch to wrest control of the spice trade from the indigenous Muslim Sultanates.

Makian's proximity to the much larger island of Halmahera facilitated more recent violence in the early 2000's after the fall of Suharto. Though accounts vary, there is consensus among some academics that the initial spark that set off a conflagration of interreligious war came from a settlement of Makian Muslims on the southern part of Halamhera who had been displaced from their native island after a volcanic eruption had displaced them decades earlier (Duncan 2005). Nearly two years of sectarian bloodshed ensued throughout North Maluku between Christians and Muslims, with similar elements as other religious conflicts in southern Maluku, parts of Sulawesi, and Kalimantan.²

In our interview, Rutwan, his colleagues and I didn't speak directly to the violence of the early 21st century in their home province, from a time when they would have been just five or six years old. But there was a hint of tension when I asked them about how many of the 24 residents of their asrama were Christian. Even though nearly a quarter of the population of North Maluku is Protestant Christian, Rutwan reported that exactly all of the Asrama's residents were Muslim. We didn't discuss their interactions and opinions about Christians from North Maluku or elsewhere, but it is

² The contributing chapters of Christopher Wilson's 2008 *Ethno-religious Violence in Indonesia : From Soil to God* gives a good overview of the period's various conflicts.

interesting to note that among the aspects Rutwan and his companions appreciate about Malang is the ability to meet people from other cultures and backgrounds, including Javanese, other Easterners, and more.

Rutwan didn't explicitly describe how he traveled to Malang for school as Juventus did, but a look at a map reveals Makian's remoteness. His journey from road-less, airport-less Makian would have necessarily begun by walking to the port to catch a speedboat to Ternate Town. From there he would board the state-run Pelni transport ship to Surabaya, a five day journey, touching in at four other ports before arriving in Surabaya, before taking a two hour bus ride to finally reach Malang. Flight itineraries from Ternate to Surabaya or Malang would still take the better part of a day, requiring transfers in Manado and/or Makassar.

Rutwan is the manager of the North Maluku Asrama in Malang, which serves as the "center of the North Maluku Community," providing "solidarity," housing and social events for students from the province. He didn't seem to be paid for the position, which made his dedication to serving his compatriots the more admirable. After finishing his undergraduate degree in national management, he hopes to earn a Master's degree then return to North Maluku and find work in the town of Sofifi, site of the provincial government. Perhaps working with and mentoring his peers in Malang will serve him well if he enters provincial government and politics in coming years and decades.

Nathan: 15 years in Malang, from Kupang, NTT

Nathan came to Malang from Kupang in 2000 to study at an STK (Sekolah Tinggi Kesehatan), like a Health training center, but continued his studies at the National Technological Institute of Malang. (His family is originally from the nearby island of Rote, but he hasn't spent any time there.) He still hasn't finished his studies, something he was a little shy about, embarrassed. But he tells me he "owns" a "Warnet" or "warung internet" (a kind of internet café) where kids, especially from Maluku and NTT play video games and other wise fool around on the rented computers. The shop is actually in his girlfriend's name, a Javanese woman he's been with for years and is expecting a child with, since he's an unofficial resident of Malang. His National ID card has him in Kupang, NTT, which leaves him in a marginal position in relation to the official mechanisms of the state. He describes the internet café as a kind of community center for young Easterners, especially from Maluku and NTT, who are attracted to a business/hangout that's owned by a fellow Easterner.

Nathan's interview gave valuable perspective as someone with a dose of adult maturity and experience. He first came to Malang in 2000, in part to escape some of the chaos of Timor of the era, resulting from the imminent independence of East Timor in 2001 after decades of civil war and Indonesian occupation. At that time there weren't many Easterners in Malang compared to now. At the time he lived in the area around UnMer (Universitas Merdeka Malang), where it's calmer now, but that there had once been a lot of fights—"a storm of hard fighting!" (ribut keras

berkelahi). He said he hadn't had personal experience with this kind of fighting, but he was aware of it, citing an example of ITN (Institut Teknologi Nasional) students from Maluku getting into a brawl with Javanese students at a gas pump a few days before our interview.

Besides escaping the troubles of Timor, he came to Malang since his parents and aunt had both studied there. Nathan didn't describe his parents' work, but their education in Malang and ancestral origins on the island of Rote (near Kupang) suggest that his family are from a relatively privileged social class in Kupang. Rote is Indonesia's southernmost island, just a short ferry trip from Kupang, on Timor, NTT's provincial capital. Rotinese present day status owes to colonial era history in which the Rotinese embraced Christianity earlier than on neighboring islands, partly in order to benefit from western formal education provided in missionary schools. As a result, those of Rotinese descent have been overrepresented in provincial politics, bureaucracy, and education starting in the 19th century, through independence to the present day (Cornelis, van Klinken, and Berenschot 2014, Hasan 2014). Thus, Nathan is a second generation (at least) university student, whose family appears to be among those in Rote/Timor who have been able to maintain their precolonial aristocratic privileges and regional influence through participation in the modern institutions of education and bureaucracy, much as Magenda describes for Outer Island aristocrats in Makassar, Lombok, and Kalimantan (Magenda 1989).

Nathan said it had been a long time since he'd been home, and he was really getting to miss it. He and his girlfriend were planning a visit home in a few months to get married in a traditional Rotinese/Timorese wedding with his family. Today, inter-island air travel is cheaper and more convenient than in 2000, and several Indonesian airlines fly to Kupang, with links to Jakarta and Surabaya on Java, Denpasar on Bali, as well as several smaller eastern islands. Nonetheless, the price and time away from work and responsibilities has kept Nathan away for many years, and he's only visited a few times since 2000.

His friends include Javanese as well as Easterners, some of whom have Javanese girlfriends like him, which sometimes makes Javanese guys jealous. He thinks it a good idea for young people from his home island come to Java for school, since it helps them grow up, helps them with a higher quality education, and gives them life experience. He added that there were some great things he's found in Malang, including Christian organizations at universities, and that life is generally "enak" (tasty, pleasant) in Malang—no traffic jams or heat like in other cities.

Nathan related a memorable story from when he first arrived in Malang in 2000 and had to take the entrance exam at his university. He admits to low self-confidence at the time, feeling like the several Javanese students sitting around him must be much smarter than him, since he assumed they had gone to better schools, and also because they finished the exam much quicker than he did. Some of those students became his friends and classmates later, and shared that they were just as nervous as Nathan had

been. It even turned out that Nathan scored higher on that exam than several of the supposedly “pintar” (clever) Javanese who finished much earlier than him.

Participants’ Stated Reasons for Coming to Malang

The participants in my study explained a handful of reasons for why they came to Java for university study, most of which fall into two main categories. 1) They perceive the quality of education in Java to be higher than in their home provinces. 2) They seek an adventure in a new place, somewhere different than where they come from, to see a new part of the world and their country.

Regarding the consensus that Eastern schools are of poorer quality than those on Java, participants’ responses clustered on certain terms to describe it. The terms used to describe the advantages of education on Java included: facilities, technology, developed, advanced, more complete, higher quality lecturers (“Fasilitas,” “teknologi,” “maju,” “tinggi,” “lebih lengkap,” kualitas tinggi”). Supporting this, a professor at UB, himself originally from NTT, briefly showed me some of the results of a study his colleagues in the Psychology department had recently completed among secondary education teachers on the island of Flores. He was particularly impressed by the results of an IQ test administered to hundreds of teachers that revealed a significant portion to be of below average intelligence. While he didn’t have data on Javanese or other teachers to compare with these results, the idea that a large number of low IQ teachers are instructing younger generations of these Eastern

students only lends credence to the idea that the quality of education at all levels is superior on Java.

The second point tells a story about the way these adventurous young people seek a formative experience away from their home islands, in a big city, in the “Center of the country,” the “pusat negeri.” For some, such as Jonas from Adonara Island near Flores, this takes on a patriotic or nationalist character. His study of the Republic’s five founding principles of Panca Sila prepares him to return as a secondary school teacher to instill this nationalist ideology in future generations of Adonarans. This attitude often emphasizes the unifying force of the (Java-centric) central Indonesian state and its capacity to maintain national integrity despite its scattered geography and multiverse of languages, religions, and cultures. Viewed from the Center, there can be a whiff of paternalism and condescension to the idea of a unified Indonesia; otherwise the “primitive” peoples of Outer Islands would be constantly fighting with each other, as one Sundanese colleague expressed to me. (Sundanese make up the second largest “suku” after the Javanese, approximately 15% of the national population, with a homeland in West Java.) Yet, several participants expressed a patriotic faith in the national motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” (Unity in Diversity), even while admitting to experiences of discrimination at the hands of the Javanese. Like others in the study (for example, the students of Kanjuruhan University—the “Multicultural University”), Jonas expresses a desire to “know my country,” including members of other “tribes” (suku) and backgrounds, including other Outer Islanders, as well as Javanese. This interest in pan-Indonesian cultural diversity is frequently not

reciprocated by Javanese peers, who can be ignorant of Eastern Indonesian geography and cultures, and uninterested in learning about it. Nonetheless, being in and knowing Java is in itself an important education for Jonas and other civic minded students like him. Students like Jonas and Ivan from Central Timor in NTT develop and express this pan-Indonesian civic mindedness in their involvement in student government and other student organizations for various regional and ethnic communities.

The second aspect attracting Easterners to Malang and to Java is also a matter of intrepid young people's coming-of-age, an adventure in personal independence and exploration. For country innocents like Juventus, riding an escalator in the Gajah Mada Mall was a novel experience that he could never have tried in Flores, especially not in the village of Wukir. Uki and Fabian from the large city of Makassar in South Sulawesi shared that they very much enjoyed their freedom away from their parents and relatives, common sentiments they share with the more rural, "more Eastern" interviewees, despite other differences. The boys from the Kei Islands described their desire to meet pretty Javanese girls when they were preparing to come to Malang. (This example of inter-ethnic perception will be revisited in the next chapter.) In proud photos posted on social media, many of the participants pose contentedly in front of landmarks, proving to friends and family back home and elsewhere that they are indeed succeeding in the Center, enjoying cosmopolitan life on Java.

The social media posts sometimes feature photos in front of their university campuses as proof of their success on Java. These universities in Malang are perceived by all

interviewees to be of higher quality than those in NTT, Papua or Maluku, yet they vary in quality between the different types and sizes of institutions. These variations tend to privilege Javanese students, whose primary and secondary education and other advantages enable them to be accepted in higher quality state schools at higher rates than Outer Islanders, who must study at smaller and less prestigious private institutions. Below follows an exploration of the different types of higher education found in Indonesia, particularly in Malang, “Education City.”

Other reasons given were practical, such as the two participants who had earned scholarships from local and national government. Related to the question of quality, students in particular programs of study reasoned that their particular subject would be much easier to study in Java than elsewhere; English comes to mind here. A few thought they would like to look for work in Malang, Surabaya, or Jakarta after graduating. Nathan had stopped going to school years before and was in fact working in Malang, semi-formally due to the complicated residency laws that forbid “pendatang” from officially living and working elsewhere than is indicated on state issued identity cards. The focus group from Sumba mentioned that there were people from their home areas still in Malang who had in fact found work or started businesses after finishing their university studies. These individuals were described as having had “success.” Others intended to return home with the skills and experience from Java in order to build up their home areas.

Alfian, a nursing student from a rural part of North Maluku wanted to use his medical training back home, where there is a shortage of such skilled health workers. Several students in English and Civics Education programs wanted to return home to be teachers after graduation, their ambitions reflecting a desire to “give back” to their communities after the money and time their family and villages had invested in them. It also reflected a sincere desire to return home, since they felt more comfortable there. Also notable were the several students from farming families who intended to return home and continue farming, either full time, or in combination with another profession, such as teaching. One of the young men from Kei hoped to boost production and efficiency at his father’s livestock operation to export beef and goat meat to cities across Indonesia, and possibly to Australia.

Higher Education Institutions and Students who Attend Them

As a self-proclaimed “Education City,” Malang offers educational migrants several options for higher education, representing nearly all the different types of institutions available in the country, from large, prestigious research universities to small private colleges and vocational training institutes (Logli 2016, Thomas 1973, Hill and Kie 2013). A discussion of the various universities and other schools in Malang as well as some of the study participants who attend them will serve to illustrate this central component of educational migration to Java.

The institutions that participants attended and the degrees they pursued varied, some public and prestigious, others private and generally less prestigious. Two participants

are presently pursuing Master's degrees, and one of my phone interviewees already earned his Master's degree several years earlier and related that experience to me. The rest are either pursuing bachelor's degrees (Sarjana 1, or "S1"—in Indonesian educational jargon), or another post-secondary degree, like a teaching degree at an IKIP ("Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan" or Institute of Teacher Training and Education) at a teachers college.

Large Public Universities in Malang

The premier higher educational institution in Malang is Universitas Brawijaya, a large, public research university of 60,393 students in 2014, on a campus covering some 544 hectares (University Profile 2016). It was founded in 1963 relatively early in the story of higher education in the country, first as a branch campus of Universitas Airlangga in Surabaya, the provincial capital. In Malang, UB is anyone's first choice for higher education because of its many departments ("faculties"), programs of study, engineering, medical school, education program, etc. As Hill and Wie point out, prestigious public universities like UB have a higher percentage of lecturers who hold degrees from abroad, something that many with the means aspire to for their university aged children will aspire, given the generally poor standard of education in the country (Hill and Wie 2013).

Most of this study's participants attend low prestige private universities, but it is worth describing them and the circumstances of the four interviewees who attend these institutions.

The undergraduate participant in this study who comes from Papua is just beginning her third year studying public policy at UB. Maya seems to be an exceptionally bright and motivated young person, which has enabled her first to successfully navigate the entrance exams and requirements for UB, as well as to earn herself a full scholarship from the city of Jayapura government for her first two years of study, and now another scholarship from the Central government's Ministry of Higher Education (DIKTI) for her final two years. Other study participants are earning or have earned Master's degrees at UB in order to become lecturers themselves. One of the young men at the South Sulawesi Asrama is studying business management in order to return to Makassar to teach at the State Polytechnic there (where he previously studied under my colleague and friend there—small world!) The second of my phone interviews was with Alvin, a graduate of the chemical engineering Master's program at UB, a man I had met in person in his hometown of Kupang, the capitol city of NTT, on the island of Timor, three years previously, during my first trip to Indonesia. He was introduced to me through his cousin, a colleague and friend who had participated in the State Department exchange program I had coordinated in my former employment. He is now a lecturer at the State Polytechnic in Kupang, a dedicated husband and proud father, much calmer than just a few years ago when I first met him and first heard his shocking stories of confrontations with Javanese and Muslims during his time in Malang, when it seems he was an even more energetic and proud young man. In retrospect, it seems that his stories—and their underlying anger—planted the original seeds that grew into my MA research project.

Universitas Negeri Malang, or Malang State University (UM), is a second choice for university students in Malang, in terms of prestige and quality. Also a state funded public university like UB, UM is slightly smaller, and offers a different focus than UB in its programs of study, a distinction dating back to its original founding in the 1950's (Thomas 1973) as a teacher's college (IKIP) before becoming a fully accredited university in the 1960's. Although regular classes were not being held during the months of my study for the summer holiday, I spent a fair amount of time on campus and with students, teachers and administrators in the Indonesian and English education programs, as I participated in a State Department sponsored intensive Indonesian language scholarship.

There exist a few other state institutions of higher education in Malang, including Malang State Polytechnic (Polinema), which was once part of the UB campus until it gained autonomy in the 1980's as this particular tier of vocational education was established. Another state vocational institution is the National Technological University of Malang (ITN), where Nathan attended in the early 2000's. I of course reached out to my friends and their colleagues at Polinema for help recruiting students for my research, but it seems there are very few students matching the profile I was looking for at their school, which primarily serves middle and lower middle class Javanese students from around East Java, especially those who live closer to the city of Malang and the surrounding Malang regency.

Islamic Universities

Islamic Universities form another group in Indonesian higher education, offering variable quality along with a strong religious component to the curriculum (Thomas 1973, Buchori and Malik 2004, Suryadarma and Jones 2013, Hill and Wie 2013). It is worth pointing out that members of faiths other than Islam can and do attend Islamic universities, like a young Christian man from Papua I met outside the Manokwari Asrama, which was within sight of the Islamic University of Malang in the Tlogomas neighborhood. Rutwan is the only interviewee who attends an Islamic University (University of Muhammadiyah Malang—UMM), but several others I met at the North Maluku Asrama attend UMM and the Islamic University of Malang (UIM).

Private Universities & Institutes

The next tier of prestige in higher education in Malang (and elsewhere in Java and Indonesia) is that of the larger private universities, including Universitas Kanjuruhan Malang (Unikama) and Universitas Merdeka (Unmer), home institutions for large numbers of students originally from Outer Islands, including several in my study. Like the young leader I interviewed at UM who connected me to several other students and facilitated other interviews and encounters, I met a young man at Kanjuruhan who proved to be a capable and connected leader in his community, quite friendly to me, and helpful to my research. This young man from an inland area of the island of Timor introduced me to his advisors, the Head of the International Relations Office, and the Vice Rector for Cooperation, who told me that a full third of the incoming freshmen at Kanjuruhan in September 2015 were from the Eastern regions

of Papua or NTT. Kanjuruhan seems to truly deserve its motto (marketed in English) “The Multicultural University.”

In hierarchically oriented Indonesian society, the next lower rung in perceived prestige and quality in higher education are the smaller private universities, institutes, and teachers colleges (IKIP), which are often sponsored by religious institutions, and whose student bodies are often overrepresented with minority students from Outer Islands. In Malang these institutions include IKIP Budi Utomo, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, UNITRI and others. Hill and Wie would include these types of institutions in their assessment of lower tier universities, with meager facilities, frequently absent lecturers, and a heavy emphasis on some of the low overhead course and study program offerings like management, accounting and some social sciences rather than the kinds of resource intensive science and engineering offered at the much larger state universities (2013). To be clear, I make no empirical claims as to the quality of instruction, lecturer absenteeism and the like at these specific institutions. I have indeed witnessed lecturer absenteeism at other institutions both private and public in my experience with Indonesian higher education. Researchers’ evaluations of the variable quality of the different tiers of public and private institutions aligns with the perceptions and opinions of educators, academics and even some students I met during this fieldwork.

Brief Analysis and Examination of Higher Education in Malang: Quality, Equity & Unequal Opportunity

Lest we jump to judge often well-intentioned educators, I add here a contextual note to understand how larger systemic problems contribute to sometimes poor performance by individual instructors, and thus poor instruction received by students. Hill and Wie assess Indonesian higher education and attribute the overall system's deficiencies as stemming from the relative immaturity of universities in the country, insufficient public investment, and a governmental emphasis on other development priorities—such as primary education (161-2). In this context of larger systemic inadequacies, one might extend a little sympathy towards absent or disengaged lecturers who have high expectations and workloads with very little pay or time to fulfill teaching, grading, research, and administrative responsibilities (Hill and Wie 2013). Many lecturers I have met will seek extra employment as consultants, as small business entrepreneurs, or by moonlighting at other schools. In larger cities this would entail epic commutes through snarled traffic from one end of the metropolis to the other, leaving home before dawn and returning as late as midnight. This kind of traffic and commute is less of an issue in a smaller town like Malang, though several lecturers I know do commute to and from nearby towns and villages by train, bus or motorcycle. Still, average pay is lower in than in Jakarta or Surabaya, and many do need to work several jobs at different institutions.

These universities, particularly in Malang, are overrepresented in their student populations with Outer Islanders. A few factors lead to this unequal distribution. One factor is the fact that some of these institutions have a religious founding, and thus part of their mission is to provide education for Indonesian Catholics and Protestant

Christians that reflected the values of their faiths and to promote the development of educated professionals who could “promote the interests of their denomination in the nation’s political, economic, and academic communities” (Thomas 1973, 147). Since many parts of Eastern Indonesia, like NTT, Papua, and parts of Maluku are predominantly Catholic or Protestant in a nation that is majority Muslim, these students often gravitate towards these institutions. (It should be pointed out that Javanese Muslims also attend these institutions.) Thomas describes other motivations for the founding of such private religious universities in the 1960’s, ‘70’s and ‘80’s. Some were founded with a mix of motivations on the part of founding benefactor and educational/religious foundations (yayasan) in order to increase both their social and economic capital. A university could provide a source of income for founding educators/businesspeople, especially if the state acquired their interests and consolidated smaller private institutions into larger public ones, as happened frequently in the 1950’s and 1960’s (Thomas 1973). In terms of social capital, founders might seek to increase their reputation and personal prestige by founding a university (Thomas 1973). In recent decades, well known politicians and businessmen even name their universities after themselves, as in the case of Bakrie University and Tanrie Abeng University in Jakarta.

In the case of institutions founded on Outer Islands themselves, one reason was an attempt to provide local young people skills for the local workforce and so that they wouldn’t need to relocate to Java for education. Despite this good intention on the part of local institutions on islands like Flores, Timor, and in cities in Papua, one of

the main reasons given by the students in my study for coming to Java for university was that the quality was perceived as much higher on Java, the “pusat negeri,” the “center of the country.” On this, I sought the opinion of my host, Professor Sadtono, whose career in Indonesian higher education spans over 60 years, nearly the entire span since independence. His resume includes lecturer positions at public and private institutions in Central and East Java, as well as guest professor appointments in Singapore, Japan, and the US, the founding of Malang State University’s Graduate School in the 1960’s, and teaching and consulting work throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

Since Juventus had recently been accepted to study at the small, private and Christian Universitas Kristen Cipta Wacana, I asked Dr. Sadtono what he thought the career prospects might be like for someone like Juventus and his peers, after they had bet as much of their own (and their communities’) economic and social capital to come to Malang with a dream of getting a leg up in the world. His short answer was that it was not good, that these graduates from lower quality universities would have trouble competing for jobs with graduates of more prestigious public (and some private) universities. He conceded that it was possible that their education in Java would likely indeed improve their prospects if they returned home after graduating, where their skills and credentials would put them ahead of graduates of local Outer Island institutions. In an ironic twist to our conversation about Satya Wacana Christian University and other institutions like it, Dr. Sadtono was amused to admit that he had

been the first president of the university after it was founded by a friend in 1965. He left the institution after only a brief stint for other opportunities.

There are indeed students from Outer Islands who attend the prestigious state universities in Malang, UB and UM, including some of my informants. However, they are underrepresented there compared to Javanese, even considering that it is located in East Java. UM makes statistics available on its website, including the number of students coming from other provinces. Out of the total number of new students at UM from 2009-2013—27,276— 83% come from East Java, the province where it is located, and another 2% come from other parts of Java (Statistik UM :: Profil Mahasiswa 2016). Yet, just 407 students, representing 1.5% of UM's student body come from the regions and provinces relevant to this study—Papua, Maluku, and NTT (Statistik UM :: Profil Mahasiswa 2016)—while the overall population of those regions comprised 3.4% of the national figure (Badan Pusat Statistik 2016).

Meanwhile, students from Outer Islands are often noticeably overrepresented at the less prestigious, smaller private universities. Statistics for these institutions are difficult to track down, given the scope of this research, yet this assessment is supported by the popular perception of those who are familiar with higher education in Malang, including current and former students like my study participants, as well as lecturers and professors I know or met during my fieldwork. This includes, for example, my friends who teach at the State Polytechnic who told me that while there were almost no students who fit the criteria I was looking for on their campus, there

were in fact many who lived in the neighborhoods near their home. These Easterners were studying at the Nursing and Midwifery Institutes, as well as at UNITRI, a small university, opened only in the 2000's that was held in such low regard that many educators I spoke with had not even heard of it.

A quick summary of larger factors in higher educational inequality by region and ethnicity is useful before looking at how these larger forces play out in the lives of individuals in this study. The underrepresentation of Outer Islanders in prestigious public universities in Malang and elsewhere in Java can be traced back to primary and secondary education on home islands, where quality is often lower than on Java (Logli 2016). As the more adventurous and motivated young people consider pursuing university or other higher education, choices range from local vocational training available in some areas, to a regional university in a provincial or larger district capital, or more ambitiously to move to Java. (Education abroad is an option only for an elite fraction of the population on Java or a select few other large cities on other islands, like Medan on Sumatra or Makassar on Sulawesi.) Their decision is guided by what information is available to them, as it is for high school graduates around the world. While Indonesian cities on Java and elsewhere have grown immensely in recent decades, much of the nation, including Eastern regions like NTT, Papua, and Maluku, is defined by a rural, agrarian, or subsistence fishing landscape. As such, a majority of young people entering higher education are the first generation in their families to do so. In fact, some of my study's participants related that their parents were illiterate, not even having attended primary school. Nearly all of my

study participants were from farming families, with a few exceptions—taxi driver, teacher, store owner, civil servant.

The students in my study had chosen to come to Malang based on information passed on to them by friends or older siblings who were already there or had graduated.

Juventus, from a very rural background, had heard of the teachers college in Malang (IKIP Budi Utomo) from a travelling salesman who came to his village and described the school as “cheap and good,” and that the city was “cheap, safe and comfortable.”

Though none of my participants mentioned this, fellow researcher Hatib Negress described how some smaller (and often less reputable) private universities will actively recruit these students in visits to towns and cities in Outer Islands, making grand claims about facilities and high quality that prove to be less than true when prospective students finally step foot on campus. A Javanese colleague who teaches at several private universities in Central Java corroborated this, explaining that one of his employers actively recruits students in NTT and Maluku, since they have a hard time achieving enrollment goals because local Javanese high school graduates prefer other, more prestigious institutions.

In contrast, major public universities like Universitas Brawijaya do none of this kind of marketing in the Outer Islands, or at least not in places like Flores or Sumba, according to Hatib. Presumably, their reputation should be sufficient to attract prospective students. As such, students from Outer Islands are not familiar with the process for attending a university like UB or UM, which involves a difficult entrance

exam, and relatively hefty application fees that discourage poor, rural students.

Javanese students are more familiar with the process, and gain acceptance more often than others.

A Good Week for Juventus

To conclude this chapter on the educational migration from the Outside to the Center, let us return to the story of Juventus, the optimistic and dogged newcomer who had left Flores less than two months before.

Juventus provides a good example of the process for admission to the private universities, which differs from the public universities. Advised by their “seniors” and “older brothers,” prospective students like Juventus come to Malang a few weeks or months before the start of the academic year to, in effect, shop around for an institution that will enroll them. When I first met Juventus as we were walking on the street, he had been in the middle of this process that very day. I asked what university he attended, and he had to think about it for a few beats before confirming the name—Universitas Katolik Widya Karya—with his companion, who was the kind of “senior” I describe elsewhere. Later, it turned out that he wasn’t ultimately able to attend that institution because of test scores, over-enrollment or some other reason unclear to him. Juventus had already tried to enroll at IKIP Budi Utomo, the teacher’s college that a traveling salesman had told him about back in his village. Unfortunately, after his long journey to Malang, he was told by Budi Utomo staff they were no longer accepting new students.

Although he thought it unfair that the IKIP had no place for him even though he had come so far, Juventus was too young and too eager to be discouraged and deterred by these two rejections in one morning. Juventus consulted his seniors for advice and information about other schools in town that might be suitable. After visiting at least two more, he had enrolled at Universitas Kristen Cipta Wacana. This turn of events seemed very quick to me. I met Juventus on Friday at mid-day, after he had been rejected by the teacher's college and the Catholic school earlier that morning. By the time we met for our interview on Saturday afternoon, he was a proud entering freshman at Cipta Wicana Christian University. For an 18 year old young man who comes from a rural village so remote that there is no cell phone coverage, who had never left his native island until two months before, whose family and village had scraped together funds to finance his endeavor, Juventus had had a very successful day. On top of this, he was honored to be speaking to me, a foreigner interested in his story and experience, with whom he could practice English and ask questions about my country, and my experience. At the moment of our interview, he was riding high, content that all was right in his world.

Even before beginning his formal studies, Juventus' good week, and his initially positive experience of migration from the Periphery to the Center must have made him feel as though he had made the right choice to come to Malang. Drawn magnetically by the Center's promise of cosmopolitanism and potential economic,

social, and cultural capital, his journey is an individual example of thousands of others making a similar educational migration.

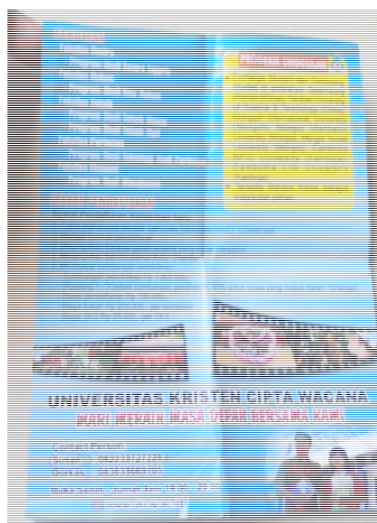


Figure 5.1: Promotional brochure for Cipta Wacana Christian University.



Figure 5.2: Regional decoration at the Manokwari student Asrama.



Figure 5.3: Outside the North Maluku Asrama.



Figure 5.4: Kanjuruhan University Malang, “The Multicultural University”

Chapter 6: Inter-Ethnic Perceptions and Identity

“Hundreds of students from NTT repatriated temporarily” (Salim 2016)

In the photo accompanying the March 23, 2016 *Tribun Regional* news story titled “Bloody Clashes, Hundreds of NTT Students Return from Malang,” a Javanese police officer addresses dozens of students on a bus as they prepare to depart (Surya 2016). Their faces register anxiety and fear, furrowed brows and somber stares. No one is smiling. These students come from the island of Sumba in the province of NTT, and they are being bused out of Malang following a violent “horizontal conflict” a few days earlier between two groups of students from Sumba and Maluku. (Horizontal conflict, remember, refers to clashes between groups of similar societal stature, in contrast with vertical conflicts with police, military, or other superior or subordinate groups.) The conflict left one Malukan student dead, and has tensions high in Malang for Eastern students and residents alike. According to reports, a group of students originally from the province of Maluku were having a party on the campus of Universitas Wisnu Wardhana (Unidha) to celebrate the creation of a regional student organization. The organizers had invited other groups to attend the celebration, but seven of the invitees from Sumba came in “disrespectful” clothes like flip-flop sandals and shorts and were asked to leave and come back with more appropriate attire. Later that night, 11 apparently offended young people returned to the party with knives and machetes and began attacking the celebrants, which led to the death of a 21 year-old man known as “Moger,” a student at a small private college (STMIK

Asia—Advanced School for Management, Informatics, and Computers, Asia) from the town of Doba, in southeast Maluku.

In wake of this clash Sumbanese students are being “repatriated,” for their safety, according to police and officials at Unidha, given the apparent danger of reprisal attacks on the Sumbanese student community by the victims’ friends and family. News reports maintain that the students asked to be helped evacuating Malang, but it’s clearly a hardship and disruption for over 200 students from three specific districts of Sumba to drop their education and journey back home. Inconveniently for the repatriating students, their buses from Malang will take them as far as the port at Banyuwangi, the easternmost tip of the island of Java and no farther. The rest of the trip must be financed by the students and their families. One wonders how many of them will be able to return to their studies in Malang, and how many will let this episode end their foray into higher education.

This chapter will explore the complex ways that the Eastern students of this study perceive, and are perceived by, the majority Javanese society in Malang. I intend to do this first by further describing the spaces in which these Javanese-Eastern encounters occur, where interethnic perceptions are created, confirmed and contradicted. These neighborhoods surrounding colleges and universities are areas where these students live in asramas and boarding houses, where I was able to observe and interview them, and where media reports locate violent clashes between groups of Easterners like the one introducing this chapter. The final segments of the

chapter will discuss questions of interethnic perceptions and regional vs. national identity as broader themes that emerged from participant interviews and observations.

Neighborhoods of Malang

In previous chapters, I describe how regional inequalities in Indonesia tend to favor Java while disadvantaging areas such as Maluku, Papua, and NTT. In chapter 5, I describe how these regional inequalities manifest in higher education in Malang; namely, Eastern Indonesian minority students' underrepresentation in prestigious state universities, and overrepresentation in less prestigious private institutions. In ways that overlap with the question of unequal access to higher education, the places Eastern students live, study and spend time in the local geography of Malang are also uneven and unequal for them as outsiders, as young people of humble means. A discussion of where Eastern faces are frequently seen, can sometimes be seen, and are not often seen provides useful context for answering questions about mutual Javanese-Eastern perceptions and national/regional identity. Straightforwardly, it is in these neighborhoods, parks, and campuses where interethnic interactions occur, and where perceptions of the Other are created, confirmed, and contradicted.

During fieldwork, I made a habit of taking long walks through different parts of the city where I had reason to suspect that the kinds of students I was looking for lived. During these sojourns, I sought the "asrama" boarding houses that were officially funded and managed by provincial, city, or other local government from students' home islands for their benefit while away from home. It's interesting to note that

there aren't asramas for students from NTT, likely because the province is among the poorest in the nation, without significant extractable resources for national and international markets (Hill 2014, Hill and Vidyattama 2014).

During these walks, usually in the late afternoon and late evening, I also gained an informed sense of the makeup of different areas as related to my topic. The method of walking provided me the opportunity as a researcher for nuanced observation and perception of my physical and social surroundings, as well as a chance to inwardly reflect on the meanings and connections of my observations (Ingold and Vergunst 2008). Few Easterners were present in the older neighborhoods, like the former colonial administrators' homes where I stayed, among mostly upper class professional and some Chinese-Indonesian businesspeople. Here, lawns, gardens and fountains are gated off from the street, as gardeners, maids and drivers tend to the property, washing the car, watering the flowers. Easterners were likewise absent in more humble older neighborhoods built on steep hills around the Brantas River of the center of town, where homes are packed together, shoulder to shoulder and connected by narrow "mouse streets" or "jalan tikus," sometimes barely wide enough for motorcycles to pass. Passing through the intimate spaces of such jalan tikus neighborhoods, I could not perceive Eastern faces in the crowd, or hear Easterners' admittedly louder, brasher style of speaking Indonesian. I could hear much more Javanese language spoken in these areas compared to other places (although I was unable to discern if it was high or low Javanese), and music coming from homes was sometimes traditional Javanese, and sometimes Indonesian forms of popular music,

like dangdut. In contrast, among my university aged friends at UM, dangdut was perceived as a low class style of music—not cool—and that many of them preferred Western, Japanese, and Korean forms of pop music. This is the music one hears at malls, restaurants, and cafes in Malang and other parts of Java.

Of course, such a cursory foray into these areas isn't scientific, but they did contrast with the neighborhoods where Easterners were a common sight on the streets, often near private universities, where flyers for student boarding houses could be seen glued to telephone poles. These flyers often advertised boarding houses, segregated by gender, but tellingly also by religion. A “Muslim” boarding house would thereby exclude many of the Easterner Outer Islanders from Papua, NTT, and Christian parts of Maluku. My friend and colleague, Hatib Negress, a researcher from UC Santa Cruz, and an anthropology lecturer from UB, himself of mixed Eastern blood (father from Ambon, Maluku and mother from Flores, though he grew up in East Java), told me to look out for signs for boarding houses that were even more blatantly discriminatory, advertising rooms for rent—no Easterners. I didn't find those more explicit signs, but even a rumor of their existence supports the hunch that “Muslims only” means “no Easterners,” if only slightly less blatant.

Zane Goebel conducted a more in-depth analysis of language use in neighborhoods in the Central Javanese capital city of Semarang and recounts his findings in his 2010 book *Language, Migration, and Identity*. His more careful examination of these neighborhoods shows the way that newcomers to Java adapt to life among their

Javanese neighbors, especially through their use of language, particularly their use of the Javanese language to ingratiate themselves into the hyper-local culture of the RT (Rukun Tetangga, or “Neighborhood Association”), the smallest unit of bureaucratic/administrative organization in Indonesian society, just 10-20 families (Goebel 2010). The term for the “newcomers/immigrants” or “pendatang” in Goebel’s study is the same as that applied to the participants in my study, but they are of a somewhat different nature. Whereas the Sumbanese, Papuans, Timorese and other Outer-Islanders I interviewed in Malang came to Java as young adult students intending (usually, but not always) to stay only as long as it takes to earn their degrees, the non-Javanese in Goebel’s study are in Semarang for work or marriage, permanently located in Java with families, jobs, and community responsibilities. The common thread for the “pendatang” (immigrants or newcomers) in both cases is their non-Javanese-ness, regardless of how long they stay, their purpose for coming to Java, or their specific island of origin. Framed by Anderson’s perspective of power, it only matters to Javanese that these pendatang are from Sabrang, outside Java.

In the Klojen neighborhood, just a few minutes’ walk from where I lived with Dr. Sadtono, many Javanese families live in homes that are packed slightly less closely together than the ones near the river. I often had occasion to walk through this area, since American friends from my language scholarship program stayed in rented rooms arranged by our program there, and I was able to chat with young people (always young men, always students) who were sometimes hanging out in groups of a half dozen or more, working on motorcycles, drinking coffee, and chatting. As a quite

tall foreigner, I stood out in these situations, and our mutual curiosity often led to informal conversations about our scholarship, my previous travels and work in Indonesia, and these young people's studies in Malang. All the students I met in Klojen were from the Province of NTT or from the nation of Timor Leste, which borders NTT on the island of Timor, and they were studying at one of the nearby private universities like Universitas Katolik Widya Karya, Universitas Merdeka, and the National Technological Institute. Jonas and his friends' "kost," described in the following chapter, is found in the Klojen neighborhood. Although these encounters in Klojen led to exchanges of phone numbers and subsequent chats in the neighborhood, they usually didn't yield formal interviews.

The Tlogomas area, near where my lecturer friends from the Polytechnic live, several miles to the northeast of the city center, is the semi-permanent home to many Outer Islander students. The area includes much new construction from recent decades, middle class homes, schools, as well as universities built on former rice paddies, while farmers continue working the remaining paddies in conical hats behind water buffaloes or gas powered plows. The small campus of UNITRI (Universitas Tribhuwana Tunggaladewi) and a Midwifery and Healthcare Advanced School (Sekolah Tinggi) are located in Tlogomas, as well as the larger and somewhat more prestigious religious universities, Universitas Islam Malang (UIM) and Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM). UMM, incidentally, hosts the language training and other programming for the Peace Corps. Also, it is interesting to add that UIM and UMM also accept students from faiths other than Islam, which was related to me by a

young man from Papua who attends UMM, which is right next to where he stays in the official asrama for students from the city and district (kabupaten) of predominantly Protestant Manokwari.

Other official asramas are found in Tlogomas as well, including a female dorm for students from the province of Riau on Sumatra, and different provinces of Kalimantan. And this is the area where I met and interviewed the young men at the official asrama for the province of North Maluku (Maluku Utara, or “MalUt”). All of the 25 or so young men who live at the North Maluku Asrama are Muslim, despite the several areas of the province with large Christian populations, such as the town of Tobelo, where my friends from the CCFA live and teach. Even though the men of the MalUt Asrama share the same religion as the majority in Indonesia, and indeed Malang, they admitted that they nevertheless experience discrimination at the hands of the Javanese, including in terms of renting a room in a boarding house. “The problem of finding a boarding house if you’re from Papua or Maluku or NTT is...difficult [‘sulit’],” Irwan noted, since many Javanese landlords don’t want them to live in their homes. “But not all of them,” he added, and we agreed that official asramas were helpful for the North Maluku student community.

Walking through this area, particularly closer to UNITRI and places with stores and other businesses, the presence of dark skinned, curly haired youths walking and chatting loudly in groups of a half dozen is prominent, unlike I describe in the more Javanese areas nearer the center of city. Here again could be another Center-

Periphery divide reproduced on a smaller scale in the neighborhoods of Malang.

Posters for boarding houses, or “Rumah kost,” are ubiquitous in Tlogomas, including the ones that specify “Muslims only.” Nearer the main road, which leads to the nearby tourist city of Batu, nearer the bus station for transportation to other parts of Java, groups of Papuan students gather at the tables in front of convenience stores to smoke, drink, and eat snacks. A recent change in alcohol laws limits where beer can be sold and consumed, so these students must content themselves with coffee, juice, and soda, rather than cans of Bintang beer.

Selfia from Flores reported that her older sister studies midwifery at the Advanced School in Tlogomas. And it’s in Tlogomas where her sister sometimes hears the derogatory epithet “kribu kribu” shouted at her by teenagers and younger children, a term for the kind of very curly hair typical of Papuans, Africans and Melanesians. Selfia, hearing stories like this from her older sister, straightened her hair before coming to Malang, and continues to do so. Here we see an example of how a young woman’s personal habits and appearance have been shaped by anxieties and pressures surrounding the dominant culture’s ideas and values of beauty, defined by the Javanese majority; interethnic perceptions and attitudes producing a tangible change in appearance and behavior.

In the Sukun neighborhood, near Universitas Kanjuruhan Malang (Unikama), the presence of Outer Islanders is easy to spot, even unavoidable. These “pendatang” (newcomers/immigrants) would appear to be a majority in the streets around

Kanjuruhan. Groups of young men gather on sidewalks smoking and chatting loudly together, young women clutch books and notebooks as they walk in pairs along the road, while others get on and off public transportation and others drink coffee and eat noodles or fried rice in food stalls (warung) and around mobile vendors (kaki lima). My first visit to the neighborhood didn't happen until late in my stay in Malang. Seconds after my taxi dropped me off in front of the Kanjuruhan campus, I knew I was on the right track when a group of young men with Eastern features (darker skin, curlier hair, rounder eyes, brasher voices) called out to ask what I was doing there. Our interaction was brief, but I found them again an hour later after my interview with Selfia. This in turn led to a group interview with four of them a few days later, and my introduction to Ivan and his advisors. As Ivan's advisor, Unikama's Vice Rector for Cooperation told us, the incoming freshman class includes 30% students from NTT or Papua. Besides Easterners, Unikama is also home to Pendatang from other parts of the country. In a visit to the bustling canteen where students have lunch and drink coffee, Ivan introduced me to classmates from parts of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Java, Maluku, and Batam, an island just across from Singapore.

These facts make it understandable that Unikama's tagline on its logo is "the Multicultural University." Unikama celebrates this in a yearly cultural parade and festival, in numerous student clubs and organizations based on regional background, and on its marketing materials, like stickers that end up on public transportation vehicles that operate in the area. It may also be understandable why there are occasional tensions in the area, something that Jeri referenced in our interview,

something that Ivan experienced first-hand and called “horizontal conflicts.” Ivan was reluctant to go into details and seemed somewhat philosophical, given that Jeri’s insinuated Ivan had been a victim in such a horizontal attack on a very specific date, (“August 30th, 2013”). My Google searches didn’t yield the newspaper articles about Ivan’s ignominious beating from a few years earlier. But a search in Bahasa Indonesia for “Students Malang Newcomers Conflict” (“Mahasiswa Malang Pendatang Konflik”) quickly revealed articles that point to alleged disturbances in areas with outsider students and occasions of horizontal conflicts like the one that began this chapter.

Ahead of legislative elections in 2014 a *Lensa Indonesia* article titled “Three Subdistricts in Malang are Considered Prone to Election Conflict” supports the perception that certain neighborhoods are places with large numbers of Easterners, and that those Easterners are perceived as troublemakers (Ridwan 2014a). Totok Suhariyanto, then Chief of Police in Malang, made explicit the connection between these students and certain areas of the city—including Tlogomas—and their perceived danger to public order.

“According to [Police Chief] Totok Suhariyanto, three kelurahan were prone to conflict because there are many students from outside the region or migrants who will exercise their voting rights in the region. There are still some students who have not been able to meet the administrative requirements. Thus, those who have the right to vote and are not able to are feared to vent their disappointment. The conflict-prone region is precisely the environment adjacent to educational institutions.” (Ridwan 2014a)

Lensa Indonesia published an article a few days earlier in which the students from outside Java demonstrated for their right to vote in the legislative elections but had been denied due to unspecified administrative problems (Ridwan 2014b). Despite the worry on the part of citizens and police in Malang about outsider unrest, there is an absence of online news reports that any violence occurred.

However, Police Chief Totok makes an appearance again the following month (May 2014) regarding a violent conflict between Sumbanese and Malukan students at Universitas Wisnu Wardhana that sounds remarkably similar to the March 2016 episode at the start of this chapter. Although there were thankfully no deaths like in 2016, police resorted to use of a water cannon to quell the violence (“Konflik Mahasiswa Ambon Dan Sumba Meluas | Malang Post” 2016). Chief Totok’s colleague is quoted in a statement asking the violent students to “do as the Romans do,” and to “adjust to the customs and culture in Malang, [and its] peaceful and conducive atmosphere” (“Konflik Mahasiswa Ambon Dan Sumba Meluas | Malang Post” 2016). The official’s polite request resonates with Anderson’s description of the “perintah halus,” which is in fact an order, given in a refined way that indexes true power in a Javanese context (1990, 54). A direct command is less powerful than a polite request that one assumes will be obeyed. Although the police chief acknowledged the disenfranchisement of *pendatang* student voters as a probable cause for them to “vent their disappointment,” the articles don’t discuss any redress of their complaints, only police intent to surveil neighborhoods with large numbers of potentially violent Easterners (Ridwan 2104b).

It's not clear if the news reporters are Javanese, but in any case it's unlikely that they were from Sumba or Maluku. The "Anarchist Student Blog" (Stop Student Anarchist (blog), May 31, 2014) contains a post about the brawl between *pendatang* students in May 2014, mentioning that representatives from the Sumba & Maluku student groups say it wasn't an ethnic conflict, but a rivalry between individuals who involved their friends. Ivan, Rivan, Sixtus, and Jeri from Kanjuruhan University described the same in their interview with me, alluding to those conflicts they had been involved with, and inter-student conflicts in general. If this is truly the case, it would not then make sense for authorities to carry out the "repatriation" of so many Sumbanese students in March 2016.

It remains thus clear that among Javanese, Easterners suffer from a reputation as violent troublemakers, a generalization and stereotype that is amplified through media portrayals and news reports of the brawls that do in fact occur within and between groups of young men from parts of Maluku, Papua and NTT. The Javanese view of these others is defined by how "kasar" they are, indicating a "lack of control, irregularity, imbalance, disharmony, ugliness, coarseness, and impurity" that contrasts with the ideal of being "halus" (Anderson 1990, 50). In addition, these brawls are understood to happen more often in certain neighborhoods near universities with large numbers of Eastern students. Still unclear is whether this kind of violence is as prevalent as media reports and popular perception would indicate. Also seemingly unexamined is whether these kinds of brawls are more or less

frequent among Easterners than among Javanese students, or if the cases of dark skinned Sumbanese, Malukan, and Papuan violence simply generate more sensational news copy.

Other places that the Eastern students are visible include public spaces such as the Car Free Day held Sundays on the broad boulevard of Jalan Besar Ijen, and sometimes at the coffee sellers and food carts that occupy an area of the grounds of the Brawijaya Military Museum in the evenings on the weekend. Shortly before my arrival in Malang in June 2015, the central town plaza, the “alun alun,” had been renovated and cleaned up, complete with a fountain that sometimes puts on a show set to music, and a sculpture in 8 foot letters spelling “Alun Alun Malang.” This last part is an important feature for selfie takers and for sharing on Facebook to “prove you were there,” as an Indonesian friend once told me as she posed in front of a sign that read “Boeing” outside Seattle. This communication was a way for these young people from rural areas of distant islands to show that they had indeed “made it” in the big city, in Java, “the center of the country,” as many described it. Their behavior can be interpreted as another demonstration of their attraction to the magnetic center of power on Java, the “pusat” (Anderson 1990, 49). I witnessed the painstaking production of these photos on several trips to the Alun Alun, and I also observed their results on the social media posts of young men and women, posed in what they considered glamorous or otherwise cool stances, wearing sunglasses or jewelry to accentuate their hipness. All of it done to impress friends and family back home, to

build up their own idea of their self- perception of cultural capital, and also of course just for fun.

Inter-Ethnic Perceptions

Of Javanese by Easterners

Most of the participants in my study were aware of the stereotype of the Javanese as “sopan” and “halus,” polite and refined. Even under stress, a Javanese person remains unperturbed, smiling and speaking softly even in a tense situation. Their cultural artifacts and expressions are highly refined, as evidenced in highly choreographed courtly dances, finely patterned batik cloth, and intricately crafted Wayang Kulit shadow puppetry. Javanese rituals of behavior and etiquette are renowned as well, something Anderson elaborates on, especially as it pertains to the “priyayi” elite of society, whose demonstration of “being halus is in itself a sign of Power, since halusness is achieved only by the concentration of energy” (Anderson 1990, 51).

However, this composure and serenity on the surface can mask true intentions, as Nathan from the island of Timor reported: “They smile, but they are dangerous.” Alvin, also from Timor, talking about his opinion of Javanese, says they are “too polite,” saying nice things and smiling even when they are mad at you, then “later they will hit us from behind.” Anton from Papua echoes this view of the stereotypical Javanese to obscure their true intentions with politeness. He thinks Javanese are quiet and calm, but that they can “hit you from the back.” Alvin’s many conflicts with Javanese have even informed his understanding of how his Javanese adversaries fight differently than his Eastern peers. His strategy in a fight involved identifying the

“weak one” in the group, and targeting him when the action started. “That’s their weakness,” he says, that when one of them gets beaten, the rest give up.

Most of the newcomers in my study (those in Malang for less than one year) have nothing but positive things to say about their Javanese hosts, that they were friendly, polite, kind, and helpful. When describing Javanese politeness, a couple, including bright-eyed Juventus, imitated the Javanese practice of bowing the head and doing a half crouch, and extending their hand in a sideways thumbs up gesture while saying the Javanese word “munggo,” all of which combines to mean “welcome” or please go ahead. A prototypical scenario for this would be when holding the door open for someone or letting them go ahead in a lunch line. The “munggo” gesture is so recognizably Javanese that it features in billboards and advertisements and marketing materials, a smiling, bowing cartoon figure in traditional Javanese clothes welcoming you to eat spicy chicken, his right thumb pointing the way.

Juventus’ largely positive interactions during his brief time in Malang led him to perform a fascinating imitation of a Javanese style of speaking the Indonesian language, something an Indonesian friend confirmed as she listened to parts of our interview and that I was finally able to hear after listening to it several times myself. For example, Juventus described a conversation he had with the Javanese woman who served him lunch on his first day in Malang, at a food stall near the bus terminal.

“‘Excuse me, Mother [‘Ibu’], can you tell me where I can find a boarding house in Malang?’ And she told me, ‘Yes Brother [‘Mas’—a loanword from Javanese not used much outside Java], there are some

good neighborhoods where a lot of students live, even other students from NTT.””

His voice gets softer when he imitates the woman’s speech, rising at “Iya Mas,” and pausing briefly after, a cadence and emphasis that differs from his everyday accent, which is quite strong according to my Indonesian friend at OSU who heard the recording and could tell right away from his speech that he was not Javanese and likely from somewhere in Eastern Indonesia.

Among those who had been in Malang longer, at least a year or more, their perception of the Javanese was a little less enthusiastically positive than the newcomers. They referred often to times when Javanese peers or strangers talked in the Javanese language in order that my participants wouldn’t understand them. This kind of code switching produced anxiety in the interview subjects, they reported.

My final interview was a kind of focus group with four Sumbanese English students beginning their fifth and final year of studies in Malang. They were a lively bunch whose enthusiasm and comfort in talking with me grew as we went. Some of the things they reported about the Javanese were that they were “more individualist” in Java than in Sumba. From the countryside, one of them complained about the garbage one sees on the streets and forests and rivers of Malang, as well as the presence of homeless people and beggars, which offended them. A detail I found funny was Donny’s annoyance at the Muslim call to prayer that rings out from the mosques near his home five times a day, something he was unaccustomed to in overwhelmingly Catholic Sumba. He wondered if I was also annoyed by this.

A point on which the four young Sumbanese agreed was that they were bothered by some of the moral codes their Javanese neighbors used to judge them, especially in interactions between the sexes. He said that in Sumbanese and other “Flobamora” cultures, female “sisters” (*saudara*) often come to the house of male friends and relatives to hang out, cook and have meals, but that Javanese people think this is inappropriate for young men and women to be together in a private setting like that. His comrades agreed with him, and thought it unfair that they had to worry about following Javanese customs like this, when this kind of mixing of genders is important for them, especially when their family is so far away, and they claim that nothing wrong happens behind closed doors.

They saw the mixed gender visits as important for the sense of community and solidarity among the members of their group, while the Javanese saw it as morally inappropriate. This led the Sumbanese to explain another aspect of their perception of the Javanese in Malang as “individualistic” (“*individualis*”) compared to them, and compared to their friends and family from NTT. They say they try to be friendly and say hello to strangers they pass on the street, but get cold responses. I witnessed Juventus reach out to strangers, minding his manners as he had learned them in rural Flores, by inviting strangers at other tables to join him before he would eat his plate of fried rice. The Javanese politely declined him and continued about their business. I wonder if this social-individual difference may be also related to the rural-urban difference between the Easterners in my study, and the residents of Malang. It’s

possible Juventus was imitating the halus-ness he is being exposed to in Java, but I suspect it was an idea of good manners he brought with him from Wukir.

In the course of the first focus group, which included 6 young men from NTT and the Kei Islands, they suggested that they expected to find pretty women (*cewek cantik*) when they got to Java. This generated laughter among them, and when I asked if they would consider marrying a Javanese woman, they said they would need to get girlfriends first, causing more laughter. They got the idea of the Javanese beauty from TV and movies, they said. The ideal of Javanese beauty is portrayed in TV and print advertising in Indonesia, of flawless fair skin and long straight black hair. This image contrasts with the stereotype of Easterners with dark skin and curly hair, features rarely seen on TV or in advertisements. In this light, it isn't surprising that Selfia straightened her curly hair to avoid being called "kribu" (curly-headed) by kids in the neighborhood. An older Javanese man I came to know well described how he met and fell in love with his wife during their youth, and a prominent charm that attracted him was her fair, fine (*halus*) skin.

The first interview from my fieldwork was with Maya, a young woman from Jayapura, the capital city of Papua province. Though she was young and attractive, as well as intelligent, hard-working, and brave (in my estimation), her darker skin and curly hair set her apart from her Javanese peers. As it was early in my interviewing process, my questions about her experience with Javanese and discrimination came across somewhat artlessly and caused an awkward tension between her, me, and our

mutual friend Stan, also from Jayapura. My rough interview and language skills aside, it seemed that Maya had been somewhat traumatized by her racialized experience in Malang, judging by her nervousness, her allusion to the epithets (“menyindir”) hurled at her on the street, and to the times her Javanese peers insensitively “joke too hard” about her otherness. Before coming to Java, she believed the stereotype that Javanese culture, politeness, and refined behavior were superior to that of her own culture. But after living among them for two years, she found them to be regular people, the same as her, the same as in Papua or elsewhere—“sama saja” (just the same.)

Researcher: What do people in Java think about people from Papua?

Maya: Yes, um it's like I already said. They think that the traditions from Papua are more "coarse" ("kasar") compared to in Java.

Researcher: Do you think that's fair? Not fair?

Maya: Not fair.

Researcher: What did you think about Javanese people before you came to Malang?

Maya: What I thought about Javanese people, is that many of them have traditions ("tradisi, adat") maybe better, maybe more "sopan" (polite), more friendly ("ramah").

Researcher: Before you came here, right?

Maya: Yeah, before. But now, after being in Malang, I think they're just the same ("sama saja").

A couple of the participants from more rural areas feared they might fall prey to being tricked by big city folk on Java when they got to Java. They didn't fear upper class refined Javanese, but the kind of street hustlers and con men they had seen on TV and in movies. They were relieved to find that didn't happen much at all in Malang, but

they suspected it might in bigger cities like Jakarta and Surabaya. Alvin, despite his belligerent experiences with his “Javanese brothers and sisters” when he was a graduate student at UB, thinks more students from his native Timor and Kupang should come to Malang over other places in Java. Conflicts in Bandung and Yogyakarta, he says, can “blow up,” referring to church burnings and violent rivalries between Javanese and Easterners.

Perceptions of Easterners by Javanese

A key question I liked to ask participants near the end of our interviews was about what they thought Javanese might think about them, or more broadly about people from their home islands and from the East.

All answers made reference to curly hair and darker skin. Nathan joked that maybe one reason he got along so well with Javanese and didn’t experience too many problems with them is that he “doesn’t look too Eastern” (“tidak terlalu Timur”) because of his lighter skin. Another feature they report Javanese to notice is that their voices are often louder than the soft-spoken Javanese. A theory on why Easterners’ voices are so loud came from Jeri, a native of Eastern Flores in NTT and graduate of Kanjuruhan who has traveled and worked in several parts of Indonesia, including the boom town on Batam Island near Singapore. Jeri talked about how Javanese live in tightly packed villages and crowded cities, where everyone is close to their neighbors, and if someone is to keep a secret without broadcasting it to the whole neighborhood, it is necessary to speak in the hushed Javanese way. On the other hand, according to Jeri, Easterners live in less tightly packed communities, even on different islands than

their neighbors. As a result, fishermen have to yell over the sound of the waves, farmers shout across the valley coming home from their fields, and thus a culture of loud voices emerged across the East. Jeri's explanation earned chuckles from Ivan, Rivan, Sixtus and me, but none corroborated his theory.

Dani, Stanus, Ernie, and Donny from Sumba in NTT discussed and demonstrated the phenomenon of loud Easterners in my interview/focus group with them, the last one of my field work. In the audio and video of our interview, the voice of Dani, a young woman of very small stature and build, interrupts and talks over her peers, and the young men do the same. Despite her diminutive stature, her voice is much louder than any of the Javanese women I came to know during my fieldwork, and even louder than Ernie, Donny, and Stanus. They explained that sometimes Javanese people might hear their conversations and think they were fighting with each other, and would also consider them to be rude, poor mannered, and unrefined. The Javanese simply didn't understand them, these young Sumbanese said, that this was simply the way they talked. It was inspiring to hear them unapologetically embrace who they were, and to see them act it out. I was nervous because we were at a park in a nice neighborhood, where (mostly Javanese) people would easily have been able to hear our conversation, which touched frequently on issues related to Javanese people.

Related to the louder voices that Javanese perceive among Easterners is their various, non-Javanese dialects, or "logat" when speaking the Indonesian language. The participants in my study come from several places of Eastern Indonesia, distant and

distinct from each other, and thus they have different accents and dialects from each other, which in turn differ from the “logat” of Malang and East Java, and even more so from the popular form from Jakarta, infused with slang and borrowed English words. The scope of my study doesn’t provide for a linguistic analysis of these different accents, but I include a mention of the differences because they are remarkable to the participants and to the Javanese they know in Malang. Sometimes the difference can be a point of pride and identity, as when Selfia reported that “when I don't like something I say ‘aoww le.’” This is a term that only people from her part of Flores would know, unless someone taught it to them.

The difference in accent can also be a way to belittle the rural Easterners compared to the city dwellers of Java. Jonas explained that Javanese sometimes think their logat is “lucu,” (funny or cute.) Here we see another demonstration of the Center-Periphery dynamic at play, in which the culture of the Center is seen as more valuable, more worthy than that of the Periphery. The young men of the Maluku Utara asrama revealed that their accent or “logat” was sometimes laughed at by Javanese. Jonas’ roommates from NTT and Maluku also reported they were made fun of for their accents.

A majority of the participants I asked about Javanese perceptions of them used the word “jahat” to describe what Javanese think of them. In English, “jahat” is translated as “wicked, evil, or sinister.” But they often add that people think that way until they get to know them, until they’re able to “bergaul” as the North Malukans said several

times, an informal term meaning “to associate, to mingle” with each other. (I was delighted when they said they enjoyed getting to “bergaul” with me.) According to Randi, the Javanese see the dark, “jahat” exterior, but eventually come to know their “good interior” (“sisi baik”).

Some participants were optimistic in their discussion of the idea of being seen as “jahat” by the Javanese. They thought it was just a misunderstanding that would be corrected in time as the different groups truly got to know each other better. These Easterners might have seen it as their responsibility to prove to their Javanese neighbors in Malang that not all Easterners are bad. The students from North Maluku took this approach, as did Jonas from Adonara (near Flores). These students were active on their campuses (UMM, UM, UniTri) and participated and organized discussions on “hot topics” in politics, society, and religion among themselves and with peers from other ethnic groups. However, a major factor that could contribute to their motivation and willingness to engage with Javanese and others is the fact that these students were all Muslim, a trait they hold in common with a majority of Javanese and 85% of the country (“Badan Pusat Statistik” 2016).

Anton, a Papuan Christian who now works as an engineer at a famous (also infamous) mine in Papua took this approach in our phone interview, in a way trying to convince me that he was a good one. He asked me to consider the positive change in “character” that occurred for some of his Papuan brothers during their time studying on Java—and that did *not* happen for others. Those of good character, like

him, learned valuable skills at university that they could use to “advance” and “develop” themselves and their communities back home. They also improved their character by learning self-control, “discipline,” and “politeness.” Using a Foucauldian lens, we can see the Indonesian state (guided by strong Javanese values) exerting its “biopower” over Anton, which he internalizes and perpetuates (Foucault 1977). On the other hand, Anton refers to Papuan students whose character doesn’t improve during their time on Java, who drink, aren’t polite, and get into fights. Anton wanted to prove that not all Papuans were rude, drunk, and violent, but he disapproved of those who are.

Like Anton and Nathan, Alvin is in his 30’s and was reflecting back on his college experience in Java. Alvin also spoke to the Javanese view of Easterners as “naughty, no good,” wanting to fight and to date Javanese girls. He said he tried hard to show them this was not true, but that fights were sometimes unavoidable, as he reported on an encounter with his junior and a bigoted and disrespectful parking attendant, which led to a subsequent brawl between their groups. More on this episode follows in chapter 7.

Nathan talked about the stereotypes of Javanese vs NTT students. The former are seen as smart (“pintar”) and the others think of themselves as stupid, leading to low self-esteem. This plays out especially in the entry tests for universities. Javanese are perceived to do better at these tests, given generally better high schools, better familiarity with these tests, and better self-esteem. Nathan related his story about

when he took the entrance exam after he had first come to Malang. He had been quite nervous, and looking around the room at several Javanese students, he thought they must be smarter than him, since they didn't seem nervous, and many of them finished the test relatively quickly. He later befriended some of the Javanese classmates from that entrance exam, and it turned out that they were just as nervous as he was, and Nathan scored higher than most of them.

The group of Sumbanese in the final interview seemed less interested in changing the minds of their Javanese neighbors. They felt like they had gotten to know Javanese culture and behavior, but that the opposite wasn't true. They were ready to go back home after finishing their degrees and leave Java to the Javanese. They didn't seem to have internalized the idea of Javanese superiority and remained confident and proud of their regional identity. During our interview, Donny proudly showed me a video of the "Pasola," a dangerous mock battle and competition on horseback that is the pinnacle of Sumbanese cultural celebrations. The group gamely invited me to join them for next year's Pasola.

Still others, particularly the two women who had one on one interviews with me, were a bit traumatized by the way they had been regarded and treated by Javanese. They certainly didn't consider themselves "jahat," which contrasted jarringly with how they were perceived. Selvia had only been in Malang for a few weeks, yet she felt the need to straighten her hair to avoid being called "kribo" by teenagers. MayaMaya's negative experiences after two years had lessened her regard for the

Javanese, erasing her preconception of their superiority and replacing it with anger and defiance. Remember that it was Maya whose political awareness had grown during her time at university, and that she was now in favor of her region's independence from Indonesia. Both Maya and Selvia took advantage of my offer to change the subject if any of my questions made them feel uncomfortable.

A particular term that would certainly make the study participants uncomfortable doesn't appear in the interview data, likely due to its extremely racist offensiveness. "Semut hitam" means "black ant," a term for Easterners that carries clear racial derision. I learned this term while discussing my research with a Javanese friend of mine who teaches at a private business management academy in the city of Yogyakarta that serves a large number of students from Papua and NTT. As a lecturer and soccer coach at the academy, my friend describes himself as a sympathetic figure who has earned the confidence of the Eastern students at his institution, who share with him their frustration and anxiety as minorities among the Javanese. Meanwhile, he also hears his colleagues disparage the "semut hitam" in the teachers' lounge, complaining about their low grades and perceived inferiority and stupidity. Given how violently charged this epithet is, I'm not surprised I didn't hear it from my research participants, since I generally tried to guide my interviews away from topics that would cause them anxiety. Even though we probed questions of discrimination and stereotypes, it was important to keep interviewees comfortable so as to maintain our rapport.

Another image of the Easterner as “jahat” can be seen in the figure of Hercules Rosario Marcal, the “celebrity gangster” (Wilson 2008) from Timor whose exploits in the Jakarta underworld, combined with influential political connections make him a frequent subject of TV and tabloid journalism (Wilson 2014). Hercules is among the most famous “preman” (gangsters) in Indonesia, despite his attempts to wash his image through supposedly legitimate business and political interests, including real estate and a Catholic Business Management College in Jakarta. (Some of my closest friends in Jakarta work at said college, where they struggle to give their students useful skills for the workforce, and where they try to overcome their institution’s negative association with Hercules.) Besides the dark skin and wiry curly hair of an Easterner, Hercules has a glass eye and prosthetic hand, which he lost in gun battles as a youth in Timor, where as an orphan he was “adopted” by Indonesian military units who employed his services during their invasion and occupation of East Timor. Among the Indonesian commanders who earned Hercules’ loyalty was Prabowo Subianto, who later married President Suharto’s daughter and lost the 2014 presidential election under a cloud of accusations of human rights abuses during his military career. Hercules came to Jakarta as a young man under the auspices of a charitable program for disadvantaged youth run by Suharto’s daughter (Ryter 1998), and shortly after began his career as a gang leader in the Tanah Abang neighborhood of Jakarta.

In a certain light, Hercules might be considered a Robin Hood figure for fellow Easterners to admire, a local boy from the Periphery who has achieved wealth, and

renown in the metropole, creating opportunity for himself and fellow Eastern gangsters in his orbit. The crime boss's mix of toughness, loyalty, street smarts, and other attributes indeed took the orphan Hercules from obscure poverty in marginal, war-torn Timor to relative success in the capitol. But his reputation as a "thug" makes him a boogeyman to the citizens of the Center, who fear and judge him, granting him notoriety and infamy rather than respect and admiration. His 2014 arrest, imprisonment, and confiscation of assets demonstrate that Outsiders can only rise so far in the Center.

Returning to this study's findings, another Javanese impression of the vast Eastern part of the country is relative ignorance of Outer Island geography and ethno-scape. Nathan said that his Javanese peers would sometimes understand where he was from if he told them it was the place where the folk music called "sasando" comes from. Sasando music appears time to time on TV shows about cultures from around the archipelago, and it stands out for its exotic and elaborate harp-like instruments and extravagant hats worn by the musicians. The image of country folk playing quaint music in eccentric traditional garb is also a caricature, as is the image of thuggish gangster. Both caricatures maintain the inferiority of the Outsider.

Although to the east of Java there are over a dozen provinces and several major islands, many of my respondents report that their Javanese peers are aware of only three places—Flores, Ambon, and Papua. Flores is but one island in the province of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) that includes Sumba, Timor, Rote and many more.

Ambon is the capitol city of the province of Maluku, which once also included the islands that now make up the province of North Maluku. Papua is probably the most distinct of the Eastern Indonesian islands in the minds of Javanese and other Indonesians, since it includes the western half of the enormous island of New Guinea, and the inhabitants appear much different physically and culturally than the Austronesian populations elsewhere in the country. The students I interviewed from parts of the province of Maluku, relied on this shorthand since they were likely tired of having to explain where they come from to uninformed and uninterested Javanese. Several times I had to cross out my notes after an informant had told me he was from “Ambon,” when in fact he was from the Kei Islands or elsewhere. I imagine this to be analogous to someone from Burns in rural Eastern Oregon saying he comes from Portland. Some of the online news articles about the Malukan student killed in the March 20, 2016 brawl in Malang incorrectly identified the young man named Moger as coming from “Ambon, Maluku,” when he is in fact from the Aru Islands, which are several hundred miles southeast of the provincial capital (Aminudin 2016).

I find this to be true in conversations with Javanese friends and acquaintances when referring to my research and to places I have traveled throughout NTT and North Maluku. Of course part of the confusion might result from my mediocre language skills. Yet this doesn’t account for the insistence of some Javanese to tell me that there was no such place as “West Timor,” and that there is only “East Timor,” which often is followed by a conversation on territorial politics informed by deliberate

propaganda provided by the Indonesian government, perhaps a lingering effect of Suharto era media blackouts of the genocide perpetrated on the island over a quarter century of military occupation and resistance (Pemberton 1994). Even educated colleagues of mine spoke of their perplexity as to why the East Timorese had chosen to separate from the Republic of Indonesia. I imagine an analogy here to be like telling someone I plan to visit friends in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and being earnestly advised to bring my passport. In my interviews, the Sumbanese, Timorese, and others from non-Flores parts of the province of NTT responded completely and succinctly to my question about where they come from, including the province, district (also called a regency or “kabupaten”), sub-district and village or town.

Questions of “Identity”

The initial research question to frame this study asked “How strongly do Eastern Indonesian university students living in Malang, Java identify with the national Indonesian identity?” In the field, however, this question was difficult to answer given the researcher’s methods. I asked the questions that directly related to identity, pride, nationalism, and patriotism near the end of the interview, after we had warmed up and gained a bit of rapport with each other. The question of identity is awkward to ask directly, and transcripts reveal the verbal contortions I went through to pose it to participants. Over time, from the first interview to the last, I experimented with the form of the question, trying to make it relevant to the participants, as I sought input from Indonesian friends and colleagues on the language and content. Through analysis of interview transcripts and audio recordings, my Bahasa Indonesia became

more fluent over the course of two months, yet my ability to convey the questions on identity remained opaque. My questions about identity remained unclear even as I tried new ways to make it clearer to interviewees by including terminology that friends recommended for the Indonesian context, like “pride, nationalism, and patriotism.”

Though my questions about regional and national identity required more sophistication to ask and answer than I had originally expected, most participants gamely attempted responses for me. With a few notable exceptions, answers were generally brief, and affirmative regarding their national and regional identities. The students who had only been in Malang for a few weeks or months all had less to say about the issue than those who had been there for two or more years. Meanwhile, the older respondents in their 30’s understood better what I was looking for and gave nuanced responses on the issue. Selfia, who had only been in Malang for six weeks at the time of our interview, responded that she didn’t know how to answer this question, so we moved on. This was the case for other newcomers, like Ronaldo. Several others, like Karlos, Firman, Ivan, Rivan and others, reported that they feel equally strong in their national identity as Indonesians and in their regional identity as ethnic Kei Islanders, Manggerai, or Dawan.

Jonas, the charismatic student leader from Adonara, is studying what is loosely translated as “civics” or PPKN—Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan at UM, and he intends to return home after graduating to teach this unifying nationalist

ideology set forth by Sukarno, the Republic's first president, in a high school or middle school. Despite occasional tensions with Javanese classmates, Jonas is a firm believer in his Indonesian-ness, so much that he hopes to share the nationalist tenets of Sukarno's "Pancasila" with future generations of students. During our group interview with him and five of his housemates, he attempted to reassure his friends about the value of multicultural unity in Indonesia, after some of my questions made the group uneasy. Jonas also expresses a strong affiliation with his regional and ethnic identity, as a participant in clubs and organizations for students from different areas of Eastern Indonesia, including a recent soccer tournament between these various "*komunitas*." Most vividly, Jonas returned to his hometown to participate in the construction of a "*rumah adat*," the traditional custom house for his village, and his social media page was filled with images and videos of the village's traditions and ceremonies to mark the occasion. Jonas is a true believer in Sukarno's and the Indonesian state's emphasis on unity and pluralism, something that traditionalist Javanese do not share, according to Anderson (36).

In my interview with Ivan, Rivan, Sixtus, and Jeri from Kanjuruhan University, some interesting ideas emerged about national and regional identity that resonated with the multicultural vision of early independence founding fathers' ideas about the "*Idea of Indonesia*," as R.E. Elson titled his book on the topic (2008). The four spoke proudly about Kanjuruhan, "The Multicultural University," where more than 70 student groups representing their respective home areas and "*suku*" (tribes) participated every year in the Cultural Carnival every year to showcase the traditional costumes, dance,

music, and food of their communities. These young men echoed the sentiments of other young men in the 1920's like Sukarno, Ratu Langie, Syahrir, Hatta and other educated elites from Java, Sumatra and elsewhere who proposed an Indonesian national identity that could coexist with other ethnic identities (Elson 2008, 70-71). Indonesian and ethnic identities not only coexist, but the latter is a necessary component for the former. Elson cites a quote from an ethnic Batak from Sumatra from the 1920's to make the point "that anyone who failed to acknowledge and respect ethnic diversity 'is no Indonesian in the true sense of the word.'" (Elson, 2008, 70). This sounds remarkably similar to Geril's statement that those who cause conflicts with other groups "don't love Indonesia." Sixtus added that he and the others were indeed interested in learning about other cultures from around Indonesia whom they encountered in Malang because they love their country and want to understand it better. He explained that he had even learned some Javanese language and culture while in Malang, but that unfortunately, his Javanese peers were usually—but not always—less interested in learning about his culture and that of his classmates from other minority groups.

In effect, they seemed to be making the case that their embrace of multiculturalism made them more Indonesian than the Javanese. While the original Idea of Indonesia began on shaky ground, as imagined and proposed by such elites, its persistence 90 years later as voiced by my interviewees would surely make the founding fathers happy (Elson 2008, Vickers 2013). The fact that tensions also persist between the

Javanese majority and other groups would cause consternation for Sukarno, Hatta, Syahrir and their peers.

However, traditionally-minded Javanese concepts of power like those described by Anderson would consider the displays of multiculturalism in cultural festivals differently than Sukarno and the founding fathers. Rather than representing equal components of a diverse yet unified society (*a la Bhineka tunggal eka*), these cultural displays could be interpreted as a manifestation of the Pusat's ability to induce Outer Islanders to "willingly submit to the Power of the center," since "So much power has accumulated in the Javanese center that even the oddest, quaintest, possibly even the most hostile groups can be brought to these ceremonies and be shown to respect the Power of the center" (Anderson 1990, 27). Ironically, these celebrations of diversity index the power of the Javanese center.

Among the students who had been in Malang for a few years, their responses to my questions about their identity ranged from shrugged shoulders, like Titus, who nervously didn't know how to answer all the way to Jonas' firm patriotism and emphatic confidence in both his national and regional identity. Others were in between these extremes. The students from North Maluku reported that they felt strong in both their national identities, and that what was good for the development of the local was good for the nation as well. Alfian gave an interesting caveat, indicating that if in some hypothetical situation he were to be pressured to take sides, he would choose "to increase the national identity, because it's more important than the local

identity.” Hence the powerful hold of the national “imagined community” (Anderson 1983).

Some respondents shared that their regional identity had increased in relation to their national identity because in Java, their ethnicity featured more prominently than it did back home. Since the Javanese see them as Easterners, they see themselves as such. Nathan sees himself as “fifty-fifty” Indonesian and Timorese, but his identity to others in Malang is more based on his origins in Kupang, since he’s around so many Javanese who regard him as a definite Easterner. Having spent 15 years in Malang, Nathan has matured during his time away from his home town, having maintained certain aspects of his home cultural affiliation while adopting others from his East Javanese friends and acquaintances. Nathan is a fan of AREMA, the popular soccer team in Malang, rather than one or other of the teams from Eastern islands. Also, since his Javanese fiancé has been his partner for many years, she cooks mostly Javanese food, with occasional dishes from his area of Timor. Nathan maintains other cultural practices from Timor, such as his Catholic faith in predominantly Muslim Java. Conversion between the 6 official religions is rare in Indonesia, though not unheard of. None of the participants have converted. More interestingly, Nathan also admitted to a guilty pleasure he occasionally indulges in with Eastern friends in Malang. He and his friends know places in Malang where they can eat the euphemistically named “RW,” for “Raden Waung,” which translates to something like “Barking Prince.” That is, they eat satay sticks of spicy dog meat with rice. Dani and her Sumbanese friends also mentioned their affinity for “RW.” This is something

a Muslim Javanese would shrink from, since they consider dogs unclean or “haram,” as are pigs and certain other animals. This difference in customs and taboos is shocking yet salacious, as a young Javanese friend demonstrated by asking me jokingly if a participant and I had eaten any dog meat during our interview.

The outlier in this question of identity came from Maya, the woman from Jayapura, Papua, who felt that she considered herself more Indonesian before she came to Java, but her experience over two years has led her to feel that she is *not* Indonesian. As stated elsewhere, this sentiment is so strong that she reports that she believes her region should separate from Indonesia to create an independent nation, since the cultural and political differences between this peripheral area and the center in Java were too great. “Before studying political science, and other things, I thought I was Indonesian. After I learned a lot about politics, I think Papua is not a real part of Indonesia,” Maya told me in a moment of candor, before adding that “[the Javanese aren't the same as us. They don't understand.... So, in my opinion, after I studied politics, I think Papua is not part of Indonesia, and we have to be a free (“lepas”) country.

Makassarese students: exceptions that prove the rule

Finally, the students from Makassar in South Sulawesi proved to be an exception regarding identity and interethnic perceptions. Uki and Fabian were introduced to me by a young Javanese friend and classmate of theirs who generously made the connection for us. They gamely answered my questions, and when given the opportunity at the end to ask me questions, Fabian politely wondered “if your research is with Easterners from Maluku, NTT, and Papua, why are you talking to

us?” My stumbling response is less interesting than the simple fact that they don’t consider themselves in the same category as the others in my study, even if their Javanese classmate thought so.

These two outliers’ divergence from participants from further East seems to reinforce some of the assumptions and findings about the lived experience of those from Papua, NTT, and Maluku. Coming from Makassar, one of the largest cities outside Java, seat of several centuries of powerful Bugis and Makassarese sultanates that controlled vast trading networks to rival those of Java as well as European interlopers (Magenda 1989, Ricklefs 2008), they didn’t see themselves as at all the same as the others in my study. The idea of Java as the “pusat negeri” (center of the country) was less strong for them, and they seemed to perceive less of a difference in terms of a social hierarchy between themselves and the Javanese. They saw themselves as different, but definitely not less worthy, and they didn’t imagine the Javanese thought less of them like other participants expressed.

Chapter Summary

The examples in this chapter illustrate some of the ways that Easterners are generally, unfairly perceived as inferior by the Javanese in Malang. To cite just a few examples, the above pages show how students from the Eastern regions of Papua, NTT, and Maluku are discriminated in their housing choices, demonized as violent and unruly in media reports, excluded from opportunities open to Javanese peers, and subject to racial epithets. Nonetheless, most of them (with notable exceptions) bravely retain a strong sense of inclusion in and loyalty to the nation, subscribing to the national

motto of “Unity in Diversity.” The young men and women who venture to the Center of their country must rely on more than individual bravery in order to find success amid the perils and obstacles of their educational migration in Java.

At the core of inter-ethnic perceptions between Javanese and non-Javanese are the basic concepts of *halus* and *kasar*, of fineness and coarseness, which also relate to the Javanese understanding of power, as Anderson describes in detail (1990). To the Javanese, the virtue of *halus*-ness is paramount, and demonstrating it is an indicator of the control of emotions and baser impulses, which in turn indicates one’s power, since such control requires exerting concentration and effort. The absence of *halus*-ness is to be *kasar*, a less powerful state of rudeness, coarseness and lack of self-control. This chapter showed ways that Easterners are perceived to be *kasar* and inferior by the Javanese in Malang and elsewhere, while the Javanese regard themselves as *halus* and superior to non-Javanese. Specific traits of *kasar* Easterners, according to the Javanese, include dark skin, curly hair, loud voices, and a tendency towards fighting, drinking, and inappropriate relations between the sexes.

The next chapter explores strategies they collectively and individually employ in order to cope with the challenges they face in Java, as well as some of the ways the experience transforms them.



Figure 6.1: Javanese and Papuan students in ceremonial warrior garb.



Figure 6.2: Javanese women dressed as dark skinned Dayaks from Borneo.

Figure 6.3: Representation of religious “Unity in Diversity”

Chapter 7: Challenges, Negotiations, and Transformations

Introduction

The largest focus group of this study occurred early in my fieldwork, just over a week after conducting my first interviews with Maya and Jonas. Jonas, the charismatic student leader from Adonara, NTT, coordinated with me to meet him and five of his housemates after a few days of sending each other ambiguous text messages to arrange a time and place. I had hoped to meet at a venue of Jonas' choosing, somewhere he and his friends would feel comfortable, and with conducive facilities for interviewing (close enough to get to, not too much noise, enough space, etc.). However, this didn't work out as I had hoped, since Jonas deferred to my selection of a meeting space. On the advice of a Javanese acquaintance who is a student at UM, I told Jonas to meet me at a place that turned out to be a relatively expensive café frequented by upper class Javanese and Chinese-Indonesian young adults.

Jonas and his friends from the Kei Islands of Southeastern Maluku Province and from different areas of Flores in NTT, were the only Easterners in the café that I noticed. The heads of the other customers didn't turn as they walked through the tables of the ground floor and followed me upstairs to an outside balcony area, but I was aware that they had a different appearance than others present in their hairstyles, clothes, and skin tone.

My field notes reflect my suspicion that they felt out of place in this environment: “I met the crew downstairs and we went upstairs to the terrace outside. It was their first time there except for Jonas, and I wondered if they were self-conscious walking through the crowded café.” At a table upstairs we ordered drinks and I tried to gain their confidence and make them feel welcome with some self-deprecating jokes and an explanation of my project and my background working with Eastern Indonesians and my travel in the region. Since it was a big group, I asked if they preferred to interview one by one, but the consensus was that they wanted to do it together. Some of the results of the group interview have been discussed in other chapters, regarding their reasons for coming to Malang, their backgrounds, and their preconceptions about Java before coming. The discussion was lively, and they appeared to enjoy talking about their experiences with me. Jonas helped facilitate the conversation when my language and questions were unclear. We were able to create a positive environment together, laughing and enjoying our coffee and juice, while a few smoked cigarettes.

The mood changed near the end of our interview however, when my questions about national and regional identity and discrimination at the hands of Javanese caused a noticeable unease in them. I even perceived the unmistakable odor of nervous sweat, which led me to change topics, give encouragement that I saw them as very brave, and by getting Jonas, the de facto leader of the group to add his own inspiring remarks to his comrades, speaking to the importance and value of pluralism and multiculturalism in Indonesia, of “unity in diversity.” This episode led me to modify

how I asked certain questions, since my specific methods proved somewhat traumatic in this case, possibly losing some trust from some of these informants.

The above episode provides a useful shorthand for the themes of this chapter, which focuses on ways the Eastern educational migrants of this study encounter challenges as outsiders in Java and the strategies they employ to navigate the hazards and uncertainties of their time in Malang. The previous chapter described the neighborhoods of Malang as a zone of interaction for Easterners and Javanese, public spaces “where interethnic interactions occur, and where perceptions of the Other are created, confirmed, and contradicted” (Foertsch 2016). This public space of potential judgement and conflict, such as the uncomfortable café scene above, is countered by these students’ living spaces, in which they can find and create provide comfort, support, and brotherhood for each other. The formal and informal communities and social networks created in and between these spaces form the base of Easterners’ negotiation of self and community as they experience the precarity of intersections with dominant systems, peoples and practices in Java, seeking legitimacy and inclusion in their schools, neighborhoods and nation.

Challenges

The many challenges of this broad group have been explored in previous chapters, but it is worth summarizing some of the major points, which converge around their exclusion from opportunities, privilege and respect their Javanese peers typically enjoy. Language is an example oft cited by participants as a way they are excluded in

Malang. This can happen when Javanese people switch to the Javanese language in order to say secret things about the Easterners. It also happens when Javanese hear Eastern accented Bahasa Indonesia speech and laugh at it. In certain cases, Javanese will—ingenuously or disingenuously—profess to not understanding the Eastern dialects, as was the case of an undergraduate student at UB who described to me her research project interviewing two or three Papuan students at her university. At work are particular language ideologies (Ahearn 2012) that privilege the language of the Center, in the form of Javanese and the dialects of Indonesian found on Java. The language and habits of the urbanized Indonesian Center on Java is esteemed to be sophisticated, modern, polite, refined, and cool (“keren”). Meanwhile, the dialects and habits of the peripheral Outer Islands are perceived as the opposite, as unsophisticated, backwards, impolite, and so on, in terms that echo Edward Shils’ description of the difference in social status of the Center and Periphery in modern societies across the globe (Shils 1975).

Another linguistic challenge the Eastern students of this study face is the straightforward racism of epithets used to denigrate them (“kribu-kribu” for “curly-haired”; “semut hitam” for “black ant”) and the only slightly more subtle “joking too hard” Maya described in an earlier chapter.

Beyond the racism embedded in language, it is useful to give a brief summary of societal and institutional challenges faced by Eastern students in Malang, some of which were explored more fully in previous chapters. Javanese (and broader Indonesian) societal denigration and generally poor public perception and

stereotyping of Eastern must certainly weigh heavily on the psyches and mental well-being of the Eastern Indonesians in this study and beyond. While it was beyond the scope of this study to plumb these psychological aspects for ethnic minority students as they navigate the opportunities and obstacles of educational migration, we can point to other manifestations of these challenges in their unequal access to education, housing, and fair treatment by authorities.

In terms of education, I have shown how Eastern Indonesian students are underrepresented at prestigious state universities, and overrepresented at lower prestige institutions, which are generally perceived to be of lower quality (Logli 2015; Hill and Wie 2013; Suryadarma and Jones 2013). This educational inequality obviously has deeper roots than can be perceived first hand in Malang, going back to poor access to primary and secondary education on Peripheral islands (Therik 2004), which is clearly related to unequal distribution of resources in Java and the Outer Islands—a geographical and logistical problem in such a vast archipelagic state, but also an issue of policy and political priorities (Hill & Vidyattama 2014).

Easterners' unequal access to housing in Malang was also described by research participants in chapters 5 and 6, as Javanese landlords are reluctant to rent to them, given their poor reputation and stereotypes about their behavior: loud, belligerent, drunk, dirty, etc. Potential landlords' opinions and perceptions are shaped by experience, but also by popular media portrayals of brawls and unrest, which demand university and police officials to “repatriate” Sumabanese students in March 2016 and increase police patrols in certain neighborhoods ahead of elections in April 2014.

My use of the term “challenges” to describe the forms of discrimination and inequality faced by Eastern students in Java may sound like a euphemism to some, an optimistic sugar coating of real injustices experienced by minority victims at the hands of ethnic majority victimizers. I use it deliberately to reflect the fact that the participants of this study don’t portray themselves as victims, and I never got the sense they think of themselves as such. Even Maya’s anger and political awakening are proud and purposeful, showing strength and determination rather than victimhood. The young people interviewed for this research largely projected optimism and gratitude for the opportunity to study in the “Pusat.” The racial discrimination they experience is but one of the several challenges of educational migration in Malang, far from home, with scarce financial resources, struggling to maintain grades. The Easterners of this study negotiate these challenges by marshalling the resources at their disposal. To a large extent, these resources are each other, the “new family” they find and create with friends and family from their home islands and elsewhere in the vast East of the country. The formation of this support system occurs to a large extent in the boarding houses (“rumah kost”) and asramas where students are able to find advice, support, and community among peers—things they are often excluded from elsewhere in their neighborhoods, campuses, and public places of the city.

Living Arrangements

A few weeks after the awkward focus group at the upper class café referred to at the start of this chapter, Jonas invited me to visit his boarding house for a social visit.

This visit was a great way for me to catch a glimpse into the life of a student in Malang—especially Eastern students of humble means. It was also a good way for Jonas, and especially his friends to get a different sense of me as a person, rather than simply the foreigner with halting Indonesian who asked them sometimes uncomfortable questions about their lives.

My visit to the boarding house somewhat relieved the awkwardness from the group interview, and I would have liked to have made this kind of informal social interaction a semi-regular occurrence, both with this group, and with other informants. (My upcoming Fulbright research award will give me the opportunity to stay longer in the field and will enable me to do this.) In the section that follows on student social strategies I explore a few of the fascinating and salient aspects of this group's support strategies and performance of cultural identity that I observed in our encounter at their home: especially their apparent re-creation of a seniority-based hierarchy among themselves, and their shared expressions of Eastern-ness even though they were from different regions of Eastern Indonesia (and Timor Leste.) Here, I might simply mention a brief snapshot of the home they live in, and compare it to the living arrangements of a few other kinds of students in Malang.

The boarding house where Jonas and the other young men live is a narrow two story concrete home along a narrow alley, with other homes immediately adjacent, and just 15-20 feet across the alley from neighbors' homes. After bumping into Jonas on the street as I was walking an American friend home, he invited me back to his house for

coffee and to meet the guys. He led me through the hall of the ground floor, past a half dozen rooms, then past the simple kitchen with a gas stovetop, a sink and rice cooker. At the end of the hall we ducked drying laundry to go up the stairs, through more laundry, then through the second floor hallway passing another half dozen rooms until we reached the second floor balcony overlooking the alley. One or two students lived in each of the rooms, sleeping on mattresses on the floor with a few posters or decorations on the walls, and fluorescent lights above. Approximately 15 students live in this boarding house, all from NTT, Maluku, plus at least one from Timor Leste. Unlike some boarding houses, food was not included in their rent, and an “Ibu Kos” or landlady (“host mother”) didn’t live on the property. The kitchen was rudimentary, there was no air conditioning, and few furnishings other than the mattresses in their rooms and a bench and stools on the outdoor balcony. In short, it was a somewhat typically Spartan living arrangement, indicative of the life and budget of young university students everywhere.

Jonas prepared coffee for me and Karlos as we sat on their outside balcony, chatting somewhat awkwardly about general topics. Karlos admitted he had written home to his parents that he had met me, an American academic, and was proud to report that he had participated in my research. Our awkwardness persisted until I noticed a guitar that Karlos and I took turns playing. Jonas joined us as we were singing a classic dangdut song from the early 1980’s called “Terajana.” Dangdut is a genre of music that is associated with lower class Indonesians in Java, Sumatra, and a few other places. In my experience, Eastern Indonesians usually don’t like dangdut, much less

an oldie like “Terajana,” which I had learned in a cultural elective class at UM. We were mutually surprised that the other liked the song, made famous by Rhoma Irama, the “King of Dangdut.” A few more of their housemates joined us on the balcony, including Karlos’ younger brother Ronaldo and others from the interview at the café a few weeks earlier. We moved on to other songs, and had conversation and jokes between singing. Besides the dangdut, we also played “Wind of Change,” the Scorpions’ anthem, as well as some songs sung in one of their Malukan languages, which they explained related to love and homesickness. Pablo, the East Timorese “Senior” of the house (which I will elaborate on below), requested and led us in a song simply titled “Aku Papua,” which translates to “I am Papua.” The other young men all knew the words, which include in the refrain “hitam kulit, keriting rambut, aku Papua,” a non-standard syntax that proudly declares “skin black, hair curly, I am Papua.” Though none of the singers at the boarding house were from Papua, they were all Easterners with darker skin, many (not all) with curly hair.

This episode poignantly illustrates the term I later learned to describe the frequent solidarity of Easterners in Java despite their diverse origins on hundreds of islands and ethnic groups across a vast geographical area; I will refer to the term “musa,” for “muka sama” or “same face” again below.

I didn’t ask how much they paid for rent, but my guess is that it was relatively inexpensive. An approximate price range can be found by comparing the lodging of these students with that of slightly wealthier students. Charismatic and endearing

Juventus from rural inland Flores, who narrated in great detail his journey from village to Malang including costs, described a living situation similar to Jonas and his mates'. In a house with 10 young men from various parts of NTT (none from Maluku) living in separate rooms, cooking their own food, Juventus told me he pays 150,000 Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) per month for rent, about \$11 US at the time. This contrasts with the 2 million IDR (about \$145 US) paid by upper class Javanese and international Thai students who live in the newly constructed rooming house that my own landlord-hosts had built as an investment in a neighborhood near UB and UM. This rooming house included A/C, furnished with beds, TV's, and individual bathrooms, and a parking lot for the handful of students with cars or motorcycles—a definite indicator of relative wealth. For example, none of the students from Jonas' home owned motorcycles. In fact, among the participants in this study, only the students at the North Maluku and South Sulawesi Asramas and Ivan from Kanjuruhan University owned motorcycles, and no participants owned cars. In contrast, nearly all of my Javanese student friends at UM owned motorcycles and a few had access to parents' cars.

Juventus found a boarding house with 10 other students from NTT in a different neighborhood. Nearly all of the participants in my study lived with only fellow Easterners, or at least with a majority of Outer Islanders. Few lived with Javanese peers in their boarding houses.

As mentioned earlier, these boarding houses, or “rumah kost,” tend to be clustered in particular areas of the city, especially near the lower tier universities and other institutions. The official Asramas rented or owned by provincial or district governments are similarly located, arguably closer to the middle tier universities, like the better established UMM (Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang) or UNMER (Universitas Merdeka.) The placement of these guest houses for Outer Islander students is understood by Malang residents, and reflects another layer of the Center-Periphery paradigm, re-created on a local level, as I explore in previous chapters.

As mentioned earlier, certain district, city, or provincial governments supported their students in Malang (and other cities on Java) by providing an official “asrama” or boarding house for students from these regions. These asramas provided a “center” for the communities of these students while away from home. Rutwan, the manager of the North Maluku Asrama spoke proudly of the role it played in creating “solidarity” among the several hundred North Malukan students in Malang, most of whom do not even live at the official boarding house (which houses 24 male boarders). Harison, a graduate Sociology student at UMM who was not formally interviewed for this study, is one such resident of the Asrama. After meeting me and hearing about my research topic and interviews with his compatriots, the following night he organized a social and intellectual gathering for a “diskusi” (discussion) on multiculturalism in the US and Indonesia. The event was attended by around 30 coffee-drinking, cigarette-smoking young men from the province who listened to me and Harison discuss issues and questions posed us by a moderator and the audience.

According to Harison and Rutwan, this type of “diskusi” on “hot topics” happens on a semi-regular basis at the Asrama, and they often invite peers from other regions of the country, even Java. This kind of earnest intellectual community reminded me of the social organizations that educated elites formed in the late colonial period, from which ideas of independent nationhood first sprung in the first half of the 20th century (Vickers 2013, Elson 2008).

Below I show how the mutually supportive relationships that are fostered within the rented homes of Eastern Indonesian educational migrants play an important role in their negotiation of the challenges, obstacles as well as opportunities they encounter outside of the home, in the neighborhoods, campuses, and other public spaces where they face judgement, condescension, and often conflict.

Coping Strategies & Negotiations: Social Networks and New Family

Adik-Kakak, Junior-Senior

Among the reasons given for why students chose Malang over other places to study was that they knew “older siblings” or “kakak” who had studied in Malang, or were presently studying there. The term older brother or sister could have the same meaning as in English, in terms of having the same mother and same father. Two of the young men from the Kei Islands in Maluku Province were brothers like this, Ronaldo having just arrived in Malang six weeks before our interview, while Karlos was preparing to begin his 3rd year at Widya Karya Catholic University. Often, it seemed that their kakak were relatives like cousins or more distantly related, or were

simply from the same village. Kakak helped their “adik” or younger siblings by showing them the ropes as it were, by helping them find housing, find a school to attend, and even look for informal work. An important part of the relationship seems to be for the adik to pay appropriate respect to their seniors.

Participants from Sumba, Kei, and Flores described how they had formed a new family while in Malang, and the term kakak could be applied to an older peer who may have come from another island or province than their own, and they were highly unlikely to be related by blood. These “families” took shape informally, in living arrangements like the students I interviewed and then visited at their guest house, where the residents came from various parts of Eastern Indonesia—Flores, Adonara, Kei, and the now independent nation of Timor Leste. The sense of family could also develop formally, with student unions and “komunitas” for particular geographic regions from outside Java. The scope of these organizations depended on the number of students from a particular area, the largest grouping could include all the students in Malang from a particular province, while a smaller group could include students at a particular institution from a province, district (kabupaten), or city. All the students in my study belonged to one or more of these regional student organizations.

Seniors & Juniors

In addition to official asramas and komunitas, the students I interviewed from Outer Islands referred to and demonstrated an aspect of their social organization that they relied on for support while far from home. Using the English terms “Senior” and

“Junior,” they seemed to be reenacting hierarchies from home. While it could simply be a translation of the Indonesian words kakak and adik, they seemed to use the terms in different contexts, and I wonder if Senior and Junior may have emerged from the orientation and hazing of new students that often happens on and near Indonesian campuses. Kakak was sometimes translated as “older brother,” whereas Senior suggested a leadership role within the group. The Senior seems to be responsible for maintaining the peace within his (I didn’t observe this with the women) group, and for “external relations,” including in conflicts with others like the “horizontal conflict” that Ivan from Timor had been involved with. Alvin’s retrospective on his graduate studies from almost a decade earlier indicated that he had several times filled the role of the Senior leader in fights with rival groups.

Alvin, whom I interviewed by phone about when he was a graduate student in Malang in the mid-2000’s, described a confrontation between his peer group from the island of Timor and a group of Javanese adults who had been disrespecting his Junior. Although Alvin wasn’t directly involved in the disrespect, his Junior explained how some men who manage a parking lot for motorcycles had been unfairly charging him and had made ugly remarks in Indonesian and Javanese (a language the Easterners didn’t understand, though they could tell it was disparaging to them, a common report in my interviews.) As the “ranking” Senior,” Alvin told me he approached the man along with his Junior to try to come to an understanding, and then tried to enlist the help of the neighborhood official to mediate the dispute. When this failed to bring peace, Alvin led a group of their peers into a brawl with the parking attendant and his

group. Alvin's description of the tactics he used in these kinds of fights, and his understanding of the weaknesses of the way Javanese fight gave me the impression that he had a lot of experience in this regard. He confirmed this, as did his friend Nathan. Nathan knowingly nodded his agreement when I suggested that Alvin had been a "wild child" ("anak liar") in his younger years in Kupang and Malang.

Another time I was witness to the phenomenon of the Senior-Junior relationship was the time I visited the boarding house of Jonas and his friends whom I had met and interviewed in a six person focus group. The group, continually deferred to Pablo, even Jonas despite his many qualifications as a scholar and leader on campus and in the community. Jonas seemed to be searching for Pablo's approval for having brought me over to their house, and Pablo seemed to be assessing me, evaluating if I was acceptable to him, and thus to the group. I refocused my attention away from Jonas and also myself in order to address Pablo, and thankfully my jokes, poor Indonesian, and respect apparently won his approval.

The informal naming of Pablo as the group's "Senior" reminded me of the playful way the Indonesian educators I worked with in Seattle in 2011 made the eldest, most experienced professional in the group the "kepala suku," or head of the tribe, whose role was to guide the group to a consensus in decision making, and to represent the interests of the group in interactions with me and other colleagues.

The presence of kakak, whether blood or not, was a common factor for all the groups in my study, but it seemed especially important as a survival strategy for the students from NTT, whose student organization they call Flobamora (an acronym that includes the main islands of NTT: Flores, Sumba, Timor, Adonara). While provincial and local governments in Maluku, Sulawesi, Papua, and other parts of the country have budgets that can organize and pay for official asramas, students from NTT don't have asramas available to them. In the era of attempted decentralization since the fall of the Suharto government in 1998, local governments have enjoyed a greater share of the revenue their area produces in taxes than previously, when most of these funds went to Jakarta (Elson 2008, Erb 2011, Meng 2010, Hill 2008). Hence, areas with greater economic resources, like timber, minerals, oil and gas, have more money for things like asramas and scholarships. Meanwhile, NTT remains near the bottom of Indonesian economic indicators, due to a lack of internationally tradable commodities (Erb 2011, Hill & Vidyattama 2014).

Kakak and adik supported each other in quite practical, day to day arenas, such as by borrowing money from each other, and sharing useful possessions like motorcycles and cell phones. Juventus communicated with me via three different phone numbers as he borrowed different friends' phones when his credits ran out.

Cultural Celebrations & Student organizations

Nearly all the participants of this study told me they belonged to one or more student organizations whose membership was defined by regional or ethnic identity. Some

groups are defined narrowly, such as the “komunitas” that Ivan and Rivan belong to for their Central Timorese Dawan ethnic group. Other groups have larger umbrellas of inclusion, like the association of students from Sumba Island that the four English students in the final group interview belong to. These students belong as well to the “Flobamora” student association for those who come from the province of NTT, which includes the islands of Flores, Sumba, Timor, and Adonara plus numerous smaller ones. Unfortunately, I was unable to observe or participate in activities of these various large and small komunitas, but my informants described certain basic facts about them.

Many of the organizations included members who attend different universities in Malang. For example, while Jonas attends UM, and Firman and Linus attend Widya Karya Catholic University, all three are members of the Flobamora Student Association. When asked what their organizations do, students’ responses often centered around gathering for holiday and religious celebrations, and for representing their local culture in festivals on campus and around the city. The Sumbanese students gathered several times each year to prepare and share traditional meals together, especially at Christmas and Easter. The students at Kanjuruhan University—“The Multicultural University”—hold a Cultural Festival each year that includes traditional costumes, dances, music and food that the diverse clubs on campus prepare for weeks in advance to showcase for their peers and surrounding community in parades and competitions. Jonas, besides his involvement in UM student government, is also involved as a leader in a larger network of Eastern Indonesian student leaders

who organize events like a soccer tournament for teams of students from various parts of the East to compete against each other. This tournament happened around August 17th, Indonesian Independence Day.

It is worth acknowledging that the violent episode that opened the previous chapter took place at the inaugural celebration of a new student organization for students from West Sumba studying at the private Wisnu Wardhana University. Apparently, ethnic student organizations contain unifying as well as divisive elements. As I mention in earlier chapters, some informants, as well as online blogger commentators don't see this as violence between ethnic groups, but as rivalries between individuals and their friends and allies, who happen to come from distinct ethnic groups.

The unfair treatment of the Sumbanese students in Malang in March 2016 highlights a contradiction and tension in Indonesian society, despite the open respect and celebration of local ethnic identity that is preserved and promoted through regional student associations and cultural festivals the likes of which are described above. While the notional motto—in Old Javanese—“*Bhinneka tunggal ika*” translates to “Unity in Diversity,” this study's participants' experiences of discrimination, misunderstanding, and condescension among the dominant Javanese culture of the nation would suggest that this unity is complex.

The strength of the national identity among study participants (with notable exceptions), Javanese friends and acquaintances, and seemingly Indonesia at large

give credence to claims of Unity. Yet it is an unequal union, with some groups valued more than others in a hierarchy of ethnicity, with a privileged Javanese Center perceived as superior to less civilized peripheral Outer Islanders. Diversity is valued superficially, in colorful regional costumes and dances, in foods and holiday celebrations—all important sources of pride and identity, but all purely external cultural manifestations. When less attractive and less photogenic aspects of diversity converge in Malang and elsewhere in the form of different attitudes, ways of speaking, behaving and thinking, the result can be outright racism and discrimination as I have described above. Alvin and Nathan's Timorese/Rotinese heritage is valued when it is associated with the exotic Sasando folk music and elaborate hats of their region. But in Malang their louder voices, curly hair, and Catholic religion marked them as Others, as non-Javanese, lesser Indonesians, subject to violent conflict and name-calling.

At an Independence Day assembly on a Central Javanese college campus I observed a Papuan students' war dance featuring body paint, spears and battle whoops that was as entertaining a display for Javanese civil servants as Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show must have been for American audiences in the 19th century. Throughout the performance, the sniggering and side-talk of the assembled (mostly Javanese) educators and staff betrayed their assumptions of racial and cultural superiority. Even when Jonas and his friends participated in a competition at a cultural festival a month before our interview to demonstrate regional dances and costumes in competition

against other youth organizations representing diverse areas of the country, the Central Javanese contingent was judged the winner.

In spite of the above contradictions and conflicts inherent in Easterners (and others') embrace and reproduction of cultural displays, these activities and organizations serve important roles while they study in Malang. These cultural activities and organizations foster solidarity and community among "komunitas" members and give them a venue to express and be proud of their regional identity. This is an important element in the personal transformation these students undergo during their formative university years in Java, a topic explored below.

Conclusion: Transformations

As described in chapter 5, the prime motivator for the Eastern students in this study to come to Malang is to gain a higher quality education than they can get back home. They hope (specifically or generally) that the skills, knowledge, and credentials they earn in Java will serve them in their lives and careers. But of course there are other transformations these students undergo in Malang related to regional and national identity, and their understanding of their country, ideas which were discussed in chapter 6. This chapter illustrated many of the challenges Easterners face as Peripheral minorities living among the dominant Central culture on Java as well as the strategies they use to negotiate these difficult circumstances. All of these elements—education, identity, challenges, and negotiations—contribute in a

formative way to these students' lives over the course of their Educational Migration in Java.

Like young university students the world over, the Eastern Indonesian educational migrants of this study undergo a transformative coming of age as they confront the challenges specific to their circumstances. As ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities exposed to the dominant culture these often maligned and misunderstood students show resilience and optimism despite systemic inequality and discrimination by their Javanese hosts and neighbors in Malang. For students new to Malang, like Juventus, Ronaldo, and Selfia, the early stages of their transformation are as much about the shift from a rural to urban environment as they are full of exciting possibilities and shocking realizations and reminders of their status as Outsiders.

For students with two or more years in Malang, their successful transformation requires participating in the network of support of fellow Easterners, who share the "same face" ("muka sama" playfully abbreviated to "musa"), despite their other differences. Their successful transformation may require acceptance of a certain amount of Javanization in their personal habits and "character," modifying their behavior to converge with perceived Javanese values (which are suspiciously neoliberal in some ways, echoing a Western Protestant work ethic and personal responsibility.) Anton, the Papuan student who had studied in Central Java and is now working for a major international (and controversial) mining company back in Papua, made sure to share his observation and opinion of the virtuous Easterners who

improved their “character” through “discipline” and hard work during their time in Java. He contrasted this with those who had failed to learn discipline and good character and lived up to their stereotypes as lazy, drunken troublemakers who wasted the opportunity they’d been given. Jonas and Ivan both acknowledged their difficulties and disadvantages as non-Javanese, but they also demonstrated and believed in the “Idea of Indonesia” (Elson 2008). Jonas idolizes the first president Sukarno and his founding principles of Panca Sila, and he intends to teach the subject to future generations on his native Adonara. Like Jonas, Ivan embodies a “bootstrap” ethic that chooses not to claim victimhood, but instead a resilient determination to succeed through charisma and hard work, despite the figurative—and literal—beatings he has endured in Malang.

Others, like Titus and the Papuans whom Anton refers to, are not successful in their transformations, unable to thrive in the Center, unable to appropriately internalize and perform the kind of “character” required in the world of the Javanese. Maya, the successful scholarship winning Papuan student at a prestigious state university, is sufficiently intelligent, hard-working, and of good enough “character” to be a success on Javanese terms. However her negative experiences of racism described in chapter 6 have led her to a political transformation that rejects her Indonesian identity and refuses to accept the presumed Central superiority of Java. It is remarkable that more Easterners don’t undergo Maya’s bitter kind of transformation.

As I referred to in chapter 4, I need to briefly acknowledge the existence of a group of Eastern students in Malang whose experience likely differs from the majority of students I was able to interview. While themes that emerged from my interviews suggested optimism and perseverance, and utilization of cultural and kin connections in pursuit of success in Java, I had an encounter with three students from the remote Kei Islands of Maluku Province that suggested the presence of Easterners who are less successful and less optimistic than my interviewees. I met these boys at the internet café owned by Nathan when I stopped by to say hello and take a look at his business. Nathan was gone, so I awkwardly made small talk with three young men in their late teens or early 20's who sat huddled around a computer at a desk near the front door. It seemed to me that one or of them worked there, but they were quite rude to me, making fun of my mediocre Bahasa Indonesia, keeping their bare feet perched on the desk and smoking throughout our interaction. So, these are the kinds of students who are *not* interested in talking to me, the kinds of “punks” who see no benefit to them in cooperating with a tall white “bule” (white person).

I wonder if their resistance to me is any indication of their resistance to other forms of authority, including Javanese ideas of *halus*-ness, and the requirements and restraints imposed on them by Javanese educators, police, and neighbors. Perhaps there is a correlation between willingness to cooperate with a foreign researcher and optimism and ability to successfully negotiate a Javanese dominated society and educational system.

Reflecting on the strategies and transformations that this study's participants embrace and undergo during their time in Java, perhaps two are the most remarkable. First, the use of cultural displays in festivals, parades, competitions, and holidays serves as a means of generating community and solidarity among members of particular ethnic identities as well as pan-Eastern and pan-Indonesian unity. Meanwhile, these ostensibly apolitical cultural manifestations can promote a superficial celebration of the colorful trappings of the food, clothes, and dances of a culture while ignoring deeper cultural elements that are unrecognized and unappreciated, especially by those from the powerful Center, the Javanese. The previous chapter showed Anderson's ideas of how these displays could be interpreted as the Center's ability to exert its domination over diverse and submissive Outer Island peoples.

The other interesting transformation and strategy employed by Easterners to negotiate the challenges of educational migration in Java is their use of the Senior-Junior system, which seems to have its origins in cultural forms brought from their native islands. Like the displays of ethnic pride in food, dress, and dance, the Senior system fosters solidarity among heterogeneous regional ethnic groups, as well as among combinations of pan-Easterners. Yet this Outsider solidarity plays into the designs of the Javanese at the Center by defining them as fundamentally different than the Javanese, and thus excluded from the privilege and power covetously enjoyed at the Pusat.



Figures 7.1 and 7.2: Boarding house advertisements for Muslim Students only.



Figure 7.3: Kanjuruhan University Handbook—the “Multicultural University”



Figures 7.4 and 7.5: Students displaying symbols of “komunitas” affiliations

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The worldwide trend of globalization continues to bring more and more diverse peoples together, between and within nations. As education is seen as a gateway to economic success, there is a push by governments and communities to include marginalized communities into educational systems, as is the case in Eastern Indonesia. The positive, negative, and transformative experiences of these newly integrated students is important to examine as the number of this type of student increases through the initiatives of educators, scholarship foundations, and policymakers involved in international education in Indonesia, the US and around the world. My hope is that the results of this study will fill a novel gap in knowledge about the lived experience of educational migrants in Indonesia, which is useful for sensitizing majority educators to the cultural barriers to educational success faced by underrepresented minorities. The lessons learned could provide broader insight into providing access to higher education for marginalized populations, including immigrants, international students, minorities, and underprivileged social classes. Among the most important ideas to emerge from this study's participants is the fact that they feel misunderstood by members of the dominant culture, and that Javanese are often not motivated to improve their familiarity with and understanding of Easterners beyond common, negative stereotypes. By providing an outlet for Easterners' voices and stories to be heard and told, I humbly hope to contribute

positively towards promoting mutual understanding and decreasing misunderstanding.

Research Questions

This study began with a research question that inquired into the regional and national identity of the Easterners who come to Java to study, but this proved difficult to appropriately answer, as I describe in the Methods Chapter. Participants did confirm their loyalty to and identification with both their Indonesian and local ethnic identity, with a few notable exceptions, but the transformation or evolution I expected was not remarkable enough to be the subject of this thesis. Other questions became more prominent as I carried out my fieldwork, interviews, and data analysis.

What challenges do Eastern Indonesians face living as minorities among the dominant culture of Indonesia? How do Eastern Indonesians and Javanese perceive each other? What strategies do Easterners use to negotiate the challenges of life among the dominant culture in Java?

As I mention earlier, the choice of the word “challenges” is intentional, recognizing and retaining participants’ agency in navigating the difficulties of their educational migration. These challenges include large scale systemic inequality in terms of access to higher quality, higher prestige universities as well as primary and secondary education on their home islands. Unequal treatment at the hands of university, police, and government officials also challenges Easterners. Easterners’ strategies of

negotiating these challenges demonstrate their resilience and adaptability as they rely on social networks, “new family,” and “komunitas” to survive and seek success. By highlighting this resilience and optimism under trying circumstances, perhaps it will complicate and even counter the common perception of Easterners by Javanese as “kasar,” or coarse, unrefined and rude when compared to the Javanese ideal of being “halus,” refined, polite, and polished.

Limitations

Limitations to this study were discussed briefly in the Methods section and relate to this study’s sampling, my Bahasa Indonesia proficiency, and the short time I had to build rapport with participants. With time and experience, my language and interviewing skills improved, which made later interviews more comfortable, and participants seemed to share more open-ended answers than early in my fieldwork. Regarding the sampling, the participants I was able to recruit represented several different groups from various parts of the vast Eastern region of the country, yet a majority (16 of 26) come from the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT), with smaller samples from Papua and Maluku. These groups share many common elements of their experience in Java as Outsiders whose origins and identities are conflated in Javanese perception. In the previous pages I attempt to show how Easterners from distinct islands and ethnic groups often come together in a pan-Eastern solidarity based on their “same face-ness” or “musa” (for “muka sama”). However there are indeed differences between the experiences of, for example, Catholic Juventus from rural inland Flores, Protestant Maya from urban Jayapura,

Papua, and Muslim Randi from the Sula Islands of North Maluku. Glancing at the brief details of these three informants' backgrounds hints at the other aspects that can shape their interactions and experience in Java, beyond the fact of their mere Easternness: religion, urban-rural, class, wealth. Two academic colleagues suggested that I focus future research on students from more specific areas, such as NTT, or even individual islands. For my upcoming Fulbright research, I tentatively plan to focus on students from Sumba, Flores, and the Kei Islands.

Theory Applied to Eastern Indonesian Educational Migrants

This ethnographic study emphasizes the lives and stories of the young women who undergo the transformative experience of educational migration from Outer Islands to Java. They move to Java in search of opportunity and adventure, impelled by personal ambition and curiosity, as well as greater economic, historic, and societal forces at play in Indonesia and the world. The theoretical frameworks I introduce in chapter 3—Wallerstein's Center-Periphery World System, and Anderson's discussion of Javanese Power—help us understand some of the greater forces that define and drive the experience the Eastern Indonesian students at the heart of this study. In turn, the emergent themes of their experience can shed light and a nuanced understanding of Wallerstein and Anderson's theories.

As I mention in chapter 3, one way this study adds to these theories is in the way Anderson's conception of Javanese Power can be understood to describe the Indonesia-specific mechanism of Wallerstein's more general Center-Periphery model,

by which the Center (Java) maintains its powerful gravitational pull on Outer Islands and their inhabitants, including the participants of this study. Nearly all participants referenced wanting to know the Center of their country (“Pusat negeri”) among their reasons for coming to Java, a fact that led me to apply Wallerstein’s theoretical lens to help understand the phenomenon of their migration. Indonesia’s prevailing Java-centric narrative gives superficial nod to the cultural displays of its Outer Island diversity, which study participants manifest in cultural festivals, clubs, and holiday celebrations. But, there seems to be an understanding among Easterners and Javanese alike that Java’s interests, traditions, and centralized power are supreme in Indonesian society. If participants had doubts about this before migrating to Java, their experience in Malang makes it clear to them. Even ’s frustration in the Center leads her to the conclusion that Papua should be independent, creating its own Center, leaving Java central to the Republic of Indonesia (minus Papua.)

Understood through Anderson’s lens, Java’s preeminence in Indonesian economy, government, military, and popular media is evidence of its possession of Power. Wealth and influence are not sources of power but manifestations of it. Easterners who come to Java recognize this on some conscious or subconscious level, attracted to the Pusat with hopes of sharing in the benefits of Javanese power and wealth in the form of education, which they believe can increase their cultural, social, and economic capital in their future.

Discussion and Recommendations

This research into the challenges of university students from the Eastern Periphery of Indonesia is but a small step towards the aspiration of increasing mutual understanding between this population and the predominant culture of the Javanese Center, which includes educators, officials, and broader society. I hope that by providing my own outsider's etic perspective on this issue, it may encourage others, especially educators in Malang and elsewhere, to further explore the experience of Eastern students with a sympathetic frame of reference in order to improve their equal access to higher education. Already, in discussing my research with Javanese friends and colleagues in Malang and in the US, many of them confess that they had not considered this issue very much, if at all, until I brought it to their attention. Most of the new students in this study had not considered or experienced the challenges of discrimination and exclusion yet either, but those who had been in Java two or more years definitely had.

It is far beyond the scope of this research to suggest solutions to the larger systemic problems in Indonesia related to regional inequality, including lower quality educational opportunities in Peripheral Eastern islands, at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Indonesia is of course not the only large, multicultural nation with problems of race relations and inequality, as my native United States is an obvious example. Indonesia's archipelagic geography, colonial legacy and history, and diverse demographics make it an extremely complex country with complicated issues for which its leaders and citizens have strived to find solutions since declaring independence in 1945. On many macroeconomic and social indicators like GDP, life

expectancy, literacy (van Zanden and Marks 2011), Indonesia has made great strides in improving the welfare of millions of its citizens. The Dutch Ethical Policy planted the early seeds that eventually grew into one of the world's largest educational systems (Suryadarma and Jones 2013). However, at the time of independence, the Dutch system that had provided modern schooling to a minority of aristocratic children and young adults was grossly inadequate for the needs of the young Republic. Indonesian education has grown dramatically at all levels in the decades since Independence (Hill and Wie 2013), a fact that must be acknowledged and admired, despite the inconsistencies in quality and equality.

My humble contribution to the conversation on inequality and challenges faced by Eastern Indonesian university students in Java is to document the testimonies of representatives of this population, along with my own observation and analysis of their lived reality and experience. My hope is that Javanese and Eastern educators and students will continue the conversation and seek ways to mutually understand and respect each other, ways that reflect Indonesia's ambitious motto, "Bhineka Tunggal Eka." Unity in Diversity.

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