

Transethnic Identity and Urban Cognition in Makassar: Regionalism and the Empowering Potential of Local Knowledge¹

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Makassar and *otonomi daerah* Makassar: a peripheral metropolis in outer Indonesia

Being a port city located in the southwestern part of Celebes Makassar is the provincial capital of the province of South Celebes (*Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan*). Makassar is a center of trade, business and education² with more than 1.3 million people today. Ethnically the city is dominated by the Bugis and Makasar, both having a strong profile within Indonesia as adventurous, status-oriented and proud people. Despite that Makassar is a truly multiethnic city since centuries, with intra- and interethnic rivalry but a comparative low rate of violent communal conflicts (Antweiler 2001).

Makassar had 1.268.000 inhabitants in 2000 according to official data and the density was 4.259 persons/km² in

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² There is only scant anthropological and sociological literature on this city. For an early sociological sketch see Walinono *et al.* (1974), for an overview see Antweiler (2000, ch.4 and n.d.a); for a bibliography on Makassar see Antweiler (n.d.b).

1984 (Kotamadya Ujung Pandang dalam Angka 1996). I would estimate that there are at least 1.4 million inhabitants today. Exact numbers are not easy to obtain due to thousands of trishaw drivers and small vendors living for months every year or permanently in the city without being registered. The population increased more than in comparable Javanese cities in the last decades: 5.5% (1971-1980); 1.5% (1980-1984); 2.92% (1980-1990). The area of municipality (*kotamadya*) Makassar is 172 km²; Figure 1 shows only the central part of the city. Due to official sources 60% of the surface are residential areas, 15% industrial and 25% open space (M. Engst, pers. comm., 2000). The average household size is 5.41 people.³ For data on earlier periods see Anonymus 1957; Walinono 1974; Abu Hamid 1984 and earlier editions of 'Ujung Pandang dalam Angka'.

The region of South Sulawesi is one of the centers of Islam in Indonesia and has a comparatively low settlement density. The province's agriculture is based mainly on rice, added by cocoa, fishing and shrimp farming. There is a slowly growing industry and a developing international as well as domestic tourism. The formal urban economy is based on the harbor, political administration and facilities for higher education. Informal economy is very important for work and as service for the households (Forbes 1979; Jones and Supratilah 1985; Turner 2000). As a center of in and out-migration (Mukhlis and Robinson 1986) and due to its regional functions the city can be characterized as a 'peripheral metropolis'.

The principal ethnic groups represented in the city, Makasar, Bugis (Mattulada 1979, 1988; Koentjaraningrat 1980); Mandar (Rachman 1987) and Toraja (Heeren 1952; Abustam 1975; Yamashita 1986), all have their roots in the province. Others came as migrants, often from other islands, as Minang from Sumatra (Darwis 1980) or people from Flores (Kapong 1986). Many of the other inhabitants come from Eastern Indonesia. A lot of former residents, especially members of the footloose Bugis, migrated permanently to other parts of Sulawesi and other islands. Most often they are deeply immersed in local economies and even integrated into local cultures. Despite having only scant inclination to resettle in South Sulawesi, recent communal riots in Eastern Indonesia pressed some of these people to return to the city.

The city and especially the surrounding region was only lately integrated into the Indonesian nation politically. It remained a historic and 'hot' region well-known for isolationistic or secessionist tendencies. This makes it a contested candidate for regional autonomy. If concepts and ideals of *otonomi daerah* are meant earnestly, they could have their litmus test here (see Figure 1).

³ For data on earlier periods see Anonymus (1957), Walinono (1974), Abu Hamid (1984) and earlier editions of 'Ujung Pandang dalam Angka'.

Figure 1: Central Parts of Makassar with gridiron street pattern



Situating Makassar: history, structural location and regional functions

Makassar historically was a city of regional and even international economic importance (Mangemba 1972; Reid 1983; Reid and Reid 1988, Villiers 1990; Poelingomang 1993). But within the colonial hierarchy its position was peripheral. The harbor, which was very important and is still important, opens to the west and is situated to the eastern coast of Kalimantan. There are age-old links between Makassar and East Kalimantan. Since the 1980s the province of *Kalimantan Timur (Kaltim)* is the main aim of people migrating out from Sulawesi in search for work. Together with the ports of Tanjung Priok (in Jakarta) and Tanjung Perak (in Surabaya) Makassar today is a main node of the inter-insular passenger network (operated by *PELNI*), which was reorganized in the eighties. Makassar harbor is the door to the Eastern part of the archipelago and Australia. Since the 1970s the province of Irian Jaya, for example, receives almost all consumer goods, canned food and beer via Makassar or Surabaya. But this position is contested. Direct lines from Jakarta to Ambon, Irian Jaya, Kendari, Palu and Manado were established thus diminishing the port's importance. The competitive relation of Makassar to its rival Surabaya as well as the subdominant position to 'the center', that is, Jakarta, are a cultural theme of this city, especially in the discourse among local politicians.

Makassar has established itself as the regional primate city for the province of South Celebes. Its inhabitants today are only 9% of the province but about 65 % of the province's urban population (1971: 57%). Makassar houses the centers of the army and navy command. Furthermore Makassar is the bureaucratic and economic and education center for the neighboring province of Southeast Celebes (on bureaucracy see Conkling 1975). For Eastern Indonesia, apart from being the node of traffic, Makassar is most important in providing possibilities for higher education. There are many students from e.g. of Timor and the Moluccas, studying at the higher schools and many small universities. The university (*Universitas Hasanuddin, UNHAS*), founded 1956, was the first university outside Java to offer graduate studies (since 1986) and now has more than 10.000 students. In terms of regional development in Indonesia, Makassar, together with Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan and Ambon, is considered as a center of a 'special development region'.

Today the role as a primate city for the island is uncontested and the harbor is still important for Eastern Indonesia. The city's larger role within Indonesia is open to debate. The future will depend on policies of development (*pembangunan*; 'awakening', 'building up') not yet determined after the demise of Suharto. Potential functions of the city in the future might include the leading position in Eastern Indonesia (versus the currently still dominating Surabaya) and as a tourist center of whole Celebes (competing with the city of Manado in North Celebes). Regional rivalries as well as ethnic and religious issues are involved within these competitions (see

Figure 2).

Ethnicity and established migrancy

Situated in a region of a growing sense of regional consciousness and cultural processes transcending ethnic boundaries (Antweiler 2001), Makassar is a city ethnically dominated by Makasar⁴ and Bugis. Everyday life is characterized by an intense interaction between members of many ethnic groups originating in the province and migrants from elsewhere, especially Eastern Indonesia. Even among the generally multiethnic cities of Indonesia Makassar stands out in cultural diversity (Antweiler 2000, Ch. 4 2001). Makassar is dominated by the four main ethnic groups of South Celebes: Bugis, Makasar, Mandar, Toraja. But Makassar is not simply a 'city of minorities' like e.g. Medan in Sumatra.

The city is situated in an area of the former Makasar kingdom Gowa and near the border to traditional Bugis area. Thus Bugis and Makasar, together more than 90% of the inhabitants are prominent in the city's life and urban politics. Apart from these Toraja and Chinese are important ethnic groups. Toraja came from their home area Tanah Toraja since the 1930s and are generally regarded as part-time urban dwellers (Heeren 1952). The Chinese, today mostly speaking Makasar language, dwell mostly in the dense and congested old urban center (Saaduddin 1972; Kaharuddin 1988; Gani 1990; Lombard-Salmon 1969a, 1969b). Only since some years they are beginning to settle on big streets in the outskirts (e.g. in Rappocini). Since long the city has come to be known as a 'microcosm of the eastern seas'. Life in Makassar is like a step from the village into the world for many Indonesians from the eastern part of the archipelago. People from many places in Eastern Indonesia, especially from Flores (Kapong 1986) and Timor, often live for longer periods in Makassar, as students or traders. In recent years additionally there are refugees fleeing communal struggles in the Moluccas (*Maluku*).

Intercultural life, low segregation and ethnic dominance

Contrary to some other Indonesian cities, Makassar is not to be regarded as a plural city today and also in earlier times. Members of many different ethnic groups interact since hundreds of years in Makassar, not only at the workplace. Since colonial times close interethnic economic relations and interethnic marriages were established among members of the elite of the respective cultural groups despite residential segregation (Sutherland 1986; Abidin 1982; Mattulada 1991). Nowadays members of all ethnic groups (except a part of the Chinese community) not only work together, but reside together and intermingle in everyday life. Today such exchange is found in all social strata. Social

⁴ If I refer to the ethnic group I use 'Makasar' (with one s, one of several names used in the literature), in order not to confuse that with the name of the city ('Makassar', with two s).

| | | relevant criteria and cultural themes |
|-------------------|---|---|
| quarter Rappocini | rest of city Makassar | recent social history (<i>waktu gerombolan</i>) |
| | city of Makassar | modernity, dynamics |
| | city of Makassar | competition for center for Eastern Indonesia |
| | city of Makassar - rural South Celebes | periphery / center, dominance |
| | city of Makassar - Surabaya (East Java) | capital / periphery |
| | South Sulawesi - Java / Jakarta | morality / religion |
| | South Sulawesi - Eastern Indonesia (<i>Intim</i>) | (hardly used as a level of comparison) |
| | South Sulawesi - Manado (North Sulawesi) | |
| | South Sulawesi - whole Sulawesi | |

Figure 2: Levels of identity and regional politics in Makassar (a): regional inclusion and exclusion

differentiation and rank is a central cultural theme in South Celebes (Röttger-Rössler 1998). In the city status is displayed mainly by consumption and at social gatherings, such as meetings of rotating credit associations (*arisan*) or wedding receptions (*resepsi*, cf. Blechmann-Antweiler 2001:ch.8 for a description). But this status display is mainly based on socioeconomic instead on ethnic factors. Residential ethnic segregation is low (Figure 3). There are quarters where one ethnic group has the majority, but only a few have more than 50% of one group. The highest dominance of one ethnic group in the urban quarters was about 80% in the 1980s. Despite some remaining ethnic names of urban quarters, many areas are almost unsegregated in ethnic terms today.

The dominance of South Celebes regional ethnic groups in the city has implications for the specific interethnic relations in Makassar. Here the traditional norms and values (*adat*) of the Makasar and Bugis are not only relevant for these two groups, but for all others as well. This is in contrast to other Indonesian cities, like Medan, where the majority comes from another island. Current norms and values guiding life in Makassar are a result of a combination of parts of the *adat* shared by members of the four South Sulawesi groups, rules of interaction established through centuries and an orientation on values of modern nationalized Indonesian urban culture. The dominance of Bugis and Makasar presents a specific social environment compared

to other Indonesian cities. Most urbanites in Indonesia can be regarded as being bicultural. They follow their regional culture (*kebudayaan daerah*) and a so called 'Indonesian culture' (*kebudayaan Indonesia*). In Makassar, people of the non-dominant have to know Bugis-Makasar patterns as a third culture. Only sporadically there are communal conflicts. Usually having small causes, like conflicts between young people of different blocks, often they are quickly framed in ethnic terms. The dominance of Makasar and Bugis is not the only framework for interethnic relations in this city (see Figure 3).

An emerging trans-ethnic regionalism

Sulawesi Selatan is well known as a region where identity looms large (Mattulada 1982). Since about 15 years there is a growing sense of a regional belonging and province-related collective identity in the city and parts of the province. Everyday discourse as well as official propaganda speak of 'South Celebes people' (*orang Sulawesi Selatan* or *orang Sulsel* for short). A unified culture of the province, the 'Culture of South Celebes' (*kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan*) is often mentioned in bureaucratic circles but also in everyday talk. Contrary to Sutton (1995:674) my experience is, that this concept of a regional South Celebes culture is not only an idea of foreigners or of Indonesians from outside the region.

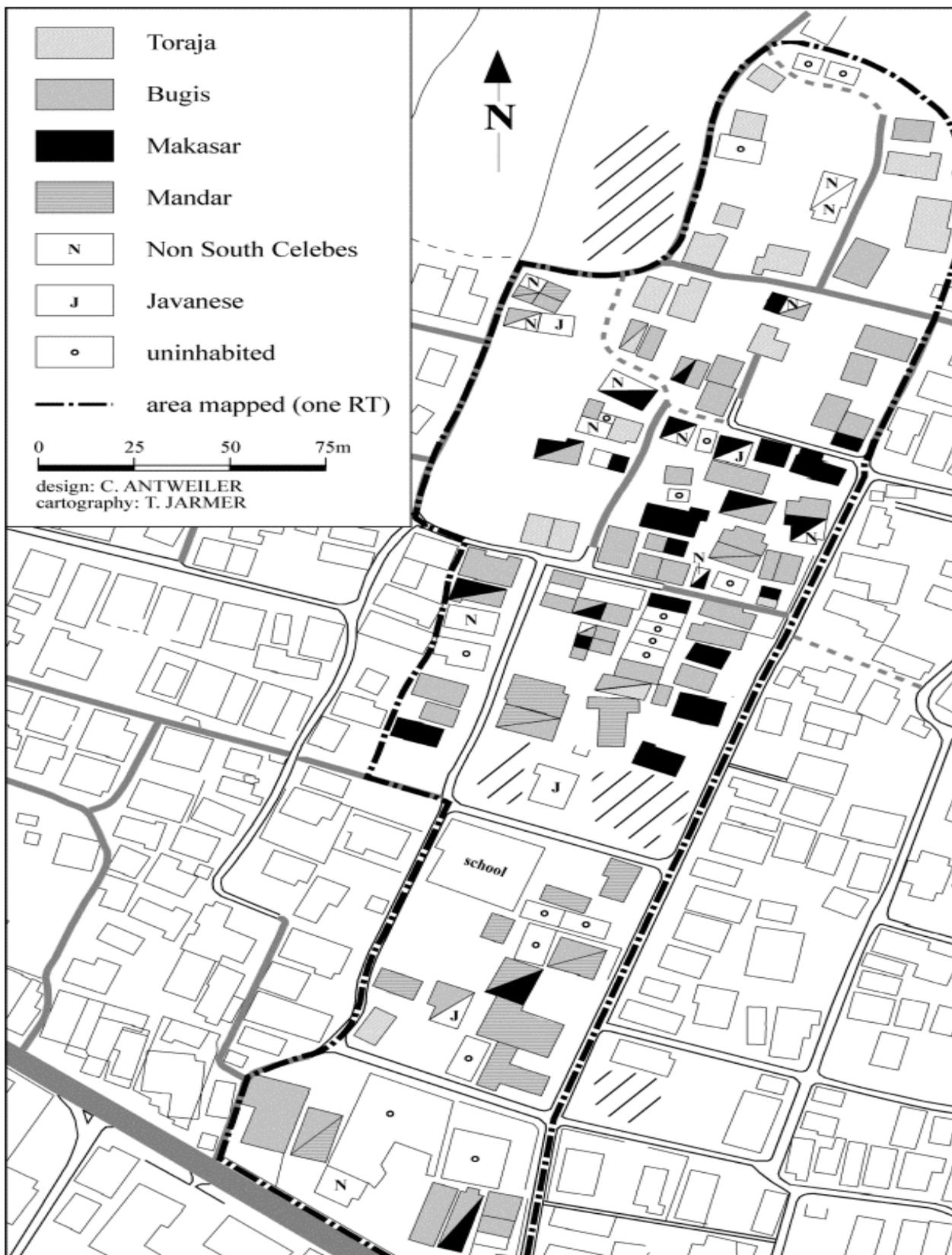


Figure 3: A Typical ethnically mixed neighbourhood in Makassar

It is in the heads of many people in the region. More and more people speak of 'South Celebes dances' and 'South Celebes houses'. This regional concept gives an orientation transcending ethnic boundaries (Antweiler 2001). Going beyond Islam it is capable to integrate the mainly Christian Toraja into the imagined or proposed regional culture. The core of this conception is heavily biased towards the four big groups of the province (Bugis, Makasar, Mandar and Toraja). These four groups are usually differentiated from another in the first instance. But these four have such close historical ties and similarities in their cultural makeup, that the remaining ethnic groups are lumped together (Figure 4) and sometimes even almost forgotten.

Trends towards regionalism are reinforced in the huge cultural park (*Minatur Sulsel*) showing wooden stilt houses of the traditional elites. The general outline is in line with Indonesian cultural and tourist policies. In its folklorization and reduction of cultural diversity the park mirrors the 'archipelago concept' (one island/province-one culture) used in Jakarta's cultural park *Taman Miniatur Indonesia Indah* (and similar cultural parks in East and Southeast Asia, e.g. in China and Laos). But beyond that it shows a self conscious regional profile and a concentration on certain groups and sub-regions (Adams 1997; Robinson 1997). The park is one of the arenas where struggles of provincial autonomy as well as ethnic dominance are acted out. Politicians, local anthropologists, historians and elite members of the respected groups are engaged. A linked contested arena is the growing tourism in the province still dominated by Tanah Toraja. The Toraja are portrayed as 'the people of South Celebes' in tourism brochures and schoolbooks. Even in ordinary huts and houses of Makasar, Bugis and Mandar people, Torajan items are displayed in the guestroom. The Bugis and Makasar concentrated in the southern parts of the province and in Makassar are now trying to get their share in tourism, but infrastructure and services are still poor (see Figure 4).

Local knowledge and regional participation in development

Local knowledge

How can local people participate in measures and decisions regarding development? Required is firstly a political commitment to the ideal that people should decide themselves about development aims and measures pertaining to their locales (cf. Arce and Long 1999). What is needed secondly, is locally and regionally relevant knowledge, that is real-life, real-time and real-space knowledge. These two are general requirements for participatory development, be it in poor countries or in problem areas of prosperous countries, e.g. downrun areas in Germany.

This paper is mainly concerned with the second requirement of participation in development, knowledge. It aims to further approaches which try to use scientific knowledge

and layman's more contextual resp. local knowledge in combination (Antweiler 1998). Not only people's knowledge but also their experiences and sentiments (Abram and Waldren 1997) should be integrated explicitly. What we need is what has been aptly called—in the context of sustainable development in modern industrial societies—a 'citizen science' (Irwin 1995).

Local knowledge consists of knowledge, skills and capabilities, most of which have some empirical grounding. Local knowledge has a potential for use in development measures (see Pasquale *et al.* 1998 for an overview), but its concrete implementation for development is quite ambiguous (Posey and Dutfield 1996; Antweiler 1998). One problem concerns the unresolved epistemological status of local knowledge (Agrawal 1995; Antweiler 1998). That is clearly indicated by the diverse terms which reflect several epistemological assumptions and diverse political backgrounds (see Antweiler 1998 for a list). Most often it is called *indigenous knowledge*, but especially that term connotes notions of states, age, aboriginality etc., which are quite problematic. Secondly the problem of the ownership of local knowledge is unresolved (e.g. Greaves 1994; Posey and Dutfield 1996; Brush and Stabinsky 1996). A third problem is that the term 'local knowledge' is sometimes simply used as a label, a fate, that the term shares with the term 'participation', at least in Germany.

The practical application of local knowledge is less of a technological but a theoretical and political problem, what is shown here generally and by referring to urban knowledge. Local knowledge is often instrumentalized and idealized by development experts as well as by their critics, be it as 'science' or as 'wisdom'. Within the context of development measures, local knowledge has strengths as well as weaknesses, both of which result from its local and situated character. Local knowledge, despite often being called 'knowledge systems', do not necessarily present themselves as comprehensive systems and activities based on local knowledge, are not necessarily sustainable or socially just. Cognitive anthropology has revealed that local knowledge is more than just technical and environmental knowledge, and consists of several forms of knowledge and knowing. Different assumptions, methods and divergent motives characterize anthropological approaches to local knowledge. Especially relevant to development measures is knowledge of processes. Thus the use of local knowledge for development should not either be restricted to the extraction of information or simply seen as a countermodel to western science. Local knowledge is culturally situated and best understood as 'social products'.

Eliciting local knowledge systematically

Data collection on cultural knowledge is torn between two opposing poles. On the one hand there are, coming from cognitive anthropology, methods of structured inter-

| | | | | | |
|----------|---|---------------------------------|---|--|---|
| | | | | | criteria of distinction |
| Makassar | - | Bugis | | | economic success, migrancy |
| | | Makassar + Bugis + Mandar | - | Toraja | religion (Islam/ Christianity), interethnic marriages |
| | | | | Makassar + Bugis + Mandar +Toraja | rest of circa 45 ethnic groups of the province |
| | | | | | general cultural dissimilarity/ subordination-dominance |

Figure 4: Levels of identity and regional politics in Makassar (b): regional inclusion and exclusion

viewing. They are often very formal and time-consuming. On the other hand we have the set of very simple tools used in several rapid and/or participatory appraisal and learning methods (e.g. RRA, PRA, PLA). Both approaches have severe drawbacks. The former are very systematic but concentrated on specific cultural domains (e.g. the classification of animals or soils). Furthermore, intracultural cognitive variability remains largely unexplored and these methods are expensive in terms of time. The latter methods are rapid, but generally leave out the cultural context. The paper adopts the position, that we need direct, systematic, formal and comparative yet culturally sensitive methods for larger samples, if we want to establish a truly citizen science. The paper tries to complement RRA, PRA and PLA methods with simplified methods coming from cognitive anthropology and clinical psychology.

Within cognitive anthropology there are many works on the procedures for the processing of data but far less on data gathering techniques and especially on the specific practical problems. But anthropological experience reveals that especially the systematic elicitation of data may be very problematic in a cultural context different from the researchers. The general assumption of methods handbooks (e.g. Weller and Romney 1988; Werner and Schoepfle 1987) is simply that **systematic interviewing resp. systematic data collection or systematic elicitation techniques** may be universally applied. Cognitive anthropologists claim to seek the emic perspective, but critiques maintain that the methods of cognitive anthropology are overly formal, too complicated and not applicable in the context of people in real-life non-western settings. These methods are largely based on US-American experiences with people who are accustomed with formal tests. To a great extent the methods were developed with paid American college students or they were used with informants, whose cultural background was already well known. No wonder that these elaborated methods were seldom used in non-western settings, be it in anthropological fieldwork, in development projects or in other applied research (but see e.g.

Richards 1980:187-190 and Barker 1980:300 as early examples)

Reported experiences with such methods in the context of anthropological fieldwork in non-western settings are varied. Some informants found them funny and thus interesting, others regarded them as so childishly, that they preferred to proceed instantly to a coffee or an *ouzo*. As an illustration of the divergence between bold textbook claims and disappointing fieldwork experiences compare Weller and Romney's and Bernard's textbook with Barnes's drastic statement about fieldwork reality:

...the interviewing and data collection tasks contained in this volume are as appropriate for use in such exotic settings as the highlands of New Guinea as they are in the corporate offices on Wall Street (Weller and Romney 1988:9).

I consider the techniques reviewed in this chapter to be among the most fun and most productive in the repertoire of anthropological method. They can be used in both applied and basic research, they are attractive to informants, and they produce a wealth of information that can be compared across informants and across cultures (Bernard 1988:240).

...(the informants) quickly got stuck, resorting the cards as each new name was added, before stopping and declaring the task to be impossible (Barnes 91:290).

Principally I see three ways to react to these problems if we are interested in establishing a citizens science. First, we could use established methods from the toolboxes e.g. of RRA, PRA, PLA or other participatory approaches. Following this way we should not only follow the glossy brochures but also be aware of the limitations of the methods and the fuzziness of the use of the term 'participation'. A second 'solution', most often followed by anthropologists, is simply to drop systematic elicitation and to change to less formal, less systematic ways of collecting data on local knowledge. One collects normal discourse, e.g. gossip, but thus sacrifices reliability or comparability for contextualization.

A generally forgotten third possibility is to adapt locally and further simplify the simpler of the methods used in

| Method | Themes, aspects (in examples) |
|--|--|
| 1. Listening, talking to people | - terminology, locally relevant cultural themes |
| 2. Systematic/structured interviewing, formal elicitation techniques | - domains, themes, propositions |
| - free listing, question-answer-frame | - dictionary, basic cognitive structure |
| - card/pile sorting, slip sorting | - similarity comparisons, taxonomy |
| - triadic comparison, triad test | - evaluative comparisons |
| - rating, rating scale | - hierarchy of values, coherence vs. diversity |
| - ranking, rank ordering | - logical relationships, causes-effects |
| - sentence frame format, frame elicitation | - environmental perception, personal constructs |
| - combination of the above (e.g. repertory-grid method) | - concepts, hierarchies, spatial concepts |
| - graphic methods (visualisation, drawing trees, cognitive maps) | |
| 3. Observation | - practices, routines, products |
| - non-participant, e.g. time allocation | - procedural knowledge, knowing |
| - participant observation | |
| 4. Documentation and study of documents | - knowledge products (texts, objects) |
| - photos, films, video | - knowledge distribution |
| - mapping | - nature and mode of knowledge, knowledge transfer |
| - recording of narrative texts ("orature") | - themes, forms of discourse, implicit knowledge |
| - recording of natural discourse | |
| 5. Combinations of the above methods | - procedural knowledge, rules, cultural models |
| - natural decision-making | - implicit knowledge, scripts |
| - apprenticeship, teacher-pupil interaction | - knowledge acquisition, creativity, implicit knowledge |
| - action research | - participation in the gathering, dissemination and utilisation of knowledge |
| - participatory methods (e.g. PRA, RRA, PLA) | |

Figure 5: Research methods to learn about local knowledge

cognitive anthropology (Figure 5). I think, that the sharp critique on cognitive anthropological methods mentioned above applies especially to the older generation of methods (e.g. Metzger and Williams 1966) and concerns far less the simple techniques of data collection of modern cognitive anthropology. These techniques developed in the context of a generally more contextualized cognitive anthropology. Firstly, some modern methods (cf. Weller and Romney 1988:ch.2), e.g. listings, are quite simple and especially suitable if we want to know at the outset the themes and problems relevant for the people studied. Secondly, they can elicit the informant's know-ledge as well as their evaluations and sentiments. Thirdly, modern methods allow for intra-cultural variation, e.g. as a consequence of age, gender, network position or social rank. Furthermore, they can grasp the diachronic diffusion of cognition (see Figure 5).

Urban residential knowledge and sentiment in Makassar

Recent trends in Makassar and modernist urban planning

Indonesia is a country experiencing high rates of urbanization and intra-national migration (Nas 1995; Hugo 1997; Tirtosudarmo 1997). Living in a developmentalist state with a development-oriented state ideology (*Pancasila*), 'development' (*pembangunan*, Ind.) has a very positive connotation for many Indonesians despite their often negative experiences. Indonesian development discourse since several years is influenced by participatory terminology (see e.g. Quarles van Ufford 1993; Weber 1994), but the implementa-

tion of concepts of participation is often heavily top-down. One might speculate whether 'participation' is sometimes deliberately used to mask its contrary. Urban planning in Indonesia is still heavily centralized and bureaucratized. Rhetorically, participation is a central pillar of Indonesian urban planning and urban services, but again reality is often almost completely otherwise (McTaggart 1976; Karamoy and Dias 1982; cf. also Sudarmo 1997). Reviews of urban studies and of studies on urban development in Indonesia (Mboi and Smith 1994; Nas 1995) show that still there are only a few studies on participation.

Urban planning in Makassar followed an American masterplan (Institut Teknologi Bandung 1973). Generally it was guided by western conceptions since mayor H.M. Daeng Patompos term of office in the 1970s. He enthusiastically promoted modernistic urban conceptions (Patompo 1976). Kampung were improved (Kampung Improvement Program 1975), streets were widened and one street (Jl. Somba Opu) was proudly declared a 'shopping area'. Central parts of the city were rebuilt and a Chinese cemetery was relocated to make room for administrative buildings and a new central market. The eastward expansion of the city was planned and the city's area was increased by legislation in 1971. Highways were built in the outskirts (see Ujung Pandang Area Highway Development study 1988). The realization of these modernistic plans however, is still far from complete. Parts of the modern city lack infrastructure and show run-down houses. There were severe health problems (Tuaruns and Kurnia 1991; cf. Sianipar 1979 on *dukun*). There are illegally used spaces and land tracts with unsolved tenure status.

Even after a period of tremendous growth till the 1970s Makassar is characterized by a somewhat provincial charm. But the late 1990s again brought severe changes, a general modernization and even some postmodern architectural signs.

Traffic increased considerably within the last years. Now there are more than 1200 taxis, where in 1991 there were only 200. Traffic jams are a normal experience; there are now some traffic lights and most big roads are now one-way. There were several if unsuccessful attempts to restrict the bicycle rickshaws from certain parts of the city. There are now many supermarkets where ten years ago there were only two. The shopping center at *Pasar Baru* was demolished and a new four-storey center was built. In 1999 even a shopping mall similar to those in Jakarta opened its doors and a McDonalds was to open. There are several new luxury hotels partially financed with money from Jakarta and Singapore. They are seldom used by tourists but mainly by higher government officials during visits in the city and one some may be used for land speculation purposes. The central post office was modernized recently and throughout the city there are computerized telephone booths (*warung telpon, Wartel*). Not only in the central business district, but throughout the city there is an increasing number of Chinese-style multi-storey shophouses (*rumah toko, Ruko*) combining dwelling and business functions. Many houses facing the seaside had to make way for the harbor, which was modernized and extended. A new toll road to this harbor was recently finished. On the road to the *Hasannuddin Airport* near the town of Maros north of the city new office buildings and industrial estates abound. The airport is now an international airport with direct links to Singapore several times a week. Large areas of transition zone (Makkulau 1978) and the city's outskirts now are scattered with planned residential settlements including shops and supermarkets. They are for the upward mobile, mostly Chinese and Bugis. They include elements of western urbanism (guards, *cul-de-sac* streets and Spanish-Style bungalows), but local adaptations as well (Indonesian-style guest-and bathrooms). As in other parts of Indonesia, the names of these settlements convey modernistic and romantic ideas linked with local place names (e.g. *Panakkukang Emas*, 'Golden Panakkukang'). A huge area in the southern part of the town and facing the sea (*Tanjung Bunga*) was planned for business and recreation in an ultra-modernistic outline. Still it is nearly a rural area but the area is being build up slowly. The main urban administrative functions were moved from the former colonial area near the Fort Amsterdam (*Benteng*) to various arteries in the outskirts of the city. Modern Makassar is represented by big office and bank buildings and mostly two-storied shophouses combining dwelling space with economic functions. But large parts of the central town are severely run down despite some attempts of renovation in order to develop parts of the old town into a 'Chinatown'. One main Chinese temple demolished during

ethnic riots in 1997 laid in ashes in 2000.

Urban knowledge and fieldwork

Given that context I tried to understand local urban knowledge in a part of Makassar in relation to action and especially concerning everyday decisions. The general aim was to situate the knowledge studied within the knowledge and knowing of other realms and in the context of other aspects of everyday life. Furthermore it was to be related to the social history of the settlement and the region. I intentionally choose a domain of cognition which is not only scientifically interesting but also relevant for the informants themselves. The specific theme selected was intra-urban residential mobility.

The fieldwork was conducted in a settlement at the outskirts of the city, called Rappocini. With my wife and our then seven months-old son I lived one year 1991/1992 in Rappocini, an ethnically quite mixed area. The first half year we lived in one room of a small house of an Indonesian family with their four children. The couple was also ethnically mixed (Bugis/Mandar). They normally spoke *Bahasa Indonesia*, as usual in urban households in Indonesia. The head was a low-level government clerk (*pegawai negeri*) and his wife worked mainly in the house. The second half of the year we lived in a nearby neighborhood in the same settlement with a better-off childless couple, again ethnically mixed (Makasar/Minangkabau). Apart from the usual anthropological fieldwork methods I used special methods for understanding the residential circumstances, such as a detailed household survey and mapping concentrated on residence and turnover, a residence history analysis, interviews of all recently moved households and last not least our own residential move. Most specific were methods for the study of natural decision-making in intraurban moves (Antweiler 2000: Ch.3-5). Within the general research theme specific questions concerning the knowledge and sentiments of the urban environment (**residential cognition**; cf. Tognoli 1987; Saegert and Winkel 1990 for overviews) arose, such as:

- What do the people know of the area ('knowledge')?
- How do they know it ('knowing'), e.g. how are the streets and lanes represented cognitively?
- What are their evaluations and the meanings of the built environment?
- What are the evaluations of neighborhoods or specific locations if considered as potential residential locations?

Environmental psychologists and geographers interested in perception often use cognitive mapping (mental mapping) to understand such issues. Months of living among these people showed that the people are not very accustomed to use maps. I would have got results but they would have been very artificial. Furthermore people in Makassar are exposed to maps in the public realm, which are produced by planning offices, which are often severely

wrong. So I had to seek alternative methods in order to understand local space related cognition and spatial knowledge.

Repertory grid method

The **Repertory Grid Method** is a method to elicit cognitive data in language form to reveal so called 'constructs'. Scheer (1993:25-36) gives an outline of the procedure in general. The method was developed by George Kelly (1955) and is used classically in clinical psychology (cf. Scheer and Catina's reader 1993). It was used also in the field of environmental psychology and by urban geographers interested in neighborhood evaluation and residential choice (e.g. Aitken 1990; Anderson 1990; Preston and Taylor 1981; Tanner and Foppa 1995).

The basic assumption is clear and simple: humans tend to order their world cognitively by using dual polarities. Referring to everyday decisions the assumption is, that individuals 'construe' several aspects within the diversity of their experiences on the basis of similarities and dissimilarities (Catina and Schmitt 1993 for an overview). Every person uses many polarities and they differ between persons intra- and interculturally. This differentiates the theory from any overarching dualisms as assumed by most structuralists. Working with language it is possible to elicit cognition as well as emotion. Basically the method consists of two steps beyond the selection of an appropriate theme or domain and questions of sampling, which are very important for any citizen oriented science but neglected here for the moment: 1) an elicitation of constructs in a dyad or triad comparison and 2) a scaling of other items according to the particular constructs elicited.

Step 1 is the 'construct question': Two or three items called 'elements' are presented to be compared by the interviewed person. These elements might be words or short sentences on cards, photographs or concrete objects, such as grains or animal specimen. Without giving any other input the interviewer asks simply to discriminate on the basis of similarity (**dyad comparison, triad comparison**). This reveals certain stated characteristics, e.g. 'These two are similar, because they both are clean' or 'this one is different, because dangerous'. Thus an 'initial pole' of a construct is gained. Asking for the contrary of the stated trait—if that is not obvious—reveals pairs of contrasts (e.g. 'clean/dirty', 'dangerous/secure'). These pairs of contrast are called 'polarities' resp. 'personal constructs'. It is possible to elicit several constructs per dyad or triad.

Step 2 uses the constructs elicited as poles in a scale for ordering other (!) items presented to the interview partner. Thus every interviewed person evaluates the new items by ranking or rating within a scale, that is not coming from the ethnographer, but from her- or himself! Only the basic items of comparison are from the interviewer. This differentiates this method from Charles Osgood's **semantic differential**

resp. polarity profile. A matrix can be formed arranging the constructs (from step 1) horizontally and the rating values (from step 2) vertically. The resulting multidimensional semantic space consisting of elements and constructs is called the person's **repertory grid**. As the result there emerges the cognitive and emotive repertoire of a person regarding a specific theme or domain. The form is a matrix of several presented items and their respective evaluations by the partner.

Here I present the method in the form adapted to the specific fieldwork setting in Makassar in recipe form. Later I will explain the reasoning for the necessary adaptation to the local setting, an important question all too often neglected in cognitive anthropology method books and RRA, PRA, PLA cookbooks as well.

Step One: Elicitation of constructs via triads comparison:

1. Present three elements (houses, lanes, neighbourhoods) A, B, C as photos.
2. Ask: 'Which of these two of the three items are similar? Which one is specific?'
Note e.g. A vs. BC.
3. Ask: 'Why this one/these ones?' (if not spontaneously stated).
Note that statement as one pole in a 10-point-scale.
4. Ask: 'What would be the contrary of that?'
Note statement as other polarity.
5. Ask: 'Which one would you prefer of these two qualities?' (if not obvious).
Note preference with an + symbol.
6. Present several triads and obtain with the same procedure several constructs.
Note as above.

Step Two: Evaluation of urban areas with the constructs elicited via ranking:

1. Ranking of 8 plastic slips with the names of residential areas or streets within the first polarity profile from step one.
2. Ranking of the same 8 slips in the other constructs elicited in step one.

Such a method has qualitative as well as quantitative aspects and several advantages compared to survey-like methods on the one side and to a totally open interview on the other hand:

- elicitation of systematic emic data of a sample (same stimuli for everyone)
 - neither purely qualitative, nor purely quantitative
- but emic cognitive results for any individual (instead of generalized emics)
 - intracultural variation documented
- only stimuli given by the researcher (instead of prearranged polarity profile)
 - more openness for the local perspectives

- photos are used as stimuli (instead of word)
 - more control of stimuli
- parsimonious presentation of items (instead of elaborated method)
 - applicable in real life situations
- easy to note
 - transparency of notation for interview partners (ethical issue)
- open for further dialogues on emically related topics
 - systematic method allowing deeper continuation.

Regional relevant themes and suitable media: adaptation of the method

If any true participation is our aim textbook methods often have to be modified considerably. The real challenge is to simplify and adapt the methods without getting lost in a totally localized method which prevents any comparison and generalization. I explain the reasoning for the specific modification of existing textbook methods in the field and my experiences. The description might be an answer to the question why I used the method only after having been five months in the field. A random sample of house owners (30 %; n=21) of one urban neighborhood was interviewed. The interview location was determined by my partners. Often we exchanged in the small guest rooms (*ruang tamu*) of small huts or houses, on the small terrace, or, if lacking space, in front of the building at the fringe of the small lanes (*lorong*). Interviews were conducted during two weeks in 1991 and needed between ½ an hour and 1 ½ hours.

Why were triads instead of dyadic items used as stimuli? My trials confirmed the general experience that triads motivate more to think and evaluate. Dyads are often too obviously similar or different. For any triad I selected photographs which showed relative similar situations to make the comparison interesting. But I tried to maximize the variance of living situations shown between the several triads presented. One triad, e.g. showed three poor huts while in another triad the interviewed saw three well organized middle class neighborhoods.

I used photographs (Figure 6) for the elicitation of the constructs, as I had experienced the fanciness for photographs during the first months of my stay. The people like to speak about photographs; they have albums of family photos and photographs are on display in almost every household. Using photos it is relative easy to present the stimuli really in the same form to every person interviewed. Furthermore, photographs are a suitable medium for the topic of urban environmental knowledge as they reveal detailed traits which can be compared.

The color photographs showed typical residential situations from several areas of Makassar. The selection of the photographs was important because of several reasons. I did not use photos of the area where the interviewed people lived, as in step I wanted to elicit general value orientations based

on observable traits and not the evaluation of a particular area. For the same reason only photos were selected that did not show well known places, streets, buildings or advertisements. I had made the photos during the first five months of fieldwork firstly to cover the diversity of living situations and secondly because people move from the area studied to other parts of the city and vice versa.

Pragmatic as well as ethical considerations urged me only to show outdoor situations. *Fistulae*, indoor photos too obviously show social status and thus would not be very productive. Secondly, it would only possible for me to make indoor photos in the area where I knew the people. Indoor photos of households personally known to the interviewed people would have been a problem in a society where material living conditions are a common theme of everyday gossip. Further practical decisions were important in the use of the photographs. I used the locally usual format 10 x 15 cm. I numbered the photos for easy reference and discussion if the interview developed into a group discussion. This helped also for an easy notation and one transparent for the interview partners, not a trivial consideration for methods for a participatory citizen science.

Step 2, the comparative evaluation of specific urban areas within the constructs elicited, also needed some preparation based on my fieldwork experiences (Figure 6). For the stimuli I presented eight named urban areas. I selected six areas plus the present living area plus the birthplace of the interview partner. The reasoning behind the inclusion of the latter two was to move the ranking within the biographical experience of the people. During my fieldwork about residential decision-making it had become apparent that one key factor for selecting areas for moves are the country-city migration experiences before the intra-urban residential moves (cf. Somantri 1995 for Jakarta). During this step the areas for consideration were presented now not as photos, but in the form of names of urban areas. Thus the awareness of the interviewees was guided toward general evaluations, images and prejudices instead to on specific traits. The area or neighborhood names were written clearly readable on plastic slips. They are easy to handle if there is only dim light within the houses. They don't get dirty if the interview had to be conducted in front of the houses at the margin of a small lane with few space and probably some rain in the monsoon season (see Figure 6).

Systematic yet regionally adapted interviewing

People reacted differently to this method. Most were very interested or amused, but to some it was also somewhat foreign. No wondering an ethnically and economically mixed neighborhood. As already said I used this procedure intentionally only after having been in field for five months. I had visited all interviewed people several times before this specific interview. I had informal discussions and conducted a household census and residential-history interview with

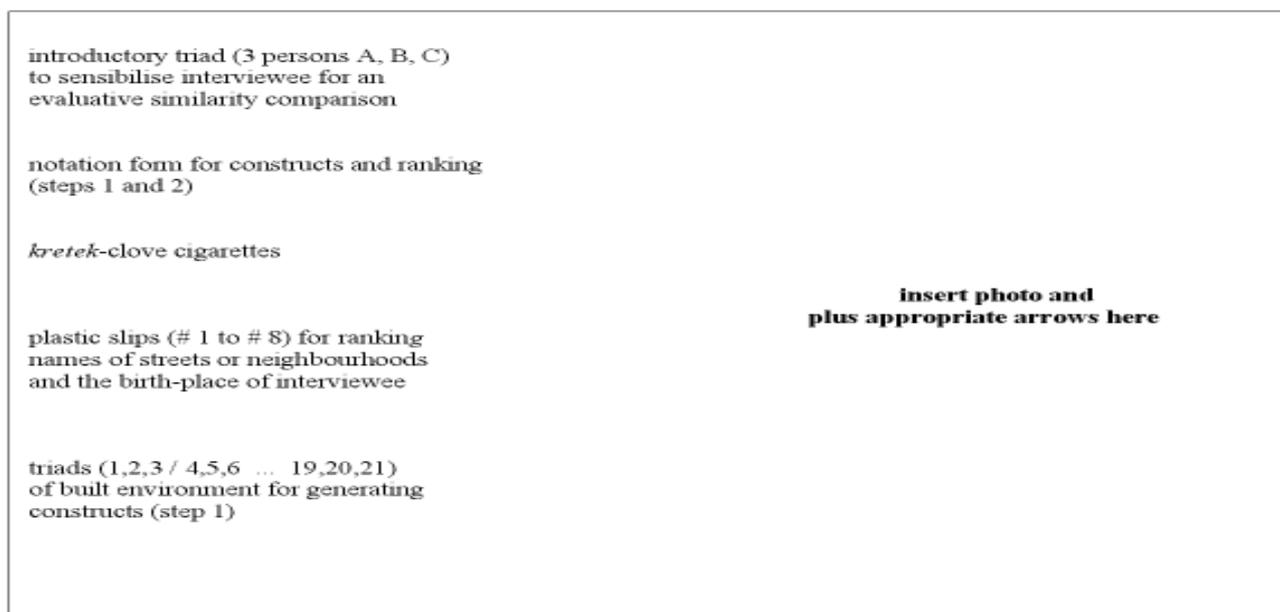


Figure 6: Set of interview material for repertory grids

all of them. So they knew me and my overall research theme (intra-urban residential mobility).

Introducing this specific interview I stressed that it would not aim at 'correct' answers, but that I was interested in their personal perception and evaluation. That was very important as my trials with this formal procedure had revealed that some people are reminded to intelligence tests. In a city with many schools, universities and offices many people have experiences with such tests. Such considerations are very important, if you don't want to collect nice but artificial data. After some conversation and some obligatory *kretek* cigarettes I showed the people first three outdoor photographs, one of myself, one of my brother and one of my mother. I used my family because the people are very keen to see photos of western people in general and of families especially. I asked the triad question and I answered it myself in the obvious way, grouping by sex: me and my brother vs. my mother. Then I said: 'O.K, but we could also have grouped in the same way but because of another reason. My mother is wearing a suit not allowed (*kurang cocok*, Ind.) for women outdoors, whereas my brother and me are properly dressed.' (Sorry Mam!) The reasoning behind all that was to sensiblise the interviewed person for a new method by using an everyday theme. Taking an everyday normative issue (gender roles) the partners should be prepared for a descriptive, but also evaluative comparison in the interview.

I deliberately used a very simple notation form (see again Figure 6). It should allow big lettering due to my personal not very readable script and dim light. The notation was facilitated by the numbering of the photographs (step 1) and the plastic slips (step 2) (see Figures, 7 and 8).

Conclusion: regional autonomy, the citizen's voice and the official idioms of planning

This paper was concerned with identity, regionalism, autonomy and data gathering methods, not with the analysis of the data. Thus here I give only some hints regarding methods for analysis and results. Results can be gained in several forms, ranging from simple qualitative data about cases to detailed quantitative results about a small or larger sample of people. They can be obtained firstly by simple graphic rendering which allows visual sharing between interviewer and interviewees. That is a good basis for direct further discussion and reveals proposals for as yet unrecognized evaluation criteria. Furthermore, a simple sorting by hand (cf. Raethel 1993:47-49) can reveal first insights already in the field. Deeper insights can be arrived by using established software (e.g. ANTHROPAC, Borgatti 1990) and through more complicated specific quantitative and graphic data processing (cf. Raethel 1993:53-67), for which there is special software available (see Willutzki and Raethel 1993).

Results from using several methods in addition to the repertory grid method showed that people in Makassar have intricate concepts and action strategies regarding migration, residential mobility and housing (Antweiler 2000:329-413). Figure 7 gives a simplified overview of the concepts and how they are related to another. Interviewees differentiated between eight ways of earning one's livelihood, some of them linked to migration strategies. They distinguished among several house types and, apart from that, they saw six ways of building a house, which are associated mainly with income patterns. Furthermore, they had typologies of migration and migrants, which were linked mainly to normal male migrant biographies. Interestingly, many of these con-

cepts are quite different from the official concepts used in maps and planning documents. The idiom is quite different from the language used in urban upgrading programs (e.g. *Kampung Improvement Programme; KIP*) and the program aiming at decentralization of planning, programming and implementation (*Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme (IUIDP)*).

I will give some examples of concepts linked to residential decision-making. Whereas the people distinguish several forms of dwelling and see several strategies to build a house, there are only two to three in the official maps, labeled as 'permanent' (*permanen*), 'semi-permanent' (*semi permanen*) and 'temporary' (*sementara*). Whereas there are at least seven emically differentiated ways of living in a dwelling (Figure 7), officially there are only three: 'possessed' (*milik*), 'hired' (*sewa*) and 'staying with' ('free lodging', *numpang*; e.g. In Identifikasi Kawasan Kumuh Perkotaan 1991:6). Whereas official documents speak of illegal settlements (*illegal*) or dwellings without permission (*tanpa izin*), the people speak of 'guarding (other people's) land' (*jaga tanah*). Regarding residential mobility, the consideration of a household's or individual's 'living situation' (*situasi hidup*) was emically of central importance. This involves more than mere economic situation. It is a concept not reflected in the official development standards of minimum wage, calorie intake etc. Exemplary local categories of *situasi hidup* are 'people seeking work' (*cari kerja*; I use the colloquial forms, so here without *pen-*), 'people seeking knowledge' (*cari ilmu*), that is people coming the countryside who are looking for education in the city, and 'people seeking experiences' (*cari pengalaman*). This latter concept is especially interesting regarding decision-making. In Makassar it is the locally accepted rationale, if people try something radically new. Additionally, people use specific notions of trial-and-error behaviour. People say e.g. 'try, try often, try it again' (*coba, coba coba, coba lagi*), 'search, search again' (*cari, cari lagi*) or 'just wait and see' (*tunggu saja*). In a typical mestizo Indonesian idiom some people called these strategies *sistem eksperimental*.

Residence history interviews and work with decision tables revealed that residential knowledge in Makassar is situated in local and regional collective memories, emotionally loaded concepts and normative biographies. It became evident that it is an amalgam of empirically based factual knowledge and forms of action-related knowing. Decision tables revealed that the knowledge is systematic and complex, but not a closed and comprehensive system shared among all people. One of the results was that there are commonalities but also striking differences between the idiom and perceptions of local residents and the language and concepts employed in official urban planning brochures (Figure 8).

The conclusion is that formal but simple cognitive methods have a potential for urban studies in Indonesia. Local urban knowledge can be used to achieve a more humanized and effective urban planning. Regarding methods, the uni-

versality of cognitive approaches can be maintained provided that either informants are accustomed to formal questioning or textbook versions adapted to the local cultural setting. The latter requires a certain ethnographic grounding in the local culture which is normally not available in development projects which use quicker participative approaches.

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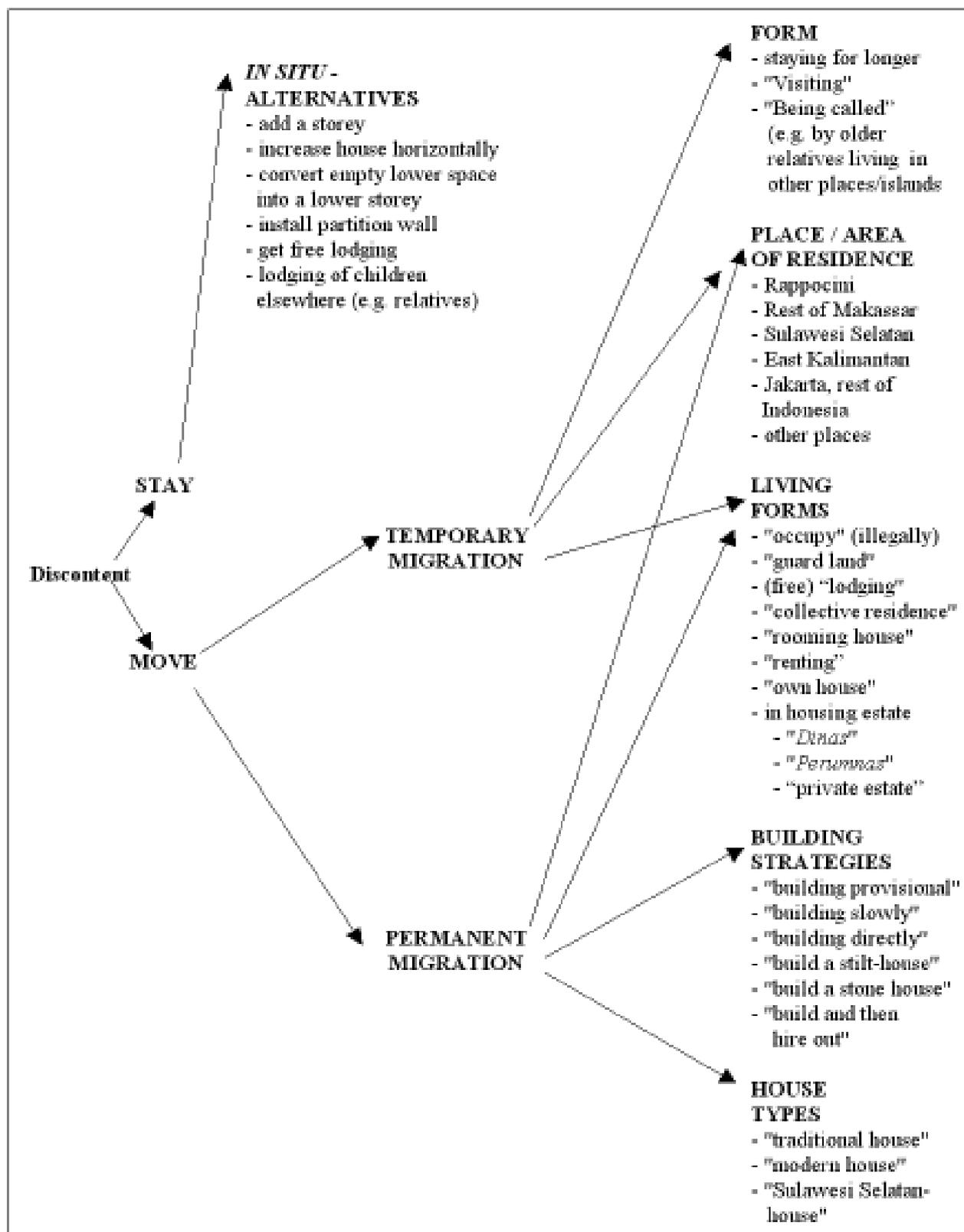


Figure 7: Migration and intraurban mobility in Makassar: a composite model of local knowledge

| everyday concepts | | official idiom (e.g. in maps and planning documents) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pole 1 | pole 2 | pole 1 | pole 2 |
| (being) alone (<i>sendiri</i>) | populated (<i>bermasyarakat</i>) | | |
| like village (<i>sama kampung</i>) | urban (<i>kota</i>) | | |
| still like kampung (<i>masih kampung</i>) | already urban (<i>sudah kota</i>) | | |
| plain, simple (<i>sederhana</i>) | luxurious (<i>mewah</i>) | | |
| orderly (<i>rapi</i>) | not (yet) orderly (<i>belum rapi</i>) | | |
| dense (population) (<i>padat</i>) | distantly spaced (<i>renggang</i>) | | |
| dense (population) (<i>padat</i>) | good ventilation (<i>udara bagus</i>) | | |
| dense (population) (<i>padat</i>) | still empty (<i>masih kosong</i>) | | |
| calm (<i>tenang, sunyi</i>) | ado, fuss, gossip (<i>cencong</i>) | | |
| calm (<i>sunyi</i>) | full of life (<i>ramai</i>) | | |
| secure (<i>aman</i>) | disturbed, unsafe (<i>rawan</i>) | | |
| secure (<i>aman</i>), clear (<i>tenang</i>) | insecure (<i>kacau</i>) | same as everyday concept | |
| orderly planned (<i>teratur</i>) | not orderly (<i>tidak teratur</i>) | same as everyday concept | |
| the rich (<i>yang kaya</i>) | ordinary people (<i>orang biasa</i>) | rich (<i>orang kaya</i>) | poor (<i>miskin</i>) |
| modern (<i>maju</i>) | not (yet) modern (<i>belum maju</i>) | modern (<i>maju</i>) | traditional (<i>tradisional</i>) |
| dirty (<i>kotor</i>) | clean (<i>bersih</i>) | dirty area (<i>kawasan kumuh</i>) | |
| | | economically strong (<i>ekonomi kuat</i>) | economically weak (<i>ekonomi lemah</i>) |
| | | upper people (<i>masyarakat tinggi</i>) | lower people (<i>mas- yarakat rendah</i>) |

Figure 8: Concepts about residential areas: emic vs. official
(selected concepts, empty fields: no complement observed)

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