Fig. 2. TERNATE: A fishmonger at the central market and bus terminal poses with her stock. She's fashionably outfitted against the midday sun with a broad hat and smears left by a thin rice–flour–and–turmeric paste applied earlier to protect her skin; alas, her fish boast no similar protection from the heat. 
June 2010: photo by S. Chris Brown
WORKING CLASS REVISITED: CLASS RELATIONS IN INDONESIAN PROVINCIAL TOWNS

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Class analysis in Indonesia has reached an impasse, from which it can be released by opening our eyes to urban anthropology. Class analysis should be made more concrete by situating it in the geography of urban community. The typically Indonesian kampung has been described as an 'urban society of the common people' (Dick 1985:75), distinguished by 'social harmony and co-operation' (Guinness 1986:184; also J. Sullivan 1992). Most members of the industrial working class live in such a kampung. In almost every aspect of their life, including their work, they have to craft relationships with members of other urban classes who live around them. I argue that the working-class sense of injustice emerges not only from industrial practices, but also from the urban vulnerabilities that they share with other urban classes whose life chances are limited. It is generated by the social heterogeneity of the locality and by the workers' identification with their communities. These form an imminent energy within the working class. When members of other classes also experience dispossession and marginalization, a working-class consciousness in semi-urban industrial centres might arise.

Democratization since the late 1990s has brought unprecedented political participation to local agents in the peripheries. Residents of distressed kampung communities have engaged in political struggle to gain access to basic state services. In the process they often contested the authority of existing cultural leaders who had long benefited from the intermediary roles they played in patronage relations.

This chapter examines working-class communities in two industrial towns, both on the coast. Cilegon is located in western Java with a population in 2008 of 346,059, and Pekalongan in central Java with a population in 2005 of 267,574. Manufacturing is the context for working-class local politics. Residents blame local notables and low-level state officials, whom they call 'elites', for poor implementation of urban policy. After the political reform following the downfall of Suharto in 1998, elites have benefited most from decentralization. The spread of power and resources to provincial towns has empowered local elites. This centralization of power in the