Research article

Kampoeng Cyber Jogja: Representation, Resistance, and Spatial Politics

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Abstract.
The digital divide not only marks the complexity of the literary medium's transition to the digital world but also involves wider structural issues, from critical, social, economic, and cultural practices aspects in the society. This study presents a bigger picture through a critical analysis of the space representation of *Kampoeng Cyber Jogja* (KCJ). The study uses the qualitative method with Henri Levebfre's Spatial Triad theory. To find and define the relation of space with practice and society's post-modern culture, the authors use Bourdieu and Baudrillard's concepts on practice, distinction, and consumerism. KCJ is a complex space as well as a representation of society's culture which must turn into a multidimensional direction. KCJ has become a production, negotiation, and resistance space. In economic practice, KCJ is a production space, uniting several aspects from the cultural products (i.e., batik), cyberspace technology usage, as well as market reading. On the other hand, it shows the space paradoxicality, capitalization, and industrial logic used by KCJ. In social practice, KCJ marks the resistance toward poverty and inequality discourse brought up by the digital divide. Culturally speaking, KCJ has become the representation and negotiation space between two cultures, traditional and modern, in resolving the digital divide which has thrived in the multidimensional society.

Keywords: representation of space, spatial politic, resistance, digital divide, *Kampoeng Cyber Jogja*

1. Introduction

The emergence of the information revolution brought huge changes in the culture and paradigm of scientific thinking[1]. In that particular context, the development of the information era gave birth to what is known as cyberculture[2]. Cyberculture marks issues that develop in the complex relationship between technology and mythology. Technology and mythology simultaneously objectify the body and take turns in enlarging and minimizing the practices. Mythology empowers the body through figures like God, Titans, and Giants, and simultaneously stunts figures like invincible souls. Meanwhile, technology enhances the ability of the body, such as cosmetic surgery, genetic manipulation, and simultaneously floods abstract information, representation, and data[3].

The existence of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja (KCJ) represents cyberculture practices that manifested into the form of concrete space and resolves the digital divide. The term

"digital divide" was first introduced by the Markle Foundation in a public discussion in 1995. The digital divide was present to unveil the gap of information caused by society's social-economic condition, among those who possess computers and those who do not[4]. In the last few decades many researchers believe that by having computers, an individual automatically can access more knowledge, which in turn leads to a resourceful society[5].

Kampoeng Cyber Jogja is located in Patehan, Taman RT 36 RW 09, Kraton, DI Yogyakarta. This village was initiated by Antonius Sasongki in 2006 to be one of tourist destinations. There are around 41 houses which are included in this village. On shared initiation, KCJ was turned into a communal business platform to support technology utilization to develop the local economy. Hence, KCJ citizens collaborate with private companies of web hosting providers to install internet in each family house of KCJ citizens.

The spirit of the KCJ establishment was initiated to support the development of the electronic government of DI Yogyakarta Province. Cyber Province itself is a provincial model that transforms customer-oriented (community) services based on business processes, information, and knowledge that utilizes information and communication technology as an accelerator of provincial development that is competitive, comfortable, independent, efficient, and effective.

Space is produced socially and constructed by man and activities in it. KCJ, aside from being a tourist destination, is a space with dynamic and fluid characteristics. It is a social space that is produced as well as produces society's cultural practices. This is apparent from the changes in spatial function from cyberculture space to a more representational and political direction. The meaning of KCJ as a space built specifically for tourist destinations and a storefront for the local economy is not the final meaning.

This spatial dynamic would certainly give birth to more complex problems as Kampung Cyber Jogja became a negotiation space that is not only questioning the changing of society's literacy awareness to a modern direction but also in a wider discourse that is resistant to central aspects, including poverty, social inequality or inequality in general. Thus, this research focuses on how the residents of KCJ interpret spatial complexity, which has been produced as a tourist destination and showcase for the local economy, towards a wider space of meaning.

This paper elaborates on space production in Kampoeng Cyber Jogja by looking at the three aspects that Lefebvre offers. First, as a perceived space, how KCJ became a flexible multidimensional space, as a place to meet or bring together cultural, social,

and economic aspects. Needless to say, to see the functioning of space in the political vortex of cyberspace.

Second, as a conceived space, how KCJ bridged the digital divide to fight class distinctions in social discourse. This reveals how space builds various discourses or narratives on space. The exploration focuses on what and how the discourse influences, underlies, and shapes KCJ.

Third, lived space, to review how space was perceived by the subject who consumes the space. How KCJ community interpreted space through the practice of space itself, both in digitizing social space and consumptive practices as the potential, opportunity, or impact of the existence of cyberspace.

2. Research Method

The research method used in this study is a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach. The ethnographic approach (ethnomethodology) views that social facts are fundamental sociological phenomenons. It emphasizes local products, phenomena that can be held accountable naturally, logically, argumentatively, and possess meaning. Meanwhile, ethnomethodology focuses on the organization of everyday life[6]. The object of this research is Kampoeng Cyber Jogja's space and the subjects are residents of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja (KCJ) whose address is at Taman RT 36, Patehan Village, Kraton District, Yogyakarta. This study focuses on the representation, political space, and discourse of resistance carried out by the residents of Taman RT 36 over Kampoeng Cyber Jogja space. As ethnographic research, this study describes events that are relevant to the research focus based on the results of interviews, observations, and documentation. The data analysis technique was carried out by critical reading of the presence of spaces based on Henri Lefebvre's triadic framework regarding the production of social space. This research is also based on several Bourdieu and Baudrillard concepts to define practices and social distinctions as well as society's lifestyles.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. KCJ as a Space: A Politic of Cyberspace

The emergence of cyberspace in Indonesian society has marked the existence of new public space and the occurrence of citizenship deterritorialization, giving rise to what is called internet citizenship or netizenship [9]. Cyberspace builds cross-civil, cross-regional, and cross-aspect community networks because it is not limited to certain

territories. In cyberspace, various things can be shared by the netizens and they are accepted by anyone. This symptom shows a change in activity and conventional communication into communication through social media networks and online activism to produce a network society.

KCJ was initially designed as a tourist destination, which means it was produced to accommodate the interest of the local economy of Taman RT 36 RW 09 Kraton district residents. Along with the emergence of innovations from the residents, this settlement developed the use of the internet as a means of supporting (even the main) communication between residents online. In this case, the space which was originally produced as an arena, because of the activities in it, changes its status to become a means. Space as a means becomes a construction of ideas or thoughts that continue into an action. The construction is related to the effort of control (mean of control) and domination. Meanwhile, space as a social product requires the existence of a concept or idea about space.

The spatial concept of KCJ is inseparable from the elements contained in it. First, the existence of digital devices, media, or facilities (internet and computers). Second, the change in the socio-cultural practice of society towards digitalization (digital-society). Third, changing the arena from outside the network to inside the network (space digitization). These changes signify the eradication of physical space which was initially designed and produced for people to visit as a tourist spot, then social virtualization occurred between residents. KCJ space was established to expand its function as a public space. The making of murals along village alleys and the use of technology for work are strategies and representations of KCJ residents to show their identity as cyber settlements or cyber villages. The aim is none other than to attract the attention of tourists and promote their products.

Subsequently, there was a reduction of the functioning of social space from cyber settlement or cyber village to cyberspace. Lefebvre[7] Says that apart from being socially produced, space is also political, so the existence of space politics is inevitable. Space is attached with power relations that construct space in such a way as to affirm its interests and this dynamically continues to be reproduced socially. Hence, KCJ was then reproduced as a means not only as an arena. There is a change in sociocultural practice in interpreting space, which is no longer as a destination and territorial meaning but in a broader structural aspect.

Indirectly, society has been digitized by the existence of cyberspace. A cyber village that consists of 41 family members is mediated by digital technology – *Facebook* – as means of information and communication. Although interaction patterns are still

carried out face to face in the center of community associations, such as patrol posts or residents' houses which usually have become gathering points, the existence of Facebook has changed most of their interaction patterns. The social space which was originally private and exclusive; where the spread of information reached only the people involved in the interaction but was broad in physical reach turned into a public space that is inclusive and open, which means that anyone could access the information thus eliminating the private barrier in its distributions, but reducing the physical space as real space for them.

This phenomenon formed a spatial concept. The village that was initially a residential area for residents who were located in the middle of the city of Yogyakarta, was later conceived as a tourist destination due to its existence near the center of Yogyakarta Kraton tourist area. The concept of KCJ space accordingly developed as a reproduced and constructed space towards a real digital space. KCJ is in a vortex of cyber politics that requires citizens to finally install internet in each house. Thus, the reproduced social space is increasingly inclusive as virtual spaces are formed in their activities. This turns society's practices into consumerism. Cyberspace provides inclusive spaces for their business storefront. But on the other hand, the people unknowingly and continuously carry out the consumption process for using the internet.

The production of KCJ space is a phenomenon that correlates with the power which is then able to encourage the society to share similar perceptions. The existence of Governor Regulation number 42 of 2006 concerning Jogja Cyber Province orients the community to support electronic government programs. Cyberspace is a new public space for the Indonesian middle class as part of an inclusive, deliberative, and participatory public communication and advocacy process that encourages the public to discuss with each other (9). Accordingly, the middle class is in a transition period from a feudal production pattern to a capitalist production pattern and they are considerably anti-capitalist and have more reformist illusions, by wanting participation, vertical mobility, and worrying about proletarianization[**8**].

Residents of Taman (KCJ) are considered to have the ability to play a more supportive role in the electronic government program. The online activism initiated and carried out by KCJ residents is apolitical. Jati[**9**] Indicates that there are two possible types of class structures in using cyberspace as the basis for social media, namely the emergence of the political and apolitical middle class. Political is caused by political awareness born from the process of socializing and communicating critical issues on social media. Meanwhile, apolitical is part of continuity or can be said to be the digitization of consumption driven by the media. KCJ uses social media, not as a means to strengthen

group consolidation or exclusivity but to strengthen their image and applicative means in introducing the existence of a digital-based village.

Meanwhile, space is expressed not only as something that can be consumed but becomes a tool of power to gain control over a larger space by the ruling classes[7]. A social relation creates space and sees its existence as a social product. How KCJ as a space is present and presented, then the production of that space causes changes based on the mode of production and cultural practices in it. KCJ space becomes a social product formed by the role of agents who have control over it.

This is noticeable from other parties who start showing their interest in Kampoeng Cyber Jogja. Kampoeng Cyber Jogja has become icon as a means of promotion and representation of Jogja Cyber Province. Settlements are wrapped in certain spatial concepts as a regional development program. In this case, the local government plays a role in the distribution of power. The practice of power is included in the regulations that become echoes for the formation of new spaces that support their authority. Spaces are changed, designed, and produced for the sake of interests.

The spatial deterritorialization can be observed from the village street arrangement model, from the creation of murals to the special naming of roads with the names of cyber characters such as "Mark Zuckerberg". This is an effort to visualize space so that it has the same concept that is understood and perceived that the settlement is an iconization of a cyber village. By bringing up various forms of symbols, it will indirectly bring up the concept of space by itself.

This stage changes space as an arena form or[7] calls it spatial practice. Spatial practice defines the spatial dimension as something which refers to concrete spatial activities in which there is social interaction. This implies that KCJ space as a residential area can initially be perceived by all the senses that it contains social practices that are directly connected to the material elements of space. Taman settlement was originally designed as a cyber village to make it easier for residents to introduce the products they produce. Then it continues as a destination for tourists to come and go to see, enjoy, and attract their attention to purchase the results of the residents' efforts.

The problem subsequently becomes more complex. KCJ created new spatial concepts and meanings due to the increasingly diverse and growing online activism carried by residents. Residents do not only use the internet as a means of supporting their economic activities This has entered the socio-cultural realm of the community, where they started subscribing to the internet in every home as a means of communication between residents. Of course, this causes the deterritorialization of space or residents towards a network society.

Cyber politics in this context plays two contradictory roles. First, the use of social media in addition to the business is also aware of the digital divide that needs to be eradicated by the community. Second, on the other hand, cyberization has led to a narrowing of the physical social space (concrete space) and a change in society towards consumerism – where the emphasis is on changing society's internet needs to be more primary than before. However, on the other hand, citizens' ownership of the internet or computers has overcome the digital divide that causes class gaps. In the past, the internet and computers could only be accessed or owned by certain people from the upper classes. The existence of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja forms a discourse of resistance to social class distinctions to eliminate inequality, poverty, and discourse of inequality based on the use and ownership of digital media. This issue is discussed further in the section below to interpret the KCJ space as part of the community's form of resistance to the digital divide.

3.2. Digital Divide and Social Discourse: Againts Social Distinction

The study of the digital divide has become a concerning issue since the late 1990s to explain the gap between who has access to digital technology such as the internet and computers and who does not have access to it[10]. In this case, the issue of the digital divide was something that KCJ residents perceived in using the internet in their daily life. Before Kampoeng Cyber Jogja was established, the obstacles felt by residents who mostly worked as artists such as batik makers, painters, craftsmen, and musicians were marketing constraints because art production was not well known. Internet was chosen by the initiator of KCJ, Antonius Sasongko, as a means of promotion of the products of the residents of Patehan RT 36. In the past, internet owners in this village were quite minimal, there were only about 1-3 internets compared to the number of families which consisted of approximately 41 families.

With internet ownership in almost all houses of Taman RT 36 Kelurahan Patehan, it forms a new discourse. Although there are some families who do not install it because it is old and the internet is not their major need. This case is included in the concept of the "second digital divide" to represent the challenges for the older generation in adapting themselves to digital technology. Some groups, including the older generation, are excluded from the use of digital technology. This opinion is not due to the inability of the older generation to buy computers, internet connections, or smartphones but because of their limited skills in using technology[11,12]. This case also occurred in a small number of elderly KCJ residents. They do not have the intensity or urgency of using the internet for their needs, nor the difficulty of using technology in practice.

Digital divide and poverty emerge side by side or together. That is, the use of digital is closely related to the economic background of the community. Indonesia is part of the second group in the practice of using information and communication technology (ICT) based on poverty indicators and living standards. Group two is a group that has a standard of living and a relatively moderate level of poverty compared to the first and third groups. In Southeast Asia, Indonesia and Vietnam are part of the second group[13].

In this case, the digital divide is not only scrutinized at the economic level in society but rather on sociocultural practices that are supported by the spatial concept of KCJ. In the previous section, it has been explained that the KCJ space was understood as a tourist destination as a cyber village (settlement) then developed its practice and meaning into cyberspace. KCJ's spatial practice then became a concept and representation of the discourse of resistance to social problems such as inequality, poverty, and social inequality. KCJ proves that digitalization can be enjoyed by residents of Taman RT 36 with the majority of education background coming from high school (SMA). Territorially, this village is located in the center of the city of Yogyakarta, which is not far from Tamansari and Kraton Yogyakarta tours. That is, spatially and their understanding progress is included in the middle class.

Public awareness of the digital divide can be felt when Kampoeng Cyber became their identity that they need internet technology to market their industrial products. Changes gradually occurred due to society's understanding of the functioning of the internet. The internet not only helps to encourage the economic progress of citizens but can be a facility or means to access information and at the same time fulfill their technology needs. It can be noticed from the majority of people who install the internet, which is larger and even almost comprehensive compare to the people who do not install it, especially those belonging to the older generation.

The concept of space has finally changed its understanding from a tourist destination to a more complex, inclusive, and broad space, namely as a form of resistance to social distinctions caused by the digital divide. Distinction, in Bourdieu's concept, is inseparable from what he calls capital, habitus, and arena. This concept departs from Bourdieu's desire to integrate the relationship of objectivism (objective structures) and subjectivism (subjective structures). In an arena, there is a social process in which habitus and capital will continue to intersect and influence existence and practice[14]. Distinction occurs because there are differences in domains, tastes, and habits in society's lives.

The creation of KCJ space then became the residents' effort to overcome social differences caused by the digital divide. Given that in the past one village only had 1 to 3 computers and internet installations were still limited, but the majority of RT 36

residents already have these two things. There is even CCTV installed by Antonius Sasongko to monitor the security of KCJ area. The digitization of these settlements is a strategy in eradicating social distinctions. Cyber Village is not only interpreted as an arena but is polarized into a complex space. The spatial concept of KCJ has expanded its meaning depending on the context in which this space is used.

Thus, KCJ is conceptualized to support internal activities so that the image of the village is represented. Cyberization becomes the foundation of the local economy for KCJ residents. There was no significant change in literacy with the establishment of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja. Based on information from several informants, they stated the same thing that residents' activities in using the internet are undeniably inclined towards village promotion. KCJ in this context correlates with power relations as well as accelerates the interests of the government.

The regulation regarding the Jogja Cyber Province Blueprint became the dominant element in the formation of this space because it is based on policies and official decisions directly in the governor's regulation. This rule ultimately established the truth based on the dominant party. Space is always linked to the issue of power. Forms and representations of space are not directly considered as causality in the form of events. This caused KCJ as a space to evolve. The concept changes along with changes of activities in it. Space at the earliest stage may be understood as limited to the understanding of territory, arena, or region. Along with the development of the vision, goals, and interests of the community, space has functioned as a means of supporting the residents' economy. The more successful the meaning of space will be more complex.

When the space became known to many people, KCJ developed as a means of promoting local governments to introduce electronic government. Here the power relation plays its role in the horizontal relation. This change does not stop at these problems, clashes with socio-cultural conditions of society are finally becoming more complex because the needs, interaction patterns, human lifestyles also develop, as well as their knowledge which eventually forms awareness that there are broader structural problems, namely: the digital divide. In this case, the digital space plays a role in alleviating society from social differences, poverty, and inequality due to ownership of internet access. Historically someone who can have this access is the upper-middle class. However, the existence of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja answers the question that KCJ residents with relatively moderate backgrounds are now able to enjoy the internet and computers so that they can create a space that is practically within the scope of local cyberspace.

3.3. KCJ's Spatial Practices

3.3.1. The Politics of Tourism Space: Village and Miniature Politcs

The transformation of residential settlement into Kampoeng Cyber is also experienced by several villages in Yogyakarta. This transformation has taken place in the last few years in Yogyakarta with changes in the spatial layout of several villages in Yogyakarta. The existence of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja (KCJ) is a tourism space politics to present consumerist spaces for visitors. It is recorded that there are 243 tourist destinations, 104 shopping places, 231 culinary attractions, and 731 hotels or inns (Gudeg.net)

The emergence of these spaces acquires the existence of public spaces. The commodification of urban space has even entered the small space in the village. Jogja, which grew up with mysticism, various forms of revolutionary resistance, is growing as a tourist city with multiple forms. City spaces are directed to be fun spaces and so does KCJ spaces. Its existence is produced indirectly to fulfill government regulations to make Jogja a cyber province. The government as the dominant element has the authority to organize urban spaces as a means of social control.

Through tourist spaces, public tastes are formed and formulated. KCJ has become a new arena to meet the liking and needs of tourists in the digital era. The villages were transformed into miniatures to fulfill the wishes of tourists and show the identity of the city, for example, the emergence of Kampoeng Cyber, Kampoeng Literasi, Kampoeng Batik, Kampoeng Pelangi, and so on. These villages are strategies and capital to introduce tourist spaces. This will shift the sensibility of citizens and their social relations. The village becomes a public space that can be watched and visited by anyone. The reduction of private space can limit the citizens' daily activities, but this is rarely realized by them.

The term "miniature" is used as a form of satire because the boundary between the private space (kampung) which has abstracted the fun space for tourists no longer exists. Although it is undeniable that this can advance the local economy, a village design in such a manner can change the social relations of the community. They finally abstract themselves based on the space they live in. Society no longer grows with a more private and sacred space. The digitalization of social space has changed their interaction patterns as well as their cultural practices. These practices are divided by space, so there is no boundary between public and private.

3.3.2. Sensibility of KCJ Citizens as Digital Society

Lefebvre[7] says that every social relation creates its own space and becomes a tool of thought or action to achieve and create control, domination, and power. The existence of KCJ is inseparable from the structural domination of the ruling party. In addition to the politics of space, a significant matter that needs to be scrutinized is the sociocultural practice of the community formed by the existence of these spatial practices. The residents of Taman RT 36 before and after the establishment of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja certainly experienced changes. The most visible changes are the capacity and quantity of internet usage, which the majority of the residents have owned. This would affect the pattern of communication and interaction between residents. Apart from changes in people's consumption culture, the existence of computers and the internet has become a form of resistance to social class differences due to the development of information and communication technology.

The increasingly extensive and intensive use of electronic technology as a mode of information allows the formation of a society and culture with a new sensibility, namely a multimedia sensibility. This sensibility makes society and culture shape and develops ways of thinking, feeling, behaving, and acting which are processual with the exertion of all their senses. This sensibility marks a form called postmodern sensibility[15].

Kampoeng Cyber Jogja as space can be seen as a form of structure, while the behavior of the people in it is an agency. Space that already has a definite shape can force its occupants (users) to form social practices. The digitalization of KCJ's social space shapes the consumption pattern of the community by making the internet a primary need which previously was a secondary and even tertiary need for the KCJ community. KCJ's spatial politics is also an effort to globalize (globalize) local spaces through virtual media, even if it is obvious that KCJ is a small village whose roads cannot be entered by cars. The settlement, which has been conceptualized as a cyber village, has finally received attention from the wider community, even by Mark Zuckerberg, the owner of Facebook.

The sensibility of KCJ residents as a digital society has entered into the postmodern culture beyond the modern culture they want to achieve. The KCJ community grew up in a multicultural space. On the one hand, they still prioritize the culture of mutual assistance and greetings, and also grow in the thick mysticism of Jogja. On the other hand, they enter the digital space with the internet, computers, and social media. On both sides, the KCJ community can lift itself from the digital divide and get out of social distinction due to the use of class-biased technology.

3.3.3. Interpreting KCJ as a Paradoxical Space

KCJ was positioned in the complex vortex of space politics found a paradox in it. There are two reasons why KCJ is called a paradoxical space. First, KCJ is here to alleviate the majority of the community in Taman RT 36 from experiencing the digital divide and to fight the resulting social distinction. Residents can use computers and the internet to leverage their local industry and economy. Second, KCJ as a tourist destination is inseparable from the social control of the power that overshadows it. KCJ is nothing but a space that is arranged to fulfill government programs related to the Cyber Province Blueprint so that its existence cannot be detached from the adjustment and arrangement that does not occur naturally.

Another contradictory matter are people's communication patterns. Society is in a multicultural vortex and the internet has blocked their social spaces. Things that are not significant become significant. Although cyberization does not make their culture of greeting and cooperation disappear, the virtualization of meetings in social media spaces has included their private space. KCJ residents use Facebook as a medium of communication between residents which of course in the process of using it requires internet usage fees. Indirectly, this habit changes the internet as a primary need for them which was previously a secondary or tertiary element for them.

KCJ is also a space for negotiating the meeting of two cultural codes. As explained in the previous section, Taman RT 36 community is similar with other Jogja communities who grew up in a deeply rooted tradition. Digitization of social space is an effort of citizens to keep up with the development of modern times. This is where postmodern culture appears to enter into their daily practice. Knowledge has shaped their awareness of the importance of using information and communication technology. However, the sociocultural practice of society cannot be separated from the social control carried out by the more powerful parties. Finally, the KCJ space becomes abstract, mixed, and paradoxical because in it various interests grow.

4. Conclusion

The spatial practice of Kampoeng Cyber Jogja is included in a broader structural problem. In the cultural aspect, the sensibility of KCJ residents has entered a postmodern direction which abstracts them into becoming local citizens as well as digital citizens. KCJ residents grew up in a multicultural society that requires them to be affected by the vortex of space politics. Aside from being a negotiating space, KCJ is a space of resistance for citizens to lift themselves out of poverty and the digital divide. This

shows that space is formed from social relations and forms social action. In a more complex aspect, KCJ has undergone various changes from arena to means, from cyber settlement to cyberspace, from public awareness to a space controlled by power. The existence of KCJ is inseparable from the structural power that makes KCJ a political field for tourism space. KCJ has become a political tool for the success of programs launched by local governments. This phenomenon confirms Lefebvre's concept that there is a politics of space because space is political. Space cannot be detached from the power relations that construct that space to facilitate interests so that space is dynamic, fluid, and continuously reproduced socially.

Acknowledgments

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