

Topic: Culture

SHARED SPACE: A TOLERANCE AND ADAPTABILITY CULTURE

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Abstract

Currently, some cities in Indonesia are developing towards a modern city. Changes occur not only in the city spaces but also in the cultural values that exist in society. Society grows along with the city journey. Inside the spaces of the city stored the layers of the journey of society morphed from time to time.

The research was conducted to highlight the kampongs of Jakarta that now have been largely destroyed. Looking back in the early days of Jakarta as the capital began to develop into a metropolitan city, the kampongs were the ones that fill the city spaces and a part of the identity of the city.

The study was a historical search and tried to appoint one of the densely populated kampongs located in the heart of Jakarta. Through archives study and documentary methods to reveal the journey of the city brought changes to the pattern of settlements and led to the formation of social spaces in the community.

Findings show in the kampong contains houses with limited space and small alleys, the alleys not only serve as a connecting corridor or a barrier between the houses and the outside but has become an additional space for the community. An alley was interpreted as an extension of the home and a part of people's personal space. Unwritten agreements have been declared that it was a shared space. Space blurs between public and private boundaries. This ultimately creates a culture of tolerance within the settlements and pattern of people's adaptability to space.

Keywords

history; city; space; culture; tolerance

1. Introduction

After more than 70 years Indonesia has undergone many changes. Cities are growing in various regions of the country and some are now developing toward modern cities. Especially in Jakarta, the development took place very rapidly. Changes not only occur in the city spaces but also in the cultural values that exist in society.

Society grows along with the journey of city spaces. The city is a human social space in the wider scope. Inside the city settled the personal spaces of society and how those spaces are turned on [1]. Culture as the root of the perspective underlying the pattern of social relations of society evolved as humans defined the spaces around.

Research conducted is a historical study trying to highlight the existence of kampongs of Jakarta that once became part of the city spaces. Space is the historical production as well as the medium and the result of social existence [2]. The current space is the accumulation of the journey of space over a long period of time [3]. The research attempts to dig some time back in the era of the 1970s and 1980s when Jakarta as the capital began to develop into a modern city.

The study attempts to appoint Kebon Melati, a densely populated kampong located in the heart of Jakarta, which today like other settlements in the city center, has been largely destroyed and replaced by commercial and business districts. Through the archives study and documentary methods [4] to reveal how the journey of city brought changes to the pattern of settlements and led to the formation of social spaces in the community.

City development and changes in the settlements in Kebon Melati have changed the pattern in the daily life of the community. People with rural culture backgrounds are asked to move into structured urban spaces. Houses with limited space make people expand their personal spaces out into the public spaces. The alleys as the access to the houses no longer serve as a connecting corridor or a barrier between the houses and the outside but have become a shared space.

In the shared space there was an unwritten agreement that made the alley under common ownership. The absence of a firm line between the public and the private makes the spaces in the alley ultimately divided through the agreed-upon tolerance boundaries of the kinship. What goes on shows the pattern of people's adaptability to space that is personally translated.

2. Methodology

Human has different bonds to space in each passage of time. Human spatial experience changes from time to time depending on social conditions [2]. Culture is among the factors that bind humans. Clifford Geertz sees the notion of culture as a set of control mechanisms, plans, recipes, rules, and instructions to regulate behavior [5]. Referring to Geertz, the research attempts to decipher the cultural pattern as the agreements that take place between the kampong community and its surrounding, and the result to the formation of social space.

It is Fernand Braudel who brings up that human history is formed through the structures of the *longue durée* [3]. A single point of time in the historical range carries a volume of space that contained layers of time tied to one another. The space formed today is the result of the accumulation of space stitches from the long journey. Taking Braudel's concept, the research conducted by archives study and documentary methods to trace the journey from the beginning of the kampong a few centuries ago, then walk in the era of the 1960s when the kampong grew in line with the development of Jakarta, until the 1970s and 1980s when the kampong metamorphosed into urban settlement. Methods taken referring to Mannheim's documentary method to examine the social space by putting the actual appearance as a document and a starting point to reveal the underlying pattern.

Research is done through the study of several maps from different time periods to see the relationship between time and space and reveal the changes that occur the bonds between human and space. Field studies are conducted through reading the current space to bring forward the trail left behind and through interviews with the actors directly related.

3. Result and Analysis

3.1 The Beginning of The Kampong

The story is about Kebon Melati, one of seven sub districts under Kecamatan Tanah Abang located in Central Jakarta. In the 1960s to the 1980s Kebon Melati was among the dense settlements of Jakarta that filled the city center. Until in the 1990s when the government planned to change the lay out of the city, Kebon Melati as other settlements began to erode. Today, of the total area of Kebon Melati only a few remain, most have turned into a business and commercial area.

The existence of Kebon Melati can not be separated from Tanah Abang Market, a central point and the beginning that enlivens the areas. Built in 1735 by Justinus Vinck, Tanah Abang was originally a vegetable market serving residents of Kampung Bali, Petamburan, Kebon Kacang and Slipi [6]. The availability of the railway to Tanah Abang that allows people to reach the market helped make the area increasingly crowded by immigrants. In line with the development of the market, the areas around which were formerly plantations were increasingly crowded with the population.

Kebon Kacang (*peanut garden*), Kebon Sirih (*betel garden*), Kebon Pala (*nutmeg garden*), Kebon Sayur (*vegetable garden*) are plantations around Tanah Abang that later turned into a settlement. And to commemorate the origin of the region then the names are taken into the name of the area (Ensiklopedia Jakarta, 2005).



Figure 1. Tanah Abang Market 1955 (<http://jakartakita.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Tanah-Abang-19551.jpg>)

Initially, Kebon Melati is part of Kebon Kacang. The southern area of Kebon Kacang is a cemetery area (Map of Batavia 19th Century). According to one of the residents is told that many jasmine trees in the cemetery make it look like a jasmine garden. In the end, the area is widely referred to by residents as jasmine garden or '*kebon melati*' while local people said it '*kebon melati*'. When Kebon Kacang is split in two because the roads are built between the north and south area, the separate southern regions are then named Kebon Melati. Although on the map is not clearly stated the existence of Kebon Melati (Map Jakarta 1959), but recorded in 1954 the number of residents in Kebon Melati reached 800 people [7].

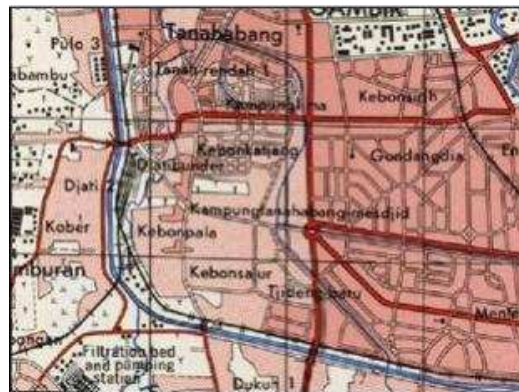


Figure 2. Jakarta Map 1959 (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/world_cities/txu-oclc-436774040-djakarta_south-1959.jpg)

Previously, some parts of Kebon Melati area were rice fields surrounded by villages (Map of Batavia Century 19). The development of Tanah Abang Market helped make the population of Kebon Melati increase, but the wave of large-scale migrants began at the time of Indonesia achieved independence. The desire of President Soekarno who wants to make Indonesia as a great country and a lighthouse of the world has become a magnet and made people from various regions in Indonesia flocked to Jakarta to witness the city's modernity. There was a rapid rise in the number of Jakarta residents to 62.6% in the year of 1948 to 1949. And in 1952 the number of migrant populations who filled Jakarta had begun to complain [7].



Figure 3. Transformation of Space in Kebon Melati

Jakarta's development not only makes Kebon Melati more crowded. The construction of M. H. Thamrin Street, the Monument National, and the Selamat Datang statue has become a new axis point of Jakarta. In 1962 when Hotel Indonesia built in front of the Selamat Datang statue, Kebon Melati which is located right at the back of Hotel Indonesia became in the heart of the capital.

3.2 A Kampong in The City

As told, initially residents in Kebon Melati live scattered randomly among the plantations. Resembling in the countryside, houses do not have toilets, people are relieving themselves in the garden. Until then started in 1969 to improve the quality of life of kampong residents, Jakarta

Governor Ali Sadikin undertook Kampung Improvement Program (KIP). The program, called the Mohammad Husni Thamrin Project (MHT Project), made major changes to the kampongs in Jakarta. Roads in the settlements improved. Including in Kebon Melati built the asphalt alleys complete with the ditches on the left and right edge. Not only that, the government also set up public toilets and water supply. As a result of the M. H. Thamrin Project, the appearance of the village improved markedly [6]. What The Governor did made the kampongs around Jakarta transformed into urban settlements.

The residents of Kebon Melati have become living in structured spaces. The houses in Kebon Melati are mostly small. It is rare to find a house surrounded by a large yard. Some houses have terraces in front of the house and are bordered by fences, besides quite a lot of houses with doors facing directly to the road which is a two-meter wide alley. In the early existence of the alley with the condition of the house does not have a toilet, some residents use the ditch as a place to dispose of. Until then gradually the residents built a toilet in the house and equip it with a septic tank. Although until the 1980s in some places still can be seen the scenery of small children crouched on the edge of the ditch to defecate.

Residents also often put their furniture items in front of the house and sometimes close the gutter in order to gain additional space. Clothes hanger, tables for selling merchandise, or even motorcycles are among the sights of the alleys. The narrow house makes what deserves to be inside the house extends outward. Until now in the remaining area of Kebon Melati the view is still visible.



Figure 4. The Remaining Alley (Personal document, 2012)

3.3 A Shared Space

Kebon Melati residents are plural communities come from various regions in Indonesia. In the 1970s to the 1980s, most of the population of Kebon Melati was dominated by migrants from Java, with some from Sumatra, Maluku, Kalimantan, and others, besides the native Betawi people. The economic level of the average population of Kebon Melati is middle to lower class. Coming from different backgrounds with different types of work, people learn to know each other through the spaces they live in.



Figure 5. Mrs. Wiwin (63 years) Living in Kebon Melati Since The 1960s (Personal document, 2012)

Houses attached to each other due to the limited land area make people can follow clearly what is happening around. Residents easily see the activities of neighbors who live opposite or hear the activities that take place in the neighbor's house on the left or right. Residents can recognize the type of cuisine made by other homes by a smell of scents that spread, also see who was passing by or visiting the neighbors. The environmental sensitivity becomes awakened and the settlement becomes a large space with strong social ties.

Most of the activities of the residents are not done in the house. The narrow house and some houses are inhabited by families with large numbers of members, make people widen the space to the front of the house. Often seen children play more in the alley. Children gather in the alley during the day, or late afternoon, even at night, and turn the alley into an infinite playground. Adults also often make the alley as a place to perform activities or fill the spare time. Chatting with neighbors, sightseeing people and vehicles passing by, feeding the kids, various activities carried out in the alley. This is done almost all the time. Very rarely seen the alley conditions are empty uninhabited.

Especially on Eid al-Fitr residents will spill over the alleys. After the prayers, residents will go around from house to house. The alleys will become very crowded with people passing by. Staying in touch with the neighbors is a must for Kebon Melati residents before traveling to distant families. This is a sign of close enough bonding between citizens.

Among other habits that show the closeness of the residents is during Ramadan, occasionally residents will take turns sending food that they cooked that day to the neighbors. A rural culture that can still be found in some regions in Indonesia but is very rare in the city. Children also occasionally held a joint meal called '*padangan*'. With plates of rice and side dishes brought from their homes, the children crossed the alley to the house where they gather and dine together. The community that has widened the private spaces out of the house, makes the alleys into an area of incision of various overlapping activities.

4. Concluding Remarks

4.1 Culture: The Journey of Space

Space is a historical production [2]. The space formed by city development as in Kebon Melati has made people faced a new environment with a more advanced civilization. On the one hand, people is required to be able to adapt to the space formed, on the other hand, the responses that arise in defining the space make the community must reconstruct social ties that previously existed. The bonds between man and space that then create a variety of patterns of social relationships in the community and bring up certain rules in space.

Culture as a system and symbol is born under the agreements that take place in the social spaces. Along with the journey of space, today's culture is a series of layers of agreements that are interwoven within the spaces of the community over a period of time. Some cultures may already be settled by new layers, or create new forms in the future. Nevertheless, although there are cultures that are no longer visible, the developing culture is what has formed part of society to this day and that can continue to live among the growing spaces.

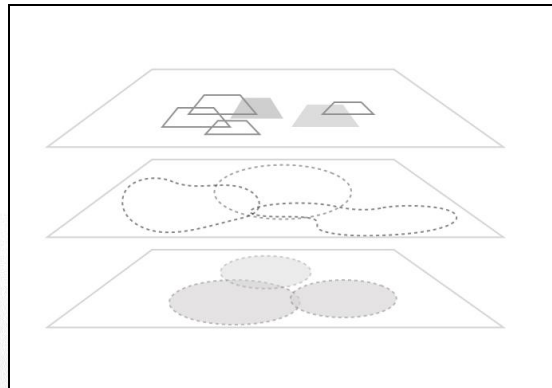


Figure 6. The Journey of Space

4.2 Tolerance and Adaptability Culture

According to Henri Lefebvre space is produced socially through administrative policies, social conventions, and technological systems. In Kebon Melati the space structure formed by city development has led people to change their daily patterns. People from different regions with rural culture backgrounds are required to move into structured urban settlements. Spatial changes that occur not only change the activity of the community but in advanced it also changes the public perceptions of space.

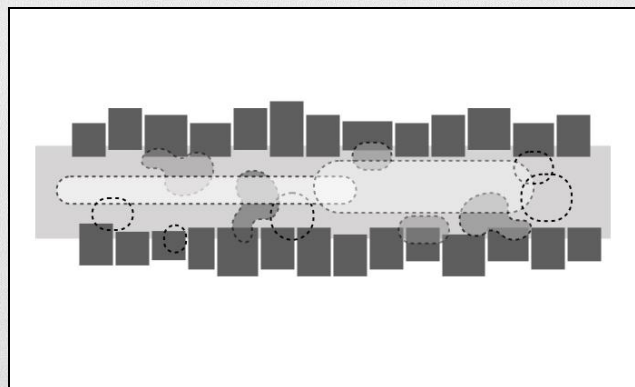


Figure 7. The Alley as A Shared Space

Limited land makes people use the alleys as an extension of the house. The alley is no longer merely a barrier between houses and the outside or a connecting corridor but has become a new additional space. Various activities carried out by residents in the alley in front of the house, and the alley with an unwritten agreement has become a shared space.

The existence of the alley as a shared space spawned a new culture in the community. Residents freely bring personal spaces passing out of the house. What should be done in the private space becomes in the public space. Some limitations become blurred in the meaning of the alley. Children

who dump in the gutterways are an extreme example of how a private space can be so struck through the outside.

The absence of a standard rule between public and private borders in alleys shows the flexibility of space. Alley ownership seems to be part of the community's property rights, though it is not wholly owned. In the end, the spaces within the alley are divided through the agreed-upon tolerance boundaries of kinship. A pattern of people's adaptability to space that is personally translated.

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