

THE RE-POSITIONING OF COLONIAL SPACES IN A GLOBALIZING METROPOLITAN The Case of Jakarta

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ABSTRACT

This article is dealing with the position of colonial space in a globalizing Metropolitan. Starting with the idea that Colonial space is a materialization of colonial system of production, It will investigate how are these colonial spaces responding to their actual context, with different system of production, needs and demands. Firstly, it will start by defining what is colonial space then it will continue by classifying colonial spaces based on their role in the colonial system of production, then grouping them based on their positions in the actual context either as built heritage or institutional heritage. It will be analysed based on two layers of analysis namely, economic and socio-cultural. By doing so it is expected that we could discover problems and potentials related to these spaces that could help reposition these spaces in their actual context and to some extent elaborate them in general urban strategic planning.

Keywords: Colonial, Heritage, System of Production.

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini membahas tentang posisi ruang kolonial di dalam konteks metropolitan. Berangkat dari ide dasar bahwa ruang kolonial adalah materialisasi dari sistem produksi kolonial, artikel akan membahas bagaimana posisi ruang kolonial di dalam konteks yang aktual, dimana kolonialisme telah berakhir dan sistem produksi telah berubah seiring dengannya.

Kata kunci: Kolonial, Warisan Budaya, Sistem produksi.

INTRODUCTION

This article will be dealing with the position of colonial spaces in a globalizing Metropolitan. Using the theory of *Castells*, *Arruda*, *Hamilton*, *Horvarth* and *King* as the commencement of thoughts and as the base of analysis, it will explore how colonial spaces are responding to their actual context when Colonialism, as the condition that made them come into being in the first place does not exist anymore. It will deal with the question *What are the position of Colonial spaces in a globalizing Metropolitan?* The aim is to identify what are their problems and potentials, so that eventually we could elaborate them in the general urban strategic planning. We will start by trying to identify their positions in the colonial system of production, then identify their positions nowadays either as colonial built heritage or colonial institutional heritage. Then eventually we will examine them based on two layers of analysis, economic and socio-cultural. In this article we will take two

study cases: Tanjung Priok port and Batavia old city hall.

THE FORMING OF COLONIAL SPACES

With the discovery of agricultural technique, a breakthrough that marked the beginning of *Neolithic revolution* [Childe 1951]¹, people started to settle down, grew seeds for their own food supply, domesticated cattle and raised families. For these reasons, they started to organize a space to accommodate their activities. Since that time, no doubt, the morphology of the spatial organization has been evolving in term of its complexity. Its rate of development also varies greatly. Despite of its dissimilarities, the characteristic of every organization of spaces could always be reduced down to one similar characteristic; that it is a spatial materialization of the system of production from the given

¹ From V. Gordon Childe [1951], *The Urban Revolution*, from Man Makes Himself.

society. Or as Castells put it in a more elaborate way; *the development of space is the expression of the underlying social structure and by consequence is fashioned by the economic, political and ideological system and their combination and social practices*²[Castells, 1972]. Along with the development of technology, system and relation of production, the complexity of a society grows, as well as its spatial materialization.

In the former colonized countries where colonial period lasted hundreds of year, colonialism is a dominant part of its history that had significantly influenced and changed its social and spatial organisation. In this research, Colonialism will be viewed as an **economic action that incorporated colonies in the structure of global economic system**. *This system is defined by the movement of centre or cores, peripheries and semi-peripheries that are united and reproduced through the accumulation of capital and unequal exchange*³[Arruda 1991]... *In this view the colony is organized in a certain way for exporting highly profitable goods to support the growth and economic development of the European Metropole*⁴. Or in other words, the colonies were functioned to produce a commercial surplus sold on the international market to generate great profits for the Metropole⁵ [Hamilton 1948]. Especially in this article we will take the context of The Netherlands as the centre, the core and the European Metropole, while Indonesia, particularly Jakarta as the colony and the periphery.

Hamilton presumed that the economic exploitation in the colonies would have been impossible without at least a **minimal degree of development** in terms of a bureaucracy, **an infrastructure** that would include ports and roads, and an internal and external defence forces⁶. Therefore, the necessity to develop the colony comes from the urgency to optimise the process of colonial production. It was designed, planned and structured to accommodate the

process of colonial production. Moreover, the economic motivation of colonialism was translated into urban form through three main intermediate forces: *Culture, Technology and Political Structure* [King 1976]⁷. Therefore, the spatial structure of a colony was heavily rendered by colonial economic purposes in **direct** and **indirect** manner. Direct means that colonial space is a 'direct' materialization of colonial system of production, while indirect means that Colonial space is also spatial materializations of the conflict between the colonial system of production and the traditional one.

The morphology of colonial spaces themselves is widely varied. Horvath⁸ [1969] said that although the concept of the colonial city embraces a variety of urban types and forms, *it might be generalized as a distinct settlement form resulting from the domination of an indigenous civilization by colonial settlers*. There are several factors that have been identified by Simon⁹ [1992] as determinants of colonial/postcolonial urban form; they are among others; the motives of colonisation, the nature of precolonial settlement, relationships between the coloniser and the indigenous population and the nature and forms of production.

Finally, we could define colonial spaces as **spatialization of colonial system of production and the impacts it has generated**. The morphology of colonial spaces are varied depending on the nature of the coloniser, the colonised and the colonialism it self. In short, the entire process of colonialism moulded colonial space; it gave its form and explanation of its being. **The question is, now that colonialization was over, how are the remaining colonial spaces responding to their present context?** As the system of production changes along with the complexity of its society, there are new demands and needs. **What are their positions in a globalizing metropolitan?**

In order to analyse their positions in depth, it is important to classify them before hand to be able to identify their roles in the colonial system of production and their position in the colonial urban structure. By doing that, we will have a

² Castells, M. [1972], *La Question Urbain*, Maspero, Paris.

³ Jose Jobson de Andrade Arruda [1991] Colonies as mercantile investment: The Lusson Brazilian empire, in *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*, Tracy, James [editor] Cambridge University Press, NY p.365

⁴ *ibid.* p.362

⁵ Hamilton E.J [1948], *American Economic Review* 38. 1948, in Tracy, James. *Colonies As Mercantile Investments*, Cambridge Univ. Press, NY, 1991 p.367

⁶ *ibid.* p.363.

⁷ King, A. [1976] *Colonial Urban Development*. Routledge, London.

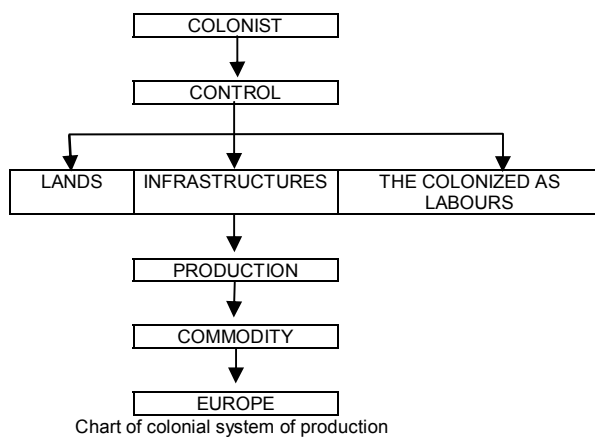
⁸ Horvath, R. [1969], In search of a theory of urbanisation notes on the colonial city. *Eastlake Geographer* 5, 69-82.

⁹ Simon, D. [1992], *Cities, Capital and Development*. Belhaven press, London.

good base of comparison between their roles in the past and in the present context, in term of the changing system of production, demands and needs.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF COLONIAL SPACES

The classification of these colonial spaces could be defined based on the following chart of colonial system of production.



Within the whole process of colonialism, the colonist gained control over **the labours** and **the lands**. In order to be able to produce, a certain standard of **infrastructures** [i.e. transportation, electricity and water supply, etc] are needed to support the process of production. The process of production took place in some **centres of production** such as plantations, mining, industry and so forth. The location of these centres was bound to locational factors, based on natural sources and setting, existing network of infrastructures and source of labour. The process of production it self has to be **controlled** to be able to perform at it best, therefore the colonist needed certain facility for controlling i.e.; Military facility, Town Hall, Courthouse, Jail, Central Bank, etc.

The Colonist them selves had basic necessity such as shelters, foods and clothes. To shelter themselves, they need a piece of land where they could build a **house** for the family. They got their food, clothes and other goods from the **market/commercial centres**. As the secondary necessities, they needed **education** for their children, **health facilities** and so forth. They needed **leisure/recreation facilities**, to refresh themselves and get socialized such as clubhouses, theatre, and parks. And eventually, **religious facility** might be needed as well.

Just like the colonist, the colonized/the labours also had basic necessities such as shelters, foods and clothes. Therefore they needed **hosuings** and **market places** to get their food, clothes and other goods. Although the needs of these labour could be limited to the level of basic necessity in order to survive, to some certain extent, facilities for secondary needs were also required such as health facility in order to be able to *reproduce their labour*. **Recreation/leisure, religious and education facility** was eventually required if only to certain limited extent.

Colonial spaces then could be defined as **spaces that accommodate the process of production, reproduction and its actors [the colonist and the colonized]**. It includes, the centre of productions [such as plantations, mining or industry], spaces that accommodates the necessities of the colonist [housing, market places, schools, health centre, recreation place, and religious facility etc.], spaces that accommodates the necessities of the colonized [housing, market place, health centre, schools, recreation and religious facility], spaces that accommodates control [such as military facility, town hall, other administrative function etc.], and the colonial infrastructures which occupy spaces such as ports, railway system, stations, canalisation, etc.

COLONIAL SPACES AS COLONIAL BUILT HERITAGE AND COLONIAL INSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE

After classifying those colonial spaces based on their role in the colonial system of production, and trying to place them in to the present context, now it is possible to classify them further in to two groups of colonial spaces; *colonial space as persisted institution [institutional colonial heritage]* and *colonial space as built heritage [colonial built heritage]*. As the system of production changes, the role of this colonial space evolves. Some retain their functions while others lose their functions. Some are being reused while others simply abandoned and going to the state of decay.

Colonial space is not always categorized as a built heritage, for example like the case of colonial market place where the original historical building has been destructed or for other reason no longer exist, but the functions persists until now. In this case it could be

regarded as an institutional heritage rather than a built heritage. The port could also be an example, as in many cases the colonial port construction has been altered to accommodate a more advanced technology. However the function persists in an institutional manner. The same situation goes with the colonial railway. A train station however could be regarded as a built heritage, but under certain circumstance it could also be defined as an institutional heritage.

Colonial space could be regarded as a built heritage as it has certain values. According to Riegl, a prominent Austrian art historian, in his book *Denkmalkultus*¹⁰, there are several values that could be attached to a built heritage, 1. Value of Monumentality, 2. Value of Recollection/Remembrance, 3. Value of *Contemporaniry*.

1. **Value of Monumentality** includes the value of artistic monumentality and historical monumentality. *Value of Artistic monumentality* in reality means monument of history of art which possesses an artistic specificity. As it manifests a pure [relative] artistic value that was independent of its role in the development of the history of art. *Value of Historical Monumentality*, represents that something that has passed, can not be reproduce any more, irreplaceable and displaceable in the history of development. Or in shorter term it is something that gave the antecedent without which the successor could not take place.
2. **Value of Recollection** could be further distinguished in to three values; *Value of Antiquity*, which represents something that is not modern and new, it is the opposite of the Value of *Contemporaniry*. It appreciates the past as it was with all the sign of aging and decay. *Value of History*, which represents a particularity that is unique in the development of human creation. It has a tendency to isolate particular moment in historical development. *Value of intentional Recollection* represents an event that had happened in the past but it is still maintained and remembered in the present and will be kept *alive* for the future generation.
3. **Value of *Contemporaniry***, represents the complete opposite of the value of antiquity and intentional recollection. It represents a

characteristic of every human creation in its perfect integrity, untouched by the force of aging and decays. It has the value of Re-use and relative Artistic, in the sense that it still could be re-used for modern function and could meet the standard of modern sense of art. Based on the theories of Riegl, Colonial space as heritage posses several values that make them worth of preserving, such as value of monumentality, recollection, and to some extend value of *contemporaniry*. Colonial architecture could represent a *value of artistic monumentality*, as it posses a certain value of art that made it particular. It also has a value of *historical monumentality* since it could be regarded as the antecedent of the present architecture. Certain colonial space such as military fort that exists *with all its sign of aging and decay*, could as well represent a *value of antiquity*. It presents the past as it was; that colonialism is a long-gone moment of history. It has also posses a *value of history* since it represents a particularity in the development of human creation as a hybrid of different type of architectures; foreign and native. Colonial space also posses the value of *contemporaniry*, as it is still liable to be reused and still artistically acceptable to modern standard of aesthetic.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF COLONIAL SPACES

To analyse the importance of colonial spaces in their actual context whether they are regarded as built heritage or as institutional heritage, we need to engage a set of parameter from two points of view, mainly *economic and socio-cultural*.

- A. From the **economic** point of view, firstly we have to investigate the economic role of the colonial heritage in the city. We need to look in to this aspect because heritage should not be regarded as historical artefacts, instead it should be regarded as valuable economic asset for the city. First because it possesses certain historical/cultural values that could be employed to create a certain image of the city that makes it marketable. Secondly because, colonial built heritage occupy pieces of land that are actually assets of the city, furthermore they mostly located in strategic plots of the

¹⁰ Riegl, Alois. [1984] *Le Culte Moderne de s Monuments*, Editions du Seuil, Paris.

city that naturally have high property values. Therefore, they have to be utilized in a fair way to answer and accommodate the need and problems of people and the city. That is why in this case we have to identify what the heritage is contributing to the city. To analysis its contribution, we have to look into three aspects; **1. What is it used for? 2. Who uses it? 3. Who benefits from it? 4. What kind of economic impacts it generates?** . According to Ost¹¹ [1999], project concerning Cultural Built Heritage [CBH] has several layers of economic impact to its environment; *direct, indirect and induced. These impacts operate at various levels of interdependence for the economic agents concerned.* The scope of those three impacts are *the site it self, narrow impact area and larger impact area.* Ost actually presented this methodology to analyse the feasibility of Conservation Urban project. But in this case I will adapt this methodology to analyse the existing economic position of Colonial Built Heritage in order to seek its potentiality.

Still in this part of economic analysis, I will look into the *institutional colonial heritage.* As once parts of colonial system of production, how are they performing in their present context? The continuous usage of these institutions suggests that they are still needed in the present system of production. In order to investigate the position and the extent of impacts these spaces have on the city, we have to look into this three aspect; **1. Who use it now? 2. Who benefits from it? 3. How does it relate with the past system of production and influences the present system?**

B. From **socio-cultural** point of view, we investigate to what extend this colonial built heritage touch the socio-cultural layer of the society. Here we will be dealing with the notion of **urban collective memory and urban mental mapping.** In order to recognize these factors, there are several aspects that we have look at **1. What is the function now and in the past?** Past function often gives a fair representation of the kind association a space is related with, for example; an ex-colonial prison might

represent oppression or intimidation. Even though this kind of association could be overcome by introducing new friendlier functions such as library, often the sense of place persists. **2. Who use and had used it?** The type of individual or group that inhabit/inhabited a certain space also could give particular association, for example; a place that is/was inhabited by certain social class or minorities groups would give a feeling of uneasiness or insecurity to certain people. **3. If they're any particular event that happened there?** The history of the place could also gives a particular personality to a place. **4. What social participation happens there?** The kind of social participation is an important aspect to recognize the social setting that exists in a particular place. According to Wilson¹² [1978], Social participation involves interaction at both the individual and group level. The Participation it self could happen formally [churches community, clubs, political union] and informally [i.e street corner gang, neighbouring relations, chess club in certain garden or plaza].

In this article, Jakarta will be taken as a study case in regard to its significant historical role as the centre of colonial administrative and the main port. The general description of Jakarta's colonial past will be presented before hand. Then *two examples of colonial spaces* will be taken as study case, one is Tanjung Priok Port and the other is the old city hall. They will be analysed based on the aforementioned methodology, first by trying to classify them and find their position in the colonial urban system. Then it will be classified as either colonial built heritage based on the analysis of certain values, or as colonial institutional heritage in order to see its position in its present context. And finally it will be analysed from the economic and social-cultural layers to see its importance, potential and problems in the present context. ***The final aim of analysing this colonial space is to identify their potentialities in order to elaborate them in the general urban strategic planning.***

¹¹ Ost, Christian. [1999], reader for the course :*The economic of Conservation*, Raymond Lemaire Centre pour la Conservation.

¹² Wilson, Robert A. [1978] *Urban Sociology*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

STUDY CASES: TANJUNG PRIOK PORT AND OLD CITY HALL IN JAKARTA

1. Jakarta during Colonial Period

The history of Jakarta started as an *entrée pot* for inter island trading during the early heyday of spice trade. At that time, it was already well known among international traders from Persia, India, Japan and China. In the 17th century it was taken over and rebuilt¹³ by the Dutch as their VOC headquarter. It was developed later as the main colonial port and the administrative centre when the Dutch came in to the sphere of production.

In the first two century of colonialization, the urban development of Batavia was not planned; the city grew almost without any intervention and direction from the authority. One of the first "planned" growths of the city took place under the British interim authority [1808-1811], which moved the city centre to Weltevreden. Another crucial urban development took place in 1870s with the construction of modern transportation infrastructure which included the first train line in 1873 to Buitenzorg, the first deep-water port Tanjung Priok 1887, and the tramline in 1881¹⁴. As the main port city [which accommodates the international export of most colonial commodities], Jakarta was well connected by railways, roadways and waterways, with major centre of productions in the surrounding regions, especially with the Preanger hinterland [which produced tea, quinine and rubber] and as well with several centres of productions in Sumatra. Jakarta though was not a primary centre of production. Or as Lindblad¹⁵ [2002] put in other words; *...the periphery, being the outer islands, therefore provided most of the surplus in the external balance, where as the core of Java offered the political protection to facilitate the investment in export production that made the generation of the surplus possible in the first place.*

The improvement of the city's infrastructures [the new port and the railway network] had ignited numerous new investments in the

city in the year 30s. According to the de Vletter¹⁶[1997], this was the beginning of the Industrial Colonialization in Batavia. It was provoked by three reasons: [1] the rising world demand of metal ore, rubber, quinine, crude oil, during the second World War, [2] the World War has forced Netherlands East Indies¹⁷ and the Netherlands to be able to produce their own fuel, medicine, food and so forth, [3] **better infrastructures** and cheap labors had attracted Dutch companies to invest in the Netherlands East Indies particularly in Jakarta¹⁸.

Another important fact is that the city hosted the *Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij* [NHM], which managed and organized all economic activities in the colony¹⁹. It promoted, stimulated, gave permission to national Dutch companies to invest and operate in the colony. The existence of NHM in Batavia confirmed the its position as the most important city in the Netherlands Indies.

In response to the rapid population growth²⁰, in 1908 the authority started purchasing lands all over the city for housing projects. In 1911-1920, two important European housing projects were built; Menteng and Gondangdia. In 1920s, the authority started to take some attention to the state of living of the native people²¹ by executing the *Kampong Improvement Program*, which was mainly oriented to improve the level of sanitation. In 1926-1930, the authority had built some limited amount of rental social housings²² for native people with higher income. Lower income or non-working native²³ still lived in kampongs all over the city.

¹⁶ Source: Ibid

¹⁷ Indonesia was known as Netherland East Indies during the colonial period

¹⁸ Therefore many Dutch industries were constructed in the city around the port area such as General Motors, Eveready-batterijen [battery factories], Van den Bergh [for soap and margarine], Regnauld [for paint, ink and tin], etc.

¹⁹ It also organized and controlled the trading and shipping of all colonial products especially during the Cultuurstelsel period.

²⁰ The population grew more than 50% from 1920 to 1940, source: *Batavia, Beeld van een metamorfose.*

²¹ in 1920, native people composed 75% of the total city inhabitant while European composed less than 10%, source: *ibid*

²² [in total less than 400 units that cost from 15 - 47,5 *f* per month, some small amount cost less starting from as low as 1,35 *f* per month. Source: *ibid.*

²³ In 1930, Native composed 35,5 % of the total working force on the city, from which 16% worked as day worker i.e in Tanjung Priok, 18% worked as domestic servants, 12% worked in Commercial sectors, other 17% worked in transportation sectors, the rest 36% worked in other informal sectors such as street/market vendors, chariot conductors, etc²³. This figures somehow showed that most of native population had minimal income, for example in

¹³ The city was built according to Simon Stevin concept of ideal town; a military town reinforced with fortification wall and lined with drench around it.

¹⁴ De Vletter M.E, [eds] [1997], *Batavia, Beeld van een metamorfose*, Asia Maior, Purmerend.

¹⁵ T.Linblad [2002], *The Emergence of a National Economy*, KILTV press, Leiden.

Since Jakarta accommodated many business activities, the city was packed with trading and commercial facilities. The city was built to represent its image as the modern business centre, where capital owners did their business activities and lived. It was also designed to meet the elite life style, as it was equipped with clubs, theatre and so forth. The development of Jakarta was even more intense after the execution of Decentralization policy. The development of the city was interrupted during the Japanese occupation for a short while, later on in 1945 the development resumed under the Dutch re-occupation and the Nation State building period.

2. The Colonial Spaces in The Greater Jakarta

After almost 60 years of independence, the Jakarta has grown from a town of 655 thousand inhabitants in the 40s to a megalopolis with more than 20 million inhabitants. Just like many other cities in recently liberated countries (between the first and second half of 20th century), Jakarta is also still struggling with severe problems of inequality as one of the many legacies of colonialism. With the short time span, Jakarta had hardly enough time to recover, rebuild and eventually prepare it self for the ultimate challenge of urban problem: *Globalization and Neo-liberalism* that ignites rapid urbanization and sub-urbanization since the mid 80s. The city hardly had time to build better infrastructures, as for example until now it still relies on the existing colonial railway. With the ever-growing population that entails more demands and needs, the city is going astray.

The position of colonial space in Jakarta now, perhaps could be defined as the outcome of conflict, continuity, compromise and adaptation. Certain colonial spaces carry on their functions, while others are modified to perform new functions according to the actual demands. The rest are abandoned or simply “dissolved” in the actual urban structure.

The colonial spaces of Batavia could be regarded as the embryonic form of modern day Jakarta. Compared to its present area, the

colonial city covers less than 10% than the total area of the city. However the existing colonial infrastructure influences greatly the present urban structure. One of the most crucial elements perhaps is the existing colonial railway network which has influenced greatly the trend of city development through certain pattern of accessibility and land use.

The end of colonialism the social setting has changed along with the changing of system of production. Therefore certain colonial spaces lost their context. For example, if during colonial period, there was a clear division between space for the colonist and the colonised, now such division exists in the form of economic class. This phenomenon particularly shows in the case of elite European housing neighbourhoods such as Menteng area, which now are inhabited by the upper class income groups while the lower income groups just like in the colonial time inhabit kampongs.

Concerning their functions, many of these colonial spaces have been used for other functions than what they were originated previously. However, there are many others that pertain their functions since when the Dutch left, there are certain amount of Colonial institution that were *Indonesianized*, such as governmental/administrative facilities, banks, trading centres, market places, schools, etc. Certain colonial spaces with vital functions such as Tanjung Priok port, train stations and market also pertain to their functions.

The case of re-utilization of these colonial spaces is somehow problematic due to the changing demand/needs of new typology, technology and level of capacity. One of the crucial problems is the lack of proper infrastructure that leads to the degradation of the old city. Large amount of old buildings were destroyed to give rooms for new development. The remaining is badly maintained. Only small part of them are well restored and appropriately used. The problem lays in the lack of legal instrument that could ensure its protection²⁴.

1937, a port worker earned 10-17 f per month and a domestic servant earned around 15 f per month²³. Therefore the living condition of native people was not significantly improved. And also taking into account that at that time 88% of the native population was illiterate, therefore it was difficult for them to get a better job and thus better living condition. Source: *Batavia, Beeld van een metamorfose*.

²⁴ The national regulation concerning monument protection [*Undang Undang Cagar Budaya*] was made based on the Dutch law [*Monumenten Ordonantie, Staatsblad 1931, No. 238*]. To support this, the local authority has released its own regulation concerning protection and utilization of Heritage [*Peraturan Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 9/1999*, among other supporting regulations]. In theory, the regulation has a legal force. According to the law, the local authority should be able to stop any case of wrongdoing performed by the owner/manager/tenant. But with a penalty of maximal 2500 euro or 6 months confinement, the penalty is simply not strong enough.

There are conflicts of interest among the actors; local authority sometimes has to choose between seductive financial profit and cultural consideration. The other problem is that the local authority is not able to offer interesting financial package in the form of tax reduction or direct maintenance incentive or other interesting alternatives for owners and tenants.

Now, we will present the study case of the Port Tanjung Priok as an example of institutional colonial heritage and the City Hall as colonial built heritage. It is interesting to take those two examples which are different in their natures, the one for representing a continuity and the other; a discontinuity as a result of conflict with the actual context.

3. The First Study Case: Port Tanjung Priok

Colonial Role of Tanjung Priok

The Tanjung Priok port was built in 1880s to replace the Batavia's old harbour that was not suitable anymore for harbouring large vessels, as the sea around it was not deep enough. Without the capability to accommodate steam vessels, Batavia would not be able to compete with Singapore its rival port city.

Not long after the port was completed in 1887, a railway was built to connect the main station of the city to the port, thus served as the link of transportation from the hinterland to the port. From the port, the goods were distributed through canals, roads and railways. While further distribution to the hinterland were mostly made through the railway network. The establishment of this network had made the process of distribution from the hinterland to the port and vice versa becoming more efficient.



Tanjung Priok in the 30s
Source: Beeld van een Metamorphose

During the heyday of the colonial period, the value of export colonial commodities that went through Tanjung Priok were: 38% from

Tea [from the Preanger regions], 11% from Tin [from Bangka/Bliton island], 13% from Rubber [from the Preanger hinterland], 12% from kina and spices and 2,5 from tapioca products²⁵. This commodity composed 15% of the total export from Netherlands Indies in 1936²⁶.

Since its opening 1880s, the port has been generating a large economic impact to the city and to its local environment. It ignited investments in supporting functions around it. And particularly in the year 30s, during the world war period when many industries were established, the locations around the port were particularly favourable concerning good infrastructure network and close access to the port.

Tanjung Priok port as an Institutional colonial heritage

Nowadays, the port is still well functioning as a cargo terminal and as well as passenger terminal²⁷. It accommodates both national and international line. It has undergone some major improvement and modernisation. The original dock and other facilities buildings are mostly altered. The port thus could fall into the category of colonial institutional heritage instead of built heritage since the buildings are mostly renovated and modernized to meet the current standards, but nevertheless the function persists.

The actual Economic and Socio-Cultural role of Tanjung Priok

Tanjung Priok accommodates the highest flow of exports²⁸ and imports nationally; it unquestionably brings a great deal of income to the city through taxes²⁹. However, although Tanjung Priok port is considered the most

²⁵ Source: Batavia, Beeld van een metamorphose

²⁶ Tanjung Priok was always competing with Tanjung Perak in Surabaya; another seaport in East Java that was the main hub port for sugar export from Centre and East region. At that time sugar was the main star of colonial commodity. During the world sugar crisis in 1933-1935, Jakarta gained back its importance. Source: *Batavia, Beeld van een metamorphose*

²⁷ Actually, it serves more as a cargo terminal than for passenger, as the amount of passengers annually that go through the port in average is only around 800 thousands persons. Source: *Biro Pusat Statistik 2002*

²⁸ Top five commodities of Tanjung Priok in 2002 are cement, clinker, paper, iron, and animal ration. Source: *Bureau Pusat Statistik 2002*

²⁹ The biggest revenue of the region [and the country] in fact comes from taxes. This situation explains why Jakarta still has the highest domestic income regardless of its lack of natural resources. Source: *Biro Pusat Statistik 2002*

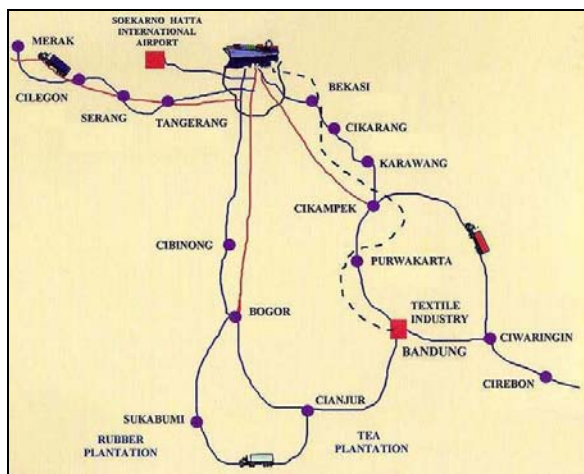
advanced port nationally, its standard is still considered below the international standard as 75% of ships carrying goods from Indonesia have to stop over Singapore port in order to be transported to bigger vessels that Indonesian ports could not accommodate³⁰.

Export and Import flows through Tanjung Priok

	Tanjung Priok	Total Indonesia	Percentage from total
Export Volume [thousand ton]	17954.4	223270.1	8%
Export Value [mill. US dollar]	17582.6	57158.8	30%
Import Volume [thousand ton]	19864.1	72741.2	27%
Import Value [mill. US dollar]	14763.7	31288.9	48%

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik 2002

Since most import flows enter the country through Tanjung Priok, reasonably many manufacturers [that rely heavily on imported raw materials] concentrated in the region in order to save production cost. Given the consideration that nowadays the city still relies on these colonial infrastructures; **the port and the railway**, logically the best sites to allocate centres of production [industries and plantations] are the previous sites of colonial centres of production³¹. [see picture].



Center of Productions along the axis
Source: <http://www.priokport.co.id/location.htm>

Based on those facts, it could be assumed that the present flow/distribution of commodities still follows the colonial pattern. The thing that changes is that nowadays the canalization/river

³⁰ Source: <http://articles.ibonweb.com/webarticle.asp?num=1379>, accessed: 7 April 04

³¹ These are the areas along the port-railway axis or in the areas that have good accessibilities to this axis.. For example: The concentration of actual industrial zone is located around Tanjung priok port and along the Eastward, Westward and Southward railway axis [and the regional highway axis]. While the plantation areas are concentrated along the Southward and Eastward.

that passed through the city is not used any longer to transport commodities due to the lack of versatility of water network in the actual situation. Instead the commodities are transported through the city arterial roads and the railways to areas inside the cities and the hinterlands.

The port of Tanjung Priok has influenced greatly the trend and pattern of Jakarta's urban development, especially concerning the pattern of land use and urban sprawl since the existence of the port has ignited many establishment of center of productions around it and along its accessibility network. 60% of GDP and 42% of FDI in Indonesia are located in the greater around Jakarta³². These centers of production attracted large amount of labors³³, which are mostly migrants from outside the city and region, i.e. rural Java and Sumatra.

The existence of the port bring not only economic benefit to the city by igniting many investment thus creating employment, but it also bring certain socio-cultural impacts. The number of immigrants who are coming to city has changed the social setting of the city. As the city with the most advanced education facilities³⁴, most of the educated city inhabitants of are working in the service sector³⁵, while the uneducated migrants fill other sectors that required less skill.

4. The Second Study Case: The Old City Hall (History Of Jakarta Museum)

Colonial Role of the old city hall

The edifice was built in the year 1712 to replace the second city hall that was not appropriate anymore to represent Batavia³⁶. For more than a century the Dutch authority has controlled its occupation from this building. It served both as administration and military office.

³² Source: Biro Pusat Statistik 2002

³³ The number of recent migration (*Recent Migrants* means migrants who had different place of resident 5 years earlier) in 1999 is 11% of the total population [DKI Jakarta], from which 23,66% are concentrated in East Jakarta and 26,23% in West Jakarta, the areas that are packed with industries.

Source: <http://www.dki.go.id/bapedalda/>, accessed on 7 April 2004.

³⁴ 50% of the country's higher education facilities are located in Java, and more than 70% of them are in Jakarta, Source: Bureau Pusat Statistik 2002

³⁵ Composition of occupation in the city: 38% work in Trading and Hotel sectors, 28 % in Public service, 11 % in Manufactory, and 23 % work in other sectors. Source: Biro Pusat Statistik 2002

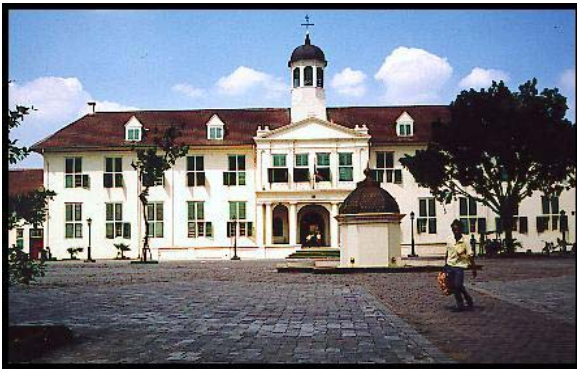
³⁶ Heuken, SJ. [1997]Tempat tempat bersejarah di Jakarta, Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta.

In the second half of 18th century, the city administration was moved to Weltevreden due to the dilapidating condition of the city centre. Later in 1925 it was used as the West Java Provincial office during the Second World War. After the war it became a military headquarter. Eventually in 1974 until now, it became the Museum of History of Jakarta.

The City hall as Colonial Built Heritage

Based on the theory of Rielgl, the city hall could be considered as heritage since it posses the value of monumentality, value of recollection and value comtemporanity. The architecture of the building could be regarded to have a value of aesthetic and historical monumentality, since it possessed a relative artistic value and that it could not be reproduced anymore. In term of its recollection value, the building represents the memory of colonialism, along with its brutality such as the Chinese massacre in 1740 and so forth. As the buildings is in a relatively well condition and it could be reused for cotemporary functions, thus it posses the value of *contemporanity*.

In this case, the city hall could not be regarded as an institutional colonial space like Tanjung Priok. The end of colonialism also ended its role as the place of control. The building totally lost is context.



City Hall – Museum of the History of Jakarta
Source: www.ils.fr/candi/jakarta/jakarta.htm

Economic and Socio-Cultural Role of the city hall

The city hall in ensemble with several historical buildings around it was meant to be the civic cultural centre of the city. It was designated to represent the historical background of the city as a part of the cultural identity. The ensemble consists of the city hall it self (which functions as the museum of history), an archive building

(which was very well renovated and re-used as a luxurious café), an old museum [the former Museum of History of Batavia which is now altered as a puppet museum) and an administrative building [the former *Raad van Justitie* which is now reused as the fine arts museum). The museums though are rather poorly managed due to the lack of financial support. The entrance tickets are ridiculously cheap contributing almost nothing for their maintenance cost and employees salaries. Except for some regular visits from school-organized trips during certain holiday period, the museums are mostly lack of visitors. The students, else than attracting some street vendors selling cheap food of beverage do not generate much economic advantage to the supporting services such as souvenir shops or the surrounding expensive cafes. In year 2000, the museum of History of Jakarta it self only received 3000-4000 visitors monthly, from which it earned less than 400 Euros monthly³⁷. With such little profits, the museum cannot afford its own maintenance; it has to rely entirely on limited government stipends. On the other hand, the café is doing rather well; it is quite popular among expatriates and young professionals, in fact those people considered the cafe as one of the best reason to visit the old city core. Apart from generating some employments, it also helps to keep the area rather alive in the night since it opens 24 hours daily.

For the inhabitant of the city, the place represents the colonial past of the city. Each year during the anniversary of the city and the Chinese New Year, several festivals and other cultural events are organized in front of the building. Perhaps, this is the time of the year when this building receives more public attentions. But most people do not relate it with their actual every day life partly because it does not host any function that could become a part of people's daily routine such as education facilities, shops, offices, etc. The place tends to be isolated and far fetched from the everydayness. Apart from the activities inside the famous café, the only visible activity is the illegal trading of clothes, stationeries and foods next to the café where several street vendors construct their temporary stalls from time to time.

³⁷Source: <http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0007/25/metro/biro17.htm>, accessed 8 April 2004.

Concerning its significant values as one of the most important heritage in the city, it is regrettable that it could not bring much economic benefit to the city. As an invaluable asset of the city, it could have performed a better role. In term of its property value being located in a strategic plot, it is regrettable that it becomes an inert district in the city.

CONCLUSION

Tanjung Priok as a colonial space still has a crucial role in its actual context. The reason that this colonial port is still active is because for one or another reason there is no new port was built. However, it would not be able to pertain its role, had it not undergone some major modernization and improvements that entirely altered its colonial physical features. Therefore, the port could not be considered as a heritage any longer, as it exists rather as an **institutional** colonial heritage. As a colonial space that maintains its function, the port has no a great impact on the city. It continues shaping and influencing the trend of Jakarta urban development. The existence of the port has ignited enormous amount of national or international investment in the city thus creating many employments for the city and its surrounding. Jakarta with its lack of natural resources has been so long depended on the port as a source of revenues, either directly through tax collection or indirectly through many investments in service sector it has attracted. It is not only influencing its economic setting but also the social setting since the flock of migrants that are coming to the city re-shapes the urban socio-cultural composition.

Unlike the port, the old city hall does not hold a crucial position in the city economic life. It is mostly related with museum and cultural activities, even though the collections of the museum are of historical importance, they are simply not spectacular and commercial enough to attract a particular interest on it and produce certain economic benefit. The lack of financial support contributes to its inability to improve its quality. Most local people seem to consider it as a part of the past that does not have any relation with their everydayness. Therefore, it could be classified as an example of colonial space that had lost its significance along with the end of colonial hegemony. It lost its function but somehow maintain its material form rather well. Concerning its position as colonial built heritage

of great importance thus a valuable economic asset of the city, it seems to be under exploited that it has not performed at its best yet. It is important then to realize its potential and to employ it as such.

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