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PETER J.M. NAS and PRATIWO

The streets of Jakarta

Fear, trust and amnesia in urban development

After a long drive from the airport, having passed the toll roads in western and southern Jakarta, going on to Jalan Thamrin, and finally arriving at the guesthouse on Jalan Teuku Umar in Menteng, the former colonial elite ward, the taxi driver had to be paid. He smiled on being offered the four-year-old paper money. 'This won't do,' he said. 'It has Soeharto's image on it.' He added to his refusal a gesture of rejection toward the former president's smiling face on the Rp 50,000 bills. The guesthouse provided new Rp 100,000 bills featuring mixed green and yellow colours; on one side a purple transparent flower, and Sukarno and Hatta, the heroes of Indonesian independence, and on the other side the parliament buildings.¹

As of June 2001, Jakarta is in a state of change. In this period of insecurity, old symbols of Soeharto's New Order are being replaced, sometimes by the even older symbols of Sukarno's Old Order, sometimes by new symbols of what could be called the Newest Order,² which is clearly not yet fully developed. Only near the statue of the farmer, Patung Tani, can a billboard about an immunization programme be observed on which Soeharto's contours are still discernible, though his face has been erased. Farther away, in the direction of the old town at Pintu Besar Selatan, a wall painting is being created. One side shows the riots and fires of 1998, while the middle displays a chessboard representing the political moves of the politicians and the elite that keep the country in a state of uncertainty. The third part has not been completed yet, but perhaps the wheel of fortune will be portrayed in a colourful way, while the busy street's passersby watch the painters.

In this contribution we will explore the streets of Jakarta during a period of insecurity, describing symbols and monuments and the position they occupy amid memories of a military government, riots, and democratization.

¹ The fieldwork for this article was carried out during the month of June 2001, just before the transfer of presidential power from Wahid to Megawati.

² Or the Reformasi era.



Figure 1. Wall painting at Pintu Besar Selatan, 2001 (photograph Peter J.M. Nas)

Past experiences, the physical environment, and expectations for the future are combined in the people's mental maps; these shape Jakarta's street life and the way people perceive it. The theoretical background of this essay is elaborated in *Urban Symbolism* (Nas 1993) and summarized in Reynt Sluis's contribution in the present volume.

Variety of streets

Jalan Teuku Umar

Jalan Teuku Umar is a typical *protokol* road³ that runs through the elite quarter of Menteng. It is a wide, four-lane road with trees in the middle and on both sides, where the old colonial mansions with their large verdant gardens are located. The green lawn in the middle has gold-coloured ornamental lanterns and two large white-glass light bulbs that generate a fairy-like atmosphere during the evening. This street is flanked by sidewalks, for pedestrians. These pavements are in a reasonably good condition, though stones are missing and there are holes here and there, requiring the pedestrian's attention. This street is one of the few places in Jakarta that is supplied

³ This is a nicely kept road frequently used by high government officials and visiting foreign dignitaries.

with poles with waste buckets on them; one for wet, organic waste and one for dry, inorganic refuse. The mansions have a lot of space between them and the road with trees, hedges, and flowers acts as a natural barrier. The houses are generally protected by pointed steel fences, sometimes covered with plastic sheets to prevent people from looking in, and sometimes with barbed wire, to deter intruders. Small groups of guards are present. These dwellings include the official house of the vice-president, who occasionally passes through the street shielded by police cars with blue lights on, but the embassy buildings of Australia, Vietnam, Iraq, and Pakistan are also part of the neighbourhood. Some of the mansions obviously belong to high-ranking officers: small cannons decorate the front garden. Some of the houses have been restored to their original colonial style. Others have been rebuilt with magnificently pompous entrances and several garages, while a second floor has been added. Most of these houses have lost their tropical architectural characteristics, which allowed free air to pass through openings beneath the ceilings; they have been transformed into completely sealed, air-conditioned dwellings.

At one end of Jalan Teuku Umar, one finds the old colonial building of the Kunstkring (Art Circle). It was one of the first concrete buildings to be built in the Netherlands Indies; it is now in complete disarray, though it would be the perfect building – having great historical value – for a museum or similar cultural activities. At the other end of the street, one encounters a traffic circle beautified by well-kept hedges and streetlights encircling a beautiful fountain.

Jalan Thamrin

But not all of Jakarta's streets are of such a *protokol* nature. Take, for example, Jalan Thamrin, which runs through the main traffic square in front of Hotel Indonesia. Although it has a strong symbolic value, this street has become a symbol of progress rather than a *protokol* road, while it is the central axis of the city.

From north to south, Jalan Thamrin curves through Jakarta like a ribbon of high-rise buildings framing never-ending streams of cars. This main road has eight lanes, four in each direction, with a small strip of green in between. This strip is decorated with light figures that stand for the Orang Betawi; this has been done in the context of the city's 474-year anniversary festivities. Both sides of the road have wide pavements for pedestrians, and it is possible to cross the street in certain places using high walkways; beggars are often found here, using the roof as protection against the sun and the rain. High-rise buildings, such as hotels, banks and offices, flank this main artery. The red-roofed kampongs are located behind them. On the spot where Hotel

Kartika Plaza used to be, one now finds the unfinished concrete skeleton of a six-story building. Work has come to a stop and this is clearly the result of the 1998 crisis. The advertisements along the road promote the usual products, beer, cigarettes, or camera film. This road is quite unpleasant for the great numbers of pedestrians who must use it while waiting at bus stops or entering the kampongs.

The main traffic square is dominated by hotels, the oldest, but not the tallest, being Hotel Indonesia. The Hyatt and the Mandarin, as well as the German Bank and Wisma Nusantara's office building, count more stories, up to thirty. Most of these structures are built in a functionalist style, although the Hyatt is a bit more playful with a few postmodernist traits. The three huge billboards that face the traffic circle, one with an enormous TV screen, are not overdone. Cars circle a large round pond, with the famous Welcome Statue in the middle and a great number of fountains spouting toward its split pedestal. The statue portrays a man and a woman waving in welcome; it was erected in the 1960s, during the Sukarno era, to honour the participants of the Asian Games in Jakarta. The statue, which used to dominate the square from its high position, is now somewhat dwarfed by the skyscrapers. The modernization of this place has been a topic of discussion, as some observers consider it old-fashioned. During the 1998 riots, which led to President Soeharto's fall, the members of the besieged and occupied parliament took shelter in Hotel Indonesia. The square was the stage of frequent student protests. One hotel official complained that the hotel, photographed and referred to in the newspapers quite frequently, was unfortunately portrayed mainly as an unsafe place.

Sometimes a cyclist rides through automobile traffic in the opposite direction and, though it is prohibited, a few pedestrians traverse the circle under the guidance of a policeman. The square used to be notorious for the frequent fines handed out by the police at places where, during certain hours, turns were not allowed.

Plaza Indonesia

The luxurious Hyatt Hotel is built on top of a large mall, the Plaza Indonesia. Pedestrians shelter from the rain at the entrance. A few cigarette vendors proffer their goods there, and for a small compensation, young boys offer to shield people with their umbrellas on the way to their cars. The mall presents a great variety of shops located in an intricate network of corridors. Everything imaginable is sold there, from clothing to orchids, jewellery to telephones and furniture, while fitness classes are also offered, not to mention the Havana Gallery's cigars. Security posts are situated on all three floors. People stroll around alone or in pairs; girls hand-in-hand or in groups. The

salesladies are well dressed and self-assured. The Atrium has a restaurant, but it is not the only place where one can eat. In the mall's eating palaces one finds people using their cell phones as if they were holding office there, with live piano music or mechanical rhythms in the background. In the restrooms one hears the music of whistling birds as if in a birdcage. The Atrium restaurant is the place where expatriate women meet.

The Plaza Indonesia is a mall that can be seen as a new air-conditioned *alun-alun*;⁴ it is a meeting place with a human dimension, in contrast to the motorized dimension of the intersection and Jalan Thamrin. But both are the domain of the elite, regardless of their dimension. The ordinary people are not part of life at the Hotel Indonesia traffic circle or the Plaza Indonesia. During the 1998 riots, Hotel Indonesia was the place of refuge for members of parliament who could not enter their offices; the hotels were refuges for the elite, for ethnic Chinese, and for expatriates, who fled their homes, sometimes travelling as far as Singapore.

Pasar Baru

In contrast to this modern American-style commercial location, the Pasar Baru is an old and traditional marketplace, the name still indicating its colonial origins. It was established simultaneously with the Koningsplein during the Daendels era in the early nineteenth century. Pasar Baru, as it is called nowadays, is a 525-metre long street stretching from Jalan Juanda to Jalan Samanhudi from north to south. It is called Pasar Baru because before its establishment, another market, Glodok, already existed in the northern part of the city. Shops selling textiles, shoes, jewellery, and food line the street. This row of shops continues in other nearby streets, such as Jalan Pintu Air. A canal, which functions as a tributary of the Ciliwung River, is located at the south end of Pasar Baru. Since the river is relatively clean compared to other rivers of Jakarta, a water festival is sometimes held there.

Pasar Baru is one of Jakarta's few pedestrian areas. It is a shopping street that is very popular with the city's inhabitants. At the north end of Pasar Baru one finds shopping malls built in the 1970s. These crowded malls are filled with textile and jewellery shops, camera stalls, drugstores, and, most notably, shops selling cell phones. There are two shopping malls on the street corners and another across the Jalan Samanhudi. Footbridges connect the three malls. Small shops selling cell phones and leather goods occupy the two footbridges over Jalan Samanhudi. The shopping centre on the western corner of the street is still empty. It has been rebuilt since catching fire in 1998. The new architecture expresses shyness; there are only a few windows and

⁴ The *alun-alun* is the traditional palace square.

the exterior is covered with a thick pink wall. It is a perfect example of the 'architecture of fear'.

Most of the shop buildings along Pasar Baru have lost their original façade. At the moment their roofs are covered and the second floors are hidden behind billboards depicting the products sold in the shops. A few shops are not covered by billboards, so that their original Art Deco façades, built in the 1930s, are visible. However, some shops still display traditional Chinese architecture, evident both in the form of the houses and in their ornamentation. Considering these two styles of architecture, traditional Chinese and Art Deco, one can easily conclude that most of the shops were renovated in the 1930s.

In the 1970s Pasar Baru was filled with vehicles passing through and parking along the street. In the late 1980s the government converted the street to a pedestrian area and built a covered walkway over the street, making it a very pleasant place to walk through.

Kampung Pekojan

Although luxurious streets, expensive residences, and high-rise buildings were built in Jakarta during the New Order, the contemporary urban landscape is still dominated by urban kampongs characterized by low-rise buildings, narrow streets and alleys, and lone houses on a plot of land. The kampung is an old form of settlement that was used by indigenous people. Kampongs have existed since the colonial era and this has continued until the present. In the colonial period the kampongs were said to correspond with ethnic groups. Kampung Melayu, Kampung Pekojan, Kampung Bugis, and Kampung Kauman, were present for a long time in the urban area of Jakarta. In these occasionally very dense kampung areas, one can find compartment or *petak* houses⁵ that occupy less than ten square metres each.

In the course of time, new kampongs have emerged in Jakarta as slum areas, along rivers and railway lines. People have built their squatter houses along railway lines seemingly with no fear of being killed; they use the tracks as a kampung street and sit in front of their houses to chat. Children play in these dangerous places directly next to the trains that can pass by at any moment. This deadly space has been privatized by the presence of these squatters trying to survive metropolitan life. According to one train driver, people are indeed hit by trains from time to time.⁶ Railways like these, separating two different areas, do not actually function as boundaries. People use the railway as a street; when trains pass by, they simply move aside.

⁵ A *petak* house is a number of dwelling units under one roof.

⁶ A train driver, Soegito, stated that he had hit ten victims during his career. See *Gaji* 2000:33.



Figure 2. The railway at Kampung Pekojan used as a street, 2001
(photograhe Peter J.M. Nas)

We will focus on Kelurahan Pekojaan, which is located near Kota, the oldest part of Jakarta. This area consists of several types of roads varying from the wide street, Jalan Bandengan, to many narrow alleys. The narrow alleyways were upgraded during the so-called Kampung Improvement Program of the 1960s and 1970s. They are paved and well managed. The remaining problems are sewage and garbage.

This kampung is really a lively place, and people use its space wherever they can. People sit and chat everywhere, from the railway line to the estuary of an alley. Underneath a flyover – built during the New Order – boys play football and people sell second-hand boxes, doorframes, and other carpentry. Several street markets serve the community, and peddlers selling vegetables are everywhere. In a corner, a group of ice cream peddlers prepare their cool delicacies. *Becak*⁷ can be found on secondary streets, waiting for passengers at T-junctions. The kampung is full of lively economic activity. Inhabitants are not always as poor as is often maintained. They are well dressed, and often have acceptable houses. Even in narrow alleys one can find two-story houses made of concrete and looking well maintained.

The struggle for the street

The kampung, a dense area within a block of larger roads, can be considered an old urban tradition in Jakarta. The outdoor aspect of kampung life is related to the humid tropical weather, which makes the interior of houses hot and muggy. This is why people prefer to sit in front of their houses, a much more comfortable spot. The living rooms of houses are thus extended to the terrace and the edge of the street.

Similarly, shopkeepers also extend their shops toward the street, incorporating pedestrian space. And others do this too; most of the public space to each side of the street is used for food stalls, workshops, and other informal-sector activities. The dense streets and unemployment have forced people to work in the informal sector by opening food stalls. During the daytime, the pedestrian sidewalks along Jalan Pecenongan become parking areas for shopkeepers or extended car showrooms. At night, expensive food stalls operate along the sidewalks, which have become famous all over the country; customers often park there in several lines on the pavement and road. This of course results in problems of noise, smell, waste, and filth.

Besides this struggle between private and public use of the streets, the streets of Jakarta are also a place to express power, as is shown by the great works in the Sukarno period, including the National Monument (Monas),

⁷ Bike taxis.

Istiqlal Mosque (intended at the time to be the largest in Southeast Asia), and the many high statues that mark urban space. They symbolize Indonesia's importance in the world, while the unity of Indonesia is embodied by the Taman Mini open-air recreation grounds, which represent the whole archipelago in its capital through the incorporation of traditional houses of all the provinces. But power is also stamped on Jakarta's streets by the privately built skyscrapers and the modern flyovers and toll roads often backed by elite government officials. The widening of streets – often at the cost of local Chinese shopholders – by military-run administrations was part of the power structure imposed on streets in order to facilitate traffic. Military officials under Soeharto profited from this system and claimed right of way in the street in everyday life. Yet, despite top-down street restructuring, the banning of *becak*, and raids on street peddlers, traffic jams have remained a chronic companion of Jakarta life. The fact that Jakarta received the prize for most beautiful city – as is shown in the Adipura Kencana Monument near the Istiqlal Mosque – says more about the power structure that keeps non-motorized users away from the thoroughfares than about the city's cleanliness in *kampongs* concealed behind the modern facades.

To die, in order to live

The core monuments of Jakarta are Monas, Lobang Buaya and the Trisakti Monument. They are the material symbols of the basic theme in urban and political change: a new town and a new regime must be marked by an offering, an offering to the ancestors to obtain their agreement to the founding of a new culture.⁸

In the National Monument this theme of offering is incorporated in the museum in the basement. The ancestors are shown in dioramas fighting the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Japanese, and dying to found the Indonesian nation. This is the monument to the Old Order, with Sukarno portrayed as the symbol of revolution.

The Lobang Buaya Monument commemorates the seven military officers who were killed in 1965, an act related to the beginnings of the New Order. It covers a large area that includes a museum with dioramas of the rise of the Communist Party, a large parking lot, a green zone, and the monument itself with a *pendopo* over the pit where the murdered officers' bodies were found. Besides this, there is a statue of the seven officers above a bronze wall that depicts the events at that time. On 13 June 2001 we visited this place, which,

⁸ The well-known myth of Banyuwangi represents this theme of offering beautifully: to die, in order to live (see Nas 1984).



Figure 3. The Trisakti Monument, 2001 (photograph Peter J.M. Nas)

as we had expected, was completely deserted. With the end of the New Order, the monument (which had previously been visited by large numbers of people) has lost its allure. Growing numbers of people are starting to question the official story of the events, which might also be interpreted as an ordinary coup d'état. The gallery with portraits of the military men, alive as well as in their coffins, was closed. We visited the building for a puppet show of the interrogation of the tortured officers, where the sounds, loud shouts by the interrogators and the tortured, rang through the air falsely and disturbingly. It would be a good thing to change the function of this monument to be a memorial not only to the killing of the officers but also to the murder of half a million people who were presumed at the time to be communist. The monument should not continue to exist in its present form, though it clearly encompasses the basic theme elaborated here: to die, in order to live.

The third monument stands on the grounds of Trisakti University, and was erected on 12 May 1998, in honour of the four students killed during student demonstrations calling for Reformasi. The monument is located on the parking place of this West Jakarta university. It is made up of four shining metal pillars shaped so as to form piled blocks. The shining metal is crooked and the pillars are cut diagonally, breaking up the flat surfaces. Each pillar has a bullet hole, each at a different height. The monument is enclosed by a marble wall with a space filled with grass and black stone blocks spread over the area at random. The monument expresses the force of the students as well as the disruption of this force. It is night-time, in the middle of the deserted parking lot. A small marble wall with an explanatory text and the date of erection stands to the right. Here, too, the basic concept is expressed that new culture is established by an offering which renders nature – the wild space of the old regime and of demonstrations and riots – into culture, into a new order of Reformasi. But these are insecure times: the grounds of Lobang Buaya are still there, though deserted, while the Trisakti Monument has not yet gained the stature it deserves.

This uncertainty occupies the minds of Jakartans, who talk about what places to avoid during riots, who know where to find necessary information about what is happening on TV, Internet, and by cell phone, and who point out the places that have been stoned, burned, and sometimes rebuilt. The unfinished skeletons of bankrupt construction firms' high-rise buildings, which have been taken over by IBRA (Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency), are physical expressions of unstable times. The clearest example of this is the Kemayoran area's former airport. Under the Soeharto State Secretariat, a new 'town in a town' was planned here; this started with a large number of skyscrapers, a green zone, flyovers, and the necessary road system. Now a few lone towers stand in a wide empty space. The former runway is still there, split into two lanes by blocks and fences. A flyover stands

unfinished and empty. And the skyline shows a few abandoned apartment buildings. Only the flats constructed for the poor people who used to live on the fringes of the airport are visible, crowded and lively in a corner of the area. But the rest is total failure, expectations, and abandonment in insecure times. The offerings have been made at Trisakti, but the era of Reformasi and democratization, though not completely absent, has not yet evolved fully, and uncertainty and fear of a collapse are felt and seen everywhere.

Glodok

Since Batavia's early days, the ethnic Chinese population has lived at a place called Glodok, earning a living as traders. They owned shops and were sometimes wealthy. However, they were always the first victims of political conflict. As early as 9 October 1740 they were the victims of a conflict between W. van Imhoff, chairman of the Netherlands Indies Board (Dewan Hindia), and A. Valkenier, governor general of Batavia. In 1740 the Netherlands Indies Board issued a regulation that all Chinese in Batavia had to be in possession of a letter of permission. Those who did not have this letter were deported and sent to Sri Lanka. This led to rumours among the Chinese community that those sent to Sri Lanka were actually thrown into the sea. As a result, the Chinese were upset and frustrated and they launched a rebellion against the Dutch. This rebellion triggered a defensive attitude in the Dutch military government. Valkenier ordered his soldiers to search Chinese houses for weapons. Although no weapons could be found on Chinese property, the governor general had created a situation that set off a riot. The soldiers were then commanded to attack all Chinese houses. They killed the owners and looted their property. Even the Chinese military interns who had been imprisoned several days before the rebellion were killed. After this so-called Chinese massacre, ethnic Chinese were forced to live outside the town walls in the Chinese camp, Glodok.

This historical incident shows the weak political position of ethnic Chinese in the city. In these dangerous circumstances they still managed to become wealthy traders, and have been concentrated in the Glodok area up to the present. Currently there are ethnic Chinese living in other areas of Jakarta as well. However, during the 1965 and 1998 riots and at other violent times, Glodok was the first target for looting, and even burning and killing. Glodok's City Hotel, located at the corner of Jalan Gajah Mada and Jalan Pancoran, was burned to the ground during the riots of May 1998.

In spite of ethnic Chinese repeatedly being victims of political disorder, Glodok is still one of the busiest trading places of contemporary Jakarta. The economic crisis that has tormented the country since 1998 has not led to the

decline of Glodok. The spaces along Jalan Pacoran have become even more crowded with peddlers than before. According to some inhabitants, after the 1998 crisis many people who had lost their jobs went to Glodok to trade.

Glodok is divided by Pintu Besar Selatan. On the east side is Glodok Plaza, the largest electronic shopping centre. The streets of Glodok are narrow and filled with shops. Jalan Pancoran has shops built in Art Deco style in the 1930s. There is also a shopping mall in the middle of Jalan Pancoran with a drugstore, and leather, electronics, and textile shops. Glodok is famous for its traditional Chinese drugstores. In the middle of the crowded area, there is a narrow street with food peddlers and small restaurants; Glodok is famous for a traditional turtle delicacy.

The tragedy of May 1998 left marks such as destroyed shop facades. But the City Hotel building and Glodok Market have been rebuilt by the government. The market is coloured pink and has several doors. It expresses no fear at all. There is no monument built as a collective memory of the tragedy, though probably some deteriorated house will become such a monument.

The destruction at Glodok led to an almost complete demolition of the shopping centre. After the riots, Glodok was like a war zone, a periphery more frightening than the Berlin Wall during the Cold War. However, the Chinese inhabitants, who still live and work there, did not give up. After the political chaos had calmed down, they rebuilt their businesses. A new computer sales centre at Mangga Dua replaced the one at Glodok that had been ruined. It is the largest place in Jakarta for people to buy any kind of computer. Glodok itself is still alive with electronics trading, the largest district for this in the country. Mangga Dua is also the largest clothes market, with shoppers in throngs all day long, making it difficult to find a parking place. The Chinese quarter is alive, but the inhabitants are prepared for the next incident that will inevitably come, given that ethnic Chinese serve as the eternal scapegoat. Recently the reconstruction of a ruined shopping centre has begun. The bridge connecting the shopping centres on the left and right sides of the street will be larger than the previous bridge. New Glodok's floor space will be 35,997 m² on eight floors.⁹ After the burning of the city, the private sector is now perking up again, though the crisis can still be felt on occasion and the rate of the US dollar has not returned to the level it had before the crisis. But shopping malls have been rebuilt along Jakarta's streets, though they are not in a booming condition. After the crisis of May 1998 came to an end, more peddlers, more shopping centres, and more food courts were opened.

The rise of Abdurrahman Wahid as the Indonesian president created new hope for ethnic Chinese, who were victims of so many riots during the Soeharto era. As president, Wahid openly admitted that his family has

⁹ See *Pasar Glodok* 2000:17.

Chinese blood and has been in Indonesia for seven generations. To the Chinese he was seen as Chinese too, and he was consequently invited to the Chinese New Year's celebration in 2001. Chinese New Year has even become a tentative holiday; those who celebrate Chinese New Year are allowed to take a day off work.

Amnesia

Since 1966, when Soeharto came to power, there has been a dichotomy in the collective memory. On the one hand, in order to change reality and build a positive image among the people of the New Order, the government erected monuments commemorating Soeharto's heroism on 1 March 1949 during the battle against the Dutch in Central Java. To create a negative image of the Communist Party (PKI), implying that it should be exterminated, the government built several monuments commemorating the military officers killed during the September 1965 riots. On the other hand, the Soeharto regime also made an effort to erase memories that could endanger the continuity of the regime. This, however, was done not only by Soeharto – who liked to erect monuments – but also by the lower-level local governments. In 1997 the governor of Jakarta built a monument behind Istiqlal Mosque to celebrate his achievements in obtaining the Adipura Kencana award for best city of the year. Although it was not necessarily true that the award represented the whole story of Jakarta, it did help strengthen the regime.

The New Order regime also tried to erase memories of past urban life related to the colonial era and Sukarno's Old Order. Hence, urban space was reshaped and old buildings such as the colonial-era Sociëteit Harmonie were destroyed. This was often justified in the name of the widening of streets in the 1980s, to facilitate motorized traffic flows.

The case of Lubang Buaya is part parody of monuments and part deliberate amnesia. The monument was created as a reminder of the killing and to commemorate the seven officers. At the same time it was an action to cover up the objective behind the killings, making the PKI a scapegoat. Hence the story told at Lubang Buaya is an exaggeration of a certain situation. PKI women are portrayed as hedonistic and Soeharto's women are depicted as good mothers; this has led to Lubang Buaya becoming a tombstone of the coup's enigma.

Although Sukarno was the first Indonesian president and ruled for many years, the Orde Baru (New Order) never honoured his heroism in the form of a monument. In order to create an image of Soeharto as a good man, he always used Sukarno's name in conjunction with the name of then vice-president Mohamad Hatta. Jakarta's new international airport was named the Sukarno-Hatta airport. The monument for the proclamation of independ-

ence on Jalan Proklamasi, neglected for many years, also portrayed Sukarno together with Hatta. Although Soeharto let people use his name for hills, bridges, and other artefacts, he forbid the use of Sukarno's name without that of Bung Hatta when naming a place. Not until recently, in the Reformasi era, did the government baptize Jakarta's sport hall 'Gelora Sukarno'.

Not only was the memory of the Old Order extinguished, Chinese culture was also repressed severely. Ethnic Chinese were compelled to be in amnesia, forgetting their identity and culture by changing their names to non-Chinese ones. No expressions of Chinese culture, including character script, were allowed in public. In contrast, Soeharto made Javanese culture a monument, using it to characterize important buildings in Jakarta, including the Sukarno-Hatta international airport. Javanese culture became a way to render his family equal to a Central Java family kingdom. Some people believe that the Soeharto order Javanized Indonesia's ethnic groups. The movement to Javanize all cities and towns was a way to create a new memory that would replace the memory of the Old Order. When Sukarno constructed international-style buildings and monuments in an attempt to make Jakarta an international city, the New Order, while promoting modern city development with modern architecture, did try to keep ethnicity alive. This kind of political policy was probably a form of 'divide and rule' and positioned the regime as the only body that could unify all the groups. Consequently, the decline of the New Order, followed by the decline of the unifying body, ultimately entailed ethnic conflict all over the archipelago.

This instability is also present on the streets of Jakarta. The fear of riots has become part of daily life that people must, and can, live with. The riots are not only on account of a regime that may soon fall, but also on account of economic problems, for instance the increase in gasoline prices. Ever since the 1740 riot, this phenomenon continuing up until the present, uncertainty has become a certainty in Jakarta.

Rumours and gated communities

After the riots of May 1998, the inhabitants of Jakarta's Chinatown installed barbed wire around their houses, while they took turns keeping watch in their community. Now, four years after the tragedy, people have built strong steel gates at the ends of their streets. They keep almost all gates closed and open only certain gates, making it difficult to go in and out of the area. In the Chinese quarter these gates are coloured green.

In late 1998, Jakarta's street life was characterized by frightening rumours. There were rumours that at Jalan Pecenongan, a street famous for its Chinese food stalls, a group of Chinese were robbed in the middle of their dinner. A



Figure 4. Parliament building, 2001 (photograph Peter J.M. Nas)

Chinese man, who dropped in at a kiosk for a drink, was charged ten times the normal price for a cup of tea. Since the May 1998 unrest, the shops at Pasar Baru close at seven o'clock at night, as shopkeepers fear unexpected guests and problems. Meanwhile people try not to stay in the streets; for safety reasons they enter the artificial public spaces of the malls.

As streets are privatized and communication between one group and another ceases, the streets become places of misinformation. Most of the riots and unrest started because of misinformation on the streets, where provocateurs started rumours of violence toward someone belonging to a certain ethnic or religious group. Such rumours can ultimately destroy the whole city, as happened in Jakarta in May 1998, on Ambon in 1999, and more recently in Pontianak and Sampit.¹⁰ Up till now, more than three years after the tragedy, the streets of Jakarta are still places of rumour; they are seen as very dangerous.

However, the 'architecture of fear', as demonstrated by barbed wires and ward gates, is not found exclusively among the common people. It can also be

¹⁰ The turmoil in Ambon spread to other towns nearby and over the whole Moluccan province (Pattiradjawane and Abel 2000).

seen around the parliament building (DPR) and the presidential palace. Since the new government was installed, the people's awareness of democracy is becoming stronger. This is why the conflict between the president and the parliament led to widespread demonstrations and protests that often became violent.¹¹ In order to secure the parliament, the police have put up several barriers so as to fence off the parliament building. Apparently, it was not enough to install one line of steel fencing. A second line of barbed wire and a third of fiberglass containing water were deemed necessary. At the presidential palace and the National Monument, police prepared barbed wire to use for protection in case of riots. Is Jakarta a place of fear, and is this fear revealed even in the built environment?

An example of a new and important gated community is Taman Anggrek, which means Orchard Garden. This is an impressive six-story mall with a huge parking capacity, and eight apartment towers on top of the mall that dominate the skyline of the south of Jakarta. These apartments are private and the area cannot be entered freely. It is a gated community where living, shopping, and recreation are combined. The basic concept of this enormous mall is to bring the street into the shopping centre. There is a theatre for small children and a skating rink for all ages. Nature has been introduced by means of a cascade along the staircase. Young people dominate this mall, in contrast to the Plaza Indonesia mentioned above, where adults form the majority. In Taman Anggrek the youth roam enthusiastically through the corridors, which are furnished like streets with booths and kiosks, making one feel as if one were in the city. However, there are no cars here, except for the ones in car dealers' showrooms. There are also no begging children attracting attention with small rattles, as one would find near traffic lights in the city. But everything is sold here, from candy to kitchen utensils, from books to dresses. The concept of turning the mall into a small city and of introducing the street in the shopping centre has restructured it. It has become an air-conditioned experience, whether on the floor with the many different restaurants or on the floor with the theatre, the Internet corner, the playground, or the ice rink. Children use one of the wheel-chair lanes for rapid rollerskating. The playground is full of enthusiastic young people riding electronic cars and motor-bikes. In other places they sit quietly on the ground, reading a book. People sit on benches talking; an old gentleman can be seen using his cell phone, while another lady uses earpieces for hers. Signposts in big pots with flowers mark the food court, the specialty shop, the computer centre, the furniture centre, the galleries, the supermarket, the banking centre and the mega kids store. The booths sell products such as *warung* food, candy, and toys. Certain spots are even hangouts, where young people gather and watch the atrium

¹¹ This conflict led to President Wahid's removal from office by Parliament.

of the mall with the elevators going up and down, the moving stairs, and the marine decorations of blue fish and cloth waves hanging from the ceiling. This is not just shopping – it is a total recreation experience, an adventure in a protected and gated environment. And on top of this enormous mall, eight apartment towers rise, where the super rich are living not only in a protected environment with all possible services, but also with a fascinating view of the city and its skyline. At the foot of the towers on the roof of the mall, there is a park with swimming pools and open spaces where people meet or take a stroll. The apartments are occupied at only fifty per cent capacity; apparently the crisis has also affected society's upper class. Whatever the case, this Orchard Garden, or Taman Anggrek, is the perfect gated community, also rendering services to the elite living elsewhere in town. It is a place of refuge in a hostile city.

In contrast to gated communities such as Taman Anggrek, the area along Jalan Gajah Mada, and other newly developed areas on the outskirts of Jakarta, the 'architecture of fear' does not exist in *kampung* areas such as the above-mentioned Kelurahan Pekojan. There are no gates protecting the Pekojan community, although a Chinese community lives there, side by side with other ethnic groups. Different religions coexist in Pekojan, but the fear of ethnic conflict seems to be relatively low compared to the outskirts of the city. In contrast to the parliament building and the presidential palace, the *kelurahan* office in Pekojan is open to the public. The representatives of the people at the *kelurahan* level (Dewan Kelurahan) get along well with the people near the railway line. The front yard of the *kelurahan* office is not gated; there is no barbed wire nor are there any other obstacles securing it from riots.

Conclusion

Uncertainty pervades daily life on the streets of Jakarta. Inhabitants have developed various responses to these circumstances. The main reaction is to persist in economic activity, for example by rebuilding stores after riots or looking for new sources of income in the informal sector. Another response lies in the creation and strengthening of information networks. Using cell phones, Internet, and other media, people have become quite capable of obtaining information on which places in the city are dangerous and which are safe. Yet another response can be found in the 'architecture of fear' as expressed in windowless malls, the erection of *kampung* gates, and defensive houses with barbed wire. This applies to both ordinary people and the government.

So, fear is a crucial concept in the understanding of the development of Jakarta, not only in recent times but also in the past. The Chinese massacre took place in Batavia as early as 1740 and the Chinese were forced to live

in the Chinese Camp, Glodok, outside the city gates. But more generally, the sharp differences between rich and poor have always created a certain atmosphere of fear in the city, with its block system of rich houses along the large roads and poor kampong dwellings inside these blocks. The spaces the poor occupy are dirty and small. Those of the rich are spacious with nice gardens and are protected by steel fences with barbed wire or high walls topped with sharp pieces of glass.

This basic sense of fear is strong, and people are thinking about how to diminish it through building trust. In his inaugural address on 9 June 2001 at Depok, Professor Paulus Wirutomo described his 'action research', which aims to establish new values at the local level in Jakarta. According to Wirutomo certainty, accountability, rule of law, community-based development, and improvement of service delivery must become the foundation for building trust in the city in the short run. And in the long run this should result in a civil society characterized by cohesion, concern, empowerment of the people, and democracy. Paulus Wirutomo tries to achieve this through small projects with matching funds and a democratic structure, with the goal that planning in Jakarta will not only involve spatial planning and economic planning, but also socio-cultural planning (Wirutomo 2001:36). This amounts to a counter-policy against increasing fear.

This concept of fear, as we have described it, has shaped the social and physical environment of Jakarta. It dominates the streets and the mental maps of the streets people construct in their heads. The old gated communities that came into existence during the colonial era and the Soeharto period have been complemented by new ones of a simpler type: the abundance of steel gates that close off the many small roads to the kampongs, such as at Jalan Gadjah Mada. These gates have recently been added to the large gated communities, such as the new towns in the periphery of Jakarta, and the condominiums of the super rich, for example Taman Anggrek. Moreover, the new architecture of malls almost without front windows, or just very thick glass blocks, can be considered a new trend which will probably lead to experiments with malls completely walled on the outside, with windows on the inside in order to receive natural light from an inner courtyard. Spanish architecture could be taken as an example for this new architecture. However, apart from the 'architecture of fear' and the 'planning of trust', the desire for amnesia is also very strong. People try to forget what happened in 1965 and 1998 and during the many other riots in between. They do not want to talk about the victims and their fate. However, their mental maps still include information on where to go and where not to go, as well as where to contact each other in case of danger. The mental maps of the streets of Jakarta are burdened by both fear and trust, but in order to continue daily street life this is balanced by a strong drive toward amnesia.

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