THE DILEMMA OF DEVELOPMENT

A Study of the Relationship between the Community of Condet and Supralocal Institutions in Jakarta

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This thesis is my own work and all sources used have been properly acknowledged.

Amri Marzali
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Thus, people now under anthropological scrutiny are in continuous interaction and communication with other social groups. What goes on in Gopalpur, India and Alcala de la Siera in Spain cannot be explained in terms of that village alone; the explanation must include consideration both of the outside forces impinging on these villages and of the reactions of villagers to these forces (Wolf 1966:1).

We must, then discover and analyse the direct and indirect forms of interrelationships among the so-called communities, or localities (Leeds 1973:19).


In the southeast of Jakarta, flanked by the Jakarta-Bogor main road and the Ciliwung river, there lies a kampung settlement, or local community, which is unique in a modern capital city. This kampung is called Condet; and here for generations the indigenous people of Jakarta, the Betawi, have cultivated salak (salacca edulis) and dukuh (lansium domeslium) - two kinds of fruit that are normally found only in the remote countryside and forest areas, but which are grown here in gardens and yards.

In 1972, under the Community Development Scheme (Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa), the Jakarta Administration constructed a new
asphalted road connecting the kampung with the city. This development immediately accelerated the process of urbanization in terms of the outward movement of the city residents to Condet and a consequent change in the pattern of land use from fruit growing to housing. When the Jakarta authorities realized the situation in 1975, they took steps to preserve the fruit gardens and the traditional culture of the Betawi in Condet for their distinctive character and to prevent the indigenous people from being proletarianized by land purchasers and speculators from the city. But they were too late and the attempt, which was formalized in the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme (Proyek Cagar Budaya Condet), turned out to be ineffective, developing very differently in practice from the way it was planned. Instead of impeding the effects of urbanization on the kampung, it attracted more city residents to Condet and more land speculators to invest their money in the area. The declaration of the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme made Condet renowned in Jakarta as a "green area", a setting in which most city residents would aspire to live. Again, one of the programmes of the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme was the extension of transportation facilities, which resulted in making Condet more accessible to city commuters.

Thus, despite the intentions of official policy, Condet has become increasingly urbanized: the number of fruit cultivators has continually decreased; the natives of Condet are being progressively ousted by newcomers from the city centre; and the amount of land owned by the indigenous population and used for cultivation has become less and less. Up to 1960, most families in Condet were still dependent on fruit cultivation as their means of livelihood, while
others depended on rice cultivation. However, twenty years later in 1980, only 7.5 percent of the total household heads were fruit cultivators, and rice cultivators had totally disappeared. Most of the Betawi of Condet have become involved in urban occupations as petty traders, labourers, or government and private company employees. Furthermore, up to 1960 all of Condet's inhabitants were Betawi, but in 1980 Betawi made up only 36 percent of the population with the rest being new settlers from the city centre. This brief outline of Condet's recent history raises a dilemma of development. On the one hand, there is the fact of the growth and urbanization of Jakarta; on the other, the Jakarta authorities want to retain the rural environment of Condet and safeguard it from the consequences of Jakarta's urban growth. This dilemma is presented in a simplified form in Model 1.

Another dilemma of development is the effect of the modernization of village administration on the political power of the original local residents. The Jakarta Administration, motivated by a wish to develop Condet community, has since 1966 initiated plans to build modern schools and reorganize village administrations in Condet. However, the natives of Condet continue to send their children to Islamic schools rather than the government schools. This preference has kept the educational attainment of the native residents relatively low. When the government in 1974 decided that one of the prerequisites for a village head was a lower secondary-school qualification, few of the native leaders could meet it, and so two village head positions immediately went to outsiders. Development programmes, then, instead of supporting the local population, have
Model 1
A Dilemma of Development in Condet

- Community Development and Condet Cultural Preservation Programmes
  - Road and Footpath Construction
  - Electrification
    - Agricultural Extension
    - Credit Loans
    - Cultural Preservation
    - School Building
    - Modernization of Village Administration
  - Rural Development and Preservation in Condet

- Growth and Urbanization of Jakarta
  - Outward Movement of the City Residents
    - Influx of Newcomers to Condet
      - Change in the Pattern of Land Use
      - Change in Social Structure
  - Process of Urbanization in Condet

→ flow of effect
== expected result
== unexpected result
undermined the political power of the native residents in their own
villages. Both dilemmas are the focus of this study, and will be
discussed in chapters III and IV.

2. **Urbanization and Rural Change.**

This study follows in the tradition of anthropological studies
on the theme of urbanization and rural change, on the grounds that
Condet is actually a changing rural community affected by the
influences of a spreading urban centre. It is designed to deal with
recent developments during the twenty-year period from 1960 to 1980.
There are two aspects of the urban influences impinging on Condet that
are central to this study: social and political. The social
influence of the city will be seen in terms of the outward movement of
the city residents to Condet, while political influence will be
evident in the policy and development programmes initiated by the
authority of DKI Jakarta in Condet, particularly those dealing with
the construction of new transportation facilities, the modernization
of the education system and the reorganization of village
administration. Thus, in this study the city, DKI Jakarta, is not
only considered as a node of high concentration of people who are
mostly dependent on occupations other than agriculture, with
influences diffusing to its periphery, but also as a supralocal
institution that is subordinating a number of local communities within
its administrative boundary.

The notion that communities can be understood only as parts of
larger communities has been developed by Bailey (1957), Stirling
(1966), Wolf (1966) and others, but it is Leeds (1973; 1976; 1980) who explicitly emphasizes the importance of studying the forms and processes of the interrelationships among the communities. The approach used in this study is in line with the suggestion made by many urban anthropology scholars (e.g. Collins [ed.] 1980) who are dissatisfied with the closed-system approach in studying communities or localities in urban settings. Instead, they approach communities as open systems that are influenced by larger systems of human organization. Therefore the process of change in the Condet community will be related both to the growth of Jakarta and to the policy and development programmes initiated by the authorities of Jakarta.

3. The Poor as "Peasants in Cities" and Peasants in Cities.

Unlike most, if not all, rural community studies in which typical rural communities have been taken as the objects of study, this study was carried out in a rural community which has come to lie within an urban locality. Condet was annexed by Jakarta (then Batavia) in 1935 but remained socioculturally rural until about 1972. Even today Condet is still predominantly rural in its physical characteristics. Thus this study deals with peasants in a city.

The phenomenon of peasants in a city seems to be a new one in urban anthropological studies. Most studies of what Mangin (1970) calls "peasants in cities" have not been focussed on real peasants but on the urban poor (in Indonesia, e.g. Forbes 1978). "Peasants," in the concept of "peasants in cities," are characterized by Mangin as poor migrants from rural areas who become involved in urban
occupations and life but retain their "rural culture". The essential characteristic of peasants as cultivators who live by farming in rural villages is absent in this definition. This bias to some extent stems from the fact that discussion of the extensive and long-standing relationship between peasants and the city has been concerned with the movement of peasants into the city (in Indonesia, e.g. Bruner 1961) rather than with the extension of cities annexing rural communities on their peripheries.

Condet is a case which shows that peasants can be involved in cities without having to emigrate to them. Instead cities can expand to urbanize peasant communities. The Condet situation representing the changing peasant communities on the fringes of cities may be duplicated in many cities of Southeast Asia, as well as in many cities of other developing countries. The point of view, and the generalizations which emerge from this study, may therefore have relevance elsewhere.

4. Background of the Study.

My interest in and study of peasants in cities began when I was employed at the University of Malaya as a lecturer in 1976 and 1977. By chance, I resided for the first six-months of my time in Malaysia in a changing rural village on the western outskirts of the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur. Due to my desire to benefit from the opportunity offered by the University for field work, I did a small-scale study of the community in which I lived. Two ethnographic reports resulting from this study have been published in
Indonesia (Marzali 1976; 1978).

In 1978 I returned to Indonesia and was employed by the University of Indonesia in Jakarta as a lecturer on research techniques. In late 1978 I wanted my students to put into practice in the field some of the anthropological research techniques I had taught them. We chose a rural community located on the fringe of Jakarta as one case-study. This turned out to be kampung Condet, where we conducted a small scale study for 15 days in October 1978 and in October 1979, respectively. Since the objective of the study was merely to familiarise the students with some research techniques, the results of the study were not considered important in themselves.

Presented with the task of preparing a thesis myself, the results of this fieldwork came to mind. When I analysed more closely the data we obtained from interviews, I concluded that most of them were superficial, had no focus and were not specifically concerned with the indigenous inhabitants but with the whole population of Condet. However, the data collected from secondary sources were quite valuable and some of them have been used in this thesis after critical consideration. In late 1981, I spent part of a two-month stay in Jakarta visiting Condet, and the DKI Jakarta and Yayasan Ilmu Ilmu Sosial offices. In Condet I conducted interviews with a number of cultivators, which helped me to recognize certain environmental problems and the religious values of the Betawi of Condet. In the DKI Jakarta and Yayasan Ilmu Ilmu Sosial offices I was provided with some recent publications on Condet which eventually influenced me to focus this study on the dilemma of development.

The various sources of the data obtained in the field present a
further problem for this thesis. Data on population, occupation, size of land, for example, are frequently inconsistent. Even the figures for a specific year provided by the same source may not agree. Furthermore, some information obtained from kelurahan offices is an estimation rather than an accurate record. For these reasons, my discussion of the change in the composition of Condet's population in chapter III will deal only with the period from 1969 to 1980. In order to minimize bias which could arise from the data, the discussion, as far as it concerns Condet's population as a whole, will focus on the figures provided for 1969, 1971, 1976 and 1980.

Difficulties also arise in dealing with the history of Condet. Most of the information I obtained is based on folk stories which are hard to verify, and my inability to read Dutch has limited my use of Dutch sources. Much of the written information concerning the history of Condet and Jakarta is cited from secondary sources. The history of Condet that is presented in chapter II is, therefore, a reconstruction based on folk stories and other written sources. Finally, it should be mentioned, that although the preliminary study was conducted by me and my students, the responsibility for the present study is mine alone.
CHAPTER II
CONDET IN GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE


Location of Condet. Condet is located on the southeastern outskirts of the Special Territory of the Capital City Jakarta, or Daerah Khusus Ibukota (DKI) Jakarta, at a distance of about 15 km from the centre of the city (National Monument) and about 7 km from the centre of the municipality of East Jakarta (Jatinegara) (Maps 1 and 5). Administratively, it consists of three kelurahan (village level administrative areas): Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar, and Tengah. These kelurahan are three of twelve kelurahan in the kecamatan (sub-district) of Kramat Jati in the municipality of East Jakarta. Condet is surrounded by kelurahan Cililitan Kecil to the north, kelurahan Kampong Gedong to the south, the Jakarta-Bogor main road to the east, and the Ciliwung river to the west. A dike which is about 10 meters wide passes between Condet and the Jakarta-Bogor road.

From the point of view of transport facilities connecting it with the city, Condet is easily accessible. The Jakarta-Bogor main road is one of the busiest routes linking Jakarta with other cities. Intercity buses and oplets ply this road servicing Jakarta's commuters.
Map 1.

Keynote:

1. Cililitan bus station.
2. Kramat Jati market.
3. Pasar Minggu railway station.
4. Pasar Minggu bus station.
5. Small bridge.
6. Cijantung military housing complex.
MAP 1 CONDET AND IT'S SURROUNDINGS

To the City

N

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

KAMPUNG MAKASSAR

TAMAN MINI INDONESIA

ZOO

Ciliwung River

Cijantung

CIJANTUNG

RAMBUTAN

KAMPUNG GEDONG

TANJUNG BARAT

PASAR MINGGU

CILILITAN

CONDET

No scale. After Team Antropology FSUI, 1980
Map 2.

Keynote:

--- Kelurahan border line.

Distribution Road (Jalan Penyalur).

Footpath.

- Kelurahan office.

▲ School.

● Shop.

□ Housing complex.

★ Wholesale vegetable market.

☆ Textile manufacture plant.

★ Mosque.

★ Church.

✚ Polyclinic.

✚ Residential area.

A Aments' graveyard.

B Aments' residence.
MAP 2
CONDDET: BALE KAMBANG, BATU AMPAR AND TENGAH

After DTBP.DKI, Cagar Budaya Condet: Jilid I/II, 1978
who live in Bogor and in villages between Jakarta and Bogor. It is also an important economic route along which daily supplies for Jakarta are carried from the hinterland of West Java. There is a bus station in Cililitan, about 1 km north of Condet, from which intercity buses, city buses, and opleta operate to most parts of Jakarta and to other cities in West Java. On the west side of the Ciliwung river, there is a railway connecting Jakarta with Bogor. This railway performs a similar function to that of the Jakarta-Bogor main road. A railway station is located at Pasar Minggu, about 1 km from Condet. About 2 km northeast of Condet, there is the International Airport Halim Perdana Kusuma.

The interior area of Condet is now well provided with roads and footpaths (Map 2). An asphalted road, about 18 meters wide, passes through the centre of the area from the bus station in the north to meet the Jakarta-Bogor main road in the south at a point lying within kelurahan Cijantung. This road is called Jalan Raya Condet. A mini-bus service operates on this route. Second-class roads, which are about 12 meters wide, and footpaths, which are about 1.5 meters wide, branch off the Jalan Raya Condet and the Jakarta-Bogor road. The roads are sealed with asphalt, the footpaths with concrete. Pedicabs are the main means of transportation on the roads, whereas the footpaths carry only motor-cycles, bicycles and pedestrians.

Due to the river, Condet is not well connected with the railway station to the west. A bridge which links Condet to Pasar Minggu on the west side of the Ciliwung river is too small to take cars; vehicles able to cross include pedicabs, motor-cycles and bicycles. Consequently, most Condet residents prefer to use transport running
along Jalan Raya Condet and the Jakarta-Bogor main road.

Kelurahan Administration. Every kelurahan in Condet has its own village level administration and office, and each is subordinate to the higher level of the sub-district of Kramat Jati. The administration of a kelurahan is led by a kelurahan head, or Lurah. In running the kelurahan administration the Lurah is assisted by six kelurahan officials. They are a deputy Lurah and the heads of five sub-sections: political affairs, security, social welfare, secretariat and finance, and community development.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kelurahan</th>
<th>Size (ha)*</th>
<th>RW</th>
<th>RT</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bale Kambang</td>
<td>161.795</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,497</td>
<td>8,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ampar</td>
<td>264.025</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2,821</td>
<td>19,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengah</td>
<td>214.673</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2,701</td>
<td>22,659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Condet</strong></td>
<td><strong>640.493</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>133</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,019</strong></td>
<td><strong>50,192</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Size in hectares.

In order to maintain good relations between the administration and the citizens, and to encourage the participation of the citizens in the process of decision making in the kelurahan, the area of a kelurahan is divided into a number of Rukun Warga (RW), which are further divided into a number of Rukun Tetangga (RT); each RT, in
turn, consists of a number of households (Table 1). RW and RT are social and neighbourhood organizations, run voluntarily by the citizens. They assist the kelurahan administration in social and administrative work and their activities are guided and controlled by the Lurah.

The Boundary of Condet. The use of the name of Condet to refer to a locality consisting of kelurahan Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar, and Tengah is a new phenomenon. Some residents claim that the original area of Condet corresponds only to the present kelurahan Bale Kambang, while others refer to Condet as consisting of kelurahan Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar, and Pejaten, a kelurahan on the other side of the Ciliwung river to the west of present day Condet. They all agree that kelurahan Tengah, which is now part of Condet, is not included.

The first claim seems to be more accurate, for it is supported by information cited in an official publication issued by the Jakarta Administration in 1958 (The 1958:147) and in a Decree of the Governor of DKI Jakarta issued in 1974 (Decree of the Governor of DKI Jakarta No. D.IV-1511/e/3/74, cited in Jakarta 1978 a: 186-190). Both official sources distinguish "Condet" from Batu Ampar and Tengah. In a list of the names of kelurahan in Jakarta cited in the publication, there are the names of Tjondet Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar, and Tengah; whereas in those cited in the Decree, there are the names of Condet Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar, and Tengah. I interpret this to mean that until 1974 the Jakarta Administration officially recognized that Condet included only Bale Kambang, without Batu Ampar and Tengah.

The extension of Condet's area to include not only Bale Kambang
but also Batu Ampar and Tengah was decided on in 1975 in conjunction with the enactment of the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme, then confirmed by an official publication of DKI Jakarta in 1976 (Jakarta 1978 a). Thus, it seems that the decision to extend Condet's area in the way described was made arbitrarily, in response to certain ecological and social considerations which have been touched on briefly in chapter I and which will be discussed more closely in Chapter III. I shall follow this extended definition in this thesis.

2. **History of Condet.**

   **The First Settlements.** One tale from Bale Kambang recounts that the first settlement in Condet was made by members of the forces of Mataram who had failed in an attempt to invade and besiege the Dutch in Batavia. If this account is accurate the settlement must have been established around 1628-1629, because according to historical accounts the invasion of Batavia by Mataram took place during this period (Tjandrasasmita 1977: 71-76). The ruler of Mataram, a Javanese kingdom in Central Java, resisted the occupation of Batavia by the Dutch because he considered this would threaten his economic and political sovereignty over Java. The Dutch suppressed the Mataram invasion, and some 3,000-4,000 members of the defeated Mataram forces escaped into the jungle in the surroundings of Batavia and settled there - either joining existing communities or establishing new ones. Bale Kambang could have been one of the communities set up by these men.
The second settlement may have been established before 1749 by a group of Makasarese immigrants in what is now Batu Ampar. This is based on "a report in a chronicle of the Dutch colonial administration" cited by Sumintardja (1978:26), which says that in 1749 there was a land dispute in Batu Ampar between the Makasar Captain (the chief of Makasarese immigrants) and D. W. Freyer, a member of the Extraordinary Council of East Indies. This case was settled in 1756 in favour of Freyer, who then developed a part of this land as a sugar plantation. He drove out all the inhabitants except those who worked as labourers on the plantation. Some of the Makasarese immigrants worked on the plantation and thus remained with other labourers who were recruited from areas around Condet; others followed their leader, the Makasar Captain, to a new site in the south where they formed another settlement. This settlement was located in the area of the present kelurahan Tengah. Thus, if all this information is accepted, it would seem that from the beginning Condet has consisted of three parts, each of which was initially occupied by a different social group.

The Land of Condet. It seems that the land dispute between the Makasar Captain and Freyer was related to the spread of privately owned estates (particuliere landerijen). Certainly, the dispute took place in 1749, a time when the area of private land was being extended enormously in the surroundings of Batavia. It is said by Kartodirdjo (1973:21-22) that private ownership of land came into existence as the result of land sales by the Europeans which took place at various times from the early days of the East India Company until the first
quarter of the nineteenth century. The first large scale land sales to private individuals took place during the period of Governor-General van Imhoff (1743-1750). He used land sales as a means of reducing the area available to roving robber bands after the Chinese Massacre in Batavia in 1740 and of developing Dutch private enterprises in the agricultural sector to challenge those of the Chinese (Milone 1966:515; Tjandrasasmita 1977:27). As a consequence, the private lands expanded in both area and distance from Batavia. Thus Batu Ampar may have been one of the areas sold by van Imhoff to private individuals since the land dispute arose during his term of office. The occupation of this area by the Makasarese immigrants did not mean that the authorities could not sell this land. Indeed, as stated by Milone (1966:513), the sale of populated land was the deliberate policy of the colonial administration to provide estates that would be opened with labourers recruited from among dispossessed residents. After the death of Freyer the ownership of Batu Ampar changed hands many times (Sumintardja 1978:26).

The information cited by Sumintardja from what he calls "a report in a chronicle of the Dutch colonial administration" is unknown to the present inhabitants of Condet. Another tale from Condet recounts that the land of Condet was once the private property of a Dutchman named Tuan Amen, popularly known as the landlord of Pekayon (Tuan tanah Pekayon), who gained the land by "deceiving" Maimunah, the ancestor of Condet's inhabitants. According to the tale obtained from the older inhabitants of Ciracas and Cilangkap, Tuan Amen also owned much land surrounding Condet, where he opened a rubber plantation estate (Koentjaraningrat 1975:9). These included among others the
areas of the present kelurahan Kampung Gedong, Ciracas, Cilangkap and Pekayon, all south of Condet. In Condet itself Tuan Amen did not grow cash crops; he left Condet to be cultivated with fruit trees by its inhabitants. Citing information provided by Kartodirdjo (1973:37), it may be assumed that all the land controlled by Tuan Amen (including Condet) was called the private land of Tandjong Oost, in the sub-district of Pasar Rebo (now this sub-district is divided into the sub-districts of Pasar Rebo and Kramat Jati).

Ramelan (1977), citing another tale from Condet, reports that Amen is a word used by local people for the Dutch family name, Ament. Six members of this family controlled the land of Condet successively. The first was Jantje Ament, who was also known as the landlord of Pekayon. He was the person accused by the natives of Condet as the "deceiver" of their ancestor Maimunah. The second owner was Dantje Ament, the first son of Jantje Ament. The third was Tjalling Ament, who inherited the land of Condet from his older brother Dantje Ament. Later members of the Ament family who controlled this land were Artje, then Daan, and lastly Dolf Ament. The relation between these three and their predecessors is unknown. Ramelan, unfortunately, does not provide dates for each landlord. However, his information about the names of the landlords is important. One of these names is engraved on a gravestone in a graveyard in Bale Kambang. The gravestone reads: Rustplaats van Tjalling Ament, geboren te Dokkum op den 3en December 1801, gestorven te Batavia op den 16en Januarij 1870. Hij was een liefderijk echtgenoot en vader, trouw en ijvering ambtenaar den Nederlandsch Indische Regering (Resting place of Tjalling Ament, born in Dokkum on the 3rd of December 1801, died in Batavia on the 16th of
January 1870. He was a beloved husband and father, and a faithful and diligent official of the Netherlands Indies Government (Team Antropologi FSUI 1980:12).

If Ramelan is correct in saying that Tjalling Ament was the third landlord of Condet after his brother Dantje Ament and his father Jantje Ament, the conveyance of Condet's land to the Ament family must have taken place during or shortly before the period of Tjalling's life (1801-1870). I am inclined to date it in the period of Governor-General Daendels (1808-1811), because it was in this period that land sales on a large scale to private individuals were transacted once again. Daendels used land sales as a means of raising funds after he demolished the old Kasteel of Batavia and built a new capital city in Weltevreden to the south (Hadisutjipto 1979:25; Milone 1966:515). In this case, the land of Condet that was sold by Daendels to the Ament family must have been Bale Kambang and Tengah, for Batu Ampar, according to the "report" cited by Sumintardja (1978), was already owned by another private individual. Accordingly, some points that are missing in this story are those dealing with the transfer of Batu Ampar to the Aments from its previous owner, and the situation of the sugar plantation which was opened by Freyer in this location.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the government initiated a new policy for the private lands. The government considered the private lands an old-fashioned institution which gave rise to harmful practices as regards the local population. Hence the government planned to redeem all the private lands and grant them to the local population. All lots of private land which had previously
been worked by local inhabitants were recognized as the individual inheritance of those inhabitants, commencing from the date of the redemption. Furthermore, a system of village government was established. The first village government established on redeemed land in the residency of Batavia was at Angke Kapok in 1914 (Tideman 1974:64). By 1932 there were 250 village governments set up on redeemed lands in the regencies of Batavia and Meester Cornelis. However, due to the lack of funds, the redemption of the private lands by the government was then temporarily halted. One of the private holdings that was unaffected was Condet which remained under the ownership of the Ament family until the Japanese occupied the Netherlands Indies in 1942. According to the head of kelurahan Cilangkap (Koentjaraningrat 1915:10), the last member of the Ament family inherited the land in 1939. Several years later he was detained by the Japanese and may have died in captivity.

The redemption of Condet's land from private ownership, according to an official of the kelurahan Bale Kambang, took place in 1949 during the short period (1947-1949) when the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) controlled Batavia and its surroundings. After the redemption, the land was granted to the local inhabitants. Each individual was granted the lot he already occupied, and this lot was recognized as his individual inheritance, or hak milik adat. His ownership over the lot was legalized through a land certificate, or surat girik, issued by the NICA. As a result, 90 percent of Condet's land went to local owners, 8 percent was conveyed to the government, and the rest was common land which was utilized for graveyards, religious buildings and pathways. These tenures were approved by the

The Formation of Condet Community. The present residents of Condet can be classified into two groups as natives or newcomers, according to their relation with this area. The natives are defined as the people who were living in Condet since before 1950, and their descendants. The newcomers are those who settled in Condet after 1950, and their descendants. It is considered that the year 1949 is important in this working definition because it was in this year that the whole land of Condet was redeemed from private ownership and granted to the local inhabitants. An official of the kelurahan Bale Kambang believes that all the inhabitants then were cultivators, the descendants of the cultivators who had lived in Condet for generations. Therefore, he claims, all Condet's inhabitants were native at that time.

The natives of Condet claim that they are ethnically Betawi, the natives of Jakarta. This ethnic group was formed from various Indonesian groups who had lived in Batavia since the early days of the Dutch colonization. Dutch sources cited by Koentjaraningrat (Batavia, 1799: VII, pp. 33-36; A.J. van der Aa, Nederlandsch Oost Indie, 1849, II, pp. 272-273; C. Lekkerkerker, De Baliers van Batavia, De Indische Gids I, 1918, pp. 409-431; cited in Koentjaraningrat 1975: 3-4) report that there were various Indonesian peoples living scattered in their own communities in Batavia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as Europeans, Chinese, and Portuguese-speaking Indians from Malabar and Coromandel. These
included Javanese, Sundanese, Malays, Balinese, Bugis, Makasarese, Ambonese, Bandanese, Sumbawans, and Mardijkers. In the nineteenth century, these peoples gradually lost most of their original identities and, through marriage and commercial interrelations, formed a new ethnic group called the Betawi. A new language, Omong Betawi developed concurrently with the formation of this people. This language stemmed from a mixture of various native languages, with Malay and Balinese as its core. This process of social formation took place in the city of Batavia and in the surrounding areas. Thus, it must have affected Condet.

However this is not a sufficient explanation of the formation of a relatively distinctive and compact community in Condet, even though in general this community is a part of Betawi society. How did three different social groups who first occupied separate areas in Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar, and Tengah form a Condet community? The process might have begun when all the land of Condet fell under the ownership of the Ament family in the early years of the nineteenth century. Although in the period of the Ament family Condet was not a plantation estate, the conveyance of this land to a private individual apparently imposed a common fate and status upon the remaining inhabitants. The people, who worked as cultivators, became tenants on their own land and the Ament family was the landlord, or tuan tanah. In the context of the Dutch colonial social system the landlord was entitled to exploit his tenants. Milone (1966: 513) compares the social situation in the private lands with the social situation in the Principality of Jogjakarta in the nineteenth century, and concludes that both shared the characteristics of feudalism. Both areas were
more feudal than the rest of Java, excepting the Principality of Surakarta. The landlord held seigniorial rights over the people who lived on his land and was entitled to receive obligatory labour from them.

Two terms used by local population (also common elsewhere in Indonesia) to epitomize the social situation in Condet during the period of landlordship, were exploitation, or penindasan, and famine, or paceklik. Kartodirdjo (1975:23-24) depicts the general situation in the private lands in general as follows:

It was common for cultivators to have only the most insecure tenure. Although legally they remained free men they had lost their economic autonomy and were, in actual fact, little more than the hired labourers of the landlord, dependent upon him for their living. Their legal, as well as their economic, status was precarious. It was held, in effect, that the landlord owned the land and that those living on it also belonged to him. They made up the labour force which was indispensable for cultivation. He, on the other hand, through his property rights, could (a) impose dues in kind, (b) demand labour services, (c) demand rents and shares in various produce of the cultivator and (d) evict cultivators for their debts, for failure to fulfil compulsory services, or for failure to pay the dues imposed on them.

In Condet, fruit cultivators were obliged to pay rent to the landlord. The amount of this rent varied over time. According to one informant (about 75 years old), the rent was initially eight perak (Dutch florin) per year, then it was changed to two perak and 15 cents per month, and finally it was 50 cents per week. Tjuke, or dues in kind, amounting to one-fifth of the harvest was demanded from those who planted the land with rice. Labour services, or performance of kompenian, amounting to one day per week was imposed on adult men as another requirement. The services varied from working in the estate or collecting hay for horses, to cleaning the house and garden of the
landlord. Failure to observe these obligations was punished.

Trouble and tension increased when, in 1912, a new regulation was introduced permitting a landlord to bring a lawsuit against delinquent cultivators (Kartodirdjo 1973:37-45). According to an informant, the landlord would firstly give a warning through his agent, the mandor, to a delinquent cultivator of his failure to pay rent on time. Should the cultivator fail to meet the rent payment, the landlord could order his men to cut down the plants in the garden of the defaultee. The most severe punishment would be the destruction of everything on the land, including the dwelling. The land would then be confiscated by the landlord and openly offered to anyone who could redeem the debt of the previous cultivator. People in Condet call this punishment bardin, which they conceive as kebun lebar di babatin (large garden is being cut down). But, bardin most probably stems from a Dutch word verbranden, or "to burn down".

After the implementation of this regulation, there were many convictions for failure to pay land rent or dues for the redemption of labour service. One of them, for example, was a certain Taba from Batu Ampar who was sentenced to pay £7.20 (Dutch florin) and court costs. Since Taba could not afford this, his house was sold for £4.50 and bought by Mandor Pirun (Kartodirdjo 1973:39). The new regulation resulted in bankruptcy among numerous peasants, which in turn gave rise to gross insecurity and bitter resentment among the villagers. Their responses varied but the most common responses were either to emigrate to other villages or to attempt violent action against the landlord. The first outbreak against a landlord occurred in 1916. It was led by a leader from Batu Ampar, Entong Gendut (Kartodirdjo
Entong Gendut said that he felt pity for his fellow-villagers whose houses were burnt because they could not afford to pay their debts. He proclaimed himself the Radja (King), to whom Java owed its existence, and claimed that he was subject neither to law nor to the Dutch. He organized a self defence association which eventually turned into a band of insurgents. However, the insurgency was suppressed by the colonial authorities, resulting in some deaths (including that of Entong Gendut) and in many imprisonments.

Resistance against the landlords continued until the end of the colonial period, but the more recent cases - especially in the 1930s - were different in character from those of the past. One uprising, led by Pak Tridi (about 75 years old) from Bale Kambang, is believed to have had political connections. Pak Tridi, it is said, was a member of Sarekat Islam, a radical political organization, and he always consulted with leaders of this organization in Batavia. According to Pak Tridi, the Condet cultivators wanted the government to redeem the land from the landlord. Then, they believed, the rents would be lower and the obligation of labour service would be abolished. However, the government did not have funds for this acquisition.

The problems that the inhabitants of Condet experienced, and the resistance that they raised against the landlords, strengthened their solidarity and social ties. This solidarity was shown in the number and frequency of outbursts against the landlords. In one such outburst there were about 400 people involved (Kartodirdjo 1973:41). In another case, the number of people involved was not recorded, but the number of the insurgents made it difficult for the officials to arrest the leader. All the rebels against the landlord
were seen by the inhabitants as representing their aspirations, even though in the one case the leaders were from Bale Kambang and in the other case they were from Batu Ampar. Yet they were all recognized as representatives of inhabitants of Condet. Most of the present natives of Condet, particularly the older people, regard these leaders as heroes and make them the symbol of solidarity, especially in the face of newcomers.


In the colonial period the sub-district of Pasar Rebo, in which Condet was located, was one of the famous cultivation areas in Batavia. In this area, fruits were grown so intensively that their production was not only sufficient for Batavia and Buitenzorg, but they were also exported to other cities and even to other islands (Tideman 1974:69). In Condet, people primarily grew salak and duku fruit in gardens and yards around their houses. Most cultivators sold their fruit to markets in Batavia, using this income to buy other staples. A few cultivators took their fruit to other cities such as Surabaya in East Java, Semarang and Solo in Central Java, or Palembang in South Sumatra. Food production has never been important in Condet. A small area that was cultivated with rice was located in Batu Ampar and Tengah. Since the Japanese occupation, however, rice has not been seriously cultivated due to damage to the irrigation system. This problem was compounded by the building of an Army housing complex in Cijantung in 1960 which blocked the source of irrigation for the rice fields, thereby putting an end to all irrigation.
In the colonial days famines frequently occurred between fruit seasons. During famines many people from Condet sought work in other places as temporary labourers. Some of them went to villages near Karawang and Bekasi, to the east of Batavia and worked there on rice fields as share-croppers. Others went to coffee plantations in South Sumatra to work as wage labourers.

Before the 1960s, transportation facilities, both within the area of Condet and connecting Condet with the city, were poor. In Condet all paths and roads were narrow, disordered, and made of earth. They were slippery when wet. They were not used by motor vehicles but by handcarts, horse carriages, and bicycles. Fruit, the primary product of Condet, was transported out by bicycles or in baskets on shoulders. Cultivators usually stayed in the markets in the city until their fruit was sold and this sometimes took three or four days. Those cultivators who sold their fruit in other cities caught the train in Pasar Minggu.

Until 1960 most of Condet’s population still depended for their livelihood on fruit cultivation. However, more recently the people of Condet, in particular the younger generation, have gradually left fruit cultivation. They work in the city of Jakarta as petty traders, labourers and lower ranking government employees.

Until the 1960s, when the interior area of Condet was still relatively isolated from the outside world, marriage seems to have been mostly endogamous. In time, endogamy resulted in a web of kinship among the natives of Condet, a relatively solid community founded principally on kinship relations.
The natives of Condet trace kinship through both males and females, but in certain respects the male line is more important than the female one. According to custom, a father has an obligation to provide a house for his newly-married son. This house is usually built on the father's land and near the father's house. In the past, a hamlet usually consisted of five to ten houses inhabited by people who were related to one another through the men.

Property, particularly houses and land, is inherited following faraidh right, by which a son inherits two parts of a property, while a daughter receives one part. The term the natives use for this inheritance system is sepikul-sejunjungan. Memikul means to carry goods in two baskets tied to a bamboo strip carried on the shoulder. Sepikul, or two baskets, symbolizes the portion of property inherited by a son. Menjunjung means to carry goods in a basket on the head, and sejunjungan, or a basket, symbolizes the portion of property inherited by a daughter. The term reflects the ways in which the natives of Condet carried goods, particularly fruits, in the old days.

There were however certain individuals who bequeathed their property equally to their sons and daughters.

Before the twentieth century people built their houses in a modest way and with simple materials. Walls and posts were made of bamboo, the roof of thatch, and the floor of earth. In the early part of the twentieth century, people began using tiles for their roofs and timber (kayu mangka) for their walls and posts. Some people carved their front posts and the frames of their front windows. These kinds
of houses are rarely found now, and are considered as "traditional houses" by the Jakarta Office for Housing Development and Renovation (Dinas Tata Bangunan dan Pemugaran). Today people generally make their houses of brick and cement.

Table 2
Islamic Religious Buildings in Condet (1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Mosque</th>
<th>Musholla*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bale Kambang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ampar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Condet</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Musholla*: small mosque.
Source: Kelurahan Offices 1981.

Although reliable figures are hard to come by, informants agree that all the natives of Condet are Muslim. Islam has penetrated into almost all aspects of local culture. This influence can be seen in the number of religious buildings (Table 2), in the importance of the pilgrimage, in the system of inheritance, in folk arts, dress, and ceremonies. Islam is considered to be the guide for proper conduct. Religious teachers, the imam of a mosque, (pilgrims), and haji are respected figures. All adults, particularly men, are expected to desire to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca. A man may sacrifice a part of his fruit garden for the sake of achieving this status.

As regards education, the natives prefer religious to
secular schools. The first educational institution opened in Condet was a pesantren. Today most native pupils enrol in Islamic schools. The native peoples of Condet are conscientious in fulfilling religious obligations. Thus, Muljakusuma (1982:17) reports that 40 percent of native female youths and 50 percent of native male youths seldom or never fail to perform compulsory prayers. Since Jakartan youth are generally recognized as poor observers of religious practices, these figures indicate the importance of religious life to the natives.

The long tradition of cultivating salak has led the natives to draw a philosophy of life from this plant. The salak tree does not grow higher than other plants; instead, it grows sideward. When it grows old, new branches sprout from its trunks so that, theoretically, the plant never dies. Ideally a Condet man is supposed to be humble, modest, flexible, and durable like the salak tree.

5. Condet and the City of Jakarta.

Since its foundation, Condet has been dominated by the influence of the political, economic, and social situation in Jakarta. This section will examine various important events that have shaped the relationship between Condet and Jakarta, particularly since the end of the nineteenth century.

Wertheim (1956:173-183) indicates that the formation of modern Batavia began with the introduction of the system of free enterprise as a general principle for the economy of the Netherlands Indies in 1870. It was this system that gave rise to significant economic
development in Batavia. There was a growth of industrial and commercial activities in the city and transport facilities were developed connecting the city with the outside world. In 1873, a railway and a road were constructed to connect Batavia and Buitenzorg. The railway passed through the village of Pasar Minggu in the west of Condet and the road passed along the east border line of Condet (Surjomihardjo 1977:47). As a consequence, Condet became more accessible to the outside world.

However, although Batavia developed rapidly from 1870, the establishment of the city's administration and boundaries only occurred in 1905 when Batavia was declared an autonomous municipality with an area of 125 square km (The 1958:39-61). This decision gave the Municipality more freedom to plan and develop the city properly. New roads, railways, tramways, bridges, parks, hospitals, public toilets, piped water, school buildings and residential areas were built to meet the increasing demand for transport and social facilities. Two important consequences were that the population of Batavia increased from 138,547 in 1905 to 437,657 in 1930 (Ardjoboesono 1977), and the urban area soon extended beyond the official boundary (The 1958). Forced by such rapid growth and encroachment by Batavia, the government in 1936 liquidated the municipality of Meester Cornelis (now Jatinegara) in the south and merged its area with that of Batavia making the administrative area of Batavia 182 square km (The 1958:82). Since Condet was administratively within the municipality of Meester Cornelis, this meant the annexation of Condet by Batavia (Jakarta 1978 a:100-101).

By late 1949, the Dutch recognized the independence of
Indonesia; and in 1950 the name of Batavia was changed to Jakarta and it was proclaimed by a Decree of the President, the capital city of Indonesia. The boundary of the city was extended to cover an area of 530 square km. Administratively the city was divided into six districts (kedaton), 20 sub-districts (kecamatan), and 136 kelurahan (The 1958:144). Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar, and Tengah turned out to be three of the kelurahan.

The authorities of Jakarta were, as stated by its Mayor, immediately involved in the city's urgent problems such as the shortage of electricity and piped water, and the lack of clarity of tenure over land (Jakarta 1977a:165). The real problems, I would argue, were those stated by Hauser (1957:8): "problems of the nation at large, problems arising largely from low productivity and mass poverty". Basically these problems originated from population growth. The population of Jakarta increased from 567,009 in 1942 to 1,781,723 in 1952 (Ardjoboesono 1977). Heeren (1955:704) showed in a study carried out in 1953-1954, that a large percentage of Jakarta's population consisted of new migrants who had recently moved from rural areas. The steady flow of new migrants hampered the work of creating an orderly urban environment in Jakarta. Some of the newcomers poured into the kampung areas, others lived as squatters, while still others sheltered under the bridges and in parked train-cars. The attempts of the Municipality to overcome the housing problem failed partly because of a shortage of funds. The lack of transport facilities within the city caused people to prefer the centre to the outlying areas for residence. The city gradually developed with a big urban-kampung in its central area, surrounded by rural villages on its outskirts. Bale
Kambang, Batu Ampar and Tengah in Condet were three of these outlying rural villages.

The year of 1959 witnessed a change of political system in Indonesia, from a western-style democracy to the "guided democracy" of Sukarno. City development became subject to interference by the central government, and particularly by President Sukarno whose ambition was to make Jakarta the centre of the New Emerging Forces (NEFO) - an anti-neocolonialist and anti-neocapitalist organization. Consequently, urban development programmes in Jakarta were predominantly directed to the building of highways, luxurious hotels, department stores, an Asian Games Complex, and buildings for the Conference of the New Emerging Forces. It was during this period that the government attempted to purchase the land of Condet for a university campus site, but the inhabitants would not sell. However Condet could not entirely avoid the effects of urban growth and expansion. A piece of land situated in Tengah was purchased by the Army and a housing complex for middle-ranking officers was built on it in 1963.

A new direction in the development of Jakarta emerged when Ali Sadikin assumed office as Governor of Jakarta in 1966. This period coincided with the change of political system in Indonesia from Sukarno's "guided democracy" to a more capitalist-oriented system led by Suharto, the legitimation of a new master plan for Jakarta by the city council, and the establishment of a primary role for Jakarta. The new economic policy of Suharto's government was followed by a flow of foreign capital into Indonesia, and particularly into Jakarta. The Master Plan of Jakarta required the city to develop in all directions
in a radius of 15 km from its centre at the National Monument, and the role of Jakarta included its being the centre of commerce, industry, culture and tourism (Jakarta 1969:2). From this point on Jakarta changed at a great pace, as was commented on by the man in the street: "Jakarta changes every three months" (Surjomihardjo 1977:77). All these factors, together with the continual increase of Jakarta's population, resulted in the significant development of Jakarta and its encroachment on Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar and Tengah (see Maps 3, 4, and 5 and Table 3).

Table 3

Population of Jakarta 1623-1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1673</td>
<td>27,068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>92,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>138,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>437,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>563,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>1,781,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2,811,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3,154,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>3,639,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>4,273,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>4,576,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>5,701,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6,503,227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MAP 3 THE GROWTH OF JAKARTA (1650-1900)

KEY:
- > Year 1650
- 1650 - 1700
- 1700 - 1800
- 1800 - 1900
- Year 1900 <
- Monas
- river
- canal
- road

MAP 4 THE GROWTH OF JAKARTA (1900-1951)

KEY:
- Year 1900
- Year 1951
- Condet
- Monas
- River
- Road

A.N.U. 1983 (after Djakarta Raja 1953)
MAP 5  THE GROWTH OF JAKARTA (1965–1985)

Key:
- Condet
- Monas
- Year 1965
- Year 1985 (projection)
- DKI Jakarta boundary 1975
- road
- canal
- river

A.N.U. 1983 (after 'Djakarta Membangun' 1972)
CHAPTER III
DEVELOPMENT AND THE URBANIZATION OF CONDET

The growth of a city's population is usually followed by the expansion of its physical structure, upward or outward. Upward expansion leads to the building of multi-storey offices and apartments, while outward expansion results in the movement of the city residents to the fringe areas. However the growth of the city is essentially an outward movement because, the extent to which a city can go up or down is severely limited. Thus it is no wonder, as experience of most cities in Western countries has shown, that the "flight to the suburbs" appears to be virtually synonymous with the "growth of the city" (Hoover and Vernon 1959:183-238; Duncan et al 1962:418-429; Chinitz 1964:23).

One of the factors that encourages the spread of people to the fringe is the availability of transportation facilities bridging the central and the fringe area of the city. A brief examination of the United States, France, and Japan by Thorns (1972:61-77), and a study of London by Dyos (1954:53-78), clearly show how growth is related to improved communications. According to Thorns the development of urban transport - the railways and trams in the nineteenth century and the autobus and the motor car in the twentieth century - enabled the
ever-widening band of population to retreat further from the congestion of the city centres. Thus, in 1891 Low (Low 1891, cited in Pahl 1965:8) described the flight to the suburbs in London; comparing the function of the transportation routes to the blood system:

The centre population is shifting from the heart to the limbs. The life blood is pouring into the long arms of brick and mortar and cheap stucco that are feeling their way to the Surrey moors, and the Essex flats, and the Hertford copses...

The importance of transportation facilities in relation to the flight to fringe areas lies in their ability to make travel costs cheaper and travel time shorter. Based on an assumption that both costs and time of travel are among the major variables in the calculations of city residents when they make locational decisions (Webber 1967:402), the construction of a new transportation facility that reduces both of these with relation to an outlying locality should lead to an increased demand for residence in this locality. This in turn will be followed by an influx of newcomers and increased in the number of land transactions, resulting in influences on the social and physical structure of the locality.

This chapter will examine the extent to which the experience of cities in developed countries as described above can be compared to the situation of Jakarta, and specifically to the relationship between the construction of new transportation facilities and the change in the social structure and the pattern of rural economy in Condet. However, it should be borne in mind that the construction of new transportation facilities is by no means the only determinant of sociocultural change in Condet. This change will be considered under four headings: the construction of new transportation facilities;
changes in the population composition; changes in the pattern of land use and land ownership; and changes in the mode of transport and the decrease of fruit production.


During 1966, Governor Ali Sadikin's first year of office, most roads in DKI Jakarta were narrow and poorly maintained, and far from adequate to cope with the increasing number of motor vehicles. There were about 794 km of paved road for 157,619 motor vehicles in DKI Jakarta at this time; an average of about 200 vehicles per km of road (Jakarta 1977 b:237). This situation resulted in traffic jams everywhere in the city. Moreover, the layout of roads in DKI Jakarta was far from sufficient to meet the demands of the residents for transportation facilities. Most of the "urban kampung" in the central area and certainly almost all of the rural kelurahan on the outskirts were not linked by roads, and were therefore inaccessible by motor car.

Due to the vital function of transportation in urban life, the residents of DKI Jakarta, according to Governor Sadikin, considered the inadequate transportation facilities in their city to be a reflection of the poor organization of the Jakarta Administration (Jakarta 1977 b:237). Therefore, Sadikin argued, the construction of new roads and the renovation of old ones must be given priority in the development of DKI Jakarta in order to improve both the image of the Jakarta Administration and of the city itself. This construction and renovation was begun seriously in 1968 and by 1975 the length of roads...
in DKI Jakarta had more than doubled (1723 km) (Jakarta 1977 b: 240). Apart from road construction, the Jakarta Administration also built many bus terminals, extended city-bus routes and services, and provided bus companies with credit to purchase new buses. With this development of facilities the transportation network gradually approached Condet, and in 1970 a bus station was built 1 km north of Condet in Cililitan.

By 1972, the Jakarta Administration constructed a new road connecting the Cililitan bus station on the north and kelurahan Cijantung in the south, which passed through the centre of the Condet area. This was the first road to be constructed in Condet; it was officially called Primary Village Road, or Jalan Lingkungan Utama, but was popularly called Jalan Raya Condet. This road eventually became a busy route with a mini-bus service which began operations in 1978. This development was followed by the construction of smaller roads extending from Jalan Raya Condet to most parts of Condet. These roads were officially called Distribution Road, or Jalan Penyalur. The construction of all these roads was carried out through a Community Development Programme which was initiated by a President's Instruction, or Inpres (Instruksi Presiden No.1/1970) and the road system as a whole was also called Jalan Inpres. The work was financed by the central government.

These new transportation facilities soon brought Condet into a closer relationship with the city. It was no longer an isolated area, especially after 1976 when it was provided with electricity and transformed into a bright "urban kampung" area. There followed a rise in the demand for land in this location with an increasing
transference of land from native ownership to ownership by newcomers, resulting in an influx of newcomers and a change in land use from agricultural to urban utility.

The authorities considered that continuation of such changes might have harmful effects on both the native community and the environment. The native community would be urbanized and their Betawian culture might vanish; and the rural environment, especially the environment of fruit gardens, would be damaged. Moreover the Jakarta authorities had their own interests in preserving the native traditions of Condet: they wanted to preserve the Betawian culture - which had been gradually disappearing elsewhere in DKI Jakarta - in order to give a distinctive character to DKI Jakarta. They also wanted Condet to retain its agricultural environment, since the city needed "green areas" for "breathing". All these considerations led the Jakarta Administration to design a project called the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme, or Proyek Cagar Budaya Condet. This scheme was legalized in a Decree of the Governor in December 1975 (Decree of the Governor of DKI Jakarta No. D.I.-7903/a/30/75), and publicly announced to the people of Condet in April 1976 (Address given by the Governor of DKI Jakarta in conjunction with the announcement of the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme, cited in Jakarta 1978 a:3-5). It was administered by the Jakarta Office for Housing Development and Renovation (Dinas Tata Bangunan dan Pemugaran), financed by the Jakarta Administration, and implemented in 1976-1979. This project provided for:

1. The establishment of a credit cooperative,
2. The construction of footpaths,
3. The renovation of "traditional" Betawian houses,
4. The replanting of unused bare lands,
5. The encouragement of cultural activities,
6. The improvement of the handcraft industry, of pond-fishery, and of agricultural production and distribution methods.

Though the scheme proposed to deal with many aspects of Condet's social life and activity, its primary concern was the rural economy, especially fruit cultivation. This reflected a statement of the Governor that a "cultural preservation area" was an area wherein "we are supposed to be surrounded by the greenness of trees." The Governor firmly ordered that no one was allowed to cut down dukuh and salak trees. Furthermore, the development of Condet would be regulated carefully. No buildings were permitted, except for schools, polyclinics, religious buildings, and government offices. Every household was expected to plant trees on its yard and to maintain all existing trees (Decrees of the Governor of DKI Jakarta No. D.IV-1511/e/3/74 and No. D.IV-116/d/II/1976, cited in Jakarta 1978 a:186-190).

Among the chief features of the scheme, only the construction of footpaths and the renovation of the old Betawian houses appear to have been implemented successfully: 30 out of 51 old houses were renovated, and 17,226 meters of footpath were constructed (Table 4). The credit cooperative, though established, suffered a loss because most of its debtors failed to pay interest and some were not even able to return the credit they were given. There was no record of the replanting of unused bare lands. The encouragement of cultural
activities was implemented in terms of an archaeological excavation and an anthropological study. The programme for improvement of the handcraft industry, of pond-fishery, and of agricultural production and methods was cancelled for lack of funds (Jakarta no date, Laporan...).

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Length of Roads and Footpaths in Condet (m) (1979)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inpres Road*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footpath</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* not including Jalan Raya Condet.
Source: Jakarta no date, Laporan... pp. 39.

2. Change in The Population Composition.

Demographers agree that population growth is a product of two factors: natural growth and migration. In the case of Condet, population growth during the period 1969 to 1980 was largely caused by immigration. Condet’s population increased more than three times during this period, and the highest rate of growth was in the period 1976 to 1980 (Table 5). In comparison with the population of DKI Jakarta as a whole, the rate of growth of Condet’s population was relatively higher. During the period from 1969 to 1971 Jakarta’s population increased at the rate of 3.4 percent annually, 4.4 percent
annually from 1971 to 1976, and 3.3 percent annually during the period of 1976 and 1980.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bale Kambang</th>
<th>Batu Ampar</th>
<th>Tengah</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>r Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980**</td>
<td>8,269</td>
<td>19,264</td>
<td>22,659</td>
<td>50,190</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976*</td>
<td>4,963</td>
<td>11,146</td>
<td>8,244</td>
<td>24,353</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971**</td>
<td>3,763</td>
<td>8,022</td>
<td>5,945</td>
<td>17,730</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969*</td>
<td>3,431</td>
<td>7,390</td>
<td>5,415</td>
<td>16,236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: * Estimated by kelurahan office.
** Census.

Up to 1960, it is believed, Condet's population was still largely made up of Betawi (Sumintardja 1978:28). The building of the Army's housing complex in Tengah in 1963 may be considered as the first significant indication of the coming of the immigrants. Three years later, in 1966, two new housing complexes were built in Batu Ampar: one was constructed by the Ministry of Industry and the other by an air transport company, Pelita Air Service. All the housing complexes were located along the Jakarta-Bogor main road. Thus, the first groups to locate themselves in Condet seem to have been firms and government bodies rather than individuals, and the first areas occupied were those situated along the main transportation route. It should be noted that there were no real estate company activities in this area. According to informants, individuals only started to move to Condet in about 1966, and up until 1969 their numbers were
relatively insignificant. But in 1975, according to an estimate obtained from the kelurahan office reports, newcomers accounted for 5 percent of the population in Bale Kambang, 20 percent in Batu Ampar, and 30 percent in Tengah. Thus in 1975 newcomers formed 21 percent of the total population of Condet (Table 6).

Table 6

Population of Condet (1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Native No.</th>
<th>Native %</th>
<th>Newcomer No.</th>
<th>Newcomer %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bale Kambang</td>
<td>4,335</td>
<td>(95)</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>4,564</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ampar</td>
<td>7,410</td>
<td>(80)</td>
<td>1,850</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>9,260</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengah</td>
<td>5,715</td>
<td>(70)</td>
<td>2,447</td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>8,162</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17,460</strong></td>
<td><strong>(79)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,520</strong></td>
<td><strong>(21)</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,986</strong></td>
<td><strong>(100)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sumintardja 1978: 28

Information provided by DTBP-DKI and FSUI (Jakarta 1981 a:12) suggests that the years of 1973 and 1978 were significant for the influx of newcomers. In 1973 the number of newcomers' households increased by 246.4 percent, and in 1978 by 190.8 percent (Table 7). In 1980, the ratio of newcomers to natives in Condet was reversed. It is reported that the number of newcomers had increased at such a pace that they now made up 64 percent of the total population (Jakarta 1981 a:5, 6, 7). So by 1980, migrants had altered the composition of the population, relegating the native Betawi to a minority status (Table 8).
Table 7
Newcomer Household Heads According to the Time of Settling in Condet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bale Kambang</th>
<th>Batu Ampar</th>
<th>Tengah</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 265 1,616 1,386 3,267

Source: Jakarta 1981 a:12

Table 8
Household Heads in Condet (1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Native No.</th>
<th>Native %</th>
<th>Newcomer No.</th>
<th>Newcomer %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bale Kambang</td>
<td>932 (68)</td>
<td>338 (32)</td>
<td>1,061 (100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ampar</td>
<td>939 (30)</td>
<td>2,157 (70)</td>
<td>3,091 (100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengah</td>
<td>745 (27)</td>
<td>1,731 (73)</td>
<td>2,476 (100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 2,407 (36) 4,226 (64) 6,633 (100)

Source: Jakarta 1981 a:5, 6, 7.

What caused the numbers of newcomers to grow at such an explosive rate in 1973 and in 1978? There are factors which help to explain the variability growth rate per annum but these by no means
provide the full story. Two of the assumed causes of the sudden increase in 1973 are the construction of the Jalan Raya Condet and the building of a wholesale vegetable market in Tengah, both completed in 1972; while two of the assumed causes of the sudden increase in 1978 are the resignation of Governor Ali Sadikin and the building of the Kramat Jati Market on the Jakarta-Bogor main road opposite Batu Ampar, both in 1977.

The Jalan Raya Condet made the interior of Condet accessible to motor vehicles, hence reducing the cost and time of travel between Condet and the city. This in turn attracted households from the central area to move out to Condet. The building of the markets was intended to create centres of economic interaction. People involved in these markets, such as traders and coolies, would certainly demand dwellings in the surrounding areas. Therefore, after the building of these markets the number of immigrants and the demand for land and houses in Tengah and Batu Ampar - particularly in the surroundings of the markets - increased.

Meanwhile, the construction of transportation facilities in Condet was continued, but the rate of increase of newcomers declined in 1974 and 1976. We are not able to explain why it declined in 1974, but the decline of 1976, according to informants, could be related to the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme, legalized in December 1975 and announced to the public in April 1976. It included a prohibition on building houses and cutting down fruit trees. Since most immigrants to Condet came in order to obtain housing, this prohibition affected to some extent the flow of the newcomers. However it was not totally effective: it could not stop all migration, but at best it
slowed down the rate of increase of the newcomers.

Long experience in observing social behavior of Jakarta residents suggests that a regulation issued by an authority is seldom effective unless it is enforced by law. The implementation of the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme was not followed up by a thorough control system. Thus the people continued to cut down fruit trees and build houses, although these activities were now less widespread. An apology was offered by Bale Kambang's Rukun Tetangga on behalf of the natives: "The indigenous Betawi people in Condet mostly build small sized houses, so that they do not need to request consent of the authority, and I do not give them warning for these" (Sinar Harapan, 19 Juni 1982). However the building of new houses was not only developed by the natives, but was also carried out by newcomers. What was the justification of such infringement by the newcomers? "For the sake of humanity" (demi perikemanusiaan), answered certain kelurahan officials. But for this so-called "humanity", the house builders had to pay a "human cost" in terms of money or rice, which according to the kelurahan officials would be used to feed the village security guards (hansip). Since this payment was illegal, it may be considered as a form of bribery.

On the other hand, the announcement of the Condet Cultural Preservation Scheme made Condet renowned in Jakarta as a "green area". This in turn attracted more city residents to Condet, particularly those who wanted to live in a fresh environment. As a result, in 1978 - one year after the resignation of Ali Sadikin - the flow of immigrants increased again: people considered the scheme to have been Ali Sadikin's project, and once he had resigned they assumed it to
have been abrogated. In general, a regulation issued by an individual official tends to be effective, or relatively so, only during his period of office - soon after he resigns the regulation is likely to be disregarded, both by his replacement and by the citizens.

It is not only the number of immigrants that is important to an understanding of the changes in Condet but also their sociocultural characteristics. Our study shows that most of the immigrants came to Condet from the city of Jakarta. Among a sample of 71 newcomers we interviewed, 48 (67.6 percent) said that they came from the city of Jakarta, 15 (21.1 percent) from West Java, 3 (4.2 percent) from Central Java, 3 (4.2 percent) from East Java, and 2 (2.8 percent) from Sumatra. This study did not cover the residents of the housing complexes who almost certainly all used to be Jakarta city residents. Furthermore, the study did not ask a follow-up question of the non-Jakartan newcomers to check whether they had stayed in the city before they moved to Condet, although we assumed this was generally the case. Thus, the proportion of the Jakartan newcomers might be greater than 67.6 percent. It should be noted that the reasons for migration to Condet included: following relatives, purchasing land in Condet, Condet’s environmental attractiveness for residence, working in the wholesale vegetable market, and Condet’s location near the city.

The influx of newcomers, who are believed to be mostly non-Betawi and non-cultivator, certainly generated change in the structure of Condet’s community. According to the Bale Kambang’s kelurahan office, Condet’s population in 1978 consisted of at least six ethnic groups: Betawi, Sundanese, Javanese, Minangkabau, Batak,
Balinese and Chinese. From the religious point of view, Condet’s population was classified into Moslem, Christian, Buddhist and Hindu. For a living, the residents of Condet worked in at least 36 occupations (Jakarta 1981 a: 18-20). Lastly, in relation to education, the residents ranged from non-schooled to those with a university degree. Due to the lack of information, further analysis of the structure of Condet’s population will focus on just two variables: education, which will be discussed in the next chapter, and occupation, which will be briefly described here.

Table 9
Bale Kambang’s Population According to Occupation (1967 and 1976)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1967</th>
<th></th>
<th>1976</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator.......</td>
<td>1,052</td>
<td>(71.08)</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>(40.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trader............</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>(6.68)</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>(16.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee..........</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>(12.36)</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>(15.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>(4.45)</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>(4.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Personnel</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0.27)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(1.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others............</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>(5.13)</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>(22.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The earliest data on the occupations of Condet’s residents are provided by the Bale Kambang kelurahan office. They cover the years 1967 and 1976 and deal with men and women between the ages of 14 to 55 years (Table 9). Assuming that these figures represent the situation
of Condet in general, they show two interrelated trends of change in occupation. On the one hand, they show a decrease in cultivators; on the other hand they show an increase in traders, private company employees and "others". However, though the percentage of the cultivators decreased over time, they still made up the biggest sector of employment in Condet until 1976.

Table 10
Household Heads According to Occupation (1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bale Kambang</th>
<th>Batu Ampar</th>
<th>Tengah</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Employee</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>11.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Company Employee</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>19.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Personnel</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>10.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>14.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>7.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1,361</td>
<td>23.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Enterprise/worker</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioner</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>2,461</td>
<td>2,290</td>
<td>5,683</td>
<td>99.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jakarta 1981 a:18-20, cited from the Household Cards.
Note: DTBP-DKI and FSUI classifies the occupations into 36 categories. For the sake of simplicity they have been regrouped into 12 categories in this table.

A significant change in occupation appeared in 1980 (Table 10), involving an enormous decrease in cultivators, and an increase in other professions, both in members and kind. A remarkable increase
was shown in the number of labourers, traders, government and private company employees and military personnel, all of which may be classified as urban occupations. This change was affected by the shift of occupation among the natives from rural to urban, and by the influx of non-cultivator newcomers.

Thus, to sum up, the structure of Condet's community had changed from being relatively homogeneous to being a very complex one. The trend of change was towards urbanization; from the point of view of its social structure, Condet was no longer a Betawian agricultural area, but a part of the complex urban Jakarta community.


The rise in demand for residence in Condet led to an increase in land sale transactions and land prices in this area. According to informants the transfer of land through business transactions rarely occurred in Condet before 1963. If there were land transactions, they almost certainly were made among the natives themselves. This indicated the relatively small demand for land in Condet at that time, more specifically, small demand from outsiders. The first land transaction involving people from the outside world most probably took place in 1963, when the Army purchased some pieces of fruit garden in Tengah near the Jakarta-Bogor main road, from certain cultivators, for a middle-ranking officer housing complex. However this transaction was not followed by any significant change in land business until about 1966. The relatively low level of land business activities in
Condet was also reflected in the mode of payment. Until about 1966, it is said, one could pay for a piece of land by means of monthly installments, and the installments could even be in terms of rice (Haryanta 1981:37).

Evidence indicates that activity relating to land sale business had begun to increase after about 1966 but, according to information obtained from the Bale Kambang kelurahan administration office and a study carried out by Haryanta (1981:53), significant change only took place after 1972. This activity did not grow at a constant rate: there was a decline in 1974, 1976 and 1977 followed by an increase in 1978 (Table 11). These fluctuations appear to correspond with those in immigration, which increased in 1973 and 1978 and decreased in 1974, 1976 and 1977. Hence this pattern of land transactions can, by and large, be related to immigration patterns. It should be mentioned that there is no evidence that can be used to explain the decline of land sale transactions in 1974.

Table 11

Land Sale Transactions in Bale Kambang as Registered in the Kelurahan Office
(1971 - 1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Land purchasers by and large can be classified into two types: those who purchased land for housing, and those who purchased land for speculation or as a means of saving. From the point of view of business activity this second group may be called land speculators because they were interested in making money from the land business. It was stated by a Condet resident who took care of a piece of land owned by one such speculator: "Every time I came to him to ask for land tax payment, he always enquired about the land market price" (Haryanta 1981:67). These speculators usually purchased land in bulk and then appointed local residents as caretakers. They were mostly well-to-do government officials and their number has increased since 1978.

Table 12
The Frequency of Land Sale and Land Purchase among the Natives and the Newcomers (1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Natives</th>
<th>Newcomers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Sale</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Purchase</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The natives (N = 33)
The newcomers (N = 27)

Land transfers through business transactions were mostly made between native sellers and city resident purchasers. Haryanta's study with a sample of 33 native inhabitants and 27 newcomers shows that the frequency of those selling land was proportionately greater among natives than among newcomers, while the frequency of those buying land
was proportionately less among the natives than among the newcomers (Haryanta 1981:33, 40) (Table 12).

Most of the natives spent the money they gained from land sales on building houses, undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca, or purchasing motor vehicles. The land purchasers, on the other hand, utilized the land for housing and then became the new settlers in Condet. Thus, land sales brought about an increase in the number of haji, motor vehicles and, especially, new houses in Condet. The increase in the number of haji, in turn, gave rise to a change in religious values among the natives, while the increase in motor vehicles resulted in air pollution which affected fruit production. Both these consequences will be discussed in the following sections. Lastly, the increase in the number of new houses affected the pattern of land use, since most of the new houses were built on the sites of former fruit gardens.

Haryanta's study with a random sample of 58 houses in Condet showed the importance of the 1970s in the phenomenon of housing growth: 38 (65.5 percent) of these houses were built in the period of 1971-1980, 15 (26.0 percent) were built in 1961-1970, and 5 (8.5 percent) before 1961 (Haryanta 1981:58). Information obtained from kelurahan Bale Kambang office supported the fact of an increase in the number of houses after the middle of the 1960s. The number of houses in Bale Kambang alone increased from 646 in 1967 to 1,076 in 1978. The growth was not only in family houses but also in rented houses.

The building of new houses was almost certainly carried out at the expense of agricultural land, particularly fruit gardens, because land in Condet had always been used for intensive agriculture. Only
the rice fields, which were a small area, had not been employed after about 1960. Among the 58 houses investigated by Haryanta (1981:53), 35 (60.3 percent) were built on fruit garden sites, 13 (22.5 percent) on household yards, and 10 (17.2 percent) on dried rice-fields. It should be noted that "yard" did not always mean unproductive land; most yards, which are usually located in front of houses, were planted with fruit trees such as sawo and jambu. It seems that the future situation with regard to fruit gardens may be even more gloomy, if the attitudes of the fruit-garden owners interviewed by Haryanta (1981:54) may be taken as an accurate indicator. He found that only 4 out of 21 fruit-garden owners wanted their land retained for fruit gardens, while the rest hoped to build houses on them, either for their children or for business.

Table 13
Trend of Land Use in Condet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Size*</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House buildings</td>
<td>124.478</td>
<td>(20.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>496.972</td>
<td>(79.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Size in hectares.
Source: Jakarta 1978 a:71.
Jakarta 1978 b:38.

From the point of view of the type of houses they occupied, the newcomers could be classified into two categories. The first was those who purchased land, built houses on this land, and lived in these houses. The second category was those who lived in rented
houses. According to informants, the business of house renting first appeared in Tengah about 1966, then spread to Batu Batu Ampar soon after the Jalan Raya Condet was completed in 1972. In Bale Kambang house renting started in 1976, when the Jalan Penyalur and footpaths were constructed. Our study with a random sample of 148 household heads showed that 18 respondents (12 percent) ran house renting businesses; 17 of these respondents had initiated their businesses during the period of 1972-1978, while one had started in the period of 1966-1971. These figures suggest that the business of house renting has developed since about 1972, a period corresponding to the construction of transportation facilities.

Other information shows that this business was more developed in the areas near the markets and the transportation routes. This is to be expected, since most tenants were traders, hawkers, and coolies who worked in the Kramat Jati Market in Tengah, the wholesale vegetable market, and the bus station in Cililitan; and labourers and lower rank employees who worked in the city and in the factories in Pasar Rebo. In 1980 these business activities became more apparent. According to Haryanta (1981), ten out of sixty of Batu Ampar's household heads rented out houses and two of these owners depended for their livelihood on this business. Most people in Condet considered this business to have better prospects than fruit cultivation, so there were many cases in Batu Ampar of native cultivators selling part of their garden in order to spend the money building rented houses.

The increase in demand for land in Condet apparently led to the change and rise in the value of land in this area. Up to about 1960 the value of land lay in its agricultural production. Different plots
of land had a similar value because they each produced a similar amount of fruit. However, since about 1966, a systematic market price for land began to emerge. Land could no longer be exchanged for cattle or paid for in rice. Land transactions were now made in cash. According to an informant, the price of land at that time was about Rp 500 per m². This price did not vary very much according to the location of the land.

After the construction of new transportation facilities, the use of land for the urban sector began to compete with that for the agricultural sector. The value of a piece of land was no longer determined by the amount of fruit it could produce but by its possible use for a housing or trading location. Access to transportation facilities increased its potential for housing or trading, and hence increased its price. The lands that were located along the Jalan Raya Condet were considered the most valuable. They were followed by the lands along the Jalan Penyalur, then those located along the footpaths, and the least valuable ones were those located in the isolated area along the Ciliwung river.

In 1978, the price of land along the Jalan Raya Condet was between Rp 12,500 and Rp 15,000 per m², along the Jalan Penyalur was between Rp 7,500 and Rp 10,000, and along the footpaths was between Rp 3,000 and Rp 5,000. However, at the end of 1981 the price of land rose to approximately Rp 25,000 per m² along the Jalan Raya Condet, Rp 15,000 along the Jalan Penyalur, and Rp 10,000 along the footpaths. One informant, a newcomer, purchased a piece of land at a Jalan Penyalur in Bale Kambang for Rp 3,000 per m² in 1973. At that time the Jalan Penyalur had not yet been constructed; it was narrow, and
slippery when wet. Six years later in 1979, after the road had been constructed, he sold this land for Rp 15,000 per m2. Although the price might to some extent have been affected by inflation, the fact of an increase in land prices in Condet as a result of the construction of the new transportation facilities is undeniable.

Land transfer from natives to outsiders gave rise to a decline in the social position of the natives in their own villages, because the social position of an individual or group in a "traditional" Indonesian village is to a great extent influenced by the pattern of land ownership in the village. Furthermore, the pattern of land ownership is usually a product of the time of settlement of individuals or groups in the village. The earlier an individual or a group settled in the village, the wider and the more fertile the lands obtained. The time of settlement may also affect political position in the village: the first settlers are the founders of the village, hence they hold authority over other members of the village. All this places the first settlers in the leading position within the village's social structure. For example, the members of "the founder group" (cakal bakal) in a Javanese village, those of the "king clan" (marga raja) in a Batak village, and the "aboriginal inhabitants" (urang asa) in a Minangkabau village, are usually the owners of the most extensive and the most fertile lands in the village. As well, they occupy the highest ranking positions in the social structure, are entitled to provide the village head, and have a full vote in the village council. On the other hand, newcomers are relegated to a second class, if they have lands, and to the lowest class, if they do not have any. In many cases where the newcomer marries into an important, wealthy family,
this newcomer may end up with a great deal of land. Such cases are, however, rare in the Minangkabau area, for their marriage system tends to be endogamous within the group of first settlers.

To some extent, this situation may be compared to that in the outer Betawian villages of Jakarta. Until 1960, according to my own observations, newcomers in the heavily Betawian villages were looked down upon by the natives, and were not entitled to hold any political position in the villages because they were tenants and considered as orang menumpang.

As the newcomers gradually purchased land from the natives in Condet after 1963, the pattern of land ownership in this area began to change. However, until 1972 the amount of land owned by the newcomers was relatively small in comparison to that owned by the natives, and so the change in the pattern of land ownership did not undermine Condet’s social structure. Change in the pattern of land ownership became more apparent with the sale of increasing amounts of land to the newcomers and speculators, and a resultant decrease in the amount of land owned by the natives. This change was more marked when the value of land shifted from agricultural utility to urban utility. From then on the most valuable land, especially that located along the Jalan Raya Condet, was owned by newcomers. So the owners of the most valuable land in Condet were not necessarily either first settlers or natives. Accordingly, the higher class in the social structure as defined by the criterion of land ownership was no longer composed solely of natives. Newcomers began to compete with them.

As well as the effect of the decrease in native owned land, land transfers also brought about fragmentation of land ownership. In Bale
Kambang alone the number of land owners increased from about 493 in 1971 to about 1,053 in 1980. This situation is reflected in the number of land tax cards (kartu ipeda) registered in the kelurahan office. Since the amount of land in Bale Kambang was fixed, this change undoubtedly meant the fragmentation of land holdings into smaller units.

The increase in the price of land in Condet eventually provided wealth for those natives who owned large plots of land. This situation seemed unpredictable to most native landowners; some of them felt as if they had won a lottery. The response of these people generally was to sell part of the land and use the money for building a new house, undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca, or purchasing a motor vehicle. From an economic viewpoint this response is typical of traditional peasants, in that they view land as productive capital to be used for living needs, rather than for capital accumulation. Therefore, when the Condet natives found the value of their capital increased they felt as if they had unexpectedly won a fortune, and they sold a part of this capital to satisfy their consumer desires. In other words, the natives of Condet generally did not exhibit an entrepreneurial attitude. On the other hand, their responses reflected the sociocultural values of the native community. A new house, the haj and a motor vehicle brought social prestige; while the haj also satisfied a religious desire and fulfilled a religious obligation.

Although reliable figures are difficult to come by, informants indicated that the number of haji has grown enormously since about 1970. For instance, a certain informant named Mukhtar recalled that
prior to 1970 worshippers who wore the white hat (the symbol of a haji) for the Friday service in one of the mosques in Bale Kambang could be counted on one's fingers; but in 1981 nearly a half of the worshippers in the same mosque wore the white hat. It is believed that this situation was also true in other mosques in Condet.

Why were the natives so strongly motivated to go on the pilgrimage? Part of the answer may lie in their sociocultural values. Pilgrimage is regarded as a process of purification. A haji is free of sin, as blank as a sheet of paper, and as innocent as a new-born baby. He is seemingly reborn as a new human being. On the other hand, it is believed that God will severely punish people who are financially and physically able to fulfil this obligation but do not do so. Since almost everyone in this community is familiar with the economic and physical situation of his neighbours, social control in this matter is effective. It is quite difficult for someone to avoid this obligation when people consider that he is able to fulfil it. Doing the pilgrimage has become obligatory for anyone with adequate means. In this way it may be said that pressure to undertake the pilgrimage is a part of Condet's cultural system. Furthermore, going on the haj confers prestige and respect within the community. A haji is regarded as a "complete man"; when a leadership position is offered to him it is seen as automatically justifiable. In the past, a haj could be considered as the "ticket" for taking a second, a third, or a fourth wife. Thus, undertaking the haj is not only motivated by religious piety, but also by social rewards.

However, it is important to ask about the extent to which these traditional sociocultural values can be maintained in a rapidly
changing situation such as that experienced by Condet. Let us examine this question in the context of the cases presented below. Pak Mukhtar from Bale Kambang had always longed to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca. But his desire had never become a reality, and he seemed to have little chance of ever achieving it. He was not a poor man. All but one of his children had married and had a job. He owned about 1,800 m² of land, including a house, which were together worth more than 10 million rupiahs, an amount which was more than enough for the pilgrimage. Furthermore, his friends and relatives had always encouraged him to undertake the haj; yet so far he had not done so. He made his decision in the light of his religious instruction.

Certain progressive religious teachers in Condet said that the pilgrimage was not an obligation of every man, but only of those who were able to fulfil the prerequisite of "pergi cukup, perjalanan senang, dan pulang cukup". Pergi cukup means that the one who wants to go on the pilgrimage should have enough money for his own fare; perjalanan senang means that he must have sufficient spare money and physical fitness, both of which are important for the journey; pulang cukup means that he must have a home and a source of livelihood after the haj, and it would be better if he still had property to bequeath to his children. When Mukhtar calculated his economic situation, he concluded that he was not able to fulfil the pulang cukup. If he had sold his garden or house, and used the money for the pilgrimage, he would never be able to find another source of livelihood or another home because he was already too old to work hard. His life, in fact, was dependent on his garden which was being managed by one of his sons. Therefore, he kept postponing the pilgrimage.
Pak Ishak, a neighbour of Pak Mukhtar, had another problem. Pak Ishak owned two small pieces of land, one a 400 m² fruit garden located on the river bank and the other 150 m² tract on which there was a small house plus shop with fruit garden at the rear. If Ishak had taken no account of the future, he might have been a haji, because he could easily sell his second asset for an amount that was more than enough for the pilgrimage. Instead, he wanted to sell the 400 m² fruit garden because he did not want to lose his house. Since this land was not flat, and therefore not suitable for house building, it was difficult to sell.

The case of Pak Abdurahman illustrates another point. Before 1980, he owned two pieces of land: one a 1400 m² rice field which had long been left dry and untilled, and the second a 1800 m² plot on which his house and fruit garden were located. In 1977 a part of the untilled rice field was sold when he urgently needed money to enrol one of his sons in a university. The rest was sold in 1980 in order to undertake the pilgrimage with his wife, to purchase a bicycle and a motorcycle for his sons, and to renovate his house. Abdurahman explained that the land he sold was an unproductive asset. He reckoned that this land was not a potential source of livelihood because it was located so far from his house and he had little control over it. It had long been left unmanaged. Therefore, when he sold this land, he felt that he had merely sold a part of his unproductive properties and that this would not affect his life, since for a long time he had depended financially on the 1800 m² fruit garden around his house and on his wife who worked as a religious teacher. And indeed, after he sold this land his life was unchanged.
The cases presented above suggest that the natives were quite rational in viewing their obligation to undertake the pilgrimage. Although making the haj was socially and religiously highly rewarded, and the natives desired these rewards, they would not sacrifice their future for the sake of them. Mukhtar commented that no one in Condet had ever sold all his land for that purpose. When anyone wanted to go on the pilgrimage with the money he gained from land sale, he would firstly calculate the size of his land, the price of land, and then compare this to the cost of the journey to Mecca. If he owned more than one piece of land, he would sell the one which he reckoned as the least productive (as in Abdurahman's case) or the one which was difficult to manage (as in Abdurahman's and Ishak's cases). The sale of this land had to cover the cost of the haj, otherwise he would cancel his journey.

However, although the natives are capable of making economic calculations, and of considering the future, they are not rational from the point of view of entrepreneurship because their calculations are made, not in order to gain a profit or to accumulate capital, but to consume the capital for the sake of social prestige and religious rewards. Furthermore, they make their economic calculations and consider their future only when the size of their land reaches a minimum level for subsistence. This is not only true of the cases outlined above but also true for other natives whose land is gradually shrinking due to land sales, to the minimum size possible for subsistence. As long as the amount of land is more than enough for subsistence, the natives tend to sell a part of it and use the money to satisfy their social and religious desires. Thus, the rational
calculation and the consideration of the future appears strongly only when the owner faces a situation in which the size of his capital is critical for his life.

The rationality in viewing the obligation to undertake the pilgrimage is also affected by a changing situation in which the number of haji is gradually increasing every year. This situation in turn brings about a deterioration of the prestige deriving from the haj within the community. This response corresponds to the economic proposition that the greater the amount of a certain commodity in a community, the more the value of this commodity will deteriorate. Similarly, from the religious point of view, the value of the haj is also changing and it is no longer considered as a process of purification. New religious values are emerging as the hajis are no longer restricted to a certain age category and social class, but consist instead of members of all age categories and social classes. There are now many young hajis in Condet. Mukhtar commented that these hajis are so young that they are open to misconduct and might slip into sinful living. If this was so, Mukhtar asked, who could guarantee that a haji was a sinless man?


The construction of new transportation facilities made the interior of Condet accessible to motor vehicles. Consequently old and clumsy means of transportation, such as horse carriages and handcarts, gradually disappeared and were replaced by pedicabs and minibuses.
The ownership of motor cars and motorcycles by the residents also increased every year. For example, in 1977 the kelurahan office noted 63 motor cars and 122 motorcycles owned by the residents of Tengah; by 1980 the number of motor cars had increased to 488 and the number of motor cycles to 458. In Bale Kambang, during the period from 1972 to 1976, there were 60 pedicabs owned by the residents, and by 1980 this number had increased to 85. Most garden products, particularly at harvest time, were transported to the markets by small trucks or pedicabs. There were only a small number of fruit gardeners who still depended on shoulder bearers, or tukang pikul, for commodity transportation. They were the gardeners who lived in the area of Bale Kambang near the Pasar Minggu market, and they used tukang pikul because motor vehicles could not pass the bridge connecting Condet and Pasar Minggu.

The replacement of horse carriages by pedicabs and minibuses as a means of public transportation, handcarts and shoulder bearers by small trucks as a means of commodity transportation, and bicycles by motor cars and motorcycles as private vehicles, indicates a significant change in the mode of transport in Condet. This change was from clumsy, non-motorized vehicles to speedy, motorized ones; among the new vehicles only pedicabs were non-motorized. The change in mode of transport certainly affected Condet's environment. Although no study has yet been conducted on the effects of smoke pollution produced by motor vehicles on the environment in this area, it may be assumed that the quality of Condet's environment has gradually deteriorated. Some informants commented on the decreasing productivity of their gardens, while others observed the disappearance
of birds, butterflies, and certain kinds of insects from the locality.

A certain fruit gardener from Bale Kambang reported that in 1971 he could collect about 400 salak fruit from his garden in one week. In 1980 the maximum number of salak fruit he could collect from the same garden was only about 300. Furthermore, he said, the dukuh harvest had begun to decrease since about 1965, but particularly since 1976. Before 1965 this gardener would collect about two ton of dukuh fruit from his garden in one year, but since 1976 his dukuh trees seemed to bear hardly any fruit. He had collected only about 200 kg in 1980. He actually did not understand the effects of pollution. He argued that the decreasing fruit harvest was affected by the "recent situation" or keadaan sekarang, but he did not specify what he meant by this term. However, this answer may be considered as an indication of recognition by people of change in the physical environment.

Another gardener confirmed this information about the decrease in the dukuh harvest since about 1976. He observed that dukuh fruits in his garden now fell off when they were growing large. He explained that the fruits were affected by an insect called bluebottle, or lalar ijo. Actually, he said, there had always been lalar ijo in Condet, but not in such great numbers. At the most these insects might damage a quarter of the dukuh but the rest could be harvested. Now these lalar ijo had become a pest and might damage the total dukuh harvest. Therefore he no longer considered dukuh trees as an asset. This gardener also noted that another tree, pucung, was dying. He explained that first the leaves would wither, then the trunk would wither, and finally the tree would die. Pucung was actually a durable tree and could live for about 100 years. In the period between 1940
and 1950 this man had planted 10 pucung trees in his garden. Now, in 1981, there were only two pucung trees left: the rest had withered and died. Another tree, pete, in this man's garden had also gradually died since about 1976.

A fruit gardener from Batu Ampar had the same experience with one of his trees, sawo. This tree was about 150 years old. Up until 1965 the tree had yielded approximately 20,000 fruit a year, but thereafter a harvest would produce only about 3,000 fruit at the most. He could not explain this phenomenon. "It might be affected by the aeroplane" he said. "Since the time that aeroplanes have flown over this area the products of my garden have been decreasing." He also observed the decreasing yield of salak and durian trees in his garden. At the harvest time he used to collect about 150 to 200 salak fruit from his garden every three days. More recently, however, he could collect only about 70 to 80 fruit; even though the trees, the garden, and the way he treated the trees and the garden, were unchanged. In 1981 a durian tree was flowering in his garden. This was the first time it had flowered over the last three years. In the past this durian tree would yield about 100 fruit in a year; now the gardener expected about 20 fruit at best. This gardener told about the disappearance of birds, butterflies, and bumblebees since about 1966. "For example," he said, "before about 1966 there were many small wood pigeons around the village. We did not need a gun to catch one, we just stoned it. Now there are no more wood pigeons appearing in the area. They have gone away." This decrease of fruit production is also supported by official information from the Bale Kambang kelurahan office (Table 14).
### Table 14
Fruit Production in Bale Kambang (kg)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Salak</th>
<th>Dukuh</th>
<th>Other Fruits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966/67</td>
<td>23,550,000</td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/71</td>
<td>854,000</td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>285,700</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* no estimation.

All these stories and figures indicate a change in Condet's physical environment. None of the gardeners could explain definitely the cause of this change. One accused the aeroplane, other blamed the lalar ijo, still others referred to the "recent situation". We may assume that this environmental change was caused in part by the change in the modes of transportation in Condet. However, our explanation is not entirely convincing. The deterioration of Condet's environment, according to the gardeners, began since about 1966, whereas the operation of new transportation facilities started in 1972. Furthermore, an environmental hazard takes time to produce effects. Thus, the deterioration of Condet's environment cannot have been caused by the construction of transportation facilities alone.

I would argue that the deterioration of Condet's environment was firstly affected by pollution from the city, then worsened by the construction of new transportation facilities in Condet. It has been shown in the foregoing account that the development of the city of Jakarta gradually increased after Ali Sadikin assumed the office of Governor. The number of motor vehicles and factories grew every year.
Some big factories were built near Condet, in places such as Pasar Rebo; and even in Condet itself middle-sized factories had been built since about 1970. In 1977, according to information obtained from the Tengah kelurahan administration office, there was a textile factory, an electronic assembling plant, a bottling plant, a milk processing plant, and a noodle manufacturing plant in this kelurahan. Thus, the construction of transportation facilities and the change in the mode of transport in Condet were a contributing factor in the deterioration of Condet's environment. The primary factor was probably pollution from the city itself. Finally, I would like at least to mention some other factors that may have also contributed to this deterioration: the spraying of new insecticides in the cultivation areas around Condet, the disturbances to water levels and water flow by new construction, and the increased age of fruit trees and the lack of replanting.

5. Summary.

The foregoing account examines the relationship between the construction of new transportation facilities and changes in the system of rural economy and the physical and social structure of the Condet community. The construction of new transportation facilities appears to have been one of the major factors in immigration to Condet, and in the increase in land transactions as well as in changes in the mode of transport. These effects are linked one to another, which in turn gives rise to further implications; and they have resulted in the decline of the rural economy, the urbanization of the
Condet community, the demise of the social position of the native community, and the rationalization of religious values. All of these factors form an interwoven web of causes and effects. A simplified form of this web is presented in Model 2.
The Impacts of the Construction of New Transportation Facilities in Condet

**Construction of New Transportation Facilities**
- **Change in Mode of Transport**
  - Air Pollution
- **Change in Population Composition**
  - More Accessible to the City Centre
  - Influx of Newcomers
  - Native Inhabitants Become a Minority
  - Building of New Houses
- **Decrease in Cultivation Area**
- **Decline in the Rural Economy**
- **Condet Becomes a Complex Urban Community**
- **Increase in Demand for Land**
  - Change and Rise in the Value of Land
  - Land Transfers from Natives to Outsiders
  - Native Inhabitants Obtain More Money
  - Increase in the Haji
  - Change in the Value of the Pilgrimage
- **Increase in Motor Vehicles and Air Pollution**
- **Decline in the Social Position of Native Inhabitants**
- **Native Inhabitants Become More Rational in Economic Calculations**
CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL POWER OF THE BETAWI OF CONDET

1. Educational Attainment of the Betawi.

Castles (1967:199-204) noted the under-representation of the Betawi among the political, social, financial and intellectual elite in Jakarta. This situation may reflect the fact that the Betawi population is a minority within the total population. Betawi, according to an estimate in 1961, made up only 23 percent of the population of Jakarta (Castles 1967:201). However, the Betawi are the indigenous inhabitants of Jakarta and, like other indigenous peoples in Indonesia, they are supposed to have political privileges and proportionate responsibilities in the commercial and educational life of their own region. But this they do not have.

In the colonial period the highest level of administrative position achieved by the Betawi in the Regency of Batavia might only have been sub-district head or assistent-wedana, or village head, demang or wijk meester; while other positions were almost wholly held by the Dutch and other Indonesians. In Independent Indonesia, at the national level, no Cabinet Ministers have been Betawi, except Let. Col. Imam Sjafei, who was Minister of Special Security for only three
weeks in 1966. In their own region, Jakarta, none of the Mayors or the Governors of Jakarta have been Betawi. The highest ranking position achieved by a Betawi in the Jakarta Administration was as one of the Governor's four Deputies. However, it is popularly believed that this position was allocated for political reasons during the period of Governor Ali Sadikin, as a token to the Betawi community in recognition of their under-representation in the higher ranks of the Jakarta Administration. Until 1976, as the Almanak Jakarta of 1976 has shown (cited in Oey 1977:67), most of the senior officials in the Jakarta Administration were non-Jakarta born. Furthermore, in private business activities in Jakarta the Chinese continue to be dominant; and of the group of indigenous businessmen are almost entirely non-Betawi. Similarly, it is almost certain that no Betawi holds the rank of lecturer in the prominent universities of Jakarta.

What has caused the virtual absence of the Betawi from the higher circle of both regional and national life? Castles has argued that one of the major factors is their educational backwardness. In the colonial period, according to the 1930 census, Jakarta was one of the least advanced regions in Indonesia, in terms of formal education. The percentage of literates in Jakarta was lower than that in other urban areas, and those who were literate were mostly from among the non-Betawi. The educational backwardness of the Betawi seems to have persisted until 1961. The 1961 census shows that about 80 percent of the indigenous population 10 years and older in the heavily Betawian outer kecamatan of Jakarta Raya, had had no schooling at all. It is only since 1961 that a slight improvement has appeared. A study carried out by Koentjaringrat (1975: 22) in two heavily Betawian
outer kelurahan of DKI Jakarta in 1972, showed that 57 percent of 147 household heads had received no schooling, but 39 percent had completed or attended primary school and 4 percent had completed or attended secondary school.

In Condet education is a relatively new phenomenon, and according to studies done most of the older people have not attended any secular school. A survey carried out by Muliakusuma in 1978 (1982:9), with a sample of 936 Betawi from Bale Kambang, showed that 31.3 percent had received no schooling at all; 58.2 percent had completed or attended either a government primary school or an Islamic school (madrasah); and 10.5 percent had completed lower-secondary school (Table 15).

Table 15
Respondents According to Age, Sex and Education (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age and Sex</th>
<th>No schooling</th>
<th>SD drop- SD</th>
<th>SLP</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45+</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45+</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SD: Primary School.
Source: Muliakusuma 1982:9

Muliakusuma's study also reveals three characteristics of the
pattern of education among the Betawi. Firstly, the educational attainment of the young people is higher than that of the older adults. Secondly, males are better educated than females. Lastly, although there has been an improvement since 1961 in educational attainment, this does not extend very far beyond the primary level. This last point from Muliakusuma is supported by Dama's study - which was conducted in three kelurahan of Condet with a sample of 300 household heads (consisting of both natives and newcomers) in 1980 (Dama 1981:74-79). Dama shows that from 86 secondary school respondents only 19 were Betawi, while among 16 university respondents there were no Betawi at all. The rest were newcomers. Thus, Dama's study indicates another characteristic of the educational pattern in Condet: that the natives had lower educational attainment than the non-natives, especially at the levels above primary school.

Table 16
Respondents According to Education in Condet (1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bale Kambang</th>
<th>Bale Ampar</th>
<th>Tengah Total</th>
<th>No. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-schooling</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low. Sec. School</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High. Sec. School</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 100 100 100 300 100.0

Source: Dama 1981:76-82.
The educational backwardness of the Betawi may, as suggested by Castles, be related to their historical experiences. Firstly, most Betawi villages were on private lands, and the 1930 census report indicates a correlation between the existence of these private lands and a high rate of illiteracy. Although Castles did not examine this correlation in more detail, the study of the Betawi of Condet may provide an illustration of it. I have already cited Milone's suggestion that landlordship in Condet might be compared to feudalism. The landlord held seignorial rights over the population, and he exercised his rights in such a way that he treated the people as his hired labourers. The population was in a precarious situation, both economically and legally, and lived in a state of deprivation and tension. In such a situation there was no way for the residents on the land to alter their economic, social and legal status. The government had no right to interfere in matters within private land.

According to informants, the landlord deliberately prevented the people from obtaining education because it might threaten his control over the land. One informant described the way in which the landlord and his men discouraged the residents of Condet from sending their children to school: they frightened the people by telling them that their children would be recruited as soldiers by the government soon after they completed their schooling. As this meant that their children would be taken away from the village and may never see their parents again, the villagers accordingly were loath to enrol their children in government schools.

The backwardness of the Betawi may also be related to their servile origins, and to the prolonged and direct character of Dutch
rule in the Jakarta region. Castles, citing Van der Aa and Hollader (A. J. van der Aa, Nederlands Oost-Indie, Vol. II, 1949:267-270; J. J. de Hollander, Hendleiding bij de Beoefening der Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie, Vol. I, 1895:374, cited in Castles 1967:203), showed that Jakarta and its surroundings were more directly ruled by the Dutch than other parts of Java. Dutch officials penetrated down to the level of sheriff. When regents were appointed in the twentieth century, there were no Betawi among them. However, explaining the backwardness of the Betawi in this way, in terms of the nature of Dutch rule, may lead into a vicious circle: the absence of the Betawi in higher administrative positions in Jakarta was also a direct consequence of their educational backwardness, as they were not sufficiently educated to qualify for such posts. Therefore, it would be better to explain this phenomenon in terms of the original colonial policy of education.

The Betawi ethnic group grew out of intermarriage among various indigenous elements in a Dutch-occupied area. They were thus born a subjugated people. They had never ruled their homeland, hence they had no aristocracy; and because they had no aristocracy they were not eligible for western education, since the Dutch provided education exclusively to the indigenous aristocrats and those well-to-do Indonesians who received a monthly income of fl. 100 (which at that time corresponded to the salary of an asistent-wedana) (van der Veur no date:26). Therefore, since they had no western education, they were not eligible to be appointed to regency or other higher administrative positions.

Lastly, I agree with Castles that although the Betawi were, by
and large, not meticulous observers of Islamic precepts, yet they identified themselves strongly as Muslim and suspected western education of being a first step towards Christianization. However, this statement is not, in itself, a sufficient explanation of the rejection by the Betawi of western secular education, because if the Betawi had been primarily influenced by their dislike of the Christian elements in the Dutch colonial education system, then the Betawi in Condet today would be willing to send their children to government schools. In fact, until recently, the Betawi of Condet largely rejected this type of education as well. In contrast, they encouraged their children to learn to read the Quran and they send their children to Islamic schools such as pesantren and madrasah. According to one informant, in 1980 only about 30 percent of Betawi children in Condet were enrolled in government primary schools, and very few were enrolled in government secondary schools. The rest went to madrasah (Dama 1981).

In the following sections I would like to discuss the lack of educational attainment of the Betawi of Condet and the relationship of this lack of education to the question of political power in Condet, especially in the period when Condet experienced its most rapid development and urbanization.

2. The Development of Education in Condet.

There was no educational institution, either Islamic or secular, in Condet until the period of Independent Indonesia. In the landlord period, children only followed a Quran reading course. Those who
wanted an advanced religious education or a secular education could go outside, either to a pesantren elsewhere or to a secular school, but only very few native students could afford this. Therefore, until the 1950s, most people in Condet remained uneducated, both in religious and in secular terms. It should be noted that a pesantren is a religious school in which there is no division into classes: in Condet these pesantren usually have one teacher, who is assisted by a number of senior students. All lessons given in the pesantren deal with religious knowledge. A pesantren student may enrol at and leave the pesantren as he likes without worrying about class and age, because the pesantren does not operate on a formal system of class and age levels. Lessons are given to a student according to his command of religious knowledge.

The first educational institution established in Condet was a religious school, a pesantren. The first pesantren set up in Condet was most probably Hudatul Khoiriyah in Bale Kambang in 1957. This was followed by Al Fatiyah, also in Bale Kambang, and Attabiyatul Sibian, Nurul Huda and Akkoidiniyah in Tengah. All these pesantren were founded and run by natives who had graduated from pesantren in other centres, and pupils were entirely Betawi children. But since 1969 these pesantren have been changed to semi secular madrasah. This change is considered to be a response by the Betawi of Condet to the government’s introduction of secular schooling to this area in 1968; and will be discussed latter in this section.

The modern school system, which is western and secular in its characteristics, was introduced into Condet by the Jakarta Administration through the development programme for education, in the

It was said that in the early period of Governor Ali Sadikin's office, in 1966, there were 1,081 primary and secondary schools for about 500,000 pupils in DKI Jakarta (Jakarta 1977 b:176). The need for more schools increased every year as the population of Jakarta grew, but until 1969 the building of new schools was carried out slowly due to lack of funds. During the period from 1966 to 1968, 157 new school buildings, consisting of 124 primary schools and 33 secondary schools, were built in DKI Jakarta; while in the period from 1969 to 1973, 424 new school buildings, consisting of 250 primary schools, 79 Inpres primary schools and 95 secondary schools, were built. While Governor Ali Sadikin was in office - from 1966 to 1977 - the Jakarta Administration built a total of 1,160 new schools (Jakarta 1977 b:179). Thus the increase in new schools during his term, and particularly after 1969, was tremendous: the number of schools more than doubled, and they were spread throughout the area of DKI Jakarta, including Condet.

The first government schools opened in Condet were three primary schools: SDN (Sekolah Dasar Negeri or Government Primary School) 01 and SDN 02 in Batu Ampar, and SDN Kampung Tengah Pagi in Tengah. All three were opened in 1968. When these schools were started they did
not have permanent buildings; making use, instead, of houses hired from the residents. The schools moved from one house to another, until the government provided them with permanent buildings in 1974.

Table 17
Enrolments in Government Primary Schools in Condet (1974 - 1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ampar:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDN 01</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDN 02</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDN 03 Inpres</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDN 04 Inpres</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengah:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDN Tengah Pagi</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDN Tengah Petang</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDN Inpres</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* school not yet established.
* data not available.

The number of pupil enrolments rose as the population of Condet grew (Table 17) - a new primary school being opened in Batu Ampar in 1975 to meet the increased demand. It was built under the scheme of President's Instruction (Inpres), and was therefore, called SDN Inpres. This was followed by another school, SDN 04, in 1978. Thus, four primary schools were opened by the government in Batu Ampar alone, during the 10-year period from 1968 to 1978. The same situation was observable in Tengah. The number of enrolments grew constantly, particularly after SDN Tengah Pagi occupied its new permanent building; and a new primary school was opened in 1976.
This new school was located in the building of SDN Tengah Pagi but was run in the afternoon, or petang; therefore it was called SDN Tengah Petang. At about the same time the government opened a new SDN Inpres in Tengah. Thus, since 1976 three government primary schools have been built in Tengah. It should be noted that until 1981 there was no government school in Bale Kambang. According to information obtained from the kelurahan office, two of the SDNs in Batu Ampar were officially allocated by the government for the use of Bale Kambang pupils. This was due to the initial lack of space in Bale Kambang for the building of a school.

The first secondary school founded by the government in Condet was a lower-secondary school, SMPN (Sekolah Menengah Pertama Negeri) XX, opened in Tengah in 1976. Another lower-secondary school and a higher-secondary school were established in 1978, also in Tengah. In Batu Ampar, according to Dama (1981:6), there was a lower-secondary, a higher-secondary, and a technical-secondary school in 1980. These schools were not recorded in our study in 1978, nor mentioned in the Annual Report of Kelurahan Batu Ampar 1977/1978. This means that these schools were built in the period between 1978 and 1980. Since data were mainly collected in 1978, the number of pupil enrolments in secondary schools is only available for SMPN XX of Tengah in 1978; and this insufficient for making any overall assessment of the progress of secondary schools in Condet.

There were two private organizations that ran modern schools in Condet in 1978: one was the Army wives' organization, named Rukun Ibu Abri (RIA) in Tengah; and the other was Yayasan Sadswatra Tunggal (YST) in Batu Ampar.
Table 18

Enrolments in RIA Schools in Condet (1970 - 1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>'71</th>
<th>'72</th>
<th>'73</th>
<th>'74</th>
<th>'75</th>
<th>'76</th>
<th>'77</th>
<th>'78</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD RIA Pagi</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD RIA Petang</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* school not established yet
Source: RIA school office.

RIA had three schools. They were a kindergarten - Taman Kanak-Kanak (TK) RIA - and two primary schools - SD RIA Pagi, and SD RIA Petang. TK RIA started operation in 1967, SD RIA Pagi in 1975, and SD RIA Petang in 1978. These schools were actually intended for the children of military personnel who lived in the Army's housing complexes in Tengah, but other pupils, in fact, also enrolled in them. As in government schools, pupil enrolments in these schools increased every year (Table 18).

YST ran a lower and a higher secondary schools of technology. Both schools were established in 1969. YST did not have school buildings, but instead hired the premises of SDN O1 Batu Ampar. YST used this building in the afternoon; in the morning it was used by SDN O1 Batu Ampar. These schools did not run well, and number of pupil enrolments was decreasing - as can be seen in Table 19.

Suprisingly, the introduction of secular schooling - both by the government and by private organizations - did not receive a positive
response from the natives. The government certainly expected the population - particularly the natives - to send their children to these schools in order to improve their education. However, the natives instead established a new type of religious school, a madrasah; changed all the pesantren to madrasah, and sent their children to these schools.

Table 19
Enrolments in YST Schools in Condet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tech. Low. Sec. School</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech. High. Sec. School</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: YST school office.

It should be noted that a madrasah is a semi-secular educational institution with a class system applied in the same way as in government schools. The lowest level, or Sekolah Dasar Islam (SDI), is equivalent to a government primary school. It is a six-year grade school. The next level is Sekolah Menengah Pertama Islam (SMPI), a three-year grade school equivalent to a government lower-secondary school. The highest level of madrasah is Sekolah Menengah Atas Islam (SMAI). This is a senior three-year grade school, equivalent to a government higher-secondary school. The curriculum of the madrasah consists of religious and secular instruction in relatively equal proportions.

Two SDIs and one SMPI were established in Batu Ampar in 1969,
one year after the establishment of the first government primary school. The SDIs were run by two organizations named Yayasan Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Umat Islam (YPKUI), and Na'datul Ilmiyah (NI) respectively; while the SMPI was run by Al Ihsan (AI). Three years later, in 1972, all the pesantren in Condet – Hudatul Khoiriyah (HK) in Bale Kambang, Attabiyatul Sibian (AS), Nurul Huda (NH) and Akkoidiniyah (Ak) in Tengah – changed to become SDI. In 1976, a new SDI was opened in Batu Ampar by Al Ihsan. Thus, by 1976 there were seven SDIs and one SMPI in Condet. Some of these madrasah obtained a government subsidy. The only pesantren left unchanged in Condet was Al Fatiyah in Bale Kambang. This pesantren was unusual in that it was intended for orphans, so that it falls outside the scope of this discussion.

Table 20

Enrolments in Islamic School in Condet (1969 - 1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>HK</th>
<th>AI</th>
<th>YPKUI</th>
<th>NI</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>NH</th>
<th>Ak</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>285</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>290</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>298</td>
<td>310</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>310</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>298</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>434</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* school not established yet
* data not available
Source: the Islamic school offices.

There is insufficient information on which to base an assessment
of the success of the individual Islamic schools. Sekolah Dasar Islam Al Ihsan emerged as the most popular; with 500 pupils enrolled in the first year of its establishment and 600 registered in the next year, but no figures are available for the SMPI of Al Ihsan. The progress of the SDI of Yayasan Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Umat Islam, from its foundation in 1969 until 1978, appears to have been uneven. Among the other Islamic schools the SDI of Hudatul Khoiriyah, and the SDI of Na'datul Ilmiyah, show a relatively stable development but the rest can not be assessed owing to lack of information (Table 20).

According to informants, the pupils of the madrasah were almost certainly all Betawi children. Thus, the madrasah - like the pesantren in the past - was an educational institution exclusively for the Betawi population of Condet. A SDN principal of Batu Ampar mentioned that only about 30 percent of native children went to the government primary schools, while the rest enrolled in the madrasah (Dama 1981:29). This estimation corresponds to the findings of Dama's study on choice of school, that about 65 percent of native parents gave religious school as the only school of their choice for their children (Dama 1981:28-29). This means that the pupils at government primary schools are mostly newcomers' children.

Native pupils who did enrol in the government schools were mostly the children of progressive parents who, according to Dama, made up 5 percent of the total Condet population. These progressive Betawi worked mostly in government and private company offices as employees, teachers, and Army officers. They were educated, on average, to secondary school level, and were urbanized and modernized in their sociocultural values. However, as Dama's informants
estimated, about half of their children dropped out after completing primary school.

The situation was worse in the private and government secondary schools. Official enrolment figures for these schools are not available, but information obtained from the teachers and from certain kelurahan administration officials suggests that native children were seldom enrolled in these schools. Although it is impossible to be certain in the absence of written records, this suggestion does support the general impression already outlined, of the preference of the natives for Islamic rather than secular schools, and of the lack of achievement of the native students beyond the primary level.

Why did the natives give such marked support to religious schools? Part of the answer may conceivably lie, as asserted by Castles, in the form Islam took in the Betawian culture. However, this is only a general explanation. There are also some specific factors not alluded to by Castles. I would argue that the rejection of secular schooling, on the one hand, and the preference for Islamic schooling on the other, by the natives of Condet, is a response to certain characteristics of secular schools which they consider unsuitable. Most importantly, they consider that secular schooling will almost certainly lead a pupil to a sinful life. This is a consequence of the non-separation of the sexes in class and in school social life. In such a social environment pupils of the opposite sex cannot be prevented from being in contact with one another. From the point of view of the natives this constitutes sinful behaviour - reflected here in a statement made by the principal of the pesantren Al Fatiyah (Dama 1981:30):
Though the education achieved by our children in the secular school is as high as the sky, it cannot discharge the sins they commit every day when they come in contact with the other sex in the bus, the school and other places.

In particular, the natives take special care of their daughters; since they consider females to be more vulnerable to the pollution of social life. Among the natives, a girl, after her first menstruation, is not allowed to make friends with the opposite sex; in the past she would, usually at 12 years of age, have been secluded in her home until she got married. Today there is a tendency to raise the age of marriage. Since the madrasah is considered as the safest place for the girls to stay until they get married, their time in the madrasah tends to be extended. As a consequence, girls outnumber boys in the madrasah; as shown in the case of SDI Hudatul Khoiriyah (Table 21).

Table 21
Enrolments in SDI Hudatul Khoiriyah
According to sex (1975 - 1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>332</strong></td>
<td><strong>677</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,009</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Furthermore, the rejection of secular schools and preference for Islamic schools may also be related to the natives' philosophy of
life. For most of the natives, the purpose of life is to gain the beneficence and mercy of God. This objective will be successfully achieved by continually reflecting on the name of God, or \textit{zikir}, and by observing the regular prayers, or \textit{sembahyang}. Such a philosophy of life is the result of an interpretation of an essential phrase in the Quran (Surah 51, Adh-Dhariat:56), which reads: "I created the \textit{jinn} and humankind only that they might worship Me". Consequently the natives take worldly life lightly, yet consider the life in the world hereafter earnestly. The real life is in the world hereafter; that is the eternal life. Life in this world is only transitory.

Dama, citing Ash Shiddieqy (T. H. Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy, Sejarah dan Pengantar Ilmu Tauhid/Kalam, 1976:50, cited in Dama 1981:53), says that this philosophy of life originates from a school of Islamic thought named Al Salaf. In Condet this teaching is mixed with the influence of the Al Sufiah beliefs and the mystical order of Satariah. All these schools view life in this world negatively. By contrast, the natives consider that secular schools provide a type of education which is beneficial only to life in this world. Religious teaching is not its central purpose, so the education it offers is not as necessary as that provided in Islamic schools.

The high drop-out rate among native pupils after primary school can be understood in relation to the attitude of the natives towards the objectives of education. They consider schooling primarily as a means of gaining skill in reading and writing. Primary schooling is adequate in obtaining this objective. Furthermore, according to the natives, a girl will eventually become a housewife and work in the kitchen, while a boy has to assist his parents or looks for a job and
earns his living when he is older. Thus, there is little necessity for higher education.

The next question, then, is to ask why the natives changed the pesantren to madrasah? The answer seems to lie in their changing religious values. The pesantren, the madrasah, and the government schools are three educational institutions whose characteristics are significantly different. In terms of whether they are traditional or modern, religious or secular, these institutions may be placed on a continuum. The pesantren takes the position at the traditional and religious end; the government school takes the position at the modern and secular end; and the madrasah is in the middle. This model of an educational continuum is based upon four criteria: the application of level and class system; the setting of age limits; the curriculum; and the separation of the sexes in school (see Model 3).

**Model 3**

The Continuum of the Educational Institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PESANTREN &lt;----- &gt; MADRASAH &lt;----- &gt; GOVERNMENT SCHOOL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious and traditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apply no level and class system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No age limits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholly religious instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexes separated in class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The establishment of an educational institution by a community clearly indicates a strong demand for education. Furthermore, the type of educational institution established by that community is determined by the type of education they want. There had, in fact, already been a demand for religious education among the natives during the colonial period. However since they were not a free people at that time they were not able to establish the educational institutions that they wanted. Yet the desire prevailed until the early years of Independent Indonesia, and the first educational institution founded by the natives after Independence was a pesantren. The establishment of the pesantren also indicates the response of the natives to the sociocultural changes that had taken place in their villages. They seemed to be aware that they were no longer under the control of the landlord; they were now independent people in Independent Indonesia. Thus, they were free to establish their preferred type of educational institution, and they seized upon this opportunity.

When the government implemented a development programme in the education sector and introduced secular schooling to Condet in 1968, the natives reacted passively. They let the government open this school but they did not send their children to it. Instead they created a semi-modern and semi-secular madrasah for their own children. The establishment of the madrasah may be seen as a response by the native community to a new educational institution introduced from outside that they thought to be unsuitable for their children. Their response indicated their capability for making decisions about the type of educational institution that they wanted for their children, and their capacity to organize themselves to establish this
institution independently. The situation was remarkably similar to that which occurred when the native community had founded the pesantren a decade earlier. The establishment of the pesantren and the madrasah reflect a process of adaptation to a new situation and a capability to choose alternative strategies of response. The transformation of all pesantren into madrasah several years later confirms the argument concerning the suitability of madrasah for the natives' needs as they perceived them.

The relinquishment of the pesantren by the people showed that they no longer held their old values concerning education. On the other hand, they did not yet accept modern secular values, so they did not send their children to the government schools. They were in the process of moving towards modern and secular education but were still in a transitional phase. This is why their educational attainment was still relatively low until 1980, and it provides further explanation of the relation between the educational backwardness of the Betawi, particularly the Betawi of Condet, and the role of Islam in their culture. It may also shed light on the problem confronting Jones (1977) when he found that the educational attainment of two Islamic ethnic groups - the Minangkabau and the Mandailing - was far above other Islamic groups in Indonesia. The Minangkabau and the Mandailing have, by and large, long since abandoned negative views towards the worldly life and accepted modern schooling as a first step towards progress (kemajuan), instead of towards Christianization.

The area of Condet seems to have consisted of three segments since the foundation of the community. In the period of landlordship, the landlord followed this division in exercising his control over Condet; Condet was divided into three kemandoran – Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar and Tengah – each of which was controlled by a mandor. The mandor was appointed by the landlord from among the native inhabitants as the one most capable in silat (a form of self defence). The mandor collected dues from the cultivators, regulated their labour services, and undertook the punishment of delinquent cultivators on behalf of the landlord. According to Adiwilaga (1970:70), the mandor also carried out political and official tasks for the government. In this role, according to a colonial regulation (Reglement op de Particuliere Landerijen bewesten de Tjimanoek, Staatblad, No. 422, 1912, cited in Adiwilaga 1970:70), the mandor worked as an informal government official and was responsible to the regent.

In 1951 – after the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia – autonomous kelurahan, or village administrations, were set up in Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar and Tengah, superceding the kemandoran. The creation of these administrative units was based upon regulations issued in the colonial period – which were still valid in the early days of Independent Indonesia – dealing with the establishment of native village government, or desapraja pribumi, on redeemed private lands (Tideman 1974:53; Inlandsche Gemeente Ordonnante, Staatblad, No. 83, 1906, cited in Suryaningrat 1976:163). However, although these kelurahan were considered autonomous areas governed by local
people, in the larger political perspective of Jakarta they were subordinated to a government body called the Bureau of Public Administrative Affairs of Jakarta Region (Badan Pemerintahan Umum Daerah Jakarta).

When the kelurahan administration was originally set up, the Lurah, or the head of the kelurahan administration, was elected by local people. According to the regulations, the candidate as well as the electors had to be members of the local population (Suryaningrat 1976:169-176, 179). Therefore, since the whole population of Condet was native, all the elected Lurah were also native. According to our informants, all the Lurah were men prominent in religious life. This reflects a characteristic of traditional Condet social fabric that a man who has mastered religious instruction is likely to be prominent in political life as well. He has high status within the community. This choice of Lurah also suggests that Condet was then a simple society: a man who was prominent in one aspect of social life was likely to be viewed as being capable in other aspects as well. However, most importantly, this situation indicates the resurgence of the natives' political power and authority over their own villages after having been dominated from outside for two centuries. It should be noted that the Lurah was not a government official, or pegawai negeri at that time, but his position was recognized by the government. So although he was not eligible to receive a government salary, he was given a token payment from the government. There were two officials in charge in a kelurahan administration, the Lurah and his secretary. This administrative system generally persisted until Ali Sadikin assumed office as Governor in 1966.
"When I assumed the position of Governor of Jakarta on 28 April 1966, Jakarta, due to various factors, was poorly developed and maintained," Ali Sadikin wrote in his official memoirs *Gita Jaya* (Jakarta 1977 b:xiv). One of the causes of this problem was, according to Sadikin, a "dualism of authority" over Jakarta. On the one hand there was the Bureau of Public Administrative Affairs of Jakarta Region, which administered the districts (kawedanaan), the sub-districts (kecamatan), and the kelurahan. On the other hand there was the Autonomous Regional Administration of Jakarta (Pemerintah Daerah Otonom Jakarta), which was functionally equivalent to a municipal authority. These two administrative bodies controlled Jakarta at the same time, but they did not synchronize their activities and this resulted in great disorganization. Thus, the first decision taken by Sadikin was to eliminate this "dualism of authority". This he did by integrating the Bureau of Public Administrative Affairs and the Autonomous Regional Administration into a single governmental body called the Administration of the Special Territory of the Capital City Jakarta, or Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Raya in 1966 (Jakarta 1977 b:51). Under this change the new Jakarta Administration gained full discretion to exercise political authority over Jakarta.

This change was followed by a Decree of the Governor dealing with the administrative reorganization of the Jakarta region (Decree of the Governor of DKI Jakarta, No. Ib.3/1/1/66). According to this Decree, DKI Jakarta was divided into five municipalities, or kota administratif, 22 sub-districts, or kecamatan, and 204 kelurahan. Furthermore, each kelurahan was divided into rukun warga (RW), and
each RW into separate rukun tetangga (RT). Ideally, a RW consisted of up to 20 RTs, and a RT consisted of up to 40 households (Decree of the Governor of DKI Jakarta, No. Ib.3/2/14/66).

Diagram 1

The Structure of Kelurahan Administration in Jakarta (1966)

Lurah

Secretary

RW Head

RT Head

The next change in kelurahan administration took place in 1971, following the Decree of the Governor No. AB.15/2/41/71. This decree implemented the Community Development Programme improvements in kelurahan administration. The structure of kelurahan administration now became more complex. Four officials were added to assist the Lurah in political, security, social welfare, and administrative and financial affairs. A new position of Deputy-Lurah replaced the position of Secretary. This revised structure of kelurahan administration is shown in Diagram 2.

However, although kelurahan administration had been subordinated to the Administration of DKI Jakarta and subjected to many changes imposed by this Administration, it legally remained an autonomous village government and the Lurah a non-government official ineligible to receive a government salary. The abrogation of the autonomous
prerogative of kelurahan administration, and the legalization of the Lurah as a government official, took place in 1974 under a new regulation of the Regional Administration of the Republic of Indonesia (Undang-undang, No. 5, 1974, see Lubis 1975:120). Although the article of the Regulation that deals with village and kelurahan administration (article no. 88) was extended and then enacted in a special Regulation in 1979 (Undang-undang No. 5, 1979, see Suryaningrat 1980), the implementation of this regulation in DKI Jakarta, according to the officials of the Bale Kambang kelurahan, actually commenced in 1974. In that year all the kelurahan administrations in DKI Jakarta gave up their autonomous rights and, since then the Lurah have been officially appointed by the Governor.

Diagram 2

The Structure of Kelurahan Administration in Jakarta (1971)
The most recent change in the organization of kelurahan administration occurred in 1977, following a Decree of the Governor regarding Community Development. A new official, the head of the Community Development sub-section, was added to the kelurahan administrative system (Decree of the Governor of DKI Jakarta No. 361/77).

Table 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jakarta Administration</th>
<th>East Jakarta Municipality</th>
<th>Kramat Jati Subdistrict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bale Kambang</td>
<td>294 26</td>
<td>121 12</td>
<td>200 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batu Ampar</td>
<td>198 15</td>
<td>75 16</td>
<td>165 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>492 41</td>
<td>196 28</td>
<td>365 65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kelurahan Bale Kambang and Batu Ampar offices.

Since Bale Kambang, Batu Ampar and Tengah are three kelurahan of DKI Jakarta, all the changes described above were implemented in them. These changes may be considered from two points of view: legal and organizational. Legally, since 1974 all the kelurahan of Condet have been fully under the control of, and completely subordinated to the Administration of DKI Jakarta; while organizationally, the kelurahan administrations in Condet have become more complex and increasingly
modernized. One of the results of this reorganization was to bring the kelurahan administration into a closer and more effective relationship with the Jakarta Administration. However, this relationship appears to have created a predominantly one-way flow from the higher administration to the lower. Consequently, the reorganization gave the Jakarta Administration more effective control over the kelurahan. Most of the administrative decisions, particularly those concerning community development, were decided by the Jakarta Administration. Evidence for this can be seen in the flow of administrative letters received and sent by the kelurahan administrations in Condet: the letters received by the kelurahan administrations from the higher administrations far outnumbered those sent by the kelurahan administrations (Table 22).

This administrative change was not considered, at first, to have affected the political interests of the native community. There were no observable negative reactions by the natives to the change. The one change that brought responses from the natives was that dealing with legal aspects, particularly in relation to the qualifications of a Lurah set out in two paragraphs of Article No. 4 of the Undang-Undang No. 5, 1979, which in Condet, as already mentioned, had been implemented since 1974. Paragraph Q of the article permits a Governor to nominate a Lurah from among non-native and even from among non-local residents, while paragraph J requires a Lurah to have the qualification of, at least, a lower-secondary school degree. By contrast, the native people maintained their traditional political culture and they wanted to choose a religious leader from among themselves as Lurah. They believed that only this kind of leader
could represent their aspirations, and they were not too concerned about the educational attainment of the Lurah. Thus there were two parties, the government and the native community, who had an interest in the appointment of the Lurah in Condet, but whose requirements for the position were contrary one to another.

In fact only the Lurah of Bale Kambang met the requirements of both parties. He was a native, a lower-secondary school graduate, and was prominent in religious matters as well as experienced in administrative work. He was the son of the previous Lurah, and had been the Lurah's secretary. In the other kelurahan no native officials could meet the requirements of the government, and the Lurah were therefore nominated from among the outsiders. The nomination of these Lurah immediately provoked resentment among the natives. It is reported by Dama (1981:110) that when the first Lurah of Batu Ampar died in 1974, the native community expected the Deputy-Lurah to replace him. Apart from his long experience in working in the kelurahan office, this official was also a native inhabitant. However, since he was a primary school drop-out, the Governor nominated an official from an adjacent kelurahan as the Lurah of Batu Ampar. This man was considered more administratively capable as well as being more highly educated. Even though this official was a Betawi, the native community would not recognize him as their man; and so he was alienated in Batu Ampar and unable to establish a good relationship with the native inhabitants. The same situation occurred with the new Lurah of Tengah who was nominated in 1978. He was a higher secondary school graduate and of Sumatran origin. He found that he could not get along with the native community who treated him
as an "outsider". This situation bothered him and created difficulties in the undertaking of his work as a Lurah.

4. Summary.

It appears that the modernization of the kelurahan administration did not always satisfy the local population. The Betawi of Condet did not seem to appreciate the implications of this modernization. The criteria they required for a Lurah were "irrational" from the point of view of the modernized administration: whereas the government required a well-educated official to be a Lurah, the natives wanted a religious and native leader. Here we can recognize the phenomenon of a conflict of values. On the one hand the administrative institution had become complex and modern; on the other, the attitudes of the native people in their choice of political leaders remained fixed in their traditional system of values. Such divergent values were not compatible. Furthermore, we must also consider the political changes in Condet and their implications for the natives as a consequence of the educational backwardness of the native community itself. It was their lower educational attainment that resulted in the situation whereby natives lost political power over their own villages as part of the government's modernization of its administrative organization.
Development, urbanization, and sociocultural change have been the themes of this study. The objectives, methods, and background of the study were stated in chapter I; in chapter II the location of Condet and the village situation until about 1960 were briefly described; in chapter III changes in the sociocultural structure and the pattern of rural economy in Condet were delineated; in chapter IV changes in the system of education and in village administration was analysed; and in both chapters III and IV the responses of the Betawi of Condet to these changes were discussed. Some aspects of change are related to the development programme, and are called "planned change"; others are the effects of the growth and urbanization of Jakarta, and are called "unplanned change" (both terms "planned change" and "unplanned change" are borrowed from Arensberg and Niehoff 1965:66). "Planned change" is a consequence of the political relation between Condet as a local community and Jakarta as a supralocal institution exercising its control and power over Condet. On the other hand, "unplanned change" is the effect of the social relationship between the growing city of Jakarta and the urban-fringe community of Condet.

Two of the objectives of development planning in Condet, both
carried out through the Community Development and Condet Cultural Preservation schemes, are the retention of the rural environment and the improvement of the rural living conditions of the Betawi of Condet in social, economic and political terms. Based on the indications outlined in chapters III and IV neither objective has been achieved; indeed actual outcomes tend to be contrary to initial aims. Instead of retaining its rural environment Condet has been changing to an urbanized community; similarly, instead of supporting the indigenous local inhabitants the impact of development has lowered the socio-political position of these inhabitants. These are two features which demonstrate the so-called dilemma of development: a contradiction between expectations and actualities, or between "planned change" and "unplanned change".

One of the important factors giving rise to the first dilemma is the degree to which the Jakarta authorities underestimated the impact of the relationship between a growing city and an urban-fringe community when they designed development programmes for Condet. A growing city can be compared to a volcano which is ready to pour forth its lava. The crater is the boundary of the city's built-up area and the lava is the city's population and their activities. As the city gradually grows the population and their activities sprawl outward to the fringe areas - as the lava overflows from the crater - following both existing and newly formed lanes. Extending this metaphor, the construction of the transportation facilities connecting the city with Condet resulted in the creation of new lanes along which the city residents could pour forth from the central district to Condet. Experience has shown that the process of suburbanization in terms of
the sprawl of urban population agglomerations over the landscape is predominantly facilitated by change in transportation systems. Thus, if the construction of communication routes was intended specifically to facilitate the flow of Condet inhabitants and fruit produce to the city centre, then it may be inferred that the government underestimated the two-way nature of flows of communication. In fact the flow of people and their activities from the city centre to Condet generated a greater impact on Condet life than the flow in the other direction. After the construction of new transportation facilities the population of Condet suddenly increased and, as evidence has indicated, this growth was predominantly affected by immigration from the city centre. This growth resulted in a change in Condet's social structure with the consequence that the Betawi of Condet became a minority in their own villages.

Furthermore, in the case of a growing city, a change in the transportation system leads to a change in land-use pattern as well. As the process of suburbanization progresses, agriculture's extensive use of land in the fringe areas cannot compete successfully in the land market with the city's intensive land uses. As a scholar of agriculture and geography states (Higbee 1967:5): "As land values rise, land use for farming cannot be justified." Evidence from Condet has shown that the price of land rose tremendously after this area was provided with modern transportation facilities, and many lots were immediately transferred to city residents who used them for housing and enterprise. Others bought land as a means of speculation and saving. At the same time a few indigenous residents who grasped the changing situation and had an entrepreneurial attitude built houses
for rent and opened small shops and restaurants in parts of their gardens.

As regards the second dilemma of development, the deterioration of the political position of the Betawi of Condet can be considered as a consequence of their lower achievement in the modern education system. This backwardness may be related in part to their historical experiences and religious views. Historically, Condet existed for about two centuries (from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century) under two overlapping powers, which almost completely deprived the local population of any chance to determine their destiny and develop their own way of life. In the first instance, there was the private land system which controlled Condet directly in all economic and social aspects, and above this institution was the ultimate political authority of the colonial administration. The relatively autonomous character of the private land institution prevented the government from interfering in social and economic matters within Condet, but the government did exercise its political control in support of the landlord's power.

When the colonial government provided many villages in the Netherlands Indies with modern schools, Condet was neglected. It was also neglected when the colonial government implemented the programme of the redemption of private lands during the period from the early years of the twentieth century down to the arrival of the Japanese forces in 1942. As a result the educational attainment of the population of Condet was retarded. This situation seems to have persisted until recently, and most of the Betawi of Condet are still distrustful of modern schools. This attitude was also influenced, in
part by their religious views. As pious Muslims they considered the life in the world hereafter as more important than life in this world. The Betawi therefore adopted the strategy of withdrawal in the face of the modernization of education, but this strategy did not bring political success. Thus, if the work of modernizing the system of education and village administration is viewed as a burden of this age and a special kind of hope (Apter 1969:1), especially for a developing country like Indonesia, the situation of the Betawi of Condet can be considered as a case of peasants who were slow to recognize the value of modernization, even though they lived in an urban area.

The dilemma of development in Condet can also be related to the policy of development of the Jakarta Administration. This policy reflects the character of the relationship of Jakarta as a supralocal institution and Condet as a local community. In this case, as history shows, Condet has long been the object of various policy programmes imposed by the authorities in Jakarta. Almost all of these policy programmes have been designed for the interests of the city residents rather than those of the local population. Borrowing a term from Douglass (H. P. Douglass, The Suburban trend, 1925, cited in Masotti 1973:i), Condet has merely been a "footnote" to the development of Jakarta. For example, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the land of Condet, piece by piece, was sold to private individuals by the Governor-Generals in Batavia, partly in order to safeguard the city from roving robbers and partly to raise funds for city development. The result of these land sales was the relegation of the socio-economic position of the local inhabitants from land owners to land tenants. Then, in 1949, the government redeemed the private land
of Condett and granted it to the local inhabitants - because it was considered that the private land ownership system had brought the local inhabitants to a precarious position. However, the underlying reason for this redemption may have been to preserve the area for the extension of the city when needed. As long as this area was owned by private individuals the government had no right to interfere in matters within it.

In the context of these historical events it seems that the development programmes formulated for Condett in the period of Governor Ali Sadikin, especially those formalized in the Condett Cultural Preservation Scheme, followed the policies of the previous authorities. These policies did not make the interests of the inhabitants the priority in development, and, indeed, the benefits of development mostly flowed to city residents and authorities. City residents needed fresh environmental areas around Jakarta, and Condett turned out to be one area that was designated for that purpose. The authorities needed support from the Betawi who were gradually ousted elsewhere from the central district because they could not compete with other peoples in the capitalistic atmosphere of the city. By designing the Condett Cultural Preservation Scheme, the authorities could expect to improve their image as patrons of the Betawi and so gain their support.

On the basis of this study it would seem that instead of designing a project to preserve Condett as a rural community it would be more realistic for the government to motivate the peasants of Condett to create new types of employment that would fit economically within a community located in an urban fringe. Moreover, schemes to
modernize the education system for peasants such as the Betawi of Condet cannot stop merely at the building of new modern schools, but should be combined with ways of motivating the people to send their children to these schools. Despite these problems, the policy for improving educational levels in Condet is important, and holds the most promise for the future of the Betawi if their community is to survive the pressures of Jakarta's urban sprawl. If the Betawi continue to reject modern education and consequently lose political and economic control in Condet, then their negative response to modernization may lead to their extinction as a distinctive community in Jakarta.
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