

Socio-economic Marginalization of the Indigenous Betawinese Farmer in Jakarta

Hendro Prabowo (ndrahu@yahoo.com)

Ph D Student

Social Science Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta

Abstract

Betawinese is an ethnic group and the native population of Jakarta. This ethnic was born about 1815-1893 as a fusion of many ethnic groups who live together in Jakarta, like Sundanese, Javanese, Arabic, Balinese, Sumbawanese, Ambonese, Chinese and Malay. Shahab (2000) distinguished the Betawinese into four category, they were Central Betawinese, Villagers Betawinese, Coastal Betawinese, and Suburban Betawinese.

Nowadays, as a capital city after the independent of Indonesia, there was migration from other regions to Jakarta. This migration effects to the indigenous Betawinese into minority. Even, the Betawinese was a second highest population growth of Indonesia (2.34%), Javanese was the highest population in Jakarta (35.1%6) and more than Betawinese (27.65%) and Sundanese (15.27%) (Suryadinata et al, 2003).

The rapid development and migration, in fact, demolished the native Betawinese to suburban and even outside of Jakarta. Only a few enclave Betawinese communities or kampongs existed today. Unfortunately, the Betawinese farmer exploits a limited resource for their livelihood. They also worked on the land that owned by the migrant.

The paper analyzed socio-economic marginalization of the Betawinese in Jakarta as an impact of the migration, urban sprawl and the modernization of Jakarta. The research has been done in two regions: Sawangan represented Betawinese Villagers and Teluk Naga represented Coastal Betawinese.

Keywords: Betawinese, socio-economic marginalization

Indigenous Betawinese

Actually, a few experts realized that the Betawinese was a newcomer in Jakarta. This ethnic group was born as a fusion of various local ethnic groups that had been lived in Jakarta, such as Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese, Sumbawanese, Ambonese, and Malay; and also Arabic, Chinese, Europeans, and Pilipino. Indonesian Anthropologist, Dr. Yasmine Zaki Shahab MA estimated that the Betawinese formed about a century ago, 1815-1893.

The estimation based on the study of demographic history of the Jakarta population as pioneered by Australian historian, Lance Castles. In Dutch colonial era, the government always used to census and distinguished the population into ethnic groups. The census of Jakarta in 1615 and 1815, there were a various ethnic groups, but there was no Betawinese.

On the other hand, the census 1893 indicated the lost of ethnic groups that were existed before. For example Arabic and Moors, Javanese and Sundanese, South Sulawesi, Sumbawanese, Ambonese and Bandanese, and the Malays. In 1923, Moh Husni Thamrin, a public figure of the Betawinese, declared Perkoempoelan Kaoem Betawi. This

declaration was a moment that the Betawinese was existed as an ethnic group and as a social and political unity.

Some expert and researcher believed to the Castle hypothesis mentioned above. They were Koentjaraningrat (1975), Amri Marzali (1983), Probonegoro (1987), Supardi Suparlan (1990), Shahab (1994), and Mona Lohanda (1996) (Siswantari, 2000). But, Ridwan Saidi, a Betawinese figure, was not agreeing to Castles.

Table 1. Population of Jakarta 1615 and 1815

	1615	1815
Europeans and part-Europeans	2.750	2.028
Chinese	2.747	11.854
Mardjikers	5.362	-
Arabs	-	318
Moors	6.339	119
Javanese (including Sundanese)	-	4.139
South Sulawesi groups	-	4.139
Balinese	981	7.720
Ambonese and Bandanese	-	82
Malays	611	3.155
Slaves	13.278	14.249
	32.068	47.227

Source: Castle (in Siswantari, 2000)

According to Saidi (in Siswantari, 2000) the origin of the Betawinese followed to the Bern Nothofer theory about the Malay dialect in Jakarta. The language originates from Malay Polynesia that spread from West Kalimantan.

Nothofer (in Siswantari, 2000) believed that about 10th century there were Malay migration from Tarumanegara kingdom, West Kalimantan to Jakarta, through Bangka and Palembang. The migrant from Malay acculturated with local people from Java, and then created new generation called Javanese Malay. In 15th century, they embraced Islam and called Selam by the Chinese. The Chinese called Selam, because they felt difficult to say Islam. This Javanese Malay was a founder of the Betawinese.

Saidi (1994) argued that the Hindu Tarumanegara kingdom located about in the riverbank of Citarum river (today is the boundary of Jakarta and Karawang). The authority was spread until Bogor area (Ciaruteun inscription) and Marunda (Tugu inscription in Kampung Batu Tumbuh, today Kramat Tunggak). They that today are called Betawinese originated from the people of Tarumanegara kingdom.

Betawinese Marginalisation

The Betawi is the native population and one of the ethnic groups who live together in Jakarta. Even the Jakarta population, gathered from all those diverse ethnic and cultural groups, so we also called a melting pot. About 8 million people live in Jakarta representing nearly all the ethnic groups in the archipelago.

The Republic of Indonesia decided that Jakarta as a capital post the independent of Indonesia, we can not avoid that there are migration to Jakarta from other regions. This migration influenced to the indigenous Betawinese into minority.

Table 2. Comparison of the Betawinese and the Other Ethnic

Year	Amount of the Betawinese	Other Ethnic	Ratio
1930	778.953	438.161	64% : 36%
1961	655.400	2.862.008	22,9% : 77,1%*

Note: * the dominant ethnic are Sundanese (32,8%) and Javanese (25,4%)

Source: Siswantari (2000)

Based on table 2, rapid development of Jakarta and the migration influenced to the demolition of the Betawinese on their own land. Their population also decreased more and more.

To response that condition, since 1950s a few of the Betawinese founded organization. The reaction was based on the rapid of migration and the development of Jakarta (Shahab in Siswantari, 2000). In 1970s, the founding of the organization became more frequent. That's why; in 1980s there was an opinion to found the umbrella of the organizations. The table below explains the phenomena.

Table 3. Organization of the Betawinese Since 1950's

Decade	Year	Name of Organization	Founder
1950's	1954	MANGUDAT IWARDA (Pemangku Adat Ikatan Warga Djakarta Asli)	H. Aseni, H. Muhari H. Effendi Yusuf H. Irwan Syafi'I Drs. Rusdi Saleh
1970-an	1975	IKRAR (Ikatan Keluarga Sejahtera Bersama)	Wim Salamun H. Abdurrahim
	1976	LKB (Lembaga Kebudayaan Betawi)	Atje Mulyadi H. Effendi Yusuf
	1977	PERMATA MHT (Persatuan Masyarakat Djakarta Muhammad Husni Thamrin)	H. Jabir Chaidir Fadlil Dr. Abdul Rodjak
1980-an	1981	IWARDA (Ikatan Warga Djakarta Asli)	--
	1982	BAMUS (Badan Musawarah Masyarakat Betawi)	H. Effendi Yusuf
1990-an	--	FORKABI (Forum Komunikasi Anak Betawi)	--

Source: Siswantari (2000), Shahab (2000), and observation

The rapid development and urbanization of Jakarta has made the Betawinese to live more and more to the outside of Jakarta. The migrants who live in Jakarta today are more than the indigenous Betawinese. Some ethnic group who live in Jakarta are Javanese (35.16%), Betawinese (27.65%), Sundanese (15.27%), others (6.48%), Chinese (5.53%), the Batak (3.61%), the Minangkabau (3.18%), the Malay (1.62%), Buginese (0.59%), Madurese (0.57%), the Banten (0.25%), and Banjarese (0.10%).

Actually, the population of the indigenous Betawinese increased five times in 1930 and 2000, from 980,863 to 5,041,688 people or grew 2.34% in average. About 54.35% of them mostly live in Banten and West Java province and only 45.65% live in Jakarta.

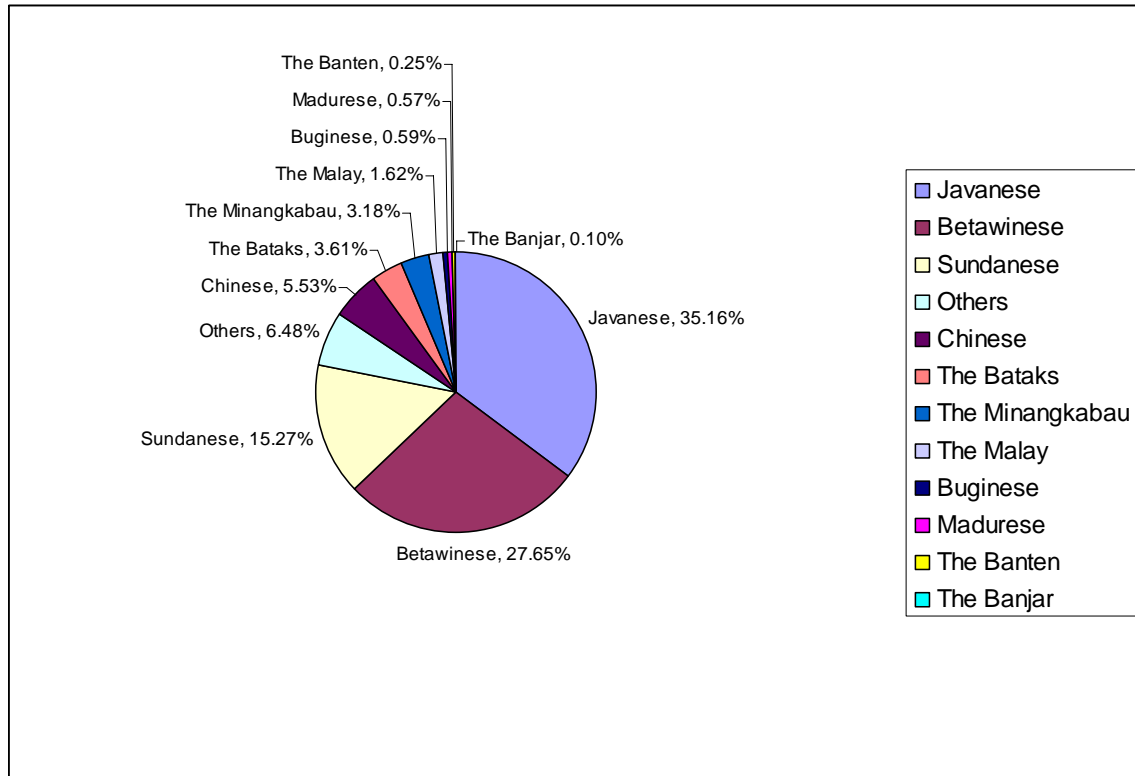


Figure 1. The Ethnic Groups Composition in Jakarta

There were two contradictive opinions to response the phenomena: optimism and pessimism. The optimist opinion said that the Betawinese was not demolished and be demolished, because of the process of assimilation of many Indonesian ethnic groups up till now. The Betawinese is born from those long term process of assimilation.

On the other hand, the pessimist opinion assumed that there are two factors, micro and macro. The macro factor believed that the marginalization of the Betawinese was caused by the migration and the rapid of development. Some experts who agreed to this opinion are the Betawi figure like Yasmin Shahab, M. Hoed, and Firman Muntaco.

According to Shahab (in Siswantari, 2000) the rapid development of Jakarta caused the uprooting of the Betawinese from their group. It also created the lack of communication between them. That's why, many organization were founded.

People and their houses were demolished, and tragically their graves were also demolished. The most victim of the demolition is the indigenous and created the sprawl of the Betawinese. And then, they lived in suburban. But, the micro factor believed that the marginalization influenced by the internal factor. A few researches in the enclave of the Betawinese kampong like in Condet indicated that the culture of the Betawinese was a factor of the marginalization. In the 1970s, the local government of Jakarta initiated a

Cultural Conservation in Condet, East Jakarta. The conservation in Condet included land, culture and agriculture. Unfortunately, the conservation from the government was failed. Many migrant from other ethnic groups are the dominant population in the enclave kampong. According to Prabowo (1998), the native population was dominant in the 1970s and was be weak in the 1990s.

Category of the Betawinese

Shahab (2000) classified the Betawinese depend on the characteristic of the settlement into four categories: Central Betawinese, Suburban Betawinese, Village Betawinese, and Coastal Betawinese.

1. Central or Kota Betawinese, lived around Gambir, Menteng, Senen, Kemayoran, Sawah Besar, and Taman Sari. The Central Betawinese originally spoken with the typical strong “e” like (*ada* becomes *ade*).
2. Suburban Betawinese, lived around Pasar Rebo, Pasar Minggu, Pulo Gadung, Jatinegara, Kebayoran, and Mampang Prapatan.
3. Village or Udik Betawinese, lived in the area of Cengkareng, Tangerang, Batu Ceper, Cileduk, Ciputat, Sawangan, Cimanggis, Pondok Gede, Bekasi, Kebon Jeruk, Kebayoran Lama, Cilandak, Kramat Jati, and Cakung
4. Coastal Betawinese, lived around Teluk Naga, Mauk, Japad, Tanjung Priok, Marunda, Kalapa, and Kepulauan Seribu (Thousand Island).

And then, there were two types of Village Betawinese:

1. They were influenced by the Chinese culture, lived in northern and western of Jakarta and Tangerang.
2. They were influenced by the Sundanese culture, lived in eastern and southern of Jakarta, Bekasi and Bogor. From the dialect, they also called “Betawi Ora”, that characterized by suffix “a” into “ah”.

Sawangan represented Betawinese Villagers and Teluk Naga represented Coastal Betawinese. Both of these enclave kampongs are marginalized.

Sawangan

Research was done in RT 2 RW01 Rangkepan Jaya village, Pancoran Mas sub district, Depok. The neighborhood located close to the Kelurahan Rangkepan Jaya office. Basically, the area of RT 02 is a fertile agriculture area. But, the paddy fields are depended by the rain water and well for irrigation, rain water in rainy season and well in dry season.

The Rangkepan Jaya village is located western of Depok city, and the boundaries are:

- a. To north border to Grogol village, Limo sub district
- b. To east border to Mampang village
- c. To south border to Pancoran Mas village, Pancoran Mas sub district
- d. To west border to Jaya Baru village.

A various plants grow in the area and categorized into plantation and hard plant. The plantation needs water during processing continually and include vegetables like cucumber, green bean, spinach, sweet potato, maize, etc. Hard plant includes fruits like

jackfruit, the rambutan, lemon, sour fruit, guava, etc. Unfortunately, the agriculture land worked by the villager was owned by the other people. The indigenous people live in the houses where partitioned for the family and rent. In front and back of the house, there are some hard plants.

There were 43 families who live in the village. Approximately, a family has about 4 children or less. The level of education is quite low, mostly Basic School and only about 20% people completed in Junior High School. So, they mostly work as a worker. About 34% of the people were agriculture worker and carpenter, and 32% of them were driver and “*Ojek*” driver (motor taxi riders). About 18% of the housewives were maid servant and 10% of them were trader.

Consequently, the revenue was also quite low. About 75% of the family’s revenue was less than Rp. 800.000,- each month, 40% was Rp. 500.000,- and even 10 % was less than Rp. 300.000,-. Even though they had low revenue, there were no homeless people because they basically had a house from their parent before. Their parents usually had a wide of land and then heir to their children or sold to migrant. Nowadays, most of the indigenous uses the land only for housing. Only about 20 % of the family has land for agriculture, and unfortunately only about 200 m2.

About 40 % of the inhabitants were migrants. The migrant was from Jakarta, Depok and Central Java. Tragically, the migrant from Jakarta was the Betawinese who were victim of demolition. They were from Cipinang Muara, Kota Bambu, Manggarai and Blok Tengki. They demolished and forced to relocate because their lands were replaced to the government projects.

Social Activity

Basically, the indigenous Betawinese is a strong community ties. Most of them are Moslem. The social activity related to festivities (such as marriage, seventh moth pregnancy, circumcision, cutting baby’s hair, celebration for ancestor/”*tahlilan*”) and religious groups. Both of the activities called “*kondangan*”. A *Kondangan* group in Sawangan formalizes these mutual commitments: a group of forty men, mostly related, contribute finance, food, assistance, and their attendance at each of the festivities held by the members. The contribution is normally exactly the same as that given at previous festivity by the recipient. A record is kept of what each member contributes and eventually, the contributions made by one are returned by others so a balance is maintained.

The manifestation of the social and religious ties is the prayer and other religious activities. They have three religious groups include Youth’s Prayer Reading, Housewife’s Prayer Reading, and Adult’s Prayer Reading. Every week each group read Koran and Islamic law.

Economic Activity

The economic activity relates to agriculture where some people involve at all processing. The processing includes land processing, seeding, growing, maintaining, cropping, and marketing.

A farmer himself usually works from land processing to maintaining. But, in cropping some others family and neighbor are involved. Further process, middle man handles the marketing and then he sell to the trader in traditional market. The owner of

the land also takes a part of the crop. The middle man also handled hard plant when the fruit ready to crop.

Marginalization

Even though the indigenous are strongly Islamic community, there were no children and adolescence who learned in “*Pondok Pesantren*” (special boarding school for youth Moslem), and there were no adults who took a “*haj*” (the pilgrimage to Mecca). Actually, they really want to do both but its have not implement yet because of less money.

By the less of land and working to the other people’s land, both influenced the pattern of occupation. People usually work in agriculture but also have a part time job like trader, driver, “*becak*” driver, and industrial worker. On the other hand, housewives also work as servant, “*tikar*” (a plaited mat) maker, teacher, stall owner, “*kerupuk*” (chips) maker, etc.

Unfortunately, the indigenous did not recognize local government officer. The local government officers who usually Sundanese did not understand their existence, both in language and culture. They felt grievance to the government because they give no opportunity to be government officer, low education, and no money to pay an “*upeti*” (bribe). They paid tax but the tax could not solve unemployment. Some of demolished people from the center of the city’s kampong felt very apathy toward the government of Jakarta. Because of the lack of education, economy and opportunity to work, they agreed to get assistance to develop their entrepreneur skill. Through the agriculture entrepreneur skill, they hope to get more benefit in the future.

Teluk Naga

Teluk Naga ia also an enclave kampong of the Betawinese, but it’s quite different from Sawangan. Teluk Naga is a coastal kampong and only a few migrant who live there. Contrary with Sawangan, Teluk Naga is not interesting kampong to live. Only a few Javanese live in Teluk Naga. They are employee from the fishpond businessmen. The research question is: how is the marginalization of the Betawinese in Teluk Naga? Which factor influenced the migrant was not interesting to live in Teluk Naga?

The Betawinese of Teluk Naga lives in northern coastal area, the western of Jakarta. Located in kampung Muaratanahpreman, Muara village, Teluk Naga sub district, Tangerang Regency, Teluk Naga is 10 kilometers northern from Soekarno-Hatta airport and southern from Kepulauan Seribu (Thousand Island). The access from the airport is more difficult then sea access to Thousand Island.

To reach out of Teluk Naga, there are three ways. *First*, from the airport via warehouse area (jalan Perancis) – Dadap, go to west through Kosambi and Salembaranjati, and then go to north. *Second*, from Salembaranjati, we can reach out Teluk Naga through about 5 kilometers broken street. *Third*, from Cengkareng or Tegal Alur to Kamal Muara that closed to Dadap. Last year, there is a new public transportation from Kampung Melayu to Teluk Naga through a village street about 15 kilometers.

The boundaries of Teluk Naga are:

- a. To north border to Java Sea
- b. To east border to kecamatan Kepulauan Seribu, Jakarta Bay, and Java Sea
- c. To south border to desa Salembaran Jati
- d. To west border to desa Tegalangus and desa Tanjung Pasir.

Socio Economic Condition

Basically, the Betawinese of Teluk Naga is Moslem and has an occupant related to fishery. Their settlements are between fishponds that are not theirs anymore. Most of people know one another. They spend their free time in front of the house with jokes and familiarity. With only about 3.500 people inhabiting of a wide land, the majority of the inhabitant are low education. Only about 40 people completed in Junior High School and only about 15 people completed in Senior High School. There is one who studies in the university.

Today, Teluk Naga has one Elementary School, close to the kampong. To continue the education, they can choose a Junior High School outside from the kampong. Especially for the poor, there is an open Junior High School.

There are two kinds of houses in the kampong, traditional and modern house. There are only a few modern houses made from concrete wall and roof tile. The traditional houses are made from bamboo and “*nipah*” palm. There are only two mosques with lack of maintenance. There are only 5 stalls for daily need of inhabitant and there is a bigger market for more purchasing in Kampung Melayu.

The occupation related to fishery is catching the fish in the estuary and in the side of the sea. Both of these technologies are simple. In the estuary, people uses fish trap called “*serok*” and fish net. In shore, they use the deeper fish trap (3 – 7 meters) and two boats. This method is quite complicated and can not be done offshore. These entire of technology produced only a little bit of fishes. Commonly, they sell the fish to Kamal Muara through the sea and the outcome will be shared for the fisherman and boat owner. The fishermen sell the good and remain the worse fish to consume.

The boat owners are a few people of the kampong. They had enough money and bought a former boat from Dadap. In Dadap, there were fishermen from Bugis (ethnic group from South Sulawesi) and Indramayu (Javanese from West Java). That’s why, there are two kinds of boat in Teluk Naga, Bugis style and Indramayu style.

The daily income of Teluk Naga inhabitant are about Rp. 15.000,-. In a better condition, they may get Rp. 40.000,- per day. But, in bad luck they get nothing. Even, they should spend money for fuel without income. It is hard for saving and gets higher education for children.

Although, there are many fish ponds in the kampong, people in Teluk Naga did not have them anymore. The fish pond is owned by the boss from outside of the kampong. The employee of the pond usually Javanese and comes outside of the kampong. The boss rent their fish pond about Rp. 3.000.000,- – Rp. 4.000.000,- per year. One of the renter said that he can take care of 5.000 milkfish for about four months. He will harvest 1,5 ton milkfish or about Rp. 12.000.000,-. (Rp. 8.000,- per kilogram).

A few of people are fishnet and fermented shrimp maker. The product of these usually use by themselves. They also try to cultivate green mussel, but failed because of the wind and less of mud. Beside that, they do not have enough money to cultivate green mussel.

Commonly, fisherman in northern Java has a local knowledge about the schedule of sailing. In March – July is an appropriate moment to sail to the sea. While in August – September is an east wind season and in October – February is west wind season. In the wind season, the fisherman does not sail to the sea.

Table 4. Sailing and Wind Seasons

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Augst	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
West wind		Sailing season					East wind		West wind		

Only a few of the people in Teluk Naga use the local knowledge. It is because of the less activity offshore. Beside that, the narrow estary and a dense of forest and less access resulted marginalization of Teluk Naga. The migrant was not interested to live and interact with the local people. The less cultural contact and there is no sailing custom influenced marginalization for people who live in kampong that used to take care fishpond.

Contrary, Dadap and Kamal Muara have a better access and wider river. The access created economic activity and a pull factor for migrant to live. The fishermen use the wide river to park their boats.

Actually, Teluk Naga is a wide area. Big part of the area is fish pond and only a little for settlement. Fish pond is owned by the foreigner, so people use the limited natural resources.

One of the rivers across the kampong is small river, a branch of Cisadane River. In the river, people use fish trap “*serok*” and fish net and “*bubu*”, another kind of fish trap. Along the dense of the three rivers, many local tourists come for fishing every weekend. Temporary agriculture also developed in limited land in the riverside.

Conclusion

Sawangan and Teluk Naga were portrait of the marginalized Betawinese, represented agriculture and fishery. The socio economic marginalization included in education, land ownership, technology, resources, and work opportunity. The existence of the migrant or other ethnic groups did not influence to the indigenous Betawinese’s economy. Socially, their domination exactly marginalized the indigenous Betawinese.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank the following people for their helpful in the earlier researches: Nilam Widyarini and Tetty Elida Siregar who accompanied in Sawangan; Wardoyo, Heri Suprpto, and Monica Ginting who accompanied in Teluk Naga.

Reference

Bappeda DKI Jakarta. 2001. Masyarakat Betawi. Available at <http://www.bappedajakarta.go.id/>

- Jellinek, L., Susiladiharti, & Rustanto, B. 2002. *My Neighbour, Your Neighbour: Governance, Poverty and Civic Engagement in Five Jakarta Communities..* Editing by: Tania Li. Jakarta: Department for International Development – YPM Kesuma Multiguna.
- Lestarini, E. 1996. Rumah Tangga Petani dan Bukan Petani: Studi Mengenai Perubahan Rumah Tangga Sebagai Akibat Ditinggalkannya Mata Pencaharian Pertanian Buah di Condet Balekambang. *Undergraduate Thesis*. Jakarta: Faculty of Social Science and Politic Indonesia University.
- Prabowo, H. 1998. Perubahan Nilai-nilai Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Condet Balekambang Sebagai Akibat Dari Pengembangan Cagar Budaya di Kawasan Condet. *Jurnal Ilmiah Penelitian Psikologi*. No. 1, 3, 18-27.
- Saidi, R. 1994. *Orang Betawi dan Modernisasi Jakarta*. Jakarta: LSIP.
- Shahab, Y. 2000. Aristocratic Betawi: A Challenge to Outsiders' Perception. In Kees Grijns dan Peter J.M. Nas. *Jakarta-Batavia: Socio-Cultural Essays*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Siswantari. 2000. Kedudukan dan Peran Belakang Betawi dalam Pemerintahan serta Masyarakat Jakarta. *Thesis*. Depok: Post Graduate Program Indonesia University.