Understanding the Imaginaries of Modernity in Jakarta: A Social Representation of Urban Development in Private Housing Projects.

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This article analyses how social imaginaries are shaped and produced in Jakarta. It studies the roots and development of social, cultural and spatial patterns developed since the Dutch colonial period. It focuses on social imaginaries and social representations, which are both complex social and mental phenomena, connecting people with the whole dimension of social world. In Jakarta, the spatial segregation pattern created on purpose by the Dutch clearly separated the Westerners from the Natives. It produced a collective memory that influenced the creation process of representations, in particular regarding residential neighborhoods. This mental process synthesizes the history of the Jakarta in its the production of social imaginaries which allows us to analyse the evolution of power relations and patterns in the context of globalisation . This study on the housing project

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advertisements, represents a testimony of how a society in a formerly colonised country defines itself in a global world. City development, through the lens of housing projects, can be seen to reflect a collective emotion which reveals that the relationships between Westerners and the Indigenous local community remain asymmetric.

Key words: modernity, imaginaries, imagined modernity, social imaginaries, real estate, housing, post-colonial studies, Jakarta

The development of Jakarta points to how Indonesians have been trying to find ways of being modern, while maintaining a degree of historic continuity. After the colonial period, the first steps towards modernity were initiated by Soekarno (1945-1966) with several new urban monuments, designed as symbols of post-colonial modernity (McGee, 1967; Abeyasekere, 1989; Leclerc, 1993; Nas and Boender, 2002) [1]. The *Semanggi* flyover is an interchange that links two of the city's major avenues and at the same time marks the entry of motorised traffic in Jakarta's city planning. Hotel Indonesia was the first international "modern" hotel that catered to foreigners, marking the end of the association of foreigners with the colonial authority and their new "modern" image. The *Senayan* sports complex (now the *Gelora Bung Karno*) was the first international sports facility, initially designed to host the first ever sports fest of Asian countries in this country, the 1962 Asian Games. It thus marked the emergence of Indonesia's new identity on the international scene.

Figure 1: The Symbolic Icons of Modernisation in Jakarta: Hotel Indonesia in the 1960's

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[1] Soekarno is well known for his monumental symbolic projects to set Jakarta as a center of the new emerging countries: the National Monument (Monas), Gelora Senayan (the national stadium), the Istiqlal Mosque, the Hotel Indonesia, the Sarinah Department Store, the Semanggi interchange.

(Source: http://syofuan.wordpress.com/categor...rang-engineer/)

Figure 2: The Symbolic Icons of Modernisation in Jakarta: Hotel Indonesia nowadays

Figure 3: The Symbolic Icons of Modernisation in Jakarta: Semanggi Clover Bridge
(Source: http://arch-cafe.tripod.com/Architec-Tour.htm)

Motorised traffic, the presence of international travellers in multi-storied buildings, and membership of the international community became the three basic pillars in the desired and imagined[2] development process of a modern state which would be built by means of urban growth and development[3]. Whereas these modern features were initially represented by public structures, at present, some fifty years after these symbolic monuments were erected and became common place in Jakarta, this dream of modernity is expressed through private residential estates, a development prompted by the rapid economic growth of the country.

This study is based on an analysis of 100 advertisements for residential estates, published in the local printed media over a decade, from 2001 to 2011. Its aim is to analyse the city's growth as represented in media advertisements and to understand how the symbolic thinking regarding modernity, as it was introduced by Soekarno, persists in residential development advertising. Which representations of modernity endured, and which representations underwent changes? How were those representations expressed in discourses about homes, and to what degree were such discussions imaginary?

Table 1 Number of advertisements according to
the years of publication in KOMPAS daily newspaper[4]

2000	8
2001	5
2002	9
2003	15
2004	5
2005	5
2006	11
2007	9
2008	5
2009	5
2010	10
2011	13
TOTAL	100

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[2] "Imagined" in Indonesian and postcolonial studies has a strong connotation, as it refers also to the processes of Nation identity building, as seen as a collective desire (see Anderson, 1983)
[3] Cf. Taal (2002) for a comparison with cities outside Java and the influence of the construction of urban monuments as symbolic instruments to introduce the idea of modernity.
[4] All the ads were taken from KOMPAS daily newspaper

This study uses two different approaches: Social Representations and Social Geography. The data used here come from the research programme "Advertisements and Taste Formation: A Study of Advertisements in the post-reform era of Jakarta's society" (University of Indonesia's Faculty of Humanities, 2010-2011). They were purposively collected from printed media (KOMPAS national daily newspaper), taking into consideration the actual growth in housing projects in Jakarta. Only *real estate* projects were taken into account in the analysis, as well as their inscription in the evolving socio-historical patterns of Jakarta. The linguistic expressions used, as well as non-lingual elements such as images of homes or other figurative elements, appeared as of utmost importance in the analysis of social representations and social images of modern life amongst Jakarta's citizens. They reflect the local meaning of modernity in the Indonesian post-colonial context. It allows us to understand the shared social world that makes possible common practices of the creation of social imaginaries.

COLONIALISM, MODERNITY AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF JAKARTA

The history of Southeast Asian cities is archetypically rooted in the pre-colonial period (before 15th-16th century). Aside from Hindu-Buddhist roots, the cities of the region find their origins in the colonial experience (16th-20th century), with the sole exception of Thailand. Around the 1950s, the emergence of newly independent states brought an aspiration for social change through development and modernisation. As a result, Southeast Asian cities invariably bear the three legacies of their respective historical experiences. Cities thus refer to a specific category different from other parts of the world (McGee, 1967). In Indonesia, urban development also occurred along the patterns of those three major periods: the pre-colonial period with the *mandala* spatial orientation; the colonial period with its emphasis on the use of space to serve the colonial administration, and the post-colonial period.

In the first period, the capital of the kingdom (whether Hindu and Buddhist) served as a spiritual space. The city had an open character and the relationship between the population and urban spaces was not determined by political considerations, but by the people's spiritual affiliations with the king or the leader they served. The king was seated

in the centre of the city from where he diffused the cosmic power to the people living in the periphery (Koentjaraningrat, 1985).

Aspects of the economy, of politics, and of governmental administration became the main considerations only in the second period. Cities were planned to serve the purpose of the trade competition among European and Asian powers and to protect their interests from attacks by local communities and kingdoms, which continued to reject foreign domination (Reid, 1992). The colonial town was constituted as a societal system where economic positions and political relations coincided socially with race (Abeyasekere, 1989). It found its spatial expression in a segregated settlement system. This separation of spaces distinguished the white (European) population who lived in areas called *kota* or "town" from the local people in indigenous neighbourhoods or *kampongs*. Modern European city planning was introduced in the early 1900s, after the Dutch had succeeded in politically stamping out the rebellions by local power holders (Silver, 2008). A new pattern of city planning was introduced on the basis of functionality (Budianta, 2012).

In the post-independence period, cities first continued to grow according to the template established during the previous period. They did not only keep their history of economic, political and administrative interests, but they also nurtured the dream of nation building. Soekarno's decision to build the clover leaf interchange (Semanggi), Hotel Indonesia, the Senayan sports complex, as well as to extend the urbanisation process in directions that had no colonial connotation, like the Thamrin and Sudirman avenues (Abeyasekere, 1989), constitutes a representation of a post-colonial city dreaming of embodying a newly free nation, standing equal to other countries. Thus, the urban space encapsulates the symbolic implication of progress, which unavoidably also refers to a sense of backwardness.

Since Jakarta was built by the Dutch to serve as the centre of their colonial administration, a growing stream of migrants began to come in from its surrounding areas. The problem which Jakarta faced consisted mainly of providing shelter for the incoming rural migrants. In the system of social separation applied by the colonising power in the 19th century – with "Europeans" or the white population ranked as the first class citizens, the Chinese and other "alien Orientals" second, and the indigenous population third –, the indigenous population was maintained in the *kampong* spaces. This policy led to the formation of a spatial map that physically separated the town (*kota*) concept from the

kampong. Inside the formal European city, the infrastructure was planned to provide the European population with all the facilities they needed.
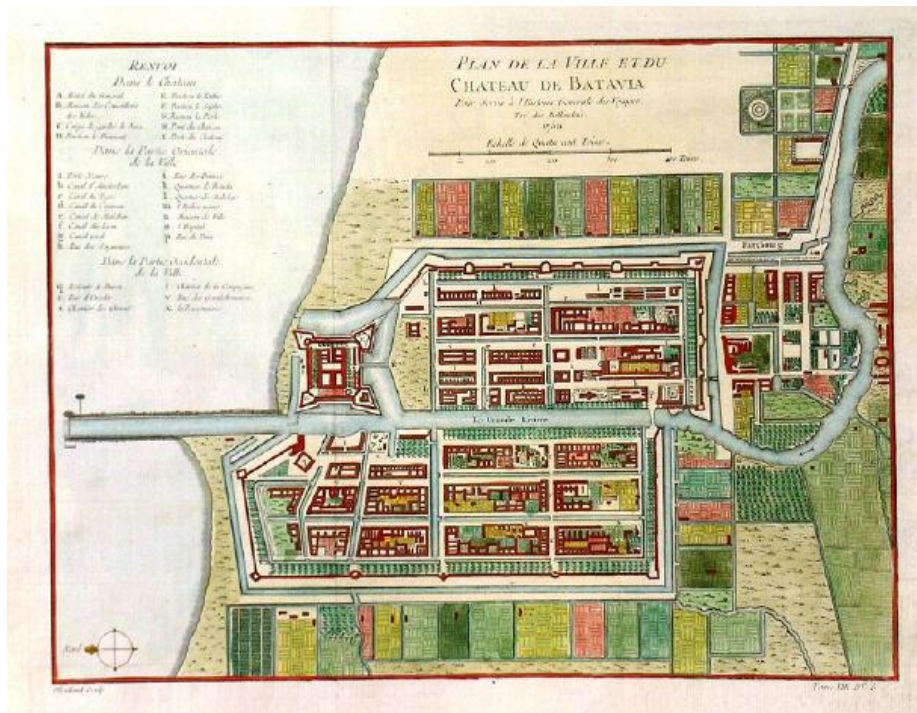

Figure 4: Map of Batavia (the colonial name of Jakarta), designed by the Dutch

The *Pecinan* (Chinatown) where the Chinese lived and practised their trade remained attached to business needs; while the *kampongs*, which were reserved for the indigenous population, carried, for the colonisers, the connotations of backwardness, poverty, stupidity, filth, dirt, crime, and so forth (Kusno, 2000; Nas, 2002). In Batavia, the *pecinan* (Chinese) neighbourhoods were located in the northern part near the port area. The city reserved for the white population was located around Monas or Weltevreden in the 19th century (around what is nowadays the Merdeka square, where the actual Presidential Palace is located), as well as, from the beginning of the 20th century, in the planned neighbourhood of Menteng. The local population lived in pockets in and around the European city.

Only in the Menteng area could one find public gardens, a properly working drainage system with clean ditches and sewers, an effective garbage disposal system, a good lighting system, and other effectively operating public facilities (Silver, 2008). House yards were enclosed by fences, which effectively separated each house from its neighbour,

a social practice and concept that was found nowhere else at that time in the city. Such facilities were totally non-existent in the Chinese neighbourhoods and in the *kampong*. Hence, the "city" and the *kampong* came to represent the two opposing icons of urban space allocation: a dignified life, honour, and power on the one side, and poverty, filth, negligence and a lack of dignity on the other.

After Indonesia gained independence in 1945, and the Dutch gradually left Menteng. The word "city" maintained an iconic status which implied the superiority of its inhabitants over the rest of the population of Jakarta. In the meantime, the government needed new personnel to fill the void left by the departing colonial administration, which also brought the need for new living spaces. Thus, Soekarno continued the new housing complexes designed by the Dutch in the late 1940s for those new governmental people on the southern outskirts of the capital, known as Kebayoran Baru. In the early 1960s Cempaka Putih and Pulo Mas were planned. These neighbourhoods, which were built along the lines of Menteng, created a new model of identity segregation that was based on functionality. To be a government official and to live in houses that were provided by the government in newly built housing complexes became a new symbol of superiority in Jakarta. The new complexes gave birth to a new class of citizens consisting of government officials and sufficiently well educated people, mostly senior high school graduates or bachelors of art or science.The words *orang kota, (*city people), were eventually applied to those inhabitants of the new government housing complexes.

Menteng, which was previously an exclusive neighbourhood inhabited mostly by Dutch government officials and other Europeans, was rapidly taken over by a new elite consisting mostly of Indonesian high ranking military officers, former officials of the former colonial administration, and former Indonesian freedom fighters who were mostly graduates of Dutch schools. They lived according to the standards acquired during their decades of close contact with the Dutch and enjoyed the facilities left behind by the colonisers. By maintaining such a life style, those new Menteng inhabitants in fact extended the sense of white race superiority that had been associated with the area. By continuing to use the Dutch language in their daily lives, a practice which the colonial

authorities had made compulsory for civil servants in the colonial administration[5], the use of foreign languages became a symbol of superiority (Saraswati, 2002).

Figure 5: The "Menteng"

In contrast to Menteng, the *kampong* retained its remote character. As a result of the steady inflow of rural migrants, it continued to grow and occupy whatever open space the capital city offered. According to current estimates, about 60 to 70 per cent of Jakarta's current population live in diverse types of *kampongs* (Sujarto, 2002). It is only at the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s that the local governor of Jakarta launched the Mohammed Husni Thamrin Project, later known as the Kampung Improvement Program, to upgrade the lives of the *kampong* inhabitants by better and more comprehensive spatial planning.

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[5] In order to establish greater efficiency in the colonial bureaucracy, the Dutch at the end of the 19th century stop the recruitment of officials in the Dutch motherland. At the same an electoral victory of leftist groups in the Dutch parliament in The Hague ushered in a new policy of "ethical policy" in the colonies. Young Indonesians were invited to enter Dutch schools, where Dutch was the language of instruction and the curriculum was designed to take up posts in the bureaucracy after their graduation. However, only children of governnment officials and the local aristocracy were admittted. Mastery of the Dutch language however was not required in public schools for the "common" people. This policy of educational segregation helped to enforce the policy of cultural segregagtion and underscore the notion of the superiority of foreign languages over the native ones. See. Permanadeli (2012) for the relationship between colonial linguistic policy and the production of knowledge in Indonesia.

Figure 6: a *Kampong*

During the period of 1970-2000, the government of Indonesia continued to maintain the dream of Soekarno by transforming Jakarta from "the city of thousand *kampongs*" into a modern, ordered "Metropolitan City" (Cowherd, 2002). However, the overall image of *kampongs* as pockets of backwardness has endured. The problem of urban poverty has even aggravated the situation and reinforced the reputation of the urban *kampong* as spaces where progress and development are somehow beyond reach. The very word *kampong* thus represents the social segregation that has emerged in the post-colonial era. In opposition to *kota* or "city", *"Kampong"* or "*kampungan*" (vulgar) connotes crudeness, ignorance, lack of good taste, backwardness, and so forth.

Residential neighbourhoods for the ethnic Chinese population continued their earlier growth pattern, spreading to the East and West, or along the Jakarta Bay on the North coast. Meanwhile, the word "Chinese", which refers to a colonial category of citizens who have in a historical sense always been "outsiders" , continued to prevail. Therefore, the words "*orang Cina*" (Chinese) refer not only to a position of social exclusion, but to one of cultural, and spatial exclusion. Up to the early 1980s, the

constellation of residential spaces in Jakarta continued to be dominated by those of government officials estates, *kampongs* and Chinese neighbourhoods. This showed the persistence of the old colonial urban order had endured.

Figure 7: An old Chinese House in the old Chinatown of Jakarta

In 1972 the first non-govermental 'mega housing complex' was built in 1972 in South Jakarta: Pondok Indah. At that time, the Indonesian economy skyrocketed, the private sector experienced a boom and the need for housing amongst the groups of citizens outside the bureaucratic sector created a new market for residential facilities. The government hence opened up new spaces for housing purposes (Cowherd, 2002). A new Indonesian term was created for these new neighbourhoods, symbolising their position of superiority over the government planned residential areas: *real estate*.

Real estates, new city imageries and the construction of a desired modern identity

Following the footsteps of the colonial authorities, which were to evict *kampong* inhabitants and replace the vacant land by new urban residential areas (Dick, 2002), the Pondok Indah developers collaborated with the military to clear the land where the new complex was to be

built[6]. Pondok Indah became a new landmark in Jakarta, as a modern residential neighbourhood built and laid out with an American style, with a golf course, a club house and a function hall as well as a swimming pool and other facilities a modern urban neighbourhood should have, even more than in Menteng. In the past, residential areas, both those that were built for government employees as well as for *kampong* residents, were always laid out so that the market place, hospital and schools would be close by and easily accessible for the residents. This former organisation was replaced in the new *real estate* by new patterns of land use, with wide thoroughfares, two-way avenues lined by palm trees. They represented a new ideal of mobility among car-owning residents travelling or commuting between their residences and the city centre. Eventually a school was built, a hospital and by the end of the 1980s the neighbourhood had its own shopping mall. Pondok Indah Mall was one of the first malls built in Indonesia, along the model of the American one-stop shopping concept offering a venue where residents could spend their leisure time and do their everyday household shopping. The establishment of a modern shopping centre where a *kampong* once stood led to a new way of thinking about modernisation in the city. *Kampong* neighbourhoods could be modernized through demolition and building malls instead and not only through building new types of housing or public infrastructure. From that point on, most of the upmarket *real estate* projects followed the same pattern of integrating malls to the neighbourhood. The imagery of a new modern lifestyle according to the American model was established. The mall became a symbolic instrument for generating the self perception of Jakartans as being urbanites, connected to other urban people around the world. This coincided with the return to their homeland of a younger generation of Indonesians who had finished their studies in the United States and were taking up important positions in government, where they applied pro-American policies.

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[6] We take on purpose the example of Pondok Indah as a model of private housing development in this article, since it was initiated with abundance force of military violence to exterminate the existing kampong and replace it with modern housing complex. The army has important stakes in such construction. During our field work in one of the biggest real estate projects in North of Jakarta, we were prohibited to take pictures. The housing projects which were under construction were guarded by military officers.

Figure 8: Boulevard Pondok Indah with its Mall

Figure 9: Boulevard Pantai Indah Kapuk

A new group of Chinese businessmen[7] and high-ranking government officials, as well as many newly affluent indigenous Indonesian businessmen, who had all benefited from the government's new development policies, became the main residents of the housing estate. They came to symbolise Indonesia's new post-independence ruling elite that had emerged in the Cold War context, when the military collaborated with the (mainly Chinese) businessmen in order to ensure steady economic growth and political stability[8]. The next group of residents of the *real estate* were members of the first generation of graduates from the various institutes of higher education that had appeared during the period of growth. The very term "*real estate*" came to stand not only for the clusters of privately built ideal homes in an American style, but also for a new social class of Jakartans distinct from the classical bureaucrats[9] and the *kampong* residents. This urban space corresponds to the dwellings of the new urbanites. Spatially, *real estate* generated a new social meaning, where the progress of urban housing would imply transforming *kampong* into such integrated urban areas, referred as the true city or *kota*.

The Pondok Indah phenomenon also introduced new ways of naming neighbourhoods. Whereas earlier housing estates were named according to the government institutions that used them or the ethnic population groups which formed the majority of inhabitants – the Home Ministry Complex, or the Bank Indonesia Housing Complex to name a few examples, or Kampong Ambon, Kampong Bali, etc. – such designations were now discarded. Instead, the forceful eviction of the *kampong* population and the building of fashionable residences in their place gave birth to the use of euphemisms in naming the new neighbourhoods. Literally translated, the name Pondok Indah would be "Beautiful Shack," a *pondok* being a humble house or hut usually built of bamboo and coconut fronds. As for the adjective "*indah*" (beautiful), it is a commonplace in the names of *real estates* (Citra Indah and Cipinang Indah in East Jakarta; Bumi Karang Indah and Bona Indah in South Jakarta; and in North Jakarta in Pantai Indah Kapuk, etc).

To live in *real estate* housing projects whose names no longer followed the Menteng or *kampong* patterns represented the birth of a new imagery of urban dwelling. "*Indah*" and

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[7] The ethnic Chinese who took up residence in Pondok Indah differ from those who live in the Northern Glodok area, as their wealth originates from their collaboration with the military and the authorities.
[8] Amongst the numerous references on Indonesian progress during the New Order (Shwarz, 1990/1994)**.**
[9] The word "classical" is used in this context to refer to the bureaucrats of the early post-independence era (early 1950s to 1970s) who spoke Dutch and had received Dutch-European education.

"*real estate*" became new language tools to generate surplus meanings of modern urban identity. Living in such an area is to belong to such categories of inhabitants like the well-educated, the wealthy, those who lived in orderly, and well-recognised neighbourhoods (in opposition to the *kampong*). It represents a new foundation for the social imaginary of modern identity in Jakarta. This new meaning of modernity is embedded in multiple attributes from photos, stories and narratives, symbols (such as architectural design), advertisements to emotional feelings related not simply to the idea of housing but to the idea of being modern Indonesian as well. These are part of the social representations of a shared modern identity, performed in people's daily life.

In the process of circulation of these social representations in everyday life, words and language started to play important roles in producing those desired representations. The role of the language in producing social representations has already been emphasised by several authors. It can be considered as the medium *per se* in which these social imaginary significations become manifest and enact their constitutive work (Castoriadis, 1998; Taylor, 2004). This position strengthens Moscovici's proposition (1982), who studied the place of language and its links to the production of social representations. The study of Suratminto et al. (2011) confirmed the above argumentation on the use of language in advertisement. The close links that tie social imaginaries and language altered the patterns of social segregation that prevailed during the colonial era.

The power shift: from social and political discourse to communication

From the 1980's on, the real estate projects began to use the advertisement and media for their promotion, mostly printed newspapers and magazines first, then, at the end of 1990's with the development of private television, television advertisements. In such a context, advertisements were one of the most effective media to introduce and maintain the idea of modern identity by creating the link of the object (housing) with the public or consumers. Since they convey a message of modernity in the form of verbal messages or images, they create a mental space in which the social representations are produced and at the same time function as the epistemological ground for the creation of social imaginaries. Social representations and social imaginaries have here close ties. The intensive use of advertisements shows how this social object represents the "others" (cf the triangular scheme

of social representations in Moscovici, 1961/1976). Therefore, the decision of buying or not buying a house is determined not only by considerations of economical rationality (price, environment, institutional belonging, proximity to place of work, etc.), but also by the image of an ideal home created by society in the advertisement. Advertisements in this context replaced the "nationalist" discourse previously held by Soekarno.

The transition from nationalist discourse to promotional discourse shows how the production of representations is a dynamic process that follows social changes (Jodelet, 1992). We witness the creation of the ideals to which the society adheres, and at the same time society produces the objects that people refuse, reject or deny. Housing advertisements introduce the idealisation of new American types of living, and at the same time they maintain the rejection of *kampong* life. To buy a modern house as advertised by the real estate developers, represents therefore a collective act of producing the social imaginaries of modern identity. The act of consuming becomes here a social act in which we can trace the socio-political and cultural trajectories that reflect the relationship between Indonesia and the international world. In this context, advertisements are not merely written and published as a means of attracting the consumer's attention to buy in peculiar projects, they foster the national feeling that every citizen is nurtured by the dream of being modern.

Foreign language and a new symbol of living in Jakarta

English has been widely used since the fall of President Suharto in 1998. It is constituted as a way to build new representations of idealised communities in Jakarta. 87 of the 100 advertisements we studied used English in their slogans, even though they were aimed at local consumers, as ownership of property is officially prohibited for foreigners. A few words in English would act as a decorum, more than as a common vehicle. Only 6 % of the ads, aimed at the lower segments of the market, were written entirely in Indonesian. But even in those instances, English words or expressions appear: *club house*, *jogging track* or *kitchen set* for instance. From 2008 onwards, an evolution appeared as words from other languages were also introduced: the Spanish *casa* (in *Casa Goya* or *Casa Jardin*) or the French *ville* (*Gading Mediterania Ville*). This trend is significant of the opening up of the discourse to the global world.

Table 2: The linguistic use of copywriting

Indonesian	6%
English	10%
Mixed between Indonesian and English, with mostly English words adaption	84%
Total	100%

Figure 10: A black and white simple advertisement of upscale housing project with English Language copywriting

Figure 11: Upper class advertisement of imaginary luxury living with English copywriting

In the use of English words, further distinctions appear, as shown by two emblematical repertoires. *Green*, for instance, became popular in advertisements after 2005 amongst developers of luxury housing estates (*Green Apple Garden, Green Garden, Pasadena Green Residence*). It coincided with the growing public interest in environmental issues, even if the new neighbourhoods were not environmentally friendly. On the other hand, ironically, the words *grand* and *mansion* were used mostly for middle- and lower-class estates. The uses here hint at two different social image phenomena. For the lower classes of society, the attainment of wealth would constitute an important goal in life, whereas among the middle and upper classes it is important to be seen as global citizens who are aware and concerned about environmental issues.

Figure 12: The use of "exclusive", addressing to lower and middle market, with information on security guarantees

"Exclusive" appeared repeatedly in 47% of the housing advertisements aimed at all the markets (lower, middle and upper class). For luxury housing it is usually accompanied by

information about gated clusters that are open to no-one but their residents, 24-hour security systems and pictures of uniformed guards watching the gates. Several estates even have CCTV (close circuit television) cameras to emphasise the quest for maximum security. Here "exclusive" is used to underline the homogeneity supposed to exist amongst the residents, In this sense, the word seems to refer to a socially isolated milieu whose existence is separate from the rest of the city, especially from the surrounding *kampongs,* constituting them as ghettos,(Kusno, 2000). But, in turn, it actually has the effect of transforming the *real estates* and the modern housing projects reinforce the anchoring platform of modernity laid down by the Dutch and symbolically preserved by Soekarno.

Figure 13: Advertisements offering CCTV and Security

As for the advertisements aimed at the lower class markets, they separate the *real estate* houses from those of the *kampong*. Here what is "exclusive" takes the form of fences and other physical objects separating both houses and the complex, from the *kampong*. In *kampongs* there is no such tradition of separating houses by building fences. There, houses are

often placed so close to each other that there is practically no space left for fences. It is this atmosphere that is eliminated by the use of the word "exclusive" and by the creation of distinction and space in between.

Figure 14: Advertisements for lower class with fences

The prestigious neighbourhood of Menteng was also used to name the new *real estate* neighbourhoods, in several parts of Jakarta. In those neighbourhoods Menteng became the anchoring element to produce representations of order, class, and of an elite lifestyle. However, whereas during the 1960s and 1970s the Menteng life style was still oriented towards Europe or the Dutch-educated Javanese elite, in the current *real estates* it looks towards the well-off American classes. The return of Menteng as the ideal residential neighbourhood also reflects the rejection of the *kampong*.

Figure 15: Advertisements bearing the name of Menteng

In the advertisements of houses directed at the middle income market, this exclusiveness is usually illustrated by the spatial plans of the future homes. They have Western-style toilets in the bathrooms, as well as American bathtubs and kitchens. There are usually two of these. This practice began in the 1970s, with the arrival of American expatriates who rented Indonesian homes with hired local Indonesian household personnel. To prevent the kitchen smells from pervading the house, especially smells of Indonesian cooking, they started setting up in the house new "modern" equipped kitchens for their own use. These American-style kitchens became locally known as "dry kitchens" and participated in the construction of the identity of the new Indonesian middle class urbanite, like bathtubs and closets in the bathrooms. For the average Indonesian, these dry kitchens are entirely decorative in nature, as the actual cooking of the daily meals is done in the "wet" or traditional kitchen. The offer of two kitchen styles in one house participates in this quest for modernity and cosmopolitanism. This fact also represents the recent trend of valuing Western or modern elements above local ones, a movement that started during the period of industrial development in the late 1960s. Kozakai (1991) mentioned similar phenomena in Japan, where people tended to value international features more than Japanese ones. These recent additions to the Indonesian home are not just representations of the imagined ideal of being a modern Indonesian. They are markers of a spatial appropriation that is used to show a new imagined

international identity (politically and economically), to which Indonesians aspire in the post-independence era.

Figure 15: Advertisements offering dry kitchen

The production of this social imagery through language and amenities is embedded in the nation's political history, in particular with the shift from the Netherlands to the United States as the main referential in national politics[10]. While previously, speaking Dutch was the marker of the elite, English has taken over that role. The appearance of English words is not only an imaginary construction but it is the reflection of these relationships between local politics and the international political environment. Social imagery is thus not the groundless product of a creative imagination. Contrary to Castoriadis's position about radical social imageries (1998), here, as in social representations perspectives, imageries are always part of reality. The reality, the social representations and the social imaginaries therefore, belong to the same epistemological ground.

Social representations such as the 24-hour security guarantee, the closed residential clusters, the Western life style and fences, showed that advertisements construct the ideal home by negating the *kampong* culture. This constitutes one of the mental platforms on which the process of social representation and social imagery can be initialised. This relationship

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[10] In the early 70s, the president of Indonesia, Soeharto intended to bring the massacre led by the Dutch military during the independence war to international court of human right. This intention created a tension between Holland and Indonesia, and the Dutch prime minister threatened to withdraw all the financial aids to the country. It is for that reason that Soeharto turned his head to America and welcomed the American new direction of modernizing the country.

between mental platform and imagery production can also be seen in the conscious distinction that is made between the information conveyed and the language used. In advertisements that use a mixture of languages, prevailing situations concerning housing and Jakarta are always given in Indonesian. This includes information about the kinds of houses available such as location, price, bank guarantees, methods of payment and so forth. The Indonesian language is also prominently used (often printed in red to make it stand out) to convey information on residential neighbourhoods in Jakarta in general, for example, on how they are located outside flood-prone areas or concerning transport connections. On the other hand, less important facts such as the local atmosphere, the peacefulness or the greenery, are in English. The more upmarket the estate, the more English is used.

Figure 16: The use of 'exclusive' and golf as the imaginary luxury living,
addressed to middle and upper level market

In these cases, English loses its original linguistic character and becomes a figurative element in the production of images and representations. That is why only a few words of English are generally used, in the same way that a few modern international elements (the dry kitchen, fences or bathtubs) are dispersed throughout the new properties. English becomes a

symbolic and figurative instrument for the production of the imagery of a modern internationally oriented and stratified urban community. Here, words become illustrations.

Figure 17: Two signages of direction showing places using English and foreign naming in "Pantai Indah Kapuk" the upper class Real Estate housing project in North Jakarta

Desperately seeking Indonesians

While the use of English was increasing, the Indonesians on the advertisements seemed to disappear. In the publications for lower-class homes, inhabitants were very rarely present and only the homes were generally depicted. Pictures of people only consistently appeared in advertisements aimed at the middle- and upper-class markets. They are usually women and children and occasionally men. On the drawings, not photographs, of people, they usually depict non-Indonesian physical characteristics: blond hair, white people, even black-skinned people in one case.

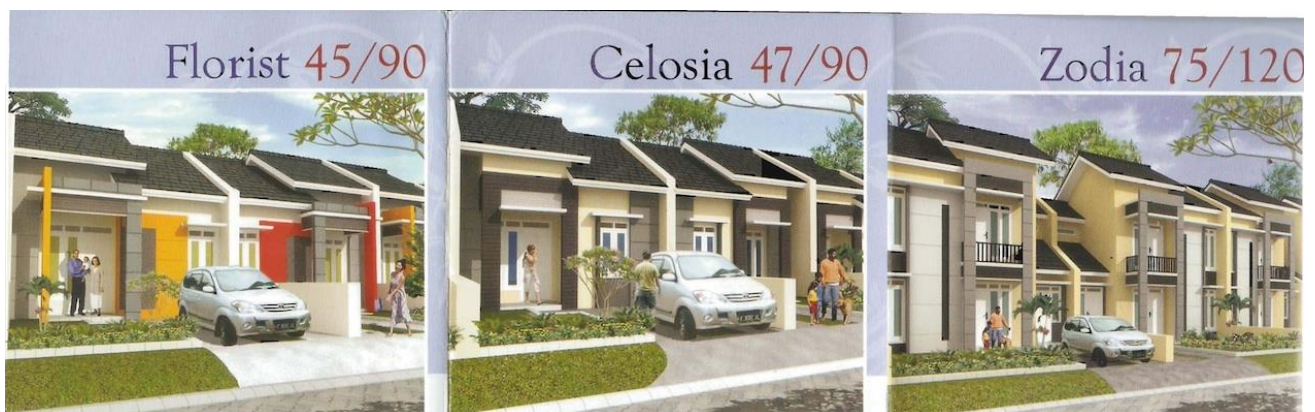Figure 18: Advertisements with Western, white skinned, blond hair models

Figure 19: Advertisements with Afro style models

Figure 20: Advertisements with Oriental looking models

On the contrary Indonesian features are very seldom used in those illustrations. The Asians depicted are usually Orientals (Japanese, Chinese or Korean), representing the most

economically powerful Asian nations. Whereas the advertisements were using English words in order to build a rejection of the *kampong* and to create "suitable" living environments for the upper segments of society, the pictures that accompanied the texts strengthen this exclusiveness: they presented the housing estates as suitable for foreigners. The word "*kampong*" is therefore extended to refer not only to those urban residential neighbourhoods that are inhabited by middle and lower class people. It is also made to represent a shared imagined space that is reserved for a rejected and negated indigenous Indonesian identity. Indonesia then becomes the *kampong* and it is the intention of the advertisers to free Indonesians from their sense of "*kampongness*".

The clothes of the people appearing in the pictures confirm these aspects. Men wear suits, just as international businessmen are supposed to do, while the women are dressed as if they were going to work, wearing two-piece suits with blazer as typical working modern apparel. Pictures of dogs also regularly appeared in advertisements of middle and upper class houses, with no distinction in either gender or age with regard to the relationship between the residents and their dogs, as is usually found in the West. This presence can be interpreted as ironical, as Indonesia has the biggest Muslim population in the world, and dogs are considered unclean (*haram*). Here, if one regards both dogs and religious belief as a representation, which is by nature tension free and can create coherence amongst heterogeneous elements, then we would be able to see a coherence that explains how the representation was formed (Moscovici, 1961/1976). In similar cases of the introduction of modernity in Java (Permanadeli, 2000, on Javanese women), there was a certain willingness to adopt foreign life styles, while religious fanaticism was considered to be taboo.

The religious context of Indonesia is also of importance. Continuing the colonial tradition of introducing and putting religion forward as a symbol of mankind's advancing civilization, the Indonesian government officially adopted the same policy by requiring all the citizens to adhere to one of religions recognized by the State. The failed "communist coup" in 1965 created a new platform for religion in Indonesian society. In the context of the then raging Cold War, religion became a political instrument for the government to control communism by associating its doctrines with atheism. Since that time, religion became an attribute of "social ownership" as well as a guarantee of political security. To belong to a religion was considered identical with being a non-communist. This historical reality eventually led to the birth of a period of sustained development and modernisation in

Indonesia. It also gave Indonesian religion its fluid and open character. The basic elements for progress and religious civility which the Dutch had laid down were growing back and taking shape to reflect the changes in political conditions and times. As Geertz argued (1973) that religion is never merely metaphysic, neither is the dog.

Figure 21: Advertisements with dogs

The presence of dogs in advertisements of homes therefore cannot be seen as a form of opposition or heresy against any religion. They are directed to the urban upper classes of Jakarta and have to be viewed in the light of the need to build a specific social imagery. Keeping pet animals is a trend in the lifestyle of the wealthy, and is not a religious symbol. That is why opposition to them has never occurred and dog food is still commonly sold in supermarkets and malls, particularly near wealthy housing complexes. This presence of dogs enhances a representation of the idea of a person as modern. Dogs do not just show the distance of the imaginary from historical-social and political reality. In the advertisements, dogs narrate the complex phenomena of modernity in an ex-colonised country that cannot be summed up merely by economic growth or modern appearance of the city.

Cars are also often found in the *real estate* advertisements (55 advertisements and all advertising middle and upper class homes). They are always parked in front of the houses

(usually Mercedes, BMW or Kijang Toyotas, the local version of the family car). This reflects the situation in Jakarta, where the higher one's status, the more cars one possesses. For middle-class people living in *real estate* houses, the minimum number of cars owned is two to four and in many instances, the size of the garages are indicative of the number of cars they can hold. In a city where public transportation is in a dire state, private means of transportation are an important feature of city life in Jakarta. Pondok Indah, the first *real estate* offering grandiose avenues at its creation, is now plagued by huge traffic jams during peak hours.
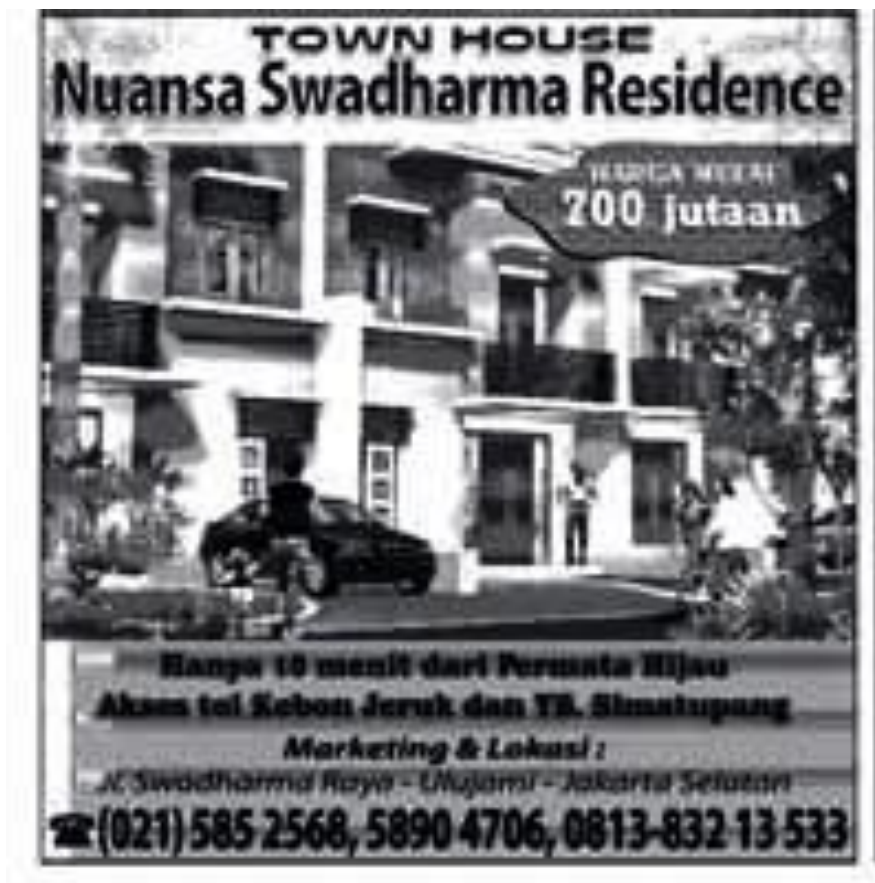

Figure 22: Advertisements with cars as an integral part of the lower middle class market

Figure 23: Traffic jams in Jakarta

The presence of so numerous cars in Jakarta tells a two-fold story. On the one hand, it reinforces the symbolism of the construction of the Semanggi interchange by Soekarno, in order to establish Indonesia as an advanced and modern state. On the other hand, this priority given to cars has provoked serious congestion. An unchallenged and unquestioned vision of modernity has therefore come to reflect both Jakarta's collective imagery and the absurdity of such policies. Advertisements in this context are the representational tools that produce and at the same time perpetuate the balance between idealisation and nonsense.

CONCLUSION

Real estates as they can be seen and promoted in Jakarta thus symbolise the ambiguities of a constant strive towards modernity. They are part of a historical process, in continuity with the colonial period. In this case, they build new images, relying on forms of dwelling linked to modernity. They contribute to the shaping of the city by forming new clusters of modernity and capitalism. They are linked to the rest of the world, reflecting a well-connected globalised community, as seen by the language used, the images conveyed and the lifestyles promoted. They also explain why in current poverty alleviation plans the Indonesian government has

been less and less applying *kampong* improvement schemes. Instead it has tried to link poor urban housing with external policy schemes. In such a process, the neglect, if not the negation of properly Indonesian characters, still reflects a sense of domination, of inferiority, as if processes of globalisation always originated in an imagined western developed world, and one had to renounce one's traditions to reach modernity (Kuan Hsing, 2010). That is why those *real estates* seem so disconnected from the city they are in. It is in these disconnecting realities that Jakarta nurtures their inhabitants about the imaginaries of modern living.

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