

**The Making of Jakarta's Image and Identity through Infrastructure Transitions and
City Axes Formation from Colonial to Post-colonial City Planning and Politics**

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Abstract:

Infrastructure is a system in cities that is designed to aid the life of the people. In Jakarta, the trace can be found throughout history with a major one started in the colonial period with city wall and canals construction. Eventually, the post-colonial government took over and continued the infrastructure development in forms of street and public transportation. In each of the development stage of city planning and infrastructure, there could be found various political intentions that resulted in social implications that translated into city image and people's identity. The paper delves into some instances of Jakarta's planning and infrastructure throughout the history to witness the city's transformation in forming today's street-center culture of Jakarta. Map reading exercises are mainly used to form connections with photo archives and commentaries on electronic medias to understand the dynamics of government domination and responses from civic daily movements.

Keywords:

Jakarta, Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning, Infrastructure, City Axis, City Image

Introduction

The city of Jakarta has kickstarted its significant development since the Dutch colonization era, notably from the fall of Batavia wall that caused the extension of the city to the south. From this point, street was constructed as physical means to facilitate connection – with concentrated activities and civilization, street turned to be main road – with infrastructure, road evolved to be the first city axis that connected the port, the old center and the new center. During its growth under the Dutch governance, the city axis harmoniously accommodated cars, tramways and major public facilities that created a long node as the liveliest linear space especially for supporting the activities of the elites.¹ However, after the handover to the first post-colonial government after Indonesia's independence in 1945, the plan of city planning was apparent to be politically led with the ambitious goal of the post-colonial leaders as derived from *TAP MPR* [People's Consultative Assembly Decree] *II/MPRS* in 1960.² Besides, the “reactivation of the 1945 Constitution” that led to Guided Democracy system in the country aimed to re-conceive the national image on population's lifestyle and to diminish the relevance of colonial ideologies.³ The narration of Guided Democracy in the era was directed to the modernization of the city as Soekarno proclaimed in his speech in 1962, Jakarta as the “portal of the country” which the country had to present with pride.⁴ Consequently, implications on the social dynamics and the city's heritage have since to bear the actions in the name of nationalism.

Nationalism typically takes shape of an idea to replace a preceding colonial entity, that includes a conscious attempt of excluding a foreign culture.⁵ It is a process typical to post-colonial era, a time of historical trajectory of a nation that attempts to achieve a specific identity for its people.⁶ In the discourse of the post-colonial identity formation in Indonesia, extensive literature exists on national semiotic representation.⁷ This approach is apparent in Jakarta throughout the decades of the first two presidents' leadership especially in the event of preparation for 1962 Asian Games, or as known as *Politik Mercusuar* [Lighthouse Politics].⁸ The products have been highly recognizable as city

¹ H.A.. Breuning, *Het voormalige Batavia: een Hollandse stedestichting in de tropen anno 1619*, Heemschut-serie, deel 74 (Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1954), 121–23.

² ‘Ketetapan Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara Republik Indonesia Nomor II/MPRS/1960 Tentang Garis-Garis Besar Pola Pembangunan Nasional Semesta Berencana Tahapan Pertama 1961-1969’, n.d., https://peraturan.go.id/files/TAPMPRS_NO_IIMPRS1960_1960.PDF.

³ Herbert Feith, Lance Castles, and . Soekarno, *Indonesian Political Thinking: 1945-1965*, Asian Literature Program of the Asia Society, New York (Ithaca, NY, etc.: Cornell University Press, 1970), 285, 289, 290.

⁴ Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, Architext Series (London ; Routledge, 2000), 54.

⁵ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, First edition (New York: Knopf, 1993), 50; Anthony D. King, ‘Postcolonialism, Representation, and the City’, in *A Companion to the City*, Blackwell Companions to Geography (Oxford, UK ; Blackwell, 2003).

⁶ King, ‘Postcolonialism, Representation, and the City’.

⁷ Kemas Ridwan Kurniawan, ‘DINAMIKA ARSITEKTUR INDONESIA DAN REPRESENTASI “POLITIK IDENTITAS” PASCA REFORMASI’, *NALARs* 17, no. 1 (2 January 2018): 65–78, <https://doi.org/10.24853/nalars.17.1.65-78>; Kani Muthmainnah and Kemas Ridwan Kurniawan, ‘Traditionality and Modernity: Post-Colonial Architecture in Indonesia’, *E3S Web of Conferences* 65 (2018): 01003, <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/20186501003>; Rahadhian Prajudi Herwindo, ‘Dialog Pengembangan Potensi Bentuk Dan Ruang Pada Arsitektur Tradisional Indonesia Dengan Konteks Masa Kini Dan Mendatang’, 2016, <https://repository.unpar.ac.id/handle/123456789/repository.unpar.ac.id/handle/123456789/1442>; Siti Nur Aqidatul Izza and Candrika Ilham Wijaya, ‘Melihat Identitas Bangsa Indonesia & Subjektivitas Simbolik Monumen Nasional Dengan Kacamata Arkeologi Pascakolonial’, *Artefak* 37, no. 1 (2022): 14–17; Helen Jessup, ‘Dutch Architectural Visions of the Indonesian Tradition’, *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 138–61, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1523090>.

⁸ Mellysiana Qoirun Nisa Sundahana, ‘Kompleks Gelora Bung Karno, Buah Politik Mercusuar’, *Artefak* 37, no. 1 (2022): 8–10.

landmarks in today's Jakarta, to name some are the National Monument, *Senayan/ Gelora Bung Karno Stadium*, and Hotel Indonesia.⁹ Besides, many scholars argue that the post-colonial representation sources from collective memory of specific local identity, as Hidayatun refers as "Regionalism" where open spaces with respect of its context as gathering and contestations play a major role in defining the national image.¹⁰ From the existing academic trend, it can be deduced that relationship between colonial and post-colonial has been associated more on the discussions of individual items as heritage either objects or spaces that share similar cultural and period entity as well as what evolves around them. Otherwise, the dialogues are often politically heavy with more focus given on the leaders as national figures, regime ideologies, the signature policies and transition of traditions with a mere general urban planning implication.¹¹ However, Moser proclaimed that the study of national image and heritage shall also to be assessed from "commonplace and everyday rather than the spectacular" to see people on their daily basis.¹² Although heritage in Moser's instances are "performance and performativity" such as formal rituals (flag ceremonies and morning *senam* [exercise]) and cultural rituals (traditional dances and sports), a parallel concept is traceable in the discussion of urban planning, specifically by examining humans' activities in streets and infrastructures.

To date, there are only a small selection of instances available in the discussion of streets and infrastructures with the underlining notion of colonial and post-colonial urban planning.¹³ The research available often discusses each of the city elements as a separate subject, for instance housing, trains, canals and urban grid – most in segmented time period of either colonial or post-colonial period.¹⁴ Moreover, there is little connection of these city elements to collective memory or heritage

⁹ Muhammad Rizaldy, 'Sukarno Dan Pembangunan Stadion Gelora Bung Karno Di Senayan, 1959-1962', *PERIODE: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Pendidikan Sejarah* 2, no. 2 (31 December 2020): 100–126.

¹⁰ Maria I Hidayatun, *Jatidiri Arsitektur Indonesia, Regionalisme Dalam Konsep Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Yogyakarta: K-Media, 2018), <https://core.ac.uk/reader/237150410>; Iwan Hermawan, Octaviadi Abrianto, and Revi Mainaki, 'Pengaruh Perkeretaapian Terhadap Perkembangan Struktur Tata Ruang Kota Cirebon Berdasarkan Tinggalan Arkeologis, The Effect of Train Transportation to the Development of Cirebon Spatial StructureBased on Archaeological Heritage', *KALPATARU* 29, no. 2 (November 2020): 117–32, <https://doi.org/10.24832/kpt.v29i2.653>; Siti Utami Dewi Ningrum and Tedy Harnawan, 'Proyek Tata Kota Dan Nostalgia Kolonial Di Magelang', *Patrawidya* 24, no. 2 (December 2023), <https://doi.org/10.52829/pw.443>; R. Rakhmanita, Edi Purwanto, and Arief Rahman, 'Menelusuri Makna Ruang Pada Permukiman Kaum Depok Pada Masa Pasca Kolonial', *Prosiding (SIAR) Seminar Ilmiah Arsitektur*, 30 July 2020, 83–89; 'The Two Alun-Alun of Malang (1930-1960)', in *Cars, Conduits, and Kampongs: The Modernization of the Indonesian City, 1920–1960*, 1st ed., vol. 295, Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde (Leiden: BRILL, 2015), 272–99, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004280724>.

¹¹ Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial*; B. B. Hering, *Soekarno: architect van een natie = architect of a nation, 1901-1970* (Amsterdam, Leiden: KIT Publishers ; KITLV Press, 2001); Feith, Castles, and Soekarno, *Indonesian Political Thinking*.

¹² Sarah Moser, 'Performing National Identity in Postcolonial Indonesia' (Thesis, 2008), <https://scholarbank.nus.edu.sg/handle/10635/16055>.

¹³ James N. Rosenau and Diane Wildsmith, 'Jakarta as a Site of Fragmeigrative Tensions', in *Postcolonial Urbanism: Southeast Asian Cities and Global Processes*, 1st ed. (Florence: Routledge, 2003), 187–202, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203615898>; Marsely L. Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia: Exposing the Hierarchy of the Dutch Colonial City', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/doi:10.5092/jhna.2015.7.1.3>; Hermawan, Abrianto, and Mainaki, 'Pengaruh Perkeretaapian Terhadap Perkembangan Struktur Tata Ruang Kota Cirebon Berdasarkan Tinggalan Arkeologis, The Effect of Train Transportation to the Development of Cirebon Spatial StructureBased on Archaeological Heritage'.

¹⁴ Hermawan, Abrianto, and Mainaki, 'Pengaruh Perkeretaapian Terhadap Perkembangan Struktur Tata Ruang Kota Cirebon Berdasarkan Tinggalan Arkeologis, The Effect of Train Transportation to the Development of Cirebon Spatial StructureBased on Archaeological Heritage'; Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia'; Ria

labelling, as it seems that these particular systems of streets and infrastructures are regarded as non-heritage objects, especially when discussing the national identity representation. Also, Herwindo maintains that the identification of national image is a transitional values that need to be studied over a period of time as a continuous relationship of “past-present-future”.¹⁵ Therefore, to fill the literature gap, this paper attempts to discuss a continuous development of infrastructure in colonial and post-colonial timeframe of Jakarta in defining its identity.

In investigating Jakarta’s streets, infrastructure and lifestyle transformation as well as their role as city’s identity and heritage, I question the mobility transformation under the political interactions of nationalistic Jakarta versus European-influenced Batavia; the diverse communities reactions and dependencies from the government planning policies throughout the generations; the legibility of untold heritage of Batavia from the existence of its substitution that would logically explain Jakarta development; and the recent interventions on public transportation and infrastructure that affect the already built Jakarta as a city of street-centric culture.

The history analysis bases its arguments on the map of Batavia in 1938 that displays streets, tramlines and important landmarks in the city, and also the finding of the physically buried tram rails in 2022. They are utilized with companions and comparisons to Jakarta and the public transportation maps in the previous and following decades, as well as supporting images from historical archives during colonial and post-colonial period. Further, the maps are also used as bases for creating analytical diagrams in assessing the city’s infrastructure as physical matter, while discussing the city’s infrastructure as intangible matter is done through stories from historical diaries, image analysis, electronic mass media to look at advertisements, as well as social media. Electronic medias are chosen to represent more of the later generation of Jakarta which is able to generate a genuine review on the surface life of the existing communities.

The paper highlights three significant moments of Jakarta’s infrastructure and transportation development, starting with a brief old Batavia introduction as a canal community built by the Dutch, followed by the commencement of tramway to link the new government centrum that formulates the first city axes. The discussion continues in the post-colonial period, identified with the shift of city axes and infrastructure focus to the street-centric city, accompanied with the implications on social and racial segregations. Subsequently towards the modern Jakarta, the conversation progresses with the revival of public transportation system through the introduction of *Transjakarta*, which leaves a question on the way it intertwines with the infrastructure and city axes that have existed historically.

Hutabarat Lo, ‘The City as a Mirror: Transport, Land Use and Social Change in Jakarta’, *Urban Studies (Edinburgh, Scotland)* 47, no. 3 (2010): 529–55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009348557>.

¹⁵ Herwindo, ‘Dialog Pengembangan Potensi Bentuk Dan Ruang Pada Arsitektur Tradisional Indonesia Dengan Konteks Masa Kini Dan Mendatang’.

Infrastructure, Transitions and Memories

A synthesis of theoretical traces is helpful in understanding the phenomenon of Jakarta as a megapolitan city that has undergone numerous notable infrastructural transitions throughout the history of its political leaderships. As a starting point, a British Marxist economic geographer, David Harvey mentions that “political and economic power” arrive from the concentration of “common interests” that signify different characters into a “unified rule” of capitalism.¹⁶ Within his theory of “spatial fix”, the political endorsement is able to restructure urban orders and physical infrastructures in dominating the “particularities” and merging them into a “universal” principle.¹⁷ Relating this into historical context, Edward Said, a Palestinian-American post-colonial thinker refers the unity force to the term “nationalism” that denotes “undifferentiated things”, an idea in opposing Western domination in colonial and post-colonial periods.¹⁸ It is a gesture of monolith-ing society which does not necessarily bring liberation after a nation independence, as it often ends up with a ruling figure that practically continues imperialism in the post-colonial era.¹⁹ This political practice, he argues, is an attempt of an identity formation.²⁰

In practice, identity of a city, suggested by a pioneer of mental mapping concept, Kevin Lynch, has a tight relation with the “imageability” from “physical object” that provides a memorable insight such as “social meaning, functions, history, or even its name” to the observers.²¹ Out of the five elements discussed (paths, edges, districts, nodes, landmarks), the first and the last are the most relevant in this paper.²² Lynch emphasizes that these certain entities of the city have to be more pronounced individually in order to be “a workable image” which is straightforwardly applicable to the existence of city landmarks.²³ Streets, as another urban element, are more recognizable with correlation to their sizes, continuity of flow, “special façade”, visibility from afar and the peculiarity of their concentrated activities.²⁴ Moreover, the elements of the accentuated paths need to be consistent and bear “an obvious functional necessity”, if necessary, a landmark shall be along on the edges of streets in which image hierarchy is successful – resulting the paths to be perceived as the “skeleton of the city”.²⁵ The design of these urban objects is noted by John Reps, an urban historian with particularity in American urban iconography to probably be influenced greatly by the colonial planning, in which seldom perform good results.²⁶ He provides an example of the gridiron or orthogonal grid system that is profound in American cities planning that was introduced during the Spanish occupation.²⁷ It was pictured as a fast and cost-efficient planning system that had been sustained throughout centuries of the United States development yet being criticized afterwards to give a sight of “sterile dullness”.²⁸

In contrast, Lynn Meskell, an Australian archeologist and anthropologist presents the otherwise, stating that colonial remnants are usually targeted for political action of “cultural cleansing” instead of

¹⁶ David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2007), 374.

¹⁷ Harvey, 195–96, 369.

¹⁸ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 308, 315.

¹⁹ Said, 372.

²⁰ Said, 371.

²¹ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1960), 9, 46.

²² Lynch, 46.

²³ Lynch, 8, 78.

²⁴ Lynch, 50–51.

²⁵ Lynch, 96, 98.

²⁶ John William Reps, *Town Planning in Frontier America* (Columbia, Mo. : University of Missouri Press, 1980), 291, <http://archive.org/details/townplanninginfr00reps>.

²⁷ Reps, 27–46.

²⁸ Reps, 293–94.

being adopted in the following regime.²⁹ She adds that heritage and memories are reserved consciously through selected “multiple pasts” that “compete” and “sanctified”, so that often times “colonial tendencies and colonial constructs” will be denied.³⁰ It is also explained by David Lowenthal, an American geographer and historian that is known for his heritage works that after these memories are represented, it is almost impossible to verify them as facts since “the past is gone”.³¹ It is believed that one has to maintain the experience to gather the continuous memory and to translate it into identity, otherwise, it is a feasible task to alter “historical insights” consciously or not.³² When it is done consciously, Lowenthal explains that it is an intended action of “becoming the part of” or plundering the past.³³ A few examples are given such as the “transplanted London Bridge to Arizona” and “concentrated classical antiquities at the British Museum”.³⁴ They are the witnesses of a “changed past” in relation to an identity formation – their physical existence, referred as relics are significant to the closest context through the message they convey on “how they are seen, explained, illustrated, and appreciated”.³⁵

As easily translated to the application in a city, the message of identity and memories is delivered through structures and buildings, yet according to Keller Easterling, an architect and Professor at Yale University, a greater power is owned by city infrastructure.³⁶ She argues that infrastructures are able to circulate and organize the “content” of logistics of a city that is difficult to detect while are always “doing something” unlike a building.³⁷ When observed from infrastructures, the “stories” or memories of reinforcing certain identity perform a complex action that dynamically and swiftly intertwine economical, societal and political functions of the city.³⁸ Therefore, infrastructure shall be included in design discourse out of its powerfulness and “active forms that act like spatial software”.³⁹ Due to the absence of specific theory, the conceptual flow of the paper needs to be explained from various theoretical perspectives. However, they accumulatively explain the importance of assessing the making of Jakarta from its infrastructure transitions.

²⁹ Lynn Meskell, *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1998), 13.

³⁰ Meskell, 14–15.

³¹ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: University Press, 1985), 187.

³² Lowenthal, 195, 197, 283.

³³ Lowenthal, 283, 331.

³⁴ Lowenthal, 264.

³⁵ Lowenthal, 264.

³⁶ Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space* (London ; Verso, 2014), 10–11.

³⁷ Easterling, 11.

³⁸ Easterling, 201–2.

³⁹ Easterling, 201.

The Fall of Walled Canals and the New City Centrum

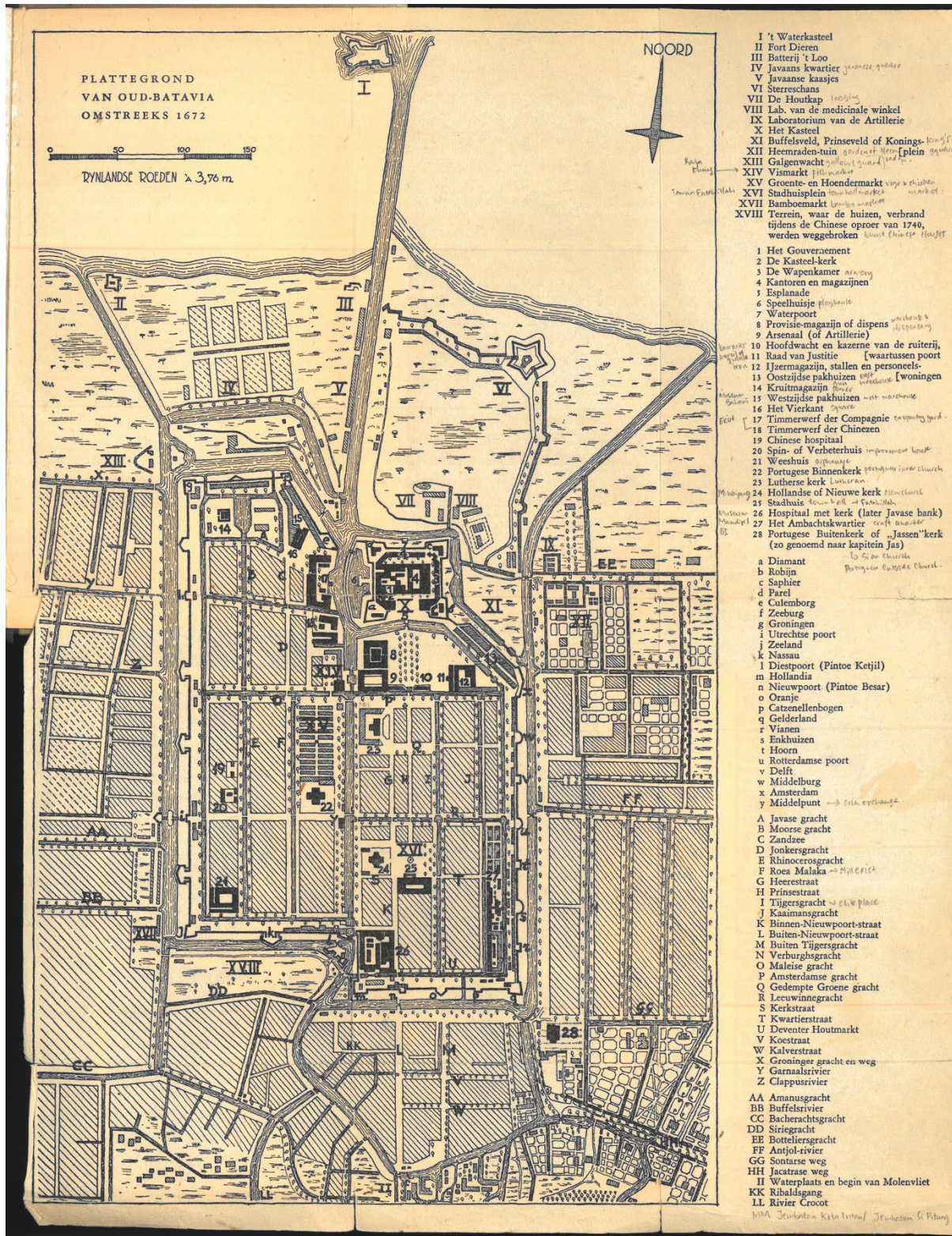


Figure 1. Old Batavia Plan 1672. Map in Het voormalige Batavia: een Hollandse stedestichting in de tropen anno 1619, 1954.

The beginning of Batavia was signified by the wall built in the early 1600s by Jan Pieterzoon Coen, the governor of *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), the most well-known monopolizing Dutch company in the period.⁴⁰ As a typical ancient European city treatment, the wall served as physical boundary together with canal addition that work surrounding the small city that accommodates the main functions for its inhabitants with plazas, streets and markets.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the canals also flowed into the walled city as a Dutch specificity that aid the inhabitants as its early infrastructure in Batavia – a means of “urban transportation, flood control and water supply”.⁴² Besides, the intention is also to separate the life of the elites and locals, creating a contrasting social dynamic between inside and outside of the wall.⁴³

The map (Fig. 1) depicts the Batavia neighborhood in 1672.⁴⁴ Most observable is firstly the canal that overall split the walled city into east and west – *de Grootte Rivier*, which name persists now in Bahasa Indonesia *Kali Besar*, both with similar meaning of the Big River. It has shown its significant existence, even from the name to the daily activity of the inhabitants. From the map, it is identifiable that the canal was represented as the major link between the sea and the hinterland. In almost the middle point, the canal intersected with its branches that quarter the wall city, where an operable bridge that still remains as a conserved heritage item in Jakarta Old City. This is the only bridge left from the colonial period that is now called *Jembatan Kota Intan* [Diamond City Bridge], but previously was named *Hoenderpasarburg* [Chicken Market Bridge] due to its proximity to the chicken market, and then changed to *Het Middelpunt Burg* [the Central Bridge] in 1655 that can be speculated from its centrality of function in the city at that time.⁴⁵ It is also visible that this bridge system connected the north and south districts that served the city in different functions, as seen from the distribution of the city landmarks in color filled blocks. The north seems to represent the prominent trading activities at that time from the castle, office and warehouses, while the south district was designed for civic spaces, dominated with the hatched rectangles that represented the residential quarters, as well as public buildings such as hospital, and a square that connected the church and the city hall.

The daily occurrences, especially in the southern area where the neighborhood is filled with various activities are described comprehensively by Jan de Marre, one of the Dutch elites who retired at the “rank of Vice-Admiral” and also a “poet and dramatist”, in his narrative journal.⁴⁶ He explains that in the morning, the markets were full of people including the Dutch elites who hunted for fish, vegetables and fruits.⁴⁷ The elites who enjoyed the fertility and richness of Batavia were not reluctant to go to the markets by themselves instead of ordering the workers, as they believed special treatments would be given to them as a higher class.⁴⁸ The narrative continues to the elites’ activities in the afternoon. Secretariats would be filled by employees that did the administration of the warehouses, while not far – along *Tijgersgracht*, known as where the elite resided, he would encounter young

⁴⁰ Kehoe, ‘Dutch Batavia’, 1.

⁴¹ Reys, *Town Planning in Frontier America*, 7–19.

⁴² Euis Puspita Dewi et al., ‘CANALS TO STREETS: POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES ON THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF COLONIAL BATAVIA’, *Engineering Heritage Journal* 6, no. 1 (2022): 26, <https://doi.org/10.26480/gwk.01.2022.25.30>.

⁴³ Benny G. Setiono, *Tionghoa dalam pusaran politik* (Jakarta: Elkasa, 2003).

⁴⁴ Breuning, *Het voormalige Batavia*.

⁴⁵ Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya Banten, ‘Jembatan Kota Intan, Kotatua Jakarta’, *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya Banten* (blog), 3 November 2014, <http://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/bpcbbanten/jembatan-kota-intan-kotatua-jakarta/>.

⁴⁶ Jan de Marre, ‘Dagelijksch Level in Oud-Batavia/ Daily Life in Oud-Batavia’, accessed 14 April 2024, <https://www.s-i-d.nl/dagelijks-leven-in-oud-batavia-2/>; British Museum, ‘Jan de Marre’, accessed 14 April 2024, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG170233>.

⁴⁷ Marre, ‘Dagelijksch Level in Oud-Batavia/ Daily Life in Oud-Batavia’.

⁴⁸ Marre.

ladies strolling elegantly with their maids by their sides and jewelries on their bodies for people-watching and getting-watched.⁴⁹ The scene of *Tijgersgracht* was also documented by Jacob van Meurs, a merchant who travelled the world in 17th century, on his artwork as compiled on Atlas van der Hagen (Fig. 3).⁵⁰ Here, *Tijgersgracht* is depicted with backdrop of either the city castle or the city wall, and a lavishly adorned canal boat with a Dutch flag on the back which can be assumed to serve one of the Dutch elites who watched from the canal sides under the umbrellas carried by the workmen. The houses on the canal edges are well-built where the European elites settled at that time. It is also emphasized by Kehoe that *Tijgersgracht* was the “most fashionable address for prosperous Batavians.”⁵¹ From this point, it was already visible that “hierarchy of location” existed as early as colonial period, even though Kehoe explained that the initial idea of using gridiron system was to split the walled city into four equal divisions.⁵² Another instance, also narrated by Marre when sometimes there was a welcoming gesture to the general governor who entered the walled city with his wife around the city hall, where trumpets were blown, and everyone rose up.⁵³ This particular street is to be recognized on the map as *Princestraat* [Prince Street] that connected *Het Stadhuis* [the city hall] to the castle on its north. From the naming itself, it was distinctive enough to observe the importance of it as the city axis. Besides, just before entering the civic quarter area in the south, anyone would encounter the Amsterdam Gate that grandly stood and frame the city hall (Fig. 4). The strong relationship was also supported with the city square located at the end of the axis, as elaborated by Kehoe where the square shared its edges with city hall, a church as well as small park just next to *Tijgersgracht* – as a proof of the non-even distribution of the public buildings.⁵⁴

The wall gates and the towers on the periphery are something worth paying attention to, especially for the two distinctive names: *Diestpoort/ Pintu Ketjil* [Thirst Port/ Small Door] and *Nieuwpoort/ Pintoe Besar* [New Port/ Big Door] as they stand out of the rest which names referred to gems and Dutch municipalities, these referred to their sizes. The names describe literally the functions which are perceivable from the maps, too. *Pintoe Ketjil* provided main water axis from the outer port towards the hinterland in a close proximity to the outer-wall Chinese merchants squatters, while *Pintoe Besar* held a bigger image as it literally means, as it extended the city axis from the plaza of the city hall to the outside world of the wall. Also observable from the maps in the next century, this pathway remained as a key point of where the infrastructure development in the next phase of Batavia occurred. Besides, the existence of Chinese hospital and *Timmerwerf der Chinezen* [Chinese Carpentry] on the map indicated other communities' life within the wall. This is also shown on the racial distribution diagram (Fig. 5) that Chinese, Bandanese and Merijkers (released Asian and African slaves of Portuguese as previous colonizer) settled within the wall besides the European, even though it did not mean that their lifestyles and classes dissolved seamlessly.⁵⁵ It is noted that Chinese population at that time grew rapidly as they aided the trading activities in major ports in East Indies (including other regions of the current Indonesia) at that time specifically the sugar industries in Batavia.⁵⁶ It is even highlighted that the Chinese massacre by the Dutch army in 1740 put tense in between the two communities and led to difficulties in port activities from Dutch perspective and resulted to the allowance of Chinese population who got kicked out of the wall to settle back within

⁴⁹ Marre.

⁵⁰ Weduwe van Jacob van Meurs, *View of the Tijgersgracht on Batavia*, 1682, Painting, 1682, Atlas of Mutual Heritage, <https://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/en/page/3665/view-of-the-tijgersgracht-on-batavia>.

⁵¹ Kehoe, ‘Dutch Batavia’, 16.

⁵² Kehoe, 16.

⁵³ Marre, ‘Dagelijksch Level in Oud-Batavia/ Daily Life in Oud-Batavia’.

⁵⁴ Kehoe, ‘Dutch Batavia’, 16.

⁵⁵ J. R. van Diessen, *Jakarta/Batavia: het centrum van het Nederlandse koloniale rijk in Azië en zijn cultuurhistorische nalatenschap*, Cantecler kunst-reisgidsen, 1989: 2 (De Bilt: Cantecler, 1989).

⁵⁶ Setiono, *Tionghoa dalam pusaran politik*, 92–93.

the wall.⁵⁷ It is, however, not the case that all Chinese members were equally powerful. Unheard of in the modern Jakarta, a video uploaded by Randy @Chinese_Server on TikTok summarizes the *Holland Spreken*, a sub-group of Chinese that had a close relationship and lifestyle to the Dutch colonizers. “*Para Holland spreken lebih suka berbicara Bahasa Belanda, tidak berbicara dialek nenek moyangnya apalagi belajar Bahasa Mandarin dengan buku.*” [the Holland spreken prefers talking in Dutch than their own (ancestral) mother tongue, not saying learning Mandarin on book.]⁵⁸ Another identifiable community from the map is due to the existence of the *Portuguese Buitenkerk* [Portuguese Outside Church] which stands until now, called Sion Church that is located just outside of the walled city as oppose to the *Portuguese Binnenkerk* [Portuguese Inside Church] as an evidence of the Black Portuguese group (*Mardijkers* of the outer wall) as one of the active minority communities in Batavia at that time.⁵⁹

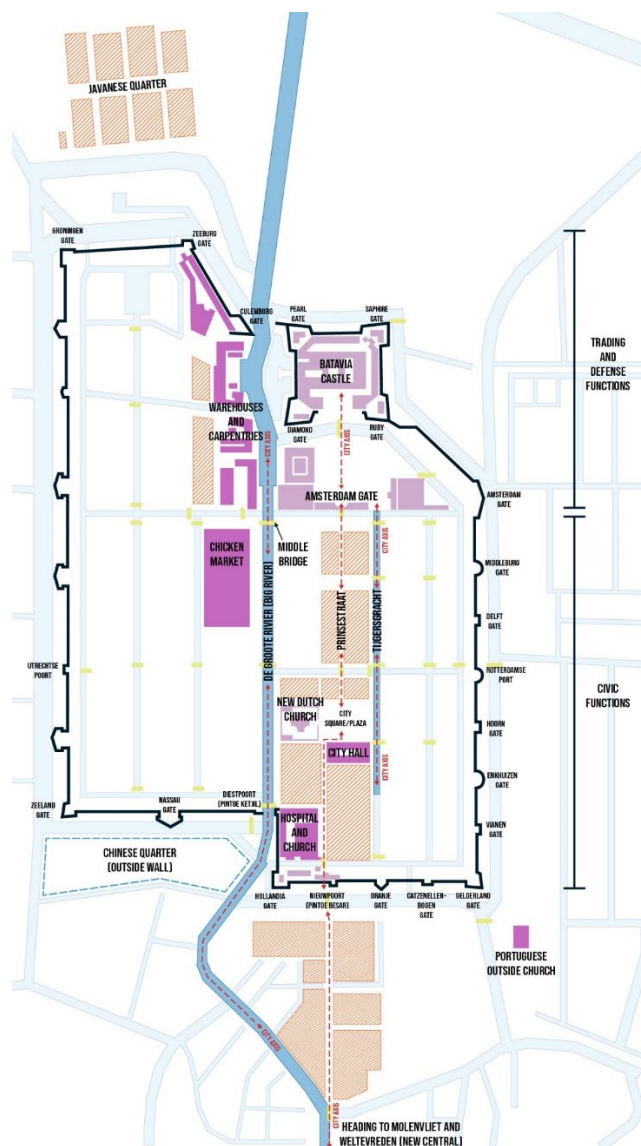


Figure 2. Diagram by author based on from Old-Batavia Plan 1672.

⁵⁷ Setiono, 107,123.

⁵⁸ *Versi Non Keranjang Kuning Yuk Kenalan Dengan Holland Spreken*, Video (TikTok, 2024).

⁵⁹ Dimas Wahyu Indrajaya, ‘Sejarah Hari Ini (19 Oktober 1693) - Gereja Sion Jakarta, Salah Satu yang Tertua di Asia’, accessed 21 March 2024, <https://www.goodnewsfromindonesia.id/2020/10/19/sejarah-hari-ini-19-oktober-1693-gereja-sion-jakarta-salah-satu-yang-tertua-di-asia>.



Figure 3. *Tigersgracht in Old Batavia in 1682*. Image from Atlas van der Hagen, 1710.

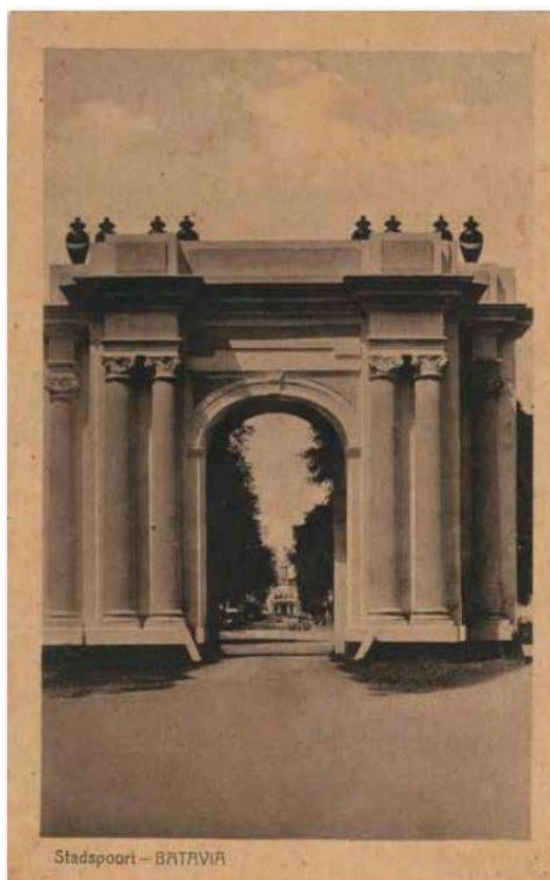
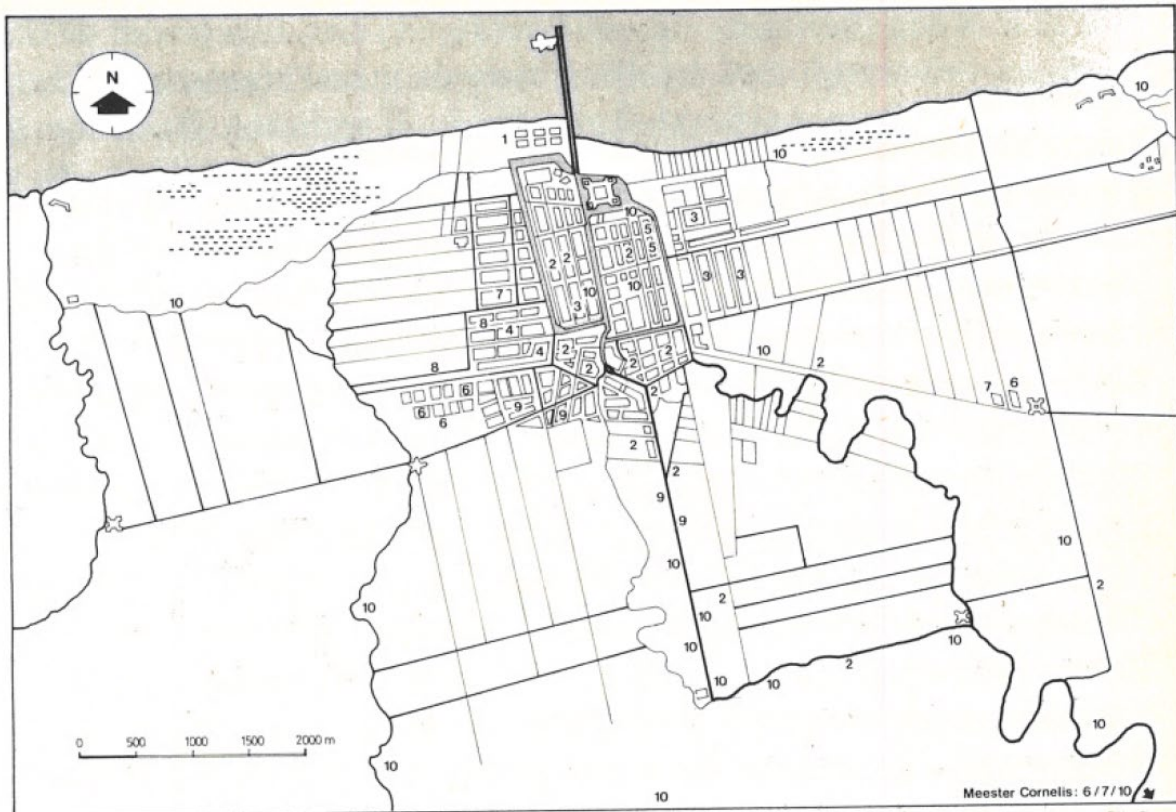


Figure 4. *Amsterdam Gate in Old Batavia facing the City Hall in 1920*. Published by Visser & Co, Featured in Greetings from Jakarta: Postcards of A Capital 1900-1950, 2019.



1. Javanen
2. Chinezen
3. Mardijkers
4. Moren
5. Bandanezen
6. Balinezen
7. Ambonezen
8. Buginezen en
Makassarezen
9. Moslem-Chinezen
10. Europeanen

Figure 5. *Racial distribution diagram of Batavia in 17th-18th century*. In Jakarta/Batavia: het centrum van het Nederlandse koloniale rijk in Azië en zijn cultuurhistorische nalatenschap, 1989.

The dynamics inside the wall, dejectedly terminated with the fall of the wall and enclosure of most of the minor canals due to various reasons. Hygiene reason became the major one since the contrasting Netherlands climate to tropical Indonesia as well as topographical condition turned the canals into cholera and malaria hotspot as mentioned by Dewi that “tidal water carrying sand and mud carried from upstream hindered the flow of water in the canal.”⁶⁰ Besides, the initial economical function of supporting VOC on economical side was lost with the fall of VOC in 1799, so that the minor canals were covered.⁶¹ Streets, in result were extended from the existing city axis, as previously discussed to the south, where *Weltevreden*, the new city center was located.

⁶⁰ Puspita Dewi et al., ‘CANALS TO STREETS’.

⁶¹ Puspita Dewi et al.

In the 20th century, streets became the main service with elites' owned private vehicles and tramway as a public infrastructure was introduced.⁶² Accordingly, the analysis of urban planning in this period is discernible from the tramways on map as the physical translation that conducted a strong way of representation of city axis. In my assessment, rails of trams always present on street level unlike trains in higher speed which rails are more hidden and relate less on busy streets. Being situated on street, tram rails also dictate the routine of the carriages' routes that permanently display the idea of the modern city with infrastructure supporting the mobility even though the carriages themselves do not always present at moments. The rails majorly correspond to the rows of situation of important buildings especially in the major city axis, as well as to the fact that it was the first extensive large scale on-land infrastructure and technology advancement that both locals and elites have never seen in their lives. As suggested by Lynch, this is an "apparent, legible, or visible" instance of something new in the city, "it would invite the eye and the ear to greater attention and participation."⁶³ He adds that when moving swiftly on carriages, the eyes cancel out the uniformity of the street façade and emphasize the existence of landmarks that are visually peculiar.⁶⁴ It logically implies that with the utilization of the tramway, experience given to both outside and inside observers contributes to the prominent representation of the selected path with the railways as major city axes.

Observable from 1938 map (Fig. 6), the formal structures and settlements are illustrated as the city explores to the southern part of *Weltevreden*.⁶⁵ It is thoroughly recorded in the guide book to Batavia by Bussy where he highlighted the major civic structure which mostly located along the tramway as the spotlight of the city axes that spanned from *Tanjong Priok* port to the city hall in the old center, which then extended to *Weltevreden*.⁶⁶ There were hotels, including *Des Indes*, the largest one in Batavia at that time, major squares, churches, governmental buildings and the *Societiet* buildings as places for social gathering of the elites.⁶⁷ It is apparent from the elaboration Bussy made in the guide that the activities along these city axes held a significant recreational function, as well. Similarly to segregation in the old city, it is not by means that tram as a public infrastructure served the community equally on social bases, as suggested by *Boeroeng on indisch4ever* with a photo of the steam tram opening announcement in 1883 (Fig. 7) that the passengers was divided into "1e klasse", "2e klasse" and "2e klasse inlanders".⁶⁸ He adds with another image of signage (Fig. 8) that signifies the segregation of social class, "uitsluitend voor Inlanders. Klas Moerah" [for inlanders only. Cheap class] – with the phrase 'cheap class' written in Melayu which was spoken widely amongst 'inlanders'.⁶⁹ *In De Archipel* extends that from an announcement from the same company in 1900 (Fig. 9), with a table which class divisions were adjusted to – "Iste Klasse", "2de Klasse", then "INLANDERS" where the first two could get a monthly subscription but the last class only had fee for per ride.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, a tram route map of 1933 (Fig. 10) presents consistent tendency to show tram

⁶² Puspita Dewi et al.

⁶³ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 10.

⁶⁴ Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 95.

⁶⁵ *Gids van Batavia Met plattegrondInclusief Een Vademecum (Vraagbaak) En Woning-Gids | Colonial* (Batavia: Répécé, 1938), <https://colonialarchitecture.eu/obj?sq=id%3Auuid%3A78382c8a-6c57-4b1a-9540-4703be33b5ac>.

⁶⁶ J.H. De Bussy, (*Batavia Map 1938*) (Amsterdam: De Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1909), <https://colonialarchitecture.eu/obj?sq=id%3Auuid%3A0bb3ba2b-2184-471d-9527-e7dd99f15073>.

⁶⁷ Bussy.

⁶⁸ 'Trams in Batavia Deel 1: Paardentrams', *Indisch4ever* (blog), 20 December 2017, <https://indisch4ever.nu/2017/12/20/trams-in-batavia-deel-1-paardentrams/>.

⁶⁹ "Sporen van Smaragd" Belicht Historie Indonesische Spoorwegen', *Indisch4ever* (blog), 9 July 2017, <https://indisch4ever.nu/2017/07/09/sporen-van-smaragd-belicht-historie-indonesische-spoorwegen/>.

⁷⁰ In de Archipel, 'Trams in Batavia Deel 3: Elektrische Trams', *In de Archipel* (blog), 10 August 2017, <https://inearchipel.com/2017/08/10/trams-batavia-3-elektrische-trams/>.

fees for I, II, and III classes.⁷¹ The phenomenon is pointed out by Rodgers as “infrastructure violence” which indicates “form of domination” and “social suffering” in “material terms” where people and urban contexts relationship is being manipulated.⁷² This also implies that after the fall of Batavia wall which might be perceived as a symbol of social openness and the conceptual basis of ‘public’ transportation, the inclusivity did not apply to the social classes in the period.

Returning to the maps analysis, an intriguing scene is visible from the series of diagrams by *In De Archipel* that depict the evolution of tram lines in Batavia from 1869-1962 (Fig. 11).⁷³ Noticeably, the lines underwent a pretty frequent adjustments which indicated the cruciality from the north (port area) down to southeast (1869-1937) with emphasis on some important stations where line interchanges were possible, which related to certain activities of certain areas. An analytical diagram (Fig. 12) is created by combining the lines evolution diagrams with the 1938 map that shows the functions spatially in relation to the tram lines as definition of city axes. It is recognizable from the diagrams that in the earliest introduction (1869) that three stops were given along the line, namely *Waterlooplein* (the new city center area), *Kramat* and *Meester Cornelis*, both with large train intercity stations for military and commodities focus, as confirmed as Hermawan as railway expansion as the demonstration of the glorious sugar commodity at that time.⁷⁴ With gradual development until 1937, which was before Indonesia’s independence, the longitudinal axis from the port remained the same but higher concentration occurred in *Koningsplein* [King’s Square] area that symbolized the significant use of large outdoor activity area as suggested by Moser as the “identity, social power relations” construction out of the space of ‘performativity’.⁷⁵ Especially, *Koningsplein* was surrounded by the executive buildings including the Palace of the Governor General, *Waterlooplein* (Fig. 13) (visibly judged to be the secondary square after *Koningsplein*) which was the square reserved for the cathedral and military activities, and *Menteng* the elites quarter, which Vletter referred as the most successful colonial town planning from the era.⁷⁶ It is the equivalent to the *alun-alun* as Basundoro reviewed as a sacred space from the Javanese tradition, that even though it is mostly empty at times, but the nobility of it remains nevertheless.⁷⁷ From the 1957 diagram towards the end of the tramways life, the two remained lines still show the city tendency of north – southeast axis and the previously accentuated area of *Koningsplein* had lost its existence. However, it is still important to be noted as it relates strongly to the gesture of the post-colonial government.

⁷¹ *Stads-Kaart van Batavia En Meester-Cornelis*, 1:30000 (Topografische dienst, 1933), <https://colonialarchitecture.eu/islandora/object/uuid:bfb35c2e-42aa-411c-a06a-9ccb6136f9e8/>.

⁷² Dennis Rodgers and Bruce O’Neill, ‘Infrastructural Violence: Introduction to the Special Issue’, *Ethnography* 13, no. 4 (2012): 402–5.

⁷³ ‘Trams in Batavia: Overzicht En Plattegronden’, *In de Archipel* (blog), 4 December 2017, <https://indearchipel.com/2017/12/04/trams-batavia-overzicht/>.

⁷⁴ Hermawan, Abrianto, and Mainaki, ‘Pengaruh Perkeretaapian Terhadap Perkembangan Struktur Tata Ruang Kota Cirebon Berdasarkan Tinggalan Arkeologis, The Effect of Train Transportation to the Development of Cirebon Spatial StructureBased on Archaeological Heritage’, 120.

⁷⁵ Moser, ‘Performing National Identity in Postcolonial Indonesia’, 38.

⁷⁶ M.E. de Vletter et al., *Batavia/Djakarta/Jakarta: beeld van een metamorfose*, Indische steden-reeks 1 (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1997), 27–28.

⁷⁷ ‘The Two Alun-Alun of Malang (1930-1960)’, 273.

STRAATNAMEN

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Figure 6. Batavia Map 1938. In Gids van Batavia met plattengrond Inclusief een vademecum (vraagbaak) en woning-gids, 1938.

Nederlandsch Indische Tramweg Maatschappij.

Stoomtram Batavia—Meester Cornelis.

Aanvang der exploitatie den 1 Juli 1883, op het gedeelte Batavia—de Harmonie.

Voorloopige dienstregeling,
Vertrek uren.

Van Station Batavia:	Van de Harmonie:
Elke 15 minuten van 's morgens 5.45 tot 's avonds 6.—	Elke 15 minuten van 's morgens 6.15 tot 's avonds 6.30

Tarief voor de sectie Batavia—Kramat.

1e klasse.....	25 Cent.
2e "	20 "
2e " inlanders.....	15 "

Europeanen 2e klasse reizende, worden verzocht VÓÓR in de rijtuigen plaats te nemen.

Inlanders 2e klasse reizende, worden verzocht ACHTER in de rijtuigen plaats te nemen.

Kinderen beneden den leeftijd van 3 jaar, mit begeleid en geen afzonderlijke plaats innemende, behoeven geen vracht te betalen.

Kleine voorwerpen, welke naar het oor-deel der treinbeambten niet hinderlijk zijn, mogen kosteloos in de rijtuigen worden medegenomen; in de rijtuigen worden niet toegelaten voorwerpen welke naar hun omvang, reuk, of op eenige andere wijze hinderlijk zijn voor de passagiers.

Honden kunnen in de rijtuigen worden medegenomen, indien geen der medereizigers bezwaar daartegen maakt en tegen betaling der vracht voor een reiziger, naar de klasse, waarin het dier wordt toegelaten.

Men zie verder de Reglementen, verkrijgbaar aan het bureau der Maatschappij.

2523 De Administrateur,
J. Theunissen.

Figure 7. *Steam Tramways Operation Announcement 1883*. Posted on In De Archipel, 2017.



Figure 8. *Signages on Trams*. From unknown exhibition posted on In De Archipel, 2017.

BATAVIA ELECTRICISCHE TRAM-MAATSCHAPPIJ.

Op 1 Juli 1900 wordt het baanvak Sijaujersweg-Voorrij-Zuid (Benedenstad) voor het publiek verkeer opengesteld.

Op den zelfden datum treedt in werking onderstaande

DIENSTREGELING:

Van BATAVIA naar HARMONIE van 5.20 's morgens tot 7.30 's avonds } telkens om de 10 minuten.
 ' HARMONIE ' BATAVIA ' 5.14 ' ' 7.14 ' }

De treinen vertrekken van uit Menteng (Dierentuin):

Naar BATAVIA ten 5.36 's morgens; naar de HARMONIE ten 5.42 's morgens.

De AVONDREINEN welke van BATAVIA vertrekken: ten 7.40, 7.50, 8, 8.10 en 8.20 en van de HARMONIE ten 7.34, 7.34, 7.44, 7.54, 8.4, 8.14, 8.24 en 8.34 rijden slechts tot aan den DIERENTUIN.

TARIEF:

TRAJECT.	1ste Klasse		2de Klasse		INLANDERS per rit.
	per rit.	Maand abonne- ment.	per rit.	Maand abonne- ment.	
Harmonie — Batavia	40 c.	12.50	30 c.	7 50	10 cents.
Pasar Tanah Abang — Batavia	35 »	12.50	27 1/2 »	6 25	7 1/2 »
Harmonie — Pintoe Besi	30 »	—	15 »	—	7 1/2 »
Menteng (Dierentuin) — Batavia	30 »	42.50	15 »	8 25	5 »
Harmonie — Kramat — Pasar Senen	25 »	7 50	12 1/2 »	3 75	5 »
Pasar Tanah Abang — Pintoe Besi	25 »	—	12 1/2 »	—	5 »
Kramat Pasar Senen — Batavia	25 »	10.—	10 »	5 50	5 »
Harmonie — Menteng (Dierentuin)	20 »	—	10 »	—	5 »
Pasar Tanah Abang — Kramat Pasar Senen	15 »	—	7 1/2 »	—	5 »
Menteng (Dierentuin) — Pintoe Besi	15 »	—	7 1/2 »	—	5 »
Pintoe Besi — Batavia	15 »	—	7 1/2 »	—	5 »
Harmonie — Pasar Tanah Abang	10 »	5.—	5 »	2 50	5 »
Pasar Tanah Abang — Menteng (Dierentuin)	10 »	—	5 »	—	5 »
Menteng (Dierentuin) — Kramat Pasar Senen	10 »	—	5 »	—	5 »
Kramat Pasar Senen — Pintoe Besi	10 »	—	5 »	—	5 »

Voor KINDEREN beneden den leeftijd van drie jaar is geen vracht verschuldigd indien zij geen afzonderlijke plaats innemen.

HONDEN kunnen in de rijtuigen worden medegenomen, mits tegen betaling der vracht van een reiziger, naar de klasse waarin het dier wordt vervoerd.

Met gelijken datum is het bijkantoor op GOERONG SAHARI verplaatst naar Voorrij Zuid (t/o. de firma SCHLIEPER).

DE CHEF DER EXPLOITATIE.

Figure 9. Electric Tramways Development Announcement 1900. Posted on In De Archipel, 2017.



Figure 10. Tramways Lines and Fees on Batavia Map 1933. Part of Map of Batavia by Reproductiebedrijf Topografische dienst, 1933.

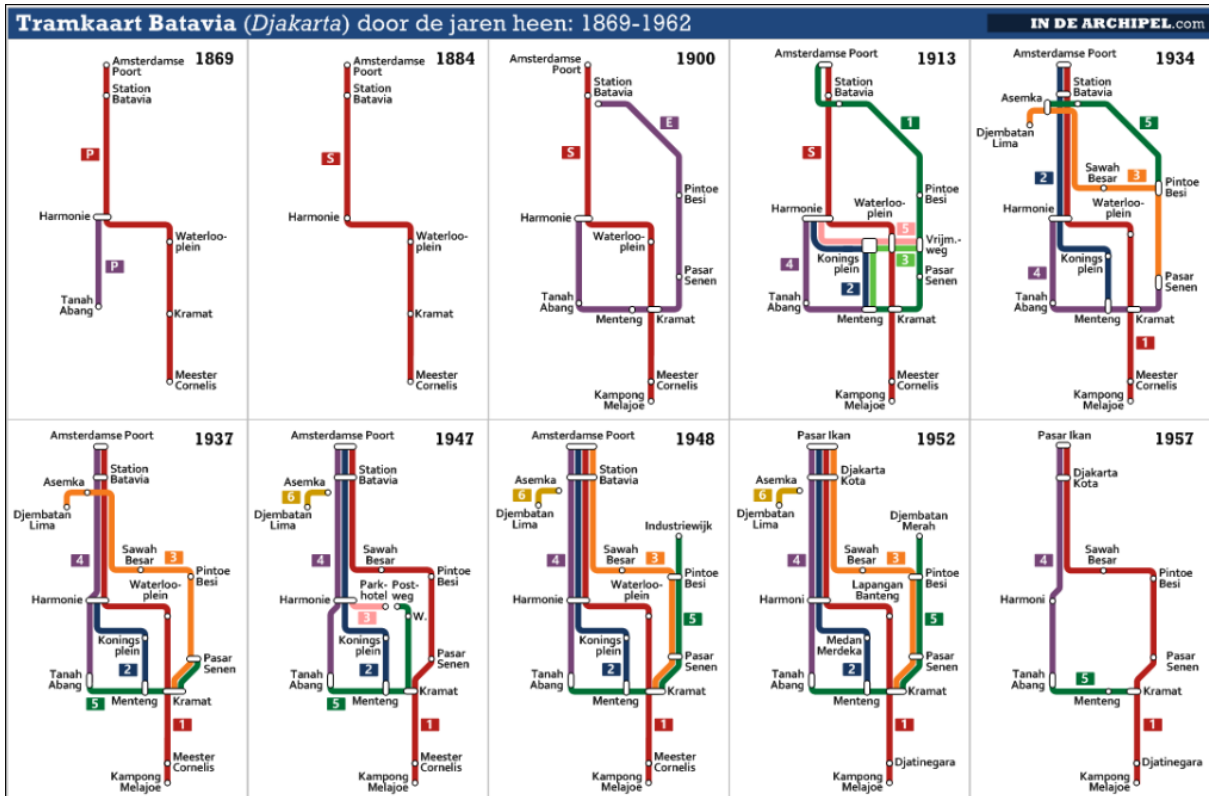


Figure 11. *Diagrams of Tramways Lines Transformation.* Posted on In de Archipel, 2017.

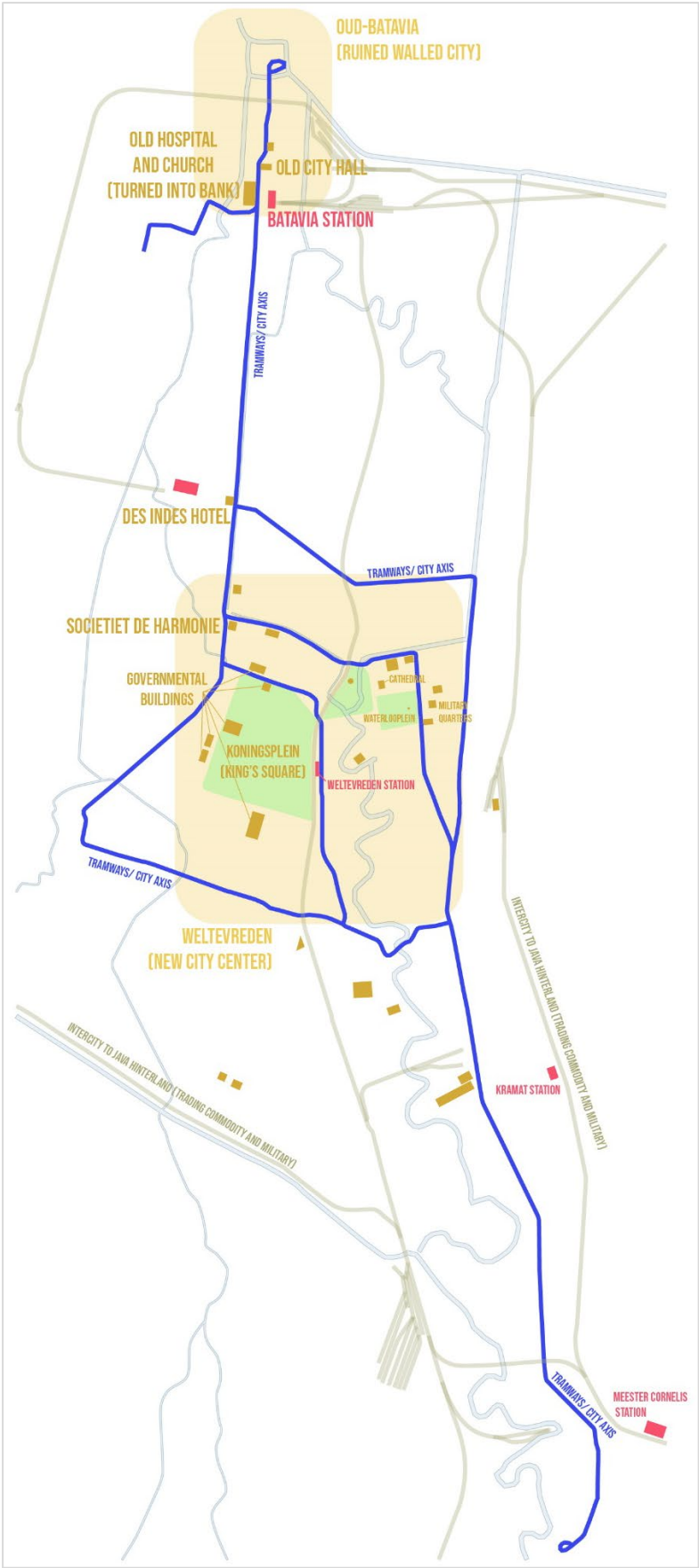


Figure 12. Diagram by author based on Batavia Map 1938.



Figure 13. *Waterlooplein with Cathedral on background in 1938. In Batavia/Djakarta/Jakarta: beeld van een metamorfose, 1997.*

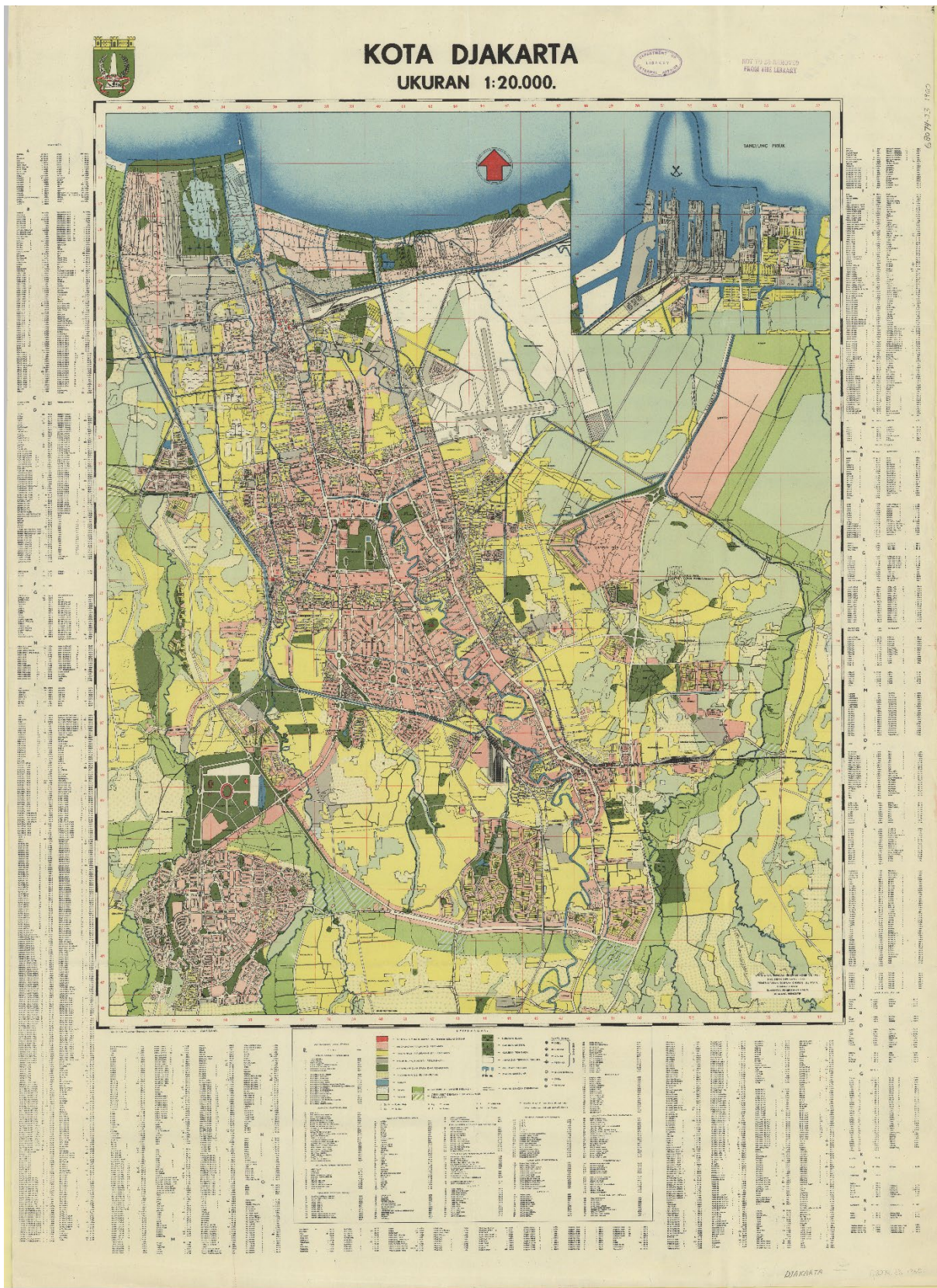


Figure 15. *Map of Jakarta 1960*. From Digital Collections of National Library of Australia.

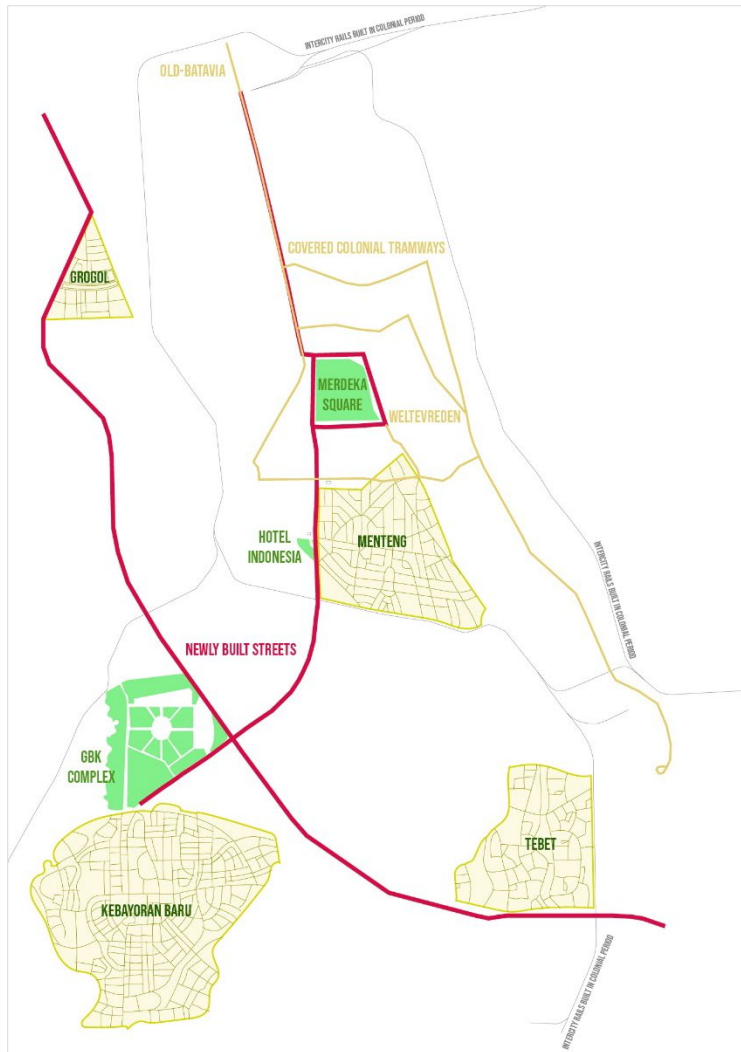


Figure 16. *Diagram by author based on map of Jakarta 1945 and 1961.*

Arriving at the post-colonial period, the first notable change on Jakarta's urban planning is evident from the comparison of the city maps in 1945 and 1961 (Figure 14, 15 and 16). There was no significant planning and constructions within the first decade after 1945 (independence), as explained by Hering that the decade was a tough political and physical struggle between Indonesia and the Dutch government who asserted its power to "restore its authority" after the Japanese occupation ended.⁷⁸ Not until 1960 that there was an approved "Master Plan of Jakarta" from the United Nations-commissioned urban planner, yet Kusno explicated that it was never realized due to the political intention that led to a strict design by Soekarno himself.⁷⁹ In the quoted speech of Soekarno in 1962, "Build Jakarta ... as spectacularly as possible, so that this city has become the center of the struggle of the Indonesian ... to the whole of struggling mankind and to all the emerging forces."⁸⁰ In executing the idea, Soekarno used 1962 Asian Games event as a construction catalyst, as well as suggesting that "sports to be a part of the nation and character building."⁸¹ A contrast from the previous era where the city axis was dictated by canals and tramways as infrastructure of flows, the city axis definition in the post-colonial period was carried by semiotic representations as discussed by Kurniawan as the sign of

⁷⁸ Hering, *Soekarno*, 36–37.

⁷⁹ Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial*, 54.

⁸⁰ Kusno, 54.

⁸¹ Rizaldy, 'Sukarno Dan Pembangunan Stadion Gelora Bung Karno Di Senayan, 1959-1962', 106.

“change of an era” that were heavily observable during the leaderships of the first two presidents and beyond that in a subtler way.⁸²

Examining the maps in 1961, the entire tram rails that used to work as permanent signage of the city axis had been covered (Fig. 17), suggested by Lo as proclaimed by the President that they reflected as an outdated image of the city, and Jakarta needed a “modernization”.⁸³ Though, King adds that this phenomenon can be referred as “postcolonial criticism” by educated groups of the colonized community.⁸⁴ This happens when colonial knowledge or western influence is maintained, especially in city mobility where people experience “architecture and spaces” which triggers the creation of “global” identity.⁸⁵ With the physical permanence of tram rails and the notion of them being an infrastructure that bore community attachment, this colonial item represented the past politics prominently, even more than colonial statues erected as remembrance of fights and glories of the colonizers. Infrastructure is an operating “software” that works actively in a city.⁸⁶ When it is used continuously from generation to the next generation, it is saved actively as personal memories of the users, unlike statues, monuments, and buildings that are passive (Fig. 18) – the glory of the war can only be told instead of experienced, they are tiny in size comparatively to infrastructure especially something as visible as trams. As illustrated by Lowenthal that mere stories can be told with an added narrative, but experience is processed privately and honestly, and it may translate to an identity.⁸⁷ Clearly, it was not ideal from the Nationalism point of view, as explained by Said that colonized communities seek for “new cultural practices” that resist, even oppose the remaining western identities.⁸⁸ Another instance is an ethnic cleansing tragedy towards the Dutch who stayed in Indonesia upon its independence as documented on *Andere Tijden*, a program that unveils unknown stories and images never seen in the Netherlands.⁸⁹ The massive movement by the nationalists was filled with “anti-Dutch mood” that ended with repatriation of the remaining tens of thousands of Dutch at the night before Christmas of 1957.⁹⁰

On the other hand, the new gesture that Soekarno had implemented was a new form of Jakarta, discernible from a relatively long continuous street that spans to south-west from *Medan Merdeka Square* (once called *Koningsplein*) that terminates in a vast new neighborhood, *Kebayoran Baru* (Fig. 15). This city axis, now known as *Jalan [Street] Sudirman-Thamrin* has been a concentrated spot for golden spectacular skyscrapers, as quoted by Ajidarma in his book *Kentut Kosmopolitan* that contains his “self-chattings” rather than “essays” about Jakarta and its culture.⁹¹ The start of this street than defines Jakarta’s today skyline was the construction for hosting the 1962 Asian Games in Jakarta. This is known as a political movement by Soeharto called Lighthouse Politics, which means to show Indonesia’s power in providing guidance for the rising nations.⁹² In the mental implication, it is mentioned that international-scale competition was a way to bring Indonesia on to the world stage, while forming national bond between the athletes that were titled the country’s “representatives”, as

⁸² Kurniawan, ‘DINAMIKA ARSITEKTUR INDONESIA DAN REPRESENTASI “POLITIK IDENTITAS” PASCA REFORMASI’, 69–70.

⁸³ Lo, ‘The City as a Mirror’, 543–44.

⁸⁴ King, ‘Postcolonialism, Representation, and the City’, 262.

⁸⁵ King, 264.

⁸⁶ Easterling, *Extrastatecraft*, 11.

⁸⁷ Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 195–97.

⁸⁸ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 308.

⁸⁹ Mirjam Gulmans, ‘Zwarte Sinterklaas’, *Andere Tijden*, 6 December 2007, <https://anderetijden.nl/aflevering/335/Zwarte-Sinterklaas>.

⁹⁰ Gulmans.

⁹¹ Seno Gumira Ajidarma, *Kentut Kosmopolitan* (Yogyakarta: Pabrik Tulisan, 2020), 97.

⁹² Rizaldy, ‘Sukarno Dan Pembangunan Stadion Gelora Bung Karno Di Senayan, 1959-1962’, 101.

echoed by Moser that the trend of providing sports facilities in provincial levels has been preserved.⁹³ It was also to break the stigma of “small, weak, and ill” Asians figure which was believed by the western countries at that time.⁹⁴ It is viewed by Said as “Orientalism” as a result of imperialism that historically tags “a lesser status” towards certain groups, especially in the (middle)-eastern world.⁹⁵ On physical side the Games took form of construction that was mainly linearly spread along the new city axis of *Sudirman-Thamrin*. The structures are evident on a Jakarta map in 1967 (Fig. 19) that celebrates these structure by providing elaborated icons to show them as landmarks of Jakarta, namely the *Gelora Bung Karno (GBK)* Stadium that was inaugural for Asian Games, Hotel Indonesia with its *Bundaran* [round-about] where stood the Welcoming Monument, *Sarinah* shopping center, the National Monument that sits on *Merdeka Square* (Fig. 20).⁹⁶ These icons are observable also around the *Merdeka Square*, but absent along the street in the south-east which was the old axis dictated by the tramways. From this assessment, it was likely that the relevancy of that area had been diminished from the extension of the south-west *Sudirman-Thamrin*. The success of these new structures in defining the new city axis is also comprehensible through Mumford’s description on principles of modern form, aesthetics that was born from “new manufactured building materials, like steel and reinforced concrete” that allows buildings to grow lighter, stronger, bigger and taller.⁹⁷ Thus, the technology brought a new architectural scale to Jakarta articulated in these ‘modernity symbols’, *GBK* stadium was the second largest in the world while *Sarinah* which stood 74 meters high was the tallest in the whole nation at its completion time just a few years before the National Monument at *Merdeka Square* as tall as 137 meter.⁹⁸

Another remarkably shown on the map is the new town of *Kebayoran Baru* that came in the idea of a garden city, which also happened in *Grogol* and *Tebet* neighborhoods (Fig. 21). They resemble the European design of *Menteng* which was built in the colonial period that was inspired by Ebenezer Howard’s idea as mentioned by Kehoe that application of the new cities far away from the city center.⁹⁹ They were built with “handsome gardens”, “functional zoning” and healthy neighborhood principle.¹⁰⁰ Howard’s idea is also mentioned by Mumford to have a goal of “balance between home, industry, and market, between political, social, and recreational functions.”¹⁰¹ However, this principle was not successful in the implementation in Jakarta, as explained by Vletter that even though *Kebayoran Baru* was designed to accommodate various social classes communities including middle-low group and civil servants, the area did not survive from *kampung* [informal settlements] that formed due to high population influx of Jakarta in 1970s which made it “looked messy and poor”.¹⁰² These distanced cities eventually developed an identity that was manifested on street mobility – by means of public transportation, similarly to the identity of city axis given by the tram in the previous decades.

⁹³ Rizaldy, 107; Moser, ‘Performing National Identity in Postcolonial Indonesia’, 249–50.

⁹⁴ Rizaldy, ‘Sukarno Dan Pembangunan Stadion Gelora Bung Karno Di Senayan, 1959-1962’, 107.

⁹⁵ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 71–72.

⁹⁶ Rizaldy, ‘Sukarno Dan Pembangunan Stadion Gelora Bung Karno Di Senayan, 1959-1962’, 108.

⁹⁷ Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, 416–17.

⁹⁸ Vletter et al., *Batavia/Djakarta/Jakarta*, 102; Ivany Atina Arbi and Egidius Patnistik, ‘Sarinah, Pencakar Langit Pertama di Indonesia, Kini Dipugar untuk Daya Tarik Wisata’, *KOMPAS.com*, 14 January 2021, <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2021/01/14/12011271/sarinah-pencakar-langit-pertama-di-indonesia-kini-dipugar-untuk-daya>; Argie Prayura Putera, ‘Jadi Salah Satu Stadion Terbesar Pada Masanya, Ternyata Pembangunan GBK Pakai Uang Kelompok Ini’, *Hops.id*, n.d., <https://www.hops.id/trending/29410697501/jadi-salah-satu-stadion-terbesar-pada-masanya-ternyata-pembangunan-gbk-pakai-uang-kelompok-ini>.

⁹⁹ Kehoe, ‘Dutch Batavia’, 438.

¹⁰⁰ Kehoe, 439.

¹⁰¹ Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, 397.

¹⁰² Vletter et al., *Batavia/Djakarta/Jakarta*, 97–98.



Figure 17. *The old tram rails built in Dutch colonization period was covered by post-colonial government of Soekarno and was re-discovered during the construction of Jakarta MRT in 2022. On Kompas.com, 2022.*



Figure 18. *The removal of The Atjeh Monument (Wilhelmina Statue) from Wilhelmina Park in 1961. In Batavia/Djakarta/Jakarta: beeld van een metamorfose, 1997.*

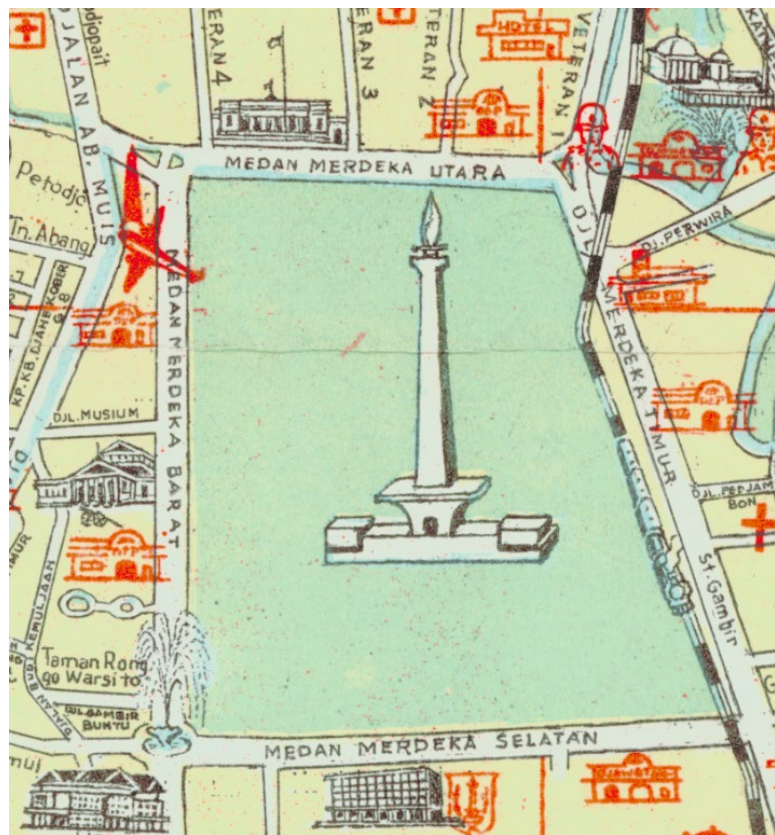
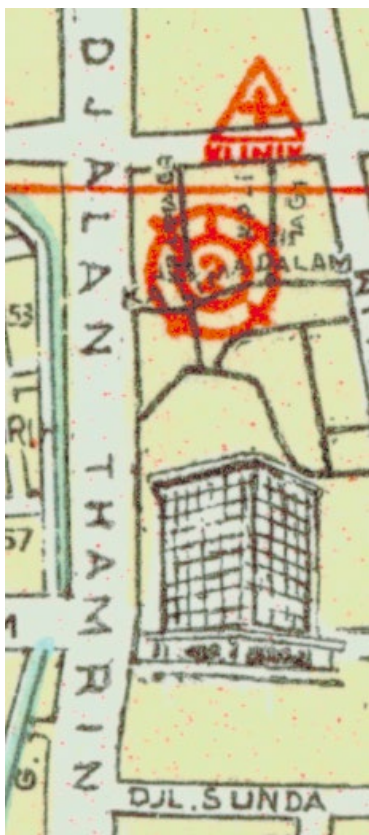
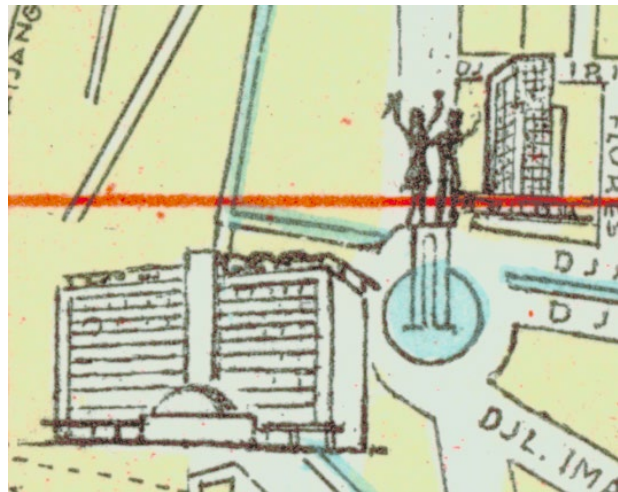
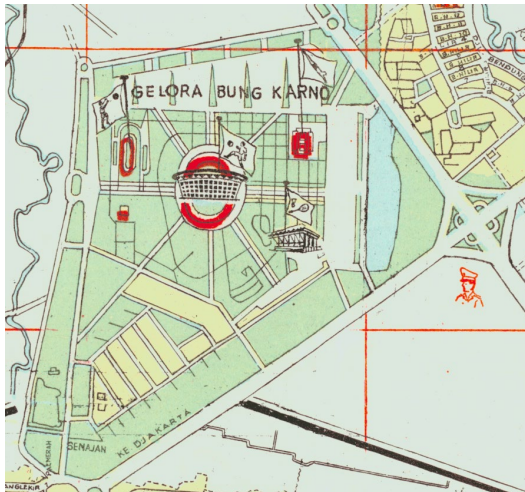


Figure 20. Architectural Icons of Jakarta (Gelora Bung Karno Stadium, Hotel Indonesia & Welcoming Monument at the round-about, Sarinah Shopping Center, National Monument surrounded by several national museums and important public buildings). Zoomed in from map of Jakarta 1968.

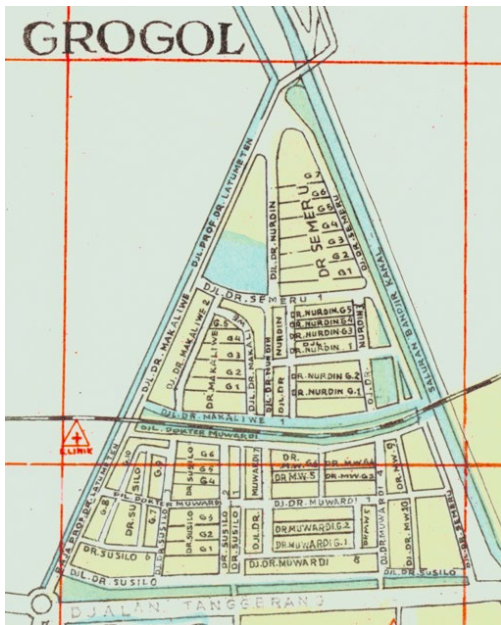


Figure 21. Jakarta neighborhoods (Kebayoran, Tebet, Grogol, Menteng) development in Garden City concept. Zoomed in from map of Jakarta 1968.

While buses operated in linking only major parts of the city, various cheaper forms of taxi, to name some are *ojek* [motorcycle taxi] (Fig. 22) and *bajaj* [three-wheeled carrier] (Fig. 23) operated in the inner neighborhood of Jakarta to serve the “low-income residents”.¹⁰³ *Ojek* is used by Ajidarma to title his other book about urban Jakarta, *Tiada Ojek di Paris* [No Ojek in Paris] that implies *Ojeks* as an item that is engraved in his memory and only unique to Jakarta.¹⁰⁴ More specifically into one of the chapters, *Ojek Sudirman-Thamrin*, Ajidarma presents an intriguing graphic poster by Yuyun Aiemaman S. and Adi Suprat C (Fig. 24).¹⁰⁵ that depict the city axis of *Sudirman-Thamrin*, not highlighting symbolic structures and office skyscrapers as previously discussed, but instead displaying the list of 24 *pangkalan ojek* [Ojek Station] which are informal but being documented comprehensively with opening hours, scale of personnel (from 5-200 drivers) and even their phone numbers for some.¹⁰⁶ Ajidarma argues that the map is stimulating since it shows the significance of *Ojek* as an informal mobile system that were physically hidden behind the skyscrapers of *Sudirman-Thamrin* but still needed by the employees who sit in one of the ‘cool’ CBD offices which was just an image construct of the society.¹⁰⁷ This recalls Moser’s elaboration that identities are shaped not through dominant power, they come through the “non-representational” that includes repeated performativity that someone does every day as a natural engagement with the space as oppose to constructed culture.¹⁰⁸ *Ojek* represents the “fight of the under-represented community” that is silenced by the dominant power since it is not an “art” to be proud of to be seen on the city facade.¹⁰⁹ For Rodgers and O’Neill on the other hand, this phenomenon proofs the power of “infrastructural warfare” in showing the hierarchy and power of who has the ability to use certain spaces, in this case the city axis or behind street, thus it is a “process of marginalization, abjection and disconnection” that is commonly observed in contemporary cities.¹¹⁰ Another implication that Ajidarma noted with a humor note is that *ojek* is an evidence of a culture that Jakartans have communally to hate to walk.¹¹¹ *Bajaj*, indifferently from *Ojek* portrays the “unregulated” transportation means which image is to serve lower-income communities.¹¹² By 2004, Donan quoted that there were 20,000 *Bajaj* in Jakarta in which “more than a quarter” were unlicensed.¹¹³ They are known for *ngetem* culture which means to occupy a space temporarily which Lukito and Ulya explained that the space is typically an informal one.¹¹⁴ They add that it is only possible since *Bajaj* most operates in “everyday spaces” where “borrowing or changing the function” is doable.¹¹⁵ These spaces are as valuable as “formal spaces” as plazas or squares, as they actively engage with human experience that allow “spontaneity”, “negotiations, flexibility and adaptability” to happen.¹¹⁶ What is more interesting is to see this value of dynamism and closeness to community that *Bajaj* and its surrounding possessed as an appeal that resulted in the making of *Bajaj Bajuri* (Fig. 25), a popular TV comedy series in the early 2000s and a

¹⁰³ Lo, ‘The City as a Mirror’, 544–45.

¹⁰⁴ Yuyun S Aiemaman and Adi Suprat C, *Ojek Sudirman-Thamrin*, 2015, Poster, 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Aiemaman and C, 147–51.

¹⁰⁶ Aiemaman and C, 148–49.

¹⁰⁷ Aiemaman and C, 150.

¹⁰⁸ Moser, ‘Performing National Identity in Postcolonial Indonesia’, 38–40.

¹⁰⁹ Aiemaman and C, *Ojek Sudirman-Thamrin*, 150.

¹¹⁰ Rodgers and O’Neill, ‘Introduction’, 402.

¹¹¹ Aiemaman and C, *Ojek Sudirman-Thamrin*, 151.

¹¹² Lo, ‘The City as a Mirror’, 544.

¹¹³ Shawn Donnan, ‘Death Knell for Jakarta’s Rickshaws Oils Wheels of Political Controversy: Eyebrows Have Been Raised at the Way the City Authorities Have Chosen a New Mini-Car, Writes Shawn Donnan: [ASIA EDITION]’, *Financial Times*, 30 August 2004, sec. ASIA-PACIFIC.

¹¹⁴ Yulia Nurliani Lukito and Rumishatul Ulya, ‘NEGOTIATED URBAN SPACE AT MANGGARAI STATION JAKARTA: THE APPROPRIATION OF SPACE BY BAJAJ DRIVERS’, *Dimensi: Journal of Architecture and Built Environment* 45, no. 1 (31 July 2018): 10, <https://doi.org/10.9744/dimensi.45.1.9-18>.

¹¹⁵ Lukito and Ulya, 10–11.

¹¹⁶ Lukito and Ulya, 10–11.

movie in 2014.¹¹⁷ Saleh and Sabrais mentioned that the popularity of *Bajaj Bajuri* as a tv show was not only due to its relevance to the commoner life of *kampung* of Jakarta, but also with cultural items of Betawi (a native tribe of Jakarta) such as the fashion style and rituals that were included in the screenplay.¹¹⁸

Based on the examples of *ojek* and *bajaj*, it is clear that the identity created in Jakarta was influenced in the activities occurred in informal spaces. This type of identity holds a strong place in the memory where the narrative is produced privately, as explained by Lowenthal, it is important for self-continuity.¹¹⁹ The communal relevance of *bajaj* to its resembling television act implies an effort of a heritage documentation that is beyond the material, but preserving its “substances” by building narratives that revolve around the subject of preservation.¹²⁰ It “secures the collective heritage” as a confirmation of the people’s memory.¹²¹



Figure 22. *Ojek at Pangkalan*. Posted on Radio Republik Indonesia, 2023.



Figure 23. *Old orange bajaj and new blue bajaj*. Posted on Batam Tourism Polytechnic, n.d.

¹¹⁷ Fadillah Saleh and M. Sabrais, ‘PENGAMBARAN ETNIK BETAWI DALAM FILM BAJAJ BAJURI THE MOVIE’, *Jurnal Visi Komunikasi* 14, no. 2 (2015): 274, <https://doi.org/10.22441/visikom.v14i2.1680>.

¹¹⁸ Saleh and Sabrais, 283.

¹¹⁹ Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 197.

¹²⁰ Lowenthal, 384–85.

¹²¹ Lowenthal, 388.

OJEK

SUDIRMAN - THAMRIN

Oleh: Yuyun Aiemaman S. & Adi Suprat C.
(mars_foundation@yahoo.com)

Workshop
Jakarta 32 Derajat
Ruangrupa. 2006

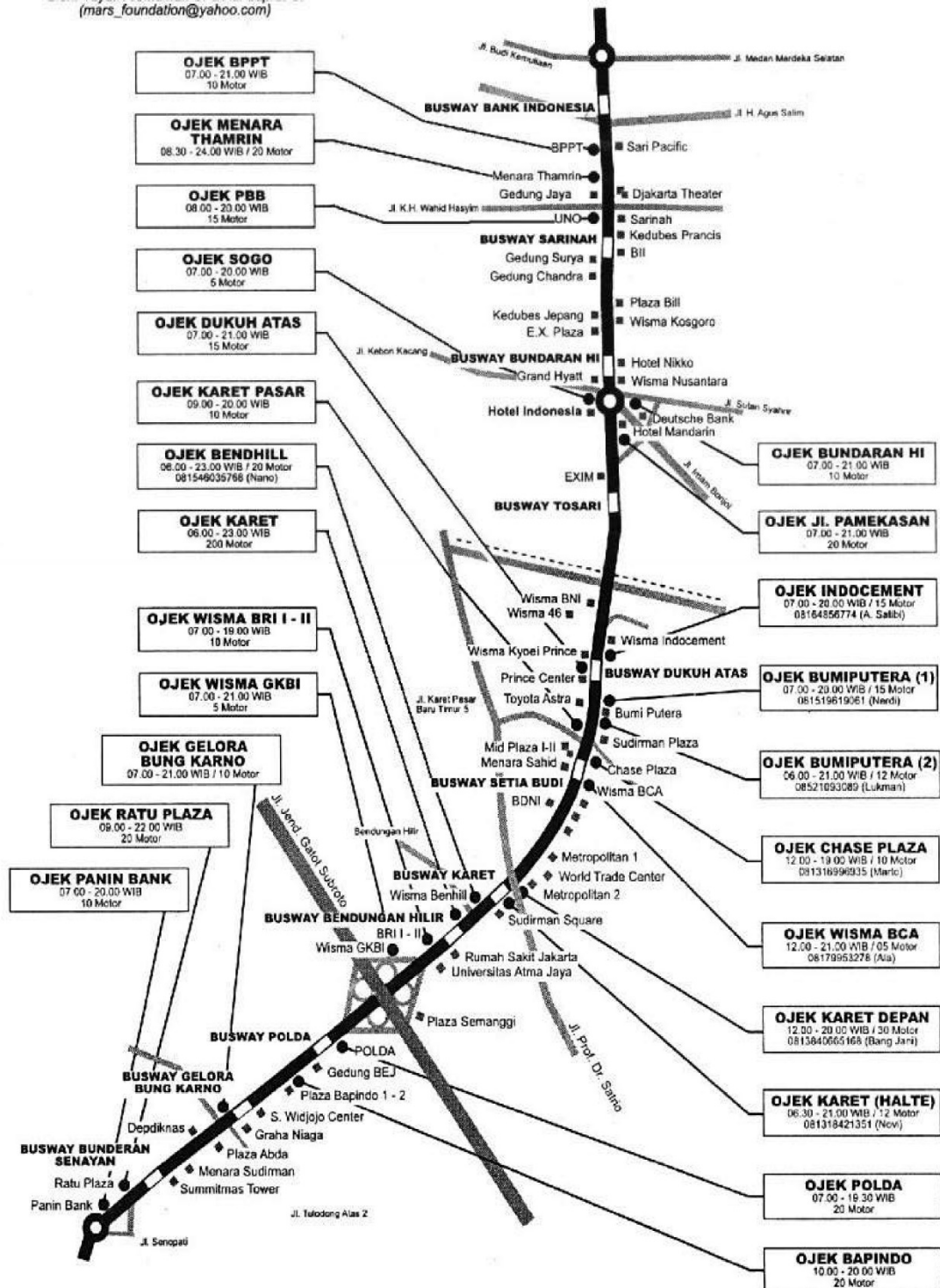


Figure 24. *Ojek Sudirman-Thamrin 2006*. Poster by Yuyun Aiemaman S. and Adi Suprat C featured in *Tiada Ojek di Paris*, 2015.



Figure 25. *Bajaj Bajuri* Poster 2002-2005. Poster on IMDb, 2002.

The Continuation of the ‘Golden Child’ with *Transjakarta* Development



Figure 26. *Transjakarta* new design in front of National Monument in 2015. Posted on *Jakarta Smart City*, 2024.

The tradition aforementioned in the previous decades was not proofed towards generational changes. Technology as a reason is explained by Lowenthal to weaken “the everyday role of the past” that new lifestyle bears “no sanction and roots” of the past.¹²² The tradition and its people’s identity consequently turn into a mere “historical romance with futurist science fiction”.¹²³ The phenomenon was reflected in the conversion of traditional *ojeks* into an app-based service ones as mentioned by Ford and Honan.¹²⁴ They explain that when Uber typically connects passengers to taxis or cars, Indonesian consumers are offered with online *ojek* and *bajaj* provided by a local company, *Go-Jek* that has caused an “erosion of traditional labor markets” as an example of “disruptive technology”.¹²⁵ More traditional drivers left their conventional way of waiting for customers and converted into *Go-Jek* with practical reasons such as stabler higher income and insurance provision.¹²⁶ For Lowenthal, this is a capitalist movement that takes historical reference “for their own purposes” by assessing and comparing certain phenomena in the past.¹²⁷ On the positive note, the mobility in the middle of Jakarta streets were equalized as *Go-Jek* drivers spread in various areas and fees were regulated by

¹²² Lowenthal, 364.

¹²³ Lowenthal, 365.

¹²⁴ Michele Ford and Vivian Honan, ‘The Go-Jek Effect’, in *Digital Indonesia: Connectivity and Divergence* (SG, SINGAPORE: ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, 2017), 275–88, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hkuhk/detail.action?docID=5124084>.

¹²⁵ Ford and Honan, 276.

¹²⁶ Ford and Honan, 282.

¹²⁷ Ford and Honan, 282; Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 371.

distance. Harvey explains that this kind of movement that brings together “communalism” or “ethnic identities” of the civil members triggers the re-structurization of how urban works.¹²⁸ This also results in a less “managerial” government in opening “entrepreneurial” opportunities that propose innovations to improve the inhabitants quality of life.¹²⁹ Thus, the question raises that with the collaboration of private institution i.e. Go-Jek in distributing the mobility provision in a more fair manner, if the idea of city axis or the prioritized corridor in the city through physical representation has come to its end. *Transjakarta* system (Fig. 26) is worth discussing to look into its role to the city on this matter.

Transjakarta is a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system which started its operation in February 2004 by opening its first line: *Blok M – Kota* corridor.¹³⁰ The implementation motivation was clearly introduced on its short advertisement (Fig. 27):¹³¹

*Perhatikan situasi ini, sementara ada jutaan kursi kosong di jalanan.
Kini saatnya anda berpergian dengan aman, nyaman dan bebas macet ke berbagai wilayah
di Jakarta.
Transjakarta busway memberi semua kebutuhan transportasi anda
Transjakarta busway membuat hidup anda lebih produktif*

[Pay attention to this situation, meanwhile there are millions of empty seats on the streets,
Now is the time to travel safely, comfortable and traffic freely to various corners of Jakarta
Transjakarta busway provides all of your transporting needs
Transjakarta busway makes your life more productive]

Apparently, the emphasis was placed on the traffic issue of Jakarta and *Transjakarta* introduction as an offered solution. Another understanding from the video is also visible that *Transjakarta* was being advertised as a new urban item that represents Jakarta’s image as a modern city, with its first lane operated through the city axis discussed in the previous chapter from *Kota* (Old city of Batavia) to *Blok M* (*Kebayoran Baru* neighbourhood) as the advertisement shows the city icons along this axis (Fig. 27). However, the success of this initiative remained questionable – as observable from the video uploaded by *siberuangbugil* on reddit that displays an intriguing scene of *Transjakarta* in 2019, 15 years after its first operation (Fig. 28).¹³² It is explained on the caption that the video shows *Transjakarta* bus that was passing through along their designated lanes which condition was contrasting to the heavily jammed main roads in Jakarta’s peak hours.¹³³ It can be seen that the designated lane of *Transjakarta* is just next to the mixed-traffic road, as mentioned by Ernst that physically “segregated busways” as one of the characteristics that Jakarta BRT bears.¹³⁴ Gaduh argues that the conversion of the mixed-traffic road into busways resulted in a worse congestion, as seen on

¹²⁸ Harvey, *Spaces of Capital*, 188.

¹²⁹ Harvey, 346.

¹³⁰ PT Transportasi Jakarta, ‘Sejarah’, accessed 20 April 2024, <https://transjakarta.co.id/tentang-transjakarta/sejarah/>; John Ernst, ‘Initiating Bus Rapid Transit in Jakarta, Indonesia’, *Transportation Research Record* 1903, no. 1903 (2005): 21–22, <https://doi.org/10.3141/1903-03>.

¹³¹ *Iklan Transjakarta Busway Tahun 2004*, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-zUdgst8nU>.

¹³² *siberuangbugil*, ‘Bus Lane for TransJakarta during Rush Hour in Jakarta, Indonesia’, Reddit Post, *R/Fuckcars*, 23 September 2022, www.reddit.com/r/fuckcars/comments/xlqeqd/bus_lane_for_transjakarta_during_rush_hour_in/.

¹³³ *siberuangbugil*.

¹³⁴ Ernst, ‘Initiating Bus Rapid Transit in Jakarta, Indonesia’, 21–22.

the video.¹³⁵ But, Ernst noted on a positive note that in the operation of its first lane, *Transjakarta* succeeded to cut 59 mins of travel time along the corridor at peak period.¹³⁶ Various impressions from its users were also raised on the comment section, which are important to process, as they mostly revolve around the quality of the functional infrastructure that support the operation of *Transjakarta* (Fig. 29). *Rushadee* commented that pedestrian outside of the bus stops need to be improved, while *nuclear_rabbit* elaborated his hope for *Transjakarta* to have “more stops”, “more bus lanes”, accurate schedule, less bus stop closure for renovations, and better “accessibility”.¹³⁷ While similar comments about *Transjakarta* operation quality are found repeatedly in the long discussion, a gripping comment was shared by *thearstotzkan*.¹³⁸

“Ya iyalah, Kor. 1. Koridor anak emasnya Transjakarta, sama Kor. 13. Coba cek koridor lain yang sesteril koridor 1 pas rush hour. Good luck with that. Hint: Hak diskresi”

[Of course, it’s Corridor 1. The golden son of *Transjakarta* corridors, as well as, Corridor 13. Just try to check another corridor that is as sterile (from common cars) as corridor 1 during the rush hours. Good luck with that. Hint: Discretion ability]

As mentioned correctly, the video shows a portion of corridor 1 (*Blok M – Kota line*) of *Transjakarta*, specifically in the *Sudirman-Thamrin* road, the similar one as discussed in the previous chapter. The intriguing term brought up by *thearstotzkan* was “*anak emas*”, which means ‘golden son’ that he referred to the corridor 1 and 13 of their sterility of non-BRT vehicles in designated bus lanes. In fact, only corridor 1 has been granted silver badge by Institute for Transportation and Development Policy ITDP in 2014 as quoted by Gaduh, but corridor 13 was not yet established by that time. From the comment, it is apparent that the benefit of *Transjakarta* to own a special lane is significant from the point of view from the users or the Jakartans as the urban members of the city. Ahok, a former governor of Jakarta, as quoted in *Asia News Monitor* also mentioned that sterile busways are crucial in assuring “passengers comfort” and raising of public “confidence” with government in public transportation operation.¹³⁹ Even a violation of trespassing the designated busways by a former vice president in February 2004 got highly criticized by the governor, followed by many Jakartans.¹⁴⁰ This shows the importance of the physical barrier to be present visually on street as a representation of control and provision of public infrastructure that contributes to the city image. However, it is also a device to proof a problematic system of inequality, referring back to the notion ‘golden son’ that there is a prioritization of physical control in corridor 1 and 13 as compared to the other lanes. As indicated by Gaduh, as well, that high quality BRT shall possess “fully segregated busways, rapid bus speeds and optimal station placements”, yet what happened in Jakarta was the varying “implementation” across the corridors that resulted in “different outcomes.”¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ Arya Gaduh, Tadeja Gračner, and Alexander D. Rothenberg, ‘Life in the Slow Lane: Unintended Consequences of Public Transit in Jakarta’, *Journal of Urban Economics* 128 (2022): 2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2021.103411>.

¹³⁶ Ernst, ‘Initiating Bus Rapid Transit in Jakarta, Indonesia’, 20.

¹³⁷ siberuangbugil, ‘Bus Lane for TransJakarta during Rush Hour in Jakarta, Indonesia’.

¹³⁸ siberuangbugil.

¹³⁹ ‘Indonesia: Jakarta Government Continue to Sterilize Transjakarta Busway’, *Asia News Monitor*, 2016, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1799887855?pq-origsite=primo>.

¹⁴⁰ Ernst, ‘Initiating Bus Rapid Transit in Jakarta, Indonesia’, 25.

¹⁴¹ Gaduh, Gračner, and Rothenberg, ‘Life in the Slow Lane’, 2.

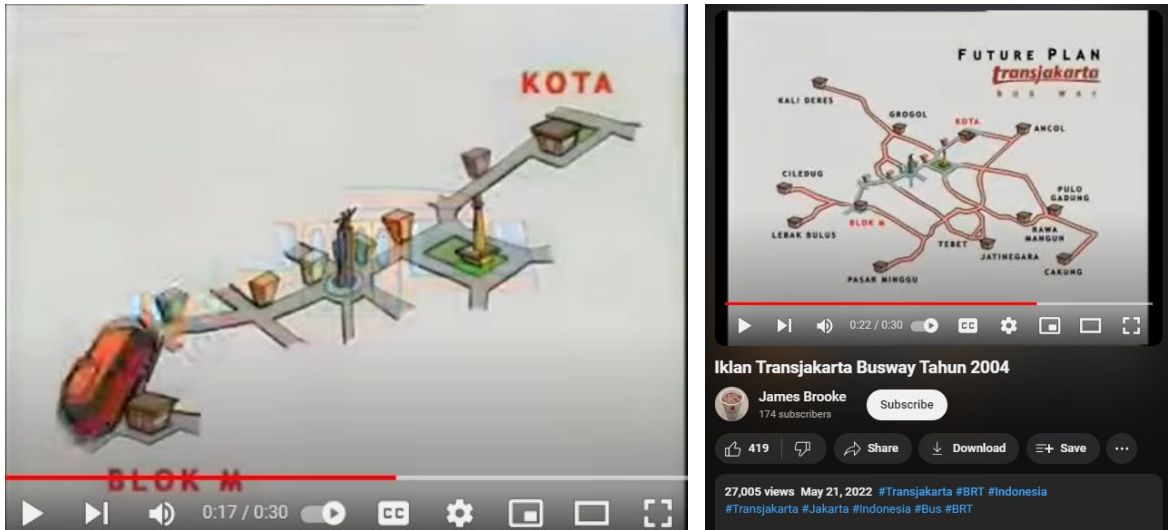


Figure 27. *Transjakarta introduction advertisement video 2004*. Posted by James Brooke on Youtube, 2022.



Figure 28. *Heavy traffic in Sudirman Street in Jakarta during peak hour and Transjakarta empty lane in 2019*. Posted by Siberuangbugil on Reddit, 2022.

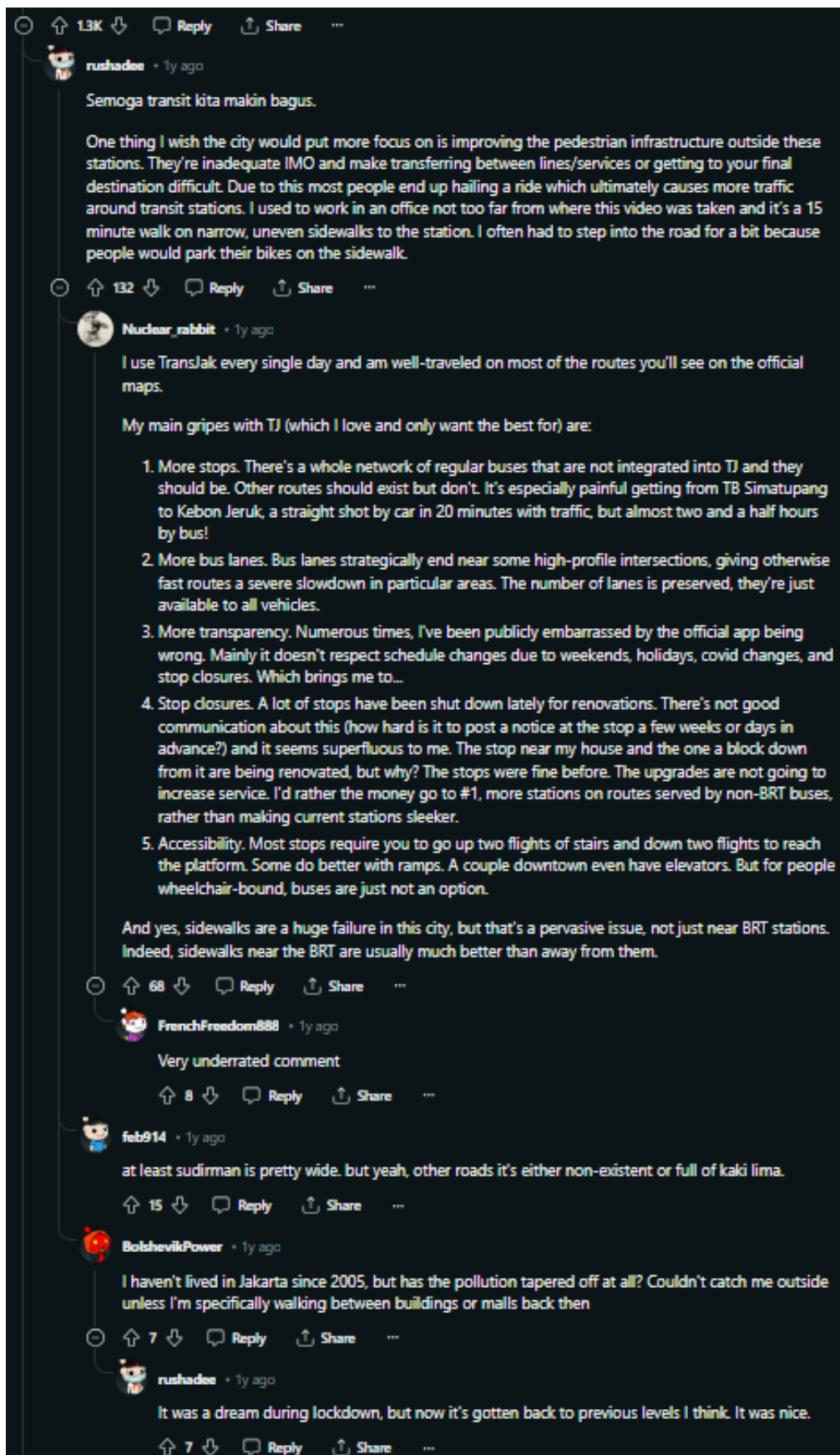


Figure 29. Discussion about the heavy traffic and Transjakarta in Sudirman. Comments on Reddit, 2022-2023.

An extensive illustration for this phenomenon is conveyed by *Shindo Ride* through a video *Transjakarta BRT Corridors Tier List* that provides comparison of *Transjakarta* corridors in 2023 based on qualities of its supporting infrastructure, bus carrier and intervals – and scored each from S tier to F, highest to lowest (Fig. 30).¹⁴² Slightly different opinion from *theartstotzkan* who labelled ‘golden son’, *Shindo Ride* placed corridor 1 and 13 in A tier, instead of S.¹⁴³ He elaborates that corridor 1 had neat segregated lanes only in the main CBD area where the skyscrapers and high-end shopping malls were located at, while towards the end the busways blurred and merged with mixed-traffic lanes.¹⁴⁴ For corridor 13, the line spanned from Jakarta CBD (Sudirman area) to the satellite city of Tangerang in the west. *Transjakarta* went big on the investment to build an elevated highway for this line, yet only up to the Jakarta’s border, thus the busways descended down and merged with mixed-traffic lanes when entering Tangerang city. He added that the inconsistency also occurred on the bus stops outlook where the ones in CBD area being newer with futuristic design.¹⁴⁵ Prawata suggests that through newer, updated graphics and good commercial through design which happened in the CBD area, it promotes strong identity as a new colour to Jakarta’s public transportation – which shows certain area to be controlled and prioritized as a city image representative. Also, when examined closely, the high-grade corridors according to *Shindo Ride* possessed some identical characteristics. Based on visual assessment from *Shindo Ride*’s diagrams (Fig. 31) and integrated map of Jakarta’s public transportation (Fig. 32 & 33), Corridor 1, 5 and 10 are linear long lines that cut across the city from north to south. Corridor 1, as discussed the ‘golden son’ that spans northwest-southwest; corridor 5 and 10 collectively ended in southeast and started from north and northeast respectively. They operate in wide roads that have been major arteries since the colonial era as seen in 1945 map, which was logical to benefit from the linearity, minimal intersections and sufficient width to have lane separation. Besides, they provide a good reading of the city division to their passengers as there is visual reference such as the National Monument in the center Jakarta to separate north and south of the routes. The qualities that these corridors had are explained by Lynch that relatively straight path has clear directional sense that is required to lessen any confusion on users, examples such as “long successions of turnings or gradual ambiguous curves” are clearly not preferred to create legible streets.¹⁴⁶ Besides, the gradient that is experienced as a path going towards higher concentration or any landmarks that give reference to nearness or “moving toward” to is essential to path design.¹⁴⁷ Moving on, corridor 4 and 6 were both short routes that ended in CBD area, thus benefitted from the modern image development which allowed them to have an excellent lane separation, good-looking carriers and bus stops.

Learning from these few commented materials, it seems that public’s satisfaction ties tightly to transportation system who can provide barrier-free mobility. Some overall resemblances of *Transjakarta* although not identical are comparative to the tram system that was terminated decades before. The physically available rails on street informed the hierarchy of tram as public infrastructure over the common roads, where same thing goes to the physical barrier of *Transjakarta*. However, if tramways needed to be organized in a standardized rails for the system to integrate and run smoothly, *Transjakarta* treatment towards its designated lanes, in practice, showed different levels of attention and prioritization that were reflected in certain area of the city.

¹⁴² *Transjakarta BRT Corridors Tier List*, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bvpNflDYJxk>.

¹⁴³ *Transjakarta BRT Corridors Tier List*.

¹⁴⁴ *Transjakarta BRT Corridors Tier List*.

¹⁴⁵ *Transjakarta BRT Corridors Tier List*.

¹⁴⁶ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 96.

¹⁴⁷ Lynch, 97.



Figure 30. *Transjakarta Tier list result.* Video uploaded by Shindo Ride on Youtube, 2022.

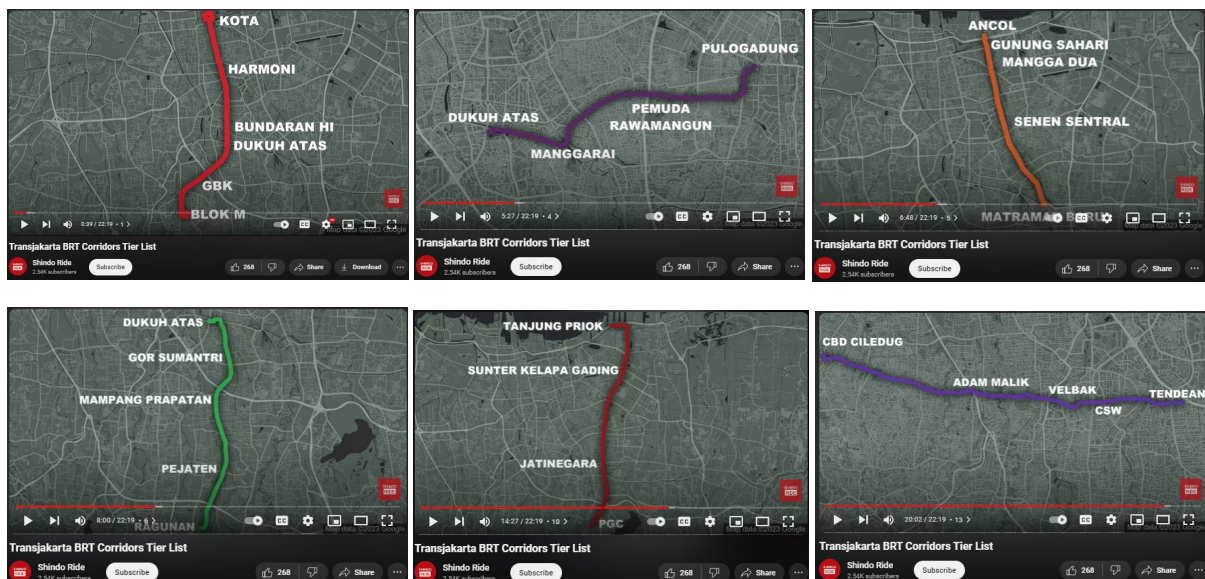


Figure 31. *Transjakarta Corridor 1,4,5,6,10,13 Routes (top left-right, bottom left-right).* Diagrams on video uploaded by Shindo Ride on Youtube, 2022.

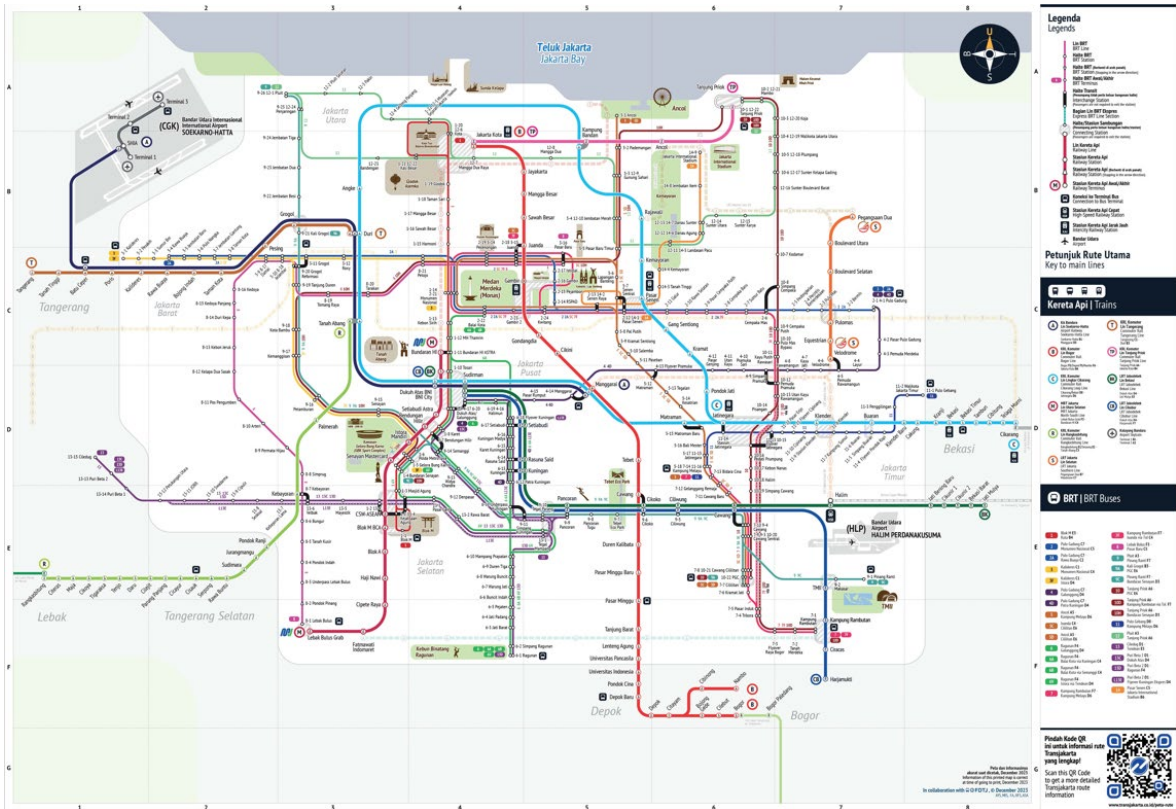


Figure 32. *Integrated Public Transportation Maps 2023*. Published by Forum Diskusi Transportasi Jakarta, 2023.

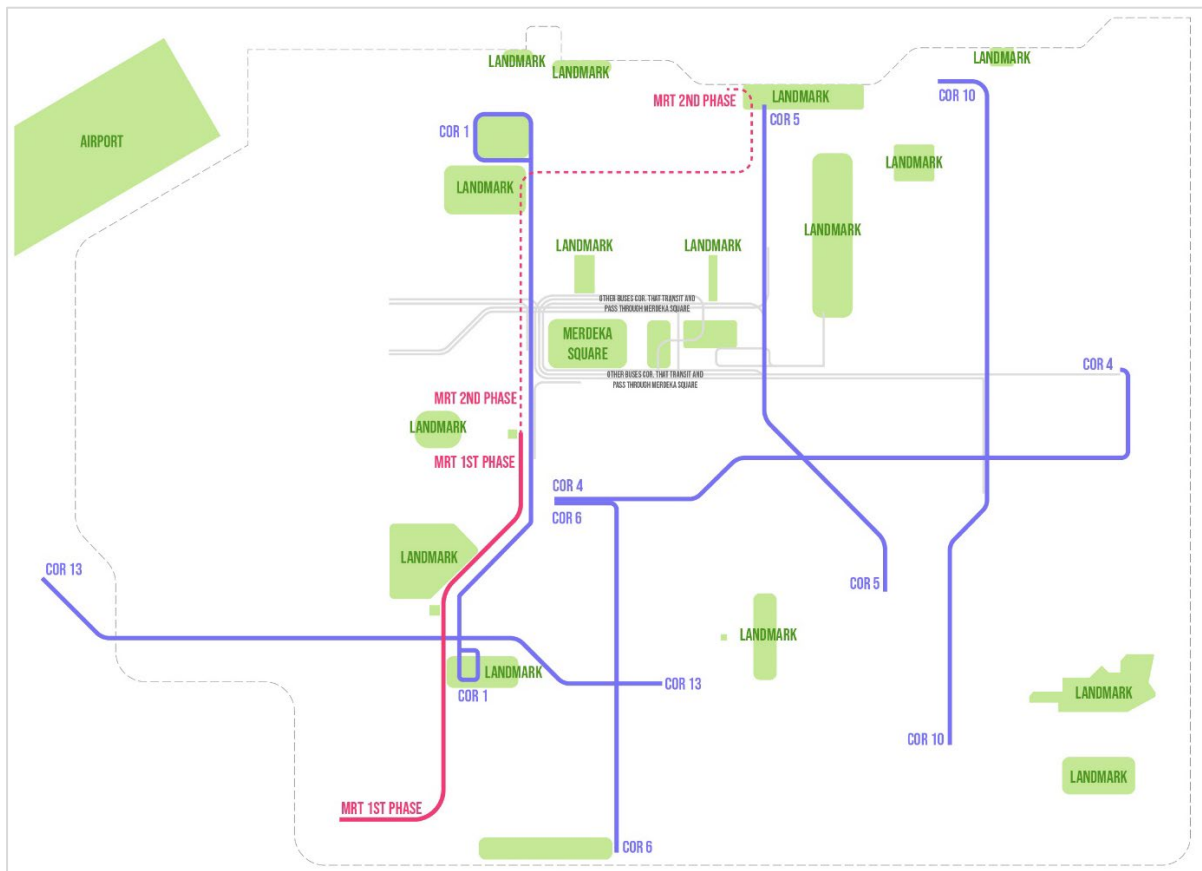


Figure 33. *Diagram by author based on integrated public transportation maps*.

Conclusion

Jakarta has undergone a long history of its making and had a clear trace of infrastructure development that contributed greatly to its image and identity formation as a metropolitan city of Indonesia. Across the various political historical contexts, infrastructure that has appeared and disappeared in the city occurred in various forms and left multiple implications towards the inhabitants. Infrastructure as explained by Rodgers and O'Neill reveals "frictions between past decisions" against "present needs" and "future aspirations", thus it is important in the discourse to have an understanding through cause-and-effect transitions as what this paper discusses.¹⁴⁸ Starting off in the colonial period, Marre's narration helps to imagine the activation of infrastructure, even as simple as markets, canals, streets and plaza that complemented the European lifestyle at that moment. Followed by the tram expansion to the south that dictated the city axes, and eventually banishment of them at the start of the post-colonial period to hide certain identity. From these early instances of infrastructure, city image comes at initial stage from visuals as explained by Lynch that "legibility", "visibility" or "apparency" comes first through "shape, color, or arrangement."¹⁴⁹ Subsequently, semiotic representations such as large-scale buildings and monuments were seen in the development of the city image, while now they support interchangeably with public transportation, such as *Transjakarta* which was well maintained in the prioritized areas. However, the identity comes not from the "spectacular" as Moser emphasizes, instead from the "every day ways".¹⁵⁰ It is also reminded by Lowenthal that identities are strongly developed from the constant use of the infrastructure, which leads identity of Jakarta to stay strong in the development of on-street cultures.¹⁵¹ As observed, *Go-Jek* which offered better distributed force as an aid by private institutions with technology and capitalists' has been successfully accepted by the people. From the discussion, it is also apparent that throughout the history, social segregation and the demonstration of city axis preference remained regardless the political regimes. For examples the *Tijgersgracht* canal that was full of elites' activities, tramways that controlled the major flow of the city, *Sudirman-Thamrin* Street with major modernist architecture, as well as selected *Transjakarta* corridors that were granted the 'golden son' title had delivered certain identities towards Jakarta and its people in each generation. While the city of Jakarta is evolving towards the future with its construction of infrastructure like Mass Rapid Transit (MRT), it triggers the next question of the trend of Jakarta's identity formation. MRT is situated underground and opposes the long-built tradition of the on-street visual importance in Jakarta. Upon its full-operation in the future, the social implication with the introduction of the new trend is a promising investigation in the discourse.

¹⁴⁸ Rodgers and O'Neill, 'Introduction', 403.

¹⁴⁹ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 9.

¹⁵⁰ Moser, 'Performing National Identity in Postcolonial Indonesia', 294.

¹⁵¹ Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 197.

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