Urban conflict: reterritorialization in Northern part of Bekasi

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Abstract. Inter-group conflict is one of the crucial issues affecting urban development in Northern part of Bekasi. It begins with the destruction of monuments until the rejection of worship places (in this case is a church) by mass organizations. These incidents occurred because the native assumed that the migrants took their territory. They concerned about the modern development brought by the migrants that caused the shrinking of local culture. The behavior of these mass organizations constituted the district that made the urban space seemed ‘not inclusive’ indirectly. This paper offered another alternative in urban design to reduce conflicts within the territory. We sought about the district context and reterritorialized the conflicted area. We used Reterritorialization approach to restore ‘border’ in order to sharpen and strengthen the territory. We conducted direct observation method, socio-cultural mapping, in-depth interview, and 3D model. This paper aimed to affirm the territory in urban space that would be able to accommodate the needs of the district user. The result is a design of transitional space that functionates as negotiation space. The transitional space is an intervention using Reterritorialization approach to reduce conflicts that occur in the urban space of the Northern part of Bekasi.

1. Introduction
The economic growth and the massive constructions severely affect the development of the city. Currently, big cities like Jakarta (the capital city of Indonesia) are experiencing rapid growth because of the capitalism. It influences the development of suburban cities near Jakarta such as Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi. Many immigrants from other regions come to Jakarta and its suburban cities to work and live with the natives. The immigrants and natives living together can evokes conflicts, as happened in North Bekasi. The natives in North Bekasi felt threatened that the immigrant may erase the local culture.

From the problem above, this study proposed two questions: 1) what kind of city design is right for urban space in North Bekasi where the natives and the immigrant can live together? and; 2) what kind of intervention that compatible with the urban space in North Bekasi to reduce the conflict? We answered the questions through analysis process related to the findings in North Bekasi.

This study aims to respond the conflicts that occur in the space of the northern city of Bekasi. The principle is to maintain the heterogeneity and the natives are also not disturbed by the presence of immigrants. The mastery of space that occurs in North Bekasi forms an imaginary territory, whose presence feels when there is a built environment that is considered provocative. There are elements
that form the territory. These elements are a place of worship and a monument as symbols of representation of society and government (Nas, 2011). These symbols turned out to be an important element that formed the space of the northern city of Bekasi. We use Reterritorialization as an approach to respond to the context as well as the territory of symbols. Reterritorialization means understanding existing border to re-territory different places. We, therefore attempt to present elements (symbols) in prior territories and supplemented by new elements. Through the approach of reterritorialization will generate input and consideration for designing urban space associated with conflict resolution. Because the quality and sustainability of city life will depend heavily on the way, communities and city stakeholders manage to resolve the conflict.

2. Methods
We use direct observation method, in-depth interview, socio-cultural mapping and 3D model to collect the data. We collected the data by searching historical data related to conflict and development of Bekasi. Historical data was collected to make periodization events that occurred in Bekasi. Historical obtained through document studies of both primary documents (autobiography) and secondary documents (biographies). On direct observation method, we observed directly the situation as the source of data. In this case, we monitored directly the actions involving the combined religious community organizations in Bekasi in protesting against the building of the church. In-depth interview was used to support data obtained through historical search. We interviewed the Bekasi historical activists and the people who understood and knew much about Attaqwa and KH. Noer Ali. All data obtained then analyzed through mapping methods and layering to uncover existing facts. The results of this analysis will produce new findings which will then proceed with urban design intervention through reterritorialization approach.

![Figure 1. Methods Framework](image)

3. Bekasi Patriot city
Initially, Bekasi is part of Jatinegara district which was under the reign of Meester Cornelis’ resident. Then based on the suggestion of the leaders of Bekasi, Bekasi was separated from Jatinegara and became Bekasi district. Due to the rapid population growth, Bekasi sub-district blooms into Bekasi city and separates itself from the Bekasi district. Until now Bekasi is divided into 2 regions, namely Bekasi city and Bekasi district. The total area of the city (210.49 km2) and the district (1,484.37 km2) are 1,694.86 km2 or equivalent to 169,486 ha. The population in Bekasi City in 2015 amounted to 2,733,240 people [1], while Bekasi district in 2014 amounted to 3,246,013 people. [2]
Bekasi consists of various ethnic originating from many regions such as Bali, Malay, Java, and Bugis. Apart from the regions in Indonesia, ethnic Chinese and European (Dutch & English) also influence the ethnicity present in Bekasi. These ethnic groups then experience the process of acculturation and cultural assimilation, then diffuse in every region of Bekasi. These ethnicities spread influences the behavior and way of life and language so that Bekasi has different dialect in each region. For example, Sundanese and Java affect the marginal area while Betawi and Malay influence the urban area (Sopandi, 2012; p.190-192). This distinction of community structure consisting of various ethnic groups makes Bekasi as heterogeneous city.

The majority of the people of Bekasi are devout Muslims. The Islamic life of Bekasi people in term of the culture and daily life is stronger in particular places (Sopandi, 2012; p.190-192). Islamic culture gives a strong influence on the culture of the society in Bekasi becomes component that characterizes and binds the people of Bekasi as an ethnic group. The bond between Islam and Bekasi society culture is very close that it can hardly be separated between the two (Sopandi, 2012, p.190-192).

The development of DKI Jakarta and the strategic location of Bekasi as the capital city of the city have an impact on the increasing number of residents in Bekasi. Due to the high land price in the Capital, many people buy a plot of land/houses and live in Bekasi. Their movement from other areas in Java to Bekasi, making the more tribes and ethnically mixed in Bekasi. To deal with things like this, the people of Bekasi responded with high tolerance. Tolerance is also by Islamic religious norms and culture of Bekasi society. The hospitality of newcomers in Bekasi is one of the cultural forms of toleration carried out by the people of Bekasi who settled first. [3]

“Bekasi is the patriot city” is the jargon or motto of the city government of Bekasi. Historians said that Bekasi was a battleground during the war revolution on 1945-1949. [4] Evidenced by the existence of historical remains of war remained through the monument and the monument that tells the struggle of the people of Bekasi at that time. Their battle began since the colonial era that was the rebellion of the peasant farmers in 1869 and 1913. During revolution in 1945, there was incident called Bekasi Lautan Api (Bekasi, The Lake of Fire) in 13 December 1945. It happened in Bekasi square and its surroundings. The incident occurred as a result of Allied revenge against the people of Bekasi.

Bekasi became the forefront of the revolutionary battle, as Pramoedya Ananta Toer (2003) tells in his book entitled On Di Tepi Kali Bekasi, this book tells about Bekasi during the revolutionary war and made Kali Bekasi a demarcation line between the Allies and the Indonesian Warriors. Toer also told that Bekasi fighters at that time the majority gathered by the youth. At that time, they had passion.

Figure 2. Bekasi in Macro

Bekasi consists of various ethnic originating from many regions such as Bali, Malay, Java, and Bugis. Apart from the regions in Indonesia, ethnic Chinese and European (Dutch & English) also influence the ethnicity present in Bekasi. These ethnic groups then experience the process of acculturation and cultural assimilation, then diffuse in every region of Bekasi. These ethnicities spread influences the behavior and way of life and language so that Bekasi has different dialect in each region. For example, Sundanese and Java affect the marginal area while Betawi and Malay influence the urban area (Sopandi, 2012; p.190-192). This distinction of community structure consisting of various ethnic groups makes Bekasi as heterogeneous city.

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and spirit to fight the invaders. In addition to the youth, the participation of the people in assisting
TKR (Tentara Keamanan Rakyat/ Society Security Soldier) by forming groups such as Laskar
Hizbullah and Pesindo (Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia/ Youth Socialist Indonesia), is important in the
fight against the Allies.

One of the most influential patriot in the battle of the people in Bekasi is KH.Noer Ali, who was
also the only National Hero from Bekasi. Apart from being a hero, he is also a prominent educator
who founded Pondok Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) named Attaqwa. Nowadays Attaqwa is
spread throughout Bekasi in the form of madrasah/schools and Musholla/mosques. Attaqwa is the
largest Pesantren in Bekasi because of the influence of KH. Noer Ali who struggles from zero to
advance education in the Ujung Harapan region. With his concept, Attaqwa had many branches and
scattered throughout Bekasi. Attaqwa branches spread in the form of madrasah and mosques. The
spread of Attaqwa indirectly shaped the territory that controls the space of the northern city of Bekasi.
According to Deleuze & Guattari, components or rhythms that expressed something formed territory
(Deleuze & Guattari, 1986; p.14-16). [5] Therefore, we identify the elements that shape the territory.
We found the elements which are either physical or nonphysical.

4. Urban Conflict

The dominance of indigenous people within the city, its 'power' is very influential on urban space.
They show the power when the presence of buildings or monuments that are not by the context of
local cultural locality. Not often rejection leads to massive protests that will lead to conflict. The
conflicts in urban city began because of the differences. The city is a relatively large, dense and
permanent settlement socially inhabited by individuals who is heterogeneous (Wirth, 1938, p.9). [6] A
city conflict occurs when among the individuals do not share many values and aspirations. Those will
organize their society in such a way that they will function as part of their interests (Simmie, 1974,
p.11). [7] It is also a consideration that homogeneous cities do not guarantee that conflicts do not
occur if people do not share one another.

Urban conflicts can occur due to several things, namely, urban warfare, security, resources,
religion, ethnicity, youth, segregation and environment (Hamelink, 2008; p.294-296). Conflict is also
influenced by aspects of globalization, as globalization will increase the conquest of local areas by
global forces (Kok, Weesep, 2007; p.-7). [8] Inside the city, the public space is one of the important
aspects as a place for people to share and interact with each other [9]. It is not necessarily a solution
because sometimes there is public space intended for particular social groups (Mela, 2014; p.1). The
city conflict here means to oppose privatization (Hamelink, 2008, p.299) and control on urban space.
So how can privatization in urban space be eliminated to create an inclusive city space? Besides the
problem of privatization of space, religion and culture also become the trigger of conflict in one
region.

Religious conflict in Kashmir [10] and the civil war in Beirut (Leclair-Paquet, 2013, p.7) [11]
ocurred due to territorial seizure. It depends on government policy in overcoming the existing
problems. If the government was able to characterize the conflict from the people's point of view and
not just as a territorial dispute, it will not only create more room for negotiation but also make it
politically feasible for both sides. (Behera, 2010; p.10) In this case, the government plays important
role in determining pro policy on both sides.

Urban conflicts are increasingly occurring due to the increasingly apprehensive condition of cities
(Hammelink, 2008, p.293). The quality and sustainability of life in the city will depend heavily on
how the people overcome their conflict. It needs a solution in urban design that can reduce the
conflict. Several previous studies have proposed ways to tackle city conflict. One of them formed an
interactive communication space (Hamelink, 2008; p.293) as a forum for the community to interact
with each other. Interactive public spaces in our opinion by creating many functions to create diverse
activities (Hester, 2010; p.23). [12] Smart city is one of the technology-based solutions used to solve
public problems. [13] It can improve security, reduce road risk and control environmental parameters
(Mela, 2014; p.3). The last one is a participatory method. It will work because it will be able to make
cross-cultural encounters occur (Leclair-Paquet, 2013; p.7). It will promote social equality and equal rights, with a direct observation of the field and collaborate with local communities. In Belfast, the community is directly involved in the process of drafting a concept to create space and place for dialogue, encouraging visitors to do, act, to engage, interact and conserve existing buildings around (Donovan, 2013). [14] The result is active spaces like a playroom, and murals containing a message of peace. It will produce psychological effects for those who observe it and also enhance the sense of security for humans in it. (Holding, 1999) [15]

Conflict does not necessarily mean negative. All change processes involve conflict (Hamelink, 2008; p.296). Imagine a man, who is full of emotions. It takes an expression that can excite the emotion, such as shouting. (Interview on April 11, 2017) In similar ways, if the city is full of never ending problems, conflict is arguably one of its ways out to express the aspirations of the community. From the solutions presented have the same goal of creating public spaces that are easily accessible to all elements of society, avoiding social exclusion, and creating a sense of security for all city users. But all of that needs to consider the context so that whatever method used will be appropriate and successfully applied to the city in conflict.

In line with what happened in North Bekasi, we see there are territories present in it. From this territory, we then respond with the concept of territorialization. Reterritorialization is the development of territorialization. Referring to Manuel Delanda (2006), Territorialization is a process by which components engage and stabilize the identity of an assemblage, by increasing the degree of internal homogeneity or the sharpness of its boundaries. [16] On a contrary, Deterritorialization can make it unstable. But this theory needs to be criticized because by increasing homogeneity it will make the city into monotonous. Immigrants will be scared of going into the neighborhood. Friendly city in our opinion is the city that keeps the heterogeneity, and the community can share with each other.

According to Deleuze (1987), marking can form territory that have rhythm or characteristic that produce expressions. This rhythm is important element to do reterritorialization. According to Appadurai (1996), deterritorialization is one of main forces in the modern world. Its impact to the world creates new spaces that can harm the local culture [17]. In our opinion, deterritorialization is a colonizing or randomizing activity of one territory whereas reterritorialization forms a new territory by taking elements from pre-existing territories. In line with Deleuze (1987), Appadurai’s (1996) explanation about deterritorialization is more toward attempting to change the existing identity into a new identity. We use both the concept of reterritorialization as an approach to design the city. We can choose which alternatives is better than the other. Also, we can adjust the design to correspond the context of urban city that we want to intervene.

5. Territory and Reterritorialization approach

Ujung Harapan with Attaqwa has the nickname as the village of santri (Student of Islamic Boarding School) because the Attaqwa Pesantren has many santri, and other Muslim students studying in the Attaqwa madrasa (Islamic school). santri Madrasas and Attaqwa Mosques spread throughout North Bekasi. At a certain hour of the atmosphere of a territory will appear during prayer time and depart-home madrasa school students. Attaqwa is known different from other Pesantren because Attaqwa is open not only to santri, but also to the other people in the community. It is apparent when Attaqwa held a religious event (Maulid Nabi and Isra Mi’raj), the community was enthusiastic to attend the event. The people was flocking around the central of Attaqwa. Physically, this territory has a mosque or musholla with open space and madrasah. Every branch of Attaqwa has this design type. Mosque is always located in the middle of the settlement of people so that the name of the mosque became the identity of the environment around it. We can conclude that the elements of this territory have both physical and nonphysical characteristics as identity identifiers of Attaqwa territory.

The first territory component that with the presence of madrasa and mosques resulted in the daily activities of Muslim dress students around North Bekasi. Also of Pesantren who also has a lot of santri. Some mosques also produce the sound of azan at certain hours. The second territory component of each Attaqwa branch physically has the same type of repetition that is mosque/musholla,
school/madrasah, and open space. Type like this spread throughout North Bekasi. The third territory component of the musholla as a marker of the presence of the surrounding community. We can say that the relationship between place of worship and society is very close. The three components of this territory have one thing in common where the place of worship as a symbol and activator of community activities. As said by Nas (2011) the symbol presented by the government is only a representation of the city, and this is only felt by the government alone. On the other hand places of worship attached to the community. [18] The reality is that symbols such as monuments made by the government, the community cannot perceive its meaning, whereas for the community is more familiar with the place of worship as its monument. The symbol of the government is inseparable from the historic city of Bekasi which later became jargon, Bekasi as a patriot city. Ironically, although the people of Bekasi know this jargon but most of them don’t know the history behind it.

In an attempt to reterritorialize, we present the symbols of the elements or component that formed the territory. Bekasi people are already attached with symbols such as place of worship. They don’t accept the presence of other symbols that are considered contrary to their environmental context. This conflict often leads to conflicts between indigenous peoples and migrants. Some conflicts occur such as demolition of statues and monuments that do not reflect from Bekasi. The reactive phenomenon of Bekasi society to a built environment which is not by Bekasi local wisdom becomes an issue that appears in the North of Bekasi city. With the imaginary territory established by the Attaqwa educational institution affecting the power of the territory. The presence of other monuments expressing patriotism of the people of Bekasi surprisingly is not at issue. We can say that the community accepts the form of a built environment as long as it is not provocative and more of a reflection on the image of Bekasi. For that how to create a symbol as a unifying society in North Bekasi by utilizing existing potential as an intervention. From this issue we use, the concept of reterritorialization as a way to reduce the conflict.

In doing reterritorialization, the context of the urban space has to be considered first. The daily life of the community, its urban environment, and if there is a strong (sociocultural) identity that affects the urban space. If we didn’t pay attention, the consequence will create the urban space not conducive. The purpose of reterritorialization is to present an intervention in the form of public spaces that can reduce and prevent conflict and make urban space more inclusive. After we did the analysis through theory related to territorialization (Deleuze, Guattari, 1987; Delanda, 2006). We found that there are two alternatives of reterritorialization. First, re-territory in a different place by lifting the existing component in its reference territory (figure 4). Second, reterritorialization based on the result of deterritorialization. It builds upon the strength of deterritorialization to produce new territory that replaces the previous one (figure 5).
6. Conclusions
After going through the process of analysis of the existing field facts. We found that we have to pay attention the community, and the potential of space that we use as an intervention. This space is what we call a transitional space. Based on the results of the analysis we found that this symbol is important as a territorial forming element. We have to understand which symbol that we represent as part of the reterritorialization approach. To intervene is by inserting urban design elements into the transition space. We determine the position of transitional space in the middle of the settlement as a space to mingle. The meaning of mingling is the indigenous population (majority) do not feel disturbed and immigrant people (minority) can still be accommodated. The resulting space will make every element of society share and interact with each other. Indigenous people will more often see foreigners (immigrants), so there will be no more concerns due to the presence of immigrant communities in North Bekasi. The intervention in this transitional space still does not eliminate the presence of other functions which in this case contradict the indigenous peoples. With this heterogeneity of the people of North Bekasi maintained, and the creation of strong social interactions between communities will make the urban environment becomes sustainable.
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