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THE ETHNIC PROFILE OF DJAKARTA*

Lance Castles

In the spate of studies about Indonesia since Independence, the phenomenon of Djakarta has been much noted but little investigated. The political drama enacted there is avidly studied, yet the people of the city remain less familiar than the Chinese of Semarang or the Javanese of Modjokuto. Djakarta, it is realized, is a mosaic, reproducing in microcosm the rivalries of the wider society.[1] But, like New York City, it is also a region in itself, with interests of its own over against the rest of the country. Its immigrants are not a random selection and they do not remain unaffected by the intense life of the metropolis. Djakarta is the point at which the fashions, ideas and artifacts of the outside world are most available, yet it is paradoxically the most--even the only--Indonesian city.[2] Israel Zangwill's well-worn metaphor of the melting-pot comes to mind--into the Crucible, Sundanese, Javanese, Chinese and Batak: God is making the Indonesian!

The events of 1965-66 throw a new light on Djakarta's position. If in the late 'fifties there was tension between the Outer Islands and Java (actually often Djakarta), recently there has been tension between Djakarta and Java. The conspirators of September 1965, wherever actually domiciled, were not men of Djakarta but of the provincial interior of Java. The Kesatuan Aksi, on the other hand, are very much a thing of the new Djakarta, and only slowly and with modifications have they spread to other areas. The evaluation of such phenomena as these would be facilitated if we knew what proportions were formed by the various ethnic groups and categories in the population of the capital.

As the 1961 census did not contain any question on ethnic grouping, the most recent figures available on that subject are

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* While taking full responsibility for inaccuracies, I would like to thank Professor Karl Pelzer and Miss Heather Sutherland for criticizing earlier drafts of this paper, and Mr. R. L. Williams for his help in making the maps.

1. J. D. Legge, Indonesia (Englewood Cliffs: 1964), p. 169.

2. B. R. Anderson points out, in "The Languages of Indonesian Politics," Indonesia, Vol. I, April 1966, that only in Djakarta and Medan among the larger Indonesian cities is the Indonesian language the normal vehicle of communication outside official channels.

from 1930, when Djakarta was a very different city. The main purpose of this paper is to bring the 1930 figures up to date, so to speak, by estimating the ethnic composition of the city in 1961. The estimate itself may be found in Table VI, while the text of the paper explains the process of arriving at it and comments on some of its implications. In the course of explanation data on Djakarta population groups will be brought together which, for many readers (especially the more statistically scrupulous), will be more valuable than the final estimates--which, as will become apparent, must be regarded with caution.

Briefly, the calculation is based on the assumption that everyone in Djakarta in 1961 was either (1) a survivor or descendant of the 1930 population or (2) an immigrant since 1930 or a descendant of such an immigrant. Now we know how the 1930 population was composed, and we shall assume that the 1961 population mentioned under (1) is similarly composed. The 1961 census tells us the province of birth of immigrants to the city.[3] On the assumption that immigrants from each province belong (with appropriate modifications) to the predominant ethnic group in the province, it is therefore possible to estimate the composition of the remainder of the population, under (2). Of course, each of the three assumptions in this paragraph is, strictly speaking, incorrect and will bring some error into the estimate, as will a number of arbitrary adjustments which will be made in the course of the calculation. Two facts make this procedure more valid than may appear at first sight, however. In the first place, the population of Djakarta increased less between 1930 and 1961 than is generally supposed, the apparent growth being partly the result of the extension of the capital district's boundaries. The 1930 ethnic data are therefore more helpful for estimating the 1961 population than they would first appear to be. In the second place, nearly half of Djakarta's 1961 population was born elsewhere, so that the assignment of sukubangsa (ethnic grouping) on the basis of province of birth does, for all its pitfalls, give a direct indication of the ethnic origins of a large proportion of the Djakarta population.

The need to use rough and roundabout methods of estimation is in one sense a virtue, as it draws attention to the vagueness of what is being calculated. The Indonesian sukubangsa have never been watertight compartments. Even in 1930 the census-takers had some difficulty in making a consistent classification, and their neat columns of figures hide many ambiguities. In 1961 they would have found many offspring of mixed marriages, and would also doubtless have needed a category

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3. Sensus Penduduk 1961 D.C.I. Djakarta Raya (Angka-Angka Tetap) (Biro Pusat Statistik: 1963, hereafter referred to as Sensus 1961), p. 19.

"Indonesians who object to being otherwise designated." As Hildred Geertz points out,[4] most city-dwellers are bicultural in the sense that they retain their regional culture in some areas of their lives, while also participating in a metropolitan or national culture which is not yet fully elaborated. The effort in this paper is to estimate by regions or sukubangsa how many threads are going into the loom, while remaining aware that once they are in they cannot be fully disentangled again.[5] The fluidity of ethnic groups in Djakarta will be apparent in the historical section which now follows, the main purpose of which is to explain the origins of the "Batavians," who formed the largest ethnic group in the city in 1930.

The Early Migration to Batavia

At the time (1619) when the Dutch made it the chief base of their East Indian operations, the central part of the north coast of West Java was a sparsely settled area between the two coastal sultanates of Banten and Tjirebon. Partly for security reasons, the Batavia authorities did not encourage the people of the hinterland (whom they called "Javanese," not distinguishing between the Javanese proper and the Sundanese), to settle in and around the city. Instead, for two centuries the population was drawn from what might be called, borrowing a term from port geography, the demographic foreland of Djakarta.

Jan Pieterszoon Coen initiated the pattern by encouraging the Chinese to settle and by moving to Batavia some of the subjugated Bandanese.[6] Japanese mercenaries were an important element in the early years; and though the closing of Japan in 1636 cut off the supply, people of Japanese descent, often Christians, remained into the eighteenth century.[7] Other free settlers were "Moors" (South Indian Muslims), Malays, Balinese, Buginese and Ambonese. The free settlers in old Batavia, however, were generally outnumbered by slaves. At first the Dutch

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4. Hildred Geertz, "Indonesian Cultures and Communities," in R. McVey, ed., Indonesia (New Haven: 1963), p. 36.

5. The situation could be compared with that prevailing now in American cities some decades after the great immigration, as it becomes increasingly difficult and even a little pointless to distinguish precisely between Irish-Americans and Polish-Americans, or German-Americans and Danish-Americans, but where the crude sampling of a telephone directory may still reveal some interesting variations in ethnic composition.

6. F. de Haan, Oud Batavia (Rev. ed., Bandung: 1935), Vol. I, p. 371.

7. Ibid., pp. 376-377.

brought slaves from the mainland of South Asia--from the Coromandel coast, Malabar, Bengal and from Arakan in Burma. Gradually, and especially after the East India Company gave up its foothold in Arakan (1665), the archipelago became the main source of slaves. At various times Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores, Timor, Nias, Kalimantan and Pampanga in Luzon made their contributions; but the consistently important sources were Bali and South Sulawesi.[8]

Because of Batavia's proverbial unhealthiness, especially in the eighteenth century, constant replenishment of the population from outside was necessary,[9] which helps explain why some groups disappeared so rapidly if no fresh immigration occurred. Such disappearances were also, however, the result of the process of racial and cultural amalgamation, which proceeded apace in old Batavia. This melting-pot process was encouraged by the differences in sex ratios: while the Europeans, Chinese, and probably most of the free immigrants from more distant areas were overwhelmingly male, the slaves, especially those from Bali, were in good part (though seldom predominantly) female. The slaves from the Indian subcontinent were already cultural hybrids, using a form of Portuguese as a lingua franca; they were sometimes called Toepassen (from Hindustani dubashya, meaning interpreter).[10] The freed slaves, who were mainly Christian, were called Mardijkers (from the same root as Indonesian merdeka, free) and formed an important element in the Batavian population of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

In Table I, Djakarta's ethnic composition at three points of time is shown. In view of inadequate statistical records in earlier times, the exact figures should not be taken too seriously: Raffles, in reporting the 1815 tally, stated his belief that the actual total population in that year was 60,000 rather than 47,000, for example. But they do serve to show roughly the proportions of the different ethnic groups.

By the end of the nineteenth century the diverse Indonesian ethnic groups shown in the second column of Table I had lost their identity to a new sukubangsa, that of the Batavians

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8. Ibid., pp. 349 ff.; C. Lekkerkerker, "De Baliërs van Batavia," De Indische Gids, 1918, Part I, p. 409.

9. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century 4,000 slaves were being imported annually, and in Raffles' time only a quarter of the slaves were locally born (De Haan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 350).

10. G. W. J. Drewes, in B. Schrieke, ed., The Effects of Western Influence on the Native Civilisations in the Malay Archipelago (Batavia: 1929), p. 139.

Table I

Population of Batavia and Immediate Suburbs

	1673	1815	1893
Europeans and part-Europeans	2,750	2,028	9,017
Chinese (including peranakan)	2,747	11,854	26,569
Mardijkers	5,362	-	-
Arabs	-	318	2,842
"Moors"	6,339[a]	119	
"Javanese" (including Sundanese)		3,331	
South Sulawesi groups	-	4,139[b]	72,241[c]
Balinese	981	7,720	
Sumbawans	-	232	
Ambonese and Bandanese	-	82	
Malays	611	3,155	
Slaves	13,278	14,249	-
	32,068[d]	47,217	110,669

a. Including 5,000 "Javanese" outside the walls.

b. Including a small number of Timorese.

c. All indigenous.

d. Not including the garrison of 1,260 Dutch and 359 natives.

Sources: 1673: Dagh-Register, 1674 (Batavia: 1902), pp. 27-30.

1815: T. S. Raffles, History of Java (2nd ed., London: 1830), Vol. II, p. 270.

1893: Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië (The Hague/Leiden, n.d.), Vol. I, p. 140.

(Betawi, or Djakarta Asli). Given Raffles' assurance that most of the slaves in 1815 were from Bali and South Sulawesi and that none of them were Javanese, it is clear that the Indonesian population of the city at that time was overwhelmingly Outer Island, and especially East Indonesian, in origin. In the Ommelanden (the immediate hinterland of Batavia) the East Indonesian share was less but still high.[11] Genetically, then, the heaviest contributions to the new sukubangsa came from the east. In contrast, the powerful cultural solvents, Islam and the Malay language, came from the west.

At first it seemed that the Portuguese dialect of the Mardijkers would survive as lingua franca of the Batavian population in spite of the fact that East Indonesia replaced South Asia as the main source of slaves: in the mid-eighteenth century its position was still so strong that official government instructions to wijkmeesters (ward leaders) were printed in it.[12] But about the beginning of the nineteenth century it rather quickly disappeared from use, bequeathing many words to its victorious rival, Omong Djakarta or Batavian Malay.[13] Neither did Christianity sustain the prominence of its early years, when at least nominally Christian Mardijkers, Pampangans and "Mixtiezen" formed a notable portion of Batavian society. Most of the slaves, freedmen and free settlers in Batavia in the later period were Muslim, or if, like the Balinese, they came from non-Muslim areas, they soon converted.[14] Only a small fraction of the Balinese responded to the sporadic Dutch efforts to evangelize them, these being notably the slaves on the estate

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11. Lekkerkerker, op. cit., p. 418.

12. De Haan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 407.

13. H. N. van der Tuuk believed that Low Balinese was the basis of the Djakarta dialect, but Lekkerkerker (op. cit., pp. 410-413) held that it was basically Malay with some Balinese forms and many Balinese words. Javanese, Sundanese, Arabic, Chinese and Dutch also contributed to it. Two recent studies of the language are Hans Kähler, Wörterverzeichnis des Omong Djakarta (Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg; Berlin: 1966), Vol. V; and Muhadjir, "Dialek Djakarta," Madjalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia, Vol. II, No. 1, Feb. 1964, p. 25. On the contemporary socio-political role of Omong Djakarta, see B. R. Anderson, op. cit., pp. 107-109.

14. Lekkerkerker, op. cit., pp. 418-420. The Balinese religion, like their social structure, could hardly be transferred to the new environment. Moreover, the Balinese came as slaves, and as such were forced to leave more of their cultural baggage behind than most migrants.

of Cornelius Chastelain at Depok, just beyond the southern border of Djakarta Raya; their descendants have maintained their separate identity down to the present time.[15]

The Mardijkers in the late eighteenth century came to be known as "native Christians" or "Portuguese" (curiously, since they were Indian rather than native to Indonesia, and seldom contained a drop of Portuguese blood in spite of their Portuguese names and dialect). Some of them were probably absorbed into the Indo-European group, others, becoming Muslims, into the Betawi population.[16] A small community of Christians at Tugu south of Tandjung Priok was, according to the 1930 census report, composed of descendants of the Mardijkers.[17] Likewise the Pampangans were gradually Islamized and disappeared as a distinct group.

The free members of the various ethnic groups in old Batavia generally lived in their special kampungs or wijken, the location of which is shown on Map 1. They were under the jurisdiction of their own heads, called Majors, Captains, etc. The military titles were appropriate in that each ethnic group was expected to provide its contingent of militia, though the extent to which these companies were militarily effective varied from group to group and from one period to another.[18] This system both recognized and fostered the separateness of the different groups, but it was not proof against the powerful assimilative forces that have always been at work in Djakarta. If an ethnic group was not numerous enough to have its own company, it was lumped together with another, sometimes quite incongruously. Thus the "Papangers" were united with the Bandanese and the "Moors" later with the "Papangers." In the early nineteenth century, all freed slaves of whatever race were enrolled as "Papangers."[19] At the beginning of the twentieth century the guards of the city hall of Batavia were

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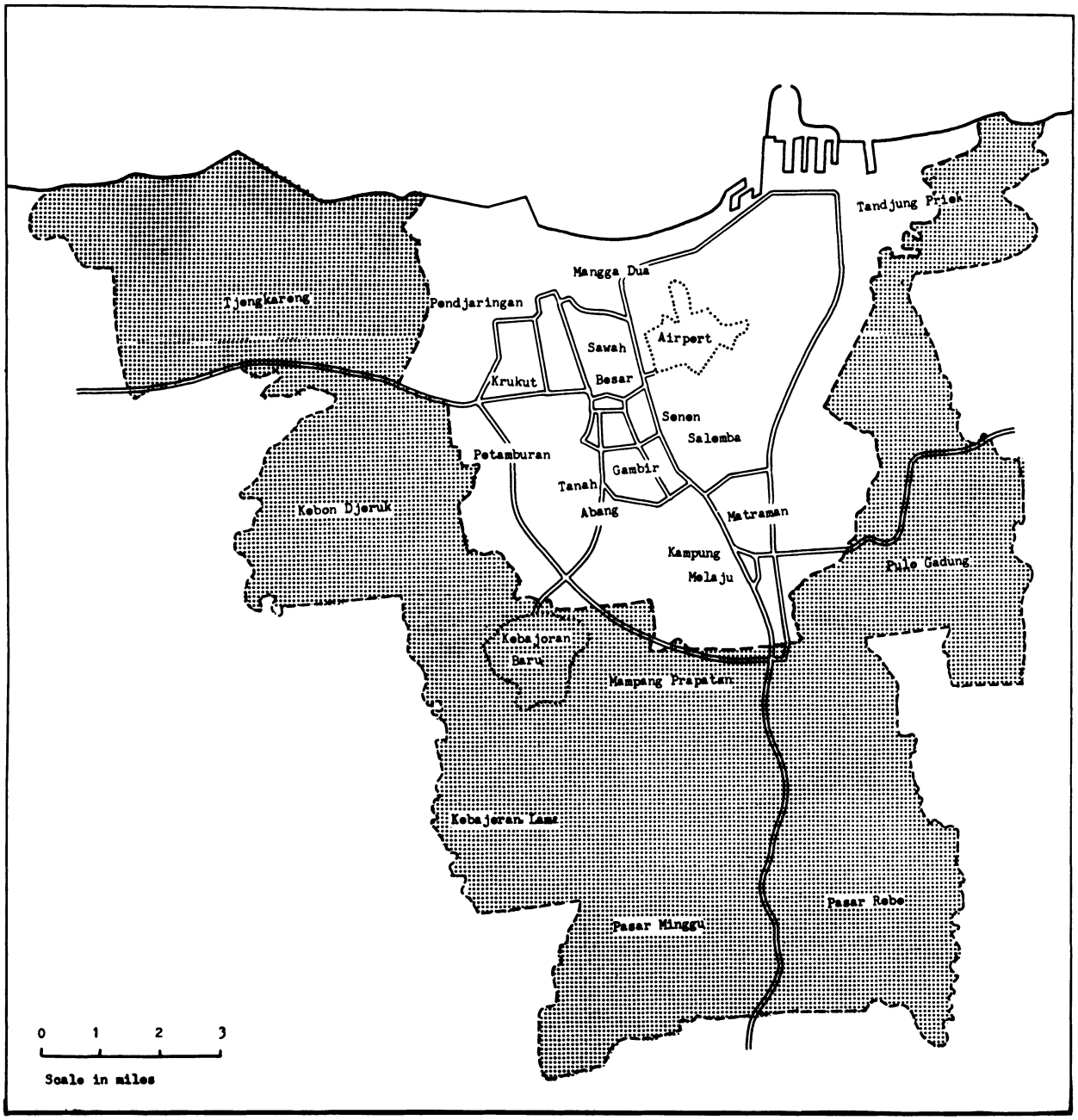
15. Ibid., pp. 419-420. The Depokkers also have Timorese and Makassarese among their ancestors.

16. On the Mardijkers and other mestizo-type groups, see De Haan, op. cit., Vol. I, Chapter XII.

17. Nederlandsch Indië, Departement van Economische zaken, Volkstelling 1930 (Batavia: 1935), Vol. I, p. 18.

18. De Haan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 365-368. Batavia in deszelfs gelegenheid etc. (Amsterdam: 1799), Vol. III, p. 21, lists the militia companies in existence at the end of the eighteenth century.

19. De Haan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 399.



Map 1. Djakarta, showing municipal boundaries and subdistricts. The shaded area was annexed to Djakarta in 1950.

still called "Papangers," though by that time even the origin of the term had been forgotten.[20]

Such events as the appointment of a Javanese head over a Buginese kampung at the end of the eighteenth century and the reorganization of the militia on a local rather than an ethnic basis in 1828 reflect the diminishing distinctness of sukubangsa identities in Batavia.[21] Similarly, a 1799 account of Batavia describes separately the occupations, dress and characteristics of Malays, Javanese, Balinese, Mardijkers, Buginese and Makassarese;[22] but a quarter of a century later C. S. W. van Hogendorp merely speaks of "Makassarese, Balinese and other Indians (originating from the islands of the archipelago, and more generally designated Malays). . . . They are so amalgamated with the Javanese that they have for the most part adopted their customs and habits."[23] By the mid-nineteenth century Van der Aa's account, though providing a token listing of the various population groups, states that they have "lost very much of the original character of their ancestors, and seem through commerce as well as mixed marriage to be united into one people."[24] And from about that time they were in fact generally considered to be a distinct ethnic group. In 1923 Mohammed Hoesni Thamrin founded the Kaum Betawi as a suku-oriented organization analogous to Pasundan, Serikat Ambon, Persatuan Minahasa and the like, and based on the Djakarta Asli population.[25] Pasundan and the other non-Betawi suku organizations themselves were generally at least as active in Djakarta as in their home regions, but among those who had migrated to the capital rather than its long-established residents.

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20. F. de Haan, "De Laatste der Mardijkers," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Vol. LXXIII, 1917, p. 220.

21. De Haan, Oud Batavia, Vol. I, p. 367.

22. Batavia in deszelfs gelegenheid, etc., pp. 33-36.

23. C. S. W. van Hogendorp, Coup d'Oeil sur l'Île de Java (Bruxelles: 1830), pp. 48, 229. He gives separate accounts of the "Portuguese," Chinese, Arabs and "Moors."

24. A. J. van der Aa, Nederlands Oost-Indië (Amsterdam: 1846), Vol. II, pp. 272-273.

25. A. K. Pringgodigdo, Sedjarah Pergerakan Rakjat Indonesia (Djakarta: 1950), pp. 84-85; and Matu Mona (pseud.), Riwajat dan Perdjuangan M. Hoesni Thamrin (3rd printing, Medan: 1951). Like some other regional/suku organizations, Kaum Betawi was later absorbed into Parindra, of which Thamrin eventually became the chairman.

Of course not all population groups were equally subject to the melting-pot process; those which were replenished by constant migration from their distant homelands, like the Europeans and Chinese, remained distinct. In the late nineteenth century, when improved communications permitted the immigration of larger numbers of European and Chinese women, there was less interracial marriage or concubinage, and pure (totok) and creolized (Indo and peranakan) subcommunities formed within these foreign groups. This does not mean, however, that no Chinese were absorbed into the Djakarta Asli group. The people known in the late eighteenth century as Peranakan Chinese were in fact nearer to the native Indonesians in status than to the alien Chinese. They were Muslim, were exempt from the poll tax on Chinese, and from 1766 had their own Captains, who generally bore Muslim names.[26] They lived dispersed in the Indonesian kampungs, and it must be supposed that after the abolition of the ethnic companies in 1828 they disappeared into the Batavian Muslim population as completely as the Bandanese, Balinese and Pampangans. The myth of Chinese unassimilability is thus refuted by Djakarta's own history.

The 1930 Population of Djakarta Raya

With the abolition of the slave trade, Java replaced the other islands as the main source of Indonesian migrants to Djakarta. During the nineteenth century there was probably fairly little migration, however, as the Indonesian population of Djakarta grew from about 45,000 in 1815 to only 72,000 in 1893--a far slower growth than that of the island as a whole. On the other hand, immigration of Europeans, Chinese and Arabs increased late in the century. It was the early twentieth century, with the construction of the port of Tandjung Priok, the expansion of government function under the influence of the Ethical Policy, and above all the precipitous "filling up" of Java that produced the first great wave of migration from the hinterland. In a few decades this movement transformed the population's character, multiplied its numbers, and produced the situation revealed by the 1930 census report.

For comparability with the 1961 figures, it is necessary to tabulate the 1930 data according to the present area of Djakarta Raya, much of which lay at the time outside the municipality of Batavia and the suburb Meester Cornelis (Djatinegara) which the city did not absorb until 1935. In 1950 the subdistricts of Pulau Seribu, Tjengkareng, Kebon Djeruk, Kebajoran

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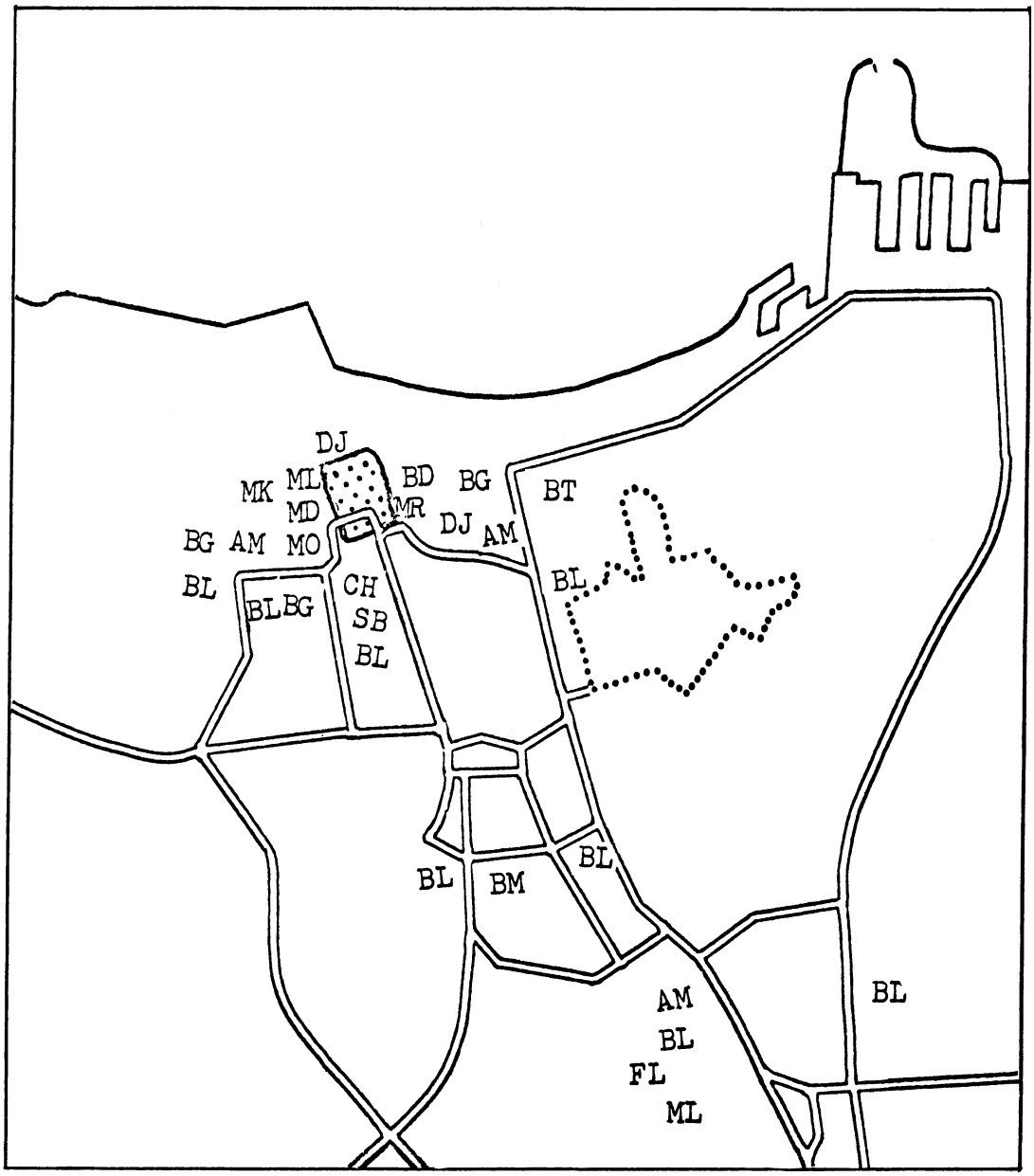
26. De Haan, Oud Batavia, Vol. I, pp. 395-396. The Kebon Djeruk mosque east of Djalan Hajam Wuruk was built by these Peranakans. In the 1799 list of militia companies mentioned in note 18, the "Parnakan-Chineezen" are classed with the native Indonesians, while the Chinese proper have five companies of their own.



Map 2. Ethnic Kampungs in 17th and 18th century Batavia

Present day main roads, coastline and airport are shown for identification. Letters indicate the presence of a settlement of the following ethnic group at some time between 1619 and 1800:

AM	Ambonese	FL	Florinese
BD	Bandanese	MD	Mandarese
BG	Buginese	MK	Makassarese
BM	Bimanese	SB	Sumbawans
BL	Balinese	CH	Chinese (after 1740)
BT	Butonnese	MO	"Moors"
DJ	Javanese-Sundanese	MR	Mardijkers

The location of these settlements is identified by De Haan, Oud Batavia, Vol. I, mainly Chapter 10, with three exceptions. He is doubtful about the Bimanese kampung, and he does not locate two of the Balinese kampungs, though he refers to their existence (p. 370). The old town (outlined in stippling) was occupied mainly by Europeans, slaves and, before 1740, by Chinese.

Ilir, Kebajoran Udik, Mampang Prapatan, Pasar Minggu, Pasar Rebo and Pulo Gadung, and part of the subdistrict of Tjilintjing were annexed to the municipality.[27] (See Map 2.) The part of the prewar regency of Batavia not later incorporated in the Daerah Chusus Ibukota Djakarta Raya became the kabupaten of Tangerang, while that part of Meester Cornelis not so incorporated became the kabupaten of Bekasi. The area covered by these three units was often referred to as Djakarta and environs (Batavia en ommelanden, Djakarta dan sekitarnja), and also corresponds to the present Fifth (Djaya) Military Territory. In the ensuing discussion, then, it will be necessary to distinguish four concentric units (see Map 1): "Batavia" (the 1930 municipality), "Batavia-Meester Cornelis" (the two municipalities, corresponding roughly with the then actual urban area), "Djakarta Raya" (the present municipality/capital district) and "Djakarta and environs" (Djakarta Raya with the kabupatens of Tangerang and Bekasi).

While some minor boundary adjustments have probably not been allowed for, the fringe area annexed to the municipality corresponds roughly with the 1930 census areas shown in Table II.

The census report did not give a full ethnic breakdown as far as the subdistrict level, but enough can be pieced together to estimate fairly accurately the composition of the population of the fringe area. In the district of Meester Cornelis, without the municipality, there were 113,020 Batavians and 10,407 Sundanese, leaving only 2,613 others. In Duizend Eilanden there were 1,923 Batavians, 268 Sundanese, 243 Javanese and 37 Malays. In the District of Kebajoran, containing the subdistricts of Kebondjeroek and Kebajoran as well as two others now outside Djakarta Raya, there were 143,221 Batavians, out of a population of 145,505. In the district of Tangerang (of which Tjengkareng was a subdistrict) there were 108,345 Sundanese, 86,921 Batavians and 1,667 others. As Tjengkareng itself was a projection of Tangerang in the direction of Batavia, lying entirely east of the Tjisadane river, which constitutes the approximate linguistic frontier, that subdistrict was probably almost entirely Batavian. The Tjilintjing area was probably mainly Batavian except for the small community of 160 Christian Tugu people. In the light of these data[28] the estimates in Table III were made.

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27. The Liang Gie, Sedjarah Pemerintahan Kota Djakarta (Djakarta: 1958), pp. 82, 138. The population of the fringe in 1952 was estimated at 325,270; Cultureel Nieuws, Indonesië (Amsterdam), 1953, No. 25, p. 620.

28. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 14, 17-18, 104-105, 122-123.

Table II

Population of the Fringe Area of Djakarta in 1930

	Indigenous	Chinese	Other	Total
District of Mr. Cornelis, minus municipality of Mr. Cornelis	124,173	2,808	503	127,484
Subdistrict of:				
Tjengkareng	42,188	4,687	35	46,910
Kebajoran	41,227	1,211	40	42,478
Duizend Eilanden	2,473	-	-	2,473
Kebondjeroek	31,227	364	60	31,703
Private Lands of Tjilintjing, Toegoe Oost, Toegoe West, Toegoe Batoe Bamboe	2,412	352	-	2,764
	243,752	9,422	638	253,812

Source: Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, Tables 1 and 7.

The final column of Table III (census data on Djakarta and environs) is included as a check on the estimates in the previous column. Clearly the only significant possibility of error is in the case of the four largest ethnic groups. The 3000 Malays "missing" in the estimate are probably those Batavians in the Mauk district (outside Djakarta Raya) who were mistakenly so classified in the census.[29] The estimate for Javanese is also not far wrong, as can be shown by a rather complicated calculation.[30] This leaves only the two major

29. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, p. 13.

30. The difference between the totals for Batavia-Mr. Cornelis and Djakarta and environs is 83,857 (142,565 - 58,708). Of these 74,500 lived in the outlying regions of Balaradja, Mauk and Tjikarang (Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, p. 15), leaving 8,357 unaccounted for. These probably result from the fact that the district of Bekasi, which was outside Djakarta Raya except for the small Tjilintjing annex, had 7,448 indigenous inhabitants who were neither Batavian nor Sundanese (202,233 - 184,004 - 10,781; Ibid., pp. 14, 17, 106-107). These must be mainly Javanese; the estimate for 1,000 Javanese in the fringe area cannot therefore be much too low.

Table III

Population of Djakarta Raya in 1930 by Ethnic Groups

	A Batavia-Mr. Cornelis (Census)	B Fringe Area (Estimate)	A + B Djakarta Raya (Estimate)	Djakarta[a] and environs (Census)
Indigenous				
Batavians	192,897	226,000	418,900	778,953
Sundanese	135,251	15,000	150,300	494,547
Javanese	58,708	1,000	59,700	142,563
Malays	5,220	100	5,300	8,295
North Sulawesi groups	3,736	100	3,800	3,821
Minangkabau	3,186	-	3,200	3,204
Maluku groups	2,034	-	2,000	2,065
Batak	1,253	-	1,300	1,263
Depok and Tugu people	721	200	900	998
South Sumatra groups	799	-	800	817
Madurese	317	-	300	393
Other and unknown	5,553	1,400	6,900	7,063
Subtotal	409,655	243,800	653,400	1,443,517
Non-indigenous				
Chinese	78,185	9,400	88,200	136,829
Europeans[b]	37,076	100	37,200	37,504
Others[c]	7,469	400	7,900	8,248
Total	533,015	253,800	786,800	1,636,098

a. i.e., the regencies of Batavia and Meester Cornelis.

b. "Europeans" means those with European legal status; roughly these comprised 33,000 Netherlanders (24,200 of whom were Indonesia-born and would have been largely Eurasian), 1,300 Indonesians assimilated to European status, 1,000 Germans and Austrians, 500 British and 500 Japanese. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VI, p. 264.

c. "Others" includes 6,100 Arabs, 600 Indians and 600 Indonesians classified as "foreign orientals." Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VII, p. 307.

Source: Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, Tables 1 and 2; and see Table II and discussion above. Where there is estimation, in columns 2 and 3, the figures are rounded to the nearest hundred.

sukubangsa, Betawi and Sundanese. The total for the two must be about correct, if the previous estimates are, as together they form a residual. The Sundanese estimate, further, cannot be excessive by more than 4,325, as 10,675 of the fringe area estimate of 15,000 are accounted for by the census figures for Meester Cornelis (without the municipality) and Duizend Eilanden. The only significant possibility of error is therefore that the Sundanese estimate is too low, which could only happen if I am incorrect in supposing, on the basis of Lekkerkerker's descriptions of the speech areas,[31] that nearly all the people of Tjengkareng were Batavians.

The Malays in Table III are supposed to represent those properly so called, deriving from East Sumatra, Riau and West Kalimantan; probably, however, some members of other sukubangsa, such as the Minangkabau, were wrongly classed as Malays.[32] The Minangkabau estimate, correspondingly, is a little on the low side. The people from North Sulawesi were almost exclusively Menadonese and those from Maluku Ambonese.[33] A maximum of 300 of the Bataks were Muslim; most were Toba Batak.[34] A majority of the South Sumatrans were from the Palembang region, for most Lampung people in West Java settled in Banten rather than Djakarta.[35] The "other and unknown" include significant numbers of Timorese, Bandjarese, Buginese and Makassarese, but only 7 Dajak, 2 Papuans, 2 Toradja and 1 Baweanese.[36]

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31. Lekkerkerker, "De Baliërs van Batavia," p. 410.

32. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 13, 18. Peninsular Malays were classed as "other foreign orientals."

33. Of 8,440 North Sulawesi people in West Java, 8,142 were recorded as Menadonese and 120 as natives of Sangir-Talaud. Of 4,211 Maluku people, 4,138 were recorded as Ambonese. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 182-183, 250.

34. Ibid. (300 is the total Muslim Batak population of West Java).

35. Ibid., p. 19.

36. In contrast to this lone representative in Djakarta, there were then 9,500 Baweanese in Singapore and 600 in East Sumatra. The Indonesian suku in which the urge to merantau is most pronounced, the Baweanese turned towards Djakarta only after Singapore was closed by immigration restrictions. See J. Vredenbregt, "Bawean Migration," in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Vol. CXX, 1964, p. 109.

Because of the changes in boundaries the 1930 census results do not permit an exact calculation of the number of persons in the later Djakarta Raya who were born outside that area, but the total must have been about 172,200 (indigenous people only),[37] of whom 125,000 came from West Java, 27,800 from Central Java, 6,200 from East Java and 13,100 from the Outer Islands. The eighteenth-century pattern was thus reversed: the hinterland migration was numerically far greater than that from the foreland. Moreover, the various outer islands were contributing in almost inverse ratio compared to what had been their share in slave-trading days. In 1930 Balinese and Sumbawans--not to mention Pampangans--were practically nonexistent. Buginese and Makassarese were present, but in quite small numbers. The ubiquitous Malays and Ambonese bridged the gap between the two eras, but new Outer Island peoples had arrived. In approximate sequence, these were the Menadonese (serving, like their Ambonese fellow-Protestants, in the Netherlands Indies army), Minangkabau (largely in trading and intellectual occupations) and Batak. Reputedly the first Toba Batak arrived in 1907, and the first Batak church was dedicated in 1922.[38] Numerically this new Outer Island migration was still relatively weak; the Netherlanders in 1930 outnumbered the Minangkabau ten to one.

The Chinese Population in 1961

The method of estimating the ethnic composition of the 1961 population used in this paper applies only to the indigenous population; the non-indigenous will have to be dealt with separately. The 1961 census tells us that there were 102,153 Chinese citizens,[39] but how many Indonesian citizens of Chinese origin were there? The obvious place to begin the enquiry is with the most recent official estimates distinguishing Indonesian Chinese from other Indonesian citizens. These were issued by the Biro Pusat Statistik in 1958. They give for Djakarta

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37. I reached this figure largely by adding the municipality totals, as there were few immigrants from afar in the fringe area. Within the environs complications arose not only from migration from the fringe, but also from movements between the two municipalities. I assumed that two thirds of the reported migration from the Tangerang district and one half of all other movements came from outside the 1961 boundary. If migration from the fringe were included the total would be about 186,000. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 22-37.

38. S. K. Bonar, "Permulaan dan Perkembangan H.K.B.P.," in Seratus Tahun Kekristenan dalam Sedjarah Rakjat Batak (Djakarta: 1961), p. 56.

39. Sensus 1961, p. 19.

Raya the surprisingly high total of 389,400 (14.5% of the population), including 186,300 foreign Chinese and 203,200 Indonesian citizens.[40] If these figures are accurate, a massive decline of the foreign Chinese population must have taken place between 1958 and 1961.[41]

Closer examination shows, however, that the division between the two citizenship classes was grossly inaccurate. These estimates were based on reports by local officials of the number of people in their jurisdictions. Such officials were not always up to date with the refinements of nationality law. In five subdistricts no Indonesian Chinese were recorded, which presumably means that they were counted as foreign. In one subdistrict (Matraman), no foreign Chinese were recorded, which presumably means that they were counted as Indonesians of Chinese descent. Finally, in Mangga Dua the two groups were shown as equal not only in total but for each sex, and we must ponder whether this figure refers to the total ethnic Chinese population or to one of its parts, which was then mistakenly entered in the other column. One is tempted to assume the former, as it would reduce the previously mentioned total to a more credible 364,700. However, comparison with the 1961 returns for religion (the use of which will be explained presently) makes this possibility very unlikely. It appears in fact that both the 1958 totals and their parts are unacceptable; apart from the inaccuracies inherent in the method of data collection, the confusion over citizenship seems to have led to double-counting which swelled the Chinese population figures.[42]

A better method of estimating the ethnic Chinese population is suggested by these totals provided for population

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40. Biro Pusat Statistik, Seksi Demografi, Penduduk Indonesia (Djakarta: 1958), Vol. IA, p. 11.

41. The crisis following the ban on alien rural traders in May 1959 caused many Chinese to leave Djakarta for China, but it also brought many rural Chinese into the capital. The net effect is not clear, but it certainly would not have been a reduction of such magnitude. See Mary F. Somers, Peranakan Chinese Politics in Indonesia (Ithaca: 1964), pp. 24-26.

42. The table showing ethnic proportions in all Indonesian cities which is found in W. A. Withington, "The Kotapradja or 'King Cities' of Indonesia," Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. IV, No. 1, March 1963, p. 82, is based on this type of data. Though useful as an overview it should not, therefore, be regarded as exact.

according to religion:[43]

Muslim	2,461,900	84.7%
Buddhist/Hindu	227,900	7.8
Protestant	89,100	3.1
Catholic	49,700	1.7
Other and unknown	77,900	2.7

As we shall see later, the numbers of Balinese and Indian Hindus were small, not more than 6,000 in total. There are, it is true, Indonesian Buddhists, but as they are probably not more numerous in Djakarta than that other interesting minority the Chinese Muslims, they can be left out of the calculation. Not so the Chinese Christians: a reasonable if subjective estimate for them would be 20% of the Protestants and 30% of the Catholics in the city.[44]

Finally, there is the rather large "other and unknown" category. One might expect to find many Chinese here, as their religious beliefs and practices are not as susceptible to simple classification as those of the Indonesians. The high percentages of this category in Mangga Dua, Sawah Besar, Krukut and Pendjaringan (precisely those areas with large numbers of foreign Chinese and of "Buddhists/Hindus") confirm this expectation.[45] On the other hand, the distribution also suggests that a considerable number of indigenous Indonesians were classed as "other and unknown," and it is worth recalling that in 1930 the Menadonese, Ambonese and Batak (the only indigenous groups whose religion was then polled) showed quite large numbers with "no religion."[46] I have therefore counted only 50% of the people in the "other and unknown" category as Chinese. The result is:

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43. The census-takers were specifically instructed to count Konghutju (Confucianism) as Buddhist/Hindu. Sensus 1961, pp. 1, 15.

44. This means that nearly 11% of the estimated Chinese population was Christian. In Semarang in the 'fifties, Willmott found almost exactly that percentage (7,000 out of 60,000), while at Sukabumi one-sixth of the Peranakan were Christian (the Peranakan are more Christianized than the Totok). Donald Willmott, The Chinese of Semarang (Ithaca: 1960), p. 230; Giok-lan Tan, The Chinese of Sukabumi (Ithaca: 1965), p. 213.

45. Sensus 1961, p. 16.

46. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, p. 250.

Buddhist/Hindu	222,900
Protestant	17,200
Catholic	14,900
Other and unknown	39,000
All ethnic Chinese	294,000

Since the Buddhists/Hindus must be nearly all Chinese, and since there are substantial numbers of Chinese in the other three groups even if the proportions I have arbitrarily used are too high, it is impossible for this estimate to be excessive by more than 20,000 or so. It could well be too low, as both the Christian and "other and unknown" groups could contain many more Chinese. The highest reasonable figure which could be arrived at by this method would be about 350,000.

These calculations draw attention to the deep roots of the Chinese community in Djakarta. Almost two-thirds, and possibly more than that proportion of them were recorded as Indonesian citizens. In contrast, Skinner has suggested that not more than one-third of the Chinese in Indonesia as a whole would qualify for citizenship.[47] Furthermore, as only 31,995 people in Djakarta in 1961 were born overseas, at least two-thirds even of the alien Chinese must have been born in Indonesia.[48] It is also worth noting that there were only 9,577 people in the whole city able to speak a foreign language but not Indonesian, and not all of these would have been Chinese.[49] Even in 1930 two-thirds of the Batavia Chinese were Indonesia-born, and two-thirds of these in turn had Indonesia-born fathers.[50]

Other Non-indigenous Members of the Population

The census tells us[51] that there were 3,172 Indians, 1,865 Americans, 1,847 Arabs,[52] 530 Netherlanders, 466 Pakistanis and

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47. G. William Skinner, "The Chinese Minority," in McVey, ed., Indonesia, p. 112.

48. Sensus 1961, p. 21. It is not likely that the 33,675 "birthplace unknowns" harbor many overseas-born Chinese, as they are not significantly concentrated in the heavily Chinese subdistricts (Ibid., p. 22).

49. Ibid., p. 18.

50. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VII, pp. 196-197.

51. Sensus 1961, p. 9. The rather large diplomatic community was excluded.

52. It is not clear what is meant by Arabs here--presumably citizens of some Arab country. Most of Indonesia's Arab

2,448 other foreigners in 1961. The 1958 population estimates for the city (the unreliability of which has already been pointed out) included 6,209 Indonesian citizens who were neither of indigenous nor of Chinese origin; nearly all would have been Arab or Dutch in origin. This seems a reasonable figure to retain; though it may be too low, the numbers involved are too small to affect the larger estimates seriously.

The 1961 Immigrant Population

The most valuable evidence of the ethnic composition of Djakarta is to be found in the 1961 census figures for birthplace. Their broad categories were as follows:[53]

Born in Djakarta Raya	1,483,231	51.0%
Born in other provinces	1,357,731	46.7
Born abroad	31,995	1.1
Birthplace unknown	33,675	1.2
Total	2,906,532	

Almost half the population was thus born in the provinces, and the breakdown by province provides a good indication of ethnic origin in many cases. For instance, as 43,136 people in Djakarta in 1961 were born in West Sumatra, and 95% of the population of that region in 1930 was Minangkabau,[54] it is most unlikely that less than 43,136 Minangkabau were living in Djakarta in 1961. The main difficulty in applying this principle is the difficulty in determining how much of the migration from the provinces to Djakarta was Chinese.

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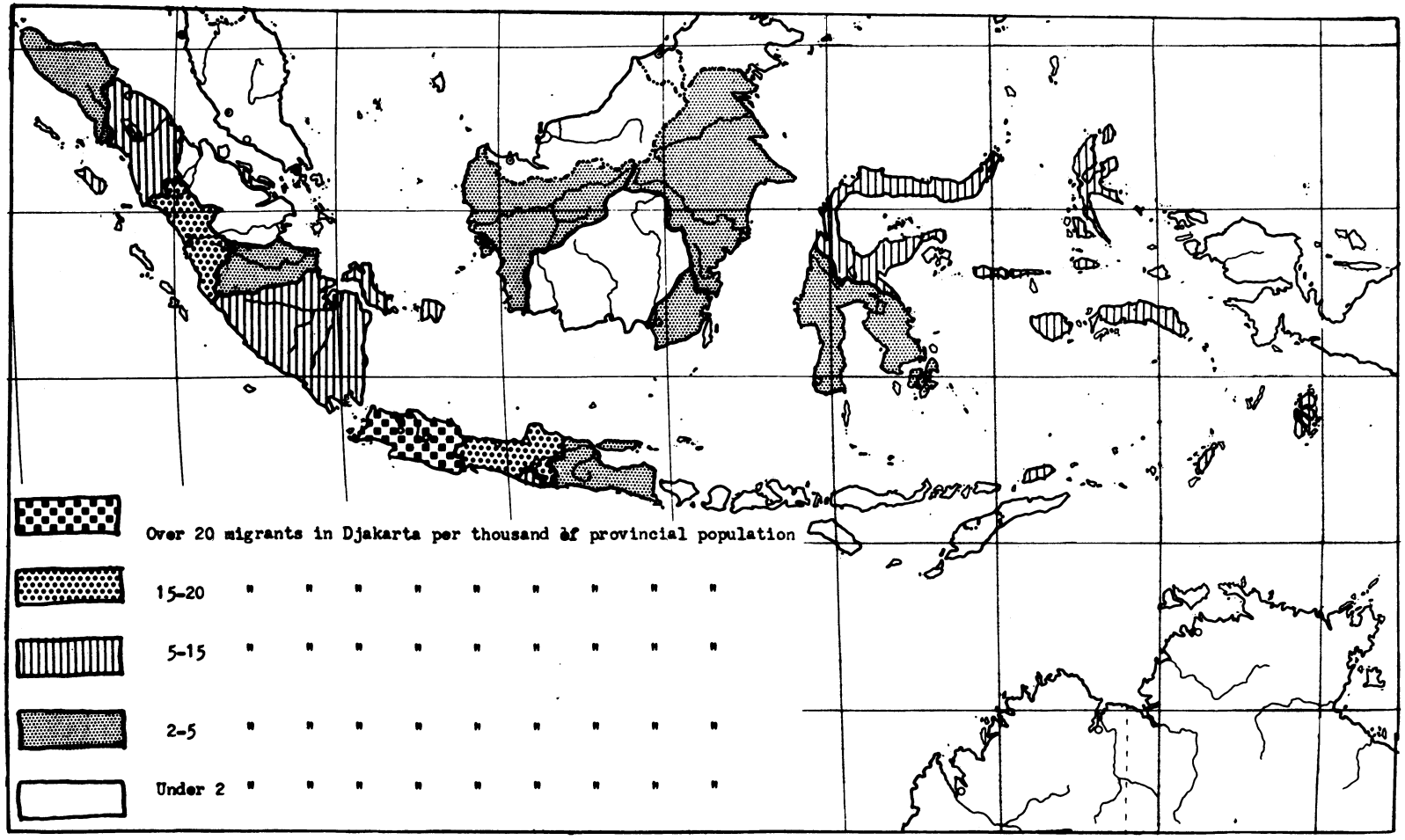
residents became Indonesian citizens passively under the terms of the Round Table Conference agreements. The large numbers of "other foreign" in Krukut and of "nationality unknown" in Petamburan are probably related to the presence of Arab communities in those places. Many of the Arabs were born in the Hadhramaut and were thus technically British protected persons; possibly their unwillingness to claim this status caused some to be classified "unknown."

53. Sensus 1961, p. 19. This total corrects the somewhat higher provisional figure used by earlier commentators (e.g., Karl J. Pelzer, "Physical and Human Resource Patterns," in McVey, ed., Indonesia, p. 19). If both this revision and the boundary changes are taken into account, the intercensal increase within the 1961 boundary is 3.7 times rather than 5.6 times.

54. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. IV, p. 170.



Map 3. Intensity of Migration to Djakarta by Provinces, 1961

Source: Sensus 1961, p. 19.

There is no doubt that there has been a strong migration of Chinese to the capital from other parts of Indonesia. In 1953, the Institute of Economic and Social Research of the University of Indonesia conducted a survey of migration to Djakarta, the report on which was edited by H. J. Heeren.[55] Eight subdistricts were chosen because it was expected that they would contain large numbers of indigenous immigrants, and the sample consisted of 16 randomly-selected complete kampungs from these subdistricts. However, about 10% of the household heads included in the sample turned out to be Chinese, and among them the proportion of migrants was just as high as among the indigenous householders. More than half of the migrants came from other parts of Indonesia, and 41% from abroad. The great majority of internal migrants were from West Java.[56]

In spite of such indications, it is impossible to say how many of the Chinese in Djakarta were born in the provinces, or how their birthplaces were distributed between provinces. Yet unless some allowance is made, the estimates for members of each sukubangsa will be too high. Nor will an arbitrary deduction of, say, 5% of the migrants from each province solve the problem, as it is only common sense that the Chinese are a bigger element in the migration from West Kalimantan (for instance) than from West Sumatra. That the Kalimantan-born in Djakarta are in fact very largely Chinese is suggested by their distribution in the city: the largest proportions of them are to be found in the ketjamatans with the largest Chinese populations.[57]

Consequently I have resorted to what is frankly guesswork to make allowance for the Chinese element in migration to Djakarta. My reasoning is as follows: in 1930, of 88,200 Chinese in Djakarta Raya, some 58,400 were born in Indonesia.[58] These may be regarded as a settled population (two-thirds had Indone-

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55. Institute of Economic and Social Research, "The Urbanisation of Djakarta," Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia, Nov. 1955, p. 696, hereafter referred to as Heeren. The study was earlier published in Indonesian (EKI March 1955) and later as a separate brochure: H. J. Heeren, ed., The Urbanisation of Indonesia (Djakarta: 1955). The sample, though not entirely random, was large (11,700 household heads) and provides some essential information from the long intercensal period.

56. Heeren, op. cit., p. 711.

57. Sensus 1961, pp. 19, 22.

58. See Table III, and Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VII, pp. 196-197. 51,909 Chinese in Batavia-Meester Cornelis were born in Indonesia; the same proportion (two-thirds) was applied to the fringe population.

sia-born fathers), and it is likely that few of them or their descendants would have left Indonesia or even Djakarta. Their natural increase would be high,[59] so that it is likely that at least 116,800 people in Djakarta in 1961 were survivors or descendants of that group. The less settled third of the 1930 Chinese population has been subject to fluctuations impossible to trace. We may place the number of overseas-born, however, at 26,800.[60] A further equal number could be regarded as descendants of overseas-born immigrants since 1930.[61] On the basis of these conjectural computations, about 123,600 Chinese in Djakarta would have been migrants from other parts of Indonesia or descendants of such migrants.

Arbitrarily assuming that there is one Djakarta-born descendant for every two migrants from within Indonesia, we arrive at 82,400 (two-thirds of 123,600) as the estimate for the number of internal migrants. The estimates of the composition of the Chinese population (which I have made purely to fill a gap in the overall calculation) are therefore as follows:

Born overseas	26,800	(fairly accurate)
Born elsewhere in Indonesia	82,400	(doubtful; probably low)
Born in Djakarta	184,800	(doubtful; probably high)
	294,000	(doubtful)
Of whom: foreign	102,200	(accurate)
Indonesian citizen	191,800	(doubtful)

In Table IV this supposed Chinese migration to Djakarta has been distributed among the provinces, taking into account the 1930 Chinese population, distance from Djakarta, the total volume of migration from the province and also the evidence of Heeren's sample about the sources of Chinese migration to Djakarta. It is not suggested that this arbitrary distribution

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59. If Skinner's estimate is correct (op. cit., p. 97), the Chinese population of Indonesia almost doubled in 31 years--mainly by natural increase, as net immigration in part of the early intercensal period was balanced by net emigration after 1950.

60. There were only 31,995 overseas-born of all races. I have assumed that half of the 10,328 non-Chinese foreigners were born abroad. This may be too high, but on the other hand some of the indigenous Indonesians must have been born abroad for one reason or another.

61. In 1930 there were about 3 Indonesia-born Chinese with overseas-born fathers for every 5 overseas-born Chinese. I have preferred a 1:1 ratio for 1961 on the ground that average length of residence would be greater.

Table IV

Conjectural Provinces of Birth of Ethnic Chinese Migrants to Djakarta

Province	A 1930 Chinese Population (Census)	B All Migrants to Djakarta (1961 Census)	C Conjectural Migration of Chinese	D C as a % of A	E C as a % of B	F B - C
W.Java	171,900	783,100	41,300	24	9	741,800
C.Java[a]	164,200	350,100	16,400	10	5	333,700
E.Java	158,500	59,300	6,300	4	11	53,000
S.Sumatra	165,300	32,300	6,600	4	26	25,700
Djambi	8,800	1,600	200	2	12	1,400
Riau	73,300	2,400	1,500	2	62	900
W.Sumatra	15,000	43,100	300	2	1	42,800
N.Sumatra	114,300	26,300	3,300	2	13	23,000
Atjeh	21,800	4,400	400	2	9	4,000
W.Kalimantan	108,000	7,800	4,200	4	54	3,600
C.Kalimantan	2,000	700	100	4	14	600
S.Kalimantan	9,000	3,800	200	2	5	3,600
E.Kalimantan	15,200	2,200	300	2	14	1,900
N.Sulawesi	20,000	13,400	400	2	3	13,000
S.Sulawesi	21,400	13,300	400	2	3	12,900
Maluku	7,000	6,600	100	2	2	6,500
Bali	7,600	1,600	200	2	12	1,400
W.Nusatenggara	4,600	1,100	100	2	9	1,000
E.Nusatenggara	5,500	3,700	100	2	3	3,600
West Irian	1,700	800	-	-	-	800
	1,145,000	1,357,600	82,400	7	6	1,275,200

a. Including Jogjakarta.

Sources: A: Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VII, Table 1; B: Sensus 1961, p. 19. All figures rounded to the nearest hundred. C: Calculated by applying the percentage in column D to the figure in column A. The method of arriving at the total (82,400) is explained in the text. D: The percentages are arbitrarily distributed on the assumption that the closer Chinese live to the capital, the more likely they are to have migrated thither, keeping in mind also Heeren's finding that the migration from West Java was particularly high. E: The proportion of the migrants from each province who would be Chinese if the figures in columns C and D are correct. F: The figures for which this conjectural computation has been undertaken, namely the number of indigenous migrants from each province, arrived at by deducting the supposed number of Chinese migrants (column C) from the known total number of migrants (column B).

throws any scientific light whatever on the birthplaces of the Chinese population of Djakarta. It is simply an embarrassing stage in a computation the overall results of which I believe have value.

In most cases the errors which undoubtedly exist in the table will not greatly affect the final result. Suppose, for instance, my estimate of Chinese migration from Central Java is 200% too high, and that actually only 5,500 Chinese were born in that province. This leads me to underestimate the number of Javanese immigrants by 10,900, and will result in an underestimation of the total Javanese population at the end of the computation by about 2%. Or suppose my estimate for Chinese from North Sulawesi errs in the other direction and that not 400 but 1,200 migrated from that region. This error will cause an overestimation of about 5% in the population of North Sulawesi origin. Admittedly there are some cases, notably that of immigration from South Sumatra, where a large error could result from the device used. On the other hand, there are some independent data which tend to confirm the reasonableness of the estimates. Those on the distribution of the Kalimantan-born in Djakarta have been mentioned. The low total migration from Riau proves that it is impossible in that case for the Chinese migration to have exceeded 3.3% of the 1930 Chinese population of the region, even if there were no indigenous immigrants whatever. This suggests that the 2% of 1930 proportion applied to the more distant regions in Table IV is not in fact too low, though in theory it easily could be in some cases. (If it is too high it does not matter as the number involved is so small.) The data on the Batak to be mentioned presently tend to confirm, in the case of North Sumatra, that the Chinese migration has not been underestimated. The problem could substantially be solved by a cross-tabulation of the census figures for religion and province of birth. Theoretically, similar provision ought to be made for the 16,500 other non-indigenous inhabitants (10,300 foreign plus 6,200 Indonesian citizen), but to avoid complications with so small a figure I will relegate them (except for the estimated 5,200 overseas-born among them) to the category of people of unknown birthplace. The remaining 22,400 in this category will remain of unknown ethnic group at the end of the calculation.

The next stage is to allocate the people in column F of Table IV between sukubangsa or groups of sukubangsa. In four cases where the population of the province is fairly homogeneous there is no need for adjustment:[62]

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62. Obviously there may have been resident in Djakarta Javanese born in Bali, Batak born in Atjeh, and so on. They are ignored because their numbers are fairly small and tend to cancel each other out.

Atjehnese (Atjeh)	4,000
Minangkabau (West Sumatra)	42,800
Bandjarese (S. Kalimantan)	3,600
Balinese (Bali)	1,400

In the case of some other provinces, the sukubangsa native to them may be classed together, as they were in some cases in 1930:

South Sumatra groups	25,700	
North Sulawesi groups	13,000	
South Sulawesi groups	12,900	
West Nusatenggara groups	1,000	(i.e., Lombok, Sumbawa)
East Nusatenggara groups	3,500	(i.e., Timor, Flores)

This treatment of Sulawesi is unsatisfactory in that the quite populous Toradja people live in both provinces; probably, however, they were not too numerous in Djakarta in 1961. The 800 people of West Irian birth include, besides some genuine Irianese, people born in the Tidore sector of Maluku, which was then officially part of West Irian but has since been restored to Maluku. The Maluku and Irian groups have therefore been classed together with 7,800 migrants.

North Sumatra is a province of mixed population, the various Batak groups being the most numerous. I am indebted to officers of the Batak Church (H.K.B.P.) in Djakarta for the information that there were about 4,400 H.K.B.P. families, probably altogether 22,000 people, in Djakarta in 1963. As not all Toba Batak belong to the H.K.B.P., it seems likely that at least a half and probably two-thirds of the 23,000 North Sumatra-born belong to that group alone. The Muslim Batak are also a prominent element in Djakarta: in 1930 nearly one-fifth of the Batak in West Java were Muslims, and the proportion is unlikely to have fallen. Of the smaller Batak groups, the Karo have entered Medan in large numbers, but not very many have gone to Djakarta. The Nias Islanders (about 6% of the population of the province) do not seem to have begun to migrate en masse to Djakarta. The other people of North Sumatra are mainly East Coast Malays and Javanese, who are found in Djakarta, though I would think in fairly small numbers.[63] In view of these considerations, I have assumed (perhaps lavishly) that 90% of the North Sumatra-born in Djakarta (20,700) were Batak.

I have grouped the immigrants from all other provinces in a single category, "Malay and other Outer Island," made up as follows:

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63. The known fact that Djambi-born and Riau-born Malays are few in Djakarta makes more tenable the assumption that there are not many North Sumatra-born Malays.

North Sumatra (except Batak)	2,300
Riau	900
Djambi	1,400
West Kalimantan	3,600
Central Kalimantan	600
East Kalimantan	1,900
	10,700

This category will include, beside East Sumatra and Kalimantan Malays, indeterminable numbers of Dajak, Buginese, Bandjarese, Minangkabau and Javanese.[64]

The migrants from East and Central Java can be counted as a mixed category of Javanese and Madurese, totaling 386,700, among whom at least 97% are probably Javanese.[65] The West Java-born I have apportioned among the several suku of that province in the ratio 80 Sundanese: 16 Javanese: 4 Batavians, the same as in the total population of the province minus Djakarta Raya in 1930. This may understate the Batavians' share, as their proximity facilitates migration, but the error is less serious when it is considered that the people from the fringe of the Batavian speech area are bilingual and transitional between the two suku. The division finds some support in the Heeren study.[66] The migrants from all Java can therefore be classed as:

Javanese and Madurese	509,400
Sundanese	593,400
Batavian	27,700

64. Buginese are numerous in West and East Kalimantan. Many people in Riau and Djambi are either Minangkabau immigrants or descendants of earlier mingling of Minangkabau and Coastal Malay.

65. As a quarter of the East Java people were Madurese in 1930, they might be estimated here at 13,200. However, both the 1930 census and the Heeren sample suggest that Madurese migration is even less than that (see Map 4).

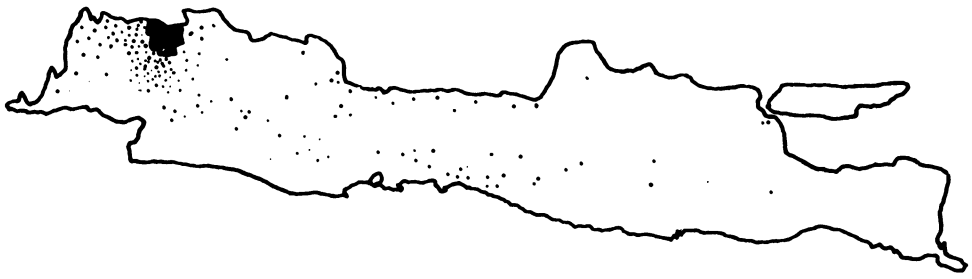
66. At one point Heeren says that nearly all the West Java migrants were Sundanese; but as the questionnaire did not mention suku this is probably only an assumption. If his male immigrant household heads are grouped according to the predominant sukubangsa of their regency of birth the result is:

Javanese (Serang, Indramaju, Tjirebon)	619	(15%)
Batavian (Bekasi)	124	(3%)
Sundanese (all others)	3,290	(82%)
	4,033	

(Heeren, op. cit., pp. 703, 715-716, 721).

Map 4. Birthplace of Migrants to Djakarta

A. 1930. Based on Volkstelling, I, 22-37 and VII 94-5.
Each dot represents 1000 persons.



B. 1953. Based on Heeren study, 721-2, 736.
Each dot represents 10 male household heads in his sample.

Table V

Estimated Ethnic Composition of Djakarta's Population

	A 1930 Whole Indigenous Pop.		B 1961 Immigrant Indigenous Pop.	
Batavians (incl. Depokkers etc.)	419,800	64.3%	25,700	2.0%
Sundanese	150,300	24.5	593,400	46.6
Javanese	60,000	9.2	509,400	40.0
Atjehnese	x	0.0	4,000	0.3
Batak	1,300	0.2	20,700	1.6
Minangkabau	3,200	0.5	42,800	3.4
South Sumatra groups	800	0.1	25,700	2.0
Bandjarese	x	0.0	3,600	0.3
South Sulawesi groups	x	0.0	12,900	1.0
North Sulawesi groups	3,800	0.6	13,000	1.0
Maluku and Irian groups	2,000	0.3	7,300	0.6
East Nusatenggara groups	x	0.0	3,600	0.3
West Nusatenggara groups	x	0.0	1,000	0.1
Balinese	x	0.0	1,400	0.1
Malays and other Outer Island groups	5,300	0.8	10,700	0.8
Other and unknown[a]	6,900	1.1	-	-
	653,400	100.0	1,275,200	100.0

x = included in "other and unknown."

a. Totals for West Java, a large part of which would probably be in Djakarta, include

Atjehnese	376
Bandjarese	390
South Sulawesi groups	790
Nusatenggara groups	789
Balinese	95

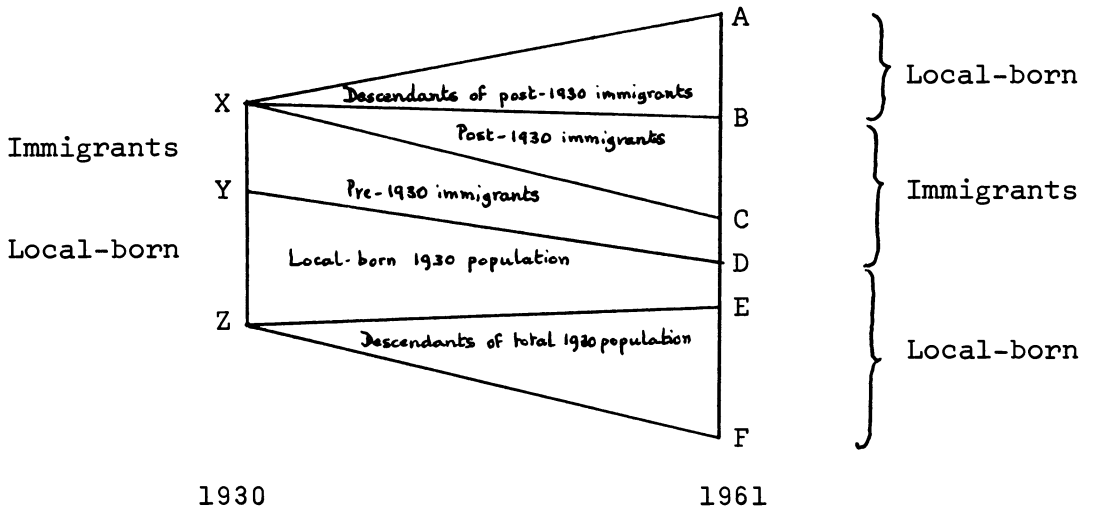
(Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 182-183).

Note: Column A is taken from Table III; the method of arriving at column B is explained in the text.

At this point it will be convenient to recapitulate by combining in a single table the figures for the whole 1930 indigenous population, which are quite safely grounded in the census, and the much more speculative estimates for the indigenous immigrant population in 1961.

The 1961 Non-immigrant Population

Is it possible to go on from Table V to estimate the ethnic composition of the total 1961 population? The problem can be represented by a diagram showing the population flow between the two points of time at which the censuses were taken. The ethnic breakdowns of XZ, and more roughly XY, are known. Table V shows a less reliable breakdown for BD. We also have a fairly good estimate for the total AB, DF (i.e., all locally born), but not of its composition. Now it seems reasonable that AB should have a similar ethnic distribution to BC, the former



being descendants of the latter.[67] For the same reason, CF should have a similar breakdown to XZ. Thus the only problems are to ascertain CD (that is, the number of 1930 immigrants still surviving) and to decide in what proportion AB stands to BC and CF to XZ.

First, the surviving immigrants (CD). In 1930 there were about 172,200 born elsewhere (see p. 168). Given the low expectation of life and the fact that the proportion of children

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67. This admittedly raises problems about differential natural growth and emigration rates between sukubangsa, a subject which will be discussed presently.

among the immigrants was low,[68] not too many would have survived the 31 years. When further allowance is made for emigration from Djakarta, it seems reasonable to assume that only a quarter of this group was still to be found in the 1961 population. Consequently, when calculating the number of descendants of post-1930 immigrants, 25% of the number of 1930 immigrants will first be deducted from the 1961 immigrants for each individual sukubangsa.

The remaining problem is to adjudicate, as it were, the competing claims of the 1930 population and the 1961 immigrant population over the 1961 local-born. 1930's rightful share is its own natural increase minus emigration. Now Indonesia's population increased by about 60% in 31 years, and the indications are that the natural increase in the capital was not very different. Studies based on the 1961 census and a follow-up demographic survey[69] have indicated that both birthrates and deathrates are a few points lower in the large cities of Java than in the nation as a whole. The 1930 data for proportion of infants in the population indicate that the birthrate (or rather the birthrate discounted by part of the infant mortality rate, which is a more significant measure for the present purpose) did not differ much from the national average.[70] The city deathrate may have been higher than average in the 'thirties, but the abnormal mortality of the 'forties probably affected Djakarta less than the country at large. The 653,400 people of 1930 are therefore best estimated to have had 1,045,400 descendants in 1961, assuming the same natural growth rate as that for the whole country.

Not all the surviving people of 1930 would still be in Djakarta, however. The Great Depression caused a considerable flow back to the village, and the political upheavals of the following decade also produced abnormal emigrations from Djakarta, though the numbers involved in them can easily be exaggerated. In any case, many of these people probably returned in better times. What allowance should be made for permanent departures? It seems necessary to make a distinction here between Batavians and other sukubangsa. While a rather surprising

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68. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, p. 28.

69. Reported by Pauline D. Milone, Urban Areas in Indonesia (Berkeley: 1966), pp. 85, 95-96.

70. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, Tables 9 and 10, Vol. VIII, pp. 98-99. In all Indonesia, 5.6% of the indigenous population was too young to walk, compared with 5.2% in Batavia-Meester Cornelis. But over one-third of the 1930 indigenous population of Djakarta Raya was in the rural fringe, where the proportion of infants was evidently higher, since for Djakarta and environs it was 6.1%.

number of Batavians were found in Sumatra (21,900) and Bandung (2,200) in 1930, there would have been few incentives since then for them to emigrate. In the case of the other groups there was the attraction of places of birth or origin, where they would have relatives or sometimes land--together Indonesia's old age and unemployment insurance. Accordingly, I propose to allow 50% for the increase of the Batavians but only 30% for the others. This means that 933,400 people in 1961 are assumed to be survivors or descendants of the 1930 population, of whom 629,700 are Batavians and 303,700 others.

The only section of the population now unaccounted for are the Djakarta-born descendants of post-1930 immigrants, who by our calculation constitute a residual comprising 32.5% of the surviving post-1930 immigrants. This proportion seems too low, though not beyond the bounds of possibility.[71] The final breakdown appears in Table VI, in which each sukubangsa is calculated by the method outlined in the last few pages. To recapitulate with one example: there were 3,200 Minangkabau in Djakarta in 1930; these are assumed to have 4,200 survivors and descendants in the 1961 population (3,200 + 30%). There were an estimated 42,800 Minangkabau among the immigrants to Djakarta in 1961, of whom 600 (25% of the 1930 immigrant population of about 2,400) are assumed to be surviving members of the 1930 population and are thus deducted to avoid double-counting. The remaining 42,200 are assumed to have 13,700 descendants among the Djakarta-born (32.5% of their own number). The total Minangkabau population is thus estimated at 60,100 (4,200 + 42,200 + 13,700).

Comments on Likely Errors

The methods used in compiling Table VI have obviously not taken adequate account of the different rates of growth of the various sukubangsa. While a crude allowance was made for different propensities to re-migrate to the provinces, the undoubtedly varying birthrates, deathrates, duration of residence in

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71. The comparable proportion for Outer Island immigrants in 1930 was about 33%; for immigrants from Java perhaps near 50%. If this proportion is too low, there are several possible sources of the error, of which the most important and likely are that the increase of the 1930 population was overestimated and/or that the number of Chinese born in the provinces was underestimated. Possibly someone competent in demographic methods could work out more accurate ratios by using the data on age and sex distributions from the two censuses, together with the results of the demographic survey in V. Kannisto, Population Increase in Indonesia (Djakarta: 1963), which I have not been able to consult. See especially Sensus 1961, p. 20.

Table VI

Estimated Population of Djakarta
by Ethnic Groups in 1961

		Number	Per Cent
Indigenous			
Batavians (Djakarta Asli)		655,400	22.9
Sundanese		952,500	32.8
Javanese and Madurese		737,700	25.4
Atjehnese		5,200	0.2
Batak		28,900	1.0
Minangkabau		60,100	2.1
South Sumatra groups		34,900	1.2
Bandjarese		4,800	0.2
South Sulawesi groups		17,200	0.6
North Sulawesi groups		21,000	0.7
Maluku and Irian groups		11,800	0.4
East Nusatenggara groups		4,800	0.2
West Nusatenggara groups		1,300	0.0
Balinese		1,900	0.1
Malays and other Outer Island groups		19,800	0.7
Unknown		38,600	1.3
Non-indigenous			
Chinese		294,000	10.1
of whom: foreign Chinese	102,200		
Others		16,500	0.6
of whom: foreign	10,200		
Total foreign	112,400		
Total population		2,906,500	100.0

Note: The method of computing the figures is explained in the text.

Djakarta and extent of intermarriage with other groups were neglected because the necessary data are not available. Some indication of the type of variation that ought to have been allowed for is found in the 1930 figures for infants not yet able to walk.[72] The Batavia-Meester Cornelis average was 5.2% of the population, but among the various sukubangsa there it ranged from 3.9% (South Sumatrans) to 7.8% (Batak). The variation was less than might have been expected, because the immigrant groups with unfavorable sex-ratios generally had favorable age-structures from the point of view of fertility. The Batavians had more than the average number of infants (5.6%, a rate that would be much higher if the fringe area were included), which tends to confirm the supposition, incorporated in the calculation,[73] that they would have more than proportionate numbers of descendants in the 1961 population. The Christian sukubangsa had the highest proportions of infants, probably because their infant mortality was lower than the average for the indigenous population. The Sundanese, Javanese, Minangkabau and Malays were not far from average (4.5 - 5.2%). These ratios cannot be projected for the entire intercensal period, as they would change radically as the age-structure changed.

While the theoretical possibility of error is enormous in nearly all the estimates in Table VI, some comments on their relative practical reliability may be worthwhile. The main influence on the number of Batavians was their own natural increase; if this was less than 50% for the intercensal period, the estimate for them is too high and those for the Sundanese and Javanese correspondingly too low, and vice versa. If the attribution of 32.5 descendants for every 100 post-1930 immigrants in the city in 1961 is too low (which is quite likely), one result will have been to understate the number of Javanese and overstate the number of Sundanese. Another factor making for a slight underestimation of the Javanese population is the omission from their total of those Javanese born in the other islands. In view of the broad similarity in culture and socio-economic status of the mass of Sundanese and Javanese in Djakarta, it is unlikely that their birth and death rates differ radically, and the assumption of uniform rates of growth has probably not led to significant maldistribution between them, though it could have done so between Sundanese and Javanese collectively and some other elements in the population.

The Minangkabau figure may be too low, as both in 1930 and 1961 small numbers of Minangkabau were counted in other groups; it is unlikely to be too high, so that their status as the largest Outer Island element (already shown in Heeren's sample)

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72. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, Tables 9 and 10.

73. See the discussion of Batavian emigration above.

is confirmed. The Batak figure may also be a bit low; it could hardly be too high in view of the figure for H.K.B.P. membership mentioned. The estimates for Atjehnese, Bandjarese and South Sulawesi people could be too high if Chinese migration from those regions was underestimated; they are less likely to be too low, in view of the relative recency of their migrations and the excess of males among them.[74]

The North Sulawesi and Maluku-Irian figures could be too high. The events of the 'forties may have led to a considerable dispersion of the earlier Menadonese and Ambonese populations of Djakarta to their own regions and even, in the case of the Ambonese, to Holland. On the other hand, it is possible that the net effect of the political upheavals was the concentration of Menadonese and Ambonese from other parts of Java in Djakarta.[75]

The estimates for Bali and Nusatenggara are reliable in the sense that the very tiny share of these groups in the population is proven. The great excess of males among the immigrants[76] and the recency of their arrival suggest that the actual figures may be even lower than those shown in Table VI. Some interesting implications follow. The demonstrable smallness of the Balinese population has already been useful in estimating the Chinese population of Djakarta. Though we do not know how the various ethnic and religious groups in East Nusatenggara contributed to the migration to the capital, it is clear that Catholics from that region (where more than half of Indonesia's Catholics live) constitute only a small part--well under 10%--of the Catholic population of Djakarta, which must accordingly be assumed to be overwhelmingly Javanese and Chinese in membership. In this it differs from the Protestant community of Djakarta, which is a quite representative cross-section of its largely Outer Island national membership. The intensity of migration to Djakarta is less from Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa than from any major region of the country (see Map 3).

The estimate for South Sumatra is extremely unreliable because of the impossibility of deciding, on the basis of the evidence at hand, how many of the immigrants born in that province belonged to the large Chinese, Javanese and Sundanese populations there. My feeling is that the estimate is too

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74. Sensus 1961, p. 19.

75. There were about 11,700 Menadonese and 9,100 Ambonese in Java outside Djakarta in 1930. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VIII, p. 114.

76. Sensus 1961, p. 19.

high. South Sumatrans are a very small element in the national elite,[77] and because of the low population density and relative prosperity of their province the sons of peasants are not attracted to the capital as are those of the Minangkabau and Toba heartlands. The "Malay and other Outer Island groups" are a category not only vaguely defined but very unreliably estimated.

Where the Migrants Come From

Between the 1930 and 1961 census the proportion of migrants from West Java dropped from 72.6% to 57.6%, the difference being divided between East and Central Java (which rose from 19.8 to 30.2%) and the Outer Islands (7.6 to 12.2%).[78] Despite a tendency for the average distance of migration to increase, therefore, the hinterland continued to dominate the migration numerically.[79] At some time, probably in the early 'fifties, the indigenous peoples of Java for the first time became a majority in the city which had been a cosmopolitan enclave for over three centuries.

When one considers the size of Indonesia and the difficulty of the journey to the capital from distant parts, it appears natural that the intensity of the migration (the number of migrants in relation to the home population) decreases with distance from Djakarta. For the same reason the proportion of females among the migrants tends to drop with distance from the city, and the proportion of rural-born migrants likewise tends to drop with distance. In part this reflects the concentration of the wealthier element in the cities, but it is not only a matter of income. What might be called mental mobility is also

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77. Of 209 high officials whose sukubangsa was identified in the list of top government officials in Indonesia, Vol. II, October 1966, pp. 189-222, only one was from a South Sumatran group.

78. The 1930 figure refers only to indigenous Indonesians (see the discussion of South Sumatrans in Djakarta following Table III). The 1961 figure refers to all races (Sensus 1961, p. 19). Of the male household heads in Heeren's sample, 60.7% were from West Java, 32.3% from East and Central Java and 7.0% from the Outer Islands. However, his sample excluded Tandjung Priok and Kebajoran Baru, two of the leading areas of concentration for those born in the Outer Islands.

79. Immigration from overseas (which was excluded from the percentages just given) virtually came to an end after two final spurts before and after the Second World War; instead a partial exodus of non-indigenous elements has occurred since 1950.

involved: the peasant suffering debt or landlessness in a distant area may move to open lands or to a small nearby town, while Djakarta remains beyond his range of vision. At the same time the native of a distant town, even if rather poor, will be aware of the attractions of the capital.

These tendencies can be better illustrated if the country is roughly divided into three zones concentric on the capital. The inner zone extends outward about fifty road miles, as far as Bogor and Krawang. The intermediate zone extends east into Java as far as Mt. Merapi, while the rest of Java and the Outer Islands constitute the outer zone. A glance at Map 4 will show why the lines were drawn at those places. Both in 1930 and in 1953 (so far as Heeren's sample may be trusted), over a third of the migrants came from that small inner zone. In 1930 a decided majority of these immigrants were women, and this may well still have been true in 1961 in view of the nearly equal sex ratio then of migrants from West Java as a whole.[80] In Heeren's sample about 88% of the people from this zone were rural-born.[81]

The intermediate zone also provided over one-third of all immigrants in 1930 and 1953 and probably also in 1961; this is comparable to its share in the nation's population. Only about 65% of the intermediate zone migrants in the 1953 sample were rural-born,[82] and there was an excess of males (though not a large one) both in 1930 and 1961.[83]

The outer zone, representing over half the population of Indonesia, provided only about one-eighth of the migrants in 1930 and about one-fifth in 1961. Heeren's sample (which, however, is too small to permit confidence on this point) indicates that fully 60% of the migrants from this zone were born in towns.[84] The little information on this matter which can be extracted from the 1930 census points in the same direction.[85]

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80. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 28-32.

81. Heeren, op. cit., p. 721.

82. Ibid.

83. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 27-29; Sensus 1961, p. 19. There were more women than men from Banten, however. From the province of Central Java there were 88 women for every hundred men in 1961.

84. Heeren, op. cit., p. 720.

85. The East Java regencies providing the most migrants were Surabaja, Madiun and Malang, all containing large towns,

On sex ratios the evidence is better. In 1930 there were many more men than women in Djakarta from East Java and the principalities of Central Java, and twice as many from the Outer Islands. In 1961 the number of women for every hundred men varied from 91 for those coming from Jogjakarta and 84 from East Java to 78 from West Sumatra, 67 from North Sumatra and 36 from East Nusatenggara.[86]

Though the zones are distinguished from each other on the basis of distance, within each zone distance has much less effect than other factors on the intensity of migration to Djakarta. In the inner (fifty road mile) zone the areas west, southwest and south of the metropolis have provided far more migrants than those to the east. While other factors may be at work, the main reason has probably been the relative abundance of land in the plains east of Djakarta.[87] In the intermediate zone (east to Mt. Merapi), density of population is probably the main factor other than distance which has influenced intensity of migration, though insurgency, the decline of the sugar industry and the competitive attraction of Bandung also seem to be significant. In 1930 the rather distant residency of Kedu provided more migrants to Djakarta in relation to its populations (5 per thousand) than did Priangan (including Sukabumi-Tjiandjur), which is much nearer (4.5 per thousand).[88] For the people of Kedu, Djakarta was only one of many places to which they were driven by land hunger: in 1961 334,000 of them were found in other parts of Indonesia, the largest number of emigrants from any residency.[89] Similarly, Heeren found large

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and precisely the towns strongly represented in Heeren's sample (Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, p. 28; Heeren, op. cit., p. 722). Over 70% of the West Sumatra-born in West Java were born in the largely urban onderafdeeling of Padang (Volkstelling 1930, Vol. IV, p. 37; Vol. VIII, pp. 94-95), which suggests that the popular term "orang Padang" for Minangkabau was not originally inaccurate.

86. Sensus 1961, p. 19.

87. The number of indigenous inhabitants per square kilometer of irrigated land was comparable with the West Java average (1,035) in the subdistricts from which the migration was intense (Tangerang 1,020, Parung 1,104, Tjibinong 1,099; Buitenzorg 1,796 and Kebajoran 2,376 are not comparable because they contain urban elements). The area supplying few migrants was clearly sparsely populated: Tjikarang 397 inhabitants per sq. km. of irrigated land, Krawang 663, Rengasdengklok 350. Unfortunately, the density for Bekasi was not available. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 142-143.

88. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

89. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. VIII, pp. 94-95.

numbers of rural migrants from densely populated kabupatens like Pekalongan, Tegal, Tjirebon, Banjumas, Kebumen and Purworedjo. The relatively small numbers noted as coming from Garut, Sumedang and Bandung in 1930 reflect the fact that a strong stream from these areas was converging on Bandung; Tasikmalaja, interestingly, sent about equal numbers to both cities.[90] From Banten there were many migrants in 1930 (17,300, or 17 per thousand of population);[91] it is therefore hard to accept Heeren's suggestion that the comparatively few Bantenese results from the sparseness of the population in that area.[92] The probable reason is that his sample contained no kampung from Tan-Djung Priok, the main Bantenese area of concentration in Djakarta.

It is possible that the decline of the sugar industry stimulated migration to Djakarta, not by driving people off the land (since the regression also made land available for food crops) but by causing stagnation in the towns. This would explain why towns like Pekalongan, Tegal and Purworedjo have such low growth rates[93] and why people born in such towns were so numerous in Heeren's sample.[94]

It is widely believed that villagers uprooted by Darul Islam insurgency formed a major element in the migration to Djakarta.[95] Heeren was on good ground in denying this, as only 2% of his respondents mentioned this as their reason for coming to Djakarta. Milone suggests that it may have become important since then.[96] My guess is that a certain proportion of the people displaced in the northeast theater of D.I. operations (Kuningan-Brebes) found their way to Djakarta, while the more numerous refugees from East and Central Priangan went rather to Bandung and Tasikmalaja, which have high 1930-61 growth rates proportionate to the rest of Java. Some of those who went to Djakarta lived in squatter settlements on the outskirts, where they would not have been reached by Heeren's survey.

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90. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 32.

91. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 29.

92. Heeren, op. cit., p. 703.

93. Milone, op. cit., pp. 139, 144.

94. Heeren, op. cit., p. 721.

95. Perhaps this impression has been created by literary treatments of the theme such as that in Achdiat K. Mihardja's tragic "Pak Sarkam" (in his Keratakan dan Ketegangan; Djakarta: 1956).

96. Heeren, op. cit., p. 729; Milone, op. cit., pp. 85, 138-139.

In the outer zone, great variations in the intensity of migration to Djakarta occur, seemingly in little relation to distance from the city (see Map 3). From East Java, which is quite accessible, there were 2.7 migrants per thousand of population, compared with 8.2 from Maluku, 6.7 from North Sulawesi, 5.3 from North Sumatra, and most strikingly 18.2 from West Sumatra. South Sulawesi and South Kalimantan (2.6 per thousand) and Nusatenggara had a low intensity of migration to Djakarta. While pressure of population is relevant in some cases--as, for example, the Toba highlands--and also probably the vicissitudes of such industries as Sawah Lunto coal and Bangka tin, the relative intensities of migration to Djakarta can only be dissected group by group, as Cunningham has investigated the migration of the Toba Batak to East Sumatra. Some Indonesian sukubangsa have "centrifugal" tendencies, like the Minangkabau, Toba Batak and Baweanese; others, like the Balinese, Sasak, and Lampungese, do not.[97] Likewise, their migrations may be strongly directed towards Djakarta (Minangkabau and Menadonese) or not (Bandjarese, Baweanese and Madurese).

In migration from the more distant areas, the quest for education, excitement and power seems to be more important than narrowly economic considerations. There is a marked correlation between the areas where education was more advanced in the late colonial period and those from which large numbers of migrants have come to Djakarta since independence.[98] It is perhaps partly for this reason that the poverty-stricken limestone areas of East-Central Java have sent remarkably few migrants to Djakarta. However, another aspect of the origin of migrants to Djakarta may bear on this phenomenon, namely the fact that though the overwhelming majority of such migrants are Sundanese and Javanese, not very many come from the cultural heartlands of those two people, the Priangan highlands and the former Vorstenlanden (Principalities) of Central Java.

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97. See G. William Skinner, "The Nature of Loyal Ties in Rural Indonesia," and Hildred Geertz, "The Balinese Village," both in G. W. Skinner, ed., Local, Ethnic and National Loyalties in Village Indonesia: A Symposium (New Haven: 1959), pp. 7, 32.

98. North Sulawesi, Tapanuli, West Sumatra and Maluku, where literacy among children was most advanced in 1930, were also the areas from which migration was most intense according to the 1961 census. In Lombok, Bali, South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan and Riau, low prewar literacy rates are associated with low postwar migration intensity. The main exception to this rule is West Kalimantan; but this is only an apparent aberration, as many if not most of the migrants from there were Chinese. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. IV, Table 19; Vol. V, Table 19. Compare Map 3 with that in Atlas van tropisch Nederland (Batavia: 1938), p. 9.

In 1930 only about 22,100 of the 125,000 migrants who had moved from West Java to what became Djakarta Raya were from Priangan (broadly defined to include Sukabumi and Tjiandjur).[99] Similarly, in Heeren's sample of 4,033 household heads in Djakarta who were born in the province of West Java, only 838 came from the greater Priangan area and 638 from Priangan residency proper (Bandung, Sumedang, Garut, Tasikmalaja and Tjiamis regencies).[100] In contrast, Sulaeman Soemardi's study of 22 leading Sundanese politicians and 15 administrators found that 55% of the former and 60% of the latter were born in Priangan proper, which had only 32% of the West Java population.[101]

The Javanese case is analogous. In 1930 only 3,777 people in Batavia-Meester Cornelis were born in the Vorstenlanden compared with 24,996 from other parts of Central Java; of them, The Jogjanese outnumbered the Solonese.[102] In Heeren's sample, only 350 of 2,171 household heads from Central Java came from the former Vorstenlanden, the Jogjanese again being more numerous.[103] In 1961 there were 22,466 people living in Djakarta who had been born in the Jogjakarta Special Region.[104] This is a considerable increase, but the intensity of migration is still much less from Jogja than from the province of Central Java as a whole, or, for that matter, from the province of West Sumatra. The census does not tell us how many were from the Solo residency; but assuming that, as in 1930 and 1953, the Jogjanese still outnumber the Solonese in Djakarta, it is probable that less than 3% of the people of Djakarta in 1961 were of Vorstenland birth or origin. This paucity of migrants from the principalities is in strong contrast to their prevalence in the national political elite and the middle reaches of the civilian bureaucracy.[105]

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99. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.

100. Heeren, op. cit., p. 721.

101. Sulaeman Soemardi, "Regional Politicians and Administrators in West Java," unpublished M.A. thesis (Cornell University: 1961), p. 66.

102. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.

103. Heeren, op. cit., p. 721.

104. Sensus 1961, p. 19.

105. This phenomenon has been remarked too often to require documentation here; suffice it to say that in 1965 at least 17 of President Sukarno's 96 cabinet ministers were born in the Vorstenlanden (see Indonesia, Vol. II, pp. 189 ff).

The mass of migrants to Djakarta, therefore, do not come from those regions in which the Javanese and Sundanese ruling classes best preserved their culture and status under Dutch rule. They come rather from the former spheres of influence of the long-vanished sultanates of Banten and Tjirebon; from the northern fringes of the Sundanese and the western fringes of the Javanese speech areas; and from the regions where Javanese, Sundanese and Malay speech mingle and merge. This probably helps explain why the mass of immigrants to Djakarta assimilate so rapidly, even though they cannot participate much in the "metropolitan superculture,"[106] and why Javanese-Sundanese tensions do not occur in Djakarta to the same extent as they do in Bandung.

Geographical Distribution of Ethnic Groups in the City

It has been mentioned that in Old Batavia the different ethnic groups had their special quarters or suburban kampungs. This pattern continued for the Chinese until the early twentieth century, when restrictions on their residence were raised and they began to spread out to other parts of the city. The great surge of Indonesian migration to the capital in recent decades, heterogeneous though it has been, has not led to the formation of suku quarters. The most that can be said is that different groups have settled in significantly different proportions in various sections of the city, their choice being related largely to their occupations and socio-economic status, and that within areas of fairly high concentration of one ethnic group very small homogeneous neighborhoods may have formed. For instance, in 1930 it was found that immigrants from Banten and Tangerang were settled mainly in the north of the city, especially in Tandjung Priok, where they worked on the wharves. Those from Bogor and Priangan were found rather in the center of the city (the prewar Weltevreden). Immigrants from Central Java formed a high proportion of the population in Weltevreden, and an even higher one in Meester Cornelis, in part perhaps because of employment in the Manggarai railway works. The Amboneses and Menadonese concentration in the Gambir, Matraman and Salemba sections was connected with military establishments there.[107]

In 1961 similar areas of concentration existed, though the census data published so far do not permit their full identification. The Chinese, particularly the foreign Chinese, were still most concentrated in the subdistricts composing the old

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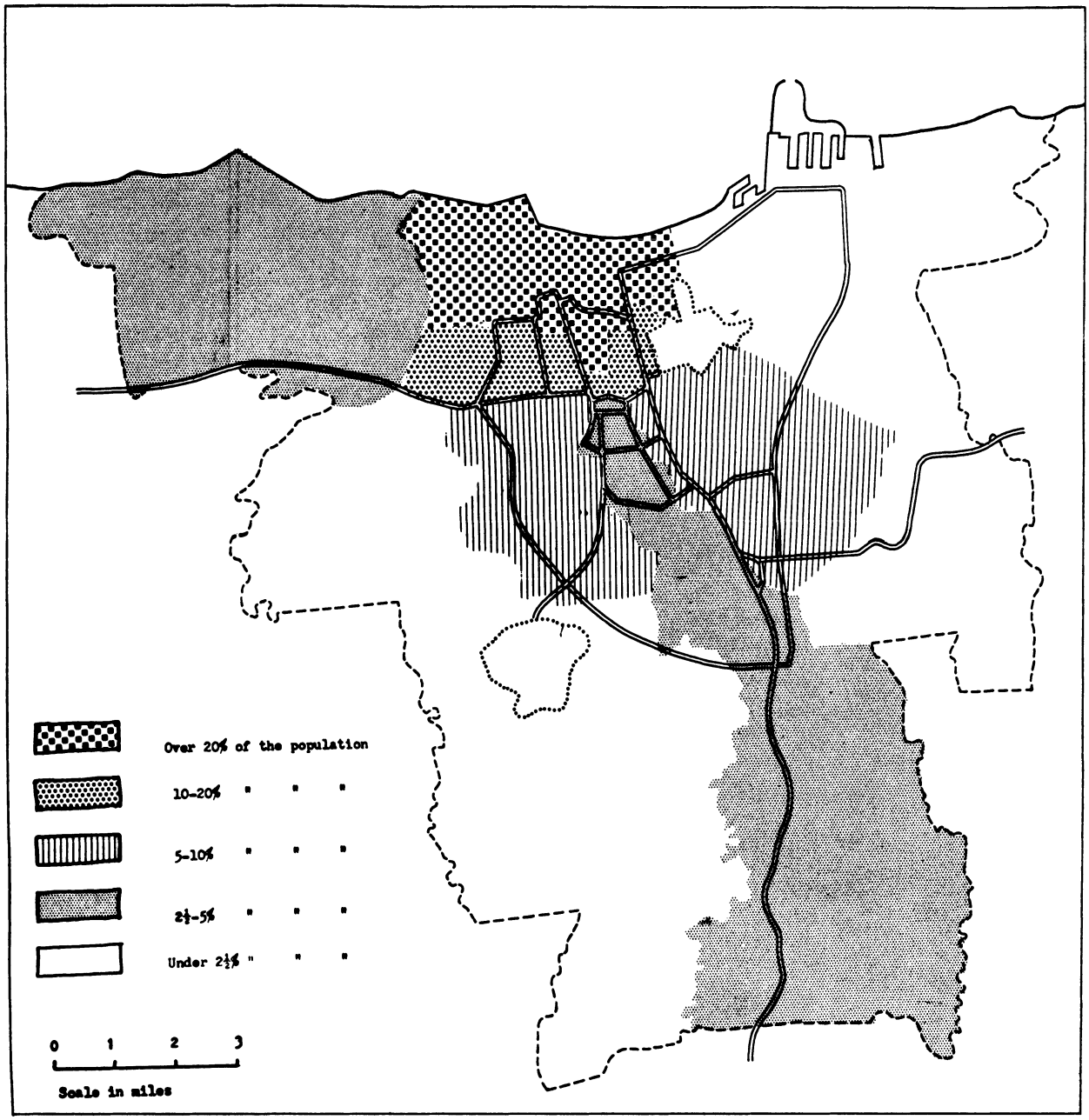
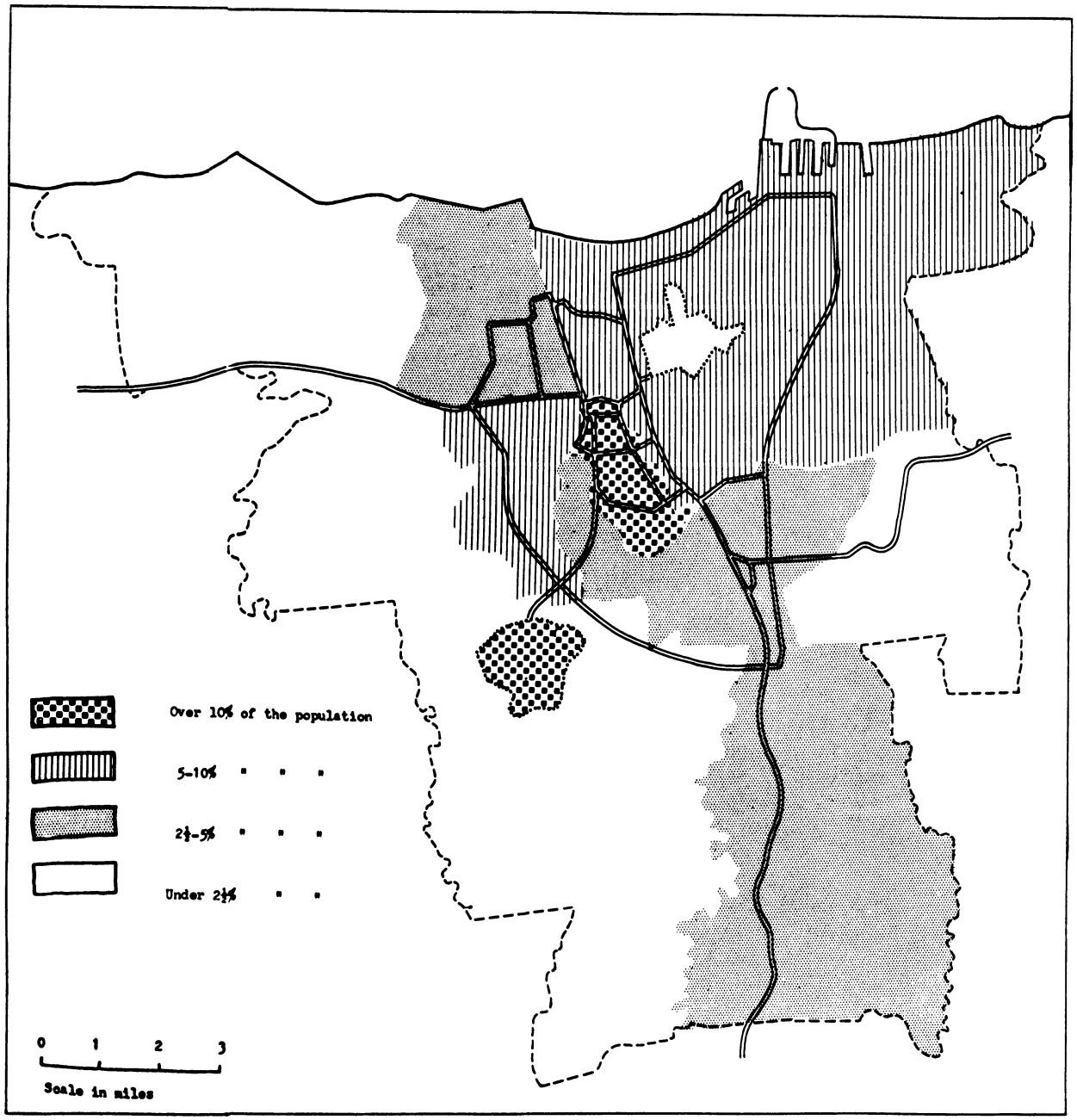
106. I use this term as Hildred Geertz defines it, in "Indonesian Cultures and Communities," p. 36.

107. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, pp. 29, 36.



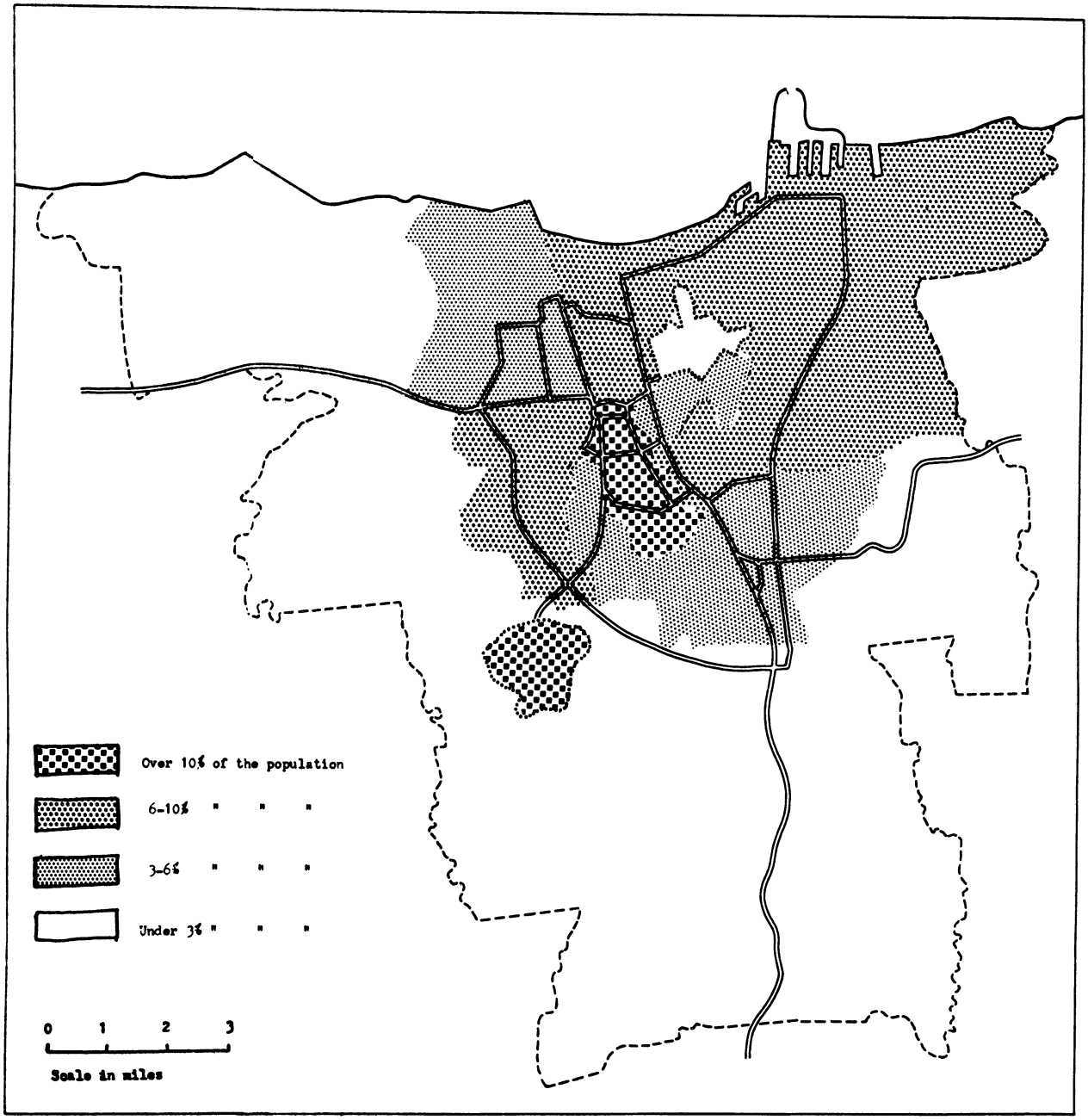
Map 5. Distribution of Buddhists/Hindus in Djakarta, 1961

Source: Sensus 1961, p. 16. The distributions in this and the following maps are based on subdistricts (ketjamatan), the names of which may be found on Map 1.



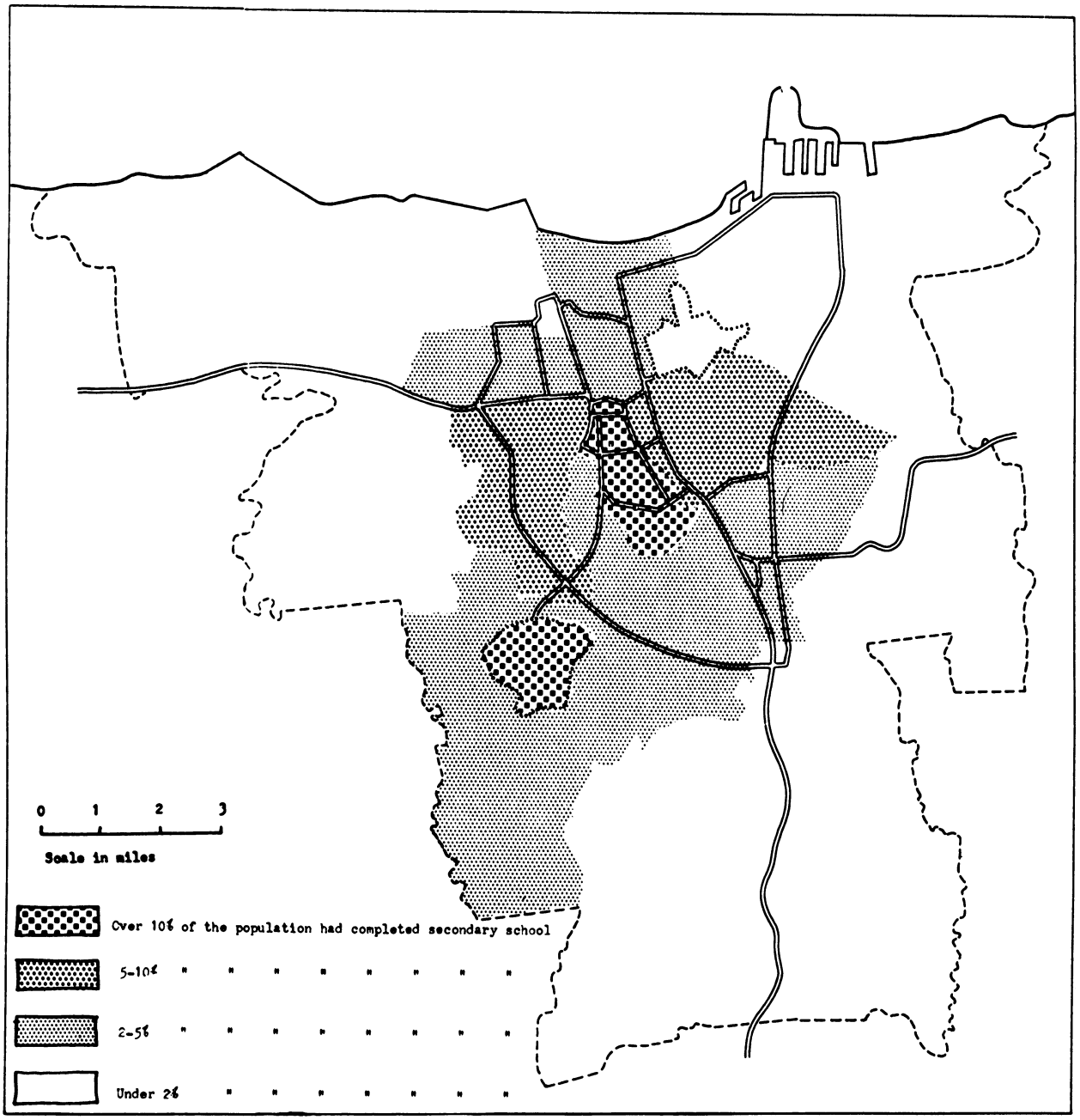
Map 6. Distribution of Christians in Djakarta, 1961

Source: Sensus 1961, p. 16.



Map 7. Distribution of the Outer Island-born in Djakarta, 1961

Source: Sensus 1961, p. 22.



Map 8. Distribution of the Educated Population in Djakarta, 1961

Source: Sensus 1961, p. 26.

city: Pendjaringan, Mangga Dua, Krukut and Sawah Besar. In 1961 the Indians were located mainly in Sawah Besar (Pasar Baru);[108] many of them have since left the country. The Batavians still formed the highest percentage in the outer, largely rural sections like Tjengkareng, Kebon Djeruk, Pasar Minggu and Pulo Gadung. While much of this zone has become urbanized since 1961 as a result of the construction of the bypass road system, there were at that time 37,000 working peasants and 6,800 fishermen in Djakarta Raya.[109]

The East Indonesians were noticeably concentrated in Tandjung Priok in 1961; this was apparently particularly true of Buginese and Makassarese, but the Christian people of East Indonesia were also well represented there. There were also many East Indonesian Christians (probably mainly Ambonese and Menadonese) in Gambir, Kebajoran and other parts of Central Djakarta.[110] The Sumatra-born Christians were quite widely dispersed, but their proportion was highest in the elite zones (8.9% in Kebajoran Baru, 7.3% in Gambir, compared with 3.8% for the whole city).[111] There was still a clustering of Toba Batak around their oldest church at Gang Kernolong, but most of them were scattered, especially through the newer residential sections near the fringes of the city.

The census report does not permit us to distinguish Javanese from Sundanese areas of settlement, but they appear to be little differentiated. (Probably the people from Banten are still found in large numbers in Tandjung Priok, to judge from the occasional reports of their brawls with the Buginese there.) Heeren distinguished some of his kampungs as predominantly West Java or East-Central Java by birthplace of migrants, but in only 3 of his 16 kampungs were more than 75% of the migrants from West Java, and only in one were more than 50% from East and Central Java. He could distinguish no geographical pattern in the distribution of each type. From the point of view of geographical distribution, therefore, it would appear that the assimilation of immigrant groups is occurring in Djakarta even more rapidly than in old Batavia.

Elite and Mass

It would be interesting to know the extent to which the different ethnic groups in Djakarta are concentrated in various

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108. Sensus 1961, pp. 11-12.

109. Ibid., p. 34.

110. Ibid., p. 22.

111. Ibid.

occupations or social strata. However, the social structure of Djakarta has itself remained uninvestigated, let alone its relationship to ethnicity. Rather than repeat the few current stereotypes, I will concentrate on the one group for which some data are available, the political elite. That the elite is quite differently composed from the mass is shown in Table VII. Clearly the Chinese, Sundanese and above all the Batavians form a much smaller proportion of the elite than of the mass, while the reverse is the case with the Javanese[112] and the Outer Island people. To a large extent this is not surprising. The political elite is drawn from the whole country, and there is no reason to expect that the peculiarities of the capital city's ethnic composition should be reflected in it. I am merely pointing out that the difference exists and must have some significance for the social life of Djakarta as a city rather than as a capital. If the elite were extended to include those socially, financially[113] and intellectually eminent, the Chinese and Outer Island people[114] would be better represented and the Javanese probably not so well. The Sundanese and Batavians would remain equally under-represented.

The Sundanese and Batavians, it should be noted, are under-represented in the elite not only in relation to the population of Djakarta but also to that of the country as a whole.[115] Why

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112. In view of what was said in the discussion of Vorstenland migration it could be supposed that it is the Javanese of Solo and Jogja who are better represented among the elite than the mass, while those of, say, Tjirebon and Tegal are, like the Sundanese and Batavians, better represented among the mass than the elite.

113. Private business in Djakarta continues to be largely dominated by non-indigenous groups, especially Chinese. Among indigenous businessmen the Sumatrans are predominant, though there are a number of successful Javanese and Menadonese.

114. See Maps 6, 7, and 8, which show the concentration of educated people, Outer Island-born, and Christians (largely of Outer Island origin) in the same "better" sections of the city.

115. Several Ministers, such as Dr. Darmasetiawan, Dr. Aziz Saleh and Dr. Sjarif Thajeb, were born in Djakarta, but not of Batavian parentage. Even the Djakarta-born have been outnumbered by the Solo-born among high officials in recent years (see the list in Indonesia, Vol. II, pp. 213 ff.). The elected parliament of 1955 contained only one member born in the capital, something rarely found, surely, except in countries with artificial capitals like Canberra (see Parlaungan, ed., Tokoh-Tokoh Parlemen;

Table VII

Ethnic Proportions of Elite and Mass in Djakarta
(percentages)

	Entire Population 1961 (Estimate)	Elite Groups		
		1945 - 1955		1965-1966
		Cabinet Ministers	High Officials	Officials of Cabinet Rank
Batavians	23.0	-	-	0.5
Sundanese	33.0	(12.0)	(11.0)	11.0
Javanese-Madurese	25.5	51.0	58.0	62.0
Outer Island peoples	7.5	26.0	29.5	17.5
Chinese	10.0	3.0	1.5	1.5
Other non-indigenous	0.5	1.0	-	-
Unknown	1.5	7.0	-	7.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		N = 146	61	225

The ethnic proportions of Ministers and High Officials, 1945-1955, are taken from Sulaeman Soemardi, "Some Aspects of Social Origins of Indonesian Political Decision-makers," Transactions of Third World Congress of Sociology, 1956, Vol. III, p. 340. I have taken his category "West Java ethnic origin" as equivalent to Sundanese, though in fact it includes a few Banten and Tjirebon people who might have been classed as Javanese-Madurese in the other columns. The percentages in the final column are calculated from "Continuity and Change," Indonesia, Vol. II, pp. 213-222.

this should be true of the Sundanese is outside the scope of this paper, but the case of the Djakarta Asli deserves to be looked at more closely here. Since the death of Thamrin, leaders from that group seem to have played little part in the great events enacted in their city; the only figure to achieve any prominence seems to have been Lt. Col. Imam Sjafei, who was Minister of Special Security Affairs for three weeks in 1966.

The main proximate cause of this virtual absence of the Djakarta Asli from the higher circles of national life is their educational backwardness. The 1930 census showed the Djakarta region to have been one of the least advanced in the country in popular education, which confounds the common assumption that education was fostered under colonial rule purely to provide clerks in government and corporations offices. Nowhere, after all, was the demand for such personnel greater than in Batavia. The percentage of literates in Batavia (11.9) was low for an urban area (compare Bandung at 23.6%, for instance). Moreover, those who were literate were almost certainly mainly from among the non-Batavians. The predominantly Batavian rural districts adjoining the city had some of the lowest literacy rates in Java: 1.3% in Kebajoran and Tjikarang, and 1.5% in Parung.[116] In 1961 the heavily Batavian outer ketjamatan of Djakarta Raya still showed literacy rates well below the national average.[117]

What, then, is the explanation of the educational backwardness of the Djakarta Asli? Part of the answer may conceivably lie in the peculiar agrarian system which prevailed in the Djakarta region. The Dutch East India Company used to award tracts of land in reward for services, and Governors General Daendels and Raffles sold such tracts to raise revenue. The owners of these estates, called proprietary lands (particuliere landerijen) had rights to feudal dues and services from the

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Djakarta: 1956). Similarly, of 48 literary figures listed in the Almanak Seni (Djakarta: 1957), only two were born in Djakarta, compared with four in Padang, three in Bukittinggi and two each in Medan, Bogor, Padang Pandjang and Sawah Lunto.

116. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, Table 24, and pp. 65-66. The West Java average was 7.1%. All these percentages refer to the indigenous population only.

117. Of the indigenous population 10 years and older, for example, 81.9% in Tjengkareng had had no schooling at all, 78.3% in Kebon Djeruk, and 79.1% in Pulo Gadung, compared with 64.8% nationally. In Tjengkareng only a quarter of the children in the 7-13 age group were attending school in 1961! Sensus 1961, pp. 26, 28. Compare Map 8.

inhabitants; their territories covered most of the Djakarta and Bogor regions down to the final period of Dutch rule. The possibility of using this zone as a control in assessing the effects of colonial taxation and land policies in other parts of Java does not seem to have been exploited; however, the 1930 census report does imply that one consequence of the existence of the particuliere landerijen was a high rate of illiteracy.[118]

The backwardness of the Djakarta Asli may also, however, be related to their servile origin and to the prolonged and direct character of Dutch rule in the Djakarta region. Their ancestors did, it is true, include elite elements: Malay, Buginese and Balinese chiefs and condottieri who commanded troops, presided over their compatriots, and sometimes received substantial grants of land.[119] The tendency was, however, for these lands to pass into European or Chinese hands. During the nineteenth century the ommelanden of Batavia were more directly ruled than the other parts of Java; the Europeans penetrated to the level of schout or sheriff, and there were no indigenous regents.[120] When regents were appointed in the twentieth century they were drawn from other parts of Java; there were thus no Batavian elite elements above the level of demang or wijkmeester. The Batavian sukubangsa accordingly came into existence in an environment in which all the higher elite roles were reserved for other races; whereas elsewhere colonial rule was imposed on pre-existing societies, whose ruling and culture-bearing strata, however modified, remained in existence.[121]

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118. Volkstelling 1930, Vol. I, p. 66.

119. Such were Aroe Petoedjoe from Bone (after whom Petodjo is named); Abdullah Saban, Captain of the Sumbawans, who died a Lieutenant of the Royal Dutch Navy in 1813; and a whole dynasty of Malays from Patani in Thailand, who often served as intermediaries in the relations between the Batavia authorities and Indonesian princes. See De Haan, Oud Batavia, Vol. I, pp. 367-375. One Balinese chief died in 1711 leaving 3,000 rijksdaalders in his will to the daughter of the Governor-General; a group of Balinese in 1746 was awarded a 19,000-rijksdaalder contract to deepen the city canals (Lekkerkerker, "De Baliërs van Batavia," pp. 427-428).

120. J. J. de Hollander, Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië (Breda: 1895), Vol. I, p. 374. On the administration of the Batavia region in the mid-nineteenth century, see Van der Aa, Nederlands Oost-Indië, Vol. II, pp. 267-270.

121. Within Java, therefore, the Batavia region stands at the opposite pole from the Vorstenlanden, which provided so many members of the post-Independence political and administrative elite.

The form which Islam took in Batavia may also have some significance in this matter. In colonial Batavia the Christian elements--Mardijkers, Depokkers or Indos--modeled themselves on the ruling race and strove after a European status which the rulers were loathe to confer. The "Belanda Depok" were notorious for their European airs, and by 1930 many of them had actually achieved European legal status.[122] Islam, on the contrary, provided comfort for those--the majority--who resigned themselves to occupying permanently the lowest rungs of the social ladder. The Betawi were not noticeably meticulous observers of Islamic precepts, but they identified themselves strongly as Orang Selam (Muslim); and the langgar provided them with a fraternal environment fostering derisive contempt for the strivers after European status and hatred for the Chinese (who by 1935 owned 40% of the particuliere landerijen).[123] Western education was feared by the Betawi as a first step in Christianization and accordingly was not sought by them.

In the melting-pot of colonial Batavia the alternatives seemed to be status-worried aping of the European and fatalistic acceptance of inferiority. After Independence this was no longer true; and one therefore looks eagerly to the first generation of those who have grown up in the melting-pot of post-Independence Djakarta and who are now first making their appearance as actors on the Indonesian scene.

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122. See M. Buys, "Depok," De Indische Gids, 1890, Vol. II, p. 1239. Buys remarks of the Depokkers: "Less attractive is the spectacle of men, dressed more or less in European style, many of whom spend their time in sweet idleness, convinced that landlords may not respectably work as tillers and that manual labor is to be generally left to non-Christians. This contempt for manual labor is . . . sometimes attributed to pride in their Christian belief, through which they hope to place themselves as much as possible on an equal footing with the Europeans in the Indies, who only exceptionally perform real manual labor" (p. 1243).

123. John O. Sutter, Indonesianisasi: Politics in a Changing Economy, 1940-1955 (Ithaca: 1959), Vol. I, p. 26.