

New Order Traces in the Regional Cultural Thoughts (PPKD) of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi Municipalities

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ABSTRACT

Keywords:
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satellite cities.

The research discusses the ‘dominant theme’ culture in PPKD documents of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi Municipalities, which is constructed as an municipality identity. This contradicts their statuses as satellite cities packed by migrants increasing yearly. The migrants’ presence shifts the cities into multicultural cities comprising various ethnicities with diverse cultural roots. Applying municipality-level PPKD to the satellite cities causes problems because the data collection for the Objects for Advancement of Culture (OPK) in the PPKD does not include the migrants’ culture. The research applies a qualitative method to discover the meaning behind the cultural construction of the ‘dominant theme’, suspected as the continuation of the New Order government’s aspiration fantasized in the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah. The construction of cultural identity is analyzed using Stuart Hall’s framework, while the continuation of the New Order government’s aspiration is analyzed using a conceptual framework called episteme. The conclusion drawn from the analyses is that the ‘dominant theme’ culture in the PPKD documents of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi municipalities which is constructed as an city identity is the continuation of the desire of Soeharto’s government in the New Order Era, but with different pattern and strategy.

INTRODUCTION

The presence of a parent city and all its dynamics have led to the emergence of new surrounding cities labeled as satellite cities, derived from the concept of a satellite surrounding a planet. Initially, satellite cities were intended as a centralization site for the residences of people working at the parent city, which increase in number every year. Further, a plan was developed to create a metropolitan area called Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi) with Bodetabek (Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi) as the dormitory town for the residents working in Jakarta. Bodetabek was then packed with migrant workers, known as commuters, leaving their residences in the satellite cities for Jakarta and vice versa (Irsyam, 2018).

The migrants living in the satellite cities only have an administrative attachment to their city of residence, while influenced by the parent city's culture (Irsyam, 2018). It is a dynamic urban culture that follows the ever-changing urbanism phenomenon (Budiman, 2017). The commuting migrants then bring the parent city's urban culture to the satellite cities. An easily recognizable example is the presence of small shops, shopping malls, entertainment clusters, and vertically integrated residents typical of a parent city, now in satellite cities. Urban culture has changed the face of satellite cities to closely resemble the parent city.

It is important to preserve cultural diversity amid the prevalent urban culture in Indonesia. Driven by this idea, the Indonesian government developed a strategic approach to preserve cultural diversity by enacting Law No. 5 of 2017 on Cultural Advancement (*Undang-Undang Pemajuan Kebudayaan/UUPK*).

Cultural advancement efforts—protection, enhancement, utilization, and mentorship—are conducted primarily on the objects of cultural advancement (*objek pemajuan kebudayaan/OPK*). The objects comprise oral tradition, manuscripts, customs, rites, traditional knowledge, traditional technology, art, language, folk games, and traditional sports. The objects' presence is mapped in every district/municipality, while issues about them are identified to seek solutions. The mapping is conducted under the mechanism of compiling the Regional Cultural Thoughts (*Pokok Pikiran Kebudayaan Daerah/PPKD*) by the district/municipality government together with the community and experts having the competence and credibility related to OPK.

Cultural advancement is grounded in PPKD, a series of hierarchically compiled documents. Bearing a more important position, district/municipality PPKD will be the basis for province-level PPKD. PPKD will continue to the higher level to be used as the basis for developing cultural strategies, to then be developed into a master plan of cultural advancement and integrated into middle- and long-term development plans. Therefore, PPKD is crucial because its contents and extensiveness will significantly influence the succeeding documents up to the national level.



Figure 1. The order for cultural advancement through hierarchically compiled documents (UUPK and result of self-processing)

LITERATURE REVIEW

Indonesia's policy on culture was transformed when the country entered the reform Era (*reformasi*) aimed at political and financial decentralization. Cultural policy is among the policies decentralized to the district/municipality level, prompting the birth of ethnicity-based identity politics (Jones, 2007), which highlights the central government's abandonment of the native culture and the conservative political stance marginalizing migrants (Jones, 2007). For example, the International Conference of Sundanese Culture on 22-25 August 2021 highlighted the lack of central government's concern about the decline of Sundanese culture caused by consumerism and migrants' culture in the area (Jones, 2007). In his book, Jones (2013) identified that a conservative approach to the local culture utilizing local ethnicity sentiment aims to strengthen the conservative version of the local culture.

Nurcholis's research (2014) also discusses the cultural policy of local government during the reform era. He described that since the 1998 reform, the central government decentralized the cultural affairs to the autonomous regions, provinces, and districts/municipalities. The regional government then simplifies its cultural policy into traditional arts, traditional attires, old manuscripts, and tourism based on traditional life and ancient objects (Nurcholis, 2014). For example, regional governments, such as those in Bali Province, Bogor District, and Bandung Municipality, are aware that their cultural policies are only limited to traditional arts, music, and theater, as well as old manuscripts, local literature and languages, indigenous communities, archeology, history, and museums (Nurcholis, 2014).

Indonesia's cultural policy with its new focus on ethnicity culture can also be found in the PPKD compiled by every district/municipality government. The central government views PPKD as a grassroots approach to cultural advancement. However, the cultural identities exposed in PPKD emphasize stable ethnic identities, instead of those in a hybrid identities scope. Even the mapping of OPK data in the PPKD of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi Municipalities is only based on the 'dominant theme' culture.

METHOD

This article aims to discover the mystery of the cultural identities discussed in the PPKD of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi Municipalities. The qualitative method was applied for discovering the mystery. The method can reveal and understand matters behind a phenomenon, while also gaining insight about matters rarely known to the public (Strauss & Corbin, 2013). This method can also provide more comprehensive details of a phenomenon impossible to analyze using quantitative method (Strauss & Corbin, 2013).

The first phase of this research is to collect sample research data. Data sample was collected using purposive sampling method. The placement of the satellite city context on the PPKD document directs the option to the municipality-level PPKD. Among the many cities, I have selected satellite cities around Jakarta. The satellite cities around Jakarta selected for this research were Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi. Meanwhile, South Tangerang as one of the satellite cities around Jakarta has not compiled its PPKD yet, so it is excluded from this research. Similarly, Bogor is one of the satellite cities around Jakarta and already has its PPKD, but excluded from this research because it does not share a direct border with Jakarta.

The next step is data collection to analyze the policies related to the research corpus. Weimer and Vining stated (2017) that evidence-collection for policy analysis falls into two categories: document search and field observation. Therefore, document search was the second phase of this research. The documents were in the forms of journals, books, and PPKD documents from each satellite city.

The third phase was field observation by interviewing the officials from the relevant Culture Office, i.e. Culture and Tourism Office of Tangerang Municipality and Tourism and Culture Office of Bekasi Municipality.¹ The generated results from document search and field observation supported the analysis in this research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The effort to preserve cultural diversity in Indonesia amid the prevalent urban culture affects the cultural policy of municipalities in Indonesia, because urbanism moves rapidly there. Based on the website ppkd.kemendikbud.go.id, 49 municipality governments already compiled their PPKDs. I have read through the PPKD documents municipality level. Unfortunately, they do not explicitly portray the spirit of diversity as specified in the Academic Draft of the Bill on Culture (*Naskah Akademis Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kebudayaan*) and the dynamic

¹ During the process of writing this article, Youth, Sports, Culture and Tourism Office of Depok Municipality has not provided answers to the research questions that have been submitted.

growth of culture in Indonesia as specified in the UUPK. However, several municipality governments claimed their cultural identities as urban identities that are multiethnic, diverse, heterogenous, and hybrid, such as Surabaya, Medan, Semarang, Cirebon, Lhokseumawe, Langsa, Binjai, Tebing Tinggi, Sawahlunto, Pekanbaru, Singkawang, Balikpapan, and Samarinda. However, most municipality governments and local cultural figures are still emphasizing their ethnic identities in the PPKD as shown in the Table 1.

Table 1. Identities disclosed in the municipality-level PPKD
(Self-processing result from <http://ppkd.kemdikbud.go.id>)

No.	Province	City	Cultural Identities Disclosed in the PPKD	
			Ethnicity	Urban
1.	Aceh	Banda Aceh	Acehnese	Metropolitan City
2.		Lhokseumawe	-	Multicultural City
3.		Langsa	-	Multiethnicity City
4.	North Sumatera	Medan	-	Medan Culture
5.		Pematang Siantar	Simalungun Culture	Modern City
6.		Binjai	-	Multiethnicity City
7.		Tebing Tinggi	-	Multiethnicity Residents
8.		Gunung Sitoli	Ono Niha Culture (Nias Ethnicity)	-
9.	West Sumatera	Padang	Minangkabau Culture	-
10.		Sawahlunto	Minangkabau Culture	Cultured Mining Tourism City
11.		Bukittinggi	Minangkabau Culture	City with Homogenous Tradition
12.		Payakumbuh	Minangkabau Culture	-
13.	Riau	Pekanbaru	Riau Malay People	Civilized Smart City
14.		Dumai	Malay Ethnicity	Civilized City
15.	Kepulauan Riau	Tanjungpinang	Malay Culture	-
16.	Jambi	Jambi	Jambi Malay	Metropolis
17.		Sungai Penuh	Kerinci Culture	-
18.	South Sumatera	Palembang	Palembang Ethnic Group	Multi-cultural City
19.		Lubuklinggau	Marga Sindang Kelingi Iir	-
20.		Bengkulu	Kain Bersurek	-
21.	Banten	Tangerang	Melayu-Betawi	Plural and Heterogenous City

No.	Province	City	Cultural Identities Disclosed in the PPKD		
			Ethnicity	Urban	
22.	West Java	Bandung	Sundanese Culture	Bandung People	
23.		Bekasi	Betawi Culture and Sundanese Culture	Urban City	
24.		Bogor	Sundanese	Smart City	
25.		Cirebon	-	Hybrid Identity	
26.		Cimahi	Sundanese Culture	Miniature of Indonesia	
27.		Depok	Betawi Culture	Depok People	
28.		Tasikmalaya	Sundanese Culture	-	
29.		Central Java	Surakarta	Javanese Culture	Cultural City
30.			Semarang	-	Multicultural City
31.			Magelang	Javanese Culture	-
32.	Pekalongan		Javanese Language	City with Three Cultural Themes	
33.	Special Region of Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta	Javanese Culture	Cultural City	
34.	East Java	Surabaya	-	Multicultural City, Arek Culture	
35.		Malang	-	Arek Malang	
36.		Mojokerto	Majapahit Culture	Diverse and Heterogenous City	
37.	Bali	Denpasar	Hindu-themed Balinese Culture	Multiethnicity City, Multination City	
38.	NTB	Mataram	Sasak Ethnic Group	-	
39.		Bima	Mbojo Ethnic Group	-	
40.	Gorontalo	Gorontalo	Gorontalo Ethnic Group	City of Destinations, Culture and Customs	
41.	North Sulawesi	Bitung	Nusa Utara Ethnic Group	Multiethnicity City	
42.		Kotamobagu	Bolaang Mongondow Culture	Multiculture	
43.	Sulawesi Tenggara	Kendari	Tolaki Ethnic Group	Plural and Multiculture	
44.	West Kalimantan	Pontianak	Pontianak Malay Culture	Heterogeneous City	
45.		Singkawang	-	Multiethnicity City, Tolerance City	
46.	South Kalimantan	Banjarmasin	Banjar Ethnic Group	-	
47.		Banjarbaru	Banjar Ethnic Group	Cultured Metropolis	
48.	East Kalimantan	Balikpapan	-	Multiethnicity City	
49.		Samarinda	-	Multiethnicity City	

Urban identity is exposed in most of the municipality-level PPKD, but the OPK data collected is still coherent with the ethnic identity that serves as the "dominant theme" culture. As most of the OPK data are mapped based on the ethnicity culture to then be designated as the 'dominant theme' of each municipality, it can be said that PPKD is similar to Taman Mini Indonesia Indah in the form of a document. Thus, the spirit of multiculturalism is not presented yet in OPK data. This is problematic because the problem analysis and recommendations made by the municipality government in PPKD are based on OPK data. The cultural policy developed by the municipality government based on OPK data is coherent with the cultural imagery of the 'dominant theme' constructed as municipality identity. In other words, the cultural policy developed by the municipality government is still related to identity politics prevalent in the early times of decentralization and still overlooks the factual cultural diversity in each region.

Satellite Cities Around Jakarta and Identity Issues

Putting municipality-level PPKD into the context of satellite cities around Jakarta is a complex matter. Municipality governments and local cultural figures in the cities attempted to emphasize the 'dominant theme' of their regions. The 'dominant theme' is the characteristic culture that distinguishes a region's culture from the culture of the surrounding district/municipality² and the culture that has long been deep-rooted³. Meanwhile, the commuters cannot fully identify themselves with the local communities due to the lack of social and cultural activities in the satellite cities (Merrilees et al., 2013).

Satellite city is a phenomenon of population expansion and increase of property and demand of more affordable housing (Merrilees et al., 2013). Such a city acts as a feeder city to the metropolitan city (Merrilees et al., 2013). Due to the significant intercity distances, commuters need to travel a long way on a crowded highway with public transportation that is also crowded with passengers. The allocation of transit time influences the commuters' ability to identify themselves with the local communities (Merrilees et al., 2013).

The presence of commuters from all over Indonesia who eventually live and legally become new residents enriches the ethnic diversity in the satellite cities. However, they are not articulated in the PPKD documents of the cities. As seen in Table 1, Depok Municipality's PPKD stated that Betawi is the 'dominant theme' of culture in Depok. Tangerang Municipality's PPKD specified Malay-Betawi as the 'dominant theme' of the region's culture. Furthermore, Benteng Chinese, Arab, Javanese, Sundanese, and Bugis-Makassar people were mentioned in Tangerang Municipality's PPKD as the region's cultural diversity. Lastly, Bekasi Municipality's PPKD specified a mix of Sundanese and Betawi as the 'dominant theme' of the region's culture.

The governments of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi Municipalities stated in their respective PPKD that their residents are heterogeneous and multicultural. However, OPK data collection

² Interview with Tourism and Culture Office of Bekasi Municipality

³ Interview with Culture and Tourism Office of Tangerang Municipality

only mapped the 'dominant themes' of each region. This contradicts the Technical Guidelines for Compiling of Regional Cultural Thoughts at the District/Municipality Level (Petunjuk Teknis/Juknis PPKD), which instructs factual OPK data collection, not merely the OPK data representing the 'dominant theme' of the area's culture (Directorate General of Culture, 2018). Juknis PPKD specified factual data as the ones based on the facts present in the area (Directorate General of Culture, 2018).

Juknis PPKD mentioned that OPK data collection is the crucial stage in compiling PPKD (Directorate General of Culture, 2018). However, such data collection in the PPKD of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi Municipalities does not portray heterogeneity and multiculturalism, because each municipality government maps the OPK based only on the 'dominant theme', instead of on the factual and currently growing local culture. Binjai, a satellite city north of Medan, even mapped the OPK coherent with their heterogenous and multicultural urban identities.

TMII: 'Model for Indonesia'

The collection of OPK data in the PPKD documents of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi Municipalities still specifically refers to cultures considered as the 'dominant theme'. Meanwhile, according to Hall (1990), identity is fluid and dynamic. The identity currently being articulated is not solely determined based on the 'dominant theme' of a region's culture, as all cultural elements are interconnected in complex and intricate relationships. Therefore, cultural identity in the satellite cities will continue to experience transformation.

Furthermore, in a particular culture and at a certain time, there is always only one episteme defining the conditions of possibility for all knowledge, whether expressed in theory or practice (Foucault, 1970). Through the episteme concept, knowledge is not a history of ever-developing perfection but rather configurations within the space of knowledge that have given rise to various forms of empirical science (Foucault, 1970). Foucault argues that with the existence of an episteme, knowledge is socially constructed by different eras (Brown, 2005). Therefore, Foucault divides the Western episteme into the Renaissance episteme (around 1450-1650), the classical episteme (1650-1800), and the modern episteme (1800-1966) (Brown, 2005). Although some argue that in 1966, Foucault felt that the modern episteme was collapsing and a postmodern episteme was emerging (Brown, 2005). Thus, in the terminology of episteme, Foucault does not make empirical generalizations about what people think or do. Instead, Foucault attempts to construct a general way of thinking (episteme) that underlies the various beliefs and practices that are highly diverse (Gutting, 2005). The episteme then permeates the layers of human consciousness, which unconsciously shapes thoughts and social practices. The cultural data collection through PPKD is not separate from the layers of episteme that form the conceptual structure of the data gatherer.

PPKD is a scheme of cultural data collection, present following the UUPK. The Explanatory Article of UUPK stated that cultures in Indonesia move dynamically, causing cultural management to be based on cultural diversity. On the other hand, there is a concept of

ethnic categorization introduced by Soeharto through Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII). Shelly Errington (1998) stated that the concept brought by TMII was not a 'model of Indonesia', but a 'model for Indonesia'. TMII concept was then integrated into the episteme layer of regional governments and local cultural figures that each province/venue represents only a single ethnicity. Such a view became the guideline for the PPKD compilation team when abstracting the OPK data into PPKD. Therefore, the 'model of Indonesia' is a conceptual structure prior to UUPK enactment that still lies in the layer of awareness of the local governments and local cultural figures.

Therefore, before and after the UUPK enactment, layers of episteme were part of the conception of the regional government and local cultural figures on what is considered the cultural essences of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi. Meanwhile, the episteme layer prior to UUPK enactment was still settling and formed a sediment, resulting in the rejection of post-UUPK episteme layers. These episteme layers then resulted in the data collection of Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi. As stated by Foucault, these layers will always be investing in all kinds of social practices.

On the other hand, it is important to realize that data is never completely objective, because data mining requires a conceptual structure that exists in the head of the data digger.⁴ Drucker (2021) stated that data is never neutral. It is always founded on a perspective with a certain set of values and beliefs (Drucker, 2021). Further, data collection is often biased, and data can be constructed for ideological and political interests. Therefore, data must be viewed as a social construction, or data as *capta* (Drucker, 2021).

Data interpretation will be closely related to the imagination and episteme that become the layers of awareness of the data collector. Meaning, OPK data collection in the PPKD is never objective. Such data is full of imagination and episteme building the conceptual structure of the local government and local cultural figures. Therefore, based on the concepts of episteme and data as *capta*, OPK data mapping in the PPKD is also the result of social construction.

CONCLUSION

The central government, represented by the Directorate General of Culture, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology has directed the District/Municipality PPKD to a higher level to be the basis for formulating Cultural Strategies manifested in the presidential regulation. Furthermore, the contents of PPKD were discussed in two cultural congresses in 2018 and 2023. Currently, several regional governments still update their PPKD contents. Even some others have just started compiling the document. At the national level, the processed PPKD as the element of the cultural strategy will be a vital part of developing a cultural advancement master plan. However, this article does not suggest any improvements for the PPKD to be ideal and applied by the regional governments. This article aims to critically evaluate how PPKD becomes

⁴ Interview with Martin Suryajaya, PPKD Working Group at the Directorate General of Culture, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology, Republic of Indonesia

a space for the local government and local cultural figures to articulate the characteristic and deep-rooted culture in their regions into the ‘dominant theme’ culture. Take the case of TMII as an example of how it displays a single venue to represent an ethnicity for the regional government and local cultural figures to search for the ‘native/dominant theme’ of culture in their respective region, while the culture of the commuters/migrants is not mapped in the process of OPK data collecting within PPKD.

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