The Emergence of Social Space: Case Study from Kampung Keling Medan, Indonesia

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Abstract
Kampung Keling, once a residential area in Medan, has advanced significantly into an elite commercial area over the last century. Initially, this region was a residential district of Tamil community, but since the 1960s turned into the commercial area dominated by Chinese community. Accordingly, the use-value of everyday life in Kampung Keling has turned into the exchange-value of the abstract space of the Chinese community oriented to material advantage. The result shows that the cultural heterogeneity of Tamil and Chinese communities in Kampung Keling has produced a harmonious social relationship. Social relationship which occurred between the two communities also creates a new social space. This social space located along the pedestrian area in front of shop houses belonged to the Chinese, where Tamil community selling fireworks in non-permanent stalls. This new social space becomes the production space for both communities and supports the existence of Kampung Keling until today.

Keywords: Kampung Keling, Social-space

Introduction
Kampung Keling (Figure 1), an old residential area in the city of Medan has undergone significant changes during its development. Started as a settlement area of the initial community of ethnic Tamil, Kampung Keling region is filled by shophouses belonged to the immigrant community of ethnic Chinese currently. Even in the 2000s, Kampung Keling enlivened by the mega project buildings such as malls and hotels.

Figure 1. Map of Kampung Keling

Adjusting to the changes, some Tamil community who lived in the periphery area of Kampung Keling brings their everyday life into the public sphere. They present in the areas around the Chinese shop houses, opening small scale non-permanent sales stalls.

The harmonious social relation between the Chinese community which dominates the centre of the region and the Tamil community on the edge created a new space called social-space. The social-space generated from social relationship of the two communities in Kampung Keling describes the struggle of Tamil community in maintaining their existence in the social changes that occurred in Kampung Keling.

The Shri Mariamman Temple located on the main road of this region, as a center of religious and the emerging social-spaces, makes the remaining Tamil community can strengthen themselves and establish their identity in the periphery area. For both communities, the social space is also a tool to achieve economic interests respectively.

This paper intends to discover and elaborate the emergence of new social space occurred in Kampung Keling which connect the two different spaces, i.e. the everyday life space belonged to the initial community (ethnic Tamil) and the
abstract space belonged to immigrant community (ethnic Chinese). Furthermore, this paper also explains the motivation of social relations in creating the social spaces.

Social Space
Space is an important aspect of human life. Culture influences the space. Space not only determines the social life but also the strengths that exist in a society. Space does not occur automatically but produced jointly by the society. Henri Lefebvre (2004), states that the city space can be analyzed by understanding their social relationships. The emergence of space cannot be separated from social life. Space is not only an output produced but also the means of production.

The concept of Production of Space stated by Lefebvre is dialectic of space that includes three spaces (triad space), namely: the space of everyday life with the use value (perceived space), abstract space with exchange-value (conceived space) and space-social (lived-space) that occurs as a result of the social relationships.

Method
Qualitative method was used in the study of the emerging of social space in Kampung Keling. The only technique used is the direct site observation by researcher in the whole region and the results is the interpretation of the interview with the informant. The primary data from direct observation of the spaces that are predicted as a new space along the pedestrian area in Kampung Keling recorded and mapped.

Discussion
a. The History of Tamil Community and Kampung Keling

Initially the Tamil and Chinese communities are immigrants who were brought to Indonesia as workers. The unveiling cooperation of tobacco fields in Tanah Deli between the Malays and the Dutch colonial government requires a lot of manpower. So that in 1873 for the first time this tobacco fields receives 25 Indian Tamil labors from the island of Penang and Singapore.

To improve the performance of farm workers, the Dutch colonial government runs a social concept that consigns the area of Kampung Keling as a settlement for Tamil community. The determination of this location was the part of the design concept of Medan city called ‘quarter system’ developed by the Netherlands in 1917 to divide the settlement zones based on ethnicity (Buiskol, 2004).

This concept includes giving the freedom to build houses of worship respectively. So that in 1884, Hinduism Tamil community built the Shri Mariamman Temple which nowadays becoming the oldest Hindu temple in the city of Medan, followed by the Shri Subramaniam Temple in 1892 and Sri Kalianman Temple in 1905.

At the beginning of placement, the residential area in Kampung Keling was a village with houses that were separated from each other with a large yard. There were shady trees everywhere and the paths were made of soil. Tamil community was gardening and raising cows, children were playing in the yard, mothers and fathers interacted in an open space. Every day they bathed and washed in the river. In every custom events and cultural and religious celebrations, they worked together in kinship. Tamil community run their everyday life in the space they produced themselves (Figure 2).

b. Kampung Keling Nowadays

The strategic location of Kampung Keling led this area to thrive from time to time. Since 1960, most of Tamil community sold their lands and buildings to Chinese community. Buying and selling land causing many Tamil people moved out of Kampung Keling. The displacement of Tamil community outside region caused them not longer dominate Kampung Keling.

After moving out, the rest of Tamil community lived in the dense and irregular periphery area in four villages along the Babura River in the west side area, namely: Dayak Village, Mayor Village, Kubur Village, and Madras Hulu Village (Figure 3). This region located behind the houses and shops houses adjacent to the river. Most of the houses are small and
in a packed condition. The circulation system is only a narrow passage, which is only accessible by motorbike. Their houses are not directly visible from the road, but hidden behind the shop houses belonged to ethnic Chinese.

Since 1960s, simple dwelling house turned into shop houses and in 1970s, Kampung Keling developed into the most elite commercial district in the city of Medan. Even in the era of the 2000s, Kampung Keling enlivened mega projects such as malls and hotels. Until now, 85% of Kampung Keling areas are occupied by the Chinese community.

The appearance of the buildings in the region are dominated by commercial buildings that used as commercial buildings. Zainul Arifin Street, the longest and primary roads in the region which divides Kampung Keling from the East end to the West end of the region become the most busy and crowded streets in Medan which representing the development of Kampung Keling area (Figure 4).

The rest of Tamil community generally has a low level of education so that the chance of getting a job becomes very limited. Most of them work in service jobs with inadequate salary. They work in Chinese families as housekeepers, night
watchmen and parking attendants. Instead, the bustling abstract spaces with business activity belong to Chinese community dominates the central area of Kampung Keling. Chinese community continuously advances their business, so that their life is much better than the Tamil community.

The dense and unplanned residential area inhabited by the Tamil community and the commercial space as well as the mega projects owned by Chinese communities present together in Kampung Keling.

c. Social Relation between Tamil – Chinese Communities

Although the remaining Tamil community lived in very little amount and marginalized, they not feel neglected. The harmonious relationship between the Tamil and Chinese communities already exist since many years ago and continues up to now.

There is no jealousy between the two communities. A tight social relationship between two communities exists because they not only know each other, but also keep the feeling and mutual respect. In spite of having different religious, people in Kampung Keling still feel like family.

The individualist and introvert character of Chinese community can be lost because of social relationships with the Tamil community in Kampung Keling. If Chinese people get in trouble, they do not hesitate to ask for help on the Tamil people, even they also use Shri Mariamman temple as a place for pray.

Despite having differences in economic terms, Tamil community is very valuable for Chinese community in Kampung Keling. Chinese community who generally have a higher economic level than Tamil community feel greatly helped and safe with Tamil community working with them either as drivers, guards, or housekeepers.

In the other hand, for Tamil community, their being accepted by the Chinese community might help them in carrying out their everyday life. They can live and work in the same place. With the lower education levels, Tamil community can get the opportunity to earn revenue from Chinese community.

d. The Emergence of Social Space in Kampung Keling

Modernity brought by Chinese community as immigrants and the Locality from Tamil community as the initial people, shows the different values and spaces for both communities. Chinese community brings the exchange value in abstract space, whilst Tamil community brings the use value in their everyday life space. However, the social relations between the two communities unify both the different value and spaces into one space called social space. In this social space, the existence of the Tamil community as part of the city of Medan can be seen clearly.

The economic interest of Tamil and Chinese community become the aspects in using the public space as the new social space. Economic considerations of the pedestrian area in front of Chinese shop houses, brings on Zainul Arifin Street to be a new social space for the two communities. In this case, social space becomes a tool to achieve their respective goals.

For Chinese community, their commercial business in Kampung Keling can be more secure from the threat of racism and gangsterism with the Tamil community having the fireworks sales stalls in front of their shops. Fireworks sales stalls also become an attraction for buyers. At the time a lot of people choose fireworks, they also indirectly attracted to come and visit the shops belonged to Chinese community. This social spaces also reviving business activities belonged to Chinese community that weakened by the construction of the mega project in Kampung Keling. In this context, both Tamil and Chinese communities mutually benefit.

As for the Tamil people, their selling activities in front of shophouses belonged to the Chinese community had been going on since three generations. Selling fireworks at Zainul Arifin Street is a routine activity that occured three times a year, respectively during a month prior to the celebration of Eid Fitri, Chinese New Year and Christmas / New Year. Tamil community opens their stalls along the pedestrian area in Kampung Keling from 11am until midnight. The profit from selling fireworks three times a year, can meet their needs for a year.

Social spaces produced from social relations of two communities in Kampung Keling describe the struggle of Tamil community in Kampung Keling in case of preserving their presence in the social changes. Social space is a place where the remaining Tamil community strengthens theirselves and establishes their identity in the periphery area. At this social space, Tamil community can be present in the central region and becoming a part of the hustle of the city.
In the favor of diversity, the image of social space in Kampung Keling can be explained by the presence of various places along Zainul Arifin Street. The firework sales stalls along the pedestrian area shows the image of social space where the various space (everyday life space and abstract space), a variety of value (use-value and exchange-value), a variety of styles and way of life (locality and globality) and various community come together (Figure 5).

In adjust to globalization, Tamil community trying to adapt to the time changed. Selling fireworks in the pedestrian area along Zainul Arifin Street has become the routine activity of Tamil community since three generations ago. The non-permanent fireworks stalls in the pedestrian area becomes the space of their everyday life that was taken to the public space. And all this time, the fireworks stalls does not disturb people walk at the pedestrian ways.

To sell fireworks, Tamil community uses the non-permanent stalls made of wood and plywood that looks like ladders with plastic roofs (Figure 6). At night, the stalls get the lights from the shop houses owned by Chinese community. At the rainy day, fireworks are not stored but only covered with plastic. After a month-long sells, Tamil community brings the stalls return to their homes.
Social space is the strength of the region and become powerful magnet that attracts people of the city to come to Kampung Keling. The attraction comes from a pure social relationship between Tamil community and Chinese community in the region without any intervention of the government or other communities. Until nowadays, Kampung Keling becomes a famous fireworks seller in the city of Medan. On New Year's Eve, this area became the center of the fireworks festival. Zainul Arifin Street becomes the gathering space for the community of the city of Medan (Figure 7).

Conclusion
The outcomes of this study indicates that the social space in Kampung Keling as the phenomenon of relation space in modern cities becomes real because of the Tamil community who survives and lives in harmony with Chinese community that can be seen from the fireworks sales stalls in front of Chinese shop houses along the pedestrian area. Kampung Keling becomes an area that has strong identity because of the strength of the culture and ways of life of the Tamil community are preserved until today.

This study also gives the realization that the identity of a city is not only in the form of physical things, but also in the form of the activities undertaken by the local community. Activity of selling fireworks by the Tamil community can maintain and even strengthen the presence and identity of Kampung Keling as a landmark of the city of Medan. Without the presence of the Tamil community in public spaces, the identity of the Kampung Keling might be lost.

References
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