COMMERCIAL MEGA PROJECT IN URBAN (TRADITIONAL) MANADO

A DISPLACEMENT IN URBAN STRATEGY?

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ABSTRACT
The booming mega commercial projects have been infiltrating the physical development in various cities as a consequence of globalisation and city’s marketing strategy taken by local authorities. Multiple implications have occurred and influenced the urban transformation both in positive and negative ways, especially when landed in a more fragile context such as in secondary to small cities in the developing world.

This paper critically analyses and examines the influence of a mega commercial project in Manado, Indonesia, as a case study from a developing world. Manado is an important secondary city in the eastern part of Indonesia that is struggling between modernization and traditional semi-rural life. The sudden presence of this new commercial mega project introduces new forms of space; and restructured anew, the socio-cultural and spatial tissue also changes in a massive and sudden way as well. It challenges the previously existing traditional way of life of former fishermen as well as their urban space and forms. This newly built environment can be interpreted as an addition and disruption to the previous pattern, and as a reconfiguration of it.

KEY WORDS:
Displacement; Commercial Project; Kampong Life; Urban Transformation.
INTRODUCTION

The booming mega commercial projects have been infiltrating the physical development in various cities as a consequence of globalisation and cities’ marketing strategy taken by local authorities. In Indonesia, massive construction of this typical mega commercial project becomes a favourable strategy taken by many local authorities, especially after the implementation of decentralization policy in 2001. As the previous developmental gaps between the center and the periphery of Indonesia are extremely wide, the secondary cities in eastern Indonesia have been extremely left behind. Such gaps have left most of these cities with a condition of being in traditional and rural way of life.

Having been triggered by the euphoria of having a greater autonomy in the matter of development ignited by the 2001 national policy of decentralization on the one hand and by a great expectation of becoming more modern cities in physical material perspectives on the other, attempts to attract more investments have been made. This attracts many investors, most of whom seek to gain profit for themselves as much as possible. However, unbalanced condition arises in many cities, mostly triggered by the lack of skills, knowledge, and policy makers who are less concerned with the needs of their own inhabitants. This situation leads them to becoming potential victims of displacement.

Manado is one of the secondary cities in eastern part of Indonesia that applies this strategy in a very massive way. A huge commercial project known as the “CBD Boulevard Project” is constructed on top of land reclamation along the beautiful coastline of the city. Ambitions for making the city the center of eastern Indonesia and an entrance to the Pacific Area have devastated the previous living environment in that area and have brought further impacts to the areas nearby. There has been a group of inhabitants being neglected from the policy making of this project. They are the natives that have been bringing a unique identity to this coastal city: the fishermen and their sociocultural kampong1 life. Being the inhabitants of the then reclaimed area, relocation and reconfigurational processes have slid them into a condition of displacement.

This paper aims at examining the condition of displacement caused by such a mega project. In taking up such a task, the paper will be organised into three main parts. The first part will present a broad spectrum of displacement theory by Heynen and Loeckx (1998), which serves as the main theoretical framework in this investigation. As maintained in this theory, displacement provokes disruptions and shifts of meanings and conventions, which also manifest in everyday environments. Based on theoretical framework, the second part of this paper will configure how that project influences the way the closer neighbourhood has been functioning in this process. In the last part, this paper will draw concluding remarks based on the previous analysis on how this mega commercial project strategy can be viewed as satisfying the needs and urban life of people in this specific transformational urban context.

1 The Kampong is a spatial residential segment characterized by major substandard living space. Kampong is based on the unity of traditional community tied by traditional daily customs.
CONDITION OF DISPLACEMENT: AN ANALYTICAL THEORY

A condition of displacement can be described in the most basic way as a situation where a new or alien element is introduced into a more or less stable context (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998, p. 100). This condition is, therefore, both unstable and contradictory (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998, p. 101). The so-called ‘condition of displacement’ can take many forms since a condition of otherness can occur in many different ways in social reality. In this regard, built environment and architecture can become a receptacle or element that brings about such a condition. They, so to say, can be become instruments of change as far as the condition of displacement is concerned.

However, any condition of displacement bears a similar characteristic in that a strange factor or an alien element provokes disruption and destabilizes the earlier situation. In this condition, the meaning of things and places has slid into ambivalency. There has been a deconstruction of a shared convention, and this affects the territory in question (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998, p. 100).

A condition of displacement can deliver any result, ranging from the construction of new signifying practices to a total alienation. The adaptation processes that follow a condition of displacement is the determining key factor to its result. As a condition of displacement can bring an opening up of new signifying practices, creativity and recodification of signs are needed within that adaptation process (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998, p. 100).

A situation of unbalance and confusion caused by rapid urbanization and socioeconomic mutation, such as globalization, can be indicated as one phenomenon that explains a condition of displacement. Within this situation, there have been changes and shifts in the everyday life of people in a society. The speed up of businesses, of market oriented domination, and of capitalization can reconstruct the social order and the meaning of space of a society. This is because those factors influence the way members of a society communicate to each other, the way they negotiate, the value of their relationships, and their spatial realities. Because of all these factors, segmentation and fragmentation can grow in a wider scale within such a society compared to its previous situation.

THE BOULEVARD COMMERCIAL PROJECT OF MANADO: A COMMERCIAL MEGA PROJECT ON TOP OF A LAND RECLAMATION

THE INSTANT LANDSCAPE
The Boulevard Commercial Project is a project with the length of 3.5 kilometers, built along the coastline of Manado. It extends across the areas of administrative subdistricts of Wenang Utara, Titiwungen and Sario Tumpaan. Its construction was triggered by the completion of the Pierre Tendean Street in 1996. The project is developed on top of the extension of an infrastructural land reclamation. Evidently, it has completely transformed the landscape of the previous Manado beach from a public open space into building blocks of mega commercial centre.

Chronologically, before the first phase of the reclamation in 1993, the coastline of Manado was known as a beautiful open coastline. The beach area was well-known as a destination for various public activities, such as recreational open space, public area for street hawkers, and wide spot area for fishermen. However, this area was also covered by dense settlements of fishermen kampong. Those
settlements had already existed since the colonial periods; they were built by migrants from the rural Minahasa area and the outsiders of North Sulawesi provinces, such as Gorontalo, Sangir, etc. They worked as informal workers and fishermen; and together they formed a segment of low-income inhabitants of Manado. Regardless of the location, which is considerably near to the former city centre, the coastline was considered to be the back area of the city due to their very low accessibility and physical quality.

The impact of the reclamation emerged immediately after the first completion of Pierre Tendean Street in 1996. Previously, Sam Ratulangi Street was known as the main street and the main corridor of Manado, and had an important role to connect the old city centre with the peripheral areas. Since the traffic congestion was unmanageable, a plan was made to construct the Pierre Tendean Street on top of a land reclamation along the coastline as a solution to the problem. This new street is now better known as the Boulevard Street.

The construction of the Pierre Tendean Street affected the existing settlements significantly. Several parts of those settlements laying on top of the location of reclamation were demolished and removed. The kampongs that previously was the back area of the Sam Ratulangi Street consequently became a front line, facing the Pierre Tendean street and the sea. Due to the growing importance of the Boulevard Street, the number of people as well as the public and private transportations on this street increased significantly. Soon after, the house owners along the new street felt a need to renovate their houses in order to appropriate their facades as a frontage of neighbourhoods and to face the increasing activity along this street. Many passers-by used the pedestrian way along this reclamation for any kind of public activities and informal commercial activities, which they had already practised long before the reclamation took place. At several spots, fishermen used the reclamation wall along this street as a space to dock their boats, substituting the docking space that they lost due to the reclamation.

Triggered by the idea of expanding the area of the reclamation for commercial, business and service activities, the second phase of reclamation started. A bigger transformation marked the existence of the Boulevard Street soon after the commercial buildings in this project were built. A vibrant life started to spread along this street. The landscape of Manado along the Pierre Tendean Street has been transformed into a sequence of ‘modern’ commercial buildings. This transformation has also changed the acknowledgement of the city centre and moved it from the previous location at Pasar 45 along the way to the Sam Ratulangi Street to the Boulevard area.
THE ARCHITECTURE OF OTHERNESS

Morphologically, the sequence of big commercial buildings of the Boulevard Project has brought in new building typology to urban Manado. They are relatively more rigid and bigger in scale compared to other typologies found in Manado. Their location, which is centralized in one area along the coast of Manado, has created a sense of contrast with the existing background of Manado. Full with bright colors, lightings, and ornaments just as many commercial buildings and shopping malls in Jakarta, their facades and visual appearances have introduced distinct new styles in Manado’s urban landscape. Through these visual appearances, the representation of new ‘modern’ lifestyle or “the Jakarta’s lifestyle” that spreads through mass media materializes. The whole area of this project has turned out to be a new landmark of Manado.

This physical influence subsequently attracted more people to work and to live along the area of the project. The house owners at adjacent neighbourhoods acknowledged this coming-in of the outsiders as new sources of living. They renovated their family-oriented houses into informal small commercial buildings, such as warungs—simple and cheap eating places, rental houses and rooms for the migrant workers, etc. Architecturally, this impacted the typology of the houses, land uses, and activities at the nearby neighbourhoods. The increasing commercial value of those houses has increasingly attracted the outsiders, land brokers, and small local builders to buy and to build various commercial shop houses. Inspired and influenced by the architectural appearance of the project, they renovated and/or built those new shop houses with style of facades similar to the nearby commercial Boulevard project. Some others rent properties along the Pierre Tendean Street, renovated them, and opened small businesses, such as individual cafes and restaurants, etc. Significantly, the presence of the Boulevard project triggered the transformation of visual and physical condition of the nearby settlements, as well as its spatial urban character.

[fig. 3] The latest shop houses across the project, adapted visually into the Boulevard project.
(Source: Desmet and Verrecht, 2011)

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2 Warung is a typical small eating-place in Indonesia, mostly serving cheap foods, and is usually made of simple and cheap construction materials.
THE (DE-/RE-)CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEARBY NEIGHBOURHOODS

Wenang Utara, Titiwungen and Sario Tumpaan were the most impacted neighbourhoods. Several kampongs at those neighbourhoods were evicted and relocated to the north-eastern part of Manado during the first phase of the reclamation. Those neighbourhoods were previously acknowledged as the densest and poorest neighbourhoods in Manado. Both temporary and permanent houses mixed together; both were predominantly with low quality. Their diversity in ethnicity, religion, and occupations was very wide. The unclear expanded reclamation plan of this project had caused uncertainty among the residents in those neighbourhoods due to their weak position socially, politically, and physically. The construction of the Boulevard Project impacted the physical transformation of the nearby remaining settlements as well. The latter construction of various shop houses along those frontlines and the transformation of several family houses into commercial uses significantly impacted the physical and socio-cultural setting of those kampongs.

Subsequently, The Boulevard Project attracted both visitors and more working people. The work opportunities grew, ranging from formal and managerial jobs to various informal and unskilled jobs. This growing opportunity also attracted more migrants from other cities and villages to work and to live along this commercial area. These triggered more appropriation, transformation of land uses, and physical changes in those adjacent kampongs.

Those neighbourhoods were previously dominated by land use of kampong settlements. As far as the status of land ownership is concerned, the residents were the land owners both formally\(^3\) and informally\(^4\). The latest commercial activities in the Boulevard and the actors involved need closer accommodation and other services to support themselves. The workers need some more economical or cheaper places to eat, the migrants need closer places to stay after the working hours. Since these neighbourhoods lay between the previous main business street of Sam Ratulangi and the new Boulevard Street, the flows of both vehicles and peoples across those kampongs increased significantly. Therefore, those neighbourhoods become the most strategic area to provide those needs. The native residents started to re-appropriate their own kampongs environments by transforming their family houses into informal commercial vendors, rental houses and rental rooms for the migrant workers, small warungs, etc. Those neighbourhoods find a new way to support their life. On the other hands, chaos in land uses of kampongs and in communal identity spring up.

\(^3\) ‘Formal status of land ownership’ means both of the land and the owner are already been registered legally by the office of national land administration based on the current positive law. In the case of Indonesia, a local legal status based on traditional adat law is still being recognized in many regions despite the legal ownership status based on positive law.

\(^4\) ‘Informal land ownership’ refers to an occupation of lands without having formal legal status based on positive law. These include an occupation of empty or abandoned lands, unused state lands, and unsolvable ex-land based adat law.
FROM URBAN TRADITIONAL FISHERMEN INTO URBAN KAMPONG SOCIETIES

As a post-colonial coastal city, the urban life of Manado develops out of two dominant characters, namely, the traditional life of fishermen and the post-colonial coastal trade life that brought urbandy. Following the national economic growth, the trade activities have been dominating Manado. However, the traditional life coloured by the settlements of fishermen kampong existed side by side with the post-colonial coastal trade life. As Furnivall, cited by Nas, maintained it, the ‘dual society’ and ‘plural society’ have characterized the present Indonesian society and its urbandy where Eastern and Western parts lay together in the society. The eastern side is represented by traditional and small scale trade; and the western side is represented by capitalist, mass productions, and metropolitan that penetrated a lower stratum of eastern economic activities. And a plural society is a society that is comprised of two or more social orders existing side by side without mingling into one socio-political unit (Furnivall 1939 in Nas, 1986, p. 9).

Particularly in Manado, before the establishment of the Boulevard project, the fishermen-kampong settlements were the dominant settlements along the coastline. They represented the traditional and rural communities with their communal character. They worked and lived based on their occupation as fishermen to fulfil their basic needs; and they settled in the setting of traditional kampong in permanent, semi-permanent and temporary forms. They were plural communities mixed of native Minahasans coming from rural area and of the outsiders coming from nearby provinces, mostly from Gorontalo and Sangir. Nothwithstanding how they lived together, each group was still retained its own cultural background. Factually, the existence of several culture-based kampongs is evident. Regardless of their administrative status as residents, they were tied together as one Manadonese fishermen community, settling along those particular locations in communality based on hak passini – an adat law based on communal occupation. Their right to land ownership was based on communal ownership called hak tanah bugel (Waani, 2010, p. 152-3).

The commencement of this reclamation project faced many rejections due to the lack of public participation in the planning stage. The project was executed based on top-down approach used by the investors and the local authority. The ambivalent standpoint and passive attitude of the local authority regarding public interest had led to an unclear policy with regard to the living prospect of the settlements nearby and their inhabitants. The reclamation was rejected by the former residents. Since most of them did not have legal status of their lands based on formal law, they were forced to move out with some compensation.
The fishermen who settled on top of the reclamation area were relocated to the northeastern part of the coastline, and in there they continued their occupation as fishermen. As for the rest of the fishermen who lived in the eastern part of the Pierre Tendean Street, they were offered with two options. The first option was: if they were willing to change their occupation by working in other sectors, they would be given some money for compensating the loss of their working area at the beach. The second option was: they were allowed to keep their occupation as fishermen; however, had to accept and to agree to use a small area determined by the board of investors for fishermen’s docking boats. Some agreed to get the compensation and took those available jobs provided by the developers, such as security officers, daily workers, construction workers, etc.; while others created other opportunities to earn money. Some others decided to keep working as fishermen and agreed to use the much smaller boat docking-areas compensated to them.

However, not all those who are taking new occupations can fit themselves into their new jobs. After several years, some decide to return to their previous occupation as fishermen and those jobs are taken over by their children or by other migrants. Other fishermen decide to be flexible in their occupation; sometimes they work as temporary construction workers, some other times they engage in other unskilled works. When they cannot get any job, they return to the sea until they find another job. Some others discover other opportunities to earn by changing their direction to providing services needed by the commercial activities related to the project, such as opening small vendors in their kampons or those along the Boulevard Street, providing electronic reparation services or tire reparation services, opening eating stalls for the workers, renting rooms for the workers, and using their skills to run touring boats in order to support their life.

Both kinds of ex-fishermen have to struggle to adapt to their changing situation. The fishermen who are relocated to other coastal area have to adapt to their new neighbourhoods; the ex-fishermen who decide to stay have to undergo several adaptations as well. They face a huge transformation and adaptation to the new physical environment and way of living.

TRACING DISPLACEMENT IN THE IMPACTED URBAN MANADO

THE ARCHITECTURAL ROLE
As patterns of displacement make it possible to reflect on the role of architecture in a situation of social and cultural changes (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998, p. 100), the commercial mega project as an architectural product plays multiple roles, that is, as a receptacle agent, as an instrument of displacement and change, and as a stage of displacement. The sub-section below traces various phenomena generated by the aforementioned project.

The Boulevard Project as Receptacle
The intrusion of technology-based multimedia has propagated cross-cultural exchange of information from vast megapolitan world to rural areas. Almost all local Indonesian television channels have broadcasted various entertainments about daily life and environment of Jakarta, including shop-opera called sinetron, almost every day and night. The narrative of the lifestyle of a big city is broadcasted. It is represented through glamorous fashions and make up, sets of elite neighbourhood and houses, and vibrant built environment of commercial towers and malls, all of which are the dominant setting of middle up to high classes of urban Jakarta. These have brought in biased image of modern Jakarta, which is considered to be a symbolic model of modern Indonesia. Supporting the previous unbalanced
economic and physical development in the capital of the nation and its secondary and rural areas, these multimedia shows have projected an imaginary precedent according to which the other Indonesian secondary cities and rural areas would like to become.

As all environments act as urban symbolism that contains symbols, meanings, and values (Carmona, 2003, p. 93), the architectural phenomena represented in the construction of the Boulevard Project bear the imprint of developments coming from other social and cultural fields from contexts outside that of Manado. The displacement, as revealed physically, has changed the previous architecture of fishermen kampong settlement into a new architecture of modern commercial environment like one in Jakarta.

As mentioned previously, through the physical and architectural appearances of this project, the representation of new ‘modern’ lifestyle or the “Jakarta’s lifestyle” that spread through mass media materializes. It has brought in collective image that this project is a symbol of the establishment of ‘modern’ or ‘contemporary’ built environment of Manado. The manifestation of building blocks and mall environment with colourful facades and the use of various pop culture images have become a symbolic precedent of what is acknowledged as modern built environment and forwardness in the perspective of Indonesians from the outside of Jakarta. When the building blocks of ruko’s and malls of this Boulevard project are constructed, they significantly represent an imprint of a ‘new built environment’ to the urban landscape of Manado. With reference to ‘a more advanced built environment’, this can be interpreted as ‘bringing a modern metropolis like Jakarta into Manado’.

Evidently, the architecture of the Boulevard Project has brought a sense of displacement in which a physical built environment from a context outside Manado is planted in Manado. However, this modern image has escalated another sense of boundary among different parts of Manado. The Boulevard area bears an image of prominent and modern space of the city. Yet on the contrary, it leaves the adjacent kampong settlements with the sense of backwardness, slums, and downgrades. The contrast among the physical condition, construction materials, and their visual images has escalated the sense of spatial boundary. It has also created a sense of displacement inside the neighborhoods. The growing number of the latest shop houses and renovated houses in the neighborhoods makes the ex-fishermen, who notably have ordinary family houses, feel displaced. This is because their houses were built mostly in a semi or temporary construction such that their physical conditions look apparently backward compared to the buildings of the project.

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5 Ruko is one of commercial building typology in Indonesia; consist of combination of rumah (house) on the above floor and toko (shop) on the ground floor.
Distinct appearance of the Boulevard Project with a scene full of colors and of festive style. (Source: Susilo, 2010).

The Boulevard Project as Instrument of Displacement and Change
Evidently, the new character of commercial and recreational activities offered by the Boulevard project has attracted many people to come and to experience it. Almost every day, the shopping malls, the shop houses and the outdoor cafes in this location are fully occupied. In the weekends, more families and visitors from almost every social layer are coming for meeting friends, doing leisure activities at bars and cafes or going around for window-shopping.

As a setting of activity, an architectural environment can bring new pattern of activities to the existing context. In the case of the Boulevard project in Manado, it introduces an enclosed environment of commercial activities to the existing urban landscape. Commercial activities are basic activities that have been forming the urban life of Manado since colonial time; however, the pattern in which the commercial activities are centralized in one controllable environment emerged in this city only after this project was constructed. The presence of two malls in this project emphasizes the controllable environment in which the experiences of commercial activities are now contained in an indoor architectural environment, polished with leisure and entertainment. Along with this, a new pattern of recreational activities is introduced. It is an indoor recreational activity driven by consumerism where the setting is set in contrast with the previous recreational pattern previously existing in the Manado context. Previously, recreation mostly took the setting of a more natural or outdoor environment and was sometimes combined with physical activities, such as sports or dance. A new pattern of recreation that the Boulevard project introduced/introduces, which then becomes the main pattern, is recreation in an indoor environment combined with shopping and leisure.

Yet on the contrary, the introduction of this new pattern of recreational place and activities has also influenced cultural change processes. There has been a shifting perception about how public recreational spaces should be; and there has been segmented perception growing among the inhabitants of the city about public recreational spaces in that the inhabitants view different public recreational spaces as representing different social stratification. This perception has been stratified based on the differences in socio-economical status, in which the Boulevard environment becomes the prominent destination and the rest of existing location earns a lower social stratification. It is evident that in a micro level that such a stratification influences the way people behave in that their behavior when they are inside the Boulevard Project’s premises is different compared to their behavior when they are outside the Boulevard Project. In a macro level, this stratification has also influenced the way people see their city as each part of the city is becoming segmented deeper. In this regard, the Boulevard area becomes the prime area, and the rest are its subordinates.
The Boulevard Project as Stage of Displacement

As the Boulevard project offers a new built environment of commercial, recreational and gathering activities with special reference to its mall environment, the project gains many appreciations from the residents. Almost everyday many students and working people visit this project after working hours; while families, the elders and youngsters visit the malls during the weekends. Many visitors ranging from high social class to the low one acknowledge this built environment as a destination for recreations and gatherings.

The process of adaptation comes into being due to the presence of particular regulation made by the building management of this new built environment. Security guards and the way to control this environment, although existing, are not always manifest. Instead, the visual atmosphere of the interior of the buildings, the use of materials inside the buildings, and the layout ordering of each spatial area inside themselves have already emphasized the presence of such a set of regulation by virtue of their contrast with the outside environment. In addition, the image of behaving in a certain way in the mall is already planted in the mindsets of the visitors through multimedia. As a consequence, the visitors do some form of adaptation to this situation, be it consciously or not; and this adaptation ranges from the way to dress up to the way to behave.

On the contrary, the visitors try to reappropriate the space of activities provided by the malls with several habits that they usually practice in the other existing public spaces in Manado. The phenomenon of being in rumah kopi is one evidence that can be seen in many particular café stalls inside the mall. Regularly at certain time, one café stall is occupied by male visitors for discussing local political issues and organizing bargaining activities. Other café stalls are fully occupied by students regularly at certain time. Rumah kopi is one particular phenomenon found in urban Manado, in which several particular warungs become a destination of a group of people with the same or common interest. Just to mention some examples, there is also rumah kopi for gathering and discussing about local political situation, which is mostly occupied by men; there is rumah kopi for dealing black market goods; and there also is rumah kopi mostly occupied by students. This phenomenon is brought into this mall environment by the users, and the process of adaptation and reappropriation is taken both by the users and the controller of the mall. As the users try to bring their communal daily activities into the malls, they behave less spontaneously and dress up more neatly in this new space. On the other hand, the building controller is pushed to adjust the mall regulation in such a way that it can be more flexible to the visitors’ demands. Those phenomena reveal the fact that in this new environment, the process of adaptation and negotiation of space has come from both directions and that the architecture has acted as a stage for those processes.

THE EXISTING NEIGHBOURHOODS AS AN OBJECT OF DISPLACEMENT

Among the areas in Manado, the neighbourhoods of the ex-fishermen along the coastline where the reclamation took place and the nearby neighbourhoods along the Pierre Tenden Street were the areas that are impacted the most by the Boulevard project. Relocation and reconfiguration has caused both gradual and sudden transformation, that is, (re-)adaptation and (re-)negotiation of space. These indicate the presence of displacement.

The relocated neighbourhoods

As far as the inhabitants living in the relocated neighbourhoods are concerned, they have suffered from total destruction of both their previous living settlements and their communal ties due to the
forced relocational works. The relocation has resulted in the total change of neighbourhoods, both location and the communities, due to the movement to a new location. As a consequence, the ex-inhabitants from those areas had to build new settlement, and to adapt to their new neighbours and new living environment both socially and physically. The processes of building up and of adjustment to the new communities brought the consequence in that new spatial reality had to be produced and constructed as well. The most substantial loss is the feeling of being displaced from their previous physical geographical location. And along with the feeling of being geographically displaced is the feeling of loss of memories from the previous life since geographical location of living has always brought memories attached to such a location. However, in this new location, the only things that still remain from their previous life are their daily life of fishermen living in kampong and their occupation as fishermen.

Within the remaining kampong settlements / neighbourhoods.
The change of land ownerships and the growing number of new migrant residents are the most influential factors that have destabilized the earlier situation of Wenang Utara, Titiwungen, and Sario Tumpaan. Both factors have caused a major change in land uses as elaborated earlier, that is, from purely housing settlements to mixed commercial settlements. This process has led to the reconfiguration of spaces. The phenomena presented below reveal how those two influential factors have indicated the presence of displacement inside the remaining kampong settlements.

The change in land ownership in several plots of land has destabilized the way the space is negotiated. Previously, when several families shared the land ownerships communally, the uses of spaces between houses have been determined together as spaces for communal and public uses. Footpaths for entering the deeper neighbours, kampong gathering spaces, etc. were formed between houses. The change of ownerships in several plots from communal to individual ownerships owned by the outsiders is followed by the construction of modern shop houses or new typology of houses surrounded by fences owned by new residents. The lack of communication between the new owners and the natives has caused the loss of many communal or public spaces inside the kampongs. In many cases, it brought about the deletion of accessibility in many parts. This impacted several house located behind the new constructions in that they experience the loss of front yards and have the feeling of being in the back area of the new building. Physically, this result in an unavoidable spatial re-adaptation.

The other most influential factor is the growing number of new outsiders residing in these remaining kampongs. This brings changes in the socio-cultural profiles of the residence, that is, from major ex-fishermen’s communities to mix-outsider communities. This has influences the socio-cultural relationships among the residents as well as the communal public space inside the kampongs. As mentioned earlier, the fishermen’s culture was the major culture that bound the relationships among various members of cultural kampong in the previous era. Public activities and the use of space between houses inside the kampongs were dominated by communal activities related to fishermen and their communal traditions. New residents mostly come from younger generation with various cultural backgrounds and occupations in the Boulevard Project’s environment. They bring in different needs, cultures, and way of socialization; and these impact the way they use spaces inside their settlement. Since they need more spaces that can satisfy their daily accommodation needs, soon after it influences the way the ex-fishermen treat and use their kampong spaces. The kampong spaces are no longer treated as purely settlement and purely communal space; instead, they are treated as means of commodity and investment.
The change in land uses along the Pierre Tendean Street and inside the kampongs have triggered a reaction from the residents of the kampongs in that they catch the new opportunities to get new support of living by providing services for any activity and actor related to the new commercial environment in the Boulevard Project. This reveals a new possibility in signifying the practices of space. This indicates a process of the opening of a closed neighbourhood system which was previously only for a communal living environment by adding layers of meaning and use (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998, p. 101).

Other consequences has also occurred. The change in land uses for various spaces for new migrants’ accommodations, such as small informal restaurants, rental houses, boarding houses, etc are also creating several unbalance and confusion to the way spaces inside the kampongs are treated and used. The previous habits, order, and conventions in the kampongs are disrupted. Several alleys of the kampong are illegally being occupied for an expansion of the service area of those rental houses or being occupied for warung and other businesses; and several others are covered by the expansion of the top floor of other rental houses. The boundary between public and private space is increasingly blurred to each other due to the occupation of public area for expansion of private space. Such an ambiguity caused by the blur is evidently a side effect of the on-going adaptation process.

THE (EX-)FISHERMEN AS THE DISPLACED PEOPLE

As described in the previous section, the former residents who lived on and along the reclamation area were the most impacted people. Those who were relocated and those who kept living in the area nearby experience the process of (re)-adaptation as the consequence of the change in this built environmental. (Re-)adaptation itself is a natural reaction taken by those impacted people as they tried to re-appropriate themselves to the latest condition; and that process bears the evidence of the displacement.

The process of relocation was the first condition that triggers the displaced feeling. The relocation brought about an erasure and destruction of the previous living environment. Those (ex-)fishermen were forced to accept the consequence of changing the living settlements and neighbourhoods. The adaptation took place in the form of adjusting to the new location, building new neighbourhoods or adjusting to other neighbourhoods as a new member as well as adapting to the current fishing location. All these have to do with building new social relationships, which influence the way the space in those new neighbourhoods is produced and constructed.

The second condition that triggers the displaced feeling is the re-adaptation to the latest changing environment. The process of re-adaptation is the consequence that the remaining residents had to take. Although the reclamation work did not have direct impact upon the relocation of the remaining neighbourhoods at the Pierre Tendean Street, the changes in physical environment had brought many consequences. As the neighbourhoods were no longer pure fishermen-kampong settlements due to the fast growing commercial activities and the loss of the fishermen’s beach area, the re-adaptation took place by unhappily changing occupation for several ex-fishermen, finding other opportunities of living, and re-adapting to the growing number of new outsiders in the kampongs. All these brought disruption to the previous order and habits inside the neighbourhoods; but it is worth noting that there is a socioeconomic mutation as well. Those re-adaptation processes lead to the transformation of those ex-fishermen communities in the sense that they now become mix-urban communities. Nevertheless, their traditional tie as fishermen communities have diminished, and the communal solidarity among the members of kampong have decreased substantially. Those who are survived can gain a better
socioeconomic condition. On the contrary, those who cannot (re-)adapt to this latest condition suffered from a more difficult position in socioeconomic condition.

The third condition that triggers the displaced feeling is the growing numbers of new migrants and outsiders residing in the kampongs. Since their various backgrounds have a major influence on the socio-cultural profiles of the kampong’s residence, cultural tie among the (ex-)fishermen is diminishes. The community is becoming more plural. To some (ex-)fishermen, this more plural community with a looser social tie ignites a feeling of being alienated within their own kampong settlements; such a feeling is experienced especially by those who cannot improve their economic conditions. This reflects the presence of displacement.

**CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The case study of the Manado Boulevard Commercial Mega Project reflects how a project of spatial urban development has brought significant impacts to a particular group of inhabitants as well as to the major inhabitants of the city. The physical changes in built environment and the development toward investment orientation have brought about much wider impacts, ranging from basic everyday life to the mutation of socio-cultural aspect within the impacted communities.

The lack of public involvement and of careful socio-cultural preparational research apparently are the dominant factors that have been neglected by the leading actors and the policy makers involved in the plan and execution of this project. Those neglected factors have significantly determined the scale of the displacement as far as it is perceived in the built environment by the groups of inhabitants who are affected by this urban developmental project. In the case of Manado, multiple feelings of displacement have been experienced by the nearby people of Wenang Utara, Titiwungen and Sario Tumpaan. They have been experiencing the feeling of being displaced because of the force of the changing occupation as well as the changing environment. They have to go through the process of adaptation due to the diminution of their previous traditionally-bounded culture. This feeling of being displaced sometimes goes to the extreme that the fishermen are confused about whether to keep their identity as fishermen or to follow the identity that the urban communities are offering. Nonetheless, identity is a process rather than a fact: it is open to transformation and multiple interpretations (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998, p. 106).

On the other hand, displacement does not always deliver a negative result. It can also deliver a beginning of an adaptational process leading to a more promising transformation. In the case of Manado, displacement has also brought several readaptational processes to the group of traditional fishermen, who at the beginning suffered from many changes. The readaptational processes have led them to a socioeconomic mutation, which have ended up with a better socioeconomic condition for some of them. The creativity to see other opening opportunities for earning life in different ways than previously thought has rendered some remaining residents more adaptable to the increasing values and activities in their neighbourhoods. They come to an awareness that other sources of living are in fact also offered by something outside their traditional communal ties and communal jobs, and that their latest living environment offers somewhat of independency from their traditional communal ties. Although the disruption of the normal order, habits, and conventions in their previous kampong way of life are undeniable, there has been a reorganization of what previously existed in their kampong environment and in their sociocultural relationship. In addition, such a reorganizational process has
also brought enlargement of socioecomic possibilities that could give solution to their loss of previous occupation and life; it can also suggest other possible reordering of reality.

Nevertheless, regardless of the possible positive impact that may come from the final adaptational process derived by the displacement, any big project of urban developmental strategy will potentially have significant influence on the majority of inhabitants. Given this, such kind of project should be equipped with a wide exposure to public involvement and a careful socio-cultural research. A sudden and massive change in urban condition can result in a much bigger displacement. The result is potentially triggering a wider social segregation even a total alienation of particular groups who are denied participation in the policy making or a total alienation of those who can not fit into those transformational processes. Since an urban project or urban developmental strategy is to be dedicated to the inhabitants of the city itself, a careful research preparation should be properly conducted and wide public participation should be fully satisfied. In doing so, possible displacement and possible negative impacts can be better anticipated, and the execution of the project can lead to a a more positive direction.

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