

Fabricating Culture through Spatial Practices: Rampak Genteng Festival in the Former Jatiwangi Sugar Factory, West Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

Since 2012, Jatiwangi's residents celebrate their tri-annual tradition of the Rampak Genteng Festival at the former Jatiwangi Sugar Factory's square. Initiated by the Jatiwangi Art Factory, the festival symbolizes shifted values of the society from an agricultural to modern one through spatial practices. In this festival, Jatiwangi people associate themselves with the roof tile industry as their encompassing culture. The festival celebrates the contemporary roof-tile culture instead of the glory of the sugar industry during the Dutch colonial time. The origin of the roof-tile production scheme relates to the Dutch colonial sugar factory, which turned the farmers to wage laborers. The festival implies a cultural hybridization process and fabricating both spatial and cultural meanings for local people.

This paper discusses the Rampak Genteng Festival as a fabrication of culture by analysing the intersection of spatial practices in the former sugar and roof tile factories in Jatiwangi. The study used qualitative and historical research methods. To fully understand the meaning of Rampak Genteng, we conducted a literature review, a field observation, and an interview to analyze the intersection among historical narratives, and changes in the built environment and spatial practice. With the growth of roof tile factories, local people find a new opportunity to negotiate the cultural gap between local and modern traditions and establish a cultural and territorial claim of the past. The festival shows a fabrication of culture by the local people through spatial practices located in the former site of the sugar factory.

Keywords: Roof tiles, Sugar, Cultural hybridization, Spatial appropriation, West Java, Rampak Genteng Festival, Indonesia.

Introduction

In November 2012, more than 5,000 people celebrated the Rampak Genteng Festival in the former Jatiwangi Sugar Factory complex in Jatiwangi, Majalengka Regency, West Java, Indonesia. During the festival, people got together in the square, created a U-shaped formation facing the old factory, and played their musical instruments. Some people sang, pound clay tiles and potteries, blew earthy instruments, played clay guitars, or just came to enjoy the festival. Visitors came from the sixteen villages in the Jatiwangi sub-district and consisted of students, women, motorcycle communities, farmers, factory workers, civil servants, and even local tourists.

It now happens every three years. People of the Jatiwangi hold Rampak Genteng and celebrate this festival on the former Jatiwangi sugar factory site and 'take over' the whole site

for the cultural festival. Jatiwangi sugar factory was already closed in the early 2000s. Jatiwangi has now grown into a well-established ceramic industry, while the factory complex is abandoned for a few decades. The growing ceramic industry gives people of Jatiwangi the nickname of ‘earth society,’ which emphasizes the idea that ‘earthenware’ is very important for the area, both as an industrial commodity and a historical and cultural symbol of the area.



Fig. 1: Rampak Genteng Festival on the former sugar factory Jatiwangi.

Source: Jatiwangi Art Factory

The Rampak Genteng festival implies the importance of earth ceramic for the life and the culture of Jatiwangi people. Moreover, it shows a dialog in choosing which representation of local culture is worth celebrating during the festival. A decision to take earth ceramic as the representation of local culture and celebrate the event in the former land of the sugar factory suggests a changing representation of history and culture in the society and a negotiation between Jatiwangi’s past and future.

Concerning tradition in Jatiwangi, we argue that Rampak Genteng Festival indicates a fabrication of culture through the use of the site of Jatiwangi Sugar Factory—a dominant economic space during the Dutch colonial era. Spatial transformations in Jatiwangi Sugar Factory indicate some social changes in the society. At first, rice fields dominated the village, and local people strongly depended on rice production. Local people performed some traditional ceremonies that symbolized the strong connection between people and their rice production. With the establishment of industry in Java, the rice fields that belonged to farmers were used for commercial cultivation, especially sugar cane and rubber plantations. Farmers were forced to be a productive society due to the increasing population, widespread use of money, and dependence on markets. This condition made farmers face up to the agricultural involution (Geertz, 1963). The establishment of the sugar factory in Jatiwangi encouraged new traditions based on an industrial society that had changed the vernacular people, their environment, and culture. In a more recent time, with the widespread roof tile factories in Jatiwangi, local people wanted to choose their cultural representation and found a new place to negotiate the cultural gap between the traditional and the modern. Together with a local art institution, the Jatiwangi people took over the abandoned sugar factory and fabricated their own culture in the former square of the sugar factory.

Some questions arise from this phenomenon of fabricating culture in the former Jatiwangi Sugar Factory. How can the images of the former sugar factory be changed and appropriated by local people as a social space? How does the Rampak Genteng Festival show fabrication of a new culture and the imagination of the future of Jatiwangi, and what is the socio-cultural

impact of this phenomenon on the people? We argue that Rampak Genteng Festival held in the former Jatiwangi Sugar Factory becomes a monument that suggests both reflection of the past culture and the fabrication of a new one. By understanding how the festival takes place in the former sugar factory square and how people give meaning to that event, we aim to analyse the social and cultural changes in Jatiwangi and elaborate on how people choose the representation of culture.

Social and Cultural Dynamics in Vernacular Society

Vernacular society and its culture are dynamic (Alsayyad, 1995); there are traces of changing social, cultural, and spatial values and practices in everyday lives (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006). The definition of vernacular is a conceptualization of traditional culture based on local consciousness and values that have undergone dynamic processes through time (Widiastuti & Kruniati, 2019, cited in Damayanti & Bahauddin, 2020:3). Vernacular culture changes through time in a dynamic process, and some internal and external conditions modify the vernacular conditions.

In addition, vernacular has been associated with the expression of culture and socio-cultural interactions with the environment (Damayanti & Bahauddin, 2020:3). People who live in vernacular settlements pass down their culture, values, and local consciousness from one generation to another. Vernacular culture responds to the environmental settings that include the physical, historical, political, and socio-cultural domains.

In discussing the notion of tradition, Gerald L. Bruns (1991) in 'What Is Tradition?' argues that a tradition is not a homogenous master narrative in which everything is joined together in a program of integration. Instead, Bruns asserts that tradition is not a structure but the historicity of open-ended and intersecting narratives. A tradition is a process that recognizes changes and intersections of narratives.

In the *Archeology of Knowledge* (1972:67), Michel Foucault explains that historical investigation of ideas can give a foundation to the past understanding. The process of organizing knowledge, or often called a discourse that structures the constitution of social relation is central in understanding the phenomena in society. Foucault defines discourse as a collection of rules from a group of statements, related to the operation of power. He mentions the idea of using history as a means of critical engagement with the present.

The production of culture includes formatting the social for distinctive kinds of activities through the working surfaces on the society that it organizes (Bennet, 2007). It also suggests a relation among history, reality, and precedence that interact to construct culture and shape their relationship to economic, social, and cultural conditions. Since identity is a process rather than a found object, cultural identity is related to 'becoming' and 'being' (Correa in Powell 1983, Hall 1990); it belongs to the future as much as to the past. Therefore, it is necessary to look at history and changes in society to find intersecting narratives and cultural identity of both the past and the present values.

Spatial Practice and Third Space

Public space in vernacular settlements is a part of the built environment that consists of spatial elements which give the space a specific character. Public spaces have multiple functions that allow for different activities ranging from traditional ceremonies to commerce (Orvell and Meikle, 2009). One of the characteristics of public space is that it is a place for social contacts for people with different backgrounds (Banerjee, 2001). In addition, Asef Bayat (2010) suggests that cities in Asia or the global South seem to be more tolerant of territorial intrusion in their public spaces compared to the Western cities. Some of the reasons are the complex and informal development process and the combination of both local and modern values developed in the society. The dynamic spatial interactions and a more tolerant spatial

intrusion are related to informal practices that produce public spaces, amidst reasons from the pursuit of modernity.

Public space is a social space that functions as a gathering place where people meet other people and interact. In vernacular environments, social space is affected by the past through memory. It is also related to events that occurred in the place. Social space gives people space for interaction and a political and cultural effect on society. Monuments, while acquiring sentimental memories, simultaneously promote connection to the past and establish cultural and territorial claims. People for whom a monument is recognizable may have some purposes in making it, including connecting the past to the present.

Christine Boyer (1994) states that memory must always be related to experiences while Maurice Halbwach (1992) mentions that collective memory is a socially generated idea. Nora discusses the place of memory in describing the artefacts where collective memory crystallizes and conceals itself memory (1989). Nora juxtaposes memory as a popular form that must strive for relevance against the imposition of history. The construction of monuments is sometimes a spontaneous act that shows understanding the site of memory as a continuous struggle to compose and maintain self-identity.

Rapoport (1982) categorizes physical elements of public spaces based on the flexibility of each element corresponding to changing forces. This categorization can be used to understand the spatial changes in public space and social interactions that happen in that space. Rapoport's idea of spatial elements consists of some features and includes both people and their behavior. Fixed-feature elements are elements that change slowly and are also under the control of regulations. Semi-fixed feature elements are much more in the control of users used to communicate meanings. Non-fixed feature elements relate to human activities and can be changed more easily.

Public space, such as the Jatiwangi Sugar Factory, stands as a social space. Through everyday practice, this kind of space is produced by a series of perceived, conceived, and lived spatial cycles by the people (Lefebvre, 1974). During a local festival, the local community creates a social space that can show a transformation of the society's knowledge, values, and negotiation of ideas. Through a festival held in a public space, people can imagine themselves sharing the same ideas and space as one community (Anderson, 1983).

The meaning of space can be empirically observed as people perceive the space to suit their needs. A lived space becomes a third space that emerges from the dialectical process between spatial practice and representation of space. According to Bhabha (1994), the third space is a space of interruption and interrogation of new cultural meaning that obscures existing boundaries, while simultaneously questioning the prevailing identity. The third space is an ambivalent site where cultural significance and representation no longer have a primordial attachment to the people. The third space is the space of the experienced and imagination and community takes over the cultural domination yet adapted with the new contents to produce a new way of life.

Rampak Genteng Festival in Jatiwangi shows a phenomenon of how vernacular people try to take over the space of the past, reflected in the colonial sugar factory, and want to imply a new meaning for the place. A fabrication of culture shown in the public space of Jatiwangi is an interesting phenomenon that is related to how people chose values and images to present their culture. The festival becomes evident that vernacular society experience changing values and even try to fabricate culture through spatial practices in a place that holds a strong memory of the past.

Methodology

To understand the spatial practice in the village that shows the fabrication of culture, we analysed the existing built environment and juxtaposition of different historical layers. We combined the idea of changes in the built environment and narratives of the place like Michel de Certeau (2011) mentions the limitations of physical boundaries such as architecture and built environment to create a comprehensive understanding of the society. Analysing the built environment, narratives, and everyday life activities are necessary to understand economic, social, and cultural environment changes. The history of Jatiwangi village and the memories that inhabitants have for the place are two important aspects in understanding the society's collective memory and how they choose appropriate cultural representation for their era.

The methods used included a systematic historical analysis consisting of a review of historical and socio-cultural changes in vernacular society, examining changes in cultural and social practices. We conducted literature research on the conditions of Jatiwangi village from the Dutch colonization to the contemporary era. The historical study of Jatiwangi village and the sugar factory during the Dutch colonial time was necessary to find out how the people of Jatiwangi experienced the changes. A historical investigation highlighted how the meanings and interpretations of the sugar factory had changed over time and how the new representation of culture continued to appear.

We conducted field observations and interviews to find out the dynamic spatial and temporal interactions. The field observations of Jatiwangi village were employed in June and September 2019 to understand changes in the economic, social, and cultural conditions. Fieldwork included a trip to the greater Jatiwangi area and the former sugar factory. To understand the connection between people and place, we interviewed the JaF initiators in June 2019 to delve into the motivation of the festival and some owners of roof tile factories. We also interviewed some roof tile factory owners to get the ideas that best-represent their economic, social and cultural conditions.

The research conducted for this study was qualitative and descriptive research, with an analytical character. We analyze all the information we got from literature, field observations, and interviews to find out the history of the Jatiwangi villages and changes in the economic, social, and cultural conditions. The qualitative analysis was based on the interpretation of changes, the relation of spatial form with cultural and societal changes and aimed to understand the historical narratives and the reality.

Rampak Genteng Festival and Jatiwangi Sugar Factory

Rampak Genteng Festival held at the former site of the Jatiwangi Sugar Factory is not only a celebration of culture but also a reflection of histories and collective memories in Jatiwangi. Rampak Genteng in local Sundanese language means playing earthenware instruments together. The word *rampak* refers to regular patterned voices and relates to *tetabuhan* or striking a drum or a percussion instrument, and *genteng* means roof tiles. For some years, the former Jatiwangi Sugar Factory was completely abandoned. Only recently, it became an active social space used for the site of Rampak Genteng Festival.

To understand the creation of social space and the fabrication of culture during the Festival, it is necessary to understand the development of the roof tile factory as the main narrative of the Jatiwangi history and culture. According to the local history, Haji Umar introduced the roof tiles in Jatiwangi in 1905, by replacing his palm roofs with roof tiles. People in Jatiwangi started to use roof tiles, and soon roof tiles became one of the major industries in Jatiwangi. This condition was in line with the suggestion of the colonial government to use roof tiles as part of promoting modern and healthy settlements in the colony. During the 1930s, the Dutch East Indies government also started to replace the roofs of government buildings and houses for their employees with roof tiles (Zainuddin, 1988:147-148).

Between the 1980s and the 1990s, the Jatiwangi roof tiles industry reached its peak with the export of tile products across Southeast Asia. There were approximately 600 roof-tile factories or in the local language called *jebor* that opened up many working opportunities for Jatiwangi's people at that time (Muntaha, 2019). For some decades, roof tile industries had played a crucial role in developing the economy of Jatiwangi (Siagian, 2019:12).

However, there was a change in the demand for roof tiles since the monetary crisis in 1997. The traditional roof tile production in Jatiwangi declined fast after the modern metal roofs were in the market in the early 2010s. This condition changed the socio-cultural experience of the Jatiwangi people, just like when the sugar industry ended some decades ago. Once again, people could not depend on their local production.

A non-profit organization called the Jatiwangi art Factory (JaF) initiates the Rampak Genteng Festival. This group of artists is founded on 27 September 2005 and its members believe that the festival expresses a cultural connection to the roof tile industries in the Jatiwangi area. JaF wants to elaborate on contemporary arts and cultural practices as part of the local life discourse. The organization focuses on cultural and contemporary arts that encourage and re-contextualize art to everyday life of the local village. One of JaF's founders, Ginggi Hasyim, says that this triennial festival symbolizes the Jatiwangi people's dedication to land (Hidayah, 2018). He captures an image of the soil as a material resource and a matter of living space. Roof tiles are not meant merely as industrial commodities but have become a medium of cultural mediation.

In 2015, around six thousand people played various clay musical instruments to promote local art, the culture, and the industry. The number of people reflects the acceptance and appreciation of people for the new cultural tradition. The festival also became a form of appreciation of the homeland.

The story behind this new cultural celebration is connected to the situation in the early twentieth century when the Dutch implemented the forced labour system in the sugar industry (Zainuddin, 1988:17; Falah, 2011:201). Along with the rise of sugar factories in Java, there was a fundamental shift in the vernacular people. What used to be a traditional-agrarian-based society was now an industrial society that depended on wages as labourers. The roof tile production system implied an imitation of the former sugar factory's operation scheme. After the decline of sugar factories around the 1930s, roof tile factories started to expand. It is recorded in the local history that the roof tile industry began in 1905 as a home-based industry (Zainuddin, 1988). The wage employment system was applied but adapted with the local approach, grew into the organic family-owned company culture. These changes imply two meanings: a desire to move away from the colonial power and a celebration of a new industry that also influences how people perceive their culture.

Besides the Rampak Genteng Festival, JaF also initiates some local activities through an artistic and performative framework. They put a lot of effort into fabricating the new industry and culture through local activities. The effort includes using the former sugar factory for the site of the festival. This festival attracts a lot of participation from the local communities. It successfully shapes the main narrative of Jatiwangi, by incorporating local everyday practices of earth-based material production articulated into art and culture events.

Spatial Practice in Jatiwangi

Jatiwangi is a sub-district area in the Majalengka Regency consisted of sixteen villages. In 1896, the Dutch colonial government built a sugar factory to increase the production of the sugar industry in the Dutch East Indies, amid the threat of an economic crisis of 1880 (Zainuddin, 1988; Stoomberg, 1930). It was situated about 40 kilometers south of the Jatibarang Station, the main distribution point of plantation products and the sugar industry in the Majalengka area. The establishment of the Jatiwangi Sugar Factory was an expansion of the

Kawedanan sugar factory, also operated in the Majalengka Regency. Under the Cirebon Residence, Jatiwangi was seen as a strategic location by the Dutch businessmen for developing sugar production in West Java (Kurosawa, 2015). The site of Jatiwangi Sugar was not far from the Great Post Road built during the reign of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies Herman Willem Daendels between 1808 and 1811.



Fig. 2: Aerial photograph of Jatiwangi Sugar Factory in the nineteenth century.
Source: KITLV Leiden University.

Although known as one of the biggest factories in West Java, the Jatiwangi sugar factory had its ups and downs during its production time. Sugar production reached a peak and remained stable until the mid-twentieth century. It started to decline in the 1990s due to the failures of production machines that were never rehabilitated (Nurhayati, 1997). There are not many archives and books explaining activities in the Jatiwangi sugar factory but the activities can be traced back through the oral history of residents.

Some of the terms used to mark specific activities related to sugar mills are still in the collective memory of citizens, such as *ngarorod* or stealing sugar cane as a symbol of courage, *sengong* or sound that arises from sugar cane grinding activities. The word *beletin* means the bell ring to mark the working hours of workers, and *berdirian* or a ceremony to celebrate the grinding of sugar cane (*Jejak Pabrik Gula Kolonial*, 2015). Although the factory has survived for more than 150 years, according to JaF's perspective, the presence of sugar mills remained distant to the locals compared to the roof-tile home industry (Muntaha, 2019). From this situation, we might position the history of the Jatiwangi Sugar Factory as a historical *a priori* reasoning rather than a product of a chronological investigation.

An attempt to reveal the hidden meaning in our contemporary experience is usually related to power-knowledge that was more clearly visible in the colonial setting. The process of cultural adaptation and spatial appropriation on the site of the sugar factory comes from the relations between operational discourse and social-cultural practices. Vernacular context, tradition, oral history, and contemporary art practices influence the cultural understanding of the locals and space production mechanism. The cultural and social practices on the site of the former sugar factory represent ideas that are developed under a historical and certain social and cultural situation of the community.

Examining the case of Jatiwangi Sugar Factory involves a theoretical framework concerning historical and spatial practices in everyday life. Looking back to the general discourse of Orientalism, the West controls the East in three ways: language and science, instruments of colonialism such as politics and militarism, and fantasy (Bhaba, 1994; Epafra, 2012:4). In reality, meaning that comes from the above categories often contradicts everyday socio-spatial practices in situated contexts. There is a possibility of the creation of the third space for cultural hybridization.

Before the roof tile industry dominated the international market, Jatiwangi was the icon of a colonial sugar factory. Local people adopted the production system of sugar factories for their roof tile home industry. During the time of the sugar plantation era in Java, some conflicts between modern and traditional agriculture often occurred between farmers and sugar cane workers. Land use, social hierarchies, and production systems became the sources of such conflicts. After independence, some sugarcane fields that supplied raw materials for sugar factories had been converted back into rice and secondary crops by the local people. Besides farmers, the residents of Jatiwangi also became labourers, and some of them sold their land to the factories. Both sugar and roof tile industries were connected to the surrounding environment and depended on the soil and the labour system.

From Rice to Sugar Cane: The Rise of a New Working Culture

The origin of the sugar factory in Jatiwangi stemmed from the forced cultivation system in Dutch East Indies when the Governor-General Van den Bosch implemented the scheme in 1870. As part of the system, colonial authorities demanded landowners to plant the forced commodities to substitute land taxes. This system led to an opposing condition of the increased profits of landowners and modernized food production, but the poor conditions of the workers. The new sugar industries did not contribute to the prosperity of local people, who were mostly farmers (Geertz, 2016:65-66). Local people have been placed not as active subjects in the production system but became hired workers to support the food production. In short, farmers with their vernacular settlements experienced economic, social, and cultural changes because they worked as wage workers.

Within the colonial cultivation system, the ecological engagements between sugar cane and rice became the basis for a radical economic separation. The forced planting system restricted local ownership of sugarcane plantations so that farmers could not be the main actors in the sugar industry. Farmers became seasonal wage workers for the companies owned by foreign investors. The sugar companies recruited some managerial workers and staff from the Netherlands, and these workers took control over the sugar cane factories and fields (Stroomberg, 1930). This agitative way succeeded in boosting sugar production in Java to its peak in the 1930s, coupled with the large-scale investments from private companies. The investments were also used for infrastructure such as building railways connecting sugar factories with major cities in Java.



Fig. 3: Railways for sugar distribution located near the factory.
Source: KITLV Leiden University.

However, shortly after, the sugar industry encountered a severe decline during the world economic depression, until finally, in 1935, production fell to one-sixth of the 1930 production (Kurosawa, 2015:49). There was no turning back for farmers who already lost their lands and depended on wages for their living.

Sugar cane plantations often created conflicts in the community. The owner of sugar factories had to rent a piece of land from local landowners and pay some compensation for the land they used (Stroomberg, 1930). In the colonial contexts, local landowners usually had limited power to bargain with the factory owners, and they still had to plant rice for a living. Typically, local farmers worked as seasonal workers in the sugar factories. They did work such as harvesting, grinding, and packaging sugar cane (Kurosawa, 2015:50). Sugar cane fields required an abundant supply of water taken from the irrigation channels used for traditional rice farmers in the surrounding area. However, shortly after, the sugar industry encountered a severe decline during the world economic depression, until finally, in 1935, production fell to one-sixth of the 1930 production (Kurosawa, 2015:49). There was no turning back for farmers who already lost their lands and depended on wages for their living.

In Jatiwangi, the development of the colonial industry failed to protect the agrarian society and its vernacular settlements. For Javanese people, rice fields were an essential part of their connection with Nature. Besides fulfilling the basic needs of people, rice fields and agrarian culture actually showed demographics, village structures, and values for the society such as cooperation (Geertz, 2016:12-13). Such schemes can still be found in Jatiwangi. Each village has a piece of land called *tanah bengkok* as the property of the village. This can be leased to the village head and the officials cooperate in managing the land.

There was a gap of value between traditional farmers and plantation workers. Farmers were not always happy to be employed as wage workers and often preferred to grow their rice fields even though their incomes might be smaller than working as factory workers. Farmers tended to lose their position and felt alienated in their communities if they worked as wage workers outside their traditional world. As a result, plantation workers were always in an uncomfortable position. They had difficult situations from social, cultural, and psychological perspectives. These facts indicate a tension between two different worlds, namely the colonial capitalists and the traditional farmers (Kurosawa, 2015; Geertz, 2016).

Clifford Geertz (2016) mentioned that the agricultural practices carried out by the Dutch in Indonesia from 1619 to 1942 were using the "super-imposition" method (*menumpang* in Bahasa) of the traditional system. The term originated in a sociological reality. Although the Javanese had helped to develop sugar production, they were an unimportant aspect of the production. Sugar cane workers in Java had one foot stuck in the rice fields, and the other foot was on the factory floor. Geertz calls the adaptation involuntary because, on the one hand, people tried to maintain the basic pattern of the traditional village life while on the other hand, they wanted to adapt to a new life within a capitalist system. As a result, traditional villages faced some problems related to increasing population, widespread use of money, dependence on the market, organizing large numbers of workers, and contact with the colonial government.

In 1905, the colonial government enacted a wage-labour system to provide money in exchange for labour. At the same time, roof tile factories in Jatiwangi began to operate. The production capacities of roof tile factories continued to increase until they reached their peak in the 1980s and gained the status of the most significant roof tile producers in Southeast Asia. The glory of sugar factories in Java ended while the roof tile factories had developed as a new industrial centre managed as family businesses in Jatiwangi. There was a transformation from sugar company workers to roof tile industries that brought along previous traditional agrarian culture, colonial wage system, and modern home-scale industry.

The Roof Tile Factory as the Third Space in Jatiwangi

Although tile factories have emerged as new industries in Jatiwangi, they generally operated informally and are family-owned businesses. All the sixteen villages in Jatiwangi have roof tile factories. There are not many records on the history of roof tile factories in Jatiwangi compared to the sugar factory but the first home-based factory is widely known as having originated in the Burujul Village (Zainuddin, 1988). In 1905, an influential person in Burujul

Village Haji Umar bin Ma'ruf wanted to use roof tiles to replace the old roof for his house. At that time, none of the buildings in Jatiwangi used roof tiles. Haji Umar brought in an expert from Majalengka to produce roof tiles directly in Burujul Village. Since then, people started to build *lio* or tile kilns and began to sell roof tiles outside the region (Zainuddin, 1988:18). During the 1930s, several small tile factories had already sent their products outside Java.

The term for the roof tile factory in Jatiwangi is *jebor*. The business system for *jebor* is a traditional system, where there is no age limit or educational levels for workers like in modern factories. According to interviews with some *jebor* owners, most *jebor* are operated as family businesses even though some workers may come from villages outside Jatiwangi (Emip, 2019; Riko, 2019). For some parents, *jebor* means a place to make a living, building a new family, meeting their partners, and creating a legacy for their children. For children, *jebor* can be their playground since they are allowed to play near it. There are usually some open spaces located between the production space in *jebor* and housing areas so that parents can look after their children during their working time (interview with Illa, Apip, & Ferry, 2019).

Both *jebor* and agriculture businesses have close connections to the local land, culture, and society. People who work in *jebor* do not feel deprived as farmers since they can still help their families in the rice fields when needed. As in the era of the sugar factory, *jebor* workers are also farmers. During the rainy season, farmers work in the rice fields and during the dry season, they plant their fields with beans while working part-time in *jebor* to meet their daily needs (Emip, 2019). The relationship between *jebor* and agriculture also occurs in the supply chain of raw materials. Roof tiles use clay called *empleng*, the name for the top layer of soil taken from productive rice fields. The soil is excavated once a year during the dry season. The soil is very important for people in Jatiwangi both as material for roof tiles and growing rice.

The roof tile industry reached its peak during the 1970s and the 1980s. At that time, Jatiwangi roof tiles dominated the roof tile market in Southeast Asia, and they were used for the mega project of Sukarno-Hatta Airport in Tangerang. In the 1990s, the roof tile industry began to decline. With new ceramic and metal roofs reaching the market, the number of roof tile factories dramatically declined.



Fig. 4: Terminal 2 Soekarno-Hatta airport in Tangerang using roof tiles from Jatiwangi.
Source: akdn.org.

There is an intersection between a traditional and a capitalist system in sugar and the roof tile industries in Jatiwangi. The wage-labour system, for instance, is implemented both in sugar and roof tile industries. Local entrepreneurs implement the system not in a strict way as in the sugar factory era. Farmers are still part of the factory workers, but they feel more connected to their land in recent times since there is no longer a forced labour system. In this way, people think that roof tile factories are a part of their existence.



Fig. 5: Workers making roof tiles with a press machine in Jebor Herlang, Burujul Village
Source: Author, 2019.

However, the roof tile factories in Jatiwangi face problems. An informal management system has led to the emergence of local brokers who connects the project's beneficiaries and the development agencies and competition among powerful families who control roof tile trading. The 1980s was known as an era in which thuggery practices broke out in Jatiwangi. Competitions in the production of roof tiles have caused the loss of agricultural resources. Nowadays, the roof tile factory is no longer attractive for the younger generation. They have an option to work for roof tile or garment factories. Based on Majalengka Regional Regulation No. 11 of 2011, about Majalengka Urban Land Use Plan, Jatiwangi becomes an industrial zone mainly for garment and shoe factories.

The roof tile factory has established new economic, social and cultural forms for people in Jatiwangi. The roof tile factories have caused a cultural engagement through everyday practices in the roof-tile production system that unify working and domestic life. The roof tile factory seems to return control to people that once lost their traditional way of life to the colonial sugar production and wage-labour system that caused a separation between working and domestic life. Roof tile factories influence the everyday lives of many people. They also create the imagination of new cultural and social spaces in Jatiwangi. In this way, the Jatiwangi roof tile factory can be understood as an emerging third space between the traditional and colonial histories and production systems. By occupying the former sugar factory, Rampak Genteng creates a new history and social space. The festival also produces a new cultural form that embraces a long connection to the land.

JaF approached the people of Jatiwangi to occupy the former land of Jatiwangi Sugar Factory for the Rampak Genteng Festival. The land now belongs to a private company that plans to build a shopping complex that may create another form of 'otherness' for local people. In the present, at least once every three years, residents can take over the land with their festival. The social space in the Jatiwangi sugar factory reflects the idea of the third space, which is created out of local conditions. Both social and cultural contexts generate a new cultural event. We may see the contradictions in meanings on how the Jatiwangi people celebrate the glory of the roof tile industry, not the sugar industry, in the former sugar factory site. The former sugar factory became a new social space produced by the local people through a production of social space and fabricating culture.

What happened in Jatiwangi reflects the creation of a third space that has arisen from the cultural intersection between colonial, traditional, and modern values. The festival indicates a fabrication of culture from a dominant narration of the sugar industry to the roof tile industry. Bhabha (1994) mentions the idea of the third space as a shifting subject position by uncovering socio-cultural spaces between the established categories: the traditional and the modern. In the

third space, social hierarchies overlap, and cultural sustainability becomes uncertain (Epafras, 2012). Using the idea of spatial practice and third space, Jatiwangi's Rampak Genteng Festival can be interpreted as a process of cultural fabrication that leads to the new character of Jatiwangi in the present day.

Tradition, though invented or formulated, still can have significant meaning. In Jatiwangi, traditions are confirmed by their representations. More importantly, traditions are persuasive when they represent a strong cultural symbol chosen by the people of Jatiwangi. The factory, then, functions as a monument that presents a determination of local people to decide what belongs to their culture. It also becomes a reminder that controls over space and choosing cultural meaning are in their hands.

Rampak Genteng: Fabrication of Culture through Spatial Practices

Hamparan tanah [The land]
Hari berjanji [Promised days]
Berlari [Run]
Menata rasa [Arrange the feelings]
Tanah basah [Wet soil]
Tanah kering tanah berarti [Dry soil, meaningful land]
Selalu meramu [Always collating]
Menjamu tetamu [Welcoming the guests]
Meluas tapak menjadi tepi [Extends the site to the edge]
Bunyi waktu [Voices of time]
Berkhidmat pada arah [Devoted to direction]
Berpijak kaki [On foot hold]
Menembus ruang [Through spaces]
Di atas tanah [On the land]
Mencari arah [Seeking for direction]
Masa datang [The future]
Semestaku tetaplah terjaga [Stay good my universe]
Tiada siapa karena kita sama [No one (special), since we are the same]
Semestaku tetaplah terjaga [Stay good my universe]
Dengan tanah gembira marilah nyanyikan [With the happy land let us singing]

(Lyrics of the Rampak Genteng's song, created by Posko Suara Tanah Jatiwangi)

In 2018, 11,000 people participated in Rampak Genteng, which consisted of 500 students, 32 communities, and 24 institutions (Hidayah, 2018). This number of participants had increased significantly compared to the first festival in 2012 with only 1,000 participants. Some roof tile factories donated funding for the festival. The remaining chimneys, the two warehouse building blocks, and the meadows became backgrounds for the festival.

A big number of participants illustrates how people in Jatiwangi support the event. People accept the idea that the festival reflects their new culture. The festival also implies hope and respect for the land that supports their lives. It takes some months to prepare for the festival. The preparation starts with a collaborative art group Posko Suara Tanah which promotes the idea, organizes the event, and conducts some workshops on how to play the instruments and sing their songs. A group of musicians called Hanyaterra composes a song about Jatiwangi and the land, which is now considered folklore (Samboh, 2016; Hutomo, 2017).¹ People start to get to know each other closer during the workshops and share a cultural heritage (see Fig. 6).

¹ Hanyaterra consisted of several young musicians living in Jatiwangi who make musical instruments from tile and earth ceramics and a theme song of Jatiwangi. Hanyaterra consisted of Tedi Nurmanto (guitar and vocals), Andzar Agung Fauzan (bass), and Ahmad Thian Vultan (percussion), who met in the Jatiwangi Art Factory (JaF) in 2008.



Fig. 6: Junior high school students practice making ceramic from clay, facilitated by Posko Suara. Source: Jatiwangi art Factory.

Rampak Genteng became a new myth constructed by the collective Jatiwangi art Factory (JaF), immersed with the physical and social space of Jatiwangi people. The narrative about the land is no longer merely about resources to support people but a culture embodied into people's everyday lives through an artistic practice framework. In addition to the roof tiles, JaF also developed cultural narratives through other performative activations involving a large numbers of people. The performance included a bodybuilder competition, village video festivals, rituals of planting black rice, and various activities that became a medium of knowledge circulation of people.

A cultural engagement between the Jatiwangi people and the roof tile industries cannot be separated from the founders of JaF. One of JaF's founders is Arief Yudhi who comes from the Jatisura Village in Jatiwangi (*Jatiwangi Art Factory*, 2008). His parents own a roof tile factory. When his parents' factory was closed, Arief Yudhi converted the factory space for artistic activities, such as music performances, film screenings, and various forms of art exhibitions. The young performing artists started to invite musicians and artists to attend the events that later on became an art community. In general, JaF focuses not only on art activities but also on building the community. Instead of promoting art, the aim of JaF shifts to promoting good social, economic, and cultural conditions for Jatiwangi.

Since the first event, JaF started approaching some tile factory owners to support Rampak Genteng. Some factories donated funds while others produced musical instruments used for the festival. Since most roof-tile factories are home industries, the informal approach of the JaF works very well.

There are some reasons why people choose to use the former Jatiwangi sugar factory as the place for Rampak Genteng. The sugar factory has a strategic location at the intersection between the main road to Jatiwangi and the highway that leads to Cirebon. The factory has a monumental quality with the sugar factory's chimney becomes the highest structure in Jatiwangi. The factory also has a historical meaning and becomes a symbol for the existence of Jatiwangi, including changes in society. Recently, people also see the factory square as a temporary public space, such as yearly prayer place and ritual location to express gratitude for the abundance of resources in Jatiwangi.

Fabricating a new culture in the Rampak Genteng Festival is closely related to spatial practice. From the approach to the program, conducting Rampak Genteng requires a good understanding of history, culture, space, and condition of society that changes from traditional-agricultural to modern-industrial people. This process of developing community engagement out of everyday practice is called a tactic as opposed to a strategy created by the planner (De Certeau, 1984). Tactics are not born from a dominant force but are rooted in people and embodied in daily practice. Without a sense of plan, people of Jatiwangi temporarily take over the factory and turn it into their social space. People produce this kind of spatial practice through everyday spatial practice.

Fabricating of culture in Jatiwangi is related to a process of finding a cultural identity that is not embedded in a fixed monument but as a process of 'becoming' and 'being' (Correa in Powell 1983, Hall 1990). Fabricating culture in Jatiwangi shows this balancing duality of becoming related to continuity and changing in tradition, including having a new culture. In essence, fabrication culture in Jatiwangi means choosing culture and identity that represents the new idea of unity in society and celebrating the connection to the land.

The square of the Jatiwangi sugar factory has some functions that allow for different types of activities that celebrate the past and the future of Jatiwangi. The physical elements of the sugar factory space become fixed-feature elements. They stay fixed but the meaning of the space changes. There is a dialectical process between social relations and the meaning of space. The relationship between people and space has changed, and there is a new social interaction in the space.

Rampak Genteng in the former Jatiwangi Sugar Factory became a combination of spatial practice, representation of space, and representational space. The festival connects the everyday experience of the land as the source of life for traditional people with the era of the sugar factory when colonial power changed not only the economy but also the social and cultural condition of people in Jatiwangi. Through the change of time, the representation of the sugar factory shifts from the memory of the colonial era to the new concept of space, where people choose a symbol for the place and fabricate a new culture of roof tile producers to space. Now the factory space becomes a living space that reflects a new identity chosen by people. The sugar factory is no longer talking about its glory and past events. Instead, it restores its position as a shared space, a social space owned by the Jatiwangi people.

JaF articulates the history and memory connected to sugar and roof tile factories as a potential strategy to counter the plan of the local government of Majalengka Regency that wants to convert some areas into garment factories. There are some arguments that the development of garment factories will slowly erase the connection to the land. JaF encourages the idea to preserve the history and memory of sugar factories and the future of roof tile factories in Jatiwangi into Rampak Genteng festival. What used to be a celebration of the connection to the land now becomes a strategy to preserve culture. In 2019, JaF approached some government institutions such as the Majalengka Regional Planning Agency and the Industry and Trade Office of West Java Province to support Rampak Genteng – a festival already seen by many people in Jatiwangi as the reflection of local culture. Together with owners of roof tile factories and the local art community, they started a dialogue on the vision for Jatiwangi as a 'Terracota City.' With the wide acceptance of Rampak Genteng as new culture and identity of local people, the sugar factory in Jatiwangi has become a social space—both physically and symbolically—that reflects changes in society.

Conclusions

Jatiwangi Sugar Factory was born in the early nineteenth century as a colonial project that greatly influenced the cultural, social, and spatial practices in Jatiwangi. The sugar factory changed the Jatiwangi people's way of life from a traditional agricultural society to wage workers of the capitalist economy. With the presence of the Jatiwangi sugar factory, people

depended on the sugar production systems, including changing their agrarian culture. The sugar factory not only became the symbol of economic advancement but also social and cultural changes.

Whenever a forced intervention of culture occurs, naturally, there will be two responses: the acceptance or the resistance to change. With the growth of roof tile factories in Jatiwangi, new cultural, social, and spatial practices were produced. The roof tile factory bridged the cultural gap between the traditional and modern societies since it adopted the sugar factory production system while still maintaining the informality of home-based industry. In that way, Jatiwangi residents have more cultural closeness through daily spatial practices in roof tile factories. In the 1980s, most of Jatiwangi residents depended on the roof tile factories for their living and work on agricultural land in the rainy season only.

JaF reads the roof tile factory's new culture as socio-cultural capital to build imaginations about the future of Jatiwangi. The JaF articulates cultural narratives as connected to roof tile production. With this narrative, the JaF has successfully shifted the sugar factory's position, which in colonial history was the dominant economic, social and cultural power that brought economic development in the Dutch East Indies. In the end, the tale of the roof tile factory built by JaF also tried to adapt to the new situation by no longer positioning the roof tile as an economic commodity but also a deep-rooted culture. The JaF created a narrative about terracotta land that became economic, social, and cultural resources for Jatiwangi.

However, now Jatiwangi faces a new challenge. Regional planning in West Java marks Jatiwangi as an industrial area. In the last five years, the landscape of Jatiwangi has changed drastically; the toll road divides the village, hundreds of hectares of rice fields have turned into garment and shoe factories. The sugar factory faces an indefinite future after its site is designated as a commercial area. Although Jatiwangi's community has tried to build a robust cultural construction of their territory, in the end, there will be a repeated conflict between the strategic planning and the tactical encounters, as well as between the lived and the imagined space.

Amid the already degraded land in Jatiwangi, the increasingly sluggish roof tile business, and the younger generation who have started to grow with new visions, Jatiwangi will again face the challenge of finding a new cultural identity. Even though every three years, thousands of people gather at the sugar factory to celebrate the tile culture, the tile factory still implies its uncertainty: social and cultural sustainability, and unclear future. However, in such conditions, at least Jatiwangi people still have the opportunity to celebrate their own social and cultural spaces.

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