HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE OF AN ISLAND TOWN: TERNATE, NORTH MALUKU

Basri Amin
Research Institute for School & Society (RISS)
State University of Gorontalo

ABSTRACT

Maluku is not only well known for the hundreds spreading islands, but also for its long historical records. It is usually to say that the formation of national consciousness of Indonesia actually began since colonialism period, which all started with the presence of Western occupation in Maluku. This article will discuss how the historical background of Maluku archipelago leave a socio-cultural impact that is still continues until today. The historical experience and socio-political dynamics of Ternate are the prominent case chosen in this article to describe that a small (island) town can stimulate such a large historical contestation.

Keywords: Ternate; North Maluku; island history, social landscape

ABSTRAK

Maluku bukan hanya terkenal karena sebaran ratusan pulaunya, tapi juga karena dinamika sejarahnya yang panjang. Bahkan bisa dikatakan bahwa pembentukan kesadaran nasional Indonesia dimulai sejak periode kolonialisme, hal mana itu bermula dari kehadiran bangsa Barat di kepulauan Maluku. Artikel ini akan menjelaskan bagaimana latar sejarah kolonial Maluku yang panjang itu terbukti menyisahkan dampak sosial budaya yang masih terus berlangsung hingga saat ini. Pengalaman sejarah dan dinamika sosial politik masyarakat pulau Ternate adalah kasus yang dipilih dalam artikel ini untuk menunjukkan bahwa sebuah kota pulau kecil bisa menampung (pertarungan) sejarah yang demikian besar.

Kata Kunci: Ternate; Maluku Utara; sejarah pulau; lanskap sosial

Author correspondence
Email: **basri@ung.ac.id**
Available online at http://journal.unnes.ac.id/nju/index.php/paramita

INTRODUCTION

There is a great structure of literature which deals with the colonial past as well as regional issues concerning the Maluku islands and their relationship with the rest of the Southeast Asian region. The world history of "spice Island" between the 17th and the 19th centuries in Indonesia is connected with the position and contribution of North Maluku, particularly Ternate, Tidore and Halmahera Island. The colonial power and economic interests of that period significantly contributed to tensions between local kingdoms in North Maluku, particularly between Ternate and Tidore (Fraassen, 1987; Andaya, 1993; Leirissa, 2000; Amal, 2002-2010; Cribb & Cahin, 2004; Djaafar, 2006; Widjojo, 2009; Hasyim, 2016).

The North Maluku archipelago has at least 353 islands, both large and small (Andili, 1980: 3-15). Culturally, as Andili noted, the North Maluku society is divided into three cultural groups (by region): *Firstly*, the cultural region that includes the island of Ternate, North Halmahera and the islands of Sula; *Secondly*, Tidore cultural region, consisting of Tidore island and Central and East Halmahera; thirdly, the region of Bacan including Bacan and Obi. Furthermore, according to Andili (1980), North Maluku society is made up of 25 ethnic groups. In terms of language, although many local languages prevail in the region, people generally speak or can understand either the language of Tidore, Ternate or Bacan. However, in daily interaction and public association, the language of *Ternate-Malay* is used as semi-official language.

The North Maluku archipelago consists of several island groups: the island of Morotai, Halmahera, Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makean, Bacan, Obi and the island of Sula. Previously, this group of islands was known as the "Moluccas" and was synonymous with the clove-producing archipelago, which refers to the islands of Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makean and Bacan. Historians refered them as the "original Moluccas", and Arabic merchants called them "the islands of kings" (*Jaziratul' Mulk*). This refers to the four main kingdoms of the region namely: Ternate, Tidore, Bacan and Jailolo (Atjo, 2009; Andaya, 1993).

Recent publications confirm the socio-political groupings in North Maluku which has a particular structure of domination. North Maluku consists of 20 sub-ethnic groups categorized into four main clusters: ethnic Makean (60%), Sanana and Sula (15%), Tobelo and Galela (15%); Ternate and Tidore (10%) (Nurhasim, 2005: 139). For a comparison, the book by Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta, *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape* (2003: 7-9) present a limited number of ethnic groups in North Maluku which are: Sula, Makian, Galela, Halmahera, Loloda and Morotai. Two popular groups such as Ternate and Tidore were not mentioned, even though data had been drawn from the 2000's population census.

Administratively, since 2002/2003, North Maluku province has hosted of the towns of Ternate and Tidore, and the districts of North Halmahera, Central Halmahera, South Halmahera, East Halmahera, West Halmahera District and Sula Islands (Bujang, 2005: 72-73). Geographically, territorial boundaries of the districts and the cities reformed the old boundaries of traditional kingdoms that existed several centuries ago in this region.

TERNATE TOWN: "A HISTORY IN MOVING"

Ternate was named as a town, perhaps for the first time, by British naturalist, Alfred Wallace, on 8th of January 1858. Wallace writes:

> The town of Ternate is concealed from view till we enter the two islands, when it is discovered stretching along the shore at the very base of the mountain. Its situation is fine, and there are grand views on every side. Close opposite in the rugged promontory and beautiful volcanic cone of Tidore; to the east is the long mountainous coast of Gilolo, terminated towards the north by a group of three lofty volcanic peaks,

while immediately behind the town rises the huge mountain, sloping easily at first and covered with thick groves of fruit trees, but soon becoming steeper, and furrowed with deep gullies. Almost to the summit, whence issue perpetually faint wreath of smoke, it is clothed with vegetation, and look calm and beautiful, although beneath are hidden fires which occasionally burst forth in lava-streams, but more frequently make their existence known by the earthquake which have many times devastated the town" (*The Malay Archipelago*, 1869/1962: 234)

Wallace's impression on Ternate was a fascinating one because it combined a feature of nature, Island landscape, and social life of Ternate. Wallace was also giving us an early indication of town space (market, suburbs, and beach) as well as socio-cultural plurality of Ternate by describing the race markers in Ternate in the 1840s, which are: Ternate Malays, the *Orang Sirani* (Christians) and the Dutch community. At that period, Ternate had Chinese and Arab inhabitants who were born on Ternate Island formed merchant communities (Wallace, 1869 (1962): 234-239).

Ternate is a typical old town in the Archipelago. Its spatial divisions are largely influenced by colonial policy. This was an exemplary place in which the local condition of the town co-existed with the colonial knowledge and interest in the past. In North Maluku archipelago, Ternate has an important role, as a "center on the periphery" in spice trading during the colonial period of the sixteenth century. But since the Dutch authorities changed their cloves trading centre to the Ambon Island in central Maluku, Ternate and faced a serious stagnation, economically and politically, during the post-independence period and even after Soeharto's *New Order* regime (1965-1998). However, it is clear to be acknowledged that prior to the 1999 communal conflict in North Maluku region there was a long history of inter-island rivalry as well as regional expansions among north Ma-

luccan islands. Unfortunately, since the decline of the spice trading during the 17th century and into the period of post-colonial Indonesia, Ternate still represented a good example of a "periphery" region in the Indonesian history (Hanna & Alwi, 1990). Additionally, it is fairly to say that for more than three centuries (1650s-1960s), Ternate was a stagnant island (Kiem, 1993: 61).

Historically, the process of becoming an urbanized town was very much connected to the national development policies of Indonesia since the early 1970s. Prior to this period, Ternate had a specific spatial practice on territories and community groupings, called *gam* or *Soa*, on four locations (Tubo, Tobana, Tobanga, and Toboleu) within the Island of Ternate (Fraassen, 1987; Atjo, 2009: 15,26). The *soa*, as a concept of physical place and community boundary, is now closely related to the concept of neighbourhood (kampong) in contemporary understanding.

Ternate is one of the oldest island towns in Indonesia. This was agreed by historians during a seminar on *History of Ternate*, (2003). Dutch sources were used as the primary historical information. A special committee of 16 experts was then formed to determine the date of birth of Ternate. This committee was coordinated by Professor Leirissa, a historian from the University of Indonesia (UI). The committee concluded that as a city, Ternate had existed since 1250. That year was chosen by arguing that since 1250 Ternate already had a capital city called Sampalu. December 29th was chosen based on historical record when Sultan Babullah expelled the Portuguese power on the island of Ternate (29 December 1575).

The size of Ternate Island is 105.73 km^2, and Ternate is a volcanic island formed by the existence of Mt. Gamalama (1,715M) where its foothills in the north part of the Island produce cloves, vegetables and other useful local plants. There are beautiful beaches and popular spots for daily gatherings in downtown Gamalama. A crowded beach can be seen at

Bastiong areas in the south, and the beautiful shores can be found at *Sulamada* and *ngade* shore in the north, close to the *Batu Angus*. That is a spot where the volcanic (black) stones of Gamalama's eruption are found.

The town development in Ternate is well developed since the colonial time. This can be seen in the settlement patterns and the distribution of economic centers spread across in the island. A 1940s map of Ternate shows how economic forces and the colonial political-economic infrastructure are shaped by colonial authorities. As a result of this, business centers including ports, warehouses and foreign housings were mainly located in the central and the southern part of Ternate town, while local influences of the Sultanate and Ternatan's native were concentrated in the northern areas of the town. Since then, the concentration of economic activities, migrants and the seat of the colonial authority were situated in the central of Ternate, called *residen* areas (*Dutch Military Map, 1943, page no. 62*).

Having read a number of historical documents it became clear to me that Ternate is a type of town that is struggling to deal with marginality. Ternate has a long record as a maritime empire and trading center of the eastern archipelago of Nusantara (Indonesia) in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, since the early 20th, century it has become a marginalized town as evidenced by the history of the region. Previously, Ternate was an independent region (*gemeente*) during the Dutch colonial period but then after Indonesia became an independent state, Ternate never existed as an independent district and was given a sub-district status (*kecamatan*) in 1965.

In later years this status was slightly changed when that was given the status of 'administrative town' (*kota administratif*) in 1982. This had a territorial impact within the town when it was divided into two sub-districts: northern and southern. As a result, old "boundaries" of spatial and social divisions reemerged. Ternate's status as an "administrative town" existed until 1999,

a status that had very little autonomy in terms of budget and decision making. This circumstance changed after the *reform era* (1999) when Ternate achieved a new position as an autonomous city (*kotamadya*) on April 27, 1999 from the central government of Indonesia (Ammari & Siokona, 2003).

Culturally, Ternate has a unique local language. The native-claimed one is spoken in a distinct area in the northern part of the town, but the popular version used widely is the Ternate-Malay, which I learned easily and used it during my fieldwork in 2008 and 2010. It is no doubt that language is an important sign of identity. The language of Ternate is not native because it is part of the group of the North Halmaheran language, and it is not included in the Austronesian language group. No wonder the Ternate language dialects have some similarities with some other languages in the Halmahera islands, such as the Galela language or with Tidore dan Tobelo (Yoshida, 1980:22). However, in the later development, the language of Ternate was transformed into "Ternate-Malay" that serves as the lingua franca in North Maluku (de Clercq, 1890: 191 *in* Atjo, 2009: 7). Ternate-Malay is used by most people in North Maluku in the urban areas. The new generations of people in North Maluku use Ternate-Malay as their daily language, but they still speak their local (native) languages for instance Mekeanese or Galelanese.

Demographically, I had difficulties in locating official information about the history of the population in Ternate. The written sources of Ternatan's demography are very limited, particularly for a certain period, for instance in the early 20th century. Some earlier reports show that the population of the island of Ternate in 1961 was 36,115, which rose to 48,128 in 1970 and reached 60,463 in 1976. For the whole region in North Maluku, the total population of all the islands in 1977 was 578,537. In 1980, based on the 1980 population census, the total was 70,656 (Atjo, 2009: 13). In 1990, about 83,000 people (Kiem, 1993: 96) and 115,787 people in

1999 (Ammari & Siokona, 2003: 136). More recently, the inhabitants of Ternate reached 163,000 (Bappeda, 2008) and 215.906 in 2012 (Bappeda, 2013).

In terms of population size, Ternate is usually known as the "middle town". However, Ternate represents a complex socio-cultural setting, especially in its urbanized form, and thus recognized as the "center" that dominates the affairs of North Maluku archipelago. Economically, Ternate is a notable provincial town where its development is based on market-driven economy. Politically, Ternate is usually remembered as one of the main fields of communal conflicts where the issues of ethnicity, religion and other forms of resources conflict, legitimacy as well as emotions and visual expressions are significantly figured (Ahmad & Oesman, 2000; Tomagola, 2000; Klinken, 2007; Bubandt, 2001, 2004; Duncan, 2005; Wilson, 2005, 2008; Spyer, 2006).

Culturally, it is still difficult to claim that Ternate is a name of an ethnic group, although it has a native language and has historical legitimacy about Ternate Kingdom and Ternate Sultanate (Cribb & Kahin, 2004: 428-429). For example, in a study of Indonesian population in which ethnicity and religion had been covered very well, the authors Suyadinata, Arifin and Ananta (2004: 6-9), did not mention Ternate as an ethnic group, but rather described a few (ethnic) groups in Halmahera, the neighboring island of Ternate.

Ternatan and Indonesian scholars, for example Junus Melalatoa in his book, *Ensiklopedi Suku Bangsa Indonesia*, (The Encyclopedia of Indonesian Ethnic Groups) are recognizing Ternate as an ethnic name, usually spelled as "Ternatan people" (*orang Ternate*), a social group who lived in the Island of Ternate and who had a local language, social organization and 'native history' (Melalatoa, 1995: 833-834)

Sociologically, the 'native resident' of Ternate, claimed by its inhabitants, predominantly lived in the northern part of the town and some lived behind the mountain Gamalama. Kampungs in this area were scarcely inhabited. Most of their livelihood is from fisheries, livestock, and garden. Commodities are produced including tubers, fruits, such as banana, guava, and breadfruit. They mostly sell their products at the central market of downtown Gamalama.

The economic centers in Ternate consist of the neighborhood of "Gamalama", where large stores, bank, traditional market, port and public transport centers reside; inter-island economic and fisheries businesses in the southern part of the town, around Bastiong port. Economic activities in northern part of the town are not very prominent, only one fish port at Dufa-dufa beach occurred, absorbing few labor. In fact, Ternate economy concentrates in the central to southern part of the town.

In the center and northern part of the town, numbers of school buildings, governmental offices, STAIN (*Islamic State University*), the Babullah airport and old campus of the *University of Khairun* (UNKHAIR) were located. This campus was built since 1970 as a private university, but then afterwards converted into a state university in 2004. However, since the facilities of Unkhair campus cannot accommodate thousands of students, then since 2006, the campus has been moved to Gambesi region in the southern part of Ternate. In the same year, the largest private (Muslim) university in north Maluku, *Muhammadiyah* University (UMMU), was built at the adjacent location. In the southern edges of Ternate, some locations were still relatively empty and hilly.

The Flow of Migrants
Historically, Ternate has been crowded by migrant communities, mostly for trading. Most of them are from Halmahera Islands, Sulawesi, Sumatera and Java. From afternoon till midnight, many newcomer traders settle their business around the town. Along the beach, called *Sweering* beach, most of food stall, fruit shops, cigarette kiosk, and mobile voucher owners are Javanese or Bugisnese. Staple food owners in Gamalama central market are

mainly from Tidore Island and Gorontalo (North Sulawesi). In addition, it is also important to mention the fact that there is also a thousand inter-island commuters (Ternate-Tidore) in Ternate, even in daily basis, as published by *Malut Post* (14 October 2008), a leading newspaper in North Maluku. There are about 39, 220 newcomers in Ternate town in 2008.

Since 2005, more newcomers have arrived in Ternate. They generally come from Manado, a small-metropolitan city in the North Sulawesi, not long after the government of Manado realized a policy that prohibits informal traders (*Pedagang Kaki Lima/PKL*). As a result, many of them fled to Ternate for business. They were mostly people from North Sulawesi, particularly from Gorontalo region. This was triggered by the information that the Mayor of Ternate (Syamsir Andili, 2005-2010) is very tolerant to the informal vendors, partly because he has family ties to Gorontalo.

About 500 meters from the shore of *sweering* of Ternate, crowded settlement, named kampung Muhajirin, Falajawa and Tanah Raja are settled. Around this area, many hostels, rented rooms, small warehouses, and food stalls emerged since 1980s. Many food sellers from Java settled in this area. They generally rent a house as this settlement is strategic spots for running business and services. This area is also very close to shopping center, market quarter of Gamalama (*pasar rakyat*), ports, and beach (especially for food shops in the evening).

The kampongs of Muhajirin, Falajawa and Tanah Raja are famous as Arabic, Tidorenese, and some Chinese settlement. So far, in this area, inter-kampung conflicts never exist, but religious activities were very active and concentrated in a famous-old mosque in Ternate, named *Muhajirin* Mosque. The mosque committees are mostly Arabic.

Ternate in recent years is becoming an increasingly urban island where urbanization flows, economic market and local politics has been significantly contesting how local people live and what kind of

aspirations and practices they realize. Taking into account the number of youth population as well as the various ethnic groups and organizations in Ternate, this study seeks to scrutinize a multidimensional perspective in exploring social history of ethnicity in a small island town setting.

In a small town, the presence of migrants or commuters is more explicit and it has an active capacity in absorbing labors in small scale economy as well as in distributing information to the rural areas (Wouden, 1997: 18-21). This is a contested process where the state, groups of people in kampong level, local entrepreneurs, migrants and locals, ethnic aspirations had been simultaneously involved in creating the townscape of Ternate.

In the case of Ternate, migrant youth in particular, can be the social lens in understanding how young people exercise their agency in facing a new (real) life for them. They, explicitly, have been challenged themselves to navigate the sociocultural transitions where the power of family support and any kind of (conventional) values and hopes they receive from their family have been questioned and challenged in urban daily life (Amin, 2014).

Town Development

In discourse development, Ternate can be positioned as an 'intermediate town'. This category refers to the functions of such towns to serve the need of commercial networks in the context of local, inter-islands and inter-regional trading. This important function of Ternate was mainly realized since it has been used as the port city to support regional trades and provincial government of North Maluku. As a result, Ternate provides efficient services particularly marketing facilities for other surrounding islands and the rural hinterlands. In the same position, Ternate also 'serves' the Indonesia in terms of the distributing of public goods and state services and national integration in North Maluku. In this context, Indonesian state is simultaneously maintained its interests in local

level, or in periphery, by creating infrastructure and mechanism such as regulations in commercial affairs, transportation facilities and institutions as well as budget for such as town development. It can be said that Ternate is a state-driven town because it was very dependent to the state policy and budget.

Ternate, in terms of development, experienced economic and social stagnation after the decline of the spice economy during the twentieth century due to the impact of global market and its peripheral position in Indonesian development – euphemistically referred to as "the periphery of the periphery" of Indonesia. Despite the stagnation, however, it should be noted that development of Ternate infrastructure commenced in the 1970s (Kiem, 1993:19-20). This has proved to be an important facilitator of urbanization as well as mass movement of people between urban and rural locations.

The Mayor of Ternate, Syamsir Andili (2005-2010) is the person who established and promoted Ternate town as "*kota Madani*", a name imitating *Madina* in the era of Prophet Muhammad. Accordingly, Madani symbolizes to a peaceful town where Moslem and non-Moslem residents from various economic background and ethnicity live together. It is a clear evident that the mayor has an intension to emphasize Ternate to be an "Islamic town ", or a multi-ethnic Islamic town.

Since 2005, many buildings have been erected in Ternate. Along shores, several shopping centers, including hotels and amusement centers, book stores, beauty clinics, cafe and supermarkets were built. However, according to the local government planning bureau, the town landmark is not the shopping center, but a grand mosque, *Masjid Raya Al-Munawwarah* Ternate. The mosque was built near to the beach, not far from the governor's office and Gamalama business center of Ternate.

Physically, the new space in town development began in 1997 when the project of Ternate beach reclamation was started in Gamalama area. The shore of Gamalama was the main sites of development because this are is a favorable place to build a shopping center that started to be used in mid-2000s.

According to Bambang, a city planner in municipality office, Ternate has a strategic position as an inter-island transportation center in North Maluku province. An airport and large harbors in this area facilitate goods, people and merchant transportations from Java and Sulawesi. Hence, warehouses for keeping goods to be sent to Halmahera and the surrounding islands are increasing in recent years. Inter-island transportation business is owned by local businessmen from Ternate and Halmahera. However, the owner of staple goods in North Maluku were mainly owed by Chinese and Arabic, and lately also by Bugis businessman.

Even though the number of Ternate residents is relatively small, it is clear that the dynamics of the town is quite high. It can be seen from, among other, the demand of car and motorcycle. The demand is surprising as public transportation meet the demand of the residents.

At present, each house in Ternate averagely owned at least two motorcycles, and for middle class at least one car. According to the section of STNK (vehicle number) of the resort police of Ternate, motorcycle in Ternate in 2008 reached 12,025 units. The number of new motorcycles is increasing without control. In the period of January-July 2009, for instance, there were 2,482 new motorcycles at the town (Amin, 2012).

Due to the size of the town, places for public gatherings in Ternate are not as many as provided in metropolitan cities. But in since 2007, new shopping areas, internet cafes and youth accessories shops were established in Ternate, created mostly by Ternatan Chinese and local entrepreneurs to a lesser extent. At the same time, a number of youth style-based associations have been also created, for example, scooter and *vespa* groups, *Rasta* music bands, and even graffiti makers clubs. These emerging groups can bee seen as a

site of youth culture flourished by youth creative connections from Java, particularly Bandung. Creation of these associations may partly be attributed to or triggered off by Ternatan youth's access to the modern media, particularly the internet.

On the other level of development, it is also important to note that the post-1999 conflict Ternate is characterized by the presence of international organizations, particularly UNDP, within the framework of encouraging peace programs associated with development issues through the "peace through development" (PTD) program. The presence of UNDP and other international agencies such as UNICEF, USAID, and *Save the Children*, has a serious impact socially and intellectually among young people. They actively participate in the activities of international institutions primarily because almost all UNDP's gatherings provide money for local transportation, consumption or accommodation for the participants. For students in particular, this kind of special occasion is very attractive.

Official activities of UNDP and USAID are mostly held in hotels, so for young people, this is a rare experience. Global narratives are simultaneously disseminated so that young people in Ternate are increasingly becoming familiar with terms and usages of global discourse in governance, such as transparency, accountability, cooperation, partnership, etc. In addition, I noted also that some of the newer NGOs were established primarily to exploit the money and resources those international agencies are willing to provide in their many grassroots projects and programs such as community empowerment. It seems that the international agencies promote and sustain the implementation of the 'participatory development approach' as an ideal instrument to strengthen peace in North Maluku.

The Kampung Town and social class
Ternate is typically a *kampung town*. Almost no areas within the town can be separated from the influence of kampung culture. Although the location of shopping centers on seaside of *sweering* is for entertainment, restaurants and hotels, the location itself is in a very small area. Perhaps the only thing that can be said to symbolize Ternate as a developing modern town is the development of shopping centers, hotels and cafes. Otherwise Ternate town remains dominated by symbols of the kampung, such as the tradition of gathering in kampong corners, the freedom to play soccer in public places and the spread of informal motorcycle taxi business (*ojeg*) and other 'kampung mentalities'. Even government offices are located near kampung, so kampung youth use their open spaces as soccer fields. Arguably, this is probably the exceptional character of a small island town making it difficult to determine demarcations of physical distances and land use (Amin, 2012).

The economy of the kampung is generally informal in nature. Small shops, food stores, motor workshops, sewing enterprises and home industries are dominant in kampung. Although large shopping centers are located in the downtown of Gamalama, seaside area of Ternate beach, and its distance from surrounding kampung is very close. Thus, it still remains visible for informal business activities surrounding the Gamalama trading centers. It is in this place that large numbers of migrant groups participate in informal businesses.

It is in the central and southern part of the city, given the dense population and the plurality of ethnicity. The entertainment and shopping complexes are centralized significantly. Thus, with easy accessibility to various prolific entertainment and lifestyle spots, the process of cosmopolitanism and global culture is being mediated, such as access to CD movies, fashion, fast food restaurants, cafes, internet cafes, etc.

It is difficult to say in a strict way that the kampung is identical with the compound of the lower class, because almost in every kampung there are people who have a high employment status with a particular social prestige, such as bureaucrats, parliamentarians, businessmen

or civil servants. But, in the same location of kampung there are also those who work as ojeg drivers, informal traders and shopping workers. Of course, they are differ in terms of properties such as the size and style of their homes. But, in everyday interactions, there is almost no rigid friction between social classes in Ternate. I witnessed that the identity of the kampung itself became a strong bond between community groups in many kampung. The feeling of being a man of kampung (*orang kampung sini*) is profoundly mentioned in many occasions.

For long period of its social history, Ternate dis not have an elite housing complex. Later, about 2005, a middle class housing complex in Ternate was built by a Chinese developer; it was located Jati, at a mountain area in the southern Ternate. That housing complex is called *Jatiland Residence*. It was the first middle class or elite housing in Ternate. Its inhabitants are a few local businessmen and some middle echelon of bureaucrats in the North Maluku province. They are the 'new generation' of Ternatan elite, which generally have become the new middle class in the local government or in local parliaments (since 2000).

I have observed that many other elites, such as the Mayor of Ternate and some members of parliament have their homes located in the kampung areas, in the midst of ordinary people's housing. As an example, parliamentary leader of the North Maluku Province has his house located in Kampung Pisang. Khairun University Rector's house is in kampung Jati, so are many other middle class figures. Their housing locations are quite narrow as well. For example, the chairman of KNPI Ternate's house is in kampung Makassar, an area mostly occupied by lower class traders. I also found a young activist of KNPI who worked as a civil servant in the Mayor's office; he lived in Kampung Kota Baru, a kampung in central Ternate.

It is important to note that Ternate is not one that has a history in which social classes grew along with differences in terms of residence location. What distin-

guishes social classes in Ternate has more to do with people's types of work, their daily routines, and their life aspirations. In fact, it is very difficult to find any striking difference from the location of their residence. When walking around in a kampong, the only obvious sign of difference in terms of social class symbols is the style of house, type of fencing and car park. It is clear that middle-class houses have iron fences, often quite high, car parks, a garden, and usually having cable TV. The size of the house itself is a relative issue, because there are some bureaucrats, politicians and businessmen in Ternate whose houses are small when compared to middle-class houses in Sulawesi, for example. Recently, there is a new trend where middle class families in kampung are building two-floor homes.

Socially, stability of the kampung is depends on many things. Clearly, the fights and other forms of violence between kampung in Ternate are not caused by class tension. Fights are often caused by dissatisfaction, for example from soccer match results or decisions, and are usually perpetrated by minorities of drunken youths. Thus, one drunken groups' action may attract other kampung youth groups to fight. It has been noticed that several kampung which have a bad record of fights, irrespective of their gravity, have a significant number of middle-class families. Also, there are high numbers of middle class families in kampung Tanah Tinggi and Bastiong. Perhaps because of security reasons middle class families' houses tend to have high fences or maybe since, in recent times, a fight between the kampung may result in serious damage to the private property.

Regional politics and Ethnic Sentiments
Many scholars recognize that ethnic sentiment in North Maluku was expressed more widely since 1999 in the wake of the era of *decentralization*. It is mentioned in Indonesian studies that this primordial sentiment is related to struggles for power and resources among local elites. This elite competition thrives within the frag-

mented conditions of existing ethnic groupings at the grass root level of society. Every political moment produces new imaginations within society in North Maluku which in turn produces political tensions. This is a crucial outcome of the political decentralization project that led to the revival if not articulation of primordial traditions as mechanisms to respond to and adjust to modern circumstances and opportunities (Wendyartaka, 2014; Bubandt, 2004; Nordholt & Klinken, 2007; Claire, 2009).

Communal conflicts in North Maluku erupted shortly after the province was officially established and recognized by the central government (August 1999-June 2000). As many studies have explained, the communal conflict in North Maluku associated with many conditions and actors, among others, how local elites failed to manage the issues of resources and settlements between local peoples and immigrants in Halmahera, how economic interests of certain political and military elites, as well as how local elites compete with one another to gain new political positions by using ethnic sentiments and the traditional forces such as sultanates of Ternate and Tidore and their relations to ethnic groups in the islands of North Maluku (Wilson, 2008; Duncan, 2005; Bubandt, 2004; Abadi, 2004; Klinken, 2007; Tomagola, 2000; Ahmad & Oesman, 2000).

Since mid-2000 and early 2001, the central government imposed civil emergency policy in North Maluku (Laring, 2004; Abadi, 2004) and at the same time programs on conflict recovery were undertaken by a number of national and international agencies, such as UNDP, UNESCO, etc. But still, people are in a state of trauma, especially because there were thousands of Muslim IDPs who arrived and 'flooded' Ternate. Thus, they needed special care (e.g. barracks, logistics, security, etc.). Not long after that, in early 2001, the need of employment became a new problem. This may be the reason why so many informal jobs were freely opened in Ternate since 2001, for

instance *ojeg* drivers for men or selling snack and cigarettes for women, or other kind of informal economic activities including selling alcohol beverages in IDPs' barrack areas.

Based on my archival observation, since 2005 the new generations of local scholars and former student activists of North Maluku are more interested in ethnicity and local political issues (Ibrahim, 2004; Oesman, 2005; Ruray, 2006; Tonirio, 2011; Machmud, 2013). Generally, they received their higher education outside of Ternate, in Ambon, Makassar and Java. Perhaps, this kind of multi-cultural experience triggers their passion in their own region where ethnicity is a 'latent problem' of development in this region. They express their anxiety in various public meetings as well as through writings in the local newspapers and books.

It seems that ethnicity is a problematic theme in the history of North Maluku. Darsis Hoemah, a lecturer at STAIN Ternate wrote that 'ethnic conflict in North Maluku had never dropped out in its history....". (cf. *Portrait of a Peripheral State*, 2005: 55-56). According to Hoemah, the politics of government in the North Maluku has always been influenced by ethnic rivalry and regional sentiments, and never based on a rational meritorious system. This problem, as Hoemah explained, was formed from a long history of this region where competition between ethnic groups and the kingdoms has been established since the 15th century in order to control the economy through political power.

Furthermore, Hoemah (2005) went on to present a contemporary picture of how local political elites employ violence during significant political moments. Local politicians mobilize ethnic groupings to stage public demonstrations in order to preserve their pragmatic interests. This was confirmed during my fieldwork where I observed the hate words being used by demonstrators who protested against Armaiyn, an elected governor of North Maluku in 2008. This view seeks to reaffirm historical explanations of conflict narratives within a setting of island kingdom

rivalries (Putuhena, 2001; Leirissa, 1996; Hanna & Alwi, 1996; Andaya, 1993).

This part will take an entry point of an ethnic group that is perceived to be a dominant group in the socio-political history of North Maluku. Ethnic sentiment is coloring the people of the North Maluku in recent years. As such feelings of animosity were increasingly circulated and stimulated in every moment of regional politics. Murid Tonirio, an anthropologist in Ternate, wrote a headline article titled "Makean" in a leading newspaper the *Malut Post* (26 May, 2011), expressed his views and experience about the anxiety of ethnic sentiment, especially towards Makeanese in North Maluku's political landscape. He cited a phrase that was conveyed by some of his friends, who said that ethnic Makean are dominating more and more political positions in North Maluku. The phrase "ethnic Makean is such a political caste" is an expression of protest that emerges when a political rivalry occurs. Tonirio's article above was actually a response to the ethnic interest that ensued during a local election in the District of Morotai Island when the issue of Makean groups and locals occurred in early May 2011.

In this case, the new elected District Head (*Bupati*) on Morotai Island was suspected of being unfairly supported by a political network of Makeanese since he is a Makean elite. This perception became stronger when the election result was hastily accepted by the KPU (*Election Commission*). The candidate did not poll significantly at sub-district levels. He was also not the candidate with popular support even before surveys were conducted to determine this. Initially, it was revealed that there were a number of electoral manipulations, indirectly condoned by the election committee members —-who have a Makean network. As a consequence, the local media exposed this scandal which in turn led to daily strikes with some violence in Morotai Island (*Malut Post*, 20-28 May 2011). In the end the national court in Jakarta intervened to re-examine the election results (*Malut Post*, 7 June 2011).

CONCLUSION

This article mainly discusses the social history and local mobility patterns of ethnic groups in North Maluku. This has dynamics impacts on the political and social class structure in North Maluku society. For example, an ethnic group of Makean, has long been recognized as an ethnic group that has a strong tradition of migration (Lucardi, 1987). In addition, some ethnic groups in North Maluku have a good reputation in terms of their mobility. They reside in many locations in Halmahera and other islands including Tidore and Ternate town. Bujang noted that groups of Makean, Galela, and Tobelo are well distributed among the islands of North Maluku archipelago (Bujang, 2005: 72-82). They are large in numbers, and therefore it is not surprisingly that these three ethnic groups influence the socio-cultural and political landscapes of contemporary North Maluku.

The locality of Ternate cannot be separated from historical context experienced in Indonesia in recent years, particularly in the issue of decentralization. Ternate is different from other cities because it has been burdened with social and spatial challenges, especially in the post-1999 communal conflict, which involves ethnic and religious tensions. As a result, tension between immigrants and locals often spark public debate, when a heavy flow of migrants from Halmahera, Sulawesi and Java crowded Ternate.

Ethnic sentiments are growing and becoming an important part of the political history of contemporary North Maluku. The trend became relentless in the wake of the decentralization process. For example, a few years ago, an ethnic contestation occurred in the district of Morotai (2011) as well as in the district of North and South Halmahera and the District of Sula Island. There is a strong expression called *putra daerah*, "the son of the soil" or "prohibited area" where government jobs or an elected office can only be occupied by certain ethnic groups and not for everyone. In North Maluku, provincial elites who live in the city go back to their home

region to seek support or even to mobilize local people to form a new district in the name of development and local prosperity. Finally, in the context of such ethnic contestations, it cannot be comprehensively understood without an exploration of "ethnic culture" itself in the history of thw North Maluku.

REFERENCES

Abadi, M. 2004. "Intervensi Militer dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Maluku Utara Periode Tahun 2001-2006". *Unpublished MA Thesis*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.

Ahmad, K.A. & Oesman, H. (Eds.). 2000). *Damai yang Terkoyak: Catatan Kelah dari Bumi Halmahera*. Ternate: Kelompok Studi Podium.

Amal, A. 2002. *Maluku Utara: Perjalanan Sejarah, 1250-1800*. Jilid-I. Ternate: Universitas Khairun.

Amal, A. 2003. *Maluku Utara: Perjalanan Sejarah, 1800-1950*. Jilid-II. Ternate: Universitas Khairun.

Amal, A. 2010. *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah: Perjalanan Sejarah Maluku Utara* 1250-1950. Jakarta: KPG Gramedia

Amin, B. 2012. "Youth, *Ojeg* and Urban Space in Ternate". *The Asia Pacific Journal of Athropology* (TAPJA), 13(1): 36-48.

Amin, B. 2012. "Kampung Youth and Governmentality in Ternate Town, North Maluku". *Jurnal Studi Pemuda*. 1(1): 50-60.

Amin, B. 2014. "Student Politics in Urban Ternate, North Maluku". *Jurnal Komunitas*, 6(1): 1-15.

Ammari, Fachry & Siokona, J.W. (Eds). 2003. *Ternate: Kelahiran dan Sejarah Sebuah Kota*. Ternate: Pemkot Ternate.

Andaya, L.Y. 1993. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern World*. Honolulu: Univ. Hawaii Press.

Andili, Bahar 1980. "Profil Daerah Maluku Utara". In E.K.M. Masinambow (Ed.). *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat : Konsep dan Strategi Penelitian*. Jakarta: Leknas-LIPI, pp. 3-15.

Atjo, R.A. 2009. *Orang Ternate dan Kebudayaannya*. Jakarta: Cikoro Trirasuandar.

Bubandt, N. 2004a. "Menuju Sebuah Politik Tradisi yang Baru?: Desentralisasi, Konflik dan Adat di Wilayah Indonesia Timur". *Antropologi Indonesia,* 74: 12-31.

Bubandt, N. 2004b. "Violence and Millenarian Modernity in Eastern Indonesia". In Holger Jebens (ed.). *Cargo, Cult and Culture Critique*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, pp: 92-116.

Bubandt, N. 2000. "Conspiracy Theories, Apocalyptic Narratives and the Discursive Construction of 'Violence in Maluku'". *Antropologi Indonesia*, 24 (63): 15-32.

Bujang, A.S. 2005. "Primordialisme sebagai Strategi." In Rahmi Husen & Herman Oesman (Eds.). *Potret Gelisah Negeri Pinggiran*. Ternate: Pustaka Foshal, pp: 69-83.

Claire Q. S. 2009. "The Return of the Sultan?: Patronage, Power, and political machines in 'post'-conflict North Maluku", in M. Erb and P. Sulistiyanto (Eds.). *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada)*. ESAS, Singapore, pp. 303-26.

Clerk, F.S.A. (1890). 1999. *Ternate: The Residence and Its Sultanate*. Translated from the Dutch by Paul Michael Taylor and Marie N. Richards. Smithsonian Institution Libraries, Washington DC: USA.

Cribb, R. & Kahin, A. 2004. *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*. Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Deni, A. 2004. *Membangun Ternate Menuju Kota Peradaban*. Ternate: Universitas Muhammadiyah.

Dinas Pemuda dan Olah Raga Kota Ternate. 2007. *Profil Pemuda Kota Ternate. Disertai Ringkasan Data Base Pemuda dan Olah Raga tahun 2007 (Ternatan Youth Profile 2007)*. Ternate, Maluku Utara.

Djaafar, I.A. 2006. *Jejak Portugis di Maluku Utara*. Jogjakarta: Ombak.

Duncan, C. 2005. "The Other Maluku: Chronological of Conflict in North Maluku". *Indonesia,* 80: 53-80.

Fraassen, C.F. 1987. *Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische archipel: van soa-organisatie en vierdeling: een studie van traditionele samenleving en cultuur in Indonesie.̈* Proefschrift. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden.

Fraassen, C.F. 1994. "Ternate and Its Dependencies". In Leontine E. Visser (Ed.). *Halmahera and Beyond: Social science research in the Moluccas*. Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV,x pp. 23-33.

Hanna, W.A & Alwi, Des. 1990. *Turbulent Times Past in Ternate and Tidore*. Yayasan Warisan dan Budaya Banda

Naira: Moluccas.

Hafel, M. 2004. "Respon Terhadap Tuntutan Regulasi Ojek: Studi Kasus di Kota Ternate (Responses to the Ojeg Regulation: A case study of Ojeg in Ternate Town)". *Unpublished M.A. Thesis*, Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM).

Hasyim, R. 2016. "Sultan Iskandar Djabir Syah: From Malino Conference to the Minister of Internal Affairs of Negara Indonesia Timur". *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 26 (2): 144-154.

Hoemah, D. 2005. Otonomi Daerah dan Kontestasi Etnik di Maluku Utara. In M. Rahmi Husen & Herman Oesman (Eds.). *Potret Gelisah Negeri Pinggiran.* Ternate: Pustaka Foshal,cw pp. 41-55.

Husen, M.R & Oesman, H. 2005. *Potret Gelisah Negeri Pinggiran. Perspektif Kritis atas Maluku Utara*. Ternate: Pustaka Foshal.

Ibrahim, G.A. 2009. *Metamorfosa Sosial dan Kepunahan Bahasa*. Ternate: Lep-Univ. Khairun Ternate.

Ibrahim, G.A. 2004. *Mengelola Pluralisme*. Grasindo Jakarta dan Unkhair Ternate.

Kiem, C.G.1993. *Growing up in Indonesia: Youth and Social Change in a Moluccan Town*. Saarbrücken, Germany: Verlag breitenbach Publishers.

Kiem, C.G. 1993. "Re-Islamization among Muslim Youth in Ternate Town, Eastern Indonesia." *Sojourn*, 8(1): 92-127.

Klinken, G.V. 2007. *Communal Violence and democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars*. London: Routledge.

Laring, S.A. 2004. "Dinamika Politik Lokal dan Pemberlakuan Darurat Sipil di Maluku Utara, Tahun 1999-2003". *Unpublished MA Thesis*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.

Leirissa, R.Z. 1996. *Halmahera Timur dan Raja Jailolo*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

Leirissa, R.Z. 2000. "The Bugis-Makassarese in the Port Towns: Ambon and Ternate through the Nineteenth century." *BKI*, 156 (3): 619-633.

Lucardie, G.R.E. 1987. "The Geographical Mobility of the Makianese: Migratory Tradition and Resettlement Problems." In E.K.M. Masinambow (Ed.). *Halmahera dan Raja Empat Sebagai Kesatuan Majemuk: Studi-Studi Terhadap Suatu Daerah Transisi*. Bulletin LEKNAS, Vo. II. No.2. LIPI: Jakarta, pp: 333-345.

Machmud, Imron. 2013. *Kelompok Etnis Dalam Pelukan Elite Lokal*. Ternate: Ummu

Press.

Masinambow, E.K.M. (Ed.). 1987. *Halmahera dan Raja Empat Sebagai Kesatuan Majemuk: Studi-Studi Terhadap Suatu Daerah Transisi*. Bulletin LEKNAS, Vo. II. No.2. LIPI: Jakarta.

Melalatoa, J.M. 1995. *Ensiklopedi Suku Bangsa di Indonesia.* Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan R.I.

Nordholt, H.S. 2004. "Decentralisation in Indonesia: Less state, More Democracy?" In John Harris, Kristian Stokke and Olle Tornquist (Eds.). *Politicising Democracy, the New Local Politics of Democratization*, Palgrave NY: Macmillan, pp: 29-50

Nordholt, H.S. & Klinken G.V. 2007. *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV

Nurhasim, M. (ed). 2005. *Konflik Antar Elit Politik Lokal dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah*. Jogjakarta: Pustaka Pelajar dan LIPI Jakarta.

Polman, K. 1981. *The North Moluccas. An Annotated Bibliography*. KITLV- Bibliographical Series. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Putuhena, Shaleh. 2001. "Proses Perluasan Agama Islam di Maluku Utara". In Ade Kamaluddin (Ed.). *Ternate Bandar Jalur Sutera*. Jakarta: Lintas-Asia Foundation, pp: 57-?

Ruray, S.B. 2006. *Menjemput Perubahan: Sepotong Interupsi untuk Maluku Utara*. Ternate: Kalamata Institut.

Spyer, P. 2006. "Some Notes on Disorder in the Indonesia Postcolony. In Jean Camaroff and John Camaroff (Eds.). *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. pp.188-218.

Suryadinata, L, Arifin, E.N & Ananta, A. 2003. *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape.* Singapore: ISEAS.

Tomagola, T.A. 2000. "The Bleeding Halmahera of North Moluccas." In O. Törnquist (Ed.). *Political violence: Indonesia and India in comparative perspective*. Oslo: University of Oslo, Center for Development and the Environment (SUM), pp. 21-32.

Tonirio, M. 2010. *Trivial: Refleksi atas Persoalan-Persoalan "Kecil".* Ternate: PSSK-Univ. Muhammadiyah-UMMU Press

Wallace, A.R. (1869).1969. *The Malay Archipelago. The Land of the Urang Utan and the Bird of Paradise: A Narrative of Travel*

with Studies of Man and Nature. New York: Dover Publication, INC.

Wendyartaka, Anung. 2014. "Maluku Utara: Terbelenggu Persoalan Politik". *Kompas,* 4 Maret 2014, p. 5.

Wendyartaka, Anung. 2014. "Provinsi Maluku: Terhambat Politik Identitas". *Kompas,* 5 Maret 2014, p. 5

Widjojo, M. 2009. *The Revolt of Prince Nuku: Cross-Cultural Alliance-Making in Maluku, c. 1780-1810*. Leiden: Brill

Wilson, C. 2008. *Ethno-Religious Violence in Indonesia: From Soil to God*, London: Routledge.

Wouden, A.V. 1997. *Three Small Towns in Central Java. A Comparative Study of their Economic Structure and Regional Importance.* Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht

Yoshida, S. 1980. "Folk Orientation in Halmahera with Special reference to Insular Southeast Asia". In Naomichi Ishige (Ed.). *The Galela of Halmahera: a Preliminary Survey*. Ethnological Studies No.7. Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, pp: 19-88.