

The Changes and Spread of Settlements in Chinese Padang, Indonesia

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Abstract. This study discussed the changes and distribution of Padang Chinese settlements after the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia and identify the influencing factors. It was conducted by adopting a historical approach which involved utilizing the documents related to the colonial period as well as the housing data from the Padang City Housing and Settlements Office. Oral data were also obtained through focus group discussions (FGDs) with several Padang Chinese ethnicities and analyzed to serve as a reference for field surveys. Moreover, satellite imagery was used to interpret survey data which were later processed using GIS. The findings showed that (1) the Chinese in Padang were not strictly isolated during the reign of the Dutch East Indies as indicated by their existence outside Chinese camps and (2) the expansion of the Padang City area in 1980 intensively influenced the distribution of the Chinese ethnic minority in the city. It was also discovered that (3) the earthquake experienced in Padang in 2009 had a significant effect on the changes and spread of Chinese fears and (4) the Chinese settlements were observed to have currently spread throughout almost all the areas of the city in the form of plots and different types of cluster housing.

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1. Introduction

Chinese are one of the most migrating ethnic groups throughout the world (Bose, 2019; Campbell, 2012; Delgado, 2012; Gao, 2017; Han, n.d.; Inglis, 2011; Madokoro, 2016; Man & Fong, 2021; Regué-Sendrós, 2018; Yeoh & Lin, 2013; Young, 2014). Studies have been conducted extensively on Chinese migration from different perspectives, particularly on the crucial aspect of settlements, with the focus on a wide range of topics such as the establishment of settlements, geographic concentration, spatial distribution, and housing patterns (Leung, 2007). Most geographers described settlement, land use, and demographic issues as part of the urbanization process (Ma et al., 2016; Morrissey, John; Nally, David; Strohmayer, Ulf; Whelan, 2014). It was also discovered that the migration of Chinese to different parts of the globe has affected the growth of suburban areas in major cities (Cao, Huhua, 2011; Chen, 1992; Wang et al., 2018). However, most of the historical studies conducted on Chinese settlements focused on the emergence and growth of the host regions due to the open economic access in different sectors such as mining (Locher-Scholten, 2018) and agriculture (Ching, Low Hui, Raja Nafida Raja Shahminan, 2018).

This historical study was conducted to determine the changes experienced by the Chinese ethnic group in Padang with a special focus on the settlement issues due to spatial changes in urban areas. Padang, being a city with a rich

Dutch heritage, shares a morphology that closely resembles other colonial cities in Indonesia as indicated by the existence of distinct settlements catering to specific ethnicities. For example, the China Camp, also known as Kampung Pondok, remains the central hub of activities for the ethnic Chinese community in Padang. Colombijn (2006) conducted a local study on the history of Padang City while Zaidulfar (2002) analyzed its morphology by discussing the use of space by the government and residents. It is important to note that both studies only provided little information on the ethnic Chinese as part of the population in the city but are considered very helpful in understanding the history associated with the formation and morphology of Padang.

The Chinese migrants that first settled in Padang lived in groups around the Batang Arau River and other areas considered to be economic centers. They served as the intermediary between the local traders and the Dutch East Company, VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*). This role lasted a long time until the VOC went bankrupt at the end of the 18th century. The VOC's failure to survive caused Padang to be taken over by the Dutch East Indies government and this led to the restructuring of the government, population, and law. Therefore, the settlements were divided based on ethnicity and the ethnic Chinese were grouped under the Eastern Foreign Dutch East-India Company community structure with the *Indische Staatregeling* (IS) legal system. Moreover,

they were living in a particular area known as the Chinese Camp (Erniwati, 2019).

The settlement system (*wijken stelsel*) was initiated in Padang in 1854 to assist the Dutch East-Indies government and natives to control and limit the movement of ethnic immigrants including the Arabs, Indians/*Keling*, Nias, Javanese, and Chinese. This background information led to the conduct of this study to answer certain questions: (1) Were the Chinese Padang settlements predominantly concentrated in ethnic-specific areas (Chinese camp) or dispersed before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia? 2) How did the distribution of Chinese settlements in Padang change after independence? 3) What factors influenced the spread of Chinese settlements in Padang City? To provide comprehensive answers, this study provided a chronological account of the formation of Chinese Padang settlements, along with an exploration of relevant policies implemented by the Dutch East Indies government and subsequently by the Indonesian government (specifically the Padang City government).

A review of the literature on Chinese in Indonesia showed that several studies have been conducted on settlement issues. For example, Tunas (2007) focused on the historical study of Chinese settlements in Bandung City and found that they have already spread in the area long before the *Wijk* system (the settlement) was implemented. It was also reported that the Chinese settlements in Bandar Lampung were spread in a linear pattern (Arif et al., 2020). Another study on Chinatowns in Semarang showed a decline in the number of Chinese residents living in Chinatowns (Debby & Dewi, 2019) while Prabowo et al. (2018) focused on their architecture and building characteristics. The findings showed that the patterns are different from the Chinese camp in Padang located at the center of the settlement and retaining its building structure and architectural style.

This literature review showed the absence of in-depth studies on the settlements of the Chinese in Padang with most of the studies observed to have focused on the history of the city as a whole and its morphology (Rau, 2019). Meanwhile, at the American Historical Association Conference in 1907, Turner suggested a close relationship between geography and history. This was considered important because the interactions between people and their environment were found to be one of America's most important areas of inquiry (Baker, 2005). Unfortunately, this idea has yet to be found in practice. Therefore, this study was conducted to understand and explain the distribution of the Chinese settlements in Padang in line with the spatial changes within the city. The process involved using GIS to visualize the spatial changes. Moreover, the digital mapping technology recently developed was also used to analyze urban topography and also to perform thematic deconstruction of maps from the past century (Coomans et al., 2019). This was based on the belief that the intersection between history and geography promises a new perspective in writing history in Indonesia as well as to further explore the changes experienced by humans about their environment.

2. Methods

This study was conducted qualitatively using historical and geographic methods. The sources were primarily derived from Dutch East Indies documents found in the Regeering Almanac and National Archives. It is important to note that the paper-based archives were obtained from different institutions, including the National Archives of the Republic

of Indonesia, the Padang City Library and Archives Service, the Padang City Settlement and Public Housing (PUPR) Office, the Padang City Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda), as well as organizations such as Hok Tek Tong/Himpunan Tjinta Teman (HTT) and Heng Beng Tong/Himpunan Bersatu Teguh (HBT). Furthermore, insights were gathered from housing developers residing in ethnic Chinese communities.

Data regarding the locations of the Padang Chinese ethnic residences were obtained through two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The outcomes of these FGDs served as the foundation for conducting field surveys in multiple Chinese ethnic settlement areas. Moreover, satellite imagery was used to determine the precise location coordinates of these settlements for subsequent processing with Geographic Information System (GIS). Interviews were also conducted with several individuals, including officials from the Department of Public Housing for Settlement and Land Areas (DPRKPP) of Padang City, the head of the Kampung Pondok settlement (China camp), members of the ethnic Chinese community, as well as residents living in areas with proximity to the Chinese ethnic settlements.

The next stage was to process the data to be used in mapping the distribution of Chinese settlements in Padang before and after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia using a Geographic Information System (GIS). It is pertinent to note that GIS is a geographic information system normally used to manage, manipulate, and analyze spatial data including those with location and attribute information. Meanwhile, on-screen digitization is a visual interpretation based on color, size, shape, texture, pattern, shadow height, site, and associations (Dow et al., 2009; G.J., 2016; Shin, 2006). The survey conducted focused on objects of interpretation that raised doubts during the visual interpretation process. Furthermore, the samples selected were based on areas of uncertainty in the visual interpretation performance to ensure thorough verification of the data. The mapping results showed the spatial distribution trends in Padang Chinese settlements both before and after Indonesia's independence. Subsequently, the data were subjected to analysis in order to highlight the causal relationships. In the final stage, a chronological narrative was written to provide a comprehensive account of the findings.

3. Results and Discussion

Padang Chinese Settlements Before the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia

Padang is geographically situated on the western coast of Sumatra, and its strategic location has attracted a multitude of traders. The bustling nature of this place stemmed from the convergence of traders hailing from West Sumatra, cities along the West Coast of Sumatra, as well as foreign traders. The river system served as the primary mode of transportation for these traders, facilitating the movement of crops from the interior regions. One notable river, the Batang Arau River, spanned an impressive 25 kilometers and has become a crucial trade route. The vicinity around the river's estuary emerged as a central settlement hub for migrants. On the left side of this river stretches the Barisan hills, also known as Mount Padang or Bukit Siti Nurbaya while a port and warehouses were constructed on the right side to store the produce originating from the inland regions (Asnan, 2016; Mestika, 2009).

Padang's strategic location on the west coast of Sumatra has resulted in its growth as a bustling coastal city. The morphology of the city is such that 60% of its land is hilly with steep slopes, 30% is designated for residential use, and the remaining land is swampy and prone to flooding (Umar et al., 2017). Originally, 30% of the Padang area was a fishing village but has evolved and developed into a significant trading port and harbor along the West Coast of Sumatra.

In 1607, almost all-important areas on the west coast of Sumatra from Natal, Barus, Air Bangis, Pasaman, Tiku, Pariaman, Padang to Indrapura were controlled by the Sultanate of Aceh under the leadership of Sultan Iskandar Muda (Dobbin, 1992). Since then, Padang has developed into a trading port visited by traders from the Minangkabau hinterland (Darek) and foreign traders. The traders formed a village in the southern part of the Batang Arau River named Nagari Padang. Moreover, the villages established by the nomads were merged into the *Kenagarian* Padang under the leadership of "*Nan Salapan Suku*" (The Eight Tribes) (Leaflet Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN) Kota Padang, n.d.).

Aceh's power ended when the Dutch East-India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC)) succeeded in controlling Padang in 1666 (Amran, 1981). The VOC started establishing fortresses and settlements for Europeans around the mouth of the Batang Arau River (Sofwan & Taher, 1987). The VOC made Padang its trading center on the West Coast of Sumatra since then and collaborated with *Rang Kayo Kaciek*, a Padang noble appointed *Panglima* (king of the city), to facilitate trade. It is also important to note that *Raja Bandar* (The king of ports) is an intermediary or beach broker in Padang (Knaap & Teitler, 2002). This led to the rapid growth of Padang as the most important port city on the west coast of Sumatra, thereby, leading to the immigration and visitation of several foreign traders from Britain, the Netherlands, China, Arabia, and India.

In 1799, the Dutch East Indies Government took over the VOC position. This is because the VOC went bankrupt due to the activities of several corrupt officials. The power transition led to the regulation of the government, society, settlements, and other institutions in Padang by the Dutch East Indies Government but the influence was rejected in the interior of Minangkabau.

In 1850, the settlement system (*wijken stelsel*) was implemented in Padang by the Dutch East Indies government (Liem, 2009) based on ethnicity. This led to the division of the city into eight Kampongs including Kampung I (*Wijk I*) for the Tanjung Koto tribe including the town of Mata Air and the village of Durian, Kampung II (*Wijk II*) for the Chaniago Panyalai tribe covering the cities of Purus, Damar, Olo, Ujung Pandan, and Rimbo Kaluang, and Kampung III (*Wijk III*) for the Tanjung Sikumbang tribe covering the cities of Java (Jao), Sawahan, Maggots, Terandam, and Teak. Moreover, Kampung IV (*Wijk IV*) was the territory for the Tanjung Balai Mansiang tribe covering Alai and Gunung Pangilun, Kampung V (*Wijk V*) for the Jambak tribe covering the Parak Gadang, Simpang Haru, and Andalas cities, and Kampung VI (*Wijk VI*) was the Malay tribal area covering Pondok, Chinese Camp, Kampung Sabalah, Berok, and Belakang Tangsi. Kampung VII (*Wijk VII*) was for the Chaniago Sumagek tribe covering Alang Lawas, Ganting, Ranah, Pasar Gadang, Kampung Nias, and Palinggam and Kampung VIII (*Wijk VIII*) for Nanggalo and Ulak Karang (Sofwan & Taher, 1987).

The Chinese community was grouped and designated a special area known as Chinese Camp (Kampung Cina), spanning approximately 968,047 square meters. The camp is situated on the outskirts of the Batang Arau River and is bordered by buildings and warehouses belonging to the Dutch East Indies government, as well as private companies and the Chinese. Moreover, these Chinese served as the intermediaries between the traders of agricultural products from the interior of West Sumatra and those from ports along the West coast of Sumatra, including Sibolga, Barus, Nias, and others.

The population of the ethnic Chinese in Padang was quite large as indicated by the 1,140 people recorded in 1852 followed by a subsequent increase to 2,973 in 1865 and then 7,973 in 1905. The population as reported by government data to have increased to 8,516 in the 1930s (Grave, 1981). It was also noted that 80% of the Chinese in Padang were of Hokkien descent from Amoy, Fukien Province, 15% were Kwongfu descendants from Kwanton, 3% were Hakka, and the remaining 2% from other regions (Erniwati, 2007). It is important to note that ethnic Chinese also live in other Kampongs around the Chinese town. More information on the distribution of the Chinese settlements in Pandang before independence in 1945 is presented in the following map.



Figure 1. Chinese Camp (Padang between 1890/1892).

Figure 2. Shops Along the Chinese Camp Road in the early 20th century

Source: National Archives of KIT Collection

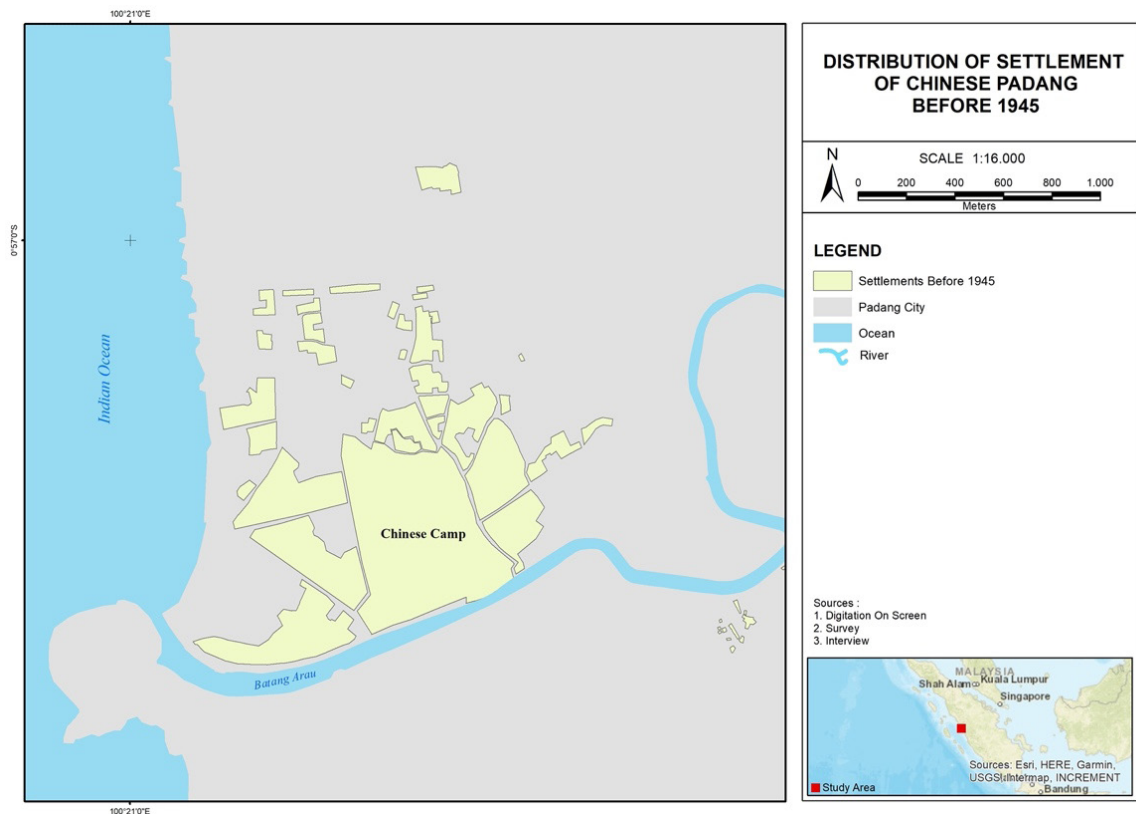


Figure 3. Distribution Map for the Chinese Settlements in Padang City Before 1945
Sources: Processed from On-screen Digitization Survey, etc.



Figure 4. Padang City in 1915.
Source: Koninklijke Instituut (KIT)
<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:2011558>

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there was a significant increase in the ethnic Chinese population in Padang. This influx was primarily driven by various factors, such as China's domestic political situation, natural disasters, and the growing demand for labor at the Ombilin-Sawahlunto coal mine (Erniwati, 2011). Moreover, in the early 20th century, Padang became a destination for a diverse group of immigrants such as the nationalist groups aiming to spread their ideology globally, including within the Dutch East Indies as well as the communist groups seeking refuge after they fled from the political turmoil in China. These newcomers typically settled outside the confines of the Chinese camp area. They disguised themselves as laborers, contract workers, and construction workers, finding residence in areas such as Kampong Jao, Kampong Nias, Belakang Pondok, Purus, and others.

The map shows that ethnic Chinese settlements were concentrated in Kampong Cina, Pasar Gadang, and near the Batang Arau River. Several families were also found living around the Pasar Raya area, Behind Tangsi, Hiligoo Street, and around Belantung Street (Sudirman) in the Padang Pasir and Ratulangi streets. It was also discovered that the ethnic Chinese currently prefer residential locations in the downtown, commercial, and military areas. The siting of the Chinese settlement at the city center was due to the security reasons associated with the war for independence.

The spread of Chinese settlements in the colonial period was influenced by the land policy of the Dutch East Indies Government. The Agrarian Law of 1870 gave the wealthy Chinese the opportunity to lease land for a set period for

plantations, livestock, factories, and markets. This led to the construction of several markets in Padang such as Tanah Kongs, Belakang Tangsi, and Kampong Jawa by Lie Maa Saay (Amran, 1988; Regering Almanac, 1915). The Chinese also developed several areas on the city's outskirts for plantations and livestock as observed in Aur Duri, Air Camar, Parak Gadang, Parak Kopi, Purus, Ulak Karang, Tabing, and Siteba.

The Chinese settled in the economic center and near European settlements during the Dutch East Indies Government. This means their spread at the time was influenced by economic opportunities and the absence of restrictions and prohibitions to acquire land and develop businesses by the government and other Padang city residents (Erniwati et al., 2015).

Distribution of Chinese Settlements After Independence

The independence of Indonesia on August 17, 1945 had a wide impact on the lives of the Indonesian people, including ethnic Chinese living in the country. It was also noted that the separation of the ethnic Chinese from the local population through the settlement system (*wijken stelstel*) rule imposed by the Dutch East Indies Government affected their psychology, including those in Padang. Moreover, the arrival of the Allies, along with the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA), had a significant impact on the status and location of the Chinese community. The ethnic Chinese settlements were situated in the city center, where the Allies and NICA headquarters were established, making it challenging for them to conduct their daily activities. A massive mobilization campaign that the republic's territory was unsafe for residence

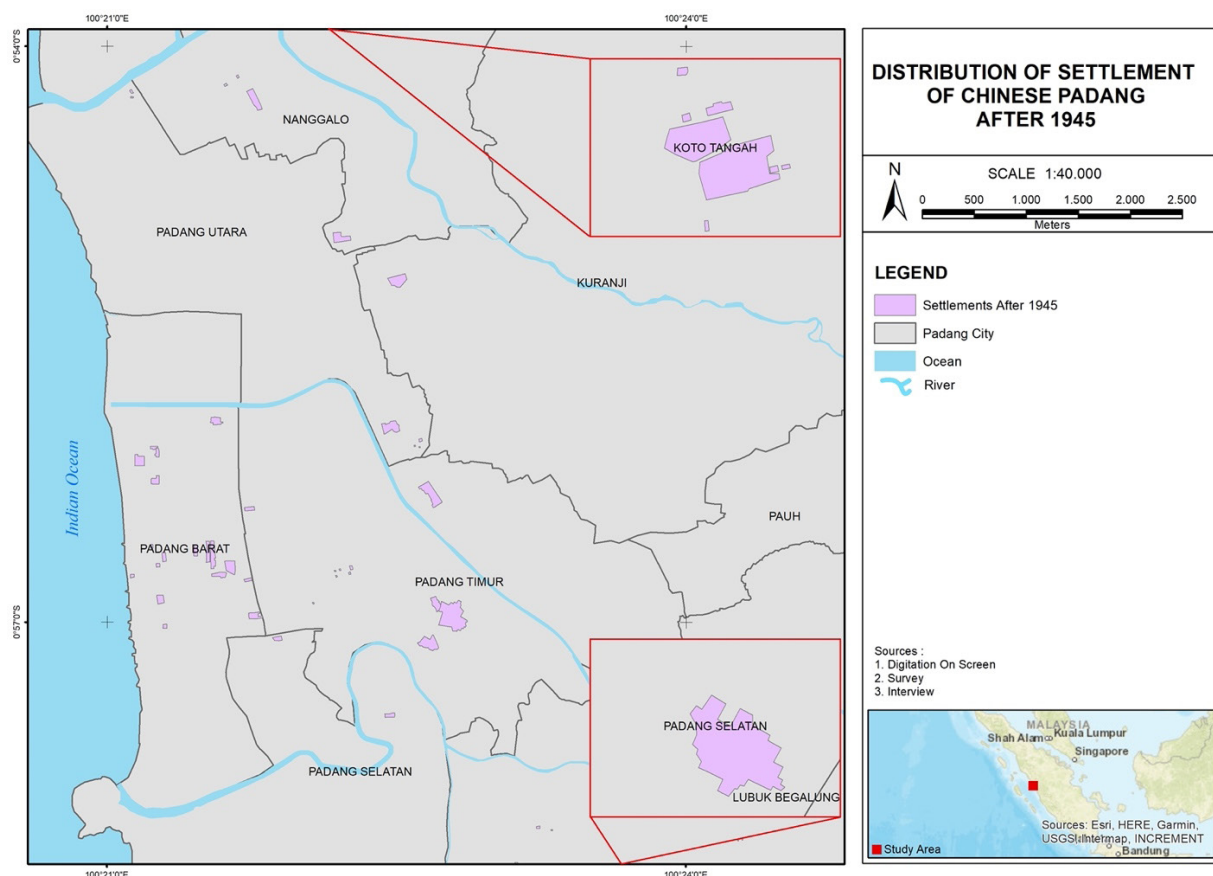


Figure 5. Map of the Distribution of Ethnic Chinese Settlements in Padang City after Independence in 1945
Source: Processed from On-Screen Digitization, Field Surveys, Interviews, and FGD Results concerning the ethnic Chinese in Padang City.

later encouraged the ethnic Chinese to undertake an exodus to Padang. Those mainly affected include the ethnic Chinese residing in coastal areas, such as Lubuk Alung, Padang Panjang, Solok, Pariaman, Bukittinggi, Painan, and Payakumbuh, and this had a significant impact on their population in the city even though some of the ethnic Chinese did not emigrate. Furthermore, those that fled to Padang found accommodation in the homes of relatives or camps provided by the Allies, such as the New Rek Cinema. This temporary settlement arrangement offered some respite and support to the displaced ethnic Chinese community (AS, n.d.; Idroes, 1997; NA.2.10.62 Inventaris Number 780, n.d.).

The map provided illustrates the concentration of population settlements in the city, primarily in three sub-districts including West Padang (Padang Barat), East Padang (Padang Timur), and North Padang (Padang Utara). The North Padang area extends to Ulak Karang in the north, stretches eastward to Siteba and Andaleh bridges, and southward to Aia Dingin and Mount Padang hills. Although the total area of Padang was approximately 33 km², only approximately 26 km² were effectively utilized due to the presence of swamps filled with Nipah plants, particularly from Ulak Karang to Aia Dingin. Moreover, the residential settlements were predominantly concentrated in the Belantung area (now Sudirman Street), Padang Baru, Jati, Sawahan, Tarandam, Ganting, Muara, and Kampong Cina. During that time, the Chinese community also resided in these concentrated areas. However, with the establishment of a rubber plantation in the Purus area, the ethnic Chinese gradually began to migrate there, expanding their presence beyond their initial settlements (Chaniago & Erdie, 2007).

The rapid growth of Padang City led to a pressing need for more affordable and accessible housing options. Therefore, efforts were made to expand the city's boundaries. Initially, negotiations were made with the regent of Pariaman Regency to develop the Siteba area, which was then within the administrative jurisdiction of Padang Pariaman, into a housing area. Subsequently, the Tabbing area and residential complexes such as Wisma Indah III, Wisma Indah V, and Wisma Indah III were constructed in the late 1970s. This expansion of residential areas was driven by the significant population increase that occurred in the 1960s as indicated by the 123,000 individuals/km² estimated as the population density of Pandang by 1959. The focus on the development of these new housing areas was aimed to address the rising demand for housing and provide affordable options for the growing population (Zaidulfar, 2002). The increasing population was found to be due to the massive migration during the revolutionary period and the PRRI in 1958. Moreover, the housing project embarked on during the period was in line with the Central government's program through Repelita I (1969-1974). Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 29/1974 was also used to establish the National Housing Development Company (Perum Perumnas) to ensure housing and urban development (Government Regulation, 1988; Government Regulation, 2004; Government Regulation, 1974; Silas, 2005).

The government's provision of public housing was to offer affordable residential options for citizens, particularly government employees. However, it is important to note that there were no specific clusters of ethnic Chinese within these housing projects. This was primarily due to their locations on the outskirts and fringes of the city predominantly occupied by the native population and not yet established as economic

centers in the 1970s. The economic activities of the period primarily revolved around the Kampong Jawa market (now Pasar Raya Padang) and the Pondok area with most of the businesses owned by the Chinese community. Meanwhile, the Kampong Cina was transformed into a residential area known as Pondok and became synonymous with the Chinese community in Padang. The area holds significant potential as a historical, cultural, shopping, and culinary destination because it is located in the old city. Ultimately, the development of the old town as a tourist attraction encompassed the Chinese Camp area, thereby, making it possible to showcase Chinese culture and architecture. The region is presently the primary hub for the Chinese settlements in Padang where their presence and cultural heritage are concentrated.

The Padang city government decided to provide housing for residents after the inauguration of the Mayor of Hasan Basri Durin in 1973 (Chaniago & Erdie, 2007). The focus was to develop all infrastructures and this led to the construction of a sports facility complex in the Rimbo Kaluang area and Padang Baru as well as a two-lane Khatib Sulaiman highway to open the Belanti area to Ulak Karang. Moreover, West Sumatra Ltd was invited to develop a public housing complex in the Rumbia forest area of Ulak Karang and it was later named the Wisma Indah I. Wisma Warta was also constructed in the Air Tawar area, specifically for the city government employees.

The increasing demand for affordable housing greatly influenced the expansion of Padang City. Initial negotiations were conducted with the regent of Pariaman Regency to develop the Siteba area, which was still part of Padang Pariaman's administrative region at that time, into a residential housing zone. This was followed by the development of the Tabbing area and the construction of housing complexes such as Wisma Indah III, Wisma Indah V, and Wisma Indah III in the late 1970s. The government's provision of public housing was primarily to offer affordable housing options for city residents, particularly civil servants. However, these existing housing projects were not preferred by the ethnic Chinese community. This is because they were located on the outskirts and periphery of the city mainly inhabited by native residents and had not been developed into an economic center in the 1970s. The main economic activities of the period were centered around the Kampong Jawa market (now Pasar Raya Padang) and the Kampong Cina area, Pasar Mudik, and Pasar Batipuh. In 1974, the development of Padang took a significant step forward with the implementation of the Repelita I program. The National Housing Development Company (Perum Perumnas) was established through the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 29/1974 to spearhead housing and urban development initiatives (Silas, 2005).

In 1980, Padang experienced an expansion from the previous 33 km² (about 20.51 mi). The city also moved from only 3 sub-districts including West Padang, East Padang, and South Padang to 11 sub-districts with the addition of Padang Utara, Koto Tengah, Nanggalo, Kuranji, Pauh, Lubuk Begalung, Lubuk Kilangan, and Bungus Teluk Kabung. According to Harris and Edward L. Ullman (Harris & Ullman, 1945; Schwirian, 2007), A city typically experiences growth around multiple focal points or nuclei, including a main center along with several sub-centers. The primary center encompasses economic and government activities, bolstered by several buffer zones. Moreover, the development pattern usually follows the transportation network system, which plays a crucial role in shaping urban expansion. In

the case of Padang, improvements in road infrastructure led to the creation of a two-lane main road, connecting the city with surrounding areas. Furthermore, a separate road was constructed to facilitate transportation for two-wheeled and four-wheeled vehicles, linking Padang with Bukittinggi to the north. This led to a shift in the housing growth towards the northern regions of the city (Zaidulfar, 2002).

According to the city plan, the trade and service center covering four sub-districts including West Padang, North Padang, East Padang, and South Padang is the main area. Meanwhile, the main sub-centers were originally planned to be Bungus, Lubuk Buaya, and Lubuk Begalung but were revised in 1992 to include the Aie Pacah as a terminal area. The terminal was originally located in the city center (Andalas terminal) which was very close to the Padang Raya Market and the Mayor's office. In 1990, a bypass road was built to expand equity to the suburbs but the development of the sub-

central area, especially the one to the east, was not growing as expected. This led to the continuous usage of the highway area and the Lintas Andalas terminal as the center for trading activities (Zaidulfar, 2002). Meanwhile, residences have been developed right behind the rows of government buildings and shops also sprang up after the expansion to the north. This means the front layer was for office and trade areas while the back layer was for residential and housing purposes. In the same year, a large population increase was experienced in Padang from 123,000 in 1996 to 631,450 in 1990 but it was not evenly distributed as expected. It was also discovered that several residential areas were developed in the eastern and southern regions of the city during the period. This was indicated in the reports on housing developments from 1988-2017 as stated in the following table (*Master Plan for Padang City 1983-2003*, n.d.)

Table 1. Name of Housing for 1988-2017 (Source: Padang City PRKPP Office 1983-2017)

Housing Name	Ward	District	Developer Agency	Developer Owner	Years
Pondok Mungil Ujing Gurun	Ujung Gurun	West Padang	-	Anwar Muchtar	1981
Jondul Rawang	Rawang	South Padang	-	Azwar	1983-1985
Vila Hadis Permai	Ulak Karang Utara	North Padang	-	-	1986
Jondul 1 dan 2	Parupuk Tabing	Koto Tengah	PT. Jondul	-	1988
Rangkai Permata	Ganting Parak Gadang	East Padang	PT. Sekapa	Soediro	1988
Pola Mas Andalas	Andalas	East Padang	PS. Pola Papan Nusantara	-	1989
Jondul 3 and 4	-	-	-	-	1990
Pola Mas Parak Kopi	Alai Parak Kopi	North Padang	-	-	1994
Permata Agency	Koto Baru Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	-	Al Jufri	1995
Cendana Mata Air	Koto Baru Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	PT. Cendana	Darius Lamsuddin	1995
Cendana Mata Air	Koto Baru Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	PT. Cendana	Darius Lamsuddin	1996
Pegambiran Permai	Pegambiran	Lubuk Begalung	PT. Kharismatama Bakti Sarana	H. Jachnis	1996
Pegambiran Permai	Pegambiran	Lubuk Begalung	PT. Kharismatama Bakti Sarana	H. Jachnis	1997
Pondok Indah	Ganting Parak Gadang	East Padang	-	Mimi Wijaya	1997
Filano Gunung Pangilun	Alai Parak Kopi	North Padang	-	Ir. Weno Aulia	1997
Cendana Mata Air	Koto Baru Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	PT. Cendana	Darius Lamsuddin	1999
Vila Sentosa	Tabing Banda Gadang	Nanggalo	PS. Della Sentosa Perkasa	Dr. Rosman Dahli	1999
Taman Banuaran Indah	Banuaran Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	PS. Bumi Koto Agung Pratama	Aril Syarif	2000
Griya Elok	Batung Taba Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	PS. Hati Prima Griya Elok	Drs. Akmal Usman	2001
Jala Utama	Lubek Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	PT. Jala Mitra Inter Nusa	H. Astril Rajo Merah	2001
Graha Asri Sudirman	Jati Baru	East Padang	PT. Grafos	-	2000-2005
Permata Bunda Pauh	Limau Manih	Pauh	-	Yenni, S.E et. All.	2005
Mega Asri	Kampung Lapai	Nanggalo	Mega Asri	Irifanda Abidin	2006
Perumahan Mitra Utama II	Banuaran Nan XX	Lubuk Begalung	PT. Jala Mitra Inter Nusa	H. Asril Rajo Merah	2007
Koto Padang Ikua Koto		Koto Tengah	Mega Asri	Lazwardi, S.H	2012
Mega Asri	Ganting Parak Gadang	East Padang	Mega Asri	Fifi Safitri (kuasa H. King Churcil)	2015
Mega Asri Parak Kopi	Alai Parak Kopi	North Padang	Mega Asri	Zairal (Kuasa Ibrahim Malin Marjo and friends)	2017

Source: Padang City PRKPP Office 1983-2017

It was discovered from the table that several housing programs were developed in the Rawang (South Padang) area between 1983 and 2017. Moreover, the interviews and FGDs conducted with the Chinese in Pandang showed that the Jondul Rawang housing estate has a large Chinese population (Department of Public Housing and Settlement and Land Areas of Padang City, Perum List of Housing Developers in Padang City). The estate was reported to be highly demanded by the ethnic Chinese, especially the lower middle-class community that had continuous difficulty in getting land for accommodation in the inner-city area. Furthermore, approximately 40% of the residents in the housing area are of Chinese ethnicity while the remaining population comprises individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds such as Javanese, Batak, and Minangkabau. These residents also bring with them a wide range of professional backgrounds. It was also noted that the housing area underwent expansion once again in 1985 as a result of the substantial demand for house plots.

The earthquake that struck Padang on September 30, 2009, had a profound impact on the residents of the city, particularly in their decisions regarding safe living areas. As a response, the city's development initiatives began to prioritize measures aimed at mitigating risks and ensuring the construction of secure offices and housing. In line with the Strategic Settlement and Urban Infrastructure Development (SPPIP) document for Padang, covering the period from 2004 to 2010, the objective of urban development was to enhance the organization, relocation, and rehabilitation of both the city and its settlements. Although the plan encompassed the eastern part of the city, it was not given primary importance. However, the earthquake served as a turning point, significantly influencing the policies of the city government. This was indicated by the newfound awareness of the necessity of incorporating mitigation strategies into the design of

development and settlement policies (Strategic Settlement and Urban Infrastructure Development (SPPIP) in Padang 2004-2010, 2011).

The vision of the 2010-2030 Regional Spatial Plan (RSP) is "The Realization of Padang as a Metropolitan City Based on Disaster Mitigation Supported by the Development of the Trade, Services, Industry and Tourism Sector" (SPPIP Padang City, 2011). The policy was further developed to implement steps to protect the areas considered vulnerable to earthquake or tsunami such as the City Center area including the North, West, South, and East Padang districts that serve as the trade and service area. Therefore, the government encourages the growth of settlements in the eastern and southern parts of the city such as the Koto Tangah, Kuranji, Pauh, Lubuk Kilangan, and Bungus Teluk Kabung districts. The increasing population in the area was found to be due to the higher demand for land to accommodate settlements. This was indicated by the increase in the residential area from 3,157 (a) in 1998 to 16,608 (ha) in 2014. The map showing the residential population of Padang City in 2021 is presented as follows.

The map shows that the density of population settlements was evenly distributed in all sub-districts. Meanwhile, a total of ten sub-districts out of eleven belonged to the ethnic Chinese but the distribution was uneven as shown in the following graph.

The graph shows that ethnic Chinese are scattered in different sub-districts of Padang City except for Bungus Teluk Kabung. The highest number lived in West Padang with 1806 houses and most of them resided in Kampung Pondok with 786 houses, Berok Nipah with 486, and Kampung Jao with 122. This was followed by South Padang with 1326 ethnic Chinese houses and the most significant number was in the kampung of Belakang Pondok, Mata Air, and Rawang. The next was Lubuk Begalung with 141 houses including 42 in Koto Baru,

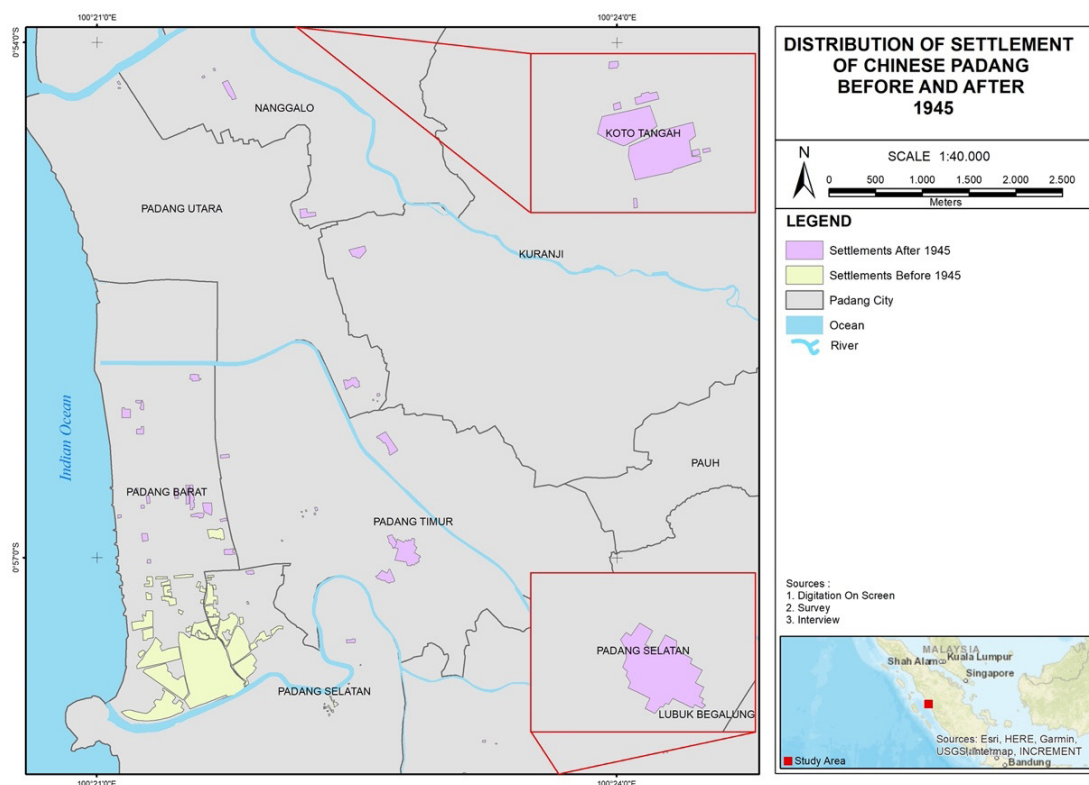


Figure 8. Map of Padang Chinese Ethnic Settlements in 2021

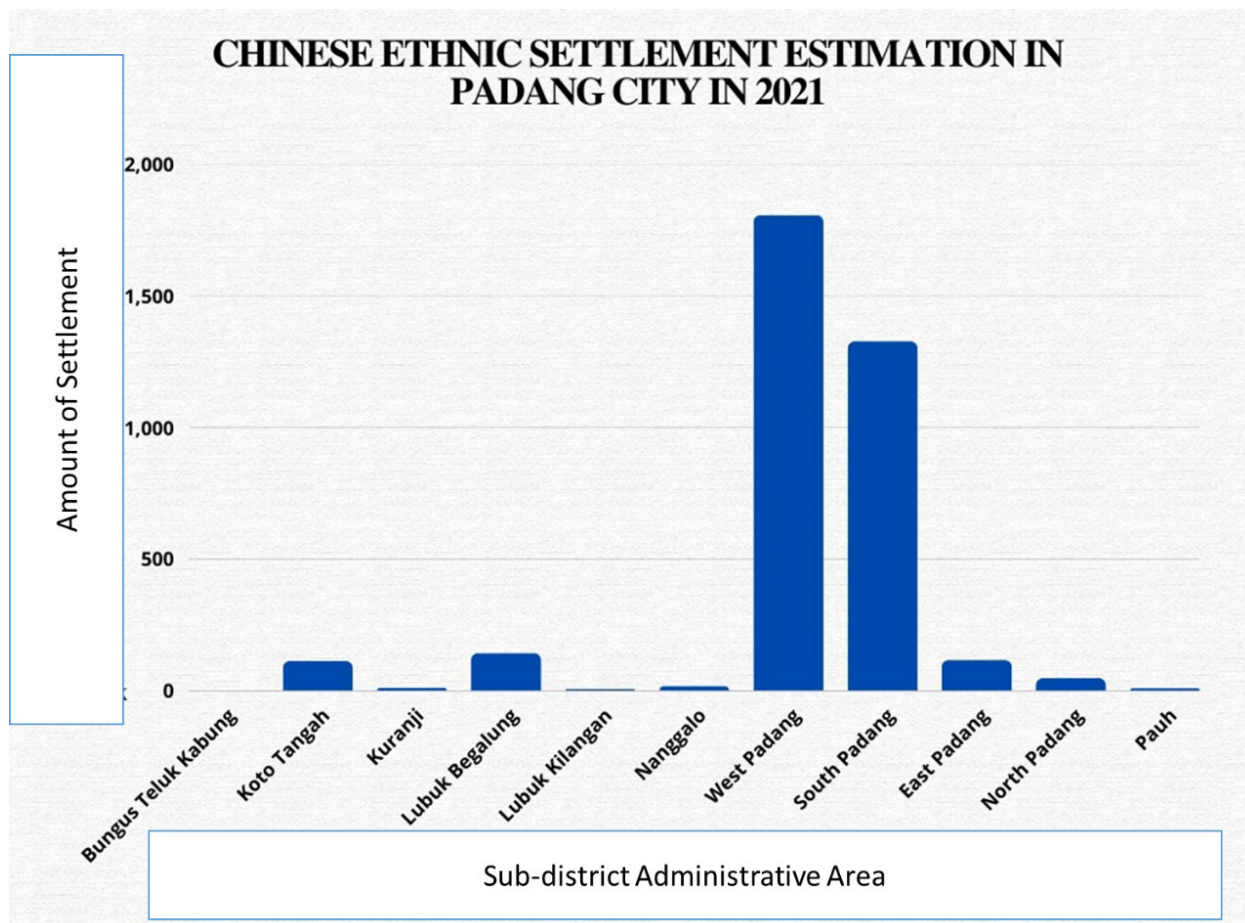


Figure 9. The Distribution of China Settlements in the Sub-district Administrative Area of Padang City
 Source: The data was processed based on the results obtained from interviews, FGDs, and field surveys of housing locations.

19 in Lubuk Begalung, 16 in Parak Laweh, 16 in Kampung Jua, and 17 in Banuaran. Furthermore, Padang Timur had 115 houses spread over ten sub-districts with the highest number recorded in Parak Gadang, Ganting, and Andalas. The findings also showed 111 houses in Koto Tengah and the most extensive distribution was recorded in the Parupuk Tabing with 92 followed by Lubuk Buaya with 9, and Dadok Tunggul Hitam with 5. It was further discovered that the other sub-districts had less than 50 houses such as North Padang with 46 spread across Ulak Karang, Lolong Belanti, Gunung Pangilun, and Alai Parak Kopi. Kuranji sub-district also had 10 houses concentrated in the Korong Gadang, Nanggalo sub-district had 16 houses scattered in Lapai and Banda Gadang villages, and Pauh sub-district had 8 spread across Cupak Tangah, Piai Tangah, and Kapalo Koto. The lowest number of ethnic Chinese houses was found in Lubuk Kilangan sub-district with 5 recorded in Indarung and 1 in Bandar Buat. This simply showed that the Chinese settlements have spread throughout Padang and the people had no obstacles settling down and becoming part of the Padang City population.

4. Conclusion

Following the independence of Padang, the settlements of the ethnic Chinese community experienced a systematic expansion that paralleled the city's transformation. This organized progression can be observed through several phases of change. Firstly, from 1945 to 1949, ethnic settlements followed a political trajectory. This era was marked by Indonesia's uncertain circumstances and the pressure exerted by the Allies and the NICA (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration).

In the name of security, the ethnic Chinese population was relocated from various cities in West Sumatra to seek refuge in Padang. They were specifically placed in a designated camp within Kampong Cina, while also establishing residences in other areas near key government, military, market, and economic centers surrounding the Batang Arau River, Pasar Raya, Ratulangi, Kampong Jawa, and the Damar region. Secondly, during the period from 1950 to 1980, ethnic Chinese settlements in Padang were primarily concentrated within the city limits. They resided in specific areas, notably plantations such as Poerus Kaboen/Purus, business districts around Pasar Raya, Damar, Olo Ladang, Belakang Tangsi, Muhammad Yamin, Hiligoo, and industrial zones including Simpang Haru, Sawahan, and Tabing. Thirdly, from 1980 to 2020, the distribution of ethnic Chinese settlements experienced changes aligned with the development of urban infrastructure. In 1980, Padang City issued a policy to expand its territorial boundaries, which not only stimulated economic growth but also created opportunities for the ethnic Chinese community to participate in both economic and settlement development within the city. The city government's policy on City Spatial Planning also played a crucial role in shaping the distribution of ethnic Chinese settlements. Moreover, infrastructure, transportation, business, and trade were key factors influencing the establishment and growth of these settlements in line with urban planning in Padang. The earthquake that occurred on September 30, 2009, also had a profound impact on these settlements. The psychological effects of the event significantly influenced the sense of comfort for residents, particularly in areas classified as high-risk disaster zones. Therefore, the

majority of ethnic Chinese settlements, which were previously concentrated in the city center, gradually shifted towards the eastern part of Padang. This shift encompassed both residential areas and land allocation decisions. The relocation was mainly conducted to serve as disaster mitigation measures, specifically earthquake and tsunami risks. According to 2020 data, ethnic Chinese settlements were present in all sub-districts of Padang, except Bungus Teluk Kabung. The understanding of the general direction for the distribution of these settlements was followed by a deeper exploration of the processes and factors that influenced each phase.

The transformations that have occurred in Padang since 1980 as well as the earthquake disaster experienced in 2009 played a crucial role in shaping the distribution of settlements within the city. Throughout these phases of change, one thing that has not changed is the position of Kampung Cina as the center of Padang Chinese settlement, economy, and socio-culture. It was also discovered that the settlements shifted outside of the Chinese camp in the Dutch East Indies era and expanded to nearly all sub-districts of Padang by 2021. This uniqueness distinguishes Padang from other areas with Chinese communities. The enduring significance of the Chinese camp, known as Kampung Pondok, as a center for settlement, economic activities, and socio-cultural interactions underscores its ongoing importance. Moreover, this situation has opened up opportunities for the ethnic Chinese population to move beyond their traditional territories, fostering greater integration and interaction with the local population. These results showed ethnic Chinese residents have dispersed across all districts of Padang and lived harmoniously alongside the local population for decades. Meanwhile, the limitations observed in this study such as the phases in settlement development and the problem of land acquisition and adaptation between the Chinese and the local population were recommended to be the focus of subsequent research.

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