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The Future of Slum

Jakarta's *Kampung* Dwellers as Equity Partners in Slum Alleviation Planning

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Wageningen University & Research

Jakarta's *Kampung* Dwellers as Equity Partners in Slum Alleviation Planning

Case Study: Jakarta Community Action Plan

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MSc Thesis Landuse Planning (LUP-80436)

Wageningen University and Research

2021

"*Kampung* is the space where people can learn to be a Jakartan, to be an Indonesian"

-Governor Ali Sadikin-

Colophon

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This research is funded by The Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP)

Preface

I dedicate this thesis to all kampung dwellers in Jakarta who taught me survival strategy to live in such a neighborhood surrounded by the concrete jungles

I was born and raised in a small village in Kebumen Regency, Central Java. Due to my family's impoverished condition, my parents sent me to work in a North Jakarta factory after high school. Since then, I have lived in a slum and worked in a textile factory. Since I came from a destitute village, seeing the condition of the slum does not make me think that this neighborhood is inadequate. Through times, I am being used to live in this kind of neighborhood. One thing that teaches me a lesson is the fact that Jakarta is harsh. There is a clear distinction between the poor and the rich, socially and economically.

Living in *kampung* that also considered a slum, encouraged me to conduct research focusing on *kampungs* and slums in Indonesia. My first research is about *kampung* dwellers' attachment to the environment and their efforts to cope with housing uncertainties with haunted eviction. Furthermore, there is also research about Betawi ethnic who are gradually dismissed from Jakarta and other research with *kampung* as my study case. Following my commitment to focusing on *kampung* and the slum alleviation plan, I decided to highlight CAP's newly emerged concept (Community Action Plan) originated by *kampung* dwellers.

I have received a lot of support and assistance while working on this thesis. First, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Wim van der Knaap, for the motivation and patience to guide me during the whole process. Countless feedbacks and discussions were conducted to perfecting this thesis. Furthermore, I would thank to the JRMK team; Mrs. Eny, Mrs. Herda, Mr. Warno, Mr. Warsito, and Mrs. Yati, who always accompany me to visit countless *kampung* in Jakarta and allow me to be involved in many JRMK's movements. I also feel grateful to interview such notable figures like Mr. Gugun, who tirelessly assist the poor to obtain their living certainty, Rujak's Urban Experts who give the whole to advocate urban poor to obtain adequate housing. Finally, endless gratitude addressed to the LPDP scholarship that awarded me a precious chance to acquire higher education.

Thank You,

Fajar Winarsih

Wageningen, February 2021

Abstract

Kampung is this research presented as the concept of living where two-dimensional features were identified: dwelling and working. In the long run efforts in alleviating inadequate settlements, Jakarta's provincial government has tried all possible way of theoretical neighborhood upgrading. However, the implemented programs were only put the dwellers as subjects of the program. Instead of complying with dwellers' needs, several programs forced them to yield to obey the government's wishes. This injustice empowered the dwellers to conduct social movements called the "Housing Justice Movement" to prevail the housing rights. These movements were answered by the legitimation of 200 prioritized slums and 21 *kampungs* for improvement. Furthermore, the collaborated problem-based approach was initiated by dwellers associated with local NGOs and urban experts to elevate dwellers' participation in the planning process, best known as CAP.

This study identified the *kampung* -slum intertwined concepts as the foundation of further discussion about the implemented slum alleviation programs in Jakarta. The *kampungs*' complexity was also discussed to identify the activity pattern that influences *kampung* identity formation. Twenty-four interviews were carried out in data collection, covering the involved governments, NGOs, urban experts, and *kampung* dwellers. This research was constructed upon a mixed-method that combined qualitative and quantitative interpretation. The data were quantitatively analyzed using Kernel density in ArcGIS, while the interviews and literature reviews were summarized and quoted in the text. The outcomes show that such programs should engage dwellers in the planning process as full partners, program drivers, or decision-makers to obtain equity partnership.

Keywords: kampung dwellers, kampung, CAP (Community Action Plan), Housing Justice Movement, equity partnerships

Abbreviation

ATR/ BPN	*Kementerian Agraria Tata Ruang/ Badan Pertanahan Nasional* (Ministry of Land and Spatial Planning/ National Land Agency)
BKM/LKM	*Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat/ Lembaga Keswadayaan Masyarakat* (Community Board of Trustees)
BPS	*Badan Pusat Statistik* (Central Bureau of Statistics)
CAP	Community Action Plan
DCKTRP	*Dinas Cipta Karya, Tata Ruang, dan Pertanahan* (Provincial Office of Spatial Planning and Land Policy)
DPRKP	*Dinas Perumahan Rakyat dan Kawasan Permukiman* (Provincial Office of Public Housing and Settlement Areas)
FKTMB	*Forum Komunikasi Tanah Merah Bersatu* (Communication Forum of *Kampung* Tanah Merah Alliances)
JRMK	*Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota* (Urban Poor Network)
KIP	*Kampung* Improvement Program
*KOTA*KU	*Kota Tanpa Kumuh* (Cities without Slum)
KSM	*Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat* (Community Voluntary Contribution Group)
P2KP	*Program Peningkatan Kualitas Permukiman* (Urban Settlement Improvement Program)
P2KKP	*Program Peningkatan Kualitas Kawasan Permukiman* (Slum Improvement Action Plan)
Pemkot	*Pemerintah Kota* or Municipality
PKK	*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Movement)
PNPM	*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (National Community Empowerment Program)
RPJMN	*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional* (Medium-Term National Development Plan)
RT	*Rukun Tangga* or Neighborhood Unit
RW	*Rukun Warga* or Community Unit
SK	*Surat Keputusan* or Decree
UPC	Urban Poor Consortium

**Notes: the terms in Bahasa Indonesia are indicated in italic*

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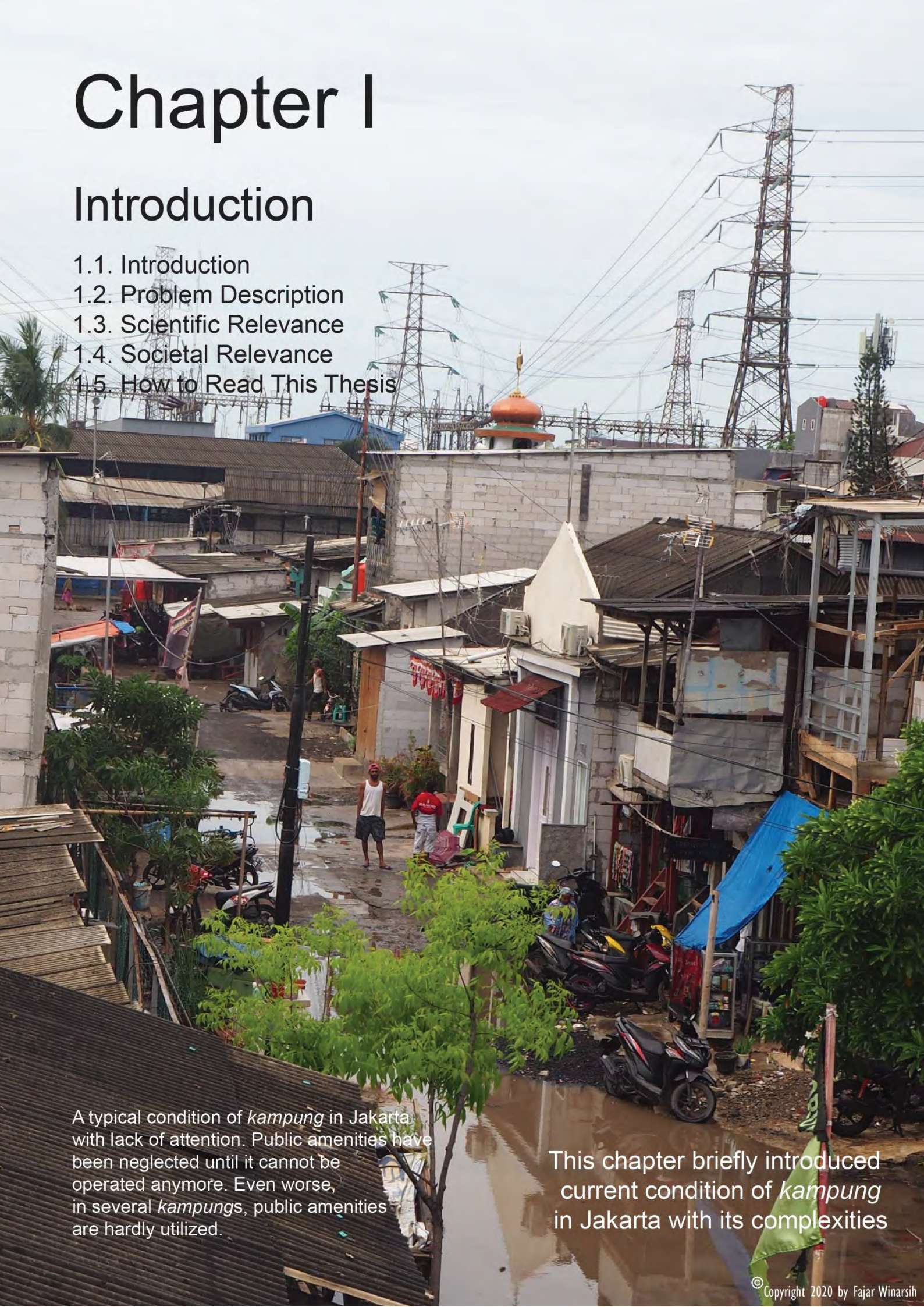
Chapter I

Introduction

1.1. Introduction
1.2. Problem Description
1.3. Scientific Relevance
1.4. Societal Relevance
1.5. How to Read This Thesis



A typical condition of *kampung* in Jakarta with lack of attention. Public amenities have been neglected until it cannot be operated anymore. Even worse, in several *kampung*s, public amenities are hardly utilized.

This chapter briefly introduced current condition of *kampung* in Jakarta with its complexities

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Every year, a woman will give birth in the Cilincing slum of North Jakarta, a young man flees his village in Sumatera for Jakarta's bright lights. In other towns, a young woman allures her friend to slumming Jakarta, or a farmer will move his impoverished family into one of East Jakarta's slums. These concatenations were entirely unnoticed, and they gradually constituted a watershed in human history (Davis, 2006). Nonetheless, it evolved into one unavoidable "culture" called "*merantau*", a local term that refers to one traditional culture that requires young adults to leave their houses and start a new life in other cities. This habit is one of many forms of the rural-urban migration phenomenon in Indonesia, directly influencing slum growth. De Satgé and Watson (2018, p.2) argued that slum growth in third-world countries is mostly influenced by urban sprawl, feeble and fractured civil society, under-resourced and authorized governance institutions. Besides informal urban economies and high unemployment levels, income disparity also influence slums and rising poverty.

According to Mayne (2017), Davis (2004), Turner (1973), and Jacobs (1989), slumming is an activity; a slum emerges not merely because of low standard materials of housing but also of slum dwellers' mobilities and activities. One existing program shows the continuity of "slumming" activities when they demolish substandard slums because the residents of those structures have no other options except to stay in the other slums or they have to construct new slums from previously "standard" housing (Turner, 1973). A slum is merely a stereotype, a perspective that arises as to the conflicted rationalities on how each individual sees their living standard (Watson, 2004; Davis 2006; Mayne, 2017). A slum has a negative connotation that refers to the urban setting's inadequate living conditions generalized into one abstraction with a diversity of settlement types and human conditions. Mayne (2017, p.10) stated in her book, "*urban poverty is real, and so are disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but slums are not*." This statement refers to the physical aspect of a slum and the social aspect reflected in the dwellers' social behaviour towards their living environment. Both aspects will be discussed further in this research.

In the global context, numerous terms refer to a low-income settlement, such as shelter, ghetto, shanty-town, squatter, and slum. In Indonesia, "*kampung* " is the common word to address a low-income settlement. *Kampung* appears as a typical indigenous urban settlement that is mostly inhabited by the lower-income class. *Kampung* has no acceptable English-language definition of the word, so it is not easy to discuss these areas with high precision. For research purposes, *kampung* (in this thesis) is a somewhat unanticipated, predominantly low-income residential neighborhood that is incrementally built and serviced (Ford, 1993). Ford (1993) divided *kampung* into four typologies: inner-city *kampung*, mid-city *kampung*, rural *kampung*, and squatter-*kampung.*

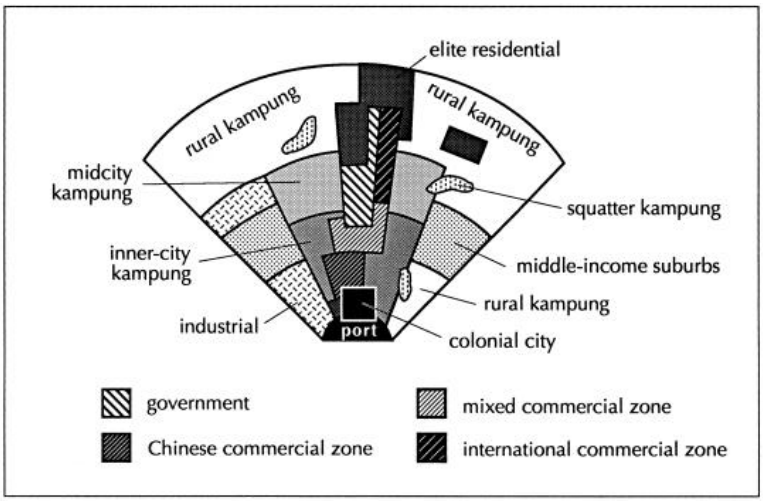

Figure 1.1. Model of Indonesian city structure

Source: Ford 1993, p.382

In his typology (see Figure 1.1), Ford indicated inner-city and mid-city *kampung* as formal residential areas located in the city center (mostly close to employment centers) with occasional flooding is far more idyllic than any other type of *kampung*. Village *kampung* is an original term for a village in the rural areas which geographically do not exist in Jakarta. Lastly, there is squatter-*kampung* that the government believes the center of the problem and requires more attention. Squatter-*kampung* can be distributed throughout the metropolitan city and associated with disadvantaged sites such as marshland and flood zones or areas transitioning to other uses. Some housings are semi-permanent since they exist for a long time, but they are officially temporary because they cannot claim property rights.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the argument on housing policy on slums in developing countries has distorted between two poles – slum clearing and slum upgrading (Mukhija, 2000). Later, the redevelopment of the slum presented the third, quite different approach believed to be the most sensible option. In his dissertation, Mukhija (2000) described how these programs were developed and became the main focus of the Indian (in the case of Mukhija's) government to alleviate slums. As shown in Figure 1.2, these three polarisations have a different approach in practice.

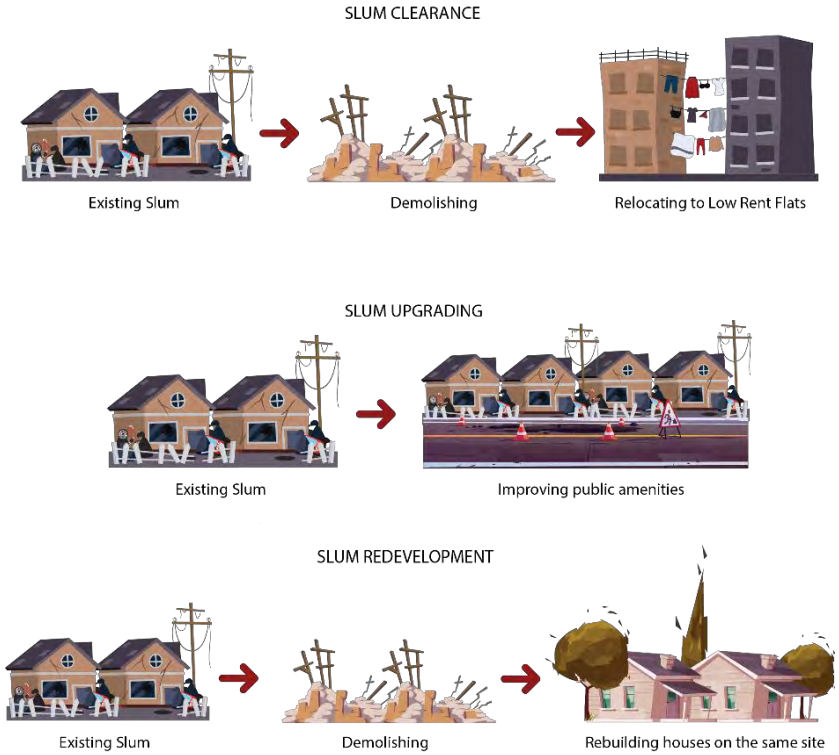

Figure 1.2. Three polarisations of slum alleviation planning

Author, 2020

Along with the three typical polarisations of slum alleviation planning, Indonesia's state government has implemented these practices in urban settings since the 1920s. There are four essential phases in altering slum alleviation efforts; colonial, post-independence, post-reformation, and pro-poor urban periods (Jellinek, 1991; Silver, 2008). Dating back to the colonial period in the 1920s, the Dutch government implemented the first *Kampung* Improvement Program (KIP) to prevent cholera outbreaks (Roosmalen, 2014). The post-independence period lasting from 1957-1966 is when the first president appointed Ali Sadikin - the first governor of Jakarta - to control the city landscape dominated by *kampung* due to the massive urbanization resulting from many post-colonialization riots in Java. Due to this massive urbanization, squatter-*kampung* has emerged uncontrollably. As a result, Ali Sadikin developed a follow-up program (from the previous KIP) called Muhammad Husni Thamrin Project, the upgraded version of KIP in the 1920s. The post-reformation period dates from 1997-2007 as the period with many attempts on the slum alleviation program, i.e., slum clearance, slum upgrading, and slum redevelopment.

Furthermore, since 2018, a concern towards slum revitalizations comes into realizing two slum decrees issued by Jakarta's governor, Anies Baswedan. These decrees modulate the distributions of *RW kumuh* (neighborhoods of the slum) and *kampung kumuh* (slum *kampungs*) throughout the city. Under Governor's Decree, No 90, 2018, 200 *RW*s (official neighborhood administration level) are declared slums. After the legitimization of these slums, a further decree was issued to validate *kampungs* as the urban settlements that should be restored. Furthermore, under Governor's Decree No 878 of 2018, the governor prioritized the alleviation program to 21 *kampungs*. To overcome slums in 21 prioritized *kampungs*, a new approach called CAP (Community Action Plan) that requires the dwellers' active involvement has been

introduced. Following CAP's main premise through the involvement of dwellers' participation, this research analyses dwellers' perspectives towards their *kampungs*, which might influence their participation in the planning process. Furthermore, the new findings and evaluation will be presented in this research as well.

1.2. Problem Description

Jakarta is the city of friction. Two polarization has been created due to the disproportion of social, economic, and cultural orientation within the city. The intertwined dualities called the *kota* and the *kampung*, widen the gap between the prosperous and impoverished residents. While the *kota* represents modernity by emphasizing the city's aesthetic feature and reflecting consumerism among the residents, *kampung* presents rather conventional living by preserving the communal identity representing diversity, spontaneity, and solidarity.

As the *kota,* Jakarta encounters many troublesome conjectures such as the notorious pollution, the slum-like areas, the traffic congestion, and poverty. However, if we explore a little more, diverse communities flocked in many conventional neighborhoods called *kampungs*. One could; therefore, best describe it as the urban *kampungs*. Within the *kampungs*, many dwellers formed robust communities equipped with self-help services. These ground-based settlements provide jobs, services, and housing for people from various income levels (Jellinek, 1991). *Kampung* represents mundane interactions among urban poor that somehow flock together and are captive by poverty due to the unaffordable urban living standard created by the urban prosperous.

The *kampungs* can be quite unpleasant looking. Dark, situated alongside alleyways and highly populated with hardly any room for dwellings, *kampung* may be the epitome of modernity. Although the *kampung*s were disregarded in spatial planning, they miraculously survived next to high rise buildings, next to upscale apartment blocks, along the riverbank. However, while skyscrapers and apartments continue to outnumber the *kampung*s, development patterns in *kampung*s have remained relatively sedate and simplistic in contrast (Irawaty, 2018).

In the context of urban *kampung* in Jakarta, socio-economic and cultural factors determine intentions for developing the physical environment of space (Raharjo, 2010; Hutama, 2016). Togetherness among the *Kampung* dwellers has empowered the dwellers to survive under the compression of disparity and marginalization. Most dwellers rely on the social, physical and economic resources of the urban *kampung* to sustain themselves. Therefore, spaces are a fundamental manifestation of their usual engagement, determining whether their *kampung*s will evolve into a slum or prevail over their sumptuous identity.

The slum improvement programs are a glimmer of hope to avoid *kampung* evolving into a slum. Since its implementation in the 1920s, the slum improvement programs in Jakarta have continued to evolve, following the urban agenda of the elected governor. However, in many revised programs, public participation is less likely to involve the planning process (Counihan, 2017; Hasanawi et al., 2019). As a result, most dwellers are positioned as the passive receptor of any construction that occurred in their neighborhood.

Finally, this research focuses on the evolution of public participation in slum alleviation planning and identifying the dwellers' possible role as equity partners in the planning process.

The discussion started by identifying the distinct context of *kampungs* and slums to avoid misinterpretation. Moreover, a discussion of the implemented slum alleviation planning and its agenda will create a bridge to the discussion of social spaces that reflect dwellers' identities. Interactions in the social spaces led to the distinction of dwellers' perspectives towards their living environment, which also influenced their decision to preserve their *kampungs* or leave it for the suggested vertical housing (by moving to the low-rent flats). Furthermore, the follow-up discussion about the willingness to preserve the *kampung* led to social movements discussion to obtain housing justice for the urban poor.

1.3. Scientific Relevance

This research focuses on *kampung* dwellers' potential role as equity partners in the series of slum alleviation programs. The legitimation of the slum decree in 2018 gave a ray of hope for *kampung* dwellers to obtain a better living. After the list of 21 *kampung*s and 200 slums (*RW*s) have been legitimated, scientific research in identifying those *kampung*s and slums is highly required. Two scholars researched two prioritized *kampung*s: *Kampung* Akuarium (Ghifari, 2020) and *Kampung* Tembok Bolong (Putri et al., 2020). Thus, this thesis produces an analytical discussion towards four selected *kampungs* as the study case area to give a scientific contribution to the implementation of slum alleviation planning in Jakarta. This *kampungs* are representing slums (*Kampung* Marlina and *Kampung* Akuarium), a squatter (*Kampung* Walang), and non-slum *kampung* (*Kampung* Tanah Merah).

Furthermore, this thesis discusses the disparities between *kota* and *kampung* that led to the overlooking of *kampungs* in spatial planning. As a result, *kampung* relies upon social, economic, and physical assets to survives. Self-help housing and self-help improvement developed to strive their existence. Hence, social activities conducted in social spaces, such as alleyways, are the last resources to determine their *kampung*'s direction, whether decay into a slum or prevail with an exquisite identity. Moreover, a social movement to strive for housing justice will also be presented.

Many research about *kampung* conducted in Jakarta mostly focus on the history of its emergence (Puspitasari et al., 2011; Irawaty, 2018), socio-economic issues portrayed in one *kampung* (Adianto, 2017; Ghifari, 2020; Funo et al., 2018), urban features of *kampungs* and informal settlements (Alzamil, 2017) and the reflection of the specific alleviation programs (Devas, 1981; Kuswardono, 1997; Setiadi&Rahman, 2016; Pramadi et al., 2020; Rukmana, 2018; Irawaty, 2018; Meilasari-Sugiana et al., 2018; van Horen, 1995). Due to the dwellers' disadvantaged position as the passive receptor, research that identifies their participation in the slum alleviation planning process is less conducted, especially in Jakarta. However, in many other cities, public participation often becomes the highlighted topic on slum alleviation plans. Surabaya, for instance, a collaborative improvement through a clean-*kampung* competition, has become a new approach to invite local dwellers to actively engaged in the *kampung* improvement (Atika et al., 2014; Imron, 2020)

1.4. Societal Relevance

Kampungs represent organic settlements with diverse, flexible, and spontaneous social environments (Silas, 1992; den Ouden, 2014; Irawaty, 2018). Numerous *kampung*s stand side by side with high rise buildings, generating mutual interdependence between people of various

socio-economic status. *Kampung*, inadvertently, offers a solution to overcome the housing shortage among the urban poor. Nevertheless, at the same time, it also potentially increase poverty in the city by accommodating newcomers with low-rent rooms. Moreover, to overcome these wicked issues, a new problem-based approach called CAP was introduced by a local NGO. In the series of slum alleviation programs, CAP represents the first phase of the planning. It accommodates dwellers' knowledge, concerns, and wishes. In the process, CAP requires active dwellers' participation. Due to the high priority to generate income, active participation seems preposterous unless the dwellers have the urgency to improving their neighborhood (slum is not urgent, they are used to it) (Irawaty, 2018; Ghifari, 2020). These perspectives will become the main premise of constructing dwellers' role in the 'alleviation planning process' by (first) identifying the types of dwellers in the *kampungs*, reflecting from four study case areas.

1.5. How to Read this Thesis

The theoretical framework that incorporates 'slumming' as social activities is the first foundation to unravel the socio-economic complexities developed in *kampungs*. This theoretical framework is described further in Chapter 2. Moreover, Chapter 3 consists of the formulated sub-research questions supporting the main research question. Four sub-research questions are formulated to unravel the *kota-kampung* wicked issues that lead *kampungs* excluded from spatial planning policy and encounter housing injustice.

Furthermore, Chapter 4 presents the research design, which consists of data collection methods and data analysis. Then, to acquaint the reader with *kampungs*' position in *kota-kampung* relationship, Chapter 5 illustrates the inequalities reflected in the social, economic, and environmental aspects, followed by the shifted *kampungs*' perceptivity. Subsequently, Chapter 6 presents the data collected, which is structured based on the developed sub-research questions.

In addition, Chapter 7 discusses the conclusion following the constructed main research question. In this tier, theoretical frameworks and methodologies will be presented as a remainder. Finally, Chapter 8 wraps up the main discussion of the *kampung* dwellers' roles as equity partners in slum alleviation planning. Moreover, this chapter also describes the history of four selected *kampungs* to give more information about the wicked issues in *kampungs*.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

2.1. “Slumming” as Social Activity
2.2. Theory of Neighborhood Unit
2.3. Neighborhood Upgrading
2.4. Environmentalism of the Poor
2.5. Conceptual Framework

The actual condition of *Kampung* Bengek was captured in 2020. The piled waste underneath their houses influence the dweller to dispose domestic waste under their houses.

“Slumming” as social activities reflected in the daily social interactions among *kampung* dwellers in Jakarta. These activities lead them to the degradation of the environment which triggered the government to implement neighborhood upgrading in many existed *kampung*s.

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Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework

In the theoretical framework, the central concept of 'slumming' as a social activity is presented in Sub-Chapter 2.1, discussing both influences in social behavior and the impact on the living environment in squatter-*kampung* Moreover, Sub-Chapter 2.2 discusses the neighborhood unit theory, followed by the discussion of Neighborhood Upgrading in Sub-Chapter 2.3 that describes four critical phases of slum alleviation planning in Indonesia. The fourth concept is the "environmentalism of the poor" by Martinez-Alier (2002) that will be discussed in Sub-Chapter 2.4, describing the social movements resulting from the social and environmental justice experienced by the poor. Finally, Sub-Chapter 2.5 illustrates the conceptual framework as the premise that constructs the whole research.

2.1"Slumming" as a Social Activity

Slum clearance practices became the leading efforts to alleviate slums in many emerging countries (Shapely, 2018). Like Mayne's (2017) perspective about slums, Shapely (2018) also typified it as a perfect disguise for how private capital takes over the land and accumulates benefits. This disguise entirely takes benefits from a few expenses of redeveloping urban "badlands" into desirable real estate, which can generate more profits (Mayne, 2017; Shapely, 2018). Michael Harrington (1962) in Mayne (2017, p.11).

> *A slum is not merely an area of decrepit buildings. It is a social fact. [It] becomes the environment of the poverty culture, spiritual, and personal reality for its inhabitants, as well as an area of dilapidation. This is when the slum becomes the breeding ground of crime, of vice, the creator of people who are lost to themselves and society*.

In reality, the laborer of poor communities contributes significantly to urban, regional, and national economies. These communities are integral, although structurally disadvantaged, parts of cities and the urban networks within which they operate. Many researchers built their analysis upon the premise that slums represent *'the other side of our civilization' and comprised a 'sub-standard culture [that] breeds crime [and] leads to deviation*' (Mayne, 2017, p.31; Shapely, 2018, p.12). Drawing upon earlier generations of American sociology and anthropology, they argued that the:

> "*slum is a way of life, a subculture with a set of norms and value[s], which is reflected in poor sanitation and health practices, deviant behavior and characteristic attributes of apathy and social isolation*" (Mayne, 2017, p.32)

Slum and "slumming" as social activities are the foundation to investigate the emergence of slums. This phenomenon is merely a product of urban poverty (referring to Shapely, 2018, p.12, urban poverty was emerged due to the massive urban deprivation) translated into one stereotype inadequate living condition called 'slum,' which practically marginalizes the poor. It is a product of the poor's inability to meet urban living standards erected by urban society. In this context, Mayne (2017) argued that urban poverty is real, as are disadvantaged neighborhoods, but slums are not. Similarly, Shapely (2018, p.19) stated that *"being poor was not the problem,*

but being a pauper posed a threat to the fabric of society." Paupers did not conform and were insubordinate relative to social norms. They were a group that chose to live on the edge because they were semi-criminals, improvident, and drunk. However, this group often resides in the slum area as a part of society. In Jakarta, the impoverished living condition in a slum often leads the dwellers to do a survival crime that was oppositional and threatening (Shapely, 2018).

However, the impoverished people rarely use 'slum' because it is foreign to their language. They recognize that it demonizes and disempowers them as they seek to improve their homes and livelihoods, achieve good health and education, maintain their jobs and help their children to do well in their lives (Mayne, 2017). In the local term, slum dwellers were not fully aware of the city's different quality of life. Many of them are not aware that their living environment was what the government generalized as slums.

2.2. Theory of Neighborhood Unit

Amongst the more well-known neighborhood theories, the "Theory of Neighborhood" was first developed in 1929. It became the basis of design principles and paradigms for community development. Perry's theories are typically used in town and city sprawl, particularly for the construction of physical building elements. Lawhon adapted the institution and social concepts for a physical design later in 2009. Due to the aforementioned reasons, the physical-theory model allows various social interactions to occur in the local area.

Figure 2.1. Neighborhood unit diagram (Perry, 1929)

The neighborhood is a smaller model of residential areas within the city (see Figure 2.1). It consists of rather domestic amenities to meet dwellers' needs. Facilities such as mosques, post guards, health centers, learning centers, and public bathrooms are the standard amenities to fulfil dwellers' daily needs. While many experts have viewed it as the result of natural selection and competition, it is considered a product of random and unintended variation. Such

competition between social groups led to an evolutionary process that led to the rapid emergence of a new dominant social structure, shaping subsequent community development and planning (Chaskin, 1997). the urban philosophy of a neighborhood is comparable to social units, called neighborhoods, which believes that humans manifest in a common activities. Thus, requiring community development is the proper moral course of action for this sector (Kallus and Law-Yone, 2000 p.815). The social ecology sees it as central to understanding that the nature of social interaction taking place within neighborhoods includes: social, functional, cultural, and circumstantial as the essential elements in connecting local communities (Hallman, 1984).

One of the methods for defining a neighborhood as a spatial unit is to compare features or characteristics of several neighborhoods with each other areas and choose which of these features best represent all. Also, it incorporates "*residential and commercial planning as an integral building block in the development of urban structure*" (Kallus and Law-Yone, 2000 p.815). It is often served as a residential block within the cities representing the continuous expansion between the single house and the residential complex. This terminology is frequently used by landscape architects and urban planners as the unit analysis in urban development. The unquantifiable aspects, such as people's attitudes towards the community, cannot be ignored. The cluster makes a subset of the community a social unit in the environment. The numerous associations between facilities, services, locations, and land use delineate a neighborhood as a spatial concept (Chaskin, 1997). The proximity to where they reside and their status in that society has a lot to do with their definition of the neighborhood (Chaskin, 1997; Hutama, 2016). this neighborhood dimension will likely put weight on the perception of size and scope and encourage their belief that they draw boundaries around their neighborhood What residents see may be primarily what they want instead of what they worry. It appears that the physical space and social interaction dimensions are rarely isolated from each other, concerning its usage, which reflects on the informal dimensions (Chaskin, 1997; den Ouden, 2014).

2.3. Neighborhood Upgrading

Like people, neighborhoods are wide-ranging, and they mostly tolerate all kinds of different windfalls. As part of a multifaceted effort to improve neighborhoods with socially and physically marginalized communities, Harris (2019) argued that neighborhood enhancement is in the form of processes and programs that engage these populations.

As stated in his publication, Harris (2019) discussed the segregated neighborhood globally. The discussion was divided between developed and emerging societies within the world. Others might also refer to this segregation into the global North and global South (de Satgé & Watson, 2018). Harris (2019) also discussed various terms of the neighborhood, such as settlement, dwelling, slum, and many other terms that lead to confusion. In general, those terms refer to housing or a residential area. Harris (2019) and Watson (2018) both agreed upon the neighborhood being widely used in the global North. While in the global South, various labels such as settlement, squatter, shelter, slum, shanty-town, and ghetto were used to refer to an inadequate living environment.

In the developed world, prosperous countries have made efforts to mitigate poverty through income transfers or providing adequate services and facilities by targeting the poor. This action has been reflected in several programs for the poor (especially for the urban poor), such as tiny houses for the homeless, homeless shelters around the city, and social welfare. Consequently,

the global North's worst urban living conditions have been gradually reduced (Harris, 2019). Meanwhile, in emerging societies, poor neighborhood conditions are common and widely distributed on an unprecedented scale due to the booming population (Cobban, 1993; de Satgé & Watson, 2018). So it is without a doubt that the center of discussion of the slum has been shifted Southwards (Harris, 2019).

> *"Slums were contested spaces where moral judgments about the causes of poverty combined with fears over the possible social consequences if they were allowed to continue unchecked"* (Shapely, 2018, p.29).

It is a sketchy neighborhood where the inhabitants are marginalized in every aspect of life (social, economic, political, and cultural). The state and local government – where slums lie – has been implementing various revitalization, regeneration, and renewal, implying the slum clearance program (Harris, 2019; Shapely, 2018). Conversely, the terminology of slum upgrading and slum redevelopment refers to subtler changes without eviction.

2.3.1. Efforts of Neighborhood Development

This research refers to the concept of slum alleviation efforts discussed by Shapely (2018) and Harris (2019), with the combination of the actualization of the efforts in a slum alleviation plan in India (Mukhija, 2000) and Indonesia (Silas, 1984; Shapely, 2018; Tunas & Darmoyona, 2014). The four forms of a government action plan for alleviating slums represent the foremost approach to resolve the slum problems in developing countries.

- Ignore the issue: Laissez-Faire

  To do nothing is the first option. Laissez-faire ignores the severe problem, revealing the absence of government intervention. It might also be regarded as a whitewash. In the current era, planners and city governments sometimes ignore the areas that are considered hopeless or the slums of despair (Tugwell, 1932; Douglas, 1986). Planners and municipalities have various reasons to ignore the development in the slum area. One of the reasons is that they may claim that the condition is a matter of the poor and their property culture. Not so much can be done, and they claim it will get better on their own. They argue that to act is such a waste of financial resources (Harris, 2019).

- Slum Clearance

  The government has allotted a smaller percentage of its funds for new affordable housing to subsidize relocation in the low-cost apartment construction projects. As a result, slums are demolished, and residents are relocated to these affordable blocks. Generally, governments were allowed to utilize the good location of developed state land in this approach. However, this often causes controversy and friction with the poor people who live in low-income neighborhoods. Conventional wisdom also states that slum residents cannot readily acclimate to new surroundings.

- Slum Upgrading

  The state granted dwellers in slums with the legal title. In some cases, the state has provided support in necessities, infrastructure, and mortgage loans. This policy held that living standards in slums would improve over time. These enhancements, however, relied on tenure. After acquiring legal ownership, the slum residents would be willing to spend money on house improvements and settlements. In this manner, conventional thinking predicts that those who live in slums will be content with slum improvements.

- Slum Redevelopment

This approach to slum redevelopment was predicated on the removal of all current slums and reconstructing on the same site with denser and entirely free housing for the poor.

2.3.2. Four Important Phases of Slum Alleviation Planning in Indonesia

Along with the three typical polarisations of slum alleviation planning (see Figure 1.2), Indonesia's state government also implemented those practices in urban settings since the 1920s (Jellinek, 1991; Silver, 2008). There are four essential phases in altering slum alleviation efforts; colonial, post-independence, post-reformation, and pro-poor urban periods.

Dating back to the colonial period in the 1920s, the Dutch government implemented the first *Kampung* Improvement Program (KIP) to prevent cholera outbreaks (Roosmalen, 2014). Under Dutch rule, *kampung* has physically improved – the street ditches were rebuilt, paths were made up, pipes were laid, and washing and bathing places were equipped (Rutz, 1987).

The post-independence period lasting from 1957-1966 is when the first president appointed Governor Ali Sadikin to control the city landscape dominated by *kampung*. The domination was formed due to massive urbanization due to many rebellions in West Java and Central Java, which resulted in an increasing population of Jakarta (Darundono, 2011). Instead of evicting the dwellers, the governor was trying to redevelop *kampung* through the program called "Muhammad Husni Thamrin Project," or widely known as KIP (*Kampung* Improvement Program) (Devas, 1981). However, these redevelopments were effortlessly demolished in 1980 due to the more ambitious program in slum clearing (Silver, 2008; Darundono, 2011; Blackburn, 2011).

The post-reformation period dates from 1997-2007 as the period with many attempts on slum alleviation program. Many attempts to alleviate a slum have been implemented in this period – slum clearance, slum upgrading, and slum redevelopment. However, the most aggressive efforts are slum clearance of which was reported that more than 200.000 households were evicted during the program's implementation (Jellinek, 2011). In 2014, the program had changed by implementing the first redevelopment program initiated by the first governor. The government introduced "*kampung deret*" (similar to the concept of permanent tiny-houses), which later developed into a pilot project in slum alleviation planning. However, this program encountered obstacles in land tenure and property rights. It cannot be implemented in every squatter-*kampung* in Jakarta due to the differences in social character, customary law, and land policy.

Lastly, the pro-poor urban period started in 2020 when the first attempt of CAP (Community Action Plan) has been considered the importance of citizen participation in the making process. This program aims to squatter-*kampung* residents to be actively involved in alleviating a slum by gaining local knowledge (Levitan,1969). This program is implementing the recently constituted "Slum Decree" to legitimize any efforts in alleviating squatter-*kampung* throughout the country. In Jakarta, this decree is later translated into CAP, which gives a slight hope for the poor to improve their quality of life.

Concluding remarks

Neighborhood upgrading is an effort to improve the physical or social conditions in relatively disadvantaged urban neighborhoods to improve the dwellers' quality of life. In Indonesia, numerous slum alleviation efforts have been implemented, mainly in big cities, i.e., Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, and Semarang. The concept of slum alleviation planning has been translated into three different forms: slum clearance, slum upgrading, and slum redevelopment (see Figure 1.2)

Recently, Jakarta's provincial government collaborated with local NGOs and scholars, implementing a new problem-based approach that requires dwellers' participation in the planning process. A method, namely CAP (Community Action Plan) presented to accommodate dwellers' concerns and wishes towards their living environment. CAP is solely the first phase of the series of the new problem-based approach in alleviation planning. Such programs include CAP, CIP (Collaborative Implementation Program), and Agrarian Reform. This series aims to achieve adequate housing and security of tenure for *kampung* dwellers, ensuring the rights to obtain affordable houses.

This research intends to explore the collaborative planning between the government, squatter-*kampung* dwellers, and the appointed urban planners in implementing citizen participation into a constituted planning project.

2.4. Environmentalism of the Poor

Prior to the term 'environmentalism of the poor', it was proposed that the environment be defended against socio-economic inequalities (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Social movements have been known to be a means of saving species due to environmental hazards that will cause mass extinction in the entire populations if not remedied soon. In the "environmentalism of the poor" theory, the environmental issues are connected to several other issues, including social justice claims, which cause severe conflict.

Most dwellers of the urban slums live in constant fear of urban renewal efforts to displace them. The primary debate about urban slums' environmental inequity is the absence of access to public facilities. The underlying problem of limited land supply in the context of industrialization and urbanization is what causes inequitable provisions (Denaldi&Ferrara, 2018). Slums depend on cities, just as they both benefit from one another.

The perspective of slum dwellers is also reflected in the concept of environmentalism of the poor. This perspective often has a direct link with the concept of environmental justice. The realization of social inequity leads them (slum dwellers) to a requisition of housing justice in urban settings. The recognition of environmental justice supports the return of social resources to urban neighborhoods, assuring fair public access for the poor. An environmental justice

paradigm develops policies that aim to have a comprehensive impact on a wide range of problems while considering the environment's interrelationships (Silva, 2010). By drawing on local participation in environmental choices, intersectoral, interagency, and partnership forms, the plan should be constructed, assured of cooperation among stakeholders (Bullard, 2004; Heiman, 1996). Migration patterns and environmental justice have a significant relationship in the urban context. The impact becomes significant when political, economic, cultural, and social issues are brought to the fore.

This innovative effort united more than three hundred Asian, Latino, Native American, and African-American environmental justice activists to bring about 17 new results in 1993 (People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, October 27, 1991). The sole right to have a say in the city planning and redevelopment process is the principle which demands participation for all. The paradigm of environmental justice takes an integrative approach in order to develop public policies. Decisions should be based on both citizens' input in environmental policymaking, community empowerment, intersectoral cooperation, and alternative dispute resolution. Finally, it should strive for new and better coordination and partnerships between the various agencies and sectors (Bullard, 2004; Heiman, 1996).

2.5. Conceptual Framework

This sub-chapter summarises the implementation of the previously described concepts and theoretical framework. There are four concepts used in this research. The first concept is **'slumming' as a social activity**. This concept is used to describe a preliminary explanation of the social activity shaping a particular living environment. It will help the researcher to trace the existence of slums and dwellers' behavior historically. Secondly, the limitation of the study is presented with the **concept of neighborhood units as spatial analysis**. According to Perry's neighborhood unit diagram, this concept is useful to clarify the elements that should be utilized within the neighborhood (1929). The third concept is **neighborhood upgrading** by Harris (2019). It is presented to provide various forms of neighborhood development efforts in terms of slum alleviation planning. This concept is used to present a preliminary explanation about the neighborhood upgrading approach, particularly for the context of *kampung* in Indonesia. Finally**, the concept of "environmentalism of the poor"** is implemented to capture the extensive understanding of a slum from the perspective of slum dwellers. This concept aims to gather local knowledge to improve slum alleviation planning by including citizen participation in the planning process. The conceptual framework of the concepts and theory in this research is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

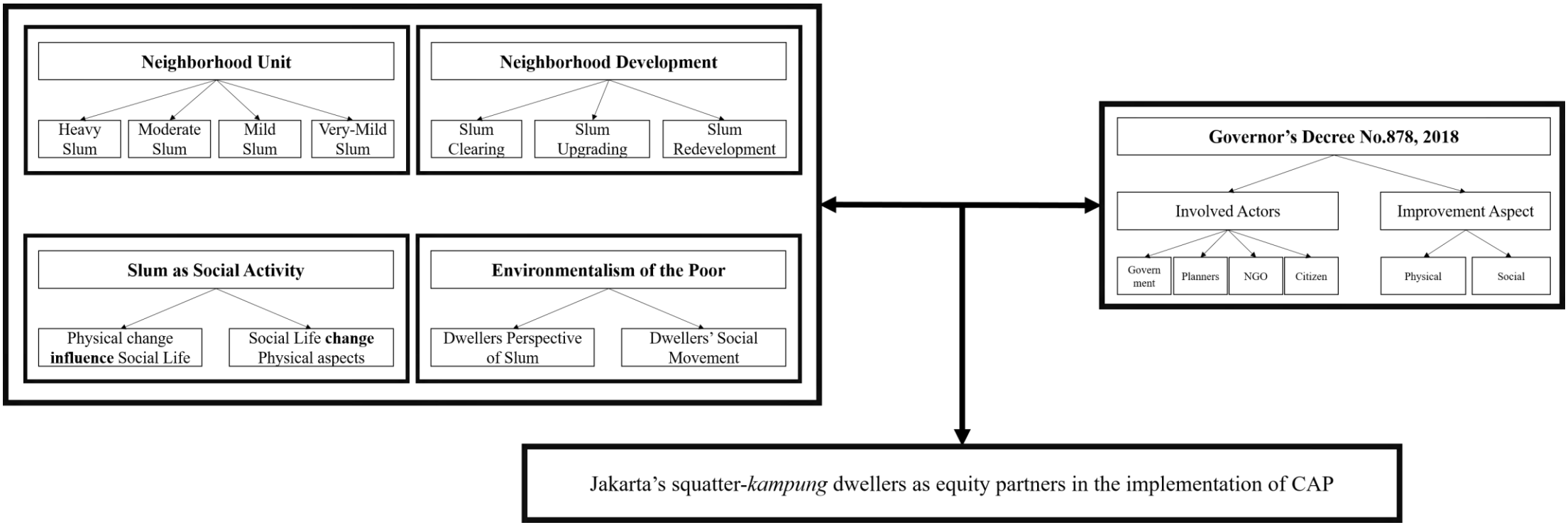

Figure 2.2. Conceptual framework of concept and theory

Author, 2020

Chapter III

Research Questions

Typical social interaction in narrowed social space in a *kampung*. This space has multifunctional use as the center of economic and social interaction to maintain a good relationship among dwellers.

Similar to social interaction that maintains good relationship among *kampung* dwellers. This chapter presents research questions that interlinked theories and practices. One research question and four sub-research questions are formulated to unravel *kampung*s' social complexities that influence the implementation of slum alleviation plan.

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Chapter 3
Research Question

Main Objectives

This research's main objective is to explore the "possible" role of *kampung* dwellers as equity partners in slum alleviation planning in Jakarta based upon the interplays of how each alleviation program determine their position in the planning process, dwellers' uses and activities, the configuration of spaces, perceptions towards particular alleviation planning.

Specific objectives that need to be achieved are:

1. To investigate the position of *kampung* in the administrative boundaries. One thing to be noted is that *kampungs* might represent squatters, slums, or non-slums (mean legal settlements with an adequate environment).
2. To investigate the types of dwellers who resided in the *kampungs* which influence their decisions to actively or passively participate in the planning process.
3. To analyze the direction of neighborhood upgrading attempted in Jakarta. It may conclude that strong political will and the leadership style favorably influence the form of slum alleviation.
4. To research and identify how inhabitants in four settlements experience the quality of their physical environment and their place in the community.
5. Discuss the series of social movements that are the result of social and housing inequalities within *Kampung* dwellers. These movements have been shifted to participatory electoral politics due to the null improvement resulting from these social movements.

Main Research Question

In what way can Jakarta's squatter-*kampung* dwellers play a role as an equity partner in slum alleviation planning?

Sub-Research Questions

1. How can slum neighborhoods be categorized in Jakarta? (refers to the concept of the neighborhood as unit analysis)
2. What are drivers and barriers that support or hinder the implementation of slum alleviation planning in Jakarta? (refers to the concept of slum development)
3. What is the interaction between slum dwellers in Jakarta and their living environment?
4. What is the impact of dwellers' perspective of the environment and social movement (social protest, self-funding action) on the slum alleviation plan?

Chapter IV

Research Design

4.1. Worldview of Researcher
4.2. Research Approach
4.3. Research Design
4.4. Data Collection Method
4.5. Data Analysis Method
4.6. Selection of Study Case Area

This picture captured the discussion of the development of Town Housing in Kampung Akuarium in September 2020. The municipality of North Jakarta and Sub-Department of Urban Settlement presents to support the process. On this occasion, Kampung Akuarium's dwellers assembled to ensure the image of their future kampung

Similar to the gradual coordination of slum alleviation plan in Jakarta, this chapter also, discuss the step by step methodology on how this research is conducted.

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Chapter 4
Research Design

4.1. Worldview of Researcher

This thesis was a product of five months of fieldwork in 2020, including twenty-four interviews (seventeen dwellers, two governmental institutions, three NGOs, two urban experts), participatory observation, activity mapping, and document analysis.

It was conducted with a mixed-method approach that incorporated qualitative and quantitative interpretation. Refined research employs a combination of qualitative and quantitative research for an improved grasp of understanding, as well as validation (Jhonson et al., 2007; Schoonenboom, 2017). Objective measurements and extensive data gathered from surveys were used to confirm a social worldview with a computational theory of interpretation and objectivism, which claims that an interpretive understanding of social-cultural facts is ultimately based on their application to computational facts. This method helped the researcher seek out complexity. The discussion started with the activity mapping that was conducted to identify outdoor activities among the dwellers. ArcGIS was used to illustrate such interactions. Furthermore, the dwellers' and other actors' perspectives were collected through interviews to capture two sides of perception towards *kampungs* and slum alleviation planning conducted in *kampungs* and slums. The goal relies on dwellers' perspectives that influence their behaviors towards the implemented slum alleviation plan, whether passively or actively involved in the (alleviation) planning process.

4.2. Research Approach

The Dense Data Study Approach

Mukija (2000) used Peattie (1995) as a reference in favour of low-income housing and land redevelopment studies. It is viewed as a more particular way of getting around slums. The premise is built upon our lack of knowledge of how social activities in slums shaped inhabitants' behavior towards their living environment and how a particular slum alleviation plan operates in this community. We know there are numerous attempts in slum alleviation, but the detailed form has not yet been explored.

Additionally, according to the saying "knowledge of what to do in particular situations," the complex dataset approach is also derived from Aristotelian prudence. Furthermore, it is essential to offer examples and stories about power and values that can be changed as plans so that people can comprehend their influence (Flyvbjerg, 2002). Four questions were developed by Flyvbjerg (2004) to stimulate researchers to focus on values and evaluative judgments. The objective is to encourage planners and researchers to follow a value-based planning approach. An adequate understanding of planning cannot be achieved without an analysis of planning within the context of power (Flyvbjerg, 2004).

Slum alleviation planning and the government's control over its implementation are inseparable. The legitimated documents of slums set the standard of living in the urban settings, including land tenure status that becomes a criterion to define illegal settlements (that also considered a slum). Then the question of "Who gains, and who loses and by which mechanisms of power?" is necessary to analyze political will in the planning process to gain thorough rationality (Flyvbjerg, 2004)

4.3. Research Design

This research employed a case study approach to explore and describe the concept of "slumming" as social activities that determine their perspectives towards recent events, such as the implementation of slum alleviation planning, which drive them to actively or passively engaged in the process. Four case studies were selected to capture the theories and concepts based on phenomena occurring in reality by considering that *kampungs* consist of social complexities with wicked issues. This research also needs data analyses that define various questions, like "how" and "what." To this end, it integrated different attributes that research has identified as being important in determining life in the slums.

4.4. Data Collection Method

The research design consistently constitutes the data collection. The understanding of the concept of "slumming" as social activities and "environmentalism of the poor" in *kampungs* needs practical information of space, activity (uses and daily activity), and dwellers perception (of physical and social quality of neighbors). Moreover, understanding *kampungs* as a "neighborhood unit" and implementing "neighborhood upgrading" in the *kampungs* requires policy information regarding slum alleviation planning in Jakarta. Thus, the required data was subsequently sub-organized into the sub-objectives. The conclusions regarding the inhabitants' potential for participation in slum clearance are connected to the argument about their capacity to improve economic inclusion. Table 4.1 summarizes data requirements, data type, and data collection strategy to answer the research questions.

The demand of the data	**Data required**	**Source/ type of data**	**Data collection strategy**
Investigate and map the distribution of unstructured housing consisted of slums	Existing land use (.shp)	Secondary data (GIS)	Data obtained from Jakarta provincial government
	Document of Governor's Decree No. 878, 2018	Secondary data (document)	Public archive review
	Document of Governor's Decree No 90, 2018	Secondary data (document)	Public archive review
Investigate and map the activity pattern of dwellers	Building function and amenities	Primary and secondary data (GIS)	Updating secondary data obtained from Jakarta provincial government with field survey
Analyze and map the topography of *kampungs*	Raster map (CSRT – High-Resolution Satellite Image)	Secondary data	Data obtained from the Ministry of Land and Spatial Planning / National Land Agency

	Raster map (Landsat Satellite Imagery)	Secondary data	Data obtained from the Ministry of Land and Spatial Planning / National Land Agency
	Existing buildings and public amenities (.shp)	Primary and secondary data	Updating secondary data (GIS) obtained from Jakarta provincial government. Ministry of Public Works and Housing and Open Street Map (OSM) with field survey
Describe dwellers' participation in socio-economic interactions	Location of activities	Primary data	Data obtained from site survey with snapshot method
	Type of activities	Primary data	Data obtained from site survey with snapshot method
Describe implemented slum alleviation planning in the *kampungs* (and dwellers perceptions towards its achievements)	Information of slum alleviation programs attempted in Jakarta (both in slums and *kampungs*)	Primary and secondary data	Public archive review, interview with Sub-Department of Public Housing and Settlement of North Jakarta, NGOs (UPC), and urban experts (Rujak Center for Urban Studies)
	Information of slum alleviation programs attempted in the study case *kampungs*	Primary data	Interview with dwellers in the study case *kampungs*
Investigate the implementation of the new problem-based approach (CAP method) in the study case *kampungs*	Program comparison	Primary data	Interview with *kampung* dwellers
Investigate social movements and political movements	Forms and results of social and political movements	Primary data	Interview with NGOs and *kampung* dwellers
Describe dwellers' perception toward physical and neighbor's kinships	Perception of dwellers on the physical quality	Primary data	Interview with *kampung* dwellers
	Perception of dwellers on neighbor's kinship	Primary data	Interview with *kampung* dwellers

Table 4.1. Data collections and methods

4.4.1. Desk Research

Desk research consisted of reviewing public documents in public archives. The public documents were collected from various government/institutions in Jakarta that were actively involved in developing slum alleviation programs (see Table 4.2). In total, seven public documents were examined for this research. These documents were

reviewed to gain information about the implementation of slum alleviation planning (including slum clearance, slum upgrading, and slum redevelopment program) in Jakarta. Furthermore, through this method, the distribution of 200 slums (RWs) and 21 *kampungs* listed in the Governor's Decree will be interpreted with ArcGIS 10.6 to produce maps. Furthermore, to present detailed information on the map, a *.shp* data (ArcGIS file) format is needed. This data was collected from various governmental institutions such as Indonesia Geospatial Information Agency (*BIG*), Ministry of Public Works and Housing (MPWH), Ministry of Land and Spatial Planning / National Land Agency, and Jakarta provincial government.

No	Document	Issued by
1	Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah *Kota* Jakarta 2011-2030 (Jakarta City Plan 2011-2030)	Jakarta provincial government
2	Perda No 1 Tahun 2014: Rencana Detil Tata Ruang dan Peraturan Zonasi DKI Jakarta (City Regulation No. 1, 2014: Detailed Jakarta Spatial Plan and Zoning Regulations)	Jakarta provincial government
3	SK Kumuh DKI Jakarta (constituted Slum Decree)	Ministry of Public Works and Housing
4	Profil *Kota* Tanpa Kumuh Provinsi DKI Jakarta Tahun 2017 (Profile Book of Cities without Slum 2017)	Ministry of Public Works and Housing (DCKTRP)
5	Implementasi Kebijakan Community Action Plan (CAP) DKI Jakarta (Policy Implementation of Community Action Plan DKI Jakarta)	Jakarta provincial government
6	Profil Jakarta: Persebaran Daerah Kumuh DKI Jakarta Tahun 2013 (Profile of Jakarta: The distribution of Slum in Jakarta 2013)	Jakarta Statistics Bureau
7	Keputusan Gubernur Provinsi DKI Jakarta No. 878 Tahun 2018 (Governor Decree No.878, 2018 about The Implementation of Slum Alleviation Program in Jakarta)	Jakarta provincial government
Data for Mapping		
1	Peta Rencana Tata Ruang *Kota* Jakarta 2011-2030 dalam .shp (Map of Jakarta City Plan in .shp format)	Geospatial Information Agency
2	Peta Rencana Detil Tata Ruang DKI Jakarta dalam .shp (Map of Detailed Spatial Plan of Jakarta in .shp)	Geospatial Information Agency
3	Peta Rupabumi Indonesia 1:10.000 (Indonesia Topographical Map scale 1:10.000)	Geospatial Information Agency
4	Batas Administrasi Dinas Cipta Karya, Tata Ruang dan Pertanahan (Official administration boundaries of Jakarta by provincial office of spatial planning and land policy)	DCKTRP
5	Dokumen RW Kumuh di Jakarta Tahun 2013 dengan pembaharuan di tahun 2018 oleh BPS (List of slum area in Jakarta in 2013 updated in 2018 by Statistics Bureau)	Statistics of Bureau

Table 4.2. List of public documents that were studied

4.4.2. Site Survey

All locations have been inspected, and all that was necessary has been done to make spatial data available and ready for use. The places that people chose for outdoor activities were monitored to ensure consistency. Based on these observations, the researcher estimated the number of surveyors required to generate an activity map of their activities. Furthermore, a survey was conducted to explore and follow any possible traffic system paths such as alleys, pathways, deadlocks, and underpasses (in *Kampung* Walang). Four *kampung*s were studied to discover how well their facilities and function were fulfilling each other's needs.

Due to primary data collection, the researcher used the following methods to locate outdoor activities: GPS tracking (using phone, by marking the location in Google Earth), manual tracing (by illustrating the rough sketch of the networks), and assistance by local dwellers to track all networks (by riding a motorcycle or walking). It was essential to be guided by local dwellers (especially during the Covid-19 outbreak in Jakarta) to explore their *kampungs*, mainly unknown networks. Subsequently, all collected primary data were visualized in ArcGIS (a mapping software) to create the urban *kampungs*' base map. It is essential to be noted here that even during the Covid-19 outbreak, the intensity of outdoor activities in *kampungs* was normal.

The survey was conducted mainly in four *kampungs*. However, five more *kampungs* were also surveyed to capture the pervasive influence of *kampung* dwellers' social movements assisted by JRMK-UPC (Urban Poor Network-Urban Poor Consortium). Moreover, to gather more information related to the social movement, the researcher also participated in a relatively big protest against Omnibus Law conducted by scholars, urban poor, farmers, and NGOs. This protest is conducted due to the recent (per October 2020) legalization of Omnibus Law (which amends 79 laws) that consisted of several controversial regulations such as labor injustice, land tenure, etcetera.

4.4.3. Activity Mapping

Activity Mapping is a practical approach to study the dwellers' behavior in a specific space (Gehl&Svarre, 2013). In this research, outdoor activities have been observed while interacting with local dwellers and interviewing the guide. During activity mapping, the researcher took snapshots of the dwellers' activities (with their permission). Snapshots were employed to record individuals' activities such as sitting, playing, chatting, fishing, meeting, outdoor cooking, working, relaxing, etcetera—dwellers involved in the outdoor activities varied from toddlers to elderly.

Furthermore, to capture the dynamics of social activity, the activity mappings were conducted on the weekend (considering that most dwellers were working on weekdays). During activity mapping, the researcher was assisted by two to five people from JRMK-UPC (depend on the location). They help to arrange the interview and appoint one local dweller to guide the location where outdoor activities occurred. Due to the relatively small size of the *kampungs*, all alleyways and other peculiar spaces such as spaces under the toll bridge, along the railways, and the coastal area were captured on time, except *Kampung* Tanah Merah. In *Kampung* Tanah Merah, the survey only captured activities

in the main networks due to the restriction of Covid-19 (restricted by the head of RW) that forbade the researcher from going deeply into the narrowed alleyways.

This method's limitation was the possibility of activities not being recorded due to recording time that was only conducted from morning to afternoon. Even though there is no restriction from *kampung* dwellers to stay late in their *kampungs*, Jakarta's provincial government issued a restricted rule about the limitation of gathering activities during the Covid-19 outbreak. There is a time when the researcher should be quarantined due to accidental interactions with a Covid patient. Conducting site visits during Covid-19 is somewhat challenging because of the lockdown uncertainties that kept changing almost every month.

4.4.4. Semi-structured Interview

Semi-structured interviews were employed to unravel and comprehend dwellers' perspectives toward their cohabitation. Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language), which was later transcribed and translated into English. These interviews were followed by neighborhood explorations (with the interviewees) to locate their social networks, social activities, and economic activities. The interview lasted for approximately two hours (started from 9 AM), followed by the exploration for the rest of the day, until it finished around 6 PM. One *kampung* approximately needs one day to be explored, except for *Kampung* Tanah Merah, which needs four days of exploration due to the large area. The interviews were recorded with a phone, a tablet, and an iPod. Moreover, the snapshots were taken with a digital camera to capture the photographs in high resolution.

The appointments were made to interview the head of the *kampung* (head of RTs), the elderly (founder of the *kampungs*), and local organizations[1]. Other interviews were done spontaneously with recommended dwellers (recommended by JRMK) and with other dwellers encountered on the spot. There were 17 interviews conducted with the representatives of *kampung* dwellers, two interviews with local government, three interviews with the local NGOs, and two interviews with urban experts (urban consultants) (see Annex A). Interviews with dwellers were conducted offline, while other interviews with other actors were conducted online by Skype meeting.

Furthermore, the governmental perspective of squatter-*kampung* in Jakarta was compared with *kampung* dwellers' perspective. This comparison determined the position of both parties in assessing the *kampung* of Jakarta. Hypothetically, after the "Governor's Decree" has been constituted, *kampung*'s alleviation efforts in Jakarta should be prioritized. Through these interviews, information about access to land tenure and property rights for each alleviation planning were asked to ensure the congruence of theoretical aspects (refer to the concept by Mukhija, 2000) and slum alleviation planning in practice.

Interviews were conducted in four selected *kampungs* (selected study case area) and in other prioritized *kampungs* listed in the Governor's Decree No 878, 2018. Interviews in other *kampungs* aimed to explore their involvement in social and political movements that urged the legitimation of the gubernatorial decree that ensure their *kampungs*' status. Moreover, these interviews also aimed to prove the effectiveness of such a new

problem-based approach (CAP) in somewhat problematic *kampungs*, yet ineffective in less problematic *kampungs* such as *Kampung* Rawa Badak. With no threats (such as evictions), *kampungs* tend to be passively involved in the social movements that strive for housing justice, even though they also experienced housing uncertainties. Moreover, there is also another reason regarding the safety in such *kampungs* associated with power. In *kampungs*, where illegal businesses became primary commodities (such as prostitution), a powerful backup from certain actors were strongly controlled the whole system, including housing, land tenure, and employment. Subsequently, to understand the *kampungs*' complexities, such *kampung* with this issue will be described in Chapter 8.

Four *kampungs* were chosen based on the recommendation of JRMK (Urban Poor Network), while other *kampungs* discussed in the following chapter were chosen randomly according to their complexities. The selected *kampungs* are *Kampung* Marlina, *Kampung* Akuarium, *Kampung* Walang, and *Kampung* Tanah Merah. These *kampungs* are listed in Governor's Decree No 818, 2018. Other *kampungs* such as *Kampung* Lengkong, *Kampung* Bengek, *Kampung* Muka, and *Kampung* Rawa Badak were included in the discussion due to the diverse issues that emerged.

4.5. Data Analysis Method

Data analysis comprises four major parts in which each process is included to tackle each component that influences dwellers' participative roles in slum alleviation planning. Those methods are dwellers' perspective analysis, spatial pattern analysis, activity pattern analysis, and slum alleviation pattern analysis (see Figure 4.1). Spatial and activity patterns were analyzed quantitatively using ArcGIS; meanwhile, dwellers' perception and slum alleviation pattern analysis were collected during the interview with all involved actors (dwellers, government, NGOs, and urban experts).

As illustrated in the conceptual framework (see Figure 2.2), there are four concepts constructed in this research. The concept of "slumming" as social activities and "environmentalism of the poor" were reflected in dwellers' perspective toward their living environment. Moreover, the concept of "slumming" as social activities also constructed the activity mapping that was processed using Kernel density tools in ArcGIS. Next, the concept of *kampung* as a neighborhood unit was illustrated to analyze spatial patterns within the *kampungs*. Finally, the concept of neighborhood upgrading was captured in the analysis of the slum alleviation pattern that summarizes all attempted slum alleviation programs in Jakarta. The data analysis is explained in the following sub-chapter.

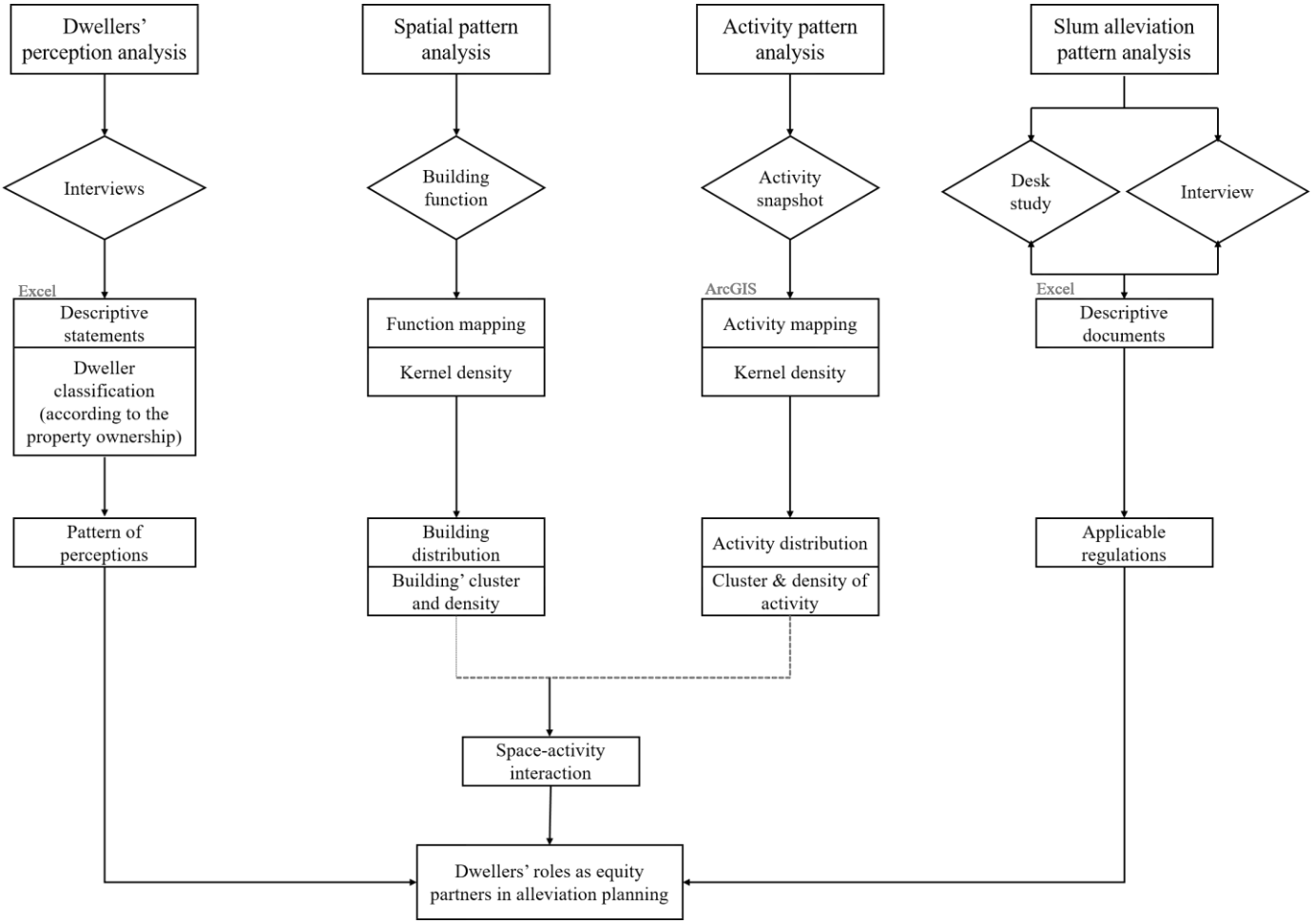

Figure 4.1. Methodological framework

4.5.1. Qualitative Perceptions

This research uses a mixed-method, which means both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed. Qualitative data were collected during desk study and interviews. Narrative responses from interviews were transcribed and categorized into a certain amount of indicators (see Table 4.3).

Concepts	Categories	Indicators
Slumming as a social activity	Tracing mobility of the dwellers	Former residence, relocation, *merantau*, *kampung halaman* (hometown), *mudik* (back to his/her hometown for a while)
	Tracing social structure within squatter-*kampung*	Profession, informal sector, formal sector, *Pak Haji* (people who already went to Macca), *tetua adat* (the elders), unemployed, get fired, beggar, homeless.
	Tracing social interaction within the community	PKK (Family Welfare Movement), *Karang Taruna*

		(Youth Organization), gossip/ gossiping, *arisan* (social gathering), *ronda* (scheduled security by a local citizen – mostly at night).
Neighborhood development	Identifying the historical background of slum alleviation planning	*Relokasi* (relocation), *penggusuran* (eviction), *Rusunawa* (low-price flat/ vertical housing), *kampung deret* (row housing), *kampung* tematik (thematic-*kampung*), CAP (Community Action Plan).
	Identifying different policy/ regulation of each slum alleviation planning	*SK Kumuh* (Slum Decree), *SK Gubernur* (Governor's Decree), *Kotaku – Kota Tanpa Kumuh* (Cities without Slums).
Environmentalism of the poor	Identifying concerns and wishes	*Miskin* (poor), *pengangguran* (unemployment), *santunan* (compensation), *bantuan* (welfare), monthly allowance (for unemployed), public amenities, employment.
	Identifying social movements	*Demo* (protest), *iuran pribadi* (personal fees to repair public amenities), *komunitas rakyat miskin kota* (the community of urban poor).
	Identifying dwellers perspective of living environment	*Kumuh* (slum), cozy, cheap, happy, sad, poor, marginalized, uneducated, ignorant, criminal, tough-life, flood, vulnerable.

Table 4.3. Guidance for transcribing the interviews

Analyzing the perception through qualitative data analysis needs a strategy to transform respondents' responses to several keywords. The most repeated sentences were included in the following chapters as quotations that construct the discussion (mostly quoted in Chapter 6).

4.5.2. Activity Pattern Analysis

Following Hutama's research (2016), the activities were organized into four primary activity types: necessary, social, optional, and religious. The activity database of all outdoor activities (contained in ArcGIS) was used to perform pattern analysis and to quantitatively estimate how often the dwellers were presented on the weekend.

Kernel density analysis was applied to describe the spatial distribution of activities in the spatial context of overall patterns. Thus, the magnitude of activity can be determined by weighting the number of activities in one location, e.g., five activities have occurred in the same field. A scientific experiment was carried out to determine an optimum data separation distance based on the significant correlation among results. Thus, the researcher found that the 30-meter square and 100-meter square distance as best for *Kampung* Tanah Merah. In this case, a visible result was achieved when the researcher concluded where activities would concentrate.

4.5.3. Spatial Pattern Analysis

The topology of *kampungs* was mapped using ArcGIS. The diversity analysis was made to summarize the diversity pattern of public amenities and economic spaces (such as warungs, taverns, and food vendors). The result shows the diversity of building function in a certain *kampung* The lack of public amenities in *kampung* might influence the calculation. One *kampung* might instead consist of a monotonous building (dominates by economic function). In this research, two categories of building functions were withdrawn from the diversity map: public function and economic function. The public function includes public restrooms, mosques, health centers, learning centers, schools, and government buildings. The economic function includes *warung*s, taverns, and food vendors.

4.6. Selection of Study Case Area: Jakarta Urban *Kampung*

The discussion of Jakarta urban *kampung* was started with the shifted sense of *kampung* into slums that led to overlooking *kampungs* in planning policy. Due to this shifting perception, the Governor of Jakarta issued two different decrees that regulate neighborhood alleviation planning is *kampungs* (Governor's Decree No 878, 2018) and slums (Governor's Decree No 90, 2018). Twenty-one (21) *kampungs* were prioritized for improvement, and 200 slums (in 200RWs) were planned for upgrading. Both data (slums and *kampungs*) were illustrated in Chapter 6 to construct the main idea of similarities and distinctions between *kampungs* and slums.

Furthermore, for the more in-depth analysis of activity mapping and spatial patterns, four out of 21 *kampungs* were selected as the case study for this research (see Figure 4.2). The criteria used for selecting the study case area were based upon the history, physical and social characteristics, typology, and the urgent issues that emerged within the *kampung* (e.g., land dispute, eviction, and relocation). Furthermore, *kampung*'s transition as a solely de facto boundary set *kampungs* aside from any planning policies due to the restructured neighborhood system (RW^1/RT^2). Secondly, although being considered a poor and inadequate living environment by the government, *kampung* contains diverse activities, including self-help settlements. *Kampung* represents a concept of living by upholding social values on the land they built themselves.

Kampung Marlina, *Kampung* Akuarium, *Kampung* Walang, and *Kampung* Tanah Merah (see Figure 4.3 for perspective views) were selected as case studies because they fulfilled the aforementioned criteria (passage above). These *kampungs* represent the distinct typical area that induced the emergence of *kampungs*. First, *Kampung* Marlina is located alongside the coastal area in North Jakarta. It is surrounded by industrial complexes and overshadowed by luxurious apartments where the prosperous resided. Regarding the settlement status, according to the gubernatorial degree No 90 (years 2018) about slum settlement in Jakarta, *Kampung*

Marlina is registered as a slum and potential to become deteriorate in terms of physical and infrastructure quality. Second, *Kampung* Akuarium is located across the main harbor called Sunda Kelapa that has been evicted in 2016. Situated on the provincial land, *Kampung* Akuarium was forcedly demolished and left dwellers in fear. However, among these traumatic dwellers, there are dwellers who insisted on building huts on the ruins. Their action drew the attention of NGOs, activists, and scholars who resist any behavior violating human rights. Afterwards, various social movements were conducted to strive for housing justice for the urban poor. Third, *Kampung* Walang unexpectedly prioritized, given that this *kampung* is considered a squatter area located along the railways and has not obtained any official administration status from the municipality. Dating back to the implementation of slum alleviation planning in Jakarta since the 1960s, the area without legal administration has never been considered in any alleviation program (Blackburn, 2011). This exception is intriguing because of the involvement of certain powerful people who can influence the selection of prioritized *kampungs* in the gubernatorial decree. Lastly, *Kampung* Tanah Merah has consisted of a wicked land dispute that involved several parties, including a state-owned oil company. This long-lasting land dispute began in 1968 since the provincial government issued a building permit for this oil company to build oil warehouses in the neighborhood. According to *Kampung* Tanah Merah's public figure, the dispute began when Pertamina violated the contract by overly exempting the cultivated land.

[1]RW or "*Rukun Warga*" is a governmental organization in the neighborhood level where one RW typically consists of 30-50 households. The government has given this formal administrative unit to manage units of settlements in the neighborhood.

[2] RT or "Rukun Tetangga" borrows a similar concept of RW on a smaller scale (a community scale). RT has become the smallest administrative unit to maintain approximately 20 households in the community.

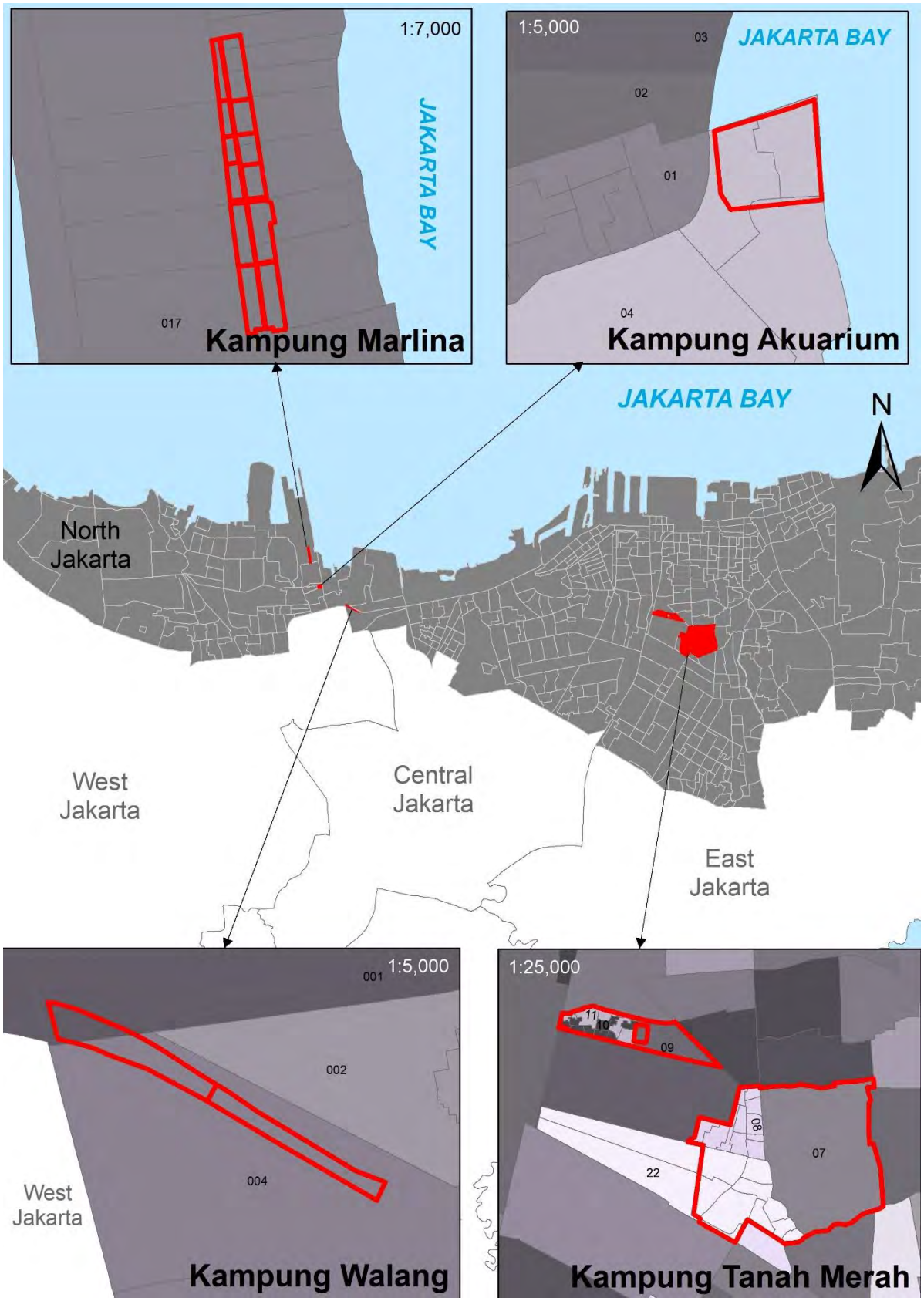

Figure 4.2. Selected study case area

Author, 2020

Figure 4.3. The views of *Kampung* Marlina, *Kampung* Akuarium, *Kampung* Walang, and *Kampung* Tanah Merah, respectively

Author, 2020

Chapter V

Kota-Kampung: A Way to Understand Jakarta

5.1. The Context of *Kota-Kampung*
5.2. *Kampung* and Slum in Planning Policy

The construction of *Kampung Susun* Akuarium in which give an opportunity to the evicted dwellers to obtain property rights and adequate houses.

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This chapter presents the two polarizations of Jakarta as a *kota* and *kampung*, which consists of two compositions: the traditional and modern, the informal and formal, the unplanned and planned, the rich and the poor, and the sacred and the worldly.

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Chapter 5

Kota-Kampung :

A Way to Understand Jakarta

Jakarta is a city of friction, a city of two polarizations: traditional and contemporary, spontaneous and organized, unplanned and planned, rich and poor, sacred and mundane (Sihombing, 2010). It presents as a city with a compact aesthetic building but at the same time constructs by dense *kampungs* with the conventional way of life. *Kota* appears as a formal, private, regulated, and modern space, while *kampung* appears informal, unregulated, public, and conventional (Sihombing, 2014). This chapter starts the discussion with the two polarizations of Jakarta as the *kota* and the *kampung* The issues that emerged urged Jakarta's provincial government to solve them with two different approaches; modernity and traditionality. This chapter aims to develop a general idea of *kampung'*s positionality, which is interlinked with slums, by examining *kampung* and slums in the planning policies.

*Kampung*s are forced to be deconstructed and reorganized as a part of Jakarta's transformation discourse. Lurking behind the fear of modernity as a narrative of change is the idea that Jakarta must produce globally relevant city inclusiveness. Increasingly resulting in urban sprawl and forming such as slums, townships and *kampung*s have caused a city to expand spatially more densely (Kusno, 2015).

5.1. The Context of *Kota-Kampung*

The city's immature development creates two polarizations reflected in Jakarta's friction between the *kota* and the *kampung* They create two urban development directions that focus on the aesthetical and functional infrastructures to comply with two different interests (as the *kota* and the *kampung* ; see also fig 5.1). First, the city as structured urban spaces continuously develops structured, efficient, economical, and safe infrastructure, translated into integrated connection, efficient housing to increase density, center-based economic zone, and public-accessed infrastructure. However, these developments create a social problem for the existence of *kampung* The second polar is *kampung*, developed by urban enclaves' occupation on the empty land amidst city infrastructures. A symbiotic relationship between the city and the *kampung* is ranged physically and economically. This bond emerged in the mid-1960s during the urban infrastructure boom when *kampungs* provide cheap labor and services. In this period, *kampung* reaches an achievement in providing laborers and in-situ upgrading through KIP under Governor Ali Sadikin. However, this interdependence started to dissolve during the modernisation of the late 1970s and early 1980s, which undermined their symbiotic relationship. By the end of the 1980s, city planners viewed *kampung*s as anomalies, so they started to yearn for vertical slums to be built. Since then, relocation to low-rent vertical housing was widely promoted by the state government and the municipality as the new scenario in elevating the quality of lives among *kampung* dwellers. This scenario has been widely implemented as an approach to increase the density yet decreased land scarcity.

ONE BODY, TWO SOULS: KOTA-KAMPUNG DISPARITIES

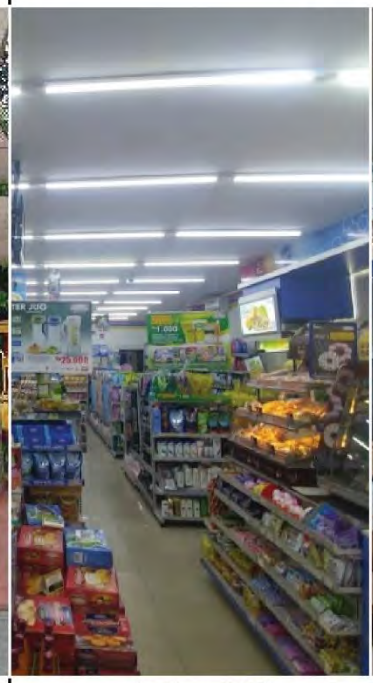
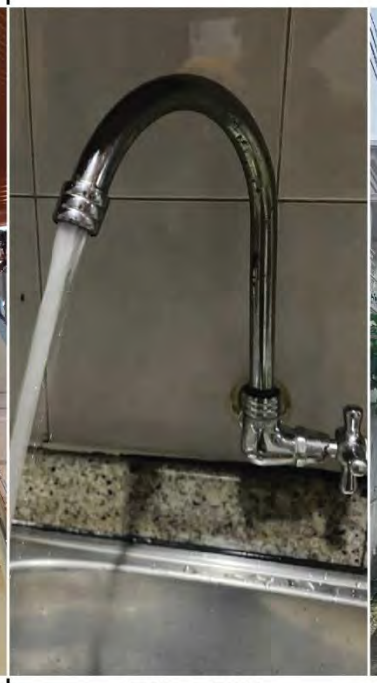
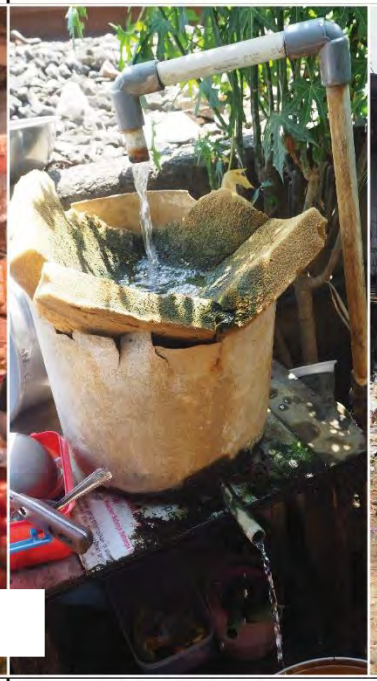
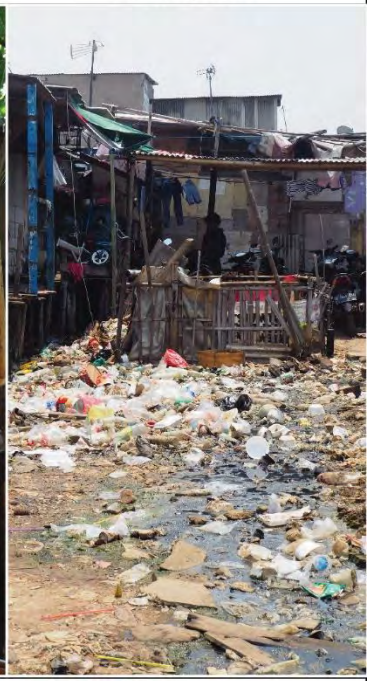
	Social		Economy		Environment	
KOTA						
Source	Trip Advisor, 2018	Trip Advisor, 2018	Author, 2019	Author, 2020	Author, 2020	Author, 2020
KAMPUNG						
Source	Author, 2020	Author, 2020	Author, 2020	Unsplash, 2020	Author, 2020	Author, 2020

Figure 5.1. Distinctive condition of *kota* and *kampung*

Since the 1980s, gaps between *kota* and *kampung* have been enlarged and can be seen clearly in the social, economic, and environmental conditions. The disparities between *kota* and *kampung* result in social conflicts. One of the most notorious conflicts that emerged from those wicked disparities is the formal and informal settlements that enlarge the gap between the rich and the poor. This conflict also sharpens the boundaries between *kota* and *kampung*, which suggest dichotomies such as informal versus formal, unplanned versus planned, local versus provincial, communal versus urban, and inclusive versus exclusive (Sihombing, 2010). Figure 5.1 shows the distinctive living reflected in the *kota* and the *kampung* in three significant aspects of life; social, economy, and environment.

Furthermore, to better understand how the city and the *kampung* cope with the wicked problems that emerged, this tier further discusses the city facing urban-type issues and *kampung* facing local issues.

5.1.1. Jakarta as the Urban Area

The Environmental Issues: land subsidence, flooding, and pollution

The city of Jakarta is confronting three significant problems concerning land use and climate change. The over-extraction of groundwater in Jakarta accelerated land subsidence. This case indicated that subsidence in Jakarta has a velocity of 0.5 to 15 cm per year, makes around two-and-a-a-half inches each year (Abidin, et al., 2011). North Jakarta has a higher percentage of people living in poverty but less piped water. While other areas of the city face a relatively lower rate of land subsidence. The substantial land levels can only be exacerbated with a sea-level rise by the end of the century, regardless of land changes.

The land subsidence phenomenon strikes the dweller of *kampung* Muara Baru, situated near the coast. During the interview in *Kampung* Marlina, the dwellers often refer to their vulnerability towards uncertain natural hazards such as land subsidence and flood. The infamous story of the sinking *kampung* near theirs became the benchmark on the dangerous living situation they might face in the future. Reflecting on the sinking *kampung* in Muara Baru (see also fig 5.2), *kampung* dwellers might be the most vulnerable community since they will automatically lose their houses and livelihood. This phenomenon should become a warning for the nearby *kampungs* to reconsider leaving their endangered *kampung* and move somewhere else.

Figure 5.2. The sinking mosque in Muara Baru (near *Kampung* Marlina)

Author, 2020

The second priority issue is flooding. The Jakarta Statistic Bureau recorded 52 cases of flood in 2019, distributed in all municipalities and East Jakarta with most cases. Flooding in Jakarta has become a regular phenomenon that requires high adaptable skills, especially for those who live along the river plain, which is mostly occupied by the poor. The lack of coordination between the downstream and upstream governments significantly influences the velocity of flood in Jakarta. According to an interview in 2014 (Winarsih, 2014) with dwellers of *Kampung* Pulo, they often severe from *banjir kiriman* – heavy rain occurring in the upstream area that triggers high water debit to the downstream area.

> *"We often severe from a sudden flood. It is a flood that shipped from Bogor (the upstream zone). We are often struck by floods in the sunny weather. Thankfully, we are provided with a communication network that connects to the upstream floodgate officer. So if there is rain in Bogor, the floodgate office will send the message blast to us."*

The third issue is air and water pollutions. The sliven habits of plain river dwellers always dispose of their waste to the river to increase water pollution. Moreover, land-use change in the upstream area most likely influences the river's pollution level, especially the development of factories situated along the river. They are most likely to decrease waste management costs by disposing the factory waste to the river. Furthermore, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in 2020 categorized Jakarta as a city with very unhealthy air. This record is stated in the report of Indonesia's air quality (Ministry of Environment and Forestry, 2020).

5.1.2. Jakarta as the *Kota*

As the city, Jakarta is facing several issues that only negatively impacted the urban rich. Several issues stated in this tier can more likely be seen as livelihood opportunities for many *kampung* dwellers.

Traffic Congestion

Urban integration creates massive mobility for workers who work in Jakarta. Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok. Tangerang, Bekasi) integrated city increased the access of non-Jakartans to seek employment in Jakarta. The volume of this mobility increases the population of Jakarta in the morning and declines in the evening. This activity directly increases traffic congestion within the city. This phenomenon is exacerbated by the expansion of online-based transportation, such as Gojek and Grab (online-based transportation), that influence the street's congestion rate. These providers indulge their customers with an easy transportation system and provide 24/7 delivery services, which increases mobility.

However, online-based transportation in Jakarta allows the urban poor to access easy employment. Without any required education, anybody can apply for the job as a driver. Many urban poor use their vehicles (mostly motorcycles) to earn more money. Some of them make this become their main livelihood. Moreover, traffic often becomes a contested phenomenon that gives them another opportunity to earn more money by selling low-quality goods, busking, and even scrounging (see fig 5.3 for the perspective views).

Figure 5.3. The contested street; seeking livelihood from the urban problem

(Source: Kompas, 2018)

Another Furtive Issue: bureaucracy, village mentality, corruption

The multi-layered bureaucracy system in Jakarta restrains people from accessing political and governmental facilities. For instance, a long process to obtain a National Identification Card triggers an 'under table' practice among bureaucrats. On many other occasions, like obtaining a land certificate, a person should wait for approximately 98 days until the Land Agency approves their documents. This process is time-consuming, especially for those who are busy with work. As a result, the corruptive practice often occurred to reduce the waiting time. This simple corruption becomes a common practice to smoothen any administration process in Jakarta. Meanwhile, the village mentality refers to Jakartan, who behaves like a typical rural residence, such as littering public facilities with garbage, spitting carelessly, and ruining the public amenities. This mentality is referred to *kampung* dwellers and Jakarta residents who occasionally violate the public ordinance.

Like the contested livelihood on the street, *kampung* dwellers can also see an opportunity from the multi-layered bureaucracy practiced at the district and sub-district levels. It is known that any administration affairs in the governmental office are taking the time and requiring the citizen to come to the administration office a couple of times. For some busy people, this is hard to do. So, people offer their service to overcome this problem, so-called "*joki*", a person who is willing to run these errands in exchange for money. "*Joki*" operates at many different levels. The urban poor mostly operates this "*joki*" role.

5.1.3. Jakarta as the *Kampung*

Kampungs reflects the traditionality, spontaneity, and diversity of indigenous urban residents. *Kampungs* have grown incrementally along with Jakarta's development as a city without planning and urban regulations (Sihombing, 2010). Heretofore, *kampung* dwellers still demonstrate social interaction's main foundation, known as *kerukunan sosial* (social harmony) and *gotong-royong* (mutual self-help). It is essential to take into account the complexity of *kampung's* social structures and social conflicts in spatial planning. Like two faces of a coin, city, and *kampung* are inseparable. A *kota* (city) cannot develop without acknowledging the effort and strength of *kampungs*.

Housing Uncertainty

The forced-eviction practices implemented in Jakarta occurred due to the unclear status of land ownership in the *kampungs*. *Kampung* dwellers cannot register the occupied land due to *kampung's* contravene locations with the city planning zone. DCKTRP of Jakarta legitimized land zoning with the document of the Jakarta Spatial Plan. Unfortunately, many *kampungs* are

located in the non-residential zone, which should be demolished to accelerate the city development plan. Now housing uncertainty in Jakarta is not merely because of the land ownership issues but also of the spatial incongruity.

Land Ownership

Urban expert, Kusno (2012) estimated that only twenty-five percent of land in Jakarta was recorded in the National Land Registry. Some are formal, and others become part of the informal economy. Land in Jakarta has always become one unaffordable resource for the poor. In prior history, some *kampungs* have transformed in a way that commercial areas are flourishing. However, ironically, *kampung* dwellers have no right to claim the occupied land. For instance, *Kampung* Tanah Merah has been developed before the Pertamina oil company build their depo in the neighborhood. However, dwellers have no power and authority to possess the land. In contrast, the dwellers received a letter of eviction from Pertamina. Now, the foe is Pertamina and the municipality of North Jakarta, who wants to transform the *kampung* into a compact commercial zone and relocate the dwellers to the low-rent flats.

Clean Water Scarcity

In Jakarta, many low-income households who live in *kampung* are not legally entitled to be connected to the formal water supply system. Many dwellers are forced to get the water by illegally drilling the soil to get groundwater, purchase the water from local water merchants, or even worse, by precipitating the rain puddles. Some of these sources have inferior water quality, and some obtain water by paying much more than the per-unit charges in the water tariff for piped water supply (Noordegraaf, 2016).

Safety

Living in the urban *kampung* requires high coping skills to overcome many wicked risks—first, the most prominent issue in almost all *kampungs*: physical risk. *Kampung* can be demolished for various political reasons, including urban development, commercialization, and land speculation. The relocation and eviction in *kampung* have led the dwellers to occupy a peripheral *kampung*, creating another problem: urban sprawl. Second, social risk, related to a loss of social bond among the *kampung* dwellers. Relocation can be perceived as the main danger since it will break social ties among the dwellers, helping them survive during difficult times (Irawaty, 2018). Furthermore, relocation often leads to unemployment. Moving to another location may cause people to lose their established daily-income activities, such as selling items or participating in extemporaneous economic activities (Shirleyana et al., 2018).

5.2. *Kampung* and Slum in Planning Policy

Darundono (2011) described *kampung* as an unplanned settlement where most of the facilities and buildings were constructed independently by the residents. As far as its existence is concerned, *kampung*s represent the concept of self-help accommodation. *Kampung* is a self-initiated urban settlement distinguished by informality, irregularity, heterogeneity, versatility and adaptability. However, a shortage of infrastructure, including public services and adequate sanitation, has led some to describe the *kampung*s as slums, including the municipal authorities. Since the colonial period, *kampung* has been translated in a derogative way and became an antithesis of modernity.

In prior history, *kampung* was identified as an unstructured and relatively problematic neighborhood situated in the urban enclaves outside the city center. These perspectives persisted among the Indonesian government and bureaucrats who consider *kampung* as a space equivalent to a slum. However, when referring to the local language (Indonesian), a slum is mostly referred to as '*kampung kumuh*', translated in English as slum-*kampung* Meanwhile, *kampung* has a different meaning as an indigenous settlement that presents a village-like neighborhood regardless of its physical condition. Moreover, through the deeper analysis of environmental appropriateness, including infrastructure and housing, we would see *kampung kumuh*/ slum-*kampungs* among the existing *kampungs*.

Tunas and Peresthu (2010) noted two measures to determine *Kampung*'s legitimacy (Irawaty, 2018). First, the *kampung*s should be recognized as part of the formal urban area, implying that they should be located in a legitimate urban setting or a registered residential area. Second, the *kampung*s should have tenure security, ensuring that the *kampung* inhabitants can own properties and land title. The first indicator has been translated into the city division that consisted of the multi-layered administration structure. In formal urban administration, *kampung* is often referred to as *RT (Rukun Tangga)* and *RW (Rukun Warga)*. These urban territories are always used to set the boundary of any alleviation project or any social-related project by both state and local governments. Figure 5.4 shows how urban settlement in Jakarta was structured.

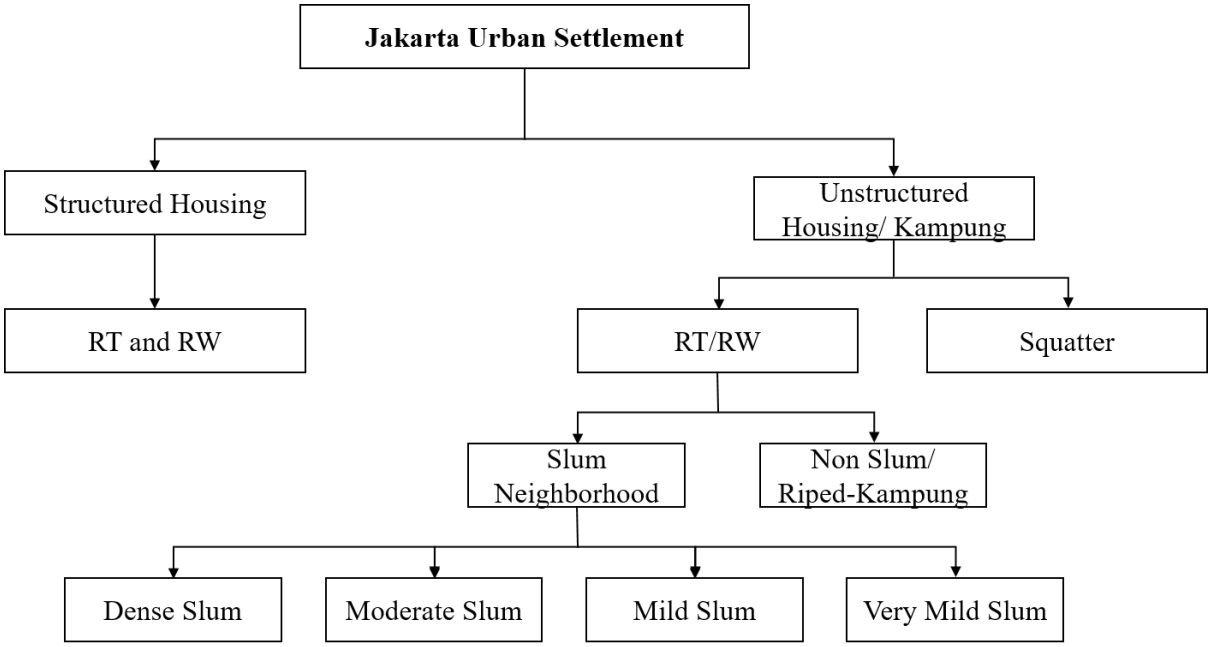


Figure 5.4. The structure of the urban settlement

Author, 2020

Since post-colonialism, Indonesia's first president (Soekarno) has visualized Jakarta as a compact metropolitan city with skyscrapers and people enjoying city views from neat vertical housing. Governor Ali Sadikin has rejected this idea because of the possibility of evicting all the *Kampung* dwellers in Jakarta (Blackburn, 2001). *Kampung* has become a national agenda since Governor Ali Sadikin prioritized *kampung* dwellers' quality of life through a *Kampung* Improvement Program (MH Thamrin Project). This agenda emerged since the land scarcity

and vast disparity between the *kota* and the *kampung* have become regional issues (Irawaty, 2018).

> "I argued that people who occupy *kampung* surrounded by concrete jungle were those who urgently need attention to be able to utilize any public amenities. These people are 60% of the Jakarta population. Politically, this number has a great potency to be explored. The big gap between the accessibility of public facilities between the rich and the poor should be minimized. Hence, public service equity is highly prioritized" (Sadikin 1977, p.258)

The change in the understanding of *kampung* as the antithesis of a modern city started due to modern town planning and Batavia's urban water infrastructure (Irawaty, 2018). This assumption led to the belief that the *Kampung* Improvement Program was the only way the *kampung*s could be arranged. This program sought the enlightenment of the *kampung*'s life, the introduction of modern society, and, thus, the 'alleviation of village-like inhabitants' actions. The program was introduced at least just before the major global recession that struck Indonesia. Much of the time, it affected the capital city in 1998 following the New Order violent protests due to Soeharto's infamous corruption (Jellinek 1994, Blackburn 1989, Firdaus 2018, Ningsih 2017). While the program was deemed halted partially due to the economic downturn, it laid the groundwork for how the *kampung*s persisted in being viewed as an unplanned and insufficient neighborhood.

Consequently, *kampung*'s role as an epitome of modernity has shaped the formation of the kampung's political decisions as a space to be fixed to accomplish the contemporary Jakarta. As a result, *kampung* has been underestimated and removed from planning policies, thereby denying its entitlement to be viewed as a unique settlement and living space in Jakarta. In the current map of Jakarta's existing land use, issued by Jakarta's provincial government, *kampung* has been excluded from the map. Instead, it changed into three neighborhoods according to the houses' size; neighborhoods with medium-sized houses, small-sized houses, and very small-sized houses. These types also applied in the 20 years-land use plan in the RDTR document.

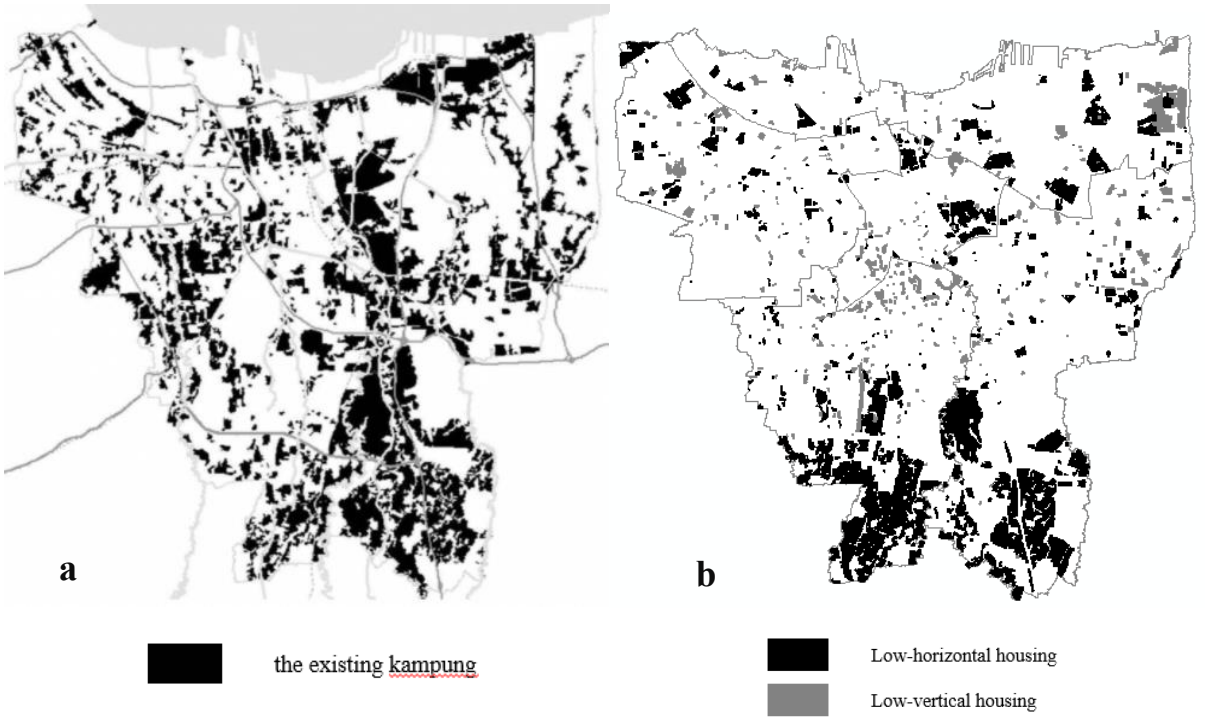


Figure 5.5. a) The Existing *Kampung* ; b) The Low Housing Zonation legitimated in The Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR 2011-2030)

Source: a) Rujak Center for Urban Studies, 2017; b) RDTR Jakarta 2011-2030

Figure 5.5 shows the comparison between the existing *kampung* mapped in 2017 and the housing zonation that consists of horizontal and vertical housing that is designated for low-income dwellers. Through these maps, the goal to make modern Jakarta seem very ambitious. It seems like the government forced to resettle most of the *kampung* dwellers into low-rent vertical housing (the grey area). In contrast, the horizontal housing will be only concentrated in the south part of Jakarta. I argue that intensive coordination between the government and *kampung* dwellers is highly required to achieve such a goal. Simone (2010) argued that most planning policies are merely utopian due to the ignorant government who barely knows the *kampung'*s complexity and forced their living standard to *kampung* dwellers.

After Governor Ali Sadikin, the effort in alleviating *kampung* is increasingly floundering to seek the most suitable program to improve the poor's quality of life. However, in 2018, a new approach was initiated by the *kampung* dwellers' association under the coordination of JRMK (Jaringan Rakyat Miskin *Kota*/ Urban Poor Network), namely CAP (Community Action Plan). This new method accommodates concerns, needs, and dwellers' perspectives towards their *kampungs*. CAP implements the full-scaled redevelopment by assigning collective property rights to the local community and also rebuilds their houses. Sometimes, the poor may be reluctant to change or improve their living environments even when plausible. Simone (2010) argued that the poor often cling to keeping things the same, not only as a form of security but as the only real condition they think exists. Based on the interviews with *kampung* dwellers, they often think that improvements in living conditions, especially relocation, would likely raise more problems that the community cannot endure. So in many respects, the improvement without support from the local dwellers is merely a utopia.

Hereafter, to better understand the *kampung'*s complexities, in the next chapter, four *kampungs* were discussed to show each *kampung'*s wicked problems*,* which leads to the understanding that each *kampung* has different characteristics as well as different issues. These characteristics require a different approach to optimize the dwellers' participation in the alleviation process. CAP has come as the premise to consider dwellers' participation. However, CAP also provides a different approach to achieve a better quality of life.

Concluding Remarks

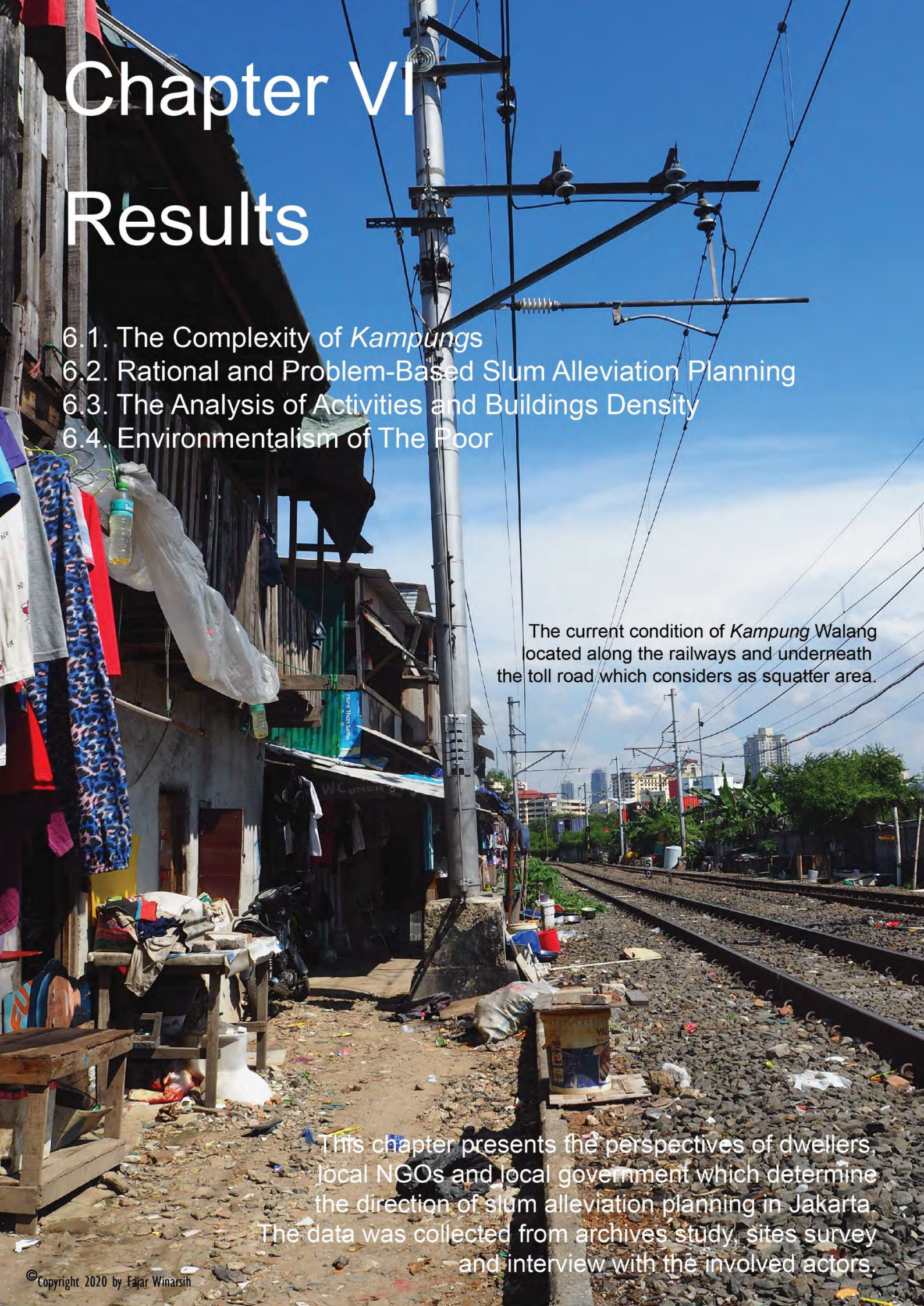
Kampungs in Jakarta cover a large area of the city and are home to most low-income inhabitants. While the urban direction focused on improving Jakarta as the metropolitan city, *kampungs*' existence was degraded due to land speculation, commercialization, and city beautification. *Kampung* represents the independent self-housing communities. *Kota* and *kampung* have different directions. *Kota* forced its inhabitants to live a modern lifestyle, while *kampung* refused to improve their way of life and defend their conventional tradition. This way of life is considered the antithesis of modernity, which led to the assumption that *kampungs*hould be "fixed" by implementing a *kampung* alleviation program that aims to beautify the *kampung* physically. *Kampung* then started to disappear and be excluded from many planning policies. Instead, *kampungs*' values have been shifted and often mislead as slums. Furthermore, the

ambitious plan to modernize *kampung* dwellers will remain a utopian plan without active participation from the dwellers itself. Moreover, what should be underlined here is the diverse characteristics and issues that emerge in each *kampung* that require a different approach for a successful *kampung* alleviation plan.

Chapter VI

Results

6.1. The Complexity of *Kampungs*
6.2. Rational and Problem-Based Slum Alleviation Planning
6.3. The Analysis of Activities and Buildings Density
6.4. Environmentalism of The Poor



The current condition of *Kampung* Walang located along the railways and underneath the toll road which considers as squatter area.

This chapter presents the perspectives of dwellers, local NGOs and local government which determine the direction of slum alleviation planning in Jakarta. The data was collected from archives study, sites survey and interview with the involved actors.

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Figure 6.1. *Kampung*s and its surroundings

Chapter 6

Results

This chapter is structured along the four sub-research questions formulated in this research. First, a discussion about the slum categorization issued by the government, followed by a *kampungs*-slums discussion. Collected data from interviews and public documents were presented as well. Few illustrations were given to capture a better understanding of the intertwined concept between *kampung* and slum. The next sub-chapter is constructed from the second research question that discussed neighborhood upgrading patterns in Jakarta since the first KIP (*Kampung* Improvement Program). The government situated *kampung*/slum dwellers in each program were identified by analyzing public documents obtained from various governmental institutions (see Table 4.2 in Chapter 4, for the list). This data helped the researcher identify *kampung*'s status in the slum-squatter scenario following the slum assessment standards.

Furthermore, the discussion continued in the next sub-chapter that identified activity patterns and building patterns in the study area. Kernel density analysis showed the dwellers' tendency to utilize rather the existing buildings/ spaces instead of building a new one. This sub-chapter led to the 'environmentalism of the poor' discussion in sub-chapter 6.4 that identified social movements and political movements attempted by the dwellers associated with local NGOs to prevail their housing rights.

6.1. The Complexities of *Kampungs*

6.1.1. *Kampung* -Slum' Intertwined Concepts

The *kampung* was regarded as a nomadic space, which is not solely a type of location, but a life form in the configuration of a place requiring space occupancy (Adianto, 2017). Van Grunsven (1983) called unattached urban settlements and classified them as independent settlements. Inhabitants were obliged to pay a lease for the property and build the houses without permission to build. Lee (1996) argued that not all *kampung* settlements are disadvantaged; in reality, many are home to middle-income Indonesians. Therefore, the interpretation of *kampung* must be strongly emphasized in terms of its spatial and social features. Depending on this group's characteristics, a *kampung* can be defined as an urban community where people have a common heritage, a common origin, and a mutual social system.

However, this *kampung* image incorporates some similar traits with slum, such as lack of requisite amenities, population density, and unstable living conditions (UN-Habitat, 2003). Nevertheless, the terms that have already been given do not precisely describe the severity of the situation.

The use of slums to identify the *kampung*s has been strengthened by the government's major policy measures that have identified the slums in the residential area (BPS, 2013). This institution also established the slum assessment standards that distinct non-slum from slum neighborhoods. As illustrated in Figure 5.4 in Chapter 5, *kampung*s were situated in the unstructured settlements with de facto boundaries.

To sum up, then, if social and economic disparity becomes a necessity for capital accumulation, slum developments are an inevitable consequence. Labour markets are a source of inexpensive labor and abundant assets, allowing accumulation to be based on affordable workers and machinery (Adianto, 2017). Schrader (2008) argued that a slum encompasses the notion of both an unwieldy community and dynamic living conditions of thriving informal economies.

According to Perlman (1976), slum dwellers were neither economically nor socially or culturally marginalized (Perlman, 1976). They are discriminated against by the government because of what is stated above. When the oppressed community is socially stigmatized, it perpetuates prejudice towards them and isolates them spatially from modernity (Caldeira, 2003; Massey & Denton, 1992 in Adianto, 2017; Sennet, 1994).

Kampung may be deemed slums due to resemblances in physical attributes. Nevertheless, the above points argued that the concept of *kampung* is more than an apparent concrete dimension but is also dependent on social harmony. Based on such parallels, the local municipalities and planners regarded *kampung* as an epitome of slums and urban growth (Leaf, 1992; Jellinek, 1991; Irawaty, 2018). It had become evident that their reluctance to see the *Kampung* settlement premises had undermined the importance of *Kampung* and had contributed to potential issues in the development initiatives.

According to observations and interviews in the study area, *kampung* emerged in such a vivid pattern (see Annex F, for the summary of the interviews). It started with a group of people flocked in a specific location, which in the local term is called *daerah kumuh* or squatter area. It developed without a legal right to the land or permission from the authorized Government (UN-Habitat, 2003). This description later re-translated into the context of neighborhood legality from the authorized government. If the focus relies on the legality of tenure, most *kampungs* in Jakarta will be categorized as squatter since they do not sit on the legal land. So, a new aspect of the administrative legalization system was added to determine the *kampung'*s neighborhood status, whether as a squatter, slum, or non-slum (see Figure 6.3).

The emergence of this area (squatter as the first stage of the *kampung* formation) was illustrated in Figure 6.2, situated in *Kampung* Bengek. Phase I shows the land condition that dominates by warehouses owned by PT Pelindo (a state-owned company). Spatial condition of Phase I was captured in 2010 when the company was still operating warehouses on the shore. One year later, in 2011, as shown in Phase II, one warehouse has been demolished, and the other warehouses were officially out of business. At this Phase, nearby dwellers marked plots of land – houses have not been built yet – and sell it to others illegally without permission from the landowner. Lastly, Phase III shows a squatter area called *Kampung* Bengek developed by the local dwellers that grow illegally. These phases can be categorized according to the land-use change in a particular *kampung*

Figure 6.2. The first stage of *kampung* formation: *Kampung* as squatter area

Author, 2020

During interviews with dwellers from the study area (see Annex F), three statuses that embellished the *kampung* can be seen along with the *kampung*'s emergence. According to the *kampung* -slum terminology described above, *kampung* refers to a standalone neighborhood developed from and into the type of neighborhood judged by its physical condition. Along with its emergence, *kampung* mostly started with incidental discoveries, such as *Kampung* Walang that discovered by a group of scavengers. Another reflection is from *Kampung* Marlina that is discovered by a family who flees from the riots, *Kampung* Marlina by a group of porters and pedicab drivers, and *Kampung* Tanah Merah by a group of farmers who cultivate the land. These stories have one similarity: all occupied land were built without permission from the concerned authorities.

As the population grew, inadequate housing and infrastructure became detrimental factors in spreading *kampung*s throughout the city. In the 1950s, there were more and more calls for the *kampung* to be abolished. However, this measure was not perfectly adequate as it was not accompanied by a reliable set of regulations involving the *kampung*s (Adianto, 2017). The passage of two pieces of agrarian regulations may have had a more significant impact on *kampung* residents' legal standing.

Regarding the *kampung*'s neighborhood status in the study area, each *kampung*'s historical status was illustrated in Figure 6.3. All *kampungs* were embellished with the same state of condition (as squatter) due to the illegal land occupancy. The unrecognition of such *kampung* also determines this state as the legal administration boundary from the government. The

legalization of *kampungs* in the administration system (obtained RT and RW status) is based on the new regulation land rights under Basic Agrarian Law in 1960 that give grants, extensions, and land titles for the emerged *kampung* (Daryono, 2010; Adianto, 2017).

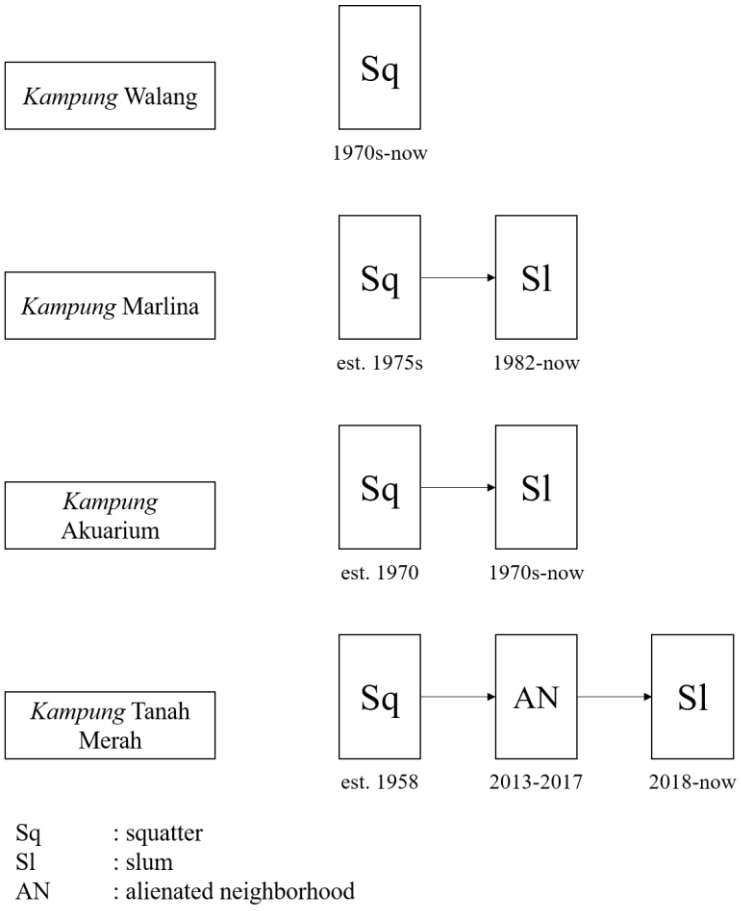


Figure 6.3. The evolution of *kampungs*' denominations

Author, 2020

Furthermore, after the squatter obtained its administration right, the next problem is related to the *kampung's* physical condition, which was later denominated as a slum. Eleven slum assessment standard was established to determine the level of impoverished conditions in *kampungs* (see Table 6.1). As illustrated in Figure 6.3, since its discovery, *Kampung* Walang is still regarded as a squatter due to the *kampung* location in such restricted and illegal areas (see also Figure 6.4). Moreover, this *kampung* has not yet been denoted into the RT/ RW system; instead, it uses Block A and Block B to refer to two-division areas. Ergo, *Kampung* Walang is still regarded as a squatter area, and yet the only squatter that is recognized and listed to be prioritized for improvement.

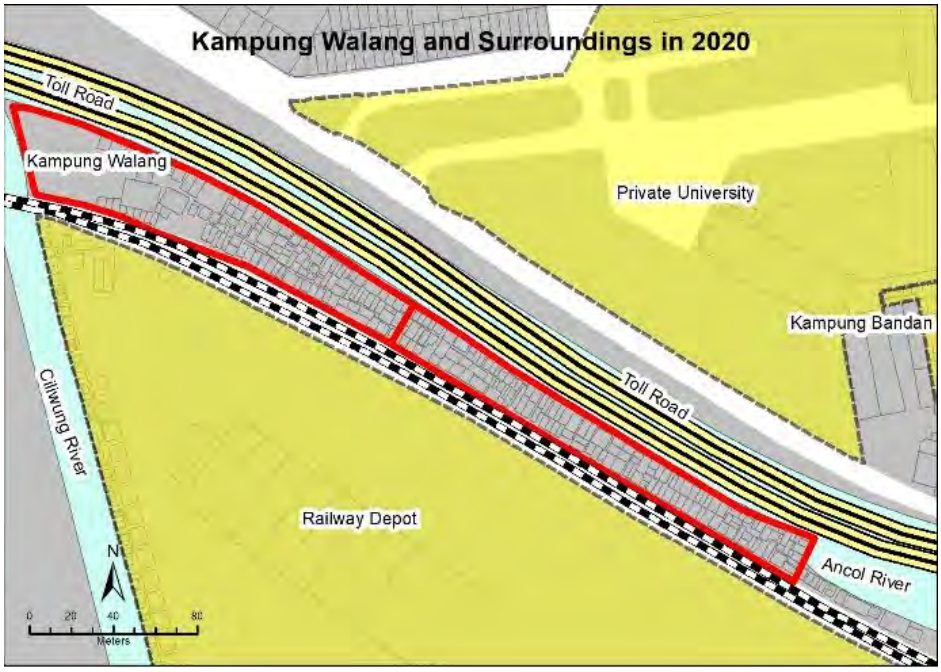


Figure 6.4. The existing condition of *Kampung* Walang

Author, 2020

Furthermore, *Kampung* Marlina and *Kampung* Akuarium were regarded as slums (see Annex J and K, for their slum statuses). Both *kampungs* failed to upgrade their condition due to pulling factors from the nearby industrial complex that attract more people to seek housing close to their livelihood. The existence of the industrial complex more or less also degrading the environment quality. The factories' tall fences overshadow one row of housing on the west side of *Kampung* Marlina (see Figure 6.1 for its position). As a result, people who live along these fences are situated with poor ventilation. This condiction is failed to meet the standard of adequate ventilation assessed by the government (see Table 6.1).

Meanwhile, the condition in *Kampung* Akuarium is no less different from *Kampung* Marlina. However, the issue is more centered on the occupation of land owned by the provincial government, which became an excuse to demolish the *kampung* in 2016. This *kampung* is regarded as a slum until demolition, as (also) listed by BPS in 2013.

Finally, *Kampung* Tanah Merah has the most extended history since its discovery and the most prolonged period for a neighborhood to obtain legal recognition (RT and RW). Since its discovery in 1958, dwellers of *Kampung* Tanah Merah considered aliens (unrecognized citizens). Even after the Basic Agrarian Law was constituted in 1960, this *kampung* failed to obtain customary land status. As a result, all dwellers were forbidden to access any social and health welfares from the state due to the disputed land's occupancy. Nobody in *Kampung* Tanah Merah obtained citizenship ID as long as they insist on living in this *kampung* Dwellers conducted prolonged social movements in obtaining legal administration status. The legal citizenship and administration status finally obtained in 2013. Before the legalization, this *kampung* was considered a white area. Even in the list issued by BPS, it did not include slums nor non-slum; instead, it was considered alienated (see Annex F and discussion of *Kampung* Tanah Merah in Chapter 8). After the legalization (obtained administration status), the issues that emerged in this *kampung* are environmental degradation due to the massive rural-urban

migration. Under the Governor's Decree Number 90 and 878 in 2018, it was denominated as a slum and prioritized to be improved (see Annex H, for Tanah Merah political contract).

Variables to Determine Slum	
1	Population density
2	Building layout (houses)
3	Residential building construction
4	Ventilation
5	Land use
6	Roads
7	Drainage system
8	Lavatory
9	Waste disposal system
10	Waste disposal method
11	Public street lighting

Table 6.1. Eleven slum assessment standard issued by BPS, 2013

BPS, 2013

6.1.2. Prominent Roles of *Kampung* Dwellers

During interviews, site surveys, and spontaneous interactions with the dwellers, various responses, reactions, and concerns toward participative slum alleviation planning (through CAP) have been collected. These findings were later summarized into three types of dwellers according to their reactions. These findings were validated by asking public figures in each *kampung.* As a result, their acceptances or rejections toward particular implementation of slum improvement were influenced by each household's property ownership. Their roles also have a direct link to the *kampungs*' emergence and continuity. The types of dwellers founded are "the founders," "the settlers," and "the renters."

The distinction of dwellers' types is not only according to the occupancy order but also according to the property's possession. In the previous sub-chapter, various incidental events were discussed and put the founder as the prominent actor in discovering a new vacant land that later they built as a new unstructured settlement. At the beginning of the discovery, the founders should ensure that no governmental officers guarded the land. According to *Kampung* Walang's founder, they need to build temporary huts and stay there for a month. *Kampung* Marlina's founders also expressed a similar statement: they have to ensure that the land was neglected by staying on the land for trial. After the safety has confirmed, the founders invited other people to occupy the land by selling the land at an affordable price. These newcomers bought the land from the founder, later called "the settlers," because they settled permanently in the newly discovered *kampung* The last group that arrived in the neighborhood was the renters. These are groups of people who are attracted to live in such *kampungs* due to the proximity to the workplace; they could be new-migrants who tried to seek a job and need affordable housing or those who work in the factory nearby and seek an affordable room to rent. Either way, both groups were classified as renters because they do not possess any

> *"When the police came to deliver an eviction notice in 2018, they wished to relocate this kampung to the nearby flats. Well, those renters were sincerely happy because the rent fee is not that high. However, that is not acceptable for us (the settlers) since the government will not give us compensation* (money) *for the houses we built here. So we*

consistently refuse those programs (relocation programs) *to protect our property. It is not much, but valuable, especially for us, the poor* (she use the word '*miskin*,' which means poor)" (Quote 6.1.2.: jkt/09/rps)

By reconstructing the ladder of participation by Arnstein (1968), the participation efforts of each type of dweller in the development of *kampungs* are illustrated as follow (Figure 6.5):

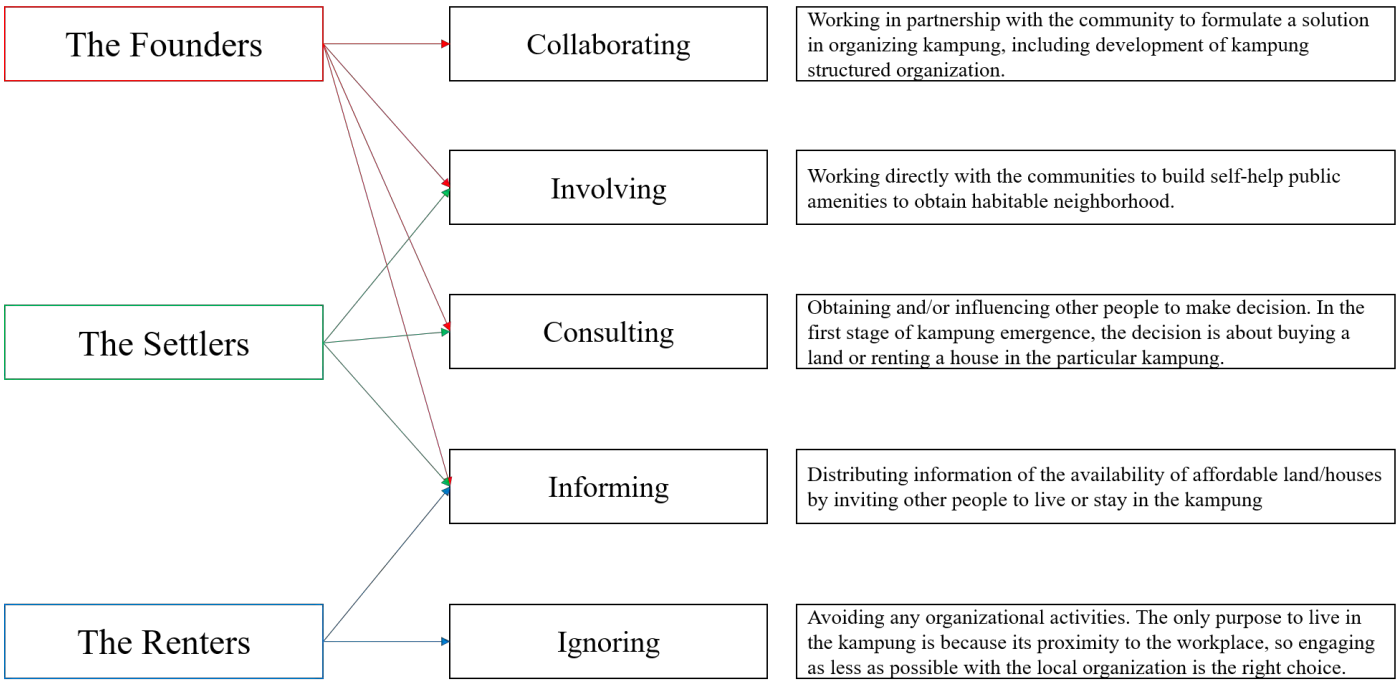


Figure 6.5. The reconstructed ladder of participation

Source: Arnstein, 1968 with modifications

According to the information collected during the semi-structured interviews and spontaneous interactions with dwellers, their participations were influenced by their life priority. For founders and settlers who rightfully have access to the property, they have the authority to run a small business such as a tavern or *warung*s (kiosk) within the neighborhood. When the *kampung* has been legitimately obtained administrative status from the government, the founders and the settlers have access to social, health, and education welfares from the municipality. In contrast, the renters mostly rely upon their livelihood. So their priority is to earn income to survive. So, any unfavorable activities will never be taken into consideration.

In slum alleviation programs such as relocation, the renters tend not to be disturbed by resettlement to low-rent vertical housing or eviction without compensation due to the "nothing to lose" mindset.

"I never consider the renters to be involved in this collaborative program. To be residents, yes, to be participants, no. We did earn money from the room that we rent for them, but still, they could not care less about the future of this kampung (*Kampung* Marlina). *They are mostly people who flee their village to seek a job here. So their concerns are money. They have no emotional attachment with this kampung whatsoever. They can easily move to the flats or seek another affordable house/ room in another kampung Easy, nothing to lose."* (Quote 6.1.2.: jkt/01/rps)

6.1.3. Dwellers' Survival Strategies

Seeking affordable housing by moving from one *kampung* to another is one of the common strategies applied by most *kampung* dwellers in Jakarta. Two options offered in their condition are moving to an existing *kampung*, becoming the renters, moving to the squatter area, buying a plot of land, and becoming permanent residents. In an urgent situation like eviction, they are offered the third option; moving into the government's vertical housing by paying monthly rent. However, this last option seems unattractive due to the dwellers' inability to pay the rent fee. Moreover, the utilization of social spaces inside the *kampung* constructs a promising economic space, allowing dwellers to run a small business by opening a small shop.

> "*Relocating kampung dwellers to vertical housing is another way to impoverish the poor. It should not be an option. We cannot run a store in such housing, which means we have no income. If we have no income, we cannot afford to pay the monthly rent. Soon, we will get kicked out, and we ended up homeless*" *(Quote 6.1.3.: jkt/01/rps)*

For most dwellers, a *kampung* is not merely a flock of houses; it is a home that gave them warmth with a pleasant situation. Even though most *kampung* lacks open spaces, the dwellers could transform a narrow alleyway into a social and economic space. In this space, they met with many different kinds of residents, observed many different formal and informal social gatherings, spent long hours criticizing the government while drinking coffee, and bought daily needs in the small *warung* (shop) run by the residents. The horizontal pattern of *kampung* creates multiple functions; as social space and commercial space. This complexity challenged urban planners to translate the horizontal and street-level dynamics of social transactions into vertical spatial arrangements. However, the proposed scenarios are usually too radically disjointed from what is acceptable in terms of appropriate housing and commercial space, let alone social structures. In the actual practice, both the government and the urban planners often concentrate only on the *kampung'*s physical appearance. An ambitious goal to adorn the city failed to meet dwellers' needs in social and economic interaction.

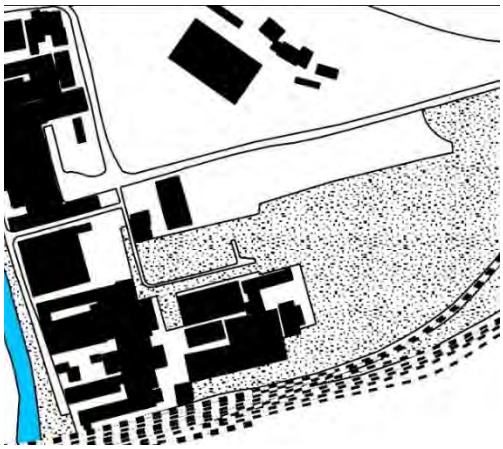
In the emergence process, *kampung* has been developed in an unstructured way throughout the city. However, there is an obvious pattern of the distribution of *kampungs* in Jakarta. Reflecting from the four main *kampungs* as the study case areas and other additional *kampungs* assisted by the local communities (data gathered from the interviews with JRMK/ Urban Poor Networks), two patterns have been withdrawn to show the direction and tendency of *kampung* emergence. The first pattern shows the tendency of a *kampung* that developed towards economic attractions. The availability of livelihood in the commercial and industrial areas attracts the urban poor to build a neighborhood as nearest as possible with employment. The second pattern shows the urban poor's tendency to occupy any vacant land along with the construction of urban development, such as main roads, dikes, and railways. *Kampung* Marlina and *Kampung* Tanah Merah represent the first tendency, while *Kampung* Walang and *Kampung* Akuarium represent the second tendency (see Figure 6.6).

Formation Pattern I

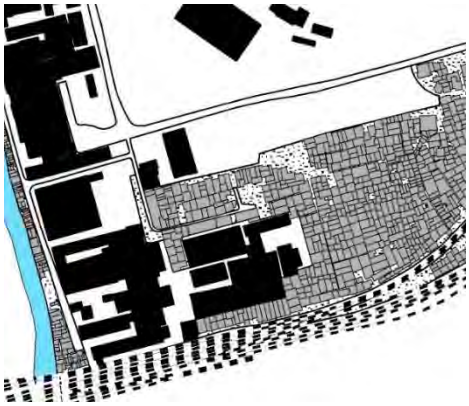
In the first pattern, a narrow vacant land is available between industrial or commercial zone. In the first pattern, the industrial area flourished due to the city's early development during the colonial period. This development leaves narrow spaces that are intended for green spaces.

The tradition of spontaneously filling vacant land has transformed open spaces and green lands into *kampungs*. Most dwellers are urged to occupy this vacant land due to the economic attraction that flourished in the surroundings.

Formation Pattern II



The city's formal development pattern creates an orderly urban environment, especially along roads, by leaving open vacant lands that have functions as parks or green spaces along rivers or railways



Construction along the road often leaves narrow spaces destined for the green line. However, the city's housing unaffordability urged the urban poor to occupy such restricted spaces and turn it into the squatter area before it flourished to become *kampung*

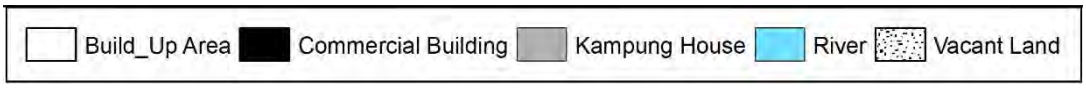


Figure 6.6. Two types of *kampung* formation pattern in Jakarta

Source: Widjaja, 1992, with modification

This typical pattern of how dwellers acquired land in the city has become common among the dwellers. First, the urban poor marked unattended land they found. They started to divide the land into plots and sell it to other people at an unreasonably generous price. In less than five years, space is filled with houses, which are called the squatter area. This squatter area's dwellers later create a denomination over their neighborhood, which always starts with

"*kampung*" That is how a brownfield area like *Kampung* Bengek and *Kampung* Walang thrived into a squatter neighborhood and evolved into one congested *kampung*

> "*I bought this 3 x 3.75 square meter hut with only two million rupiahs* (approx. 150USD). *The hut was made from used plywood sheets and card-boxes. It is such an uncomfortable place to live. The water is contaminated that somehow colored black, so we should put foam to filter the black materials*" *(Quote 6.1.3.: jkt/09/rps)*

How urban dwellers obtained particular land in the city could be concluded in three forming phases: brownfield land and/or vacant land to the squatter, squatter to *kampung*, and *kampung* to RT or RW (official administration status). In the forming process, people shaped the environment. "Slumming" as social activities are reflected in an irony that poor people are always imprisoned in the contested *kampung* with the impoverished condition.

Moreover, few dwellers have developed another option to cope with any unwanted events in the future as their survival strategies. It is reflected in the most mentioned statements during the interviews. Table 6.2 summarizes the recorded statements.

Statements	**Theme**
"I bought a house in Depok, which now I rented it to my friend."	Legal property ownership
"My wife inherited a piece of land from her parents in her hometown."	
"My mother bought land in her hometown."	
"My husband bought a house with installments in Bogor (a city near Jakarta)."	
"I have no spare house whatsoever, so I have to prevail this *kampung*"	
"I have no spare house nor spare land whatsoever. "	
"I have been thinking of buying land in another town, but I do not know where. "	Living strategy
"If we got evicted, I simply want to return to my hometown."	
"I am renting a house here, so my strategy is to find another house in other *kampungs*."	
"I want to retire and return to my hometown."	
"I bought this land illegally. I know that someday, we will be evicted, but we better stay here than become homeless."	
"Everybody wants to buy a house, whether on the legal or illegal land."	
"My neighbor a *bos kontrakan* (lodging houses' owner). He has many lodging houses in many *kampungs*. Luckily he does not live in the *kampung* but in a very decent neighborhood. He is wealthy, though."	

Table 6.2. Summary of interviews and spontaneous interactions regarding legal property ownership

Interview, 2020

The table above showed the tendency of dwellers to cope with living in uncertain condition. The dwellers often state three primary life decisions in the study area: persistently preserve the neighborhood through social and political movements, yield for any regulations determined by the government (by moving to the flats), and return to their hometown. These decisions are

also reflected in the post-eviction in *Kampung* Akuarium, where people divided into these forms of acceptance (discussed in Chapter 8).

Conclusion remarks

A *kampung* can be interpreted in several different ways. It is reflected in the prolonged debates about *kampungs*' significance in Jakarta (Irawaty, 2018). *Kampung*, as the indigenous neighborhood, has developed into many perspectives. For its dwellers, a *kampung* is the only hope to obtain affordable housing in the city. For them, the meaning of *kampung* is more than a place to live. It is their identity. No matter how many people nominate their neighborhood as inhabitable, slum, inadequate living environment, the dwellers insist on keeping *kampung'*s identity as part of their lives. In the end, safe and pleasant living is merely a subjective perspective. People tend to have their criteria to measure safety and adequate living.

While the government forcedly enacted the utopian dream of aesthetic urban cosmopolitanism, the dwellers remain living traditionally by preserving the *kampung* existence. In the end, both parties should be on the same page instead of forcing one ambition from one party by violating human rights, like implementing forced eviction in many *kampungs* in Jakarta. Lack of information would result in ignorance among dwellers, which will minimize citizen participation in any bottom-up planning scenario. The long-run implementation of top-down planning in Indonesia resulted in the dwellers' typical passive participation and a lack of acknowledgment of spatial planning. Poverty forced them to only focus on one thing, 'survive.' To survive in a city, one should earn money. As they stated, 'stomach matters the most", which means that the essential thing in their lives is food.

For local dwellers, there are only three categories of *kampung* according to its emergence. There are squatter *kampung*, a *kampung* located mostly on illegal, restricted land in the city such as along the railways, river plain, and brownfield area, and consists of unstructured households. This *kampung* is most likely excluded from any slum alleviation program. This *kampung* is considered as an illegal *kampung* with (also) illegal citizenship. People who reside in this *kampung* fled their villages and tried to gamble with their lives in the city and mostly did not hold any KTP (citizen identification card). This type of *kampung* has no official administration status whatsoever and is considered illegal. The distribution of this *kampung* remains unpredicted. There is still no specific number of households who occupy this *kampung* since they have not been included in the periodic population census (Irawaty, 2018).

Furthermore, some *kampungs* are nominated by the state government as slum areas. This classification results from the government's research since 1993 and used as the premise on every housing and citizenship regulation. This research is renewed every four years and updated under the authority of the Central Bureau of Statistics. Slum *kampung* most likely suffers from inadequate houses and inhabitable living environment. The difference between this type of *kampung* and squatter *kampung* is that slum *kampung* has obtained a legal administration status from the government and has been included in any governmental project such as slum upgrading program. Most slum-*kampungs* lack land ownership status due to the unrecorded land purchasing in the prior history and the loose land regulation in the early period.

However, even though their land status has been legitimated, to obtain housing certainty, the dwellers of this type of *kampung* should be aware of the spatial planning zonation legitimized by the municipality, whether it is located in the residential zones or the non-residential zones.

Otherwise, if their *kampung* is located in the non-residential zone, sooner or later, the new commercial's development would likely force a relocation (see Annex M, N, O, and P, for the future spatial plan). Despite the distinctive perspective towards slum-*kampung* or slum neighborhoods (RT or RW), many slum neighborhoods have consisted of *kampungs* as the traditional name. However, *kampungs* are not always slums, but slums more likely have their local name called '*kampung.*'

6.2. Rational and Problem-Based Slum Alleviation Planning

For many decades, slum clearance and slum redevelopment strategies have been debated, and a final strategy has not yet been agreed upon. In the 1950s and 1960s, demolition and renovation of public housing took precedence (Irawaty, 2018). The World Bank answered by redesigning social housing into two varieties: in-situ and self-based services (Irawaty, 2018). There were two different methods of upgrading: externally rigorous or support-based. The first measure aimed to reshape an illegal and reduced living standard to a standard design by external organizations or the government. The second intervention has two different approaches: government-initiated support and NGO-initiated support.

In this tier, the discussion starts with the long run project of slum improvement after the implementation of KIP (MH Thamrin). The focus has been shifted through the social or economic alteration within the city. Furthermore, the support-based intervention reflected in both government-initiated support and NGO-initiated support will be discussed further to understand better the new problem-based approach called CAP.

6.2.1. Rational Slum Alleviation Planning

During the 1960s to 1990s, KIP (*Kampung* Improvement Program) was the most successful approach to alleviating slums in Jakarta (Raharjo, 2010). The program supported by the World Bank has improved over 10,000 hectares of settlements and improved the lives of over three million settlers. The program, however, ended in 1999, and several efforts were made since 2000 to improve the slums. The latest program that has been implemented nationally is *KOTA*KU (*Kota* Tanpa Kumuh/ Cities without Slums). This program aims to suppress poverty among *kampung* dwellers who occupies such an inadequate living environment. Following the KIP and MH Thamrin Project's success story, the state government keeps solving poverty and reducing the number of slums by officiating numerous efforts to alleviate slums in many forms. This rational planning operated on a big scale with specific goals in the planned timeline. Figure 6.7 shows various top-down slum alleviation planning programs operated by the state government with local government/ municipality as the executor. However, the government only executed this program as a rational plan to demolish the slums manifested in forced evictions of *kampungs* and relocated thousands of dwellers.

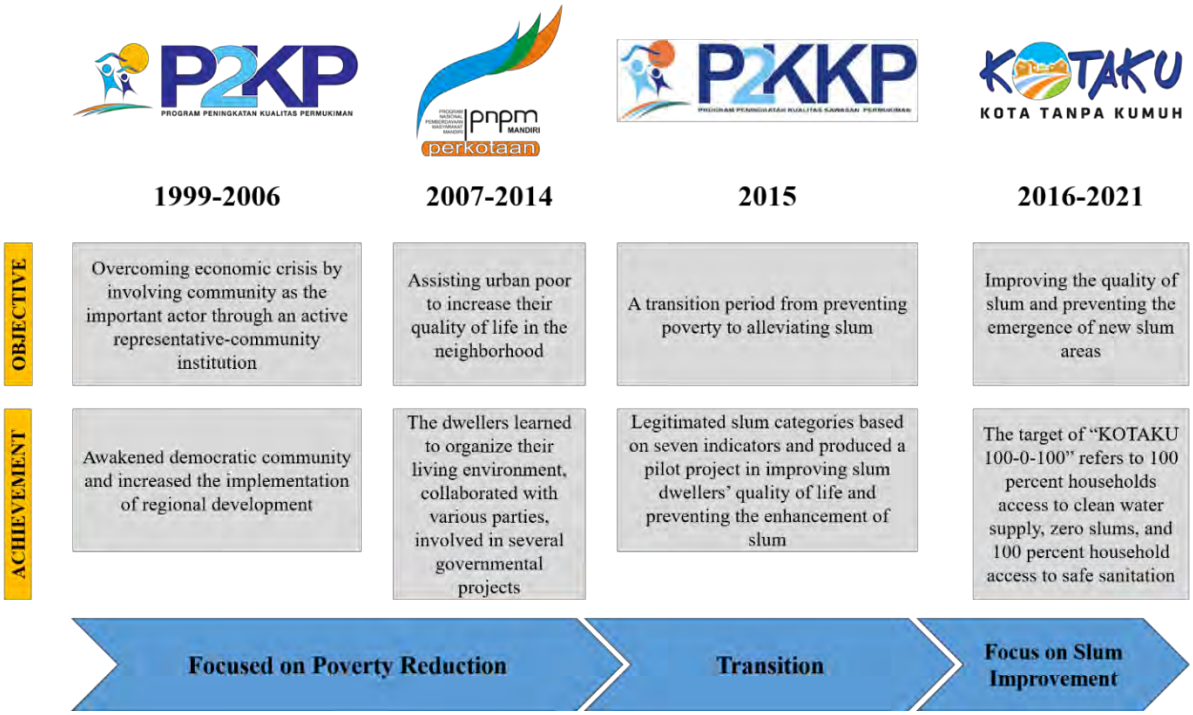


Figure 6.7. The Direction of Slum Alleviation Programs after KIP

Ministry of Public Works

In order to determine the area of priority, the government issued a list of slums to be divided into four categories according to its slum-ness before it was legitimated on the Governor's Decree. The process had three stages. First, the selected *kampungs* came from the dwellers' proposal, which includes information about the *kampung*'s longevity, land tenure, density, flooding, clean water scarcity, sanitation, and health issues. Second, the site visit evaluates the listed slum by gathering more information about *kampungs*' living conditions to determine the suitable projects according to its conditions. Third, the evaluation process provides all information about the upcoming project that will be implemented in *kampungs*, including information about the planning map and the design.

Behind the successful program's stories that could alleviate numerous *kampungs*, these programs tend to be unsuccessful in improving the tiny and packed houses and providing dwellers with sufficient public amenities (Raharjo, 2010). The program focuses too much on upgrading alleyways and drains by underrating the importance of civil housing. The program also lacks coordination in after-project maintenance. Moreover, the more ironic situation is when the government later demolished the improved *kampungs* (through KIP) to accommodate new commercial districts (Raharjo, 2010; Adianto, 2017; Irawaty, 2018). Many *kampungs* in Jakarta that have been upgraded through various improvement programs have a high possibility of being demolished or relocated due to land tenure issues. After the improvement program, a more wicked problem has emerged; land tenure. Due to the massive urban development that leads to commercial and business districts' development, the government often brings up land illegalization in many *kampungs*. They often use this excuse to expedite their plan on demolishing the *kampungs*. So, their efforts on improving the *kampungs* have no points whatsoever.

The Vertical Housing Approach

The concept of slum improvement has been shifted through time to create a more compact urban settlement with vertical-housing development by minimizing the land over-exertion. Traditional horizontal housing is considered to hinder the maximization of the land. So, the new housing system called Rusunawa (low-rent vertical housing) has been introduced to increase the density without overusing the land.

However, many *kampung* dwellers have raised significant concerns about this project. First, the lease option has placed additional financial burdens on every family. In a low-rent vertical house, all leaseholders are obliged to pay fixed monthly costs incongruent with their precarious livelihood and inadequate earnings. Second, most residents were worried about flat design and regulatory requirements that restricted informal economic activity in their dwellings (Interview, 2020).

6.2.2. Problem-Based Approach in Slum Alleviation Planning

Following the concept of incremental planning by Lindblom in 1959 that requires a step-by-step approach implemented in a relatively small area with continuity, CAP's original idea is to overcome issues that emerged in a particular *kampung*. This approach is considered the most influential movement rather than implementing such programs on a large scale by assuming all slums have similar issues and interests (assumed by local dwellers and NGOs through the interview). The CAP originates from the NGO's concerns towards violation of human rights conducted by the municipality in evicting many *kampungs* in Jakarta. CAP is the first step of the Slum Alleviatin Plan consisting of CAP, CIP, and Agrarian Reform.

CAP is a community action plan that independently plans and implements local efforts to improve life quality with continuous maintenance. CAP aims to fulfill two things; first, complying with the needs of adequate housing and residential security for *kampung* dwellers; second, enforcing the principle of housing certainty that guarantees every citizen's right to occupy a safe place under the provisions of laws and regulations.

CAP is a vessel to accommodate dwellers' concerns and needs towards their living environment that captured social, physical, and economy. However, along with its implementation, the CAP method has been split into two axes: the independent CAP organized by *kampung* dwellers assisted by JRMK-UPC and Rujak Urban Center Study, and the governmental CAP organized by the provincial government under the assistance of hired urban consultants.

The Independent CAP (Community Action Plan)

Originally, CAP is not a product of government. The central premise of CAP came from the phenomena of social injustice experienced by *kampung* dwellers. Most dwellers are well aware of numerous slum alleviation program that ran in their neighborhood. Many scholars and city experts conducted surveys to evaluate their *kampung'*s social, economic, and environmental conditions. However, the many programs conducted in their area solely increased the quality of one or two public amenities. The municipality set their criteria in stipulating criteria of slums—surveys and interviews conducted in such ways that the local dwellers hardly understood. Most of the time, dwellers involved in implementing such programs are RW and RT's' leaders. It is notoriously known that these people claimed to have more knowledge about the *kampung* than anyone else. However, as it happened before, there is always a political

interest in every selection and implementation. The failure always involves passive representatives or irresponsible representatives who somehow utilize the public fund for personal interest.

CAP emerged as a result of a persistent social movement conducted by *kampung* dwellers who asked the elected governor to sign a political contract on improving the quality of life in slum areas and guarantee the safety of street vendors and informal workers from evictions. CAP has widely announced when it assists dwellers of *Kampung* Akuarium in obtaining housing justice after eviction occurred in 2016.

> *"Satpol PP* (Public Order Enforcers) *and police, using a big excavator, started to demolish our houses. I had no power to do anything except crying, you know. We almost have no time to protect our belongings. Women, men, and children were crying while watching our kampung been demolished. It is very chaotic. Afterward, we still keep trying to find our belongings under the ruins. Allahuakbar* (oh my God)*, it is really heartbreaking. After the eviction, some of my friends live in a low-rent flat nearby. Some prefer to return to their hometown. Like me, the persistence, who have nowhere to go, tend to build temporary huts here. Well, I think it is better than become homeless"* (Quote 6.2.2.: jkt/04/rps)

Since the eviction, the dwellers of *Kampung* Akuarium scattered throughout the city to seek affordable houses. Rujak Urban Studies Center in 2018 recorded that approximately 55% of dwellers ended up flocking in nearby low-rent flats. In comparison, 45% tend to build huts and tents on the demolished land, and only 10% decided to return to their hometown. After the eviction, JRMK, UPC, and Rujak assisted the remaining dwellers (the 45 percent) in obtaining affordable housing within the city. After a long negotiation process, North Jakarta's municipality gave an on-leased land status (*hak guna bangunan*) to the community. A collective property right has been implemented to avoid any undesirable proposition, such as selling the land rights to the other parties.

> *"The original idea of CAP is not to drive dwellers to do what we think is ideal. However, we seek together what they think is ideal for them. This kampung is not for us* (NGOs)*, but them. So, we ask them, their needs and wishes toward their kampung And then, we help them organize a meeting with authorized people and important stakeholders. The important thing here is not to set them meet our* (non-*kampung* dwellers) *standard of living, but to let them find their ideal neighborhood. Because my perception about the ideal living environment with theirs might be different"* (Quote 6.2.2.: jkt/01/urp)

CAP in *Kampung* Akuarium intends to accommodate the dwellers to convey their opinion about the social injustice they experienced. Living in *rusun* (low-rent vertical housing) does not guarantee housing certainty. Only those who are able to pay the rent typically obtain the certainty. How about those who cannot pay the rent? As it happened before, the building authority will evict the tenants, which causes homelessness. The government has tried to overcome the housing shortage by increasing the capacity of housing in vertical houses. Many think that affordable housing is equal to low rental fees. However, on the other hand, livelihood uncertainty demarcates the urban poor to access this housing. Horizontal housing patterns gave them unlimited access to social interaction and economic flow. Many *kampung* dwellers depend on the small shop they run as the main livelihood. *Kampung* is not merely a settlement area, a place to socialize, but *kampung* is also the source of the dweller's livelihood. It is a

mixed land use concentrated in a modest compact building that is able to support its dwellers with finite sources yet spare the poor from homelessness.

> *"Kampung is our life, our identity. It is not an identity of the poor but a unity. Kampung represents diversity, harmony, and cultural identity. Kampung is our livelihood, our survival shelter. I, personally, could not care less about the physical condition of the kampung I think the outsider who refers to our neighborhood as inadequate is because its condition is inadequate for them who always step on the marble floor. For us, it is enough, acceptable. If they want to improve our lives, consideration beyond physical standards should be taken into account. What is the point if we can enjoy the beautiful neighborhood if we severe from hunger? In the end, everything just political, only to satisfy those untrusted politicians."* (Quote 6.2.2.: jkt/05/rps)

Referring to *kampung* dwellers' statements during the survey and interviews, affordable means that a particular household does not need to eliminate their basic needs to pay tenant fees. Directing the poor to have the same perspective about the ideal neighborhood will push them to choose between being homeless or staying hungry to put a roof upon their head. The criteria of affordable housing that the government applies to need to be evaluated. In every attempt at neighborhood upgrading, there are two components; either the people or the neighborhood. However, in many cases, the implementation of a slum alleviation plan focuses on the neighborhood upgrading by implementing the infrastructural project. Listening closely to what the dwellers think about *kampung* upgrading these days is merely a formality to display good governance, which takes notice of the poor. However, in the end, it is merely an attempt to force the poor to meet their criteria of ideal living in the ideal neighborhood.

> *"One thing that we really want is the certainty of land ownership in Kampung Tanah Merah. We asked the government to reconstruct or fix some potholes, but we always have ways to do it by ourselves, to be honest. Whether by ask donations from private companies or organize crowd-funding to build a bridge or repair the drain. But one thing that we cannot do without the government's assistance is the land dispute resolution that always haunts us with forced eviction. This uncertainty really makes me worry every single day"* (Quote 6.2.1.: jkt/06/rps)

Each *kampung* has different issues and concerns. One similarity is that in many cases, *kampung* is lack of land ownership status. The state government or municipality either owns it, or the worse case is if the land is owned by a private company, most likely unnegotiable. Land dispute is a common issue faced by most *kampungs* in Jakarta. The uncertain land data collection in prior history (post-colonialism) becomes one reason why land in the city is hardly obtained by the poor. Nowadays, when the issues have been intertwined, the poor should strive to defend their land unconditionally. Despite the similar land issues experienced by *kampung* dwellers, the problem-based approach might be an alternative to gain more perspective of *kampung* by involving the dwellers in the slum alleviation plan. Planning to alleviate slums is embellish not only its neighborhood but also elevate dwellers' quality of life. Considering that each *kampung* might have different issues, a different approach to *kampung* alleviation is necessary.

The Governmental CAP

The second version of CAP is authorized by North Jakarta's municipality under Sub-Department of Housing and Urban Settlement coordination. Through its contracted consultant, the municipality implements a different direction of CAP. CAP's original framework to gain more value of *kampung* and accommodate the dwellers to obtain their ideal neighborhood has

been translated differently into an infrastructure project (Rujak Center for Urban Studies, 2019). As reported in the CAP implementation reflection report, the consultant team has no precise method to assist the dwellers and educate them on CAP's concept. Often, they came to *kampung* and talked to the dwellers without any preparation (ad hoc). Moreover, their explanation is too technical and difficult to understand. The contracted consultant's lack of knowledge and performance hinder the successful CAP in several *kampung* in Jakarta.

> *"I would say that the implementation of CAP by the contracted consultant is far from satisfying. It is horrible. As far as I recall, this consultant's representative only came once, talked to the dwellers, and left. Then a couple of weeks later, they came with a brand new concept of housing. It is a design of a typical low-rent flat. Of course, this design was strongly rejected by the dwellers. It does not work here since the dwellers have been smart enough to understand the difficulty of living in the flats. In the end, our version of housing selected under many circumstances of course"* (Quote 6.2.2.: jkt/01/urp)

Thus far, among 21 prioritized *kampungs*, only *Kampung* Akuarium implemented the original version of CAP assisted directly by JRMK-UPC and Rujak Center for Urban Studies. Meanwhile, another *kampung* has a governmental version of CAP. Although both CAP accommodates the dwellers' needs, the governmental CAP tends to finish the process quickly. There is no further assistance after the CAP report has been issued. In the slum alleviation series, CAP-CIP-Agrarian Reform, each *kampung* has further progress on how far each serial has been implemented (see Table 6.3). The least progressive program occurred in *Kampung* Tanah Merah that postponed the CIP program due to Covid-19 strikes since the end of 2019.

> *"UPC assists 15 kampungs out of 21 prioritized kampungs. The other kampung was directly assisted by the contacted consultant. I think hiring a consultant is an unnecessary move. We can empower the human resources within kampung whom I believe have better understand of their kampung We prepare them with series of provision such as spatial planning, spatial zonation, kampung positionality and dwellers rights in participation. So when the consultant team came, the dwellers already have the concept"* (Quote 6.2.2.: jkt/02/ngo)

Location	Problem	Status
Kampung Akuarium	Eviction and Land Tenure	CAP done CIP on progress: construction of the new concept of town housing
Kampung Marlina	Land Dispute	CAP done CIP done: not satisfying dwellers' needs
Kampung Walang	Issue of Eviction Land Tenure	CAP done Plan: relocation
Kampung Tanah Merah	Land dispute	CAP done CIP not yet

Table 6.3. The recent update of the implementation of the slum alleviation plan in the study case area

Source: Interview, 2020

6.3. The Analysis of Activities and Buildings Density

This tier discusses social formation due to the dwellers' participation in social activities in the contested space. Four categories of activities were identified during activity mapping. The discussion started with the basic concept of public spaces as social identity, followed by the categorization of activities snapshotted during activity mapping. Moreover, these snapshotted activities were analyzed using Kernel density in ArcGIS. Thus, to identify the relation between activities and the built-up area, the building density also identified using Kernel density in ArcGIS. Finally, the detail activities were portrayed to enhance the activities-spaces relationship.

6.3.1. Public Spaces as Social Identity of *Kampung*

Space in urban environments leads to the picture and character of the location where the relationship between space and events influences its purpose and image (Montgomery, 1998). In most *kampung* in Jakarta, the feature of space is unique since its properties are communal (Rahmi et al., 2001; Setiawan et al., 2010). The high built-up density (95% of built-up in *Kampung* Marlina) and high population density (approximately 334 persons per hectare in *Kampung* Marlina (Data tabulation, 2020) result in a severe shortage of open space, which poses significant concerns to accommodate social interaction among dwellers. However, the strain of high density and scarcity of open space has stimulated the group to convert and adjust unique areas in the *kampung* to socially appropriate public spaces. Though open spaces are scarce in *kampungs*, social spaces are abundant. (Rahmi et al., 2001). Those spaces include alleyways, local shops and taverns (*warkop*), public lavatories, fields, community buildings, guard posts, mosques, and meeting halls (see Table 6.4). Thus, shared public space serves to improve and solidify mutual relations. Some particular spaces mentioned above are listed below:

Social space in *kampung*	Character	Description
Alleyways	Organic and spontaneous, the width of the street is roughly 1 meter	In the traditional urban *kampung*, the alleyways are directly linked to the terrace of the building. In most *kampungs*, houses do not have an outside wall at the main entry that prevents outsiders from accessing the house's private spaces such as the yard or porch. This condition was exacerbated by an over-built density that left little room to distinguish a house from a house next to it.
Local shops and taverns (*warkop*)	Semi-permanent building	The shops and taverns accomplish two crucial tasks: they provide the dwellers' fundamental needs and serve as a social hub for the neighborhood (to chat and discuss). These specific locations express mutual contact and establishing

		intangible identities of the society.
Public wells and lavatories	Communal use	The absence of adequate lavatories appears to be a drawback in a region that is as crammed as the *kampungs*cheme because the shortage of those features triggers social marginalization. As a result, communal sanitary facilities become essential. In these traditionally communal spaces, people communicate with each other when doing the dishes or laundry.
Social facilities (community building, guard post, and mosque)	Communal use, a symbolic reflection of the community	In many *kampungs*, community buildings such as the RW office are places where people gather to address village problems.
Field and open spaces	Restricted in size, refer to the residual space	The field in a few *kampungs* applies to brownfield fields surrounding the *kampung* (*Kampung* Marlina and *Kampung* Walang, for instance). This space becomes the center of many heterogeneous activities such as selling food, playing football, flying kites, littering waste, and gossiping.

Table 6.4. Common social spaces in the urban *kampung*

Source: compiled from Rahmi et al. (2001), Setiawan et al. (2010), and Hutama (2016)

Observed Spaces and Activities in the Study Case Area

The activities among dwellers were captured and listed during observations. Some activities occurred in a concise duration, and others prevail longer. During observations, 118 outdoor activities (see Annex B, C, D, and E) were captured in the different spaces, which were grouped into four categories: necessary, social, optional, and religious. These categories were modified from the concept of outdoor activities categorized by Gehl (2011).

Necessary Activity

Necessary activities found during observations are mainly related to livelihood. These activities were easily found on every edge of the *kampungs*. The self-help economy system more or less influences the number of businesses opened throughout the *kampungs*. Activities captured such as; a man fill jerry cans with water to sell, women hangout by the kiosk while buying goods, children hangout by the kiosk while playing bingo, and kiosk activity under the toll bridge (see Figure 6.8, respectively).

Figure 6.8. Snapshot of necessary activities in the study case area

Author, 2020

Social Activity

Social activities occurred in every space within the *kampungs*. Dwellers were spontaneously gathered in any space in front of their houses. People were relaxing by the river, along the pathways, on the terrace, or in the neglected warehouses (see Figure 6.9, respectively). Restricted open spaces in *kampungs* urged dwellers to conduct social activities by utilizing any existed spaces creatively.

Figure 6.9. Snapshot of social activities in the study case area

Author, 2020

Optional Activity

Self-oriented activities in *kampungs* occurred spontaneously, depends on the individual habit. These activities tended to occur based on personal factors such as the availability of free time and unique features of a particular space. Self-oriented activities captured during observations such as the activity of family laying around under the toll bridge, a man taking a nap in front of a public bathroom, a girl buying a snack from the street vendor, or women cooking in the narrowed back yard (see Figure 6.10, respectively)

Figure 6.10. Snapshot of optional activities in the study case area

Author, 2020

Religious-Activity

Religious activities are related to the beliefs of dwellers. In the study case area, most dwellers are Muslim, which means their activities are centred in a mosque. Every *kampung* consists of at least one mosque or *musalla* (a smaller version of the mosque). Mosque presents as a place for praying and conducting religious-related activities such as Quran recitals and religious

celebrations. Figure 6.11 shows mosques as the religious-activities centre, and a man was heading to the nearby mosque to pray.

Figure 6.11. Snapshot of religious activity in the study case area

Author, 2020

6.3.2. Outdoor Activities Pattern with Kernel Density

The distribution of activities was examined using the Kernel Density analysis to see if it was statistically random, clustered, or homogeneous. Kernel density tools were used to determine the magnitude of outdoor activities in four *kampungs*. Four activities pattern occurred in four *kampungs* were compared to see the different patterns of activities. This analysis reveals the tendency of activities that centred on the alleyways. Further tendencies and findings will be discussed further in the following chapter.

The Density of Outdoor Activities in the Study Area

Kampung Marlina

Thirty-eight activities were snapshotted during activity mapping (see Figure 6.16). It shows that the density was evenly spreading throughout *kampungs*. In *Kampung* Marlina, the main concentration is situated in the *kampung*'s middle and northern part (see Figure 6.16). The first concentration located in the middle of the *kampung* was formed due to the main road's location. The grey area shown in the map refers to streets, pathways, and alleyways. There is only one main road to heading to *Kampung* Marlina. This main road is where the *kampung*'s gate is located. The first building located close to the gate is a mosque situated in the middle of the *kampung* (see number 1 in Figure 6.12). The next concentration (number 2 and 3) is situated in the northern part of the *kampung*, where two adjacent *kampungs* were located; *Kampung* Elektro and *Kampung* Bengek. This concentration is influenced by the existence of a large open field in the ex-warehouses area. Dwellers from three *kampungs* are commonly using this area to play football, fly kites, play bingo, swim in the puddle, gamble, raise goats and dispose of the garbage.

Figure 6.12. Snapshotted activities in *Kampung* Marlina (1,2) and a field near *Kampung* Bengek (3)

Author, 2020

Kampung Akuarium

Activities in *Kampung* Akuarium after the eviction in 2016 are less dense than the activities observed before the eviction (refer to the research about before-after *Kampung* Akuarium conducted by Ghifari in 2020). During activity mapping, only 22 activities (see Annex B, C, D, and E) were captured in the daylight. The decreasing population may influence the less-dense activities in *Kampung* Akuarium due to the eviction that forced the dwellers to move to the low-rents flats. According to Ghifari (2020) research, many warungs and other public buildings were situated in the *kampung*. However, now, the activities are mostly concentrated in two main public buildings; an open hall (number 1) that is mostly used for meeting and gathering, and a mosque (number 2) that is used to pray and take a nap (see Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13. The main concentration of activities (1,2), Quiet condition of *Kampung* Akuarium (3)

Author, 2020

Kampung Walang

There are 30 outdoor activities snapshotted during the activity mapping that are concentrated in the riverbank (number 1), under the toll road (number 2), and the alleyway in front of the *kampung* coordinator's house (number 3) (see Figure 6.14). The first concentration was represented optional activities such as fishing, daydreaming, and napping by the river. This concentration is also influenced by construction activities along the river (river normalization), so many building constructors work and interact by the river. The second concentration has occurred underneath the toll bridge, which consisted of necessary, social, and optional activities. Many warungs were built under the toll bridge due to the demand from the garbage workshops' (garbage collector business) employees and warehouse repairment workshops.

Figure 6.14. Snapshotted activities under the toll bridge

Author, 2020

Kampung Tanah Merah

Kampung Tanah Merah has the most prominent area and the largest population among other *kampungs* in the study area (consisting of 6 *RW*s divided into 68 *RT*s). Two hundred sixty-four

(264) activities were captured and summarized into 24 simplified activities (same activities categorized into one feature) (see Annex B, C, D, E, and Figure 6.16). Figure 6.16 shows the location of all activities, while Annex B to E shows the summary. There are four main concentrations of the activities that occurred in *Kampung* Tanah Merah. The first concentration is in *RW* 22 (consisting of 9 *RT*s), mainly situated in the main street (*Kampung* Tanah Merah has a street sized twice more significant than other *kampungs*' alleyways (see Annex P for the satellite imagery of *Kampung* Tanah Merah). During activity mapping, there is a sewer construction along the main street. This activity attracts many other people to watch the construction and created traffic. Other than these situations, other activities in this area are related to shopping and buying goods due to the centralized economic-related building located here (area number 1). The second concentration has similar activities to the previous concentration. The main streets in *Kampung* Tanah Merah are mostly utilized as the economic centre. During activity mapping by riding a motorcycle with the local guide, the researcher mostly captured necessary activities that occurred in the *warung*s, local stores run by the dwellers, food vendors (especially food stalls), and minimarkets. This main street is commercially developed. Activities in the third concentration are a little bit more diverse because, in this location, activities mostly occurred on the terrace of the Head of *RW* 8. Many people gathered to report problems in each *RT* (*RW* 8 consisted of 12 *RT*s). The problem is mostly related to the new cases of Covid-19 and disputes among dwellers. Moreover, a group of children playing Mobile Legend (one of the most famous online mobile games in Jakarta) along the main street while waiting for the *Adzan Maghrib* (praying call for dusk pray, usually at 6 PM) announced. Last, the fourth concentration is situated around *RW* 10 administration office, adjacent to Pertamina's oil barrels (oil company). Close to the administration building, children played in a puddled-road, scolded by a man who tried to drain the water (see Figure 6.15)

Figure 6.15. Snapshotted activities in four concentrations (Author, 2020)

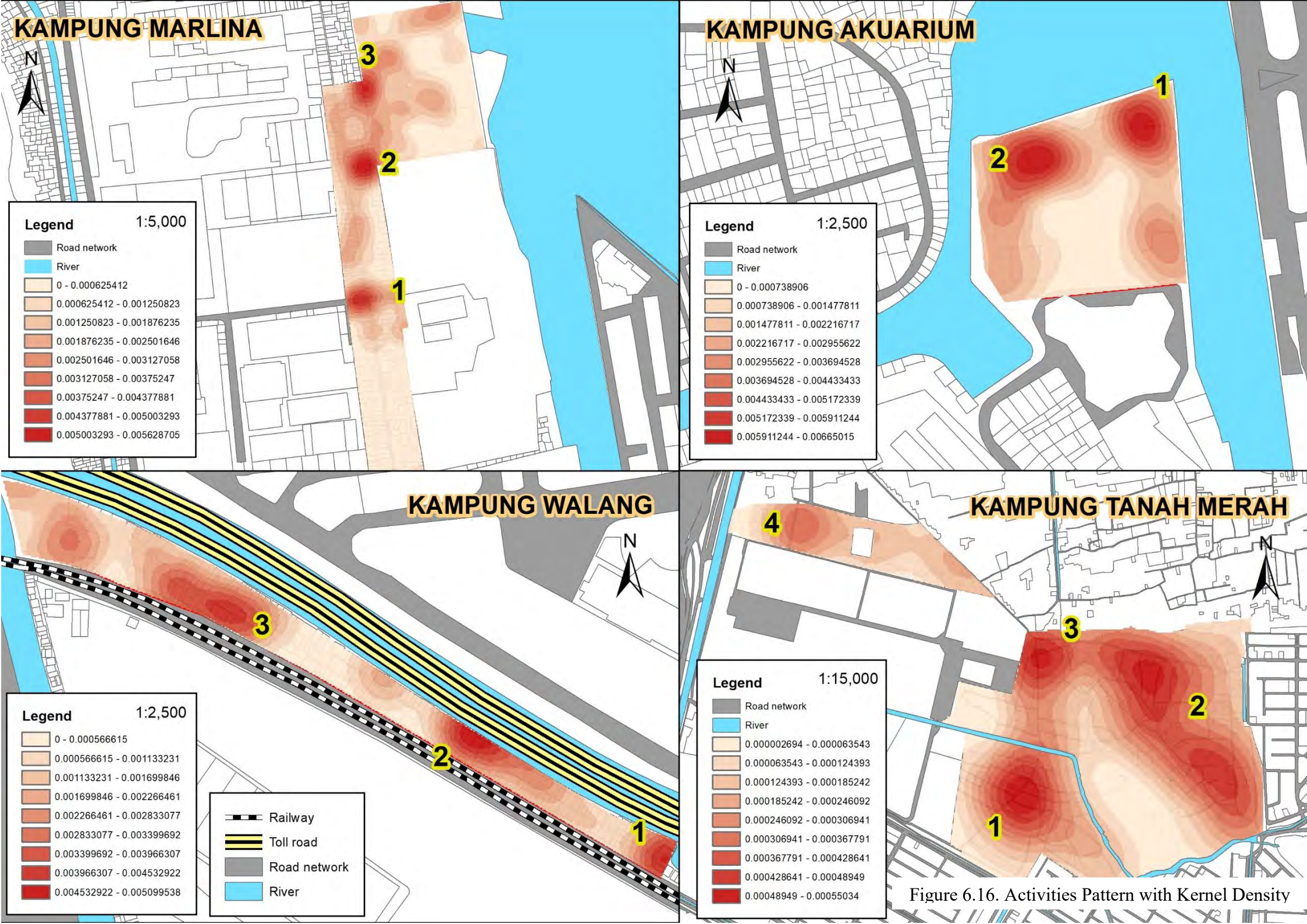


Figure 6.16. Activities Pattern with Kernel Density

6.3.3. Building Functions Pattern with Kernel Density

The density of built-up areas was analyzed with Kernel density to examine the relationship between the density of the built-up areas with activity preferences. This density map gives a depiction of the density concentration in the study case area. The result shows that the density of built-up areas influences the activity pattern. It suggests where the outdoor activities might take place by correlating the result between activity and building patterns.

The data of buildings function were collected from Google Maps, Google Earth, and building and land use map from Jakarta provincial government. These data were verified with the survey by walking or riding a motorcycle.

Kampung Marlina

Sixty-five buildings consisted of warungs, public buildings, and food vendors were mapped and analyzed using Kernel density, which results in a feature shown in Figure 6.21. This map shows how the availability of such buildings influences the activity's preference location in *Kampung* Marlina. Unlike the activity map in Figure 6.16, which shows additional shared space among three *kampungs* (open field in the abandoned warehouses), the map only focuses on buildings distribution in *Kampung* Marlina. In compact neighborhoods like *Kampung* Marlina, *Kampung* Bengek, and *Kampung* Elektro, inter-*kampungs*hared facilities (facilities used by more than one *kampung*) are common.

Furthermore, according to the data analyzed with Kernel density, two concentrations were formed out of 65 buildings. The first concentration is located in the middle of the *kampung* (same as the activity concentration). In this area, a crossroad was connected the main street with the main alleyways (see Annex M for satellite imagery of *Kampung* Marlina). In this crossroad, economic-related buildings have dominated the street. Many warungs, food vendors, and *pedagang keliling* (hawkers) were operated (see Figure 6.17). This concentration influences dwellers to do activities categorized as necessary activities, such as purchasing foods and goods, serving foods for the customer, and many more (see Annex B for the list of necessary activities). Next is the second concentration on the northern part of the *kampung* Similar to the first concentration, the second concentration is also dominated by economic-related buildings such as warungs. Many warungs were run by dwellers seeking more income to survive—those who have houses along the alleyways certainly open warungs of food stalls as their businesses.

Figure 6.17. The economic-related buildings along the main alleyways that trigger necessary activities (Author, 2020)

Kampung Akuarium

After eviction in 2016, *Kampung* Akuarium lost its soul and identity. After two years of waiting in uncertainty (detailed eviction were discussed in Chapter 8), the block of temporary shelters was built to accommodate the dwellers while waiting for the new *Kampung* Aquarium construction, together with the open hall for gathering, a mosque for praying, and public bathrooms. There are two concentrations extracted from the fifteen buildings identified from the site survey (see Figure 6.21). The first concentration was located on the east side, where the open hall, public bathroom, and warungs were situated in this area (see Figure 6.18). This open hall is usually used as the *kampung* center, where the official meeting with contractors and government was conducted.

Conversely, the second concentration is centralized around the mosque. This area consisted of another shelter with public bathrooms, gardens, and a few warungs. The concentrations formed by the density of buildings attract dwellers to do activities. Even though there is one large field in the middle of the *kampung*, this field is less likely to attract dwellers to do activities there. The heat during the day might influences dwellers to spend time inside shelters.

Figure 6.18. Built-up area in *Kampung* Akuarium

Author, 2020

Kampung Walang

Kampung Walang is situated along the river on the north side, railways on the south side, and overshadows by a toll bridge. This situation makes such *kampung* has two features of land use; the main *kampung* located on the south side of the toll bridge embodies most housing and economic-related activities under the toll bridge as their livelihood. Surrounding features of *Kampung* Walang were illustrated in Figure 6.1.

Among thirty-three buildings, a quarter of them was operated under the toll bridge. The toll bridge spaces attract the dwellers to run a business such as a warehouse repairment shop, garbage workshops, warungs, and food vendors that serve food for those workshops' employees. Meanwhile, inside the *kampung*, warungs dominate the main alleyway that divides *kampung* into two regions (north and southside) (see Figure 6.21). *Kampung* Walang is the only squatter area that is listed in the Governor's Decree. It does not obtain a legal administration status from the government. Instead, it uses blocks (Block A and Block B) to refer to the community on the east and west sides. Moreover, the built-up area is mostly dominated by houses with various

warungs run by the dwellers (see Figure 6.19). The dwellers built one mosque and one learning center to accommodate religious needs and free education, respectively.

Figure 6.19. Warung inside the *kampung* and under the toll bridge, respectively

Author, 2020

<u>*Kampung* Tanah Merah</u>

Kampung Tanah Merah has rather diverse features than other *kampungs* in the study area. Four hundred and ninety-six (496) non-residential buildings were listed (see Annex P). Unlike other *kampungs* (in the study area), *Kampung* Tanah Merah is bypassed by three main roads connecting it with another *kampung* or the main road on the west side (see Figure 6.1 for the surrounding features). The building function data in this *kampung* was obtained from Google Maps, Google Earth, and Jakarta provincial government (.shp file). A survey was conducted to verify the number of non-residential buildings on the main road and min alleyways in Tanah Merah.

The result (see Figure 6.21) shows three concentrations where non-residential buildings were located. The first concentration located on the east side of the *kampung* was dominated by warungs and food vendors along the main road. This area is the route of many local public transportations such as *angkot*, and adjacent to other *kampungs* located on the east side of this area. Like the first concentration condition, local warungs and vendors also dominated the area. However, even though many economic-related buildings were also situated in the third concentration, it consisted of local government buildings such as the *RW* office, mosque, and *musalla* (smaller version of the mosque).

In summary, the availability of non-residential buildings has attracted the dweller to conduct activities in such places. This result shows that the dwellers tend to utilize the existing facilities rather than creating a new ones. Instead of creating a new open space (parks, for instance) to relax and interact with the neighbors, they rather utilize alleyways or warungs to do these things, as shown in Figure 6.20 that the dwellers chatting along the field filled with garbage. Rather than cleaning the field and make it more decent, they use it as it is.

Figure 6.20. Captured condition in *Kampung* Tanah Merah and dwellers that utilizing an existing space, respectively

Author, 2020

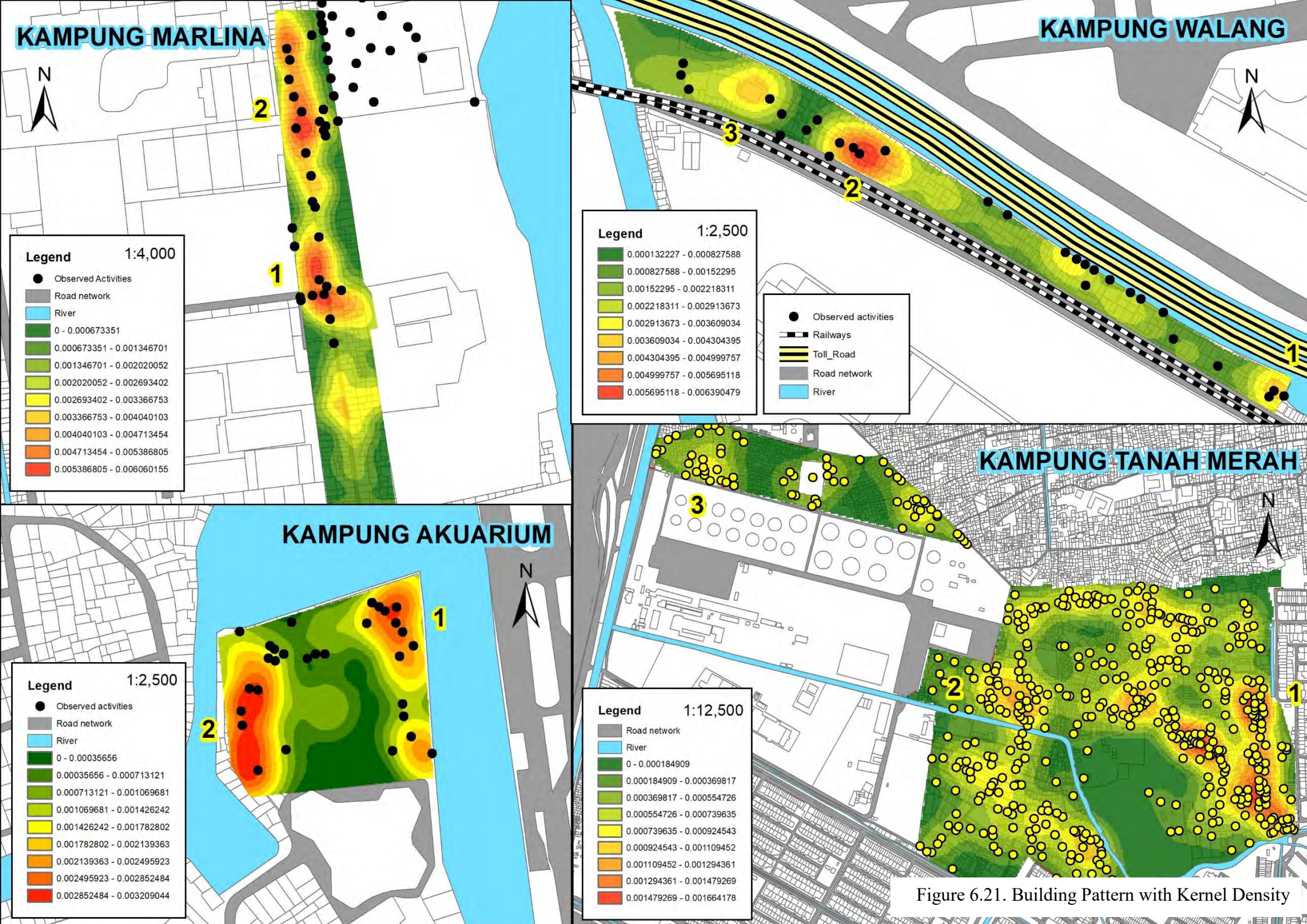


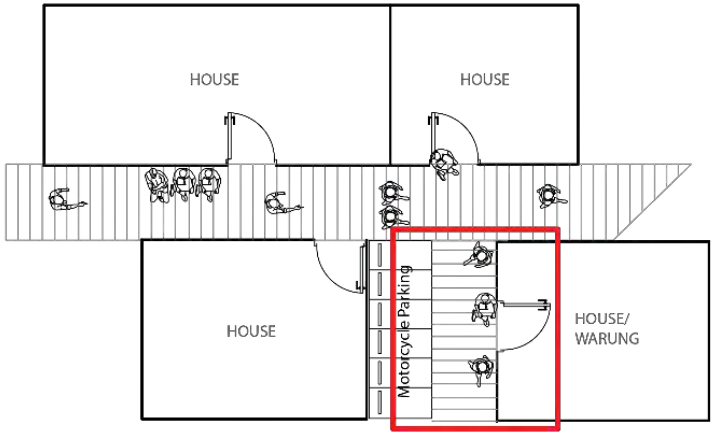
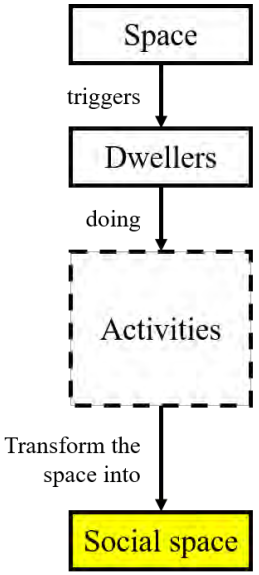
Figure 6.21. Building Pattern with Kernel Density

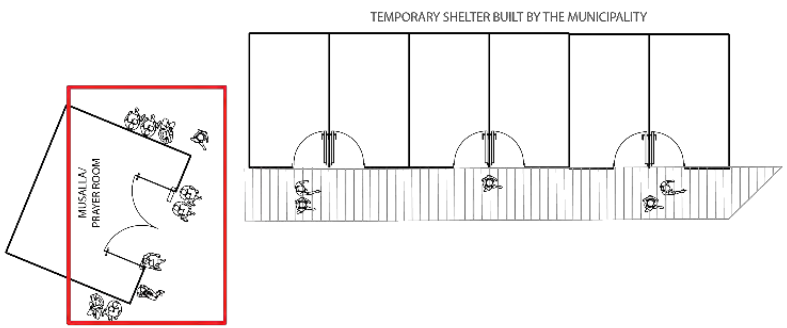
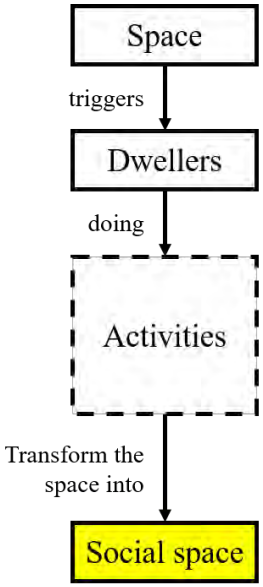
6.3.4. Activities portrayal in the *kampung*s

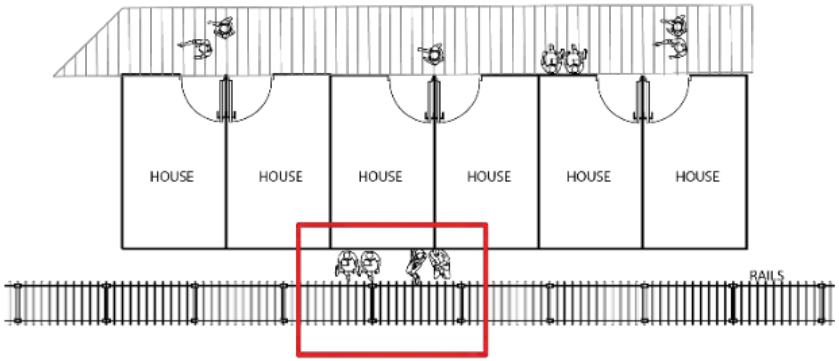
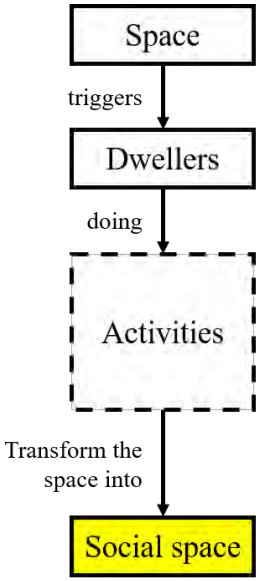
The dwellers saw the *kampung* as a habitual, functional dwelling, a place to pursue income-generating activities and a neighbourhood where they could connect with others in close-knit social networks. Small shops and warungs (snack stalls) operated together in the alleyways and nearby water facilities. Additionally, during troubled times, a robust support system was developed so that people could turn to their nearest neighbours for help. The entire *kampung* was used for the daily activities of its inhabitants, as well as playgrounds, commercial places, and social places. Yet, as in modern town planning, multifunctional spaces are perceived as feasible in the *kampung*. All the dwellers had to accommodate all of their needs were crammed into one small space.

Kampung is a concept of living. It results from prolonged and rigorous exposure to the environment, where social norms occasionally allow residents to stretch outwards and restrain them (Irawaty, 2018). A chain of social activities and relationships developed into "family-like" allows interaction between dwellers in the spaces such as alleyways in front of their houses (Hutama, 2016). In the 1.5 meters to 3.5 meters of alleyways, *kampung* dwellers change the function of the alleyways to be the social spaces that are binding the relationships among dwellers. This narrow pathway transforms into one contested space consisting of various shops, mosques, and other *kampung*'s facilities.

Table 6.5 shows the types of social interactions conducted in the contested social space that tends to occur in the existing spaces instead of building a new one. The scheme intended to simplify the interactions among the dwellers that create social spaces. Furthermore, there is also an action intended to build a new space or fix public amenities, as shown in Table 6.5. The fourth interaction occurred in *Kampung* Tanah Merah intended to repair the drain due to the recent floods that occurred in the neighborhood.

Kampung	Social Space	Participation Scheme	Description
Marlina	 		The spontaneous interaction happened in a warung (small shop) when one dweller came to buy goods. Then she accidentally meets other dwellers, greets each other, and unconscious-ly trigger a long conversation that leads to gossiping.
	Type of activity	Gossiping	

Akuarium	 		Mosque has become the common space to socialize after praying. Five times a day, praying gives a chance for the dwellers to socialize in the mosque. The mosque is not only a place for religious activity but also a social activity.
	Type of activity	Socializing after praying in a mosque	

Walang	 		The scarce land in *kampung* forced dwellers to do (even) an optional activity. One common activity is outdoor cooking that occurred both in the front yard or backyard. Inadvertently, this activity invites another dweller to join for watching, helping, and gossiping.
	Type of activity	Cooking in the backyard	

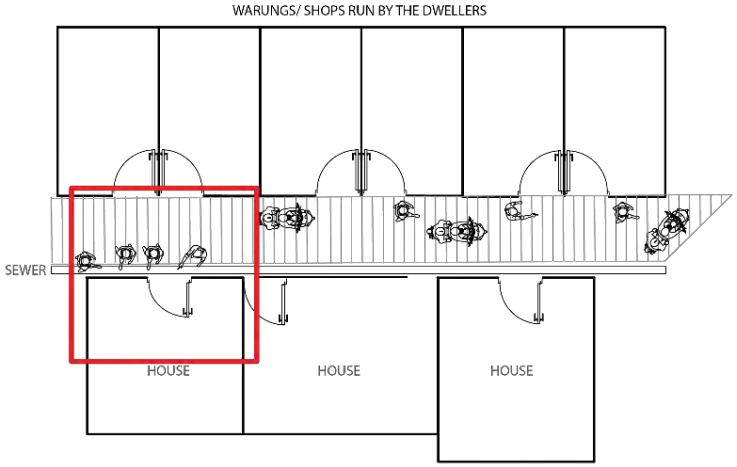
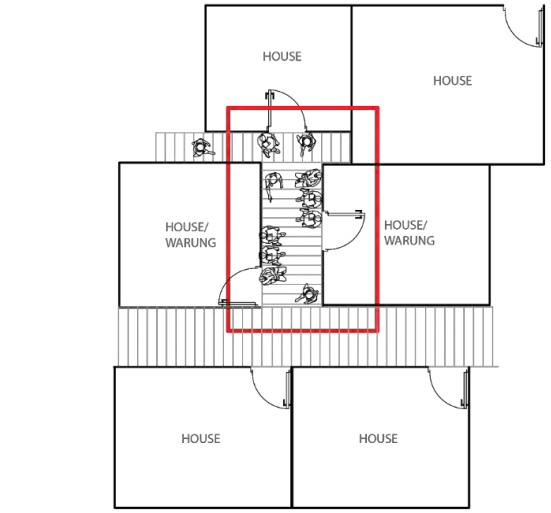
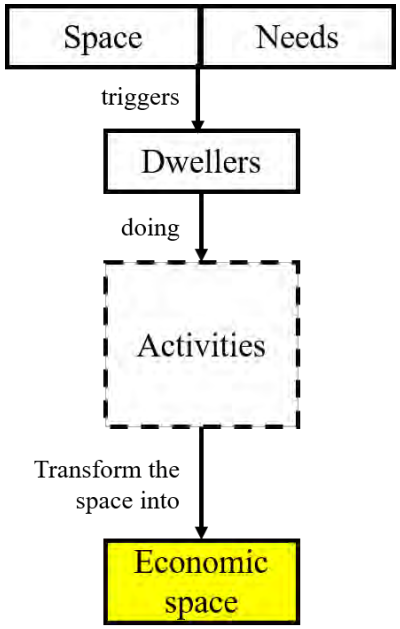
Tanah Merah	 		*With a lack of public amenities, kampung* often conducts *kerja bakti* to provide self-build facilities such as building trenches. This activity is part of the responsibility of the dwellers to preserve their environment.
	Type of activity	*Kerja bakti* (mutual cooperation)	

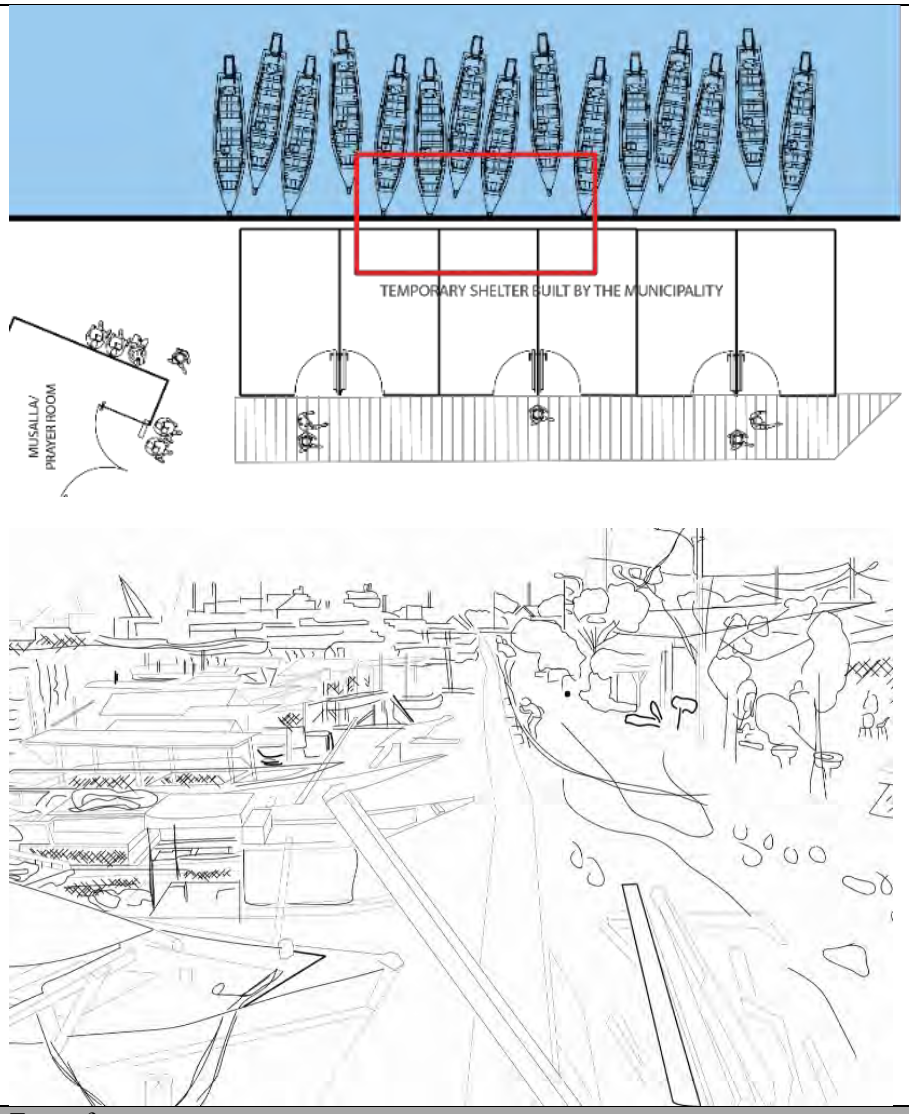
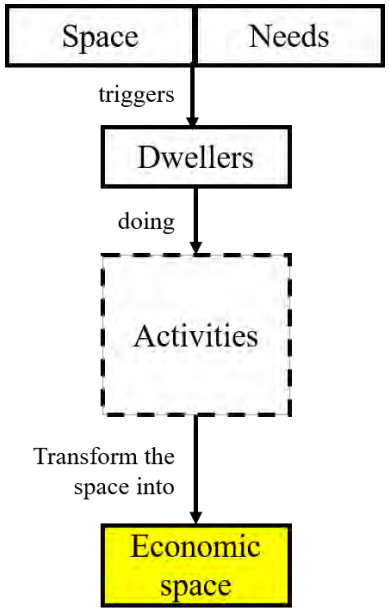
Table 5. The formation of social spaces derived from dwellers' activities

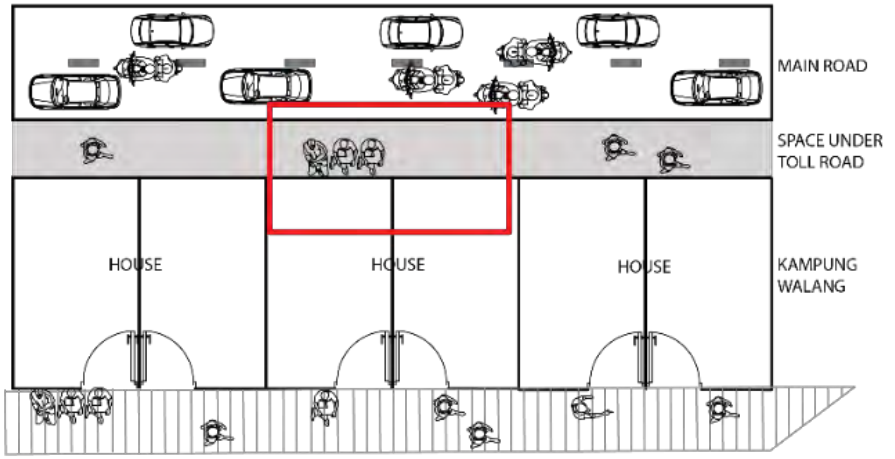
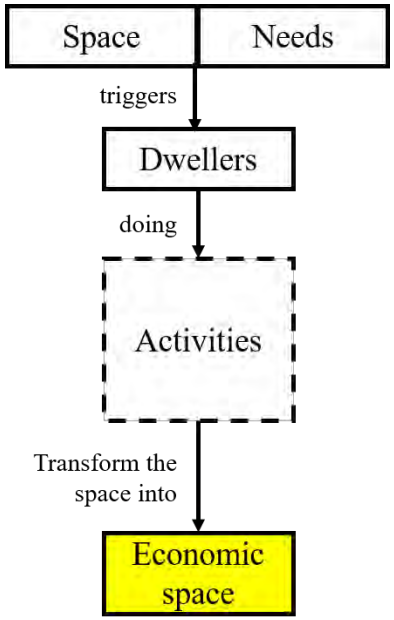
Author, 2020

The *kampung* serves more than just social functions; it is also an important economic vertex in the city. Given the persistent housing shortage in Indonesian cities, *kampung*s, which are defined as a colloquial settlement with multiple functions such as working and living, help to accommodate the urban poor. *Kampung*s attracted numerous people as they were places of affordable housing and desirable location as they were consumed by the enhancement of development. *Kampungs* with typical narrow alleyways allow its dwellers to exploit this space widely as the social space and economic space. The lack of regulation in the *kampungs* gives them the freedom to run a business in order to supply the demand. *Kampungs* provide cheap labor for the industrial and commercial zone in the surrounding and provide a livelihood for its dwellers.

Furthermore, table 6.6 illustrates the economic activities conducted in the *kampungs* due to the availability of the space that meets the local demands. Like how social spaces are constructed, economical spaces also tend to utilize the existing space rather than build a new one due to the land shortage in the *kampungs*. It explains why *Kampung* Walang dwellers exploit the space under the toll road and transform it into a garbage recycling center. The crowd in this space triggers the local dwellers to open snack-shops to provide food for those who work under the toll road.

Kampung	Economic Space	Participation Scheme	Description
Marlina	 		*Kampung*somehow creates their own customs to be able to fulfil the daily needs of the dwellers. Running a small sweat-shop is a common business they run to earn more. Often, they use it this way to become their main livelihood. The demands allow dweller to transform the existing space, such as alleyways into the economic space.
	Type of space	Warung	

Akuarium			The strategic location of *kampungs* gives access to explore various kinds of livelihoods. For instance, *Kampung* Akuarium that is located along the coast provides a fishery-related livelihood. Unlike another type of livelihood in other *kampungs* that mostly operated in the front yard, *Kampung* Akuarium has the ocean as their backyard, allowing them to park their ships alongside. This ship-parking space turned out to be an economic space.
	Type of space	Docks	

Walang	 		*Kampung* Walang is located between railways and the main road, which also is shadowed by the toll road above. *Kampung* Walang also occupies the space under the toll road as another economic space; for waste collecting. Many scavengers sell the garbage to the collector that operates under the toll road. This activity triggers local dwellers to provide snacks that they sell in the surrounding. The space under the toll road is transformed into one functional economic space.
	Type of space	Warung underneath a toll bridge	

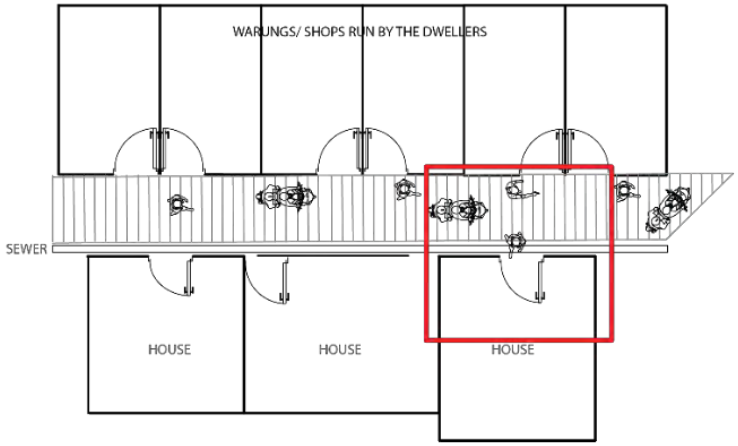
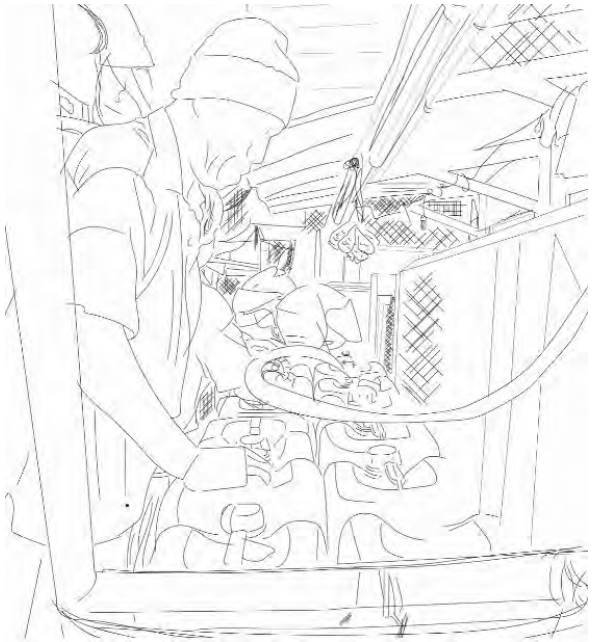
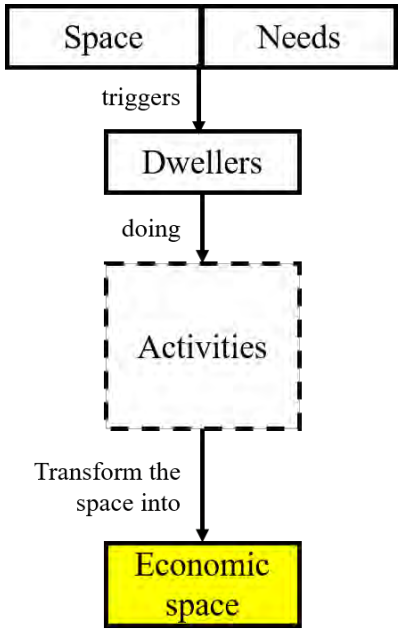
Tanah Merah	 		The clean water shortage has become an unsolved issue nowadays. Many dwellers in *Kampung* Tanah Merah hardly have access to clean water. As a result, they should purchase the clean water from another dweller who owns a borehole/ a well. This demand triggers dwellers who have clean water to run a business in water-selling. Many people gather around this source to access the water. Later, this area became an economic space.
	Type of space	Water filling station	

Table 6.6. The formation of economic space derived from dweller's activities (Author, 2020)

6.4. Environmentalism of The Poor

The phrase "environmentalism of the poor" was coined in the '80s to handle opposing socioeconomic pressures and serve as a focal point for the community for an angry group of the working class of people who felt disenfranchised from traditional conservation movements (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Often, women are seen as the most important ones to bring about political change in environmental disputes. A fair and healthy human society depends on an environment in which people can access good food, shelter, and healthcare. The standard of adequate living desired by urban poor is merely about the housing certainty and safety within the neighborhood. The discussion in this tier focuses on social injustice and housing uncertainty among the poor.

This section explores how poor grassroots movements collaborate with elected politicians in Jakarta. Adversarial linkages were used in a political alliance that results in candidates raising demands on housing and job security. Unlike the more established linkages found in most democracies, these relationships are informal, noninstitutional and full of mistrust and suspicion.

6.4.1. Urban Poor in Jakarta

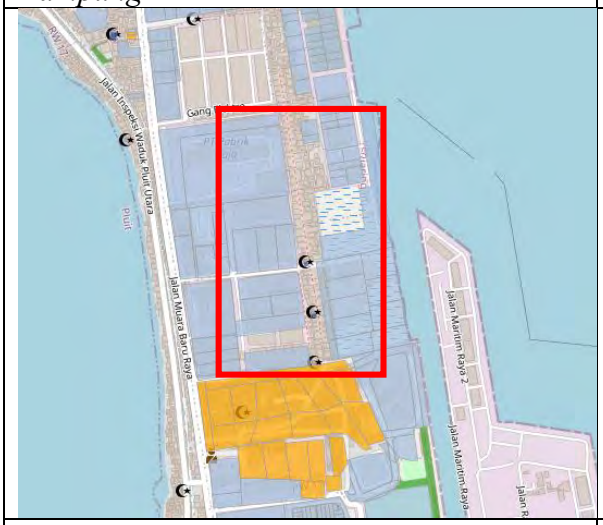
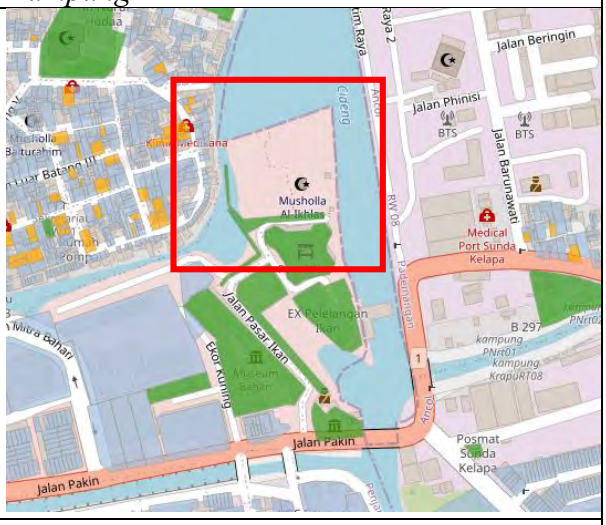
In a city where massive economic developments outrun, a small community in such neighborhood meshes in a dense, unbearable, yet promising living environment. However, eventually, the progressive development in the urban setting is constantly a threat for those who failed in obtaining a roof upon their head. Being surrounded by an extraordinary infrastructure increased vulnerability among destitute households, influencing more well-off households to exert tremendous effort in protecting their properties. The poor are notoriously became a target of overeager authorities and investment predators. Thus, the poor may register a "social movement" to disrupt various authorities who may be too preoccupied with controlling them to give advantage to those with somewhat better economic status to bend the rules in order to get by. Various forms and frameworks to collective action on asserting the right to the city have emerged. The urban poor has demonstrated its political act to intervene in various ways, from motionless intrusion to collective bargaining.

Urban poor are mostly concentrated in poor neighborhoods such as slum and squatter. Some are flocking in the low-rent flats as an eviction compensation from the government. Among these poor neighborhoods, four slum *kampungs* occupied by the poor will be discussed further in this tier. *Kampung* Marlina, *Kampung* Akuarium, *Kampung* Walang, and *Kampung* Tanah Merah were only four out of the many *kampungs* in Jakarta with a dismal condition. These *kampungs* are considered illegal due to the lack of land ownership and the emergence of dissonance with the Jakarta City Planning zonation. *Kampung* Akuarium obtained its land rights from North Jakarta's municipality called 'building rights'. While the other *kampungs* are still waiting for relocation (*Kampung* Walang), waiting for the implementation of agrarian reform (*Kampung* Marlina), and waiting for CIP implementation (*Kampung* Tanah Merah). Land ownership and spatial planning often hinder the dwellers in obtaining housing justice from the municipality.

> *"There is a time when a big private company wants to be a sponsor to build a bridge here* (*Kampung* Tanah Merah). *However, when they asked Lurah* (Sub-district leader) *permission, the lurah said that our kampung is located in the disputed land, which later makes them cancel the donation. This dilemma forced us to collect money to build a bridge on our own independently"* (Quote 6.4.1.: jkt/07/rps)

The dilemma of the poor found in the study case areas forced the dwellers to only depend on the government to improve public amenities in their neighborhood. This case is similar to the water shortage in *Kampung* Marlina. For almost two months, the dwellers cannot access clean water. As a result, they have to buy water from the merchant. However, using the crowd-funding, JRMK-UPC was able to provide a water-drilling machine to extract groundwater. *Kampung* dwellers often find an alternative to comply with their needs by collecting crowd-funding or submitting a *kampung* improvement proposal to a big private company, expecting to distribute their CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) funding to the poor neighborhood.

The irony that occurs from the slum alleviation plan implementation is that it never occurred to include land tenure in the upgrading process. As a result, many improved *kampungs* were later being evicted due to illegal land occupation. Figure 6.22 shows the land status on each *kampung* in the study case area; the rose means that this area is unregistered, or it refers to the disputed land and has no status yet. On the contrary, even though this land is considered unlisted, they prioritised the implementation of the slum alleviation plan. It seems to contradict the purpose of the program to improve the dwellers' quality of lives. It only temporarily accommodates the dwellers with – again – uncertain housing of which nobody knows when it will be evicted in the future. According to the Detailed Spatial Plan document, these *kampung*s are located on land that is destined to be a commercial zone (see Annex M, N, O, and P)

Land Ownership Status in the Study Case Area	
Kampung Marlina	*Kampung* Akuarium
	
Kampung Walang	*Kampung* Tanah Merah

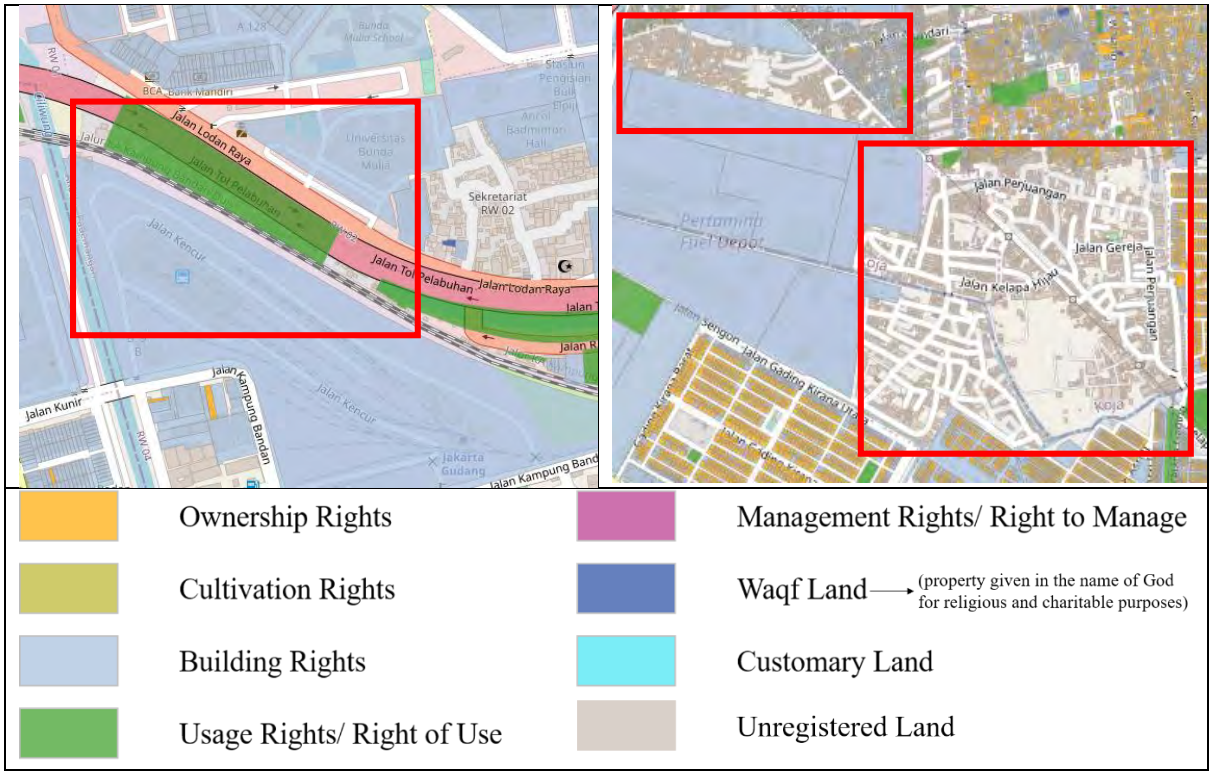


Figure 6.22. Land ownership status in the study case area (Source: ATR/BPN, 2020)

> *"The implementation of CIP recently seems only to keep our mouth shut because, see* (pointing the hollow alleyways)*, they did not even fix it. So, what is the point then? We rely on them* (the government), *but they are not reliable"* (Quote 6.4.1.: jkt/01/rps)

Some groups or influential individuals will wait until the very poor are the first to move to get a better understanding of the situations. It is easy to gain control of property or wealth and force people out or make decisions on behalf of a portion of those in the population because these strategies focus on occurrences that search for goals and plans that change course. They also frequently stumble on efforts that drift from the course.

It is not unusual for the lower classes to shy away from change and improvement even when they can benefit from it. The usual attitude of companies is one of maintaining the status quo as if it were valuable. To summarize the argument, poor people may prefer to keep things the same, not only because they see no possibility of changing their conditions but also because they see no real alternative. With each new step forward step in civilization, there are also many accompanying advances in living standards that can prove disastrous to the community's resources.

6.4.2. The Housing Justice Movement

On the other hand, *kampung* residents are driven by the government's perspective and actions to enhance the purpose of *Kampung* residents to assemble to protect their own. Involuntary and repeated mass demonstrations by the legal system and some alternative design proposals, lobbying, and having strong relationships with elected officials, groups, have been hard at work for decades against forced evictions.

The urban poor's various social movements have been supported by NGOs, activists, experts, and even scholars. The public protest towards the government's incapability has massively

emerged since the second president's regime (from 1967-1998) due to the emergence of economic crisis and the president's corruption scandals. A few robust NGOs in Jakarta are the poor's trusted organizations, including UPC (Urban Poor Consortium), Ciliwung Merdeka, and FKTMB (Communication Forum of *Kampung* Tanah Merah Alliances). All NGOs have been working together with *kampung* dwellers to preserve the existence of the *kampungs*. These NGOs promote pro-urban poor movements, including mass demonstration, litigation, alternative solution, and political contracts. UPC and JRMK were conducting various protests against North Jakarta's municipality to refuse eviction in terms of mass demonstration.

Furthermore, FKTMB was filing lawsuits against Pertamina Oil Company concerning their eviction forces in Tanah Merah in terms of litigation. JRMK and UPC give an alternative solution to restore *Kampung* Akuarium that has been evicted in 2016 by pointing to the citizens' housing rights through the newly problem-based approach called CAP. Finally, the political contracts were issued to avoid any eviction performed by both provincial or local governments in the future through electoral politics.

Some NGOs advocate the urban poor to overcome housing uncertainties. One of many persistent NGOs is the Legal Aid Institute who always monitors housing policy direction, especially for the poor in the urban area. This NGO empowers *kampung* dwellers to defend their neighborhood against various social injustices and political interests they experience. Another NGO that willingly helps these communities is UPC (Urban Poor Consortium) established in 1997; it persistently defends the poor to obtain houses and employment safely. This organization is built on the belief that ordinary people can redirect Indonesia's political direction. Because it is committed to helping the urban poor realize their social, economic, and political rights, UPC works on many civil society organizations working on these issues. It has employed the Urban Poor Network (JRMK) services to empower low-income individuals and urban dwellers to get involved in various local social and political programs since it was founded in 2002, including charity work to increase their involvement in *kampung* communities. Later in 2009, to maximize its movements without any political or economic interest, UPC announced its independence by 'closing' its organizations from donors. Nowadays, UPC regards itself as a social organization with community leaders from poor *kampungs* as the backbone.

The social movement has been shifted to the efforts that they were no longer able to prevail against urban injustice. Therefore, the more comprehensive approach, such as political movement through electoral politics, seems to become the promising movement to guarantee housing certainty temporarily. Many efforts have been attempted during the battle against the tyranny that prevents the poor from obtaining housing certainty. The NGOs and *kampung* dwellers have experienced trials and errors in preserving the *kampungs* (see Table 6.7).

> *"UPC is an independent organization that is supervised JRMK in extending urban networks. JRMK consisted of concerned kampung dwellers seeking social and political justice for their neighborhood and housing certainties. These people work voluntarily. It is hard to find these kinds of people nowadays. Mostly, they focus on earning money. That is why JRMK needs regeneration. We embrace kampung dwellers also to carry our objective. I believe, that there is at least one person among ignorance who concern about their kampung " (Quote 6.4.1.: jkt/02/ngo)*

Period	Attempt	Result
2002	Nominating Rasdullah, a tricycle driver, to run as governor candidacy	He did not qualify to be a candidate as he was unable to get a high school diploma. (Steijlen 2002, p. 517)
2007	Construct an agreement with one candidate to halt forced evictions under his reign (five years term)	The candidate lost, and the evictions continued (Savirani & Aspinall, 2017)
2012	Propose a political contract to the elected Governor that consisted of three main concerns: involving citizens in any social development program, legalizing illegal *kampung*, protecting informal economy laborer from any form of evictions.	The contract is violated. Both governor and deputy governor did not actualize the contract.
2017	Team up with more urban experts to reformulate the agreement by raising land disputes and property rights. This political contract was later called "Perjanjian Tanah Penggarap" (Contract on Arable Land) and signed by the elected governor witnessed by 31 *kampung* representatives.	The governor legitimated his promise into Governor Decree No 878, 2018, which consisted of a list of 21 prioritized *kampungs* to be alleviated. Furthermore, he kept his promise to obtain the *kampung* legalization by assigning *Kampung* Akuarium with leased land rights (*hak guna bangunan*) given collectively to the local community.

Table 6.7. Social and Political Movement conducted by UPC and JRMK

It is unlikely that the poor will establish a succession of clear wins to social and political rights and greater equality unless some fundamental improvements are made. In most cases, they create new positions and venues to keep certain advantages and be used in operations. They often fall into a trap where they become a "nuisance" that requires attention or which they needed to be circumvented. However, their possibility to create new dimensions of problematic status and their ability to change the way it is employed has thus far limited them.

6.4.3. Dwellers' Perspectives towards their living environment

The dwellers' perspective toward their living environment is summarized into eight categories: occupations, daily activities, space preferences, gender or group preferences toward spaces, community values, environmental issues, safety and securities, and histories (see Annex F). As people interact and come into contact with each other in their communities, they will learn and increase their comprehension of social relationships. Continuous interactions create a habit that can contribute to social norms and social culture in the *kampung*s.

The relational status among dwellers

During the interview, all interviewees always mention their relational status with other dwellers. At least three relational status types were found during interviews: family, cordial (also friendship), and no relation. There is no specific percentage on what relationship that dominates the *kampung*. However, in the discussion, one theme that was mentioned was most frequently

was cordiality, which was defined as friendly engagement between dwellers. So that this type of relationship may continue and become fixed, the individuals make an effort to meet each other on a daily basis. The spontaneous interactions among dwellers are part of this cordial status rooting within *kampung*s.

> *"Well, during the day, we sit on the terrace, as other people do. Then we spontaneously talk about politics, the recently imprisoned corruptor, or my wife usually discussed the recent television dramas she routinely watches. These interactions are regular for us. That is why living in kampung will never bore our lives. Even if you feel poor, who does not? We are all poor, but we still can help each other. If we run out of rice, we could ask for rice from the neighbor. Simple."* (Quote 6.4.: jkt/03/rps)

Perception of social space where dwellers socialize

Social interaction of dwellers was built spontaneously on a daily basis. Four types of activities were identified by looking at where the social interaction took place. Based on the activity mapping, majority of dwellers tend to interact along the alleyways. This place became the most frequent location where such activities took place. The second most frequent features are *warung* and tavern that are mostly dominated by women conversing while purchasing goods. Other places were riverbank, under the toll bridge, community building and field (see Annex B, C, D, and E).

Chapter VII

Discussion

7.1. Sub-research Questions
7.2. Theories and Conceptual Framework
7.3. Research Methodology

The use of social space is for social gathering. This condition shows the limitedness of public space in the *kampung*.

This chapter presents the answer to the sub-research questions by reflecting upon the results obtained during data collection and upon the theoretical framework.

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Chapter 7
Discussion

7.1. Sub Research Questions

The first sub-question: *"How can kampung neighborhoods be categorized in Jakarta?"*

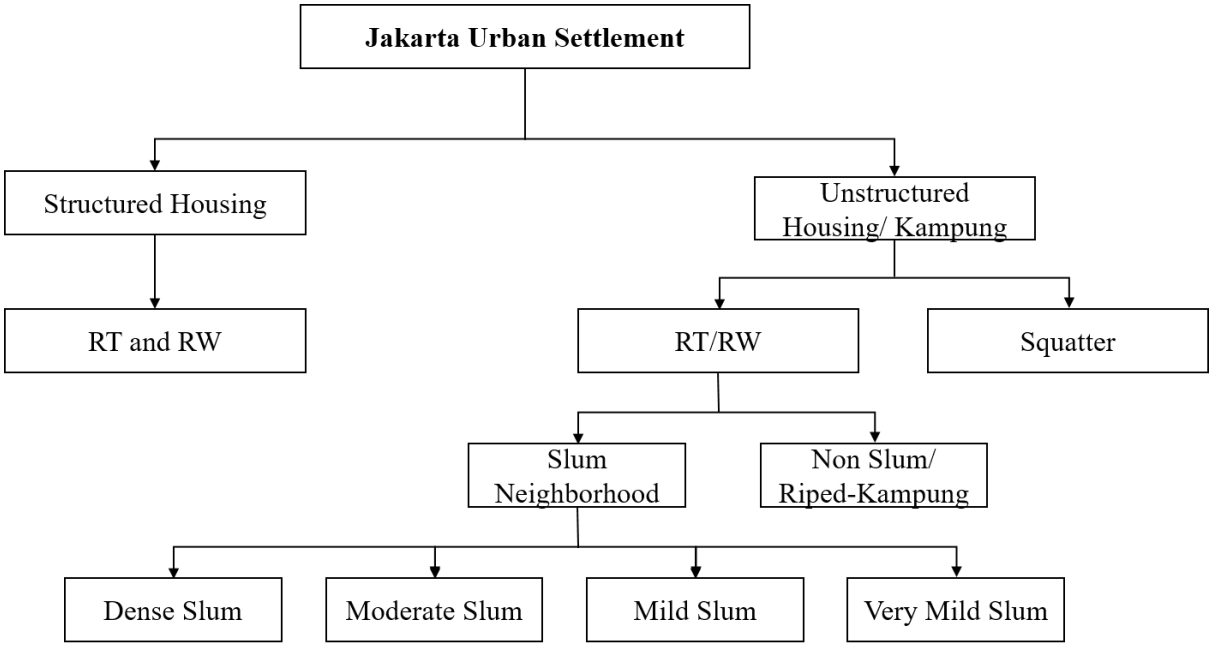

Figure 7.1. Structure of Urban Settlements in Jakarta

RT and RW were only hypothesized, so it is unclear when *kampung* began to be shifted. It seems to indicate that no such transformation has taken place. The government ignore and are neglected *kampung*s in the treatment of informal settlements under the Housing Act. Only the definition of *perumahan* (housing) refers to the structured housing and *permukiman* (settlement) that mostly refers to the unstructured one. People are no longer referring to *kampung* as their residence, yet many dwellers use the term *kampung* to simplify their neighborhood as de facto. However, in many governmental occasions such as slum upgrading, the government often refers to kelurahan (sub-district), RW or RT (see Figure 7.1).

However, *kampung* is partially included in the alleviation programs, not presents as *kampung* itself but as RT and RW. Each *kampung* more certainly obtained a legal administrative status from the government (discussed in sub-chapter 6.1). Moreover, in some way, *kampung* portrayed similar condition with slums, such as lack of public amenities, inadequate housing, overly crowded buildings and people, and precarious tenure. These features led *kampung* to be denominated as a slum. In some cases, as a squatter area.

Kampung does not present a specific spatial (physical) condition, but it represents the identity, an intangible feature that qualitatively analyzed through a thorough observation of dwellers' daily activities. The identity (soul) of *kampungs* is embedded in Jakarta's unstructured housing, whether it denominated as slum or non-slum. It represents a neighborhood with *kerukunan* (social harmony, communality) and *gotong-royong* (sharing burdens, mutual cooperation).

However, the government seems failed to see intangible features of the *kampung* Instead, they persisted in assessing *kampung* that has physical features as a slum. As a result, *kampungs* later be seen as slums in every alleviation program. In the end, this generalization does not affect the identity of *kampung* much.

During interviews, two words kept mentioned by the dweller: *kumuh* and *kampung* that literally translated as slum and *kampung*, respectively. They always refer *kumuh* as their neighbourhood's existing physical condition and *kampung* as their identity; there is no such thing as a *kampung* condition (see Annex B, C, D, E, F). From this finding, it is harmless to refer *kampung* as a two-dimensional feature: space and identity. *Kampung* can be seen as squatter or slum depends on the physical condition in such neighborhood.

The main agenda of slum alleviation programs in Jakarta is to transform inadequate *kampungs* into *kampung* with adequate housing and facilities. Thus, to set a priority, the government divided into several slums according to the eleven assessment criteria (see Table 6.1 in sub-chapter 6.1). These categories are merely to set a suitable program for inadequate *kampungs* or RWs legitimized in the Governor's Decree. Two hundred slums and 21 *kampungs* were prioritized to be improved (see Annex K and L, for their lists). Instead of directly presuming these 21 *kampungs* as slums, the government legitimized another decree that prioritised these *kampungs*' improvement. So, *kampung* presents as *kampung*, not as slum nor squatter. Nevertheless, to be selected as a priority, such *kampungs*hould be assessed using the slum assessment criteria (Table 6.1 in sub-chapter 6.1). In this case, *kampung* can be seen as slum or squatter depends on its physical condition.

The second sub-question: *"What are the drivers and barriers that support or hinder the implementation of slum alleviation planning in Jakarta?"*

This answer is constructed based on the dwellers' involvement and responses towards the implemented slum alleviation program in their neighbourhood, reflecting from the data collected in four *kampungs*. The success and failure of implementing the slum alleviation program in this research are rated based on the dwellers' acceptance and involvement in such programs. Three types of dweller were identified during observation. This type is developed based on their prominent role in the emergence of a certain *kampung*

According to their responses towards any events in the *kampung*, three types of dwellers were identified based on their responses. There are the founders, who responsible for managing the dwellers in the prior history of emergence. These people usually selected as the head of the community (head of RT) and later became the public figure and wisely asked (by the dwellers) as an advisor to overcome issues that emerged. Since most *kampungs* are found in the 1970s, the founders are elderlies (elderly) who partially lose their memory. So, it is challenging to conduct interviews that require them to memorize such incidents. The second type is the settlers, who came to the *kampung* after the founders developed it. These people purchased land or houses from the founder and settled (permanently) ever since. The last type is the renters, who solely rent a house from the founders of the settlers. This type was dominated by people who fled their village, came to Jakarta with insufficient education and worked as unskilled labourers in the informal sectors.

In the various attempts of slum alleviations, each type of dweller most likely expressed their tendency towards the program by either yielding to the regulated program or insisted on

defending their *kampung* In a case like a slum relocation, that also occurred in *Kampung* Akuarium, the renters tended to accept the offer, because they have nothing to lose. They do not possess any property whatsoever. Conversely, the founders and the settlers tended to defend their housing rights persistently. This response is motivated by no compensation (money) given by the government except an offer to a relocation to the low-rent flats. In this case, eviction by relocation is considered a risky program where the succession rate relies on the degree of public reaction, more precisely, public anger.

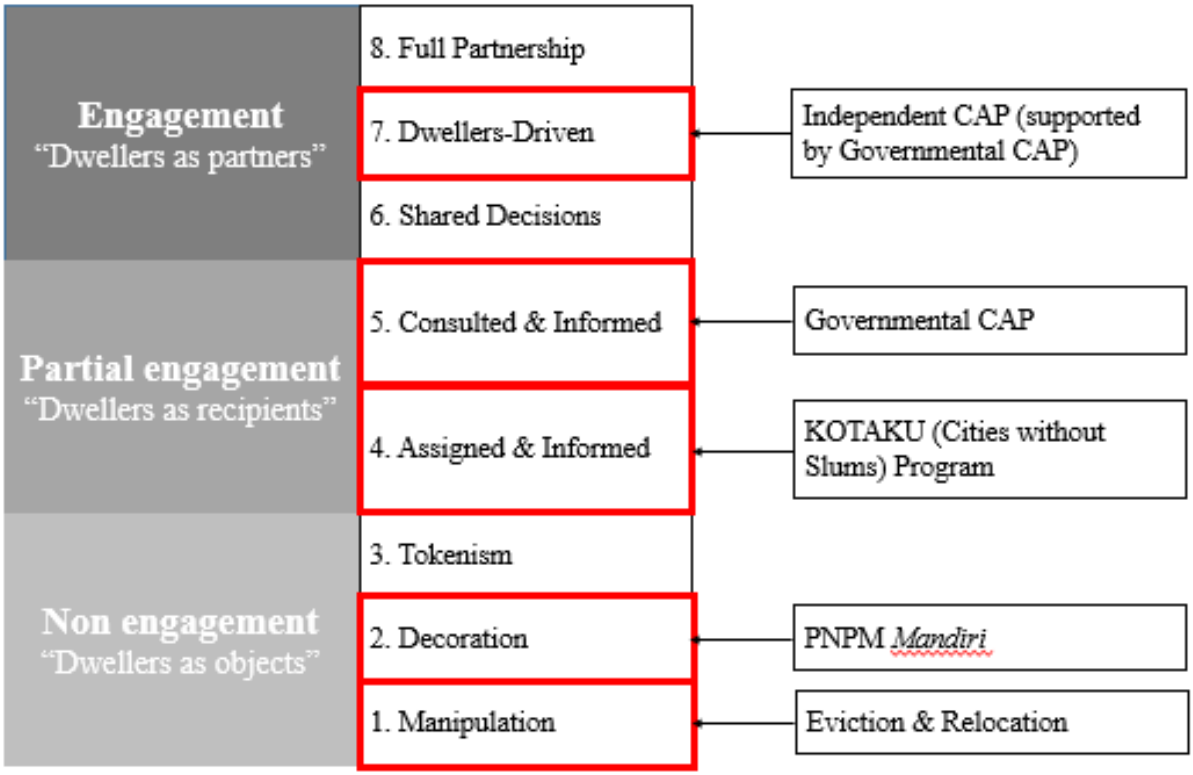

Figure 7.2. Dwellers' roles in five slum alleviation programs

Source: Hart (1992), with modification

Another slum alleviation program such as PNPM Mandiri and *KOTA*KU are formed based on in situ upgrading. The dwellers were only played a role as passive receptors. So, most dwellers welcomed this program rather than experiencing a strong renunciation (see Annex F). This in-situ improvement is success to upgrade a specific part of their environment, e.g., alleyways, drainage system, and sanitation. However, this program failed to fulfil dwellers' need because the implementation is merely according to the recommendation from RW's head, which failed to see the real problems.

Furthermore, the branched implementation of CAP also affected the different goals that both programs are pursued. Since the first establishment, CAP (independent) was aimed to make dwellers partners in the planning process. They became the agents of information and innovators. However, even though the government supported the program, CAP's implementation (government's version) is stranded in the phase that put dwellers as recipients. This result influenced by the unsatisfactory performance of the third party (the contracted consultant). This factor categorized as a factor that hinders the implementation of such program.

However, the discussion here is focusing on the factor that supported or hindered a program that came from the dwellers' involvement.

As stated by the interviewees in *Kampung* Marlina, the settlers work harder than anyone else to prevailing housing justice. It seems plausible due to the founders' improbable condition (mostly because of the health issues). On the other hand, the renters do not actively engage in any movements to defend their neighborhood. This ignorance was influenced by the 'nothing to lose' assumption among the renters.

In the end, it is essential to know the target of the program before releasing and implementing it. Because in many cases, like in *Kampung* Marlina, the eviction is only (successfully) relocating the renters, while the settlers and the founders persistently defend the *kampung*. Consequently, the number of inadequate settlement is static while the flats have been packed with the dwellers who previously rented a house in the *kampungs*.

The third sub-question: *"What is the interaction between slum dwellers in Jakarta and their living environment?"*

'How dwellers shaping their living environment' was reflected in the activities patterns distributed spatially. The creation of outdoor activities determined a social configuration. Similar to Gehl (2006), dwellers' spatial cognition toward space in the study area reflected in the physical settings and the topological relation of one space over another. A "locally-integrated" environment, such as alleys and streams, encourages people to meet and gives random interactions to develop.

Kampung presented as the dwelling and working space. Both functions were embedded with the *kampung* as the concept of living. The attachment between *kampung* and its dwellers is intangible yet inseparable. Through an analysis using Kernel Density (see sub-chapter 6.3 in chapter 6), both activities and spatial space (building) are framed into one compact feature that regarded as '*kampung'* by its dwellers. Four categories of activities were presented to look deeper into how *kampungs*haped its dwellers, and otherwise. Daily activities in *kampung* led to becoming habitual rituals which later formed cultural identities. This pattern was framed in one living habitat called *kampung*.

Prior to its history, *kampung* was mostly emerged in the neglected area such as swampland, due to the massive urban development, surrounded by industrial complexes and overshadowed by towering apartment complexes. Due to this regard, everybody (mostly the government and urban planner in Jakarta) blamed *kampung* for its failure to meet the urban standard. As consequences, *kampung* and other inadequate settlements were massively disregarded from any planning policy, mostly due to the complex issues such as strong rejections from the dwellers and land dispute issues. However, this *laissez-faire* behaviour translated as the approval to develop more squatters and slums in the abandoned land.

The concept of one-stop living makes *kampung* dwellers creatively manage the microeconomic system where the cashflow runs among the dwellers. Countless local shops along the alleyways proved the ability of *kampung* to comply with all dwellers' needs. The self-housing, self-improvement and self-management system in the *kampung*s was enough to denominate them as autonomous *kampungs*.

The fourth sub-question: *"What are the impact of dwellers' perspective of the environment and social movement (social protest, self-funding action, etc.) influence the implementation of slum alleviation plan in Jakarta?"*

The strong sense of belonging towards *kampungs* empowered the dwellers to prevailing housing justice at any cost, especially for those who experienced the negative impacts of evictions. Dwellers' perspective toward the environment is more likely related to the relational status embedded among them. Their focus is on prevailing social bonding between one another. The frequent interactions through various kind of activities also influence dwellers' perspective towards their social environment.

The *kampungs*' dwelling and working functions were illustrated in the density of activities and building distribution throughout the *kampungs*. The density showed the tendency of dweller to interact in any existing spaces no matter it contains with public-functioned building or not. *Kampung* Marlina for instance, the dwellers, utilizing former warehouses to do various activities such as playing football, flying a kite, gossiping, sell food, and many others (see Annex B, C, D, and E). These spontaneous activities somehow influence their way of thinking on judging their living environment. Physical condition is the least necessary factor the should be taken into consideration. The way they see the *kampung* is more like an intangible bond. Their daily activities constructed local cultures, embedded in *kampung* as their identity.

Furthermore, the social movement's perspective was more or less influenced by deliberately unwanted events such as forced evictions, forced resettlements, and any other attempts that indicate violence. The more people suffer, the more motivated the inhabitants are. This condition empowered dwellers to prevail in housing justice. The dwellers' massive social movements resulted in the legitimation of 200 inadequate settlements and 21 *kampungs* to be prioritized for improvements. The power of communality, togetherness, and sharing burdens became the main power to prevail in housing justice for the impoverished people.

7.2. Theories and Conceptual Framework

Four theories and concepts about neighborhood unit as spatial analysis, neighborhood upgrading, 'slumming' as social activities, and the environmentalism of the poor have been constructing the analysis of the future of slum. For this, *kampung* and slum units have been used to refer to two distinctive yet similar conditions of the study case neighborhoods that capture four *kampungs* in North Jakarta and identified all *kampungs* and allegedly slum neighborhoods in North Jakarta. Supporting materials were also used to enhance the discussion of *kampung* and slum neighborhood beyond North Jakarta.

Furthermore, the conceptual framework illustrated in Chapter 2 has been slightly improved due to the new update collected during data collection. The Governor's Decree No 878 of the year 2018 was merely a high-end product of the political movement conducted by *kampung* dwellers alliances coordinated by JRMK and UPC (NGOs), which is translated into one compact method called CAP. This method aims to elevate dwellers participation in slum alleviation planning previously implemented under the *KOTA*KU project initiated by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing with limited participation of the dwellers.

So, in order to capture specific manifestation of political regulation towards housing certainty in Jakarta, the political movement that triggered legitimation of prioritized *kampung* and the implementation of the CAP scheme was explored widely in this research. Accordingly, the conceptual framework was revised as follows:

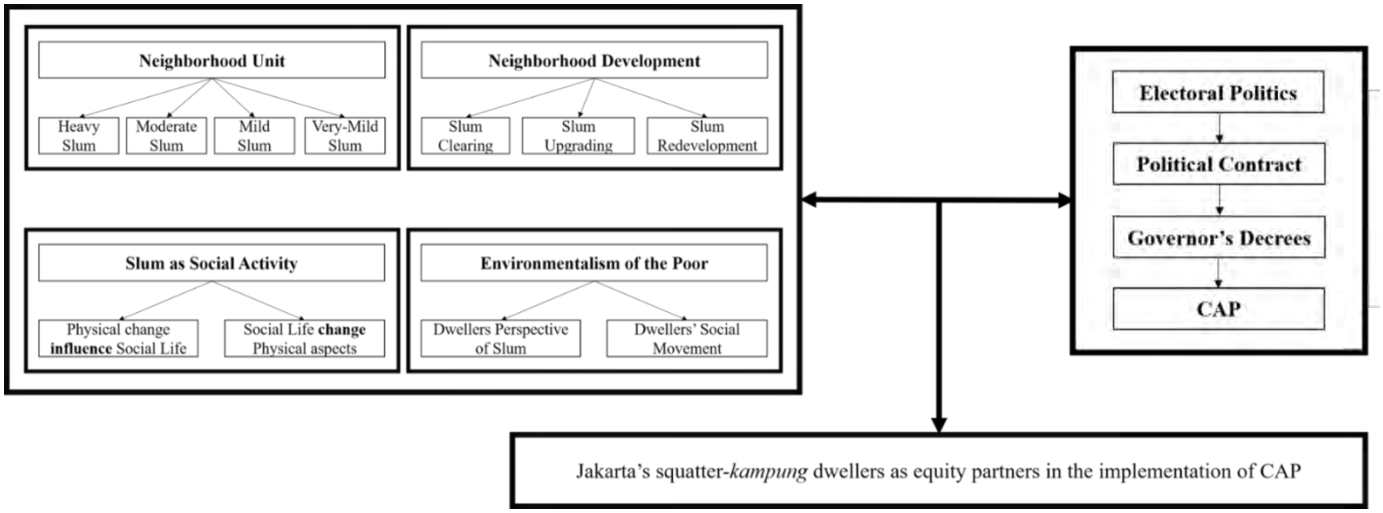

Figure 7.3. The new conceptual framework

7.3. Research Methodology

This thesis has been developed by gathering data from four different *kampung*s of five months of fieldwork in 2020. The data were gathered from eighteen interviews with representatives of *kampung* dwellers, NGOs, urban expert, and the municipal government, participatory observation, and public archives analysis. The archives included policy documents: the law on housing, provincial spatial plan, detailed spatial plan, and agrarian law.

It is essential to mention that this research was influenced by my experience as the *kampung* dweller that gave me perspective about *kampung* dweller's perspective and ideal environment and as a cartographer who translates any spatial phenomenon into maps. Throughout my experience as a former *kampung* dweller, I experienced the same pattern of social activities and typical alleviation program implemented in the *kampungs*. As for social activities, the bonding has never fallen apart. Every *kampung* has a special relationship with one another, making them one of the most attached communities in urban settings. Moreover, the typical improvement program refers to the discontinued project, which leads to the abandonment of the provided or repaired public amenities.

Furthermore, this thesis's data was processed using ArcGIS software, Adobe Illustrator, and AutoCAD to illustrate the findings during data collection. The interviews have been transcribed and quoted in the related chapters. However, there is one approach that is not included in the analysis. The environmental factor is excluded due to the findings that showed the dwellers' ignorant behaviour towards the upcoming environmental change such as land subsidence. The dwellers in the study case area mostly focus on social and economic aspects that significantly influence their lives.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

8.1. Conclusion
8.2. The *Kampung*s' Wicked Problems
8.3. Recommendations

The picture captured the collaborative process of the redevelopment of *Kampung* Akuarium that required participation from *kampung* dwellers, NGOs, and the government

This chapter presents the conclusion as the answer to the main research question. Furthermore, the description of the wicked problems that occurred in the study case area are also presented. Finally, the recommendations will be given for the possible future research

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Chapter 8
Conclusion

8.1. Conclusion

Main research question:

In what way can Jakarta's kampung dwellers play a role as equity partners in the implementation of slum alleviation programs?

First, the measurement of the subject, in this case; *kampung* dwellers, was necessary to determine their possible role (according to their priorities). *Kampung* embodied three different groups with different life priority. They are the founders, the settlers, and the renters. The previous slum alleviation programs such as PNPM Mandiri, *KOTA*KU (Cities without Slums), evictions with or without resettlement, and CAP, resulted in various responses. The PNPM and eviction put dwellers as objects, and no opinion was necessary to execute the programs (see Figure 8.1). However, the public involvement was a bit improved in the *KOTA*KU program, where the dwellers were set as the agent of information, or as the local knowledge provider. Meanwhile, the good direction towards collaborative alleviation planning was reflected in the implementation of the independent CAP, organized by local NGOs. In this program, the dwellers created an innovation to improve their living condition by actively participated in the planning process. Dwellers were initiated and led the program, while the government provide some supports and advice. The government well-received the idea of this approach and adopted the method as the new governmental program. However, the problem arose when the government and the third party (contracted consultant) misinterpret the CAP's goals. As a result, two different approaches were implemented under the same name: the CAP program. While the independent CAP implementing full participation from the dwellers; dwellers manage, dwellers plan, and dwellers maintain, the governmental CAP put the dwellers as the advisor who only gave the input regarding the implementation of such program in their *kampungs*.

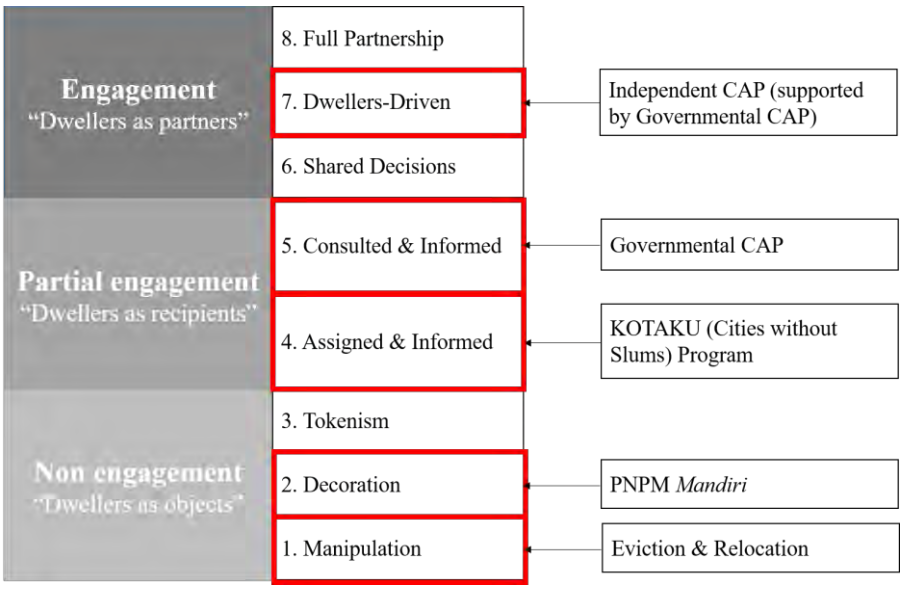

Figure 8.1. The dwellers' role in each alleviation programs

In the recent alleviation program, dwellers can play a role as partners who initiate and steer the program (see Figure 8.2 for each role's definition. The first step is CAP, where the dwellers required to put their thoughts into producing a suitable program for their *kampungs*. The dwellers were set to play a role as partners. Then, the next stage is to identify the targeted dwellers. For a further program such as land reformation, which only positively affects property owners, which means the founders and the settlers, there should be another solution to comply with housing needs among the renters, such as resettlements.

Engagement "Dwellers as partners"	8. Full Partnership	Dwellers initiate, lead, and direct slum alleviation program, sharing equal decision-making power with the government
	7. Dwellers-Driven	Dwellers initiate and lead slum alleviation program, and the government provide some support and advice
	6. Shared Decisions	The government initiated the program but dwellers can share their decisions about program activities

Figure 8.2. The possible role of dwellers as equity partners

8.2. The *Kampungs*' Wicked Problems

This tier presents the wicked problems that emerged in the study area. The historical traces were obtained from the interviews (mostly) with the founders. These traces were also marked the important events that influence the development of each *kampung*

Kampung Marlina

Behind the very hectic fishing activities, Muara Baru's sub-district possesses an unsolved annual problem: urban settlements in slums like *Kampung* Marlina, *Kampung* Elektro, and *Kampung* Gedong Pompa. Those three urban *kampungs* are administratively counted as RW (community unit) 17, with densely-populated neighborhoods and inadequate facilities. The houses are built with the walls adhered to each other; the street access is very narrow with minimum lighting, and trashes are everywhere.

Kampung Marlina is a heavily populated *kampung* that has expanded steadily since its establishment around 1975 (see Figure 8.1). It is situated in a swamp and pond field adjacent to factories and warehouses. Many of the buildings are stilt houses. The word Marlina itself derives from the pen factory "Marlina" in the area of this *kampung* Muara Baru residents (name of the sub-district) most generally identify it as *Kampung* Marlina. This settlement was generated due to the need for labor in the harbor, factory, and warehouse areas of Muara Baru. However, it is essential to recognize the position of this *kampung* in coastal activity. A limited portion of the population has been engaged in work as an *ojek sampan* (canoe operator) to transport goods to the Sunda Kelapa port, fishers, and others as boat propeller repairmen.

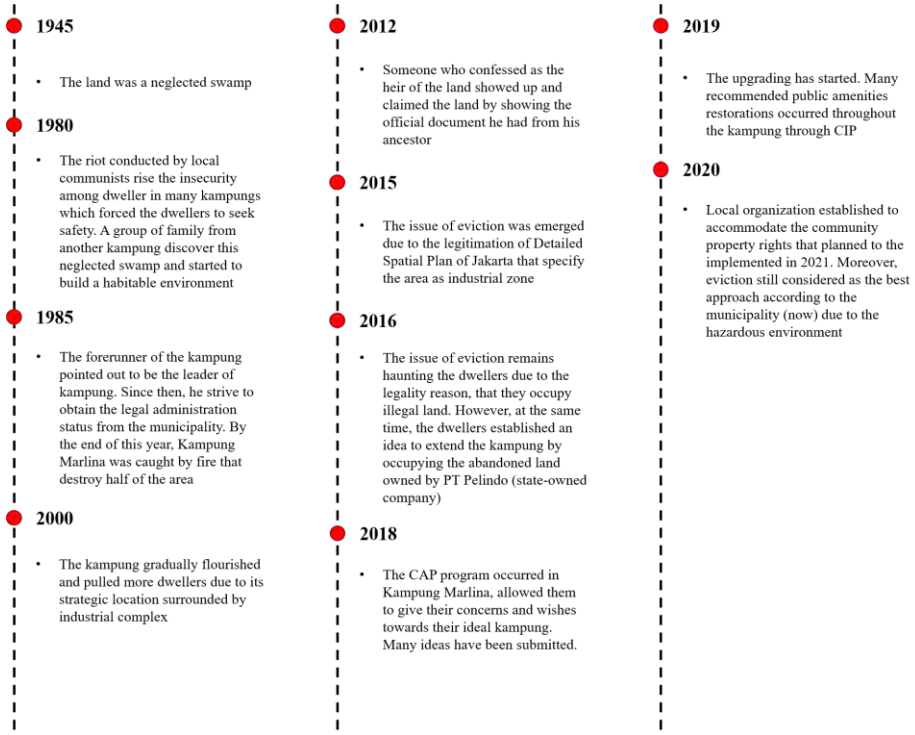

Figure 8.3. The historical traces of *Kampung* Marlina

Interview, 2020

Kampung Marlina has served as a buffer zone for the coastal region, offering economic gain. There are many affordable houses within the *kampung* to rent, conveniently available to employees in the coastal areas. Other economic areas influence the urban residential sector as well as the societal-connected central culinary and leisure industries.

Kampung Marlina is provided with two access routes, primary and supporting access. The main road is Jalan Marlina that links the *kampung* to the main road (Jalan Muara Baru Raya). Additionally, the main road is Jalan Swadaya that passes from the South to the North of the village. Furthermore, supporting access to connecting social facilities is an alley (or a series of alleys/pathways) that leads the public to the dwellers' residences.

There is substantial variation between the two forms of access routes. Only Jalan Marlina is passable by four wheels vehicles, while a motorbike can only cross Jalan Swadaya. Meanwhile, only pedestrians can walk through the supporting streets due to the narrowed gaps. Regarding the road's quality, only the main road is levelled with asphalt. The supporting roads are constructed with cement or remain muddy. Communities incorporate a unique infrastructure element called a *polisi tidu*r (speed bump) to slow down vehicles heading down to the alleyway.

The water canal is only accessible along the main route, although there is no water canal on the supporting road. Plumbing improvements have not been made equally. The dwellers of *Kampung* Marlina state the water shortage has been prevalent for two months now (site visit on 2020). Under many situations, the lack of maintenance in the area where the residents live causes the absence of adequate drainage. As a result, the public amenities deteriorate into disrepair.

The rapid growth of unstructured local housing led to the lack of open spaces within the *kampung* The people depend on the pathways for social engagements. Besides, neglected warehouses in the vicinity have also become another social attraction for residents to socialize.

Kampung Akuarium

Kampung Akuarium, located in Penjaringan district, North Jakarta, has been evicted on April 11, 2016, for occupying state land. Located at the edge of the Jakarta Bay in Penjaringan sub-district, North Jakarta, *kampung* Akuarium is home to 386 families or about 1,500 people who have moved to the low-rent vertical housing provided by the government. *Kampung* Akuarium is among communities in Jakarta that have fallen victim to non-participatory city planning. The eviction process lacked transparency, and after the residents were forced to leave, the city government only offered them accommodation in low-cost flats without financial compensation. North Jakarta's municipality plans to turn the area into a tourist destination that permits public access to the coast are being set up, where tourists may spend time and enjoy the city's waterfront.

Under Governor Anies Baswedan, *Kampung* Akuarium is one of 21 *kampung*s in Jakarta prioritized for revitalization. The residents' future home in *Kampung* Akuarium will be different from their previous residence, primarily landed houses in informal urban settings. The government has decided to redevelop the area using the *kampung susun* (town housing) model. The new *Kampung* Akuarium design will accommodate plenty of social interaction, which has become a part of their community's identity, bonding between neighbors having strengthened since the eviction.

The first eviction letter had come on March 30, 2016. Furious at the sudden warning, the dwellers immediately discussed the matter with district authorities, who clarified that the eviction would only affect the people living in the shacks alongside the coastal area. However, the second warning has come five days later. This time, the district authorities instructed the residents to empty their houses because the eviction would impact the entire area known as *Kampung* Akuarium. At this point, the dwellers, especially the people who rented houses, moved to low-cost flats or back to their hometowns over the fear of being evicted.

Figure 8.4. a) Eviction process; b) Condition after the eviction

Source: Rujak Center of Urban Studies, 2018

In April 2016, as heavy equipment moved in to flatten the houses, around 80 men from *Kampung* Akuarium stood shoulder to shoulder near the *kampung* entrance, attempting to stop

the inevitable eviction, while some 20 women recited Islamic prayers on the tarpaulin. On the opposite side, 4,288 personnel, made up of the Jakarta Public Order Agency (Satpol PP), National Police, and Indonesian Military (TNI), stood tall with shields and weapons (see Figure 8.4). Eventually, a brawl ensued: the residents pushed and kicked back at incoming officers, but quickly withdrew as tear gas, accompanied by blows from batons, pushed back the *Kampung* Akuarium defenders. At the same time, ten excavators approached them, including a pair of two-story sized amphibious excavators that moved across the nearby river and eight smaller excavators that began wreaking havoc among the houses edge of the area. Moreover, just in a matter of an hour, around 241 houses were completely demolished.

Figure 6.5. a) Assessment process of CAP, b) Community in action

Source: Rujak Center of Urban Studies, 2018

While many salvaged themselves – physically and emotionally – by moving into either the neighboring *kampungs* or low-cost flats, some longtime inhabitants refused to let go of their *kampung* and the trauma of eviction. Some dwellers used to come to the demolished house every day and sit all day. The eviction left a traumatic experience among the dwellers that induce illness – such as hypertension and acute stomach ulcers – and respiratory problems peaked during the aftermath of the evictions, killing around 15 people in the following months. NGOs and volunteers came to help the dwellers by building tents over the next few months and aid them with emergency items. Through the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) assistance, the dwellers eventually lodged a lawsuit in October 2016 against five public agencies, including the three forces that evicted *Kampung* Akuarium, the North Jakarta Mayor, and former governor Ahok.

After countless court appearances and meetings with the officials, the dwellers finally withdrew the case on June 26. The good news had come that Anies Baswedan, the elected governor, had finalized his plan to rehabilitate the *kampung* and build temporary shelters for the former residents. The CAP was implemented to construct the main framework for alleviating this *kampung* (see Figure 6.5). Under the assistance of local NGOs and urban experts, *Kampung* Akuarium were able to establish a new housing approach called *kampungs*usun. On a 10,384 square-meter plot of land, the "*kampungsusun*" will provide decent housing for more than 700 residents. The project will consist of five housing blocks with 241 apartments, the same as the previous number of houses in the *Kampung* area before the demolition.

Kampung Akuarium was designated as a maritime research center for the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) in the 1970s before moving to Sunter. The location was then used as a police housing complex, but not for long, as it was abandoned again. More and more people started to come to the area and settled since 1980s until the eviction in 2016 (see Figure 8.6).

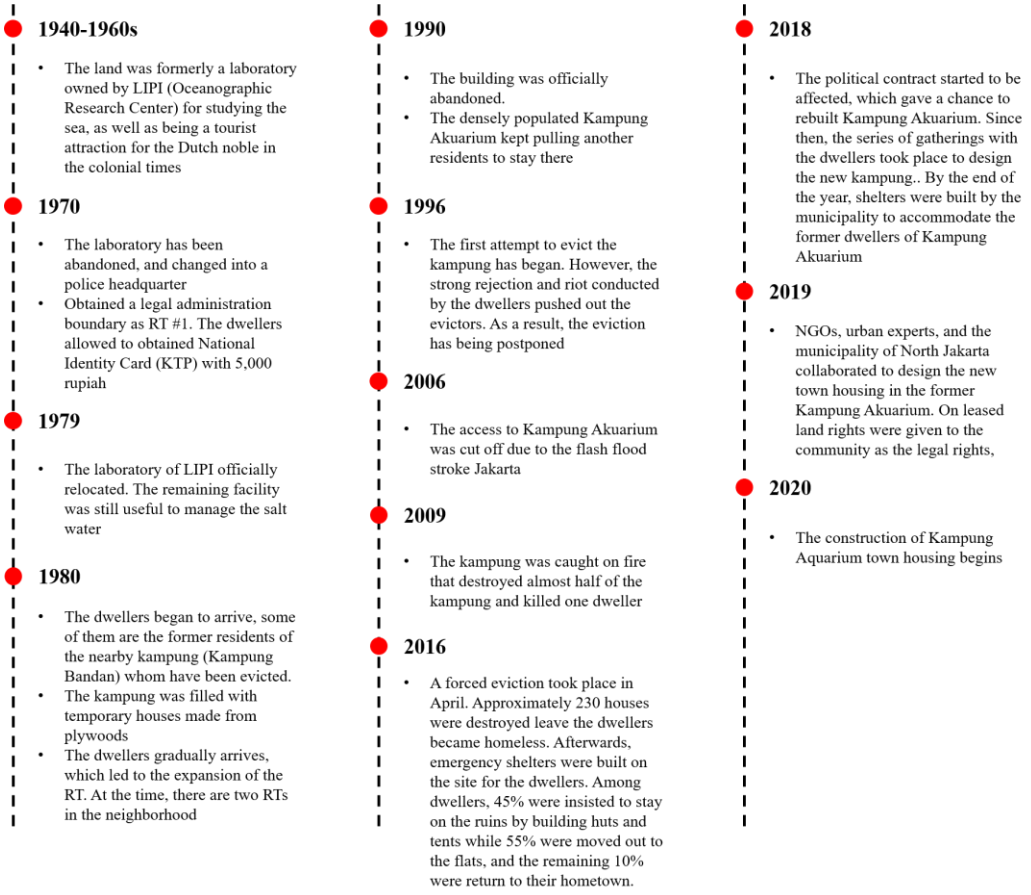

Figure 8.6. The historical traces of *Kampung* Marlina

Source: Rujak Center of Urban Studies, 2018

<u>*Kampung* Walang</u>

Kampung Walang, located between the Tanjung Priok-*Kota* railway and the toll road, was built on an area that used to be a river. The district authorities decided to relocate 329 families of *Kampung* Walang to the newly built flat in Marunda, North Jakarta. The plan was to build a trench under the toll road to mitigate flooding in the area.

There are not many issues emerging in *Kampung* Walang except the *kampung'*s inadequate environment (see Figure 8.7). During the interview, *Kampung* Walang's representative stated that North Jakarta's municipality is planning to resettle the dwellers to the newly acquired land near *Kampung* Akuarium that currently utilize as a container warehouse. This resettlement was scheduled to be implemented in 2019. Due to Covid-19, outbreak, *Kampung* Walang's dwellers still uncertainly waiting for further instructions.

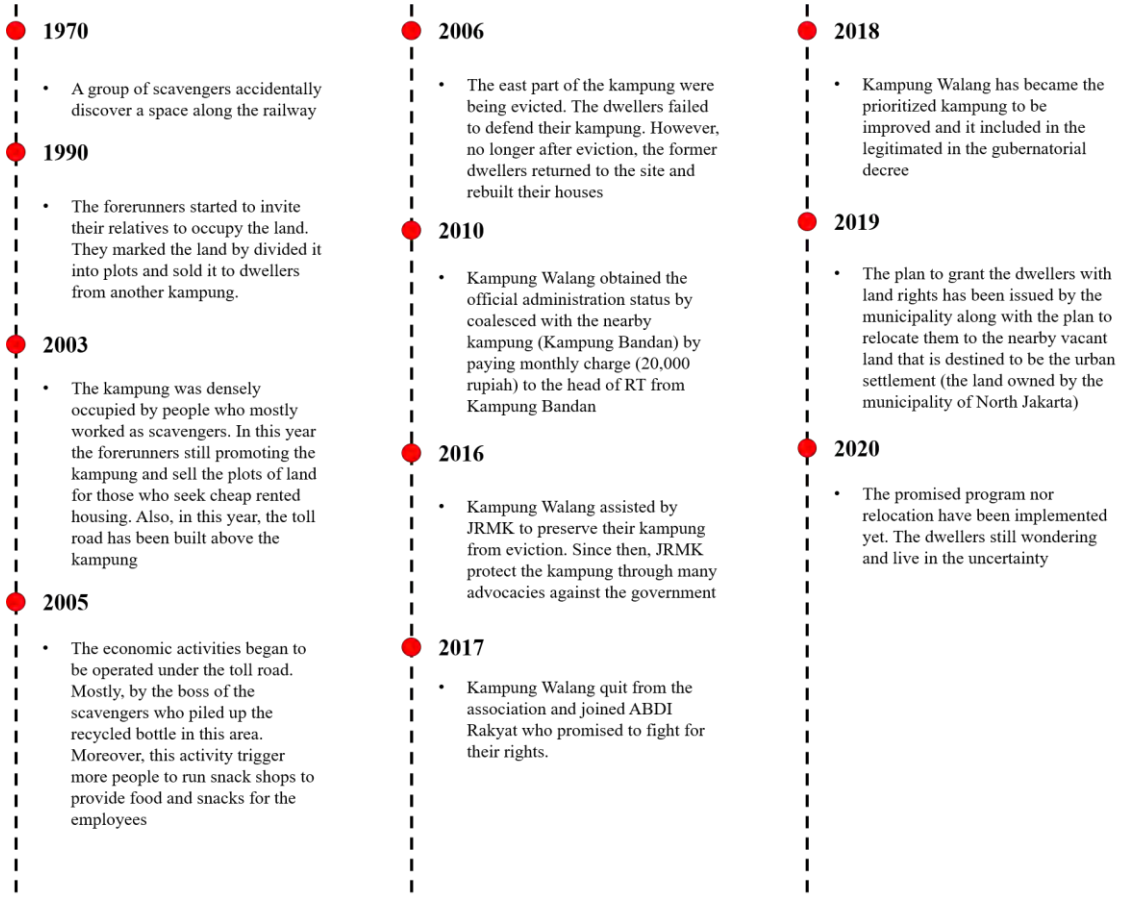

Figure 8.7. The historical traces of *Kampung* Walang

Source: Interview, 2020

Kampung Tanah Merah

Kampung Tanah Merah has the most extended history since its discovery and the most prolonged period for a neighborhood to obtain legal recognition (RT and RW). Since its discovery in 1958, dwellers of *Kampung* Tanah Merah considered aliens (unrecognized citizens). Even after the Basic Agrarian Law was constituted in 1960, this *kampung* failed to obtain customary land status. As a result, all dwellers were forbidden to access any social and health welfares from the state due to the disputed land's occupancy. Nobody in *Kampung* Tanah Merah obtained citizenship ID as long as they insist on living in this *kampung* Dwellers conducted prolonged social movements in obtaining legal administration status. The legal citizenship and administration status finally obtained in 2013. Before the legalization, this *kampung* was considered a white area. Even in the list issued by BPS, it did not include slums nor non-slum; instead, it was considered alienated. Then, after the legalization (obtained administration status), the issues that emerged in this *kampung* are environmental degradation due to the massive rural-urban migration. Under the Governor's Decree Number 90 and 878 in 2018, it was denominated as a slum and prioritized to be improved.

Kampung Tanah Merah's story started in 1958 when Chinese people who resided in this *kampungs* were evicted due to the newly constitutionalized Land Registration Act in 1958. In

the Dutch colonial period before the 1940s, numerous settlements already existed, mostly populated by Dutch and Chinese. Kobak Sengon, Rawa Gelam, Rawa Pesak, Kali Batik, and Bendungan Melayu were areas where these colonies have resided. In 1958, Land Registration Act Number 1 of 1958 regarding abolishing private lands was enacted, which finally abolished many individual land-owning groups belonging to Chinese living in the region. The traces can be seen from the listing of Eigendom Verponding Land No 4942, covering an area of 14,0065 square meters in Tugu Sub-district, Koja District behalf of Sim Kim Hoei. In 1964, there were traces of cultivators on the land of Tanah Merah.

As a result of the G30S / PKI outbreak, many ethnic Chinese people who lived in the area suffered displacement and property loss. If at this time, we dig the ground at a depth of about 2.5 meters, much debris can be found from permanent buildings. Afterwards, the former tenants resided in Tanah Merah as a thorn forest built a building foundation on the old building's remains. In 1968, the governor of Jakarta issued the Land Use Permit to Pertamina (a state-owned oil company) was notified that Pertamina is permitted to construct an oil depot covering an area of 400 x 350 square meters, or equals to 140,000 square meters (14 hectares). This land is earmarked for the need to construct an oil installation on the condition that Pertamina must acquire such an area of land from existing cultivators. The land dispute issue was emerged since then (see Figure 8.8).

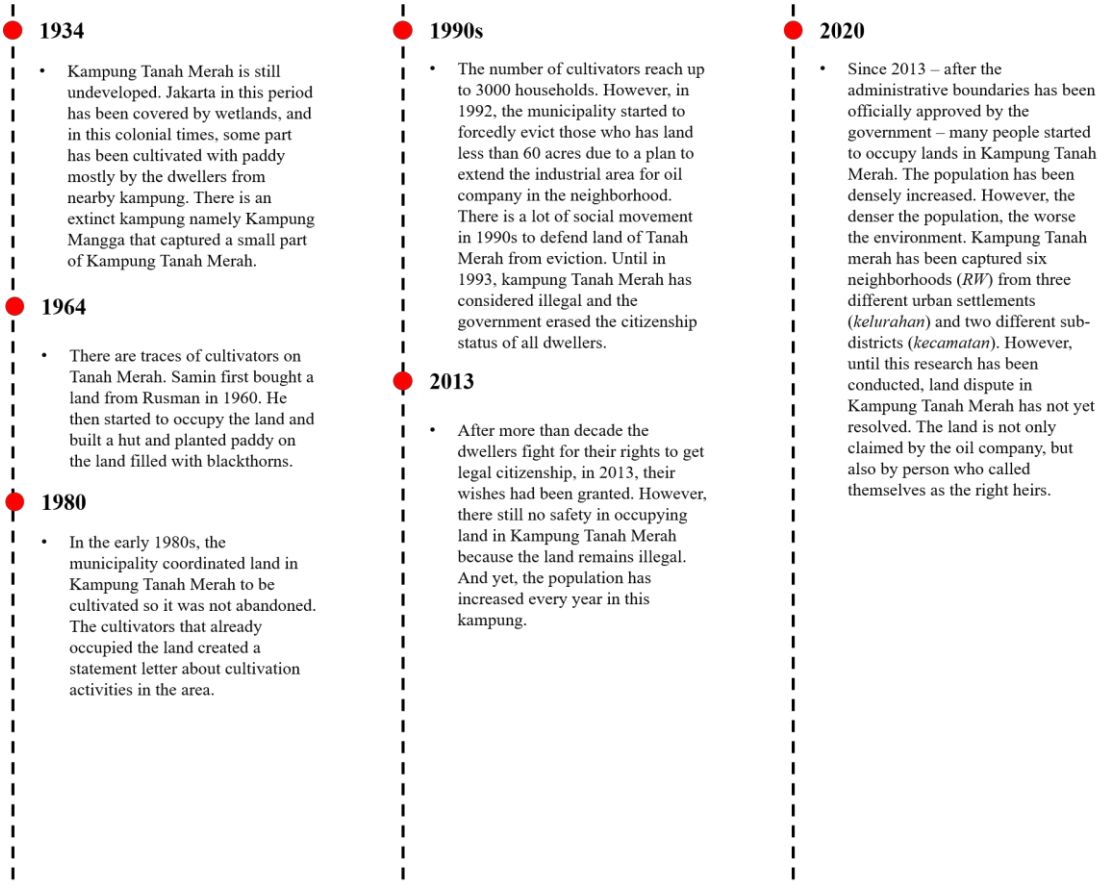

Figure 8.8. The summary of historical traces in *Kampung* Tanah Merah

Source: Unpublished document of the history of *Kampung* Tanah Merah, 2013

8.3. Recommendations

This thesis was solely focused on the dwellers' perspective towards their environment. The extent perspectives from the government needed to be explored to gain knowledge on the housing policy. By excluding my tendency towards the urban poor, *kampungs* are indeed located in such a hazardous area. *Kampung* Marlina, for instance, is located in the polluted industrial area that gives them more threats. It lacks clean water, limited access to the sunlight due to the over-crowded housing, and limited facilities due to the land scarcity. The only opportunity that attaches the dwellers with the surroundings is the industrial complexes that give them livelihood that is the only certainty they think they could access. This interdependency relationship prevents them from seeing an excellent opportunity to change their lives by relocating to low-rent vertical housing. Many dwellers assume that relocation to the flats is the other way to impoverish the poor. However, when I tried to discuss it with one dweller from the flats, she did not entirely agree with this statement. So, research to investigate the efficiency of low-rent vertical housing in the city is needed to straighten the traditional mindset about flats impoverishing the poor.

Furthermore, the government's perception is also needed to capture the main idea of where and how planning will be directed. The government's statement that *kampung*'s terminology has never been shifted is never considered the administration boundary. It makes me question the intertwined perception between *kampung* and the de jure boundaries that overlap. Research about *kampungs*' history combines with the governmental perspective towards *kampung* as de facto boundaries would likely straighten the misused term of *kampung* related to the slum. In my opinion, though, a *kampung* is merely a name. No matter the name of the neighborhood, either it is called *kampung* or RT, the unstructured housing in Jakarta always carries the identity of diversity, flexibility and others that can be adhered to *kampung* It is not only the term *kampung* that carries these identities, but unstructured housing also does. The most important thing is how to strive for the urban poor's justice by categorizing them into *kampungs* and non-*kampungs*. Since the poorest citizen is always neglected from any social welfare and even unrecorded in the municipality, tracking and mapping these nomad households would also be essential to prevent the emergence of squatter neighborhood.

Moreover, countless slum alleviation planning is neglecting the improvement of inadequate houses and avoiding land tenure issues. As a result, the program is often criticized as inconsistent due to the eviction of many improved *kampungs* in Jakarta. The government recently enacted a series of alleviation plans that include CAP, CIP, and agrarian reform, respectively. The CAP allows the dwellers to be actively involved in the planning process by putting their thoughts on the improved design, while CIP is the construction phase where the contractor realizes the dwellers' thoughts. Lastly, agrarian reform is the final program to legalize the land. The current plan is to give land rights to the local community through community property rights, which is not discussed in this research. The research on land-related issues in the unstructured settlement area is vital to determine the position of unstructured housing. It is also quite useful to help the dwellers to obtain land rights, especially for the neighborhood where the land dispute becomes the main issue.

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Annexes

This annexe consists of raw data collected during interviews, observations, and site surveys. Moreover, since maps presented in the previous chapters are mostly the final product (a product of overlaying many maps), the raw maps (maps supporting those final maps) are illustrated in this tier.

A. List of Interviewees

No		Stakeholder Group	Alias	Institution	Language	Date of Interview	Code
1		Government	AB	Sudin Perumahan Jakarta Utara (Sub-Department of North Jakarta's Urban Settlement)	Indonesian	October 5, 2020	jkt/01/gov
2		Government	FJ	Vice-Chairman of RW 17	Indonesian	October 2, 2020	jkt/02/gov
3		NGO	EN	JRMK (Urban Poor Network)	Indonesian	September 22, 2020	jkt/01/ngo
4		NGO	GG	UPC (Urban Poor Consortium)	Indonesian	September 17, 2020	jkt/02/ngo
5		NGO	WN	JRMK (Urban Poor Network)	Indonesian	December 7, 2020	jkt/03/ngo
6		Urban Consultant	AM	RCUS (Rujak Center Urban Studies)	Indonesian	September 22, 2020	jkt/01/ucs
7		Urban Consultant	RZ	RCUS (Rujak Center Urban Studies)	Indonesian	September 9, 2020	jkt/02/ucs
8		Representative *Kampung* Marlina	EN	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	September 22, 2020	jkt/01/rps
9		Representative Squatter-*Kampung* Marlina	BY	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	December 11, 2020	jkt/02/rps
10		Representative Squatter-*Kampung* Marlina	DE	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	December 11, 2020	jkt/03/rps
11		Representative *Kampung* Akuarium	RN	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	September 28, 2020	jkt/04/rps

12		Representative *Kampung* Akuarium	YT	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	September 28, 2020	jkt/05/rps
13		Representative *Kampung* Tanah Merah	HD	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	September 20, 2020	jkt/06/rps
14		Representative Squatter-*Kampung* Tanah Merah	BD	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	September 20, 2020	jkt/07/rps
15		Representative Squatter-*Kampung* Tanah Merah	FC	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	September 20, 2020	jkt/08/rps
16		Representative *Kampung* Walang	SR	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	November 13, 2020	jkt/09/rps
17		Representative *Kampung* Walang	JS	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	November 13, 2020	jkt/10/rps
18		Representative *Kampung* Marlina	EK	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	October 7, 2020	jkt/11/rps
19		Representative *Kampung* Rawa Badak (localization area)	EL	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	October 31, 2020	jkt/12/rps
20		Representative *Kampung* Rawa Badak (localization area)	BR	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	October 31, 2020	jkt/13/rps
21		Representative *Kampung* Bengek	AK	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	November 12, 2020	jkt/14/rps
22		Representative *Kampung* Bengek	EK	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	October 7, 2020	jkt/15/rps
23		Representative *Kampung* Lengkong	BW	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	October 2, 2020	jkt/16/rps
24		Representative *Kampung* Lengkong	IM	*Kampung* dweller	Indonesian	October 2, 2020	jkt/17/rps

*Notes:
Interview codes: in/01/gov
in indicates the interview
01 indicates the ID based on the sequence of interview
gov indicated the stakeholders group

B. List of observed "Necessary Activities"

No	Observed Activities	Number of Participants
Kampung Marlina		
1	A woman waiting for customers in her warung (kiosk)	1
2	Women eating lunch in front of a warung	3
3	Women cooking in front of their house	2
4	Women rooting for lice from their heads	4
5	A man driving his bajaj (tricycle vehicle)	1
6	A man cooking in his food stall with his wife	2
7	Becak drivers (pedicab) waiting for a passenger	2
8	Women conducted a meeting regarding the establishment of *Koperasi* (an organization that regulates collective property rights)	9
9	Women and men heading for a protest against the legitimation of Omnibus Law	12
10	Women doing population census	3
11	Men cleaning his motorcycle in the alleyway	4
12	Women, men, and children playing bingo to win the money	27
13	A woman breastfeeding her kid in the alleyway	1
14	A scavenger picking plastic bottles from the trashcan	1
15	Teenagers walking around the complex with *Ondel-ondel* (Jakartan mascot) and asking for money	4
16	Debt collectors collecting money from the debtors	3
Kampung Akuarium		
17	A man buying goods from warung (kiosk)	1
18	A man taking a bath in the public bathroom	1
19	Women doing laundry in public bathroom	2
20	Women folding laundry in the alleyway	2
21	Women playing with her kid while feeding them	3
22	Men repairing the shelter	7
23	A man getting ready for the night shift in the nearby fish market	1
24	Men getting ready for fishing	5
25	Men and women gathered in the open hall to conduct a meeting with the municipality of Noth Jakarta regarding the reconstruction of Kampung Akuarium	23
26	A woman filling a tank with water	1
27	Men cleaning the ruins	3
28	A man sweeping mosque's floor	1
29	Women watching over her kid who play in the alleyways	3

No	Observed Activities	Number of Participants
Kampung Walang		
30	Women guarding her kid for playing in the alleyway	2
31	Women rooting lice from their heads	2
32	Teenagers playing mobile games in the alleyway	4
33	Women cooking outdoor	5
34	Men making a banner in his workshop	2
35	Men supervising his employee under the toll bridge	2
36	A woman filtering the water with a sponge to get it clean	1
37	A woman feeding her kid in the alleyway	1
38	Women folding laundry in the alleyway	2
39	A woman drying laundry by hanging it on the second floor	1
40	Women selling used clothes in the alleyway	2
41	Men and women sorting out the plastic bottles under the toll bridge	2
42	A woman feeding the chicken under the toll bridge	1
43	A woman washing dishes in the back of her house	1
44	Men eating lunch in the food vendors	3
45	A man repairing a drawer, supervised by his boss	1
46	Women conducted a meeting regarding the establishment of *Koperasi* (an organization that regulates collective property rights)	15
Kampung Tanah Merah		
47	Men fill jerry cans with clean water to sell it	2
48	Men serving food for the buyers as his stall	2
49	Man repairing his motorcycle	1
50	Women sweeping her terrace	2
51	Men sweeping mosque's floor	2
52	Men doing voluntary work (*kerja bakti*) by cleaning the sewer	6
53	Women shopping in the local minimarkets	5
54	Teenage boy repairing their motorcycle	3
55	Men repairing a house	4
56	A woman buying cooked-food from the local food vendor	1
57	A girl buying snacks from the street vendor	1
58	Men draining water from the alleyway	3
59	Bakso (meatball) vendor walking around the kampung selling his product	1

C. List of observed "Social Activities"

No	Observed Activities	Number of Participants
Kampung Marlina		
1	Women chatting in front of a warung	7
2	Women watching over their children on the terrace	7
3	Men and women chatting in the alleyway	6
4	Kids playing mobile games by the alleyway	3
5	Toddlers playing in the alleyway	4
6	Women playing phone on the terrace	2
7	Men chatting by the mosque	2
8	Kids playing football in the alleyway	4
9	Men relaxing on the terrace while smoking	2
10	Kids playing raffia strings in the alleyway	3
11	Kids playing in the field	56
12	A woman and her kid watching over the goats	2
13	Women relaxing while watching over their kids in the field	6
14	Kids playing with water in the puddle	4
15	Women rooting for lice from their heads	4
16	Women gossiping in the field while watching over their kids	8
Kampung Akuarium		
17	A woman watching over children who play in the alleyway	1
18	Men and women chatting in the mosque	5
19	Men taking nap in the mosque	2
20	Children playing by the mosque	3
21	Men relaxing on the terrace while smoking	3
22	Men relaxing by the public bathroom	2

No	Observed Activities	Number of Participants
Kampung Walang		
23	Women chatting in the alleyway	8
24	A young girl watching over her siblings	3
25	A family relaxing under the toll bridge	6
26	Women playing with their kids in the alleyway	6
27	Children playing by the river	4
28	Women relaxing by the river	3
29	Children playing under the toll bridge	7
30	Men and women chatting under the toll bridge	5
31	Toddlers and children running around the alleyway	6
Kampung Tanah Merah		
32	Children riding odong-odong (local vehicle for kids)	5
33	Men chatting in the terrace	4
34	Men and women relaxing by the flooded field	20
35	Men and women chatting along the alleyway	6
36	Men gathering in the RW office	4
37	Children playing in the puddled alleyway	6
38	Men and women chatting in the alleyway	7

D. List of observed "Optional Activities"

No	Observed Activities	Number of Participants
***Kampung* Marlina**		
1	A man reading a newspaper	1
2	Men playing with his motorcycle	2
3	Women watering plants	3
4	Men smoking in the alleyway	2
5	Men repairing his phone	2
***Kampung* Akuarium**		
6	A man daydreaming by the coast	1
7	Men sleeping in the mosque	2
8	Women picking vegetables	2
***Kampung* Walang**		
9	A man taking a nap in front of the public bathroom	1
10	A family taking a nap under the toll bridge	5
11	A man fishing by the river	1
12	A woman feeding chickens	1
***Kampung* Tanah Merah**		
13	Men feeding a dove	3
14	Men watering plants	2
15	Teenagers smoking while playing mobile games	4

E. List of observed "Religious Activities"

No	Observed Activities	Number of Participants
***Kampung* Marlina**		
1	Men praying together in the mosque	8
***Kampung* Akuarium**		
2	Men and women praying together in the mosque 1	15
3	Men and women praying together in the mosque 2	7
***Kampung* Walang**		
4	A man recited *adzan* (prayer calls) in the mosque	1
5	Men praying together in the mosque	7
***Kampung* Tanah Merah**		
6	A man heading to the mosque for Friday praying	1

F. Summary of interviews and spontaneous interactions with dwellers

Key Wording/ Quotation	Theme	Description
• "This *kampung* is famous for people who work in the informal sector." • "I run a small business by selling *nasi uduk* (mixed rice) in the evening over there." • "I sell grilled fish by the main street in the evening." • "Majority of men work as a daily laborer in the fish auction market." • "Many women here work as a monthly laborer in the nearby factories or run small sweat-shop from our houses." • "Majority of men here work in the garbage collector beneath the toll road there or as a scavenger." • "I am running a small food stall by the house while my daughter is selling ice cream in front of my stall." • "I have got fired due to an economic crisis in 1998, and now I only have a temporary job by guarding public toilets." • "I am only a housewife, no job." • "I am running a small *warung* (shop) close to the food factory there." • "I am working in an advertising office in West Jakarta." • "I am an ex-prostitute, but now I am working as their pimp." • "My husband and I open a *bakso* (meatballs) stall by the cemetery."	Occupation	Necessary activities in four *kampung*s vary from entrepreneurs like running a business in the *kampung* (local shop, food stalls), being employed by others in or outside the *kampung* (employee), working as an unskilled laborer in a traditional market such as a fish auction market and hexagon market, and the head of neighborhood. Some people are seasonal workers who work according to the fish season. The household head mostly works outside *kampung* while the women stay home by running a small business or working as a housemaid for the more affluent family who also resides in the *kampung*. Dwellers of *Kampung* Marlina mostly work as daily or monthly laborers of the nearby traditional markets or factories. Dwellers of *Kampung* Akuarium mostly work as fishermen and porters for the nearby market (hexagon market). Dwellers of *Kampung* Walang mostly work as scavengers or the garbage collector who run their business under the toll road nearby. *Kampung* Merah dwellers' occupation varies from the driver of online transportation, the supporting team for the governor, civil engineer, watermen (men who sell clean water to other dwellers), and entrepreneurs.

• "I am working as the head of the neighborhood number 8(head of RW 8)" • "I am working as the governor's support team." • "I have a double job. By the day, I work as a kindergarten teacher, and by night, I run a small food stall by the reservoir nearby." • "I am a *kampung* activist; that is my job." • "My husband was a porter in the hexagon market nearby." • "I am working as a housemaid for Bu RT (head of RT's wife)" • "I am a civil engineer, and mostly I design a bridge and other public facilities in the neighborhood."		
• "We have three patterns of interactions: women start rushing in the morning by doing shopping to the nearby vegetable man, then in the afternoon after school, the children dominate the public spaces followed with their activities of Qur'an recital until pre-evening. In the evening, a group of teenagers dominates the public space until approximately 10 PM. Lastly, a group of middle-aged men dominates the public spaces until past midnight. This pattern goes on and on until it becomes a habit." • "In the dry season, people used to play football here (unpaved field)" • "We always conduct a meeting here (the RW office) • "This is our daily activity, killing lice from our head."	Daily activity	Daily activities in the study case area spontaneously occurred. However, in *Kampung* Tanah Merah, three main patterns were formed by gender. This pattern was constructed due to the activities that became habits of the dwellers. This kind of pattern is hardly seen in the newly demolished *kampung*, such as *Kampung* Akuarium. However, the daily habit such as relaxing by the alleyways or daydreaming by the coast/river was easily found.

• "The children always flying a kite, playing football, and swimming here (the abandoned warehouses' field that also contains puddle)" • "We normally chat about our condition (gossiping) in front of *warung* (local shop) while feeding the children." • "After praying, we normally chat for a while in front of the mosque." • "I normally hang out by the river in the midday while fishing." • "My kids always play Playstation in the rental shop all day." • "I normally hangout by the public toilet while guarding it."		
• "Almost every day, I relax by the river while fishing." • "I like to play chess in the RW's office." • "In the dry season, this field would be my favorite place to hang out and do sports." • "This ex-warehouse always become children's favorite space. Children from three *kampung*s always play here after school." • "I usually go to *warkop* (tavern) to snack while drink coffee, and we usually have a long discussion about politics and government." • "I love hangout in my food stall, and I have many friends there who work in the factory." • "I would hang out all the time on my terrace while waiting for customers buying my food." • "By the day, I like to sit under the toll bridge because it is chilly. I am trying to run away from the heat."	Space preference	Spaces along the coast, river, tavern, field, and alleyway are commonplace to chat, relax, and some for cooking. The scarcity of public open spaces in *kampung*s urged the dwellers to utilize the only spaces available innovatively.

• "I like to watch the big ship passed in the harbor." • "Normally, we hang out together while watching the drama on the television."		
• "I prefer to have conversations with the neighbors on my house terrace" (woman) • "I prefer to chat with my friend in *warkop* (tavern), discussing politics" (man) • "We cook outside the house because there is no enough space in my house. While, cooking we usually gossiping" (woman) • "We normally relax and chatting by the river while fishing" (man) • "My husband always has a long conversation with the neighbors in front of the mosque."	Gender/Group preference place	During the interviews and observations (activity mapping), some locations were distinct by gender, except for gendered-free alleyways. However, for spaces like the rivers, RW/RT offices, taverns (*warkop*) were most likely to attract male dwellers.
• "We have a community saving for people who died that we collect every week. If there is a dweller who died, this money will be given to his/her family." • "We have a monthly contribution that collected to the head of RW to repair public amenities." • "In *kampung* Tanah Merah, we are celebrating *kampung* birthday in January by throwing a big party for all dwellers." • "We collectively repair or rebuild public amenities including sewage in *Kampung* Tanah Merah." • "We have a youth organization (Karang Taruna) that accommodates juveniles to coordinate the *kampung*. We also have PKK (family welfare program) to educate women on various aspects of family welfare.	Community value (sense of community)	Neighbors' kinship in *kampung*s is well-maintained with a beholding to the social norm. They are able to create a local 'social system,' which is reflected in their daily activities. Tolerance and cooperation-based interaction (by helping each other) are the fundamental community value in *kampung*s.

• "It has been two months we cannot access clean water here." • "In the rainy season, this area is always struck by a flood." • "We cannot use this field in the rainy season because of the puddle." • "There is no garbage man here, so we just littering our waste in the river or burn it in front of our house." • "We cannot access clean water here, so we always buy it from the water merchant." • "There is no space between my house and the railways, so every time the train passes, my wooden house always trembles." • "Since the factory was built this high fence, I can never feel the warmth of the sun anymore. I can barely distinguish day and night." • "Since the slum alleviation program missed-interpreted our condition, they raise the height of this alleyway; as a result, we need to bow down every time we walk." • "Our *kampung* is lack with sewer; as a result, there always flood during the rainy season." • "Since the river separates this *kampung*, we have no access to go to another *kampung* because of the absence of the bridge."	Environmental issue	High built-up density causes a lack of open spaces within *kampung*s. Some open spaces are not well-maintained because they are used for parking motorcycles and piled up garbage. Some dwellers still litter (their domestic waste) to the river nearby.
• "Last year, the government send their hitmen to evict us." • "We got evicted in 2016, but then we return to this neighborhood by building huts." • "There is some delinquent around here who like to steal things, especially motorcycle." • "Some teenage girls here work as a prostitute."	Safety and Security	Up until now, safety still becomes the major concern in *kampung*s (study case area). *Kampung* Marlina, for instance, the terror from motorcycle thieves has been raised during the Covid-19. Since many people were fired during this crisis, they would likely do anything to eat. The safety issues in *kampung*s were not merely by dealing

• "Once, this *kampung* has burned by a big fire." • "In the rainy season, our neighborhood always struck by a flood." • "Since our *kampung* is considered as illegal, there is no social and health welfare given by the government whatsoever." • "We live on the pile of garbage. Many volunteers did the cleaning last year, but the garbage seems endlessly piled up." • "We live along the coastal area, and one *kampung* has already drowned by the land subsidence; we are; next, I guess." • "People mostly see us as uneducated workers, so we could only work in the underpaid factories."		with thieves, but also the uncertain natural hazards such as floods.
• "I found this place while I was collecting garbage can in the neighborhood." • "I fled my *kampung* due to the unaffordable rent fees and came here for the better life." • "I flee my *kampung* due to the riot in 1998 while the local communist killing innocent people and came to this *kampung* that still a swampy area." • "I bought a piece of land in this *kampung* because my husband got fired, and we cannot afford to pay rent in the previous *kampung*." • "I only rent a house here. I do not recall any history about this *kampung*." • "I live here now because my sister invites me to come to Jakarta and live with her" • "Prior to the history, we are regarded as aliens due to the land dispute around here. No *KTP* (citizenship card) and social and health	History	*Kampung*s were always come with a history of making. Some were discovered accidentally, and some were obtained by altering swamp are into habitable *kampung*s. This history of making is the one that constructs the strong bonding between the dwellers and the *kampung*s because they obtained it with hard works.

welfare were accessible for us. They kept force us to leave." • "A big riot occurred around 2010. I recall that several people tried to hunt me down to kill me because I kept convincing the people to prevail this *kampung*." • "You can see in any planning map that *Kampung* Tanah Merah is marked white, which means considered empty, whereas many people live here, multiplying." • "Discussing this *kampung* can lead to the political case and huge corruption scandal. That is why the issues here remain to exist, especially land dispute."		
• "My *kampung* has never received any endowments from the government regarding *kampung* improvement whatsoever." • "We repair this street by collecting money from the dwellers." • "I guess only legal *kampung*s that will be improved. A *kampung* like as maybe will always consider illegal, so we have to preserve it by ourselves." • "There is a time when a private company canceled their donation due to the land dispute issue here. They afraid that the bridge they build will be wasted if we have got evicted." • "We are still waiting for the implementation of the CIP where the government improves our public facilities." • "The CIP project has been postponed due to the Corona outbreak." • "The implementation of CIP in this *kampung* is far from expectation."	Slum Alleviation Programs	

G. The evolution of *kampung*s in Jakarta

Name of Perios	Hindu Period	Islamic Realm	Colonial Times		Transitional Period		Post Independence	
History of Jakarta	Sunda Kelapa (former name of Jakarta) – part of Pakuan Pajajaran sovereignty (Sunda Kelapa is merely an outskirt town)	Sunda Kelapa was seized by Muslims which later change its name into Jayakarta	In 1619, Sunda Kelapa was seized by Dutch and change its name into Batavia.		Japanese invaded Batavia and tried to change the system. They added *tonarigumi* (RT/ RW) as the smallest administrative boundaries. This is a period of freedom where indigenous people may claim an abandoned land.		The first "Jakarta City Planning" has been issued in 1957. It focused on solving traffic, housing demands and public amenities.	The first governor who considered practical ways to improve living condition in kampung.
Period of Time	1333-1527	1527-1596	1619-1945	1928-1942	1942-1949		1950-1965 (Soekarno Era)	1966-1985 (Jakarta under Ali Sadikin)
History of Kampung	Kampung is an original indigenous community in Sunda Kelapa	Town-like indigenous settlement area	There are 2 types of settlement: city center (Old Town – north part of Jakarta) surrounded by walls (devoted to Dutch people) and area outside the walls (indigenous & Chinese settlement called kampung. Kampung considered as inadequate indigenous living environment.	In 1864, Cholera outbreak causing panic among Dutch. But, only in 1928 the first Kampung Improvement Program (Kampung Verbetering) implemented.	The KIP has discontinued. Now kampung divided into unimproved and improved settlemet area. Since then, there are kampung that remains slum (squatter-kampung) and well-organized kampung (urban-kampung).	Abandoned land occupied by local residents. Kampung grew illegally on the abandoned and neglected land without supervisions due to ever increased rural-urban migration.	The first document of City Planning put aside kampung as settlement areas that need improvement. Instead, the president wants Jakarta to be a city with luxury and suggesting to build apartment complex to accommodate kampung dwellers. But this plan has never been realized due to the lack of funding.	Unilke Soekarno, Sadikin think that vertical housing is the least solution to provide houses for kampung dwellers. The second Kampung Improvement Program called M H Thamrin Project was implemented in 1969 in a big scale. During 1969 to 1979, 662 kampungs have improved.

H. Political contract in *Kampung* Tanah Merah

FORUM KOMUNIKASI TANAH MERAH BERSATU
Jln Kp Tanah Merah No 10, Kel. Rawa Badak Selatan, Kec. Koja, Jakarta Utara
HIDUP PERSAMA RAKYAT, BELAJAR BERSAMA RAKYAT, BERJUANG BERSAMA RAKYAT

POLITICAL CONTRACT
CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR OF JAKARTA, PERIOD 2017-2022
ANIES BASWEDAN AND SANDIAGA UNO

1. Guaranteeing protection for the urban poor:

   a. Legalizing allegedly illegal kampungs.
   Kampungs that occupied by local dwellers for more than 20 years on the unproblematic land will be legalized through the establisment of land certificates.
   b. Slum neighborhood will not be evicted, but redeveloped instead (transform into thematic kampung or row housing kampung)
   The status of the slum neighborhood situated on the state land will be negotiatied by involving local dwellers, and governor should play a role as a mediator in order to avoid loss of land rights in accordance with the 1945 Constitution and the 1960 Agrarian Law.
   c. Demanding the protection and arrangement of the informal economy actors such as street vendors (PKL), tricycle drivers, traditional fishermans, housemaids, hawkers, foodmongers, and traditional markets.
   d. Preserving local culture and identity of existed kampungs in Jakarta.

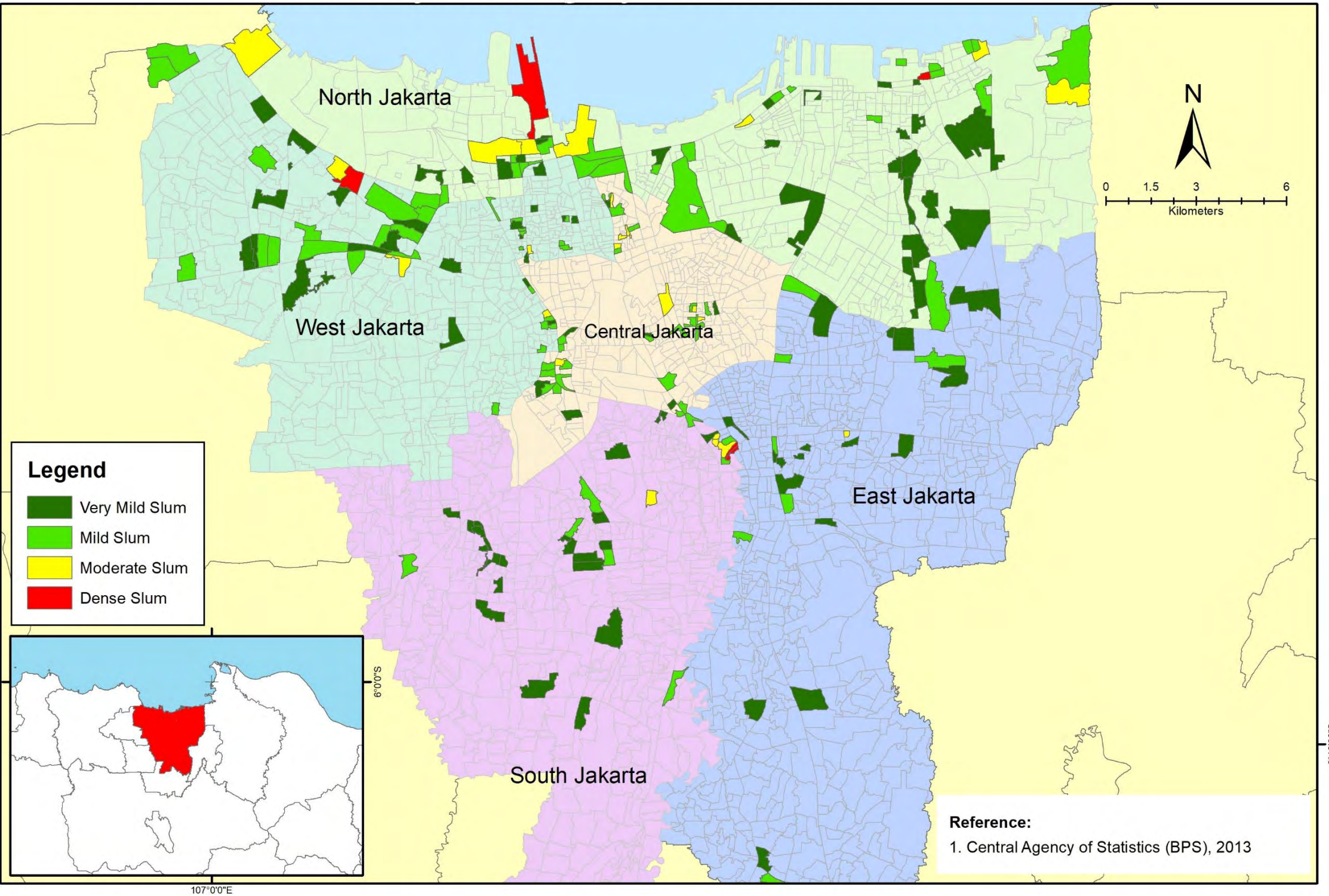
2. Re-examining and revising the Jakarta's Regional Spatial Planning regulations, especially the zoning designation by keep preserving kampungs as the local settlements. Guaranteeing the certainty of kampung by not transforming them into commercial zones, vertical housing zones, and open spaces.

3. Disseminating the information to the urban dwellers extensively.

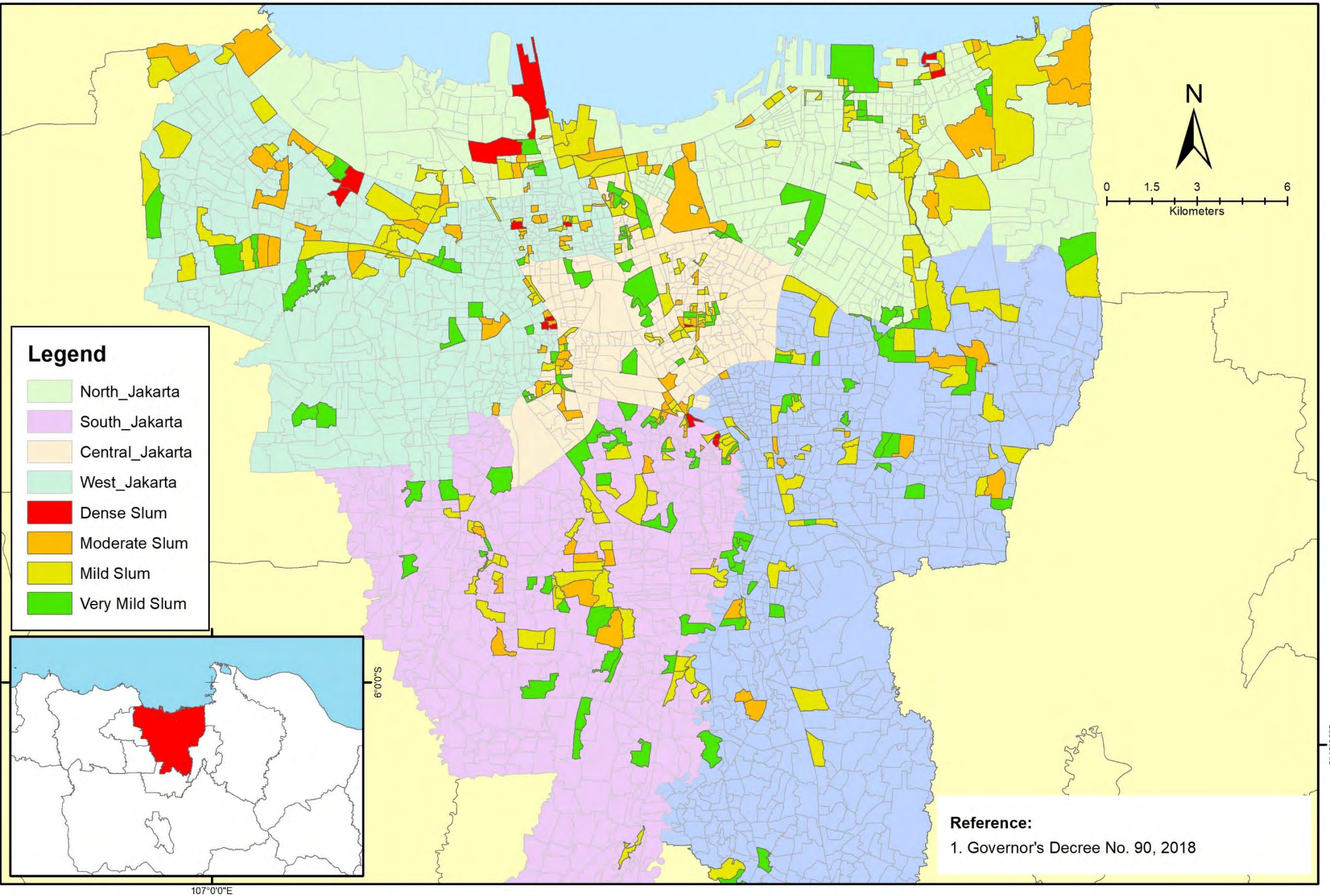
Jakarta, 2 October 2016
Signed by the candidate for governor of Jakarta

I. Before and after: implementation of *Kampung* Improvement Program in Batavia

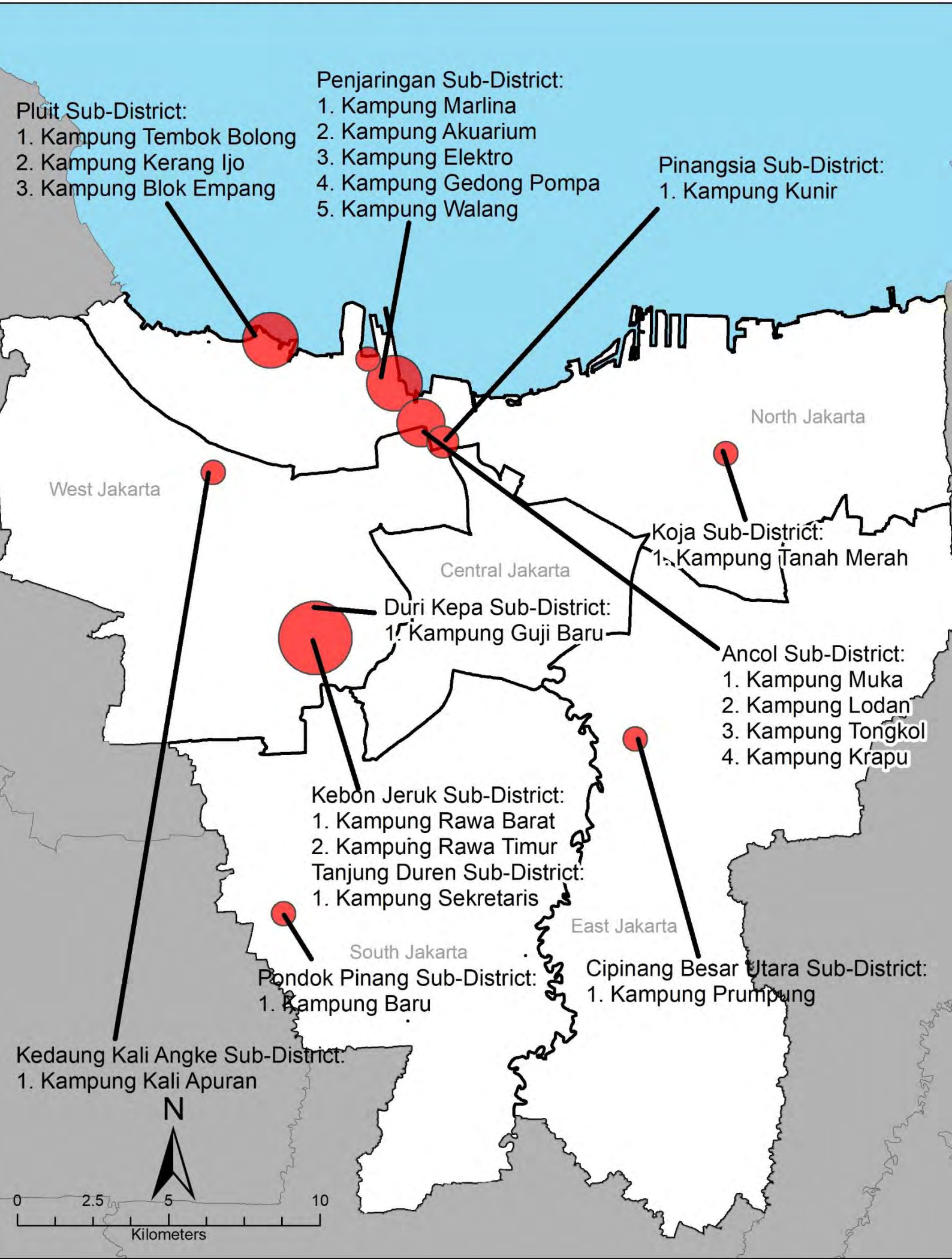
J. Distribution of slums listed by Central Agency of Statistics, 2013



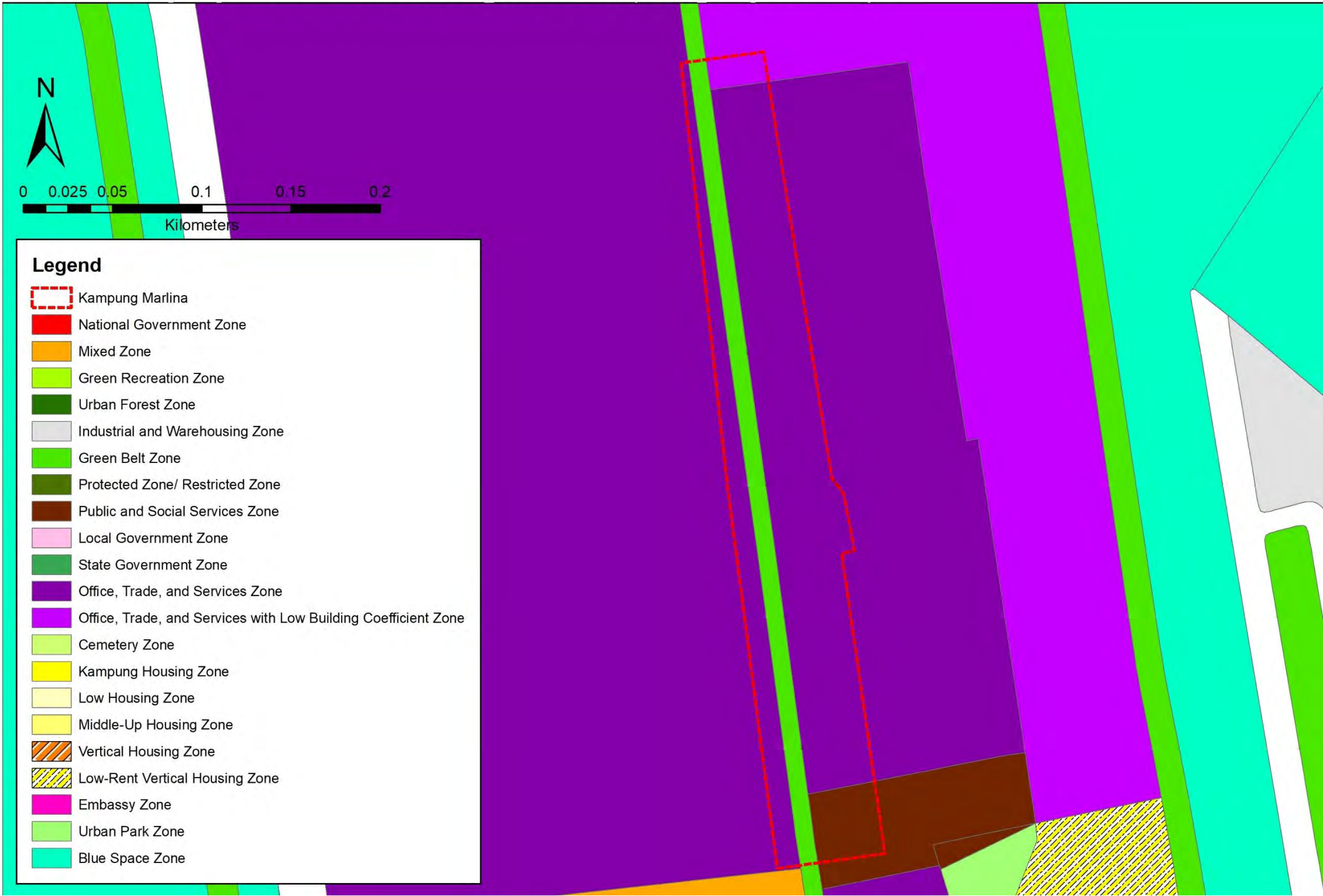
K. Distribution of slums listed in the Governor's Decree No 90, 2018



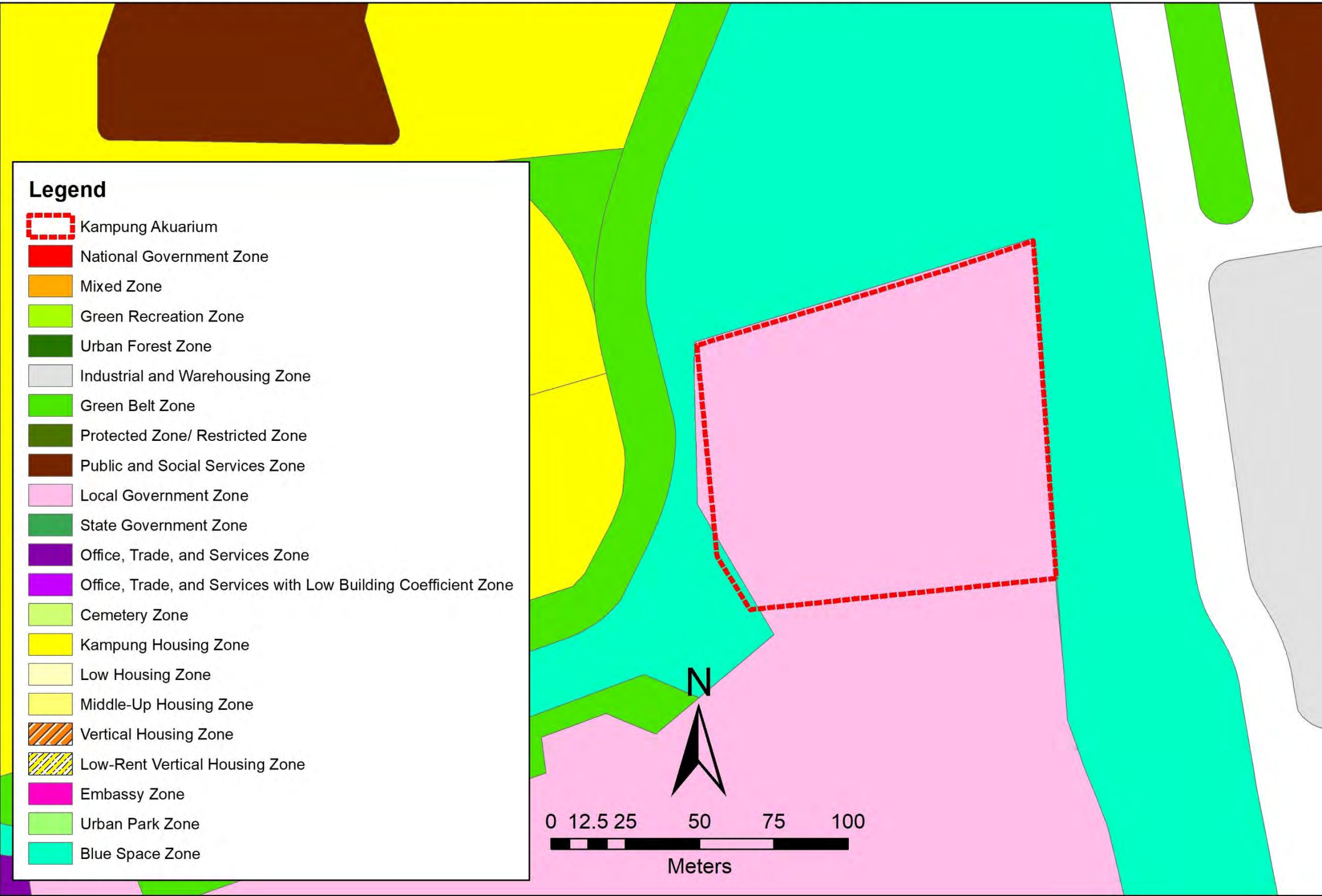
L. Prioritized Kampung for Improvement, legitimated in Governor's Decree No, 878, 2018



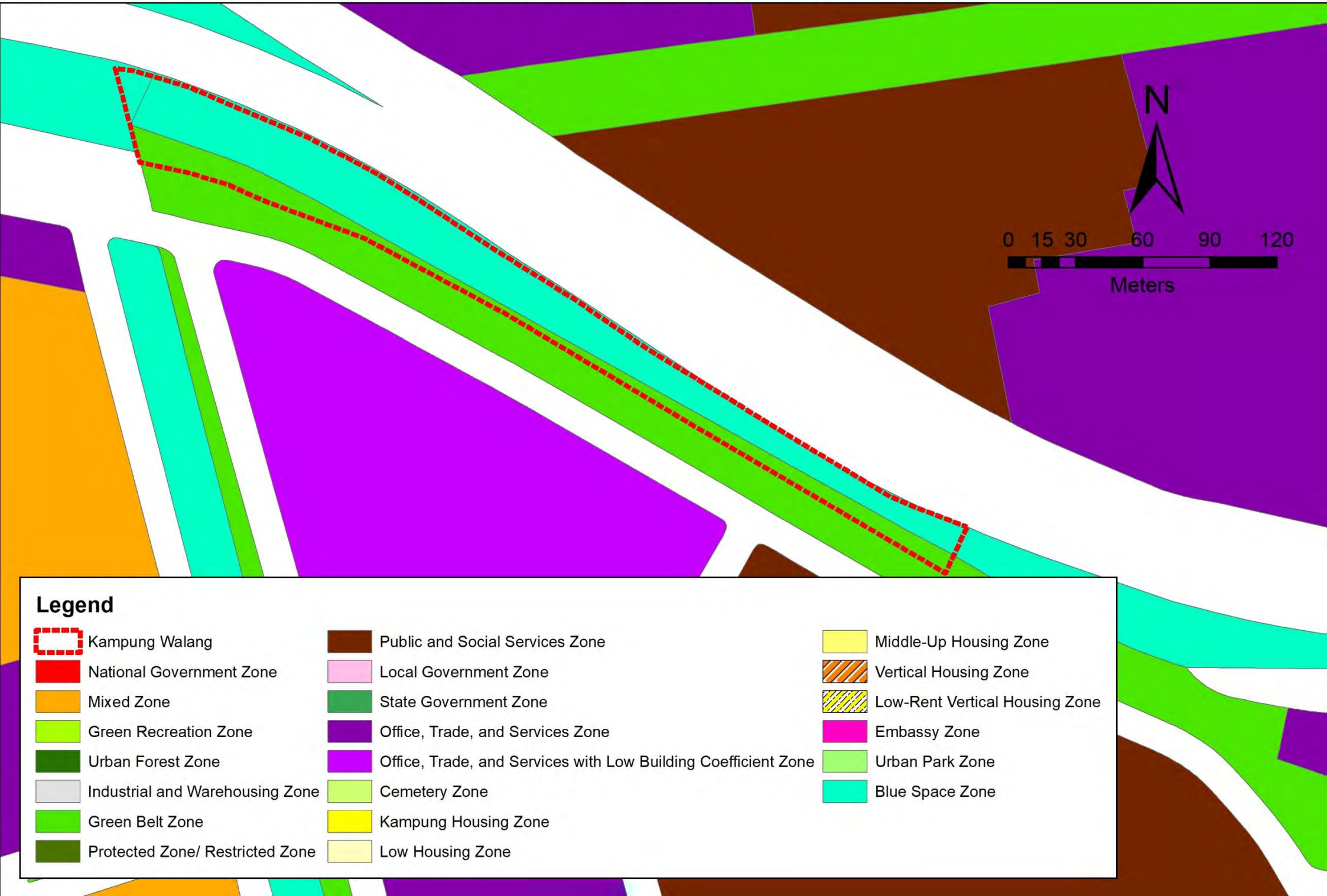
M. Zoning regulation in Detailed Spatial Plan (Kampung Marlina)



N. Zoning regulation in Detailed Spatial Plan (Kampung Akuarium)



O. Zoning regulation in Detailed Spatial Plan (Kampung Walang)



P. Zoning regulation in Detailed Spatial Plan (Kampung Tanah Merah)