

Magersari: the spatial-culture of kampung settlements as an urban strategy in Indonesian cities and urban housing

Luki Budiarto

SPACELAB, Dept. of Urban Renewal & Management, Faculty of Architecture
Delft University of Technology, Delft, The Netherlands, e-mail: l.budiarto@bk.tudelft.nl

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Abstract

This paper concerns the issue of kampungs of Jakarta. It proposes a conceptual model to readdress the kampung issue by considering them not as problem of poverty or informal settlement. It is proposed that the model needs to shift its paradigm towards a more integral view; seeing kampungs as an inseparable part of metropolitan cities. Some examples, using Jakarta as the case study, are put forward to support this argument. It is proposed that kampungs can be viewed as an urban strategy to overcome housing and massive migration to Jakarta. It starts by examining the origin of kampungs, its relationship with urban and economic development, and the transformation and socio-economic processes in kampungs to try to understand the spatial formation of kampungs. It is argued that the spatial formation of kampung is deeply rooted in inhabitants' everyday socio-economic practices and spatial-culture. The word '*magersari*' – a spatial concept based on an historical tendency towards social compartmentalisation and extended family systems in the culture – is introduced to explore the issue. This paper ends with a call for a redesign strategy in kampungs in which the relation between economic processes, spatial-culture, and urban policy is emphasised.

1 Kampung development and urbanisation process: an introduction

Kampung is the word that has come to be used for a settlement in a rural surrounding that comes into being within an urban setting. Kampungs are normally considered as neither part of the rural nor the urban [1,2]. They are commonly found in Indonesian metropolitans and are naively associated with urban decay, poverty and chaotic settlements.

For decades the local authority has been trying to deter new informal kampung development and to prevent kampung dwellers returning to their initial kampung after eradication and resettlement into other locations, mostly to the suburbs. In Jakarta, for example, kampungs cover about 60% of the city area, while in the '80s it consisted of more than 80%. This decrease of kampungs in percentage is indeed a doubtful indicator considering that in the meantime Jakarta's built area has more than doubled in size, which means the increase of kampung coverage in square meters. However, these

numbers affirm the failure of policy initiated in the 1970s to stop kampung growth and to demolish kampungs systematically, although it has certainly slowed down informal kampung development (in comparison to formal development). Informal kampung development continued even during the severe economic crisis that hit Jakarta, and the dwellers managed in many ways to reclaim (new) kampung even if they were bulldozed down.

There have been different urban policies and renewal strategies dealing with the kampung issue. Each of them follows, with their particular set of assumptions or models regarding the origin and development process of kampungs. Before discussing any further, it is therefore important to make these underlying assumptions explicit and to consider their practical implications. It is suggested here that there are two models commonly followed (or combination) in trying to explain the origin and development of kampung settlement. These models are particularly relevant to Jakarta, and have resulted from case studies in Jakarta.

1.1 The first model on kampung development

The first model posits that kampung growth is fuelled by massive and continuing in-migration from the rural to the metropolitan cities, particularly to Jakarta. Understanding the in-migration process thus becomes the key issue. Expectation of better income or wage improvement is among the pull-factors of in-migration. This view is also supported by studies in urban demography. It shows, for example, that Jakarta's population is largely composed of young migrants coming from external areas and that the 300% population growth in Jakarta from 1960 to 2000 is exclusively caused by in-migration since the city shows a negative natural growth with an average total fertility rate of 1.36 [3].

Unfortunately, most of these young rural-migrants lack skill and end up in informal or underpaid jobs, which creates a vicious cycle of poverty and lowers the living standard. For these people, informal settlements in the form of kampungs provide affordable shelters adjacent to the urban centres. Furthermore, they are likely to have no access to the housing provided by the formal sector due to their wages (below minimum) and the informal nature of their income. Following the model, it is proposed that the proliferation of kampungs is the result of two factors. Firstly, it is due to the incapability of the urban poor (in terms of capital and skill), composed mainly of a young rural-migrant population, to obtain mortgage or other forms of financing from formal institutions. They therefore have no access to formal housing or to improve their kampung houses. Secondly, it is due to the failure of formal sector agencies (local government, developers, etc.) to provide this population group with proper yet affordable housing or financial support. Besides, it is their fault that the disparity between urban and rural development becomes greater and thus encourages in-migration.

This view asserts then that kampungs are a form of settlement which is alien to the urban or whose roots lie in rural-based societies and economies. Kampungs are inserted into urban/metropolitan settings through in-migration. Kampung growth indicates poverty from the rural in the city and the poverty is inherent in the in-migration process and this population group. Curbing kampung development encourages further poverty and continued in-migration; and creates environmental and physical degradation in urban settlements. In this perspective, kampung growth brings social cost and impedes the creation of a sustainable metropolitan city.

1.2 The second model on kampung development

The first model certainly contains truth, but does not do justice to explaining the kampung and urbanisation process as a whole. Instead of seeing kampungs as product of in-migration, the second model views kampungs as indigenous forms of settlement, which are inherent in the urbanisation

process. This view is supported, for example, by studies in urban history and geography, which try to capture the distinctive patterns of urbanisation in Jakarta. They reject the premise that kampungs are caused in the first instance by in-migration. It is proposed, instead, that Jakarta (or other cities in the region) have come into being from hundreds of disjointed and detached clusters of kampungs that later become engulfed into the city due to rapid urbanisation. This argument is explored further in the following paragraphs.

1.2.1 The history of kampungs

History, for example, shows that Jakarta's kampungs originated from hundreds of indigenous settlements which were inhabited by local natives and other non-European peoples during the colonial era. Kampungs are contrasted to the walled-city, the area that is known today as 'Kota' (literally meaning 'the city'), where the Europeans lived. The colonial administration had systematised its society and production system from the 1750s, by which people from different tribes were sent to fulfil different functions and occupations, ranging from agricultural to military, public services, opium trading or other special merchandises [4]. Jakarta, being the centre of administration and trade, is a site where a vast array of functions and people coming from different tribes accumulated. Different areas outside the walled part were designated for them to build their settlements, clustered according to their places of origin, their ethnic groups or the functions/statuses they carried out in society. Since then, hundreds of 'new' kampungs appeared besides kampungs where native Jakartans live. As Raben said, in the beginning of the 18th century Jakarta was similarly 'an archipelago' where non-European migrant workers coming from different ethnicities, both of native groups and non-European foreigners, lived in different 'islands' besieging the European 'city' [5,6].

It was realised later that such a collection of people coming from different social groups could potentially lead to social unrest [5]. To minimise such risk, communications and contacts among these different kampung settlements were physically kept to a minimum and subjected to control by means of fences, watchtowers and gates that close at night [5,6]. The remnant of this spatial and social compartmentalisation or guild system is carved in the neighbourhoods' names of Jakarta. Their names commonly refer back to their past production activity, for example, Kebon Kacang ('beans plantation') - specificity of the place; Luar Batang ('outpost settlement') - apparently for city-guards; and in most cases it links directly to the ethnicity of their initial inhabitants, such as Kampung Melayu - the area designated for migrants coming from the Malaya and surroundings.

1.2.2 Desakota urbanisation

The comparable view is also adopted by McGee, [7] who suggests a distinctive urbanization pattern called *desakota* (means 'village-city'), which is particularly relevant to the context of Indonesian cities. A *desakota* region encompasses both the city itself, with typical urban land use and associated compact and densely settled functions, and the sprawling rural settlements that become closely enmeshed with the urban economy. The model of *desakota* urbanization seeks thus to identify and to explain regions that are neither urban nor rural, which combine features of these two development types in landscape transformation.

During *desakota* process of urbanisation, the rural (the *desa*, i.e. kampung) is urbanized without the population necessarily moving into the city (the *kota*). Rural economies and lifestyles become submerged under the expansion of urban economic activity and culture, but do not disappear altogether. McGee describes *desakota* regions as previously agriculture areas with an intense mix of settlement and economic activity, including agriculture, industry, housing and other types of land use.

Following this model, it is proposed then that urban renewal policy dealing with the kampungs of Jakarta needs to focus on empowerment strategies in order to enable greater participation of kampung dwellers in urban (formal) economy and (self) upgrading of their living environment. In this perspective, kampungs are seen as a transitory form of urbanization in the making of metropolitan societies and economies.

1.3 Practical implications

Each of the models presented above has practical implications in terms of urban planning and renewal policy. With their underlying assumptions now more explicit, some criticisms will be put forward in this section. The first model, which basically sees kampungs as rural forms of settlement imported through the in-migration process and closely linked to poverty, results in policies such as a) population growth control by means of declaring Jakarta a 'closed city' for in-migration, b) the expansion of private sector housing developers and c) promotion of suburban enclave housing estates in order to cope with in-migration flows.

This kind of policy was initiated around the 1970s when it was realised that Jakarta's national image should be that of a modern metropolitan, not an assemblage of kampungs [8]. It has, however, never succeeded and even worsened the situation. For example, the widening gap between formal/legal and informal/illegal development and economy creates unnecessary tensions among population groups, causing aggression and possibilities for illegal taxations. The out-migration due to eradication and resettlement resulted in the expansion of kampung-type housing in areas closest to the fringes of Jakarta, followed by the development of real-estate-type housing and industry in more distant areas. In the case of Jakarta, where planning and control are unable to cope with fast-paced (sub)urbanization, this simply results in haphazard developments and worsened land speculations.

The second model, like the first model, brings practical implications at different planning levels aiming to make a framework for political and physical intervention to facilitate the transformation process from rural/informal kampung to urban/formal metropolitan societies and economies. The word transformation, redevelopment or upgrading becomes emphasized replacing the word eradication. This type of intervention can be seen, for example, in Kampung Improvement Project (KIP). KIP encompasses a large range of projects and different approaches/strategies. Around the 1970s, KIP was closely linked to the kampung eradication project, however, in later decades KIP aimed more at infrastructural and physical upgrading, such as improving access to basic urban provision and infrastructures.

There are seemingly increasing efforts to acknowledge kampungs as indigenous forms of settlement through preservation and empowering dwellers in the transformation or redevelopment of their kampung. The effects of these efforts are however quite limited and partial, considering the fact that they are applied less systematically (it changes per project) and the preservation applies only to kampungs or parts of the kampung that are believed to emerge from the 'old period' or have 'high architectural/cultural values', such as traditionally constructed houses, etc. It is worth, however, to elaborate on this in more detail.

2 The success and failure of kampung upgrading

Upgrading schemes cannot, however, fully avoid eviction and demolition, at least for some parts of a kampung. Furthermore, they impose rearrangement of land plots in order to reduce density or improve

safety from fire. In many cases, they propose long-term/gradual resettlement of kampung dwellers into modest housing (*rumah-sederhana*) or economical flats (*rumah-susun*).

Observation reveals a great contrast between kampung, rumah-sederhana and rumah-susun, as far as physical appearance and street-level situation is concerned (Fig. 1). The uniformity of housing units, rigid blocks and division of lands and empty street-edges, for example, pose great contrast to 'chaotic' kampung houses and their narrow, intimate-scaled, alleys which are used intensively by dwellers most of the time. The upgrading plan seems to be averse to the idiosyncratic fabrics of kampungs, the mixed residential and production space, the inwardly oriented network of spaces, and heterotopic social clusterings. These all need to be 'upgraded' following modern planning standards, such as rationalisation of street pattern, formal division of lands, individual structure of ownership and clear designation of land function. Unfortunately everything that supposedly makes kampungs better and efficiently managed, contrast with what a kampung exactly is.

KIP turns out to be a success and failure story at the same time. It is a success in the sense that it gradually improves the image of Jakarta as metropolitan, and that kampung dwellers have better access to urban services, such as sewerage systems, clean water, electricity, etc. Yet, it is a failure as gentrification seems to occur following the upgrading - either due to direct or indirect factors. It has led, for example, to (re)selling of lands while dwellers build kampungs anew in less-controlled areas. Areas on the edge of the city, for example, become targeted, as the changing of land ownership happens without formal registration. The out-migration also happens due to the fact that dwellers find new abundant sources of income by taking up informal jobs for the new 'boomtown' population working in the city and living in the suburban real estates. Their new sources of income range, for instance, from producing and selling daily consumption goods (from food products to services like the repairing industry), starting poultry farms, or taking informal domestic jobs such as drivers, gardeners or housekeepers, etc. In regards to KIP, this means a never-ending battle as the city expands rapidly, with new real-estates unstopably being built and quickly surrounded by new kampungs.



Figure 1: Typical street-level situation in Kampung (left) compared to resettlement housing in *Rumah-sederhana* (middle) or *Rumah-susun* (right)

Pragmatically, gentrification is presumably led by the fact that the land price increases in upgraded kampungs, drastically and within a very short time. Dwellers quickly spot a financial profit which increases the chance of out-migration and the growth of kampungs in other areas, which thus worsens the issue. This calls for a more effective control of land, especially on the fringes.

This paper follows, however, a different trail of argument. We suggest another push-factor which critically has led to out-migration. We argue that the out-migration is led by the fact that the upgrading and rearrangement of kampung structure (for example, the simplification of land plots) has compromised the social and economic ties among dwellers; and between dwellers and their living/working environment. In the following lines (briefly) and more comprehensively in section 4 of this we will try to sustain this argument. Studies in social-anthropology, for instance, show that

kampungs' territoriality grows according to the system of kinship, which happens not only in traditional/old kampungs. As demonstrated by Saifuddin, when a new house is being constructed in a kampung, the kinship system and social relation among the dwellers and the owner help determine the orientation, and regulate the access and position of the house relative to the kampung's communal facilities, such as the public-well [9]. It is demonstrated later in this paper that the spatial structure of a kampung is enmeshed not only by the system of kinship but also by the system of economy.

It is important to understand these underlying processes when considering intervention strategies. This paper shows and sustains the argument that kampungs effectively function to support dwellers' everyday life, and that it is through this space that dwellers' socio-economic processes are constituted. It seems that the upgrading plan, as far as KIP is concerned, insufficiently takes these factors into account and overlooks the richness of socio-economic layering in kampungs. When any 'upgrading' plans unwisely alter the initial condition, such systems are put in peril and dwellers' everyday socio-economic performance is in some ways compromised. This point is elaborated further using a case study in section 4 of this paper.

To conclude, it is regretful that although the second model (in contrast to the first) considers kampungs and urbanisation as integral processes, in practice it still falls back into the traditional vocabulary of planning and is still entrapped in the traditional dichotomy between city/urban and kampung/rural societies and economies. This stubbornness appears in the way it suggests kampungs as a settlement form coming from the past/rural (or implicitly less desirable) and contrasts them to the metropolitan. This kind of model ends up tragically in a modernistic/deterministic planning approach that out-proportionally focuses on precipitating a transformation process from kampung housing or kampung societies/economies to fit certain images of a 'modern metropolitan' through formalisation and modernisation, at any cost.

3 The kampung in the metropolitan city: a conceptual model

This paper proposes a conceptual model, an alternative thinking, to (re)address the kampung issue. To build such a model some speculation is needed regarding the underlying structure of the kampung. It also needs to put aside every intention to design an instrument for upgrading, transformation or empowerment of a kampung in terms of physical/infrastructural and dwellers' socio/economic milieus, or even to question the urgency of such intervention. This is, however, not a passive approach. Instead it is believed that if it is practical to implement this very conceptual model, its foundation needs to rest upon social justice; it needs to justify the contribution of kampung economies and societies in the making of metropolitans and to give this justice back to kampungs and its dwellers instead of demanding them to fit certain images or development frameworks.

As an underlying concept, we propose to see kampung not as a problem of poverty or poor settlement. Instead, the model is based on the idea of urban social ecology. This ecology pays attention to the interaction between different levels of socio-economic processes, ranging from formal to informal economies; and the scale of global-metropolitan with local-kampung. More than a physical form of settlement, kampung has its own socio-economic cycle of processes which is related to the metropolitan economy – not an independent or isolated cycle. In the case of Jakarta as a metropolis with thousands of kampungs, the city is a site generating productive conditions which can be exploited by different scales of socio-economic activities and actors, ranging from 'sturdy' global/metropolitan to 'petty' informal kampung economies.

The concern here is about the way these different scales of economies symbiotically function within a single space-time construction of the city rather than suggesting that a conflict will arise due to the differences in scale and nature of these activities. In this view, a kampung's petty economies form an inseparable part of Jakarta's globalising and metropolitanising economy. In return, the competitiveness of Jakarta Metropolitan Region as an 'emerging global city' is rendered not only through the competitiveness of its multinational companies, financial systems, political administration, mega factories and shopping malls but also through its 'poorest' kampungs. Understanding this symbiotic interaction is fundamental before designing planning policies or urban intervention tools.

Although our model affirms the position taken by the second model (that kampung development is inherent in the urbanisation process, as far as Jakarta is concerned) it pushes it to the limit and presents critical differences in the approach. Firstly, we start by emphasising the productive role of the kampung; not the fact that the kampung has been produced through a certain set of societies, culture and economies. Instead, the model's main emphasis is to view kampungs as being productive; not so much as being produced by past conditions. We start neither by seeing kampungs as a form of settlement belonging to rural societies (as the first model did); nor as one emerging from early phase urbanisation and undergoing transformation into the metropolitan system (as other models did). Our concern is rather about the way kampungs actively support dwellers' everyday processes; and even the socio-economic processes performed within a larger scale than the local kampung.

Secondly, our model proposes to cast kampungs of Jakarta in the contemporary and metropolitan settings, instead of suggesting any potential ruptures between kampung and metropolitan economies/societies, or seeing them as two different states of being (as the second model did). Our model refuses to view the metropolitan and kampung economies as two different or predefined systems (in terms of physical, society and economy). We see kampungs as an inseparable part of metropolitanising Jakarta. What we seek to understand is the way kampungs are metropolitanising themselves. The theoretical grounding of our model lies in the notion of the rural-urban continuum replacing the traditional dichotomy between kampung/rural and urban/metropolitan societies, which is more sustainable since the substantial differences between them seems to be more and more blurred today. The next section puts forward some demonstrations and arguments to support the conceptual model proposed here.

4 Kampung and metropolitan (trans)formation

The demonstration presented here tries to show the relation between kampung and the city (as part in a whole) through urban form analysis, particularly in the way that the network of kampung space, apparently serving at the level of local community, enmeshes into the network serving at the metropolitan/greater scale; including their symbiotic interaction. This paper agrees with the general premise in the second model that Jakarta is constructed by agglomeration of kampung clusters. What this paper tries to add to this model is to understand the process by which different parts (kampung and non-kampung) become knitted together.

4.1 The layered urban networks

Jakarta's rapid urban development occurred particularly towards the late 1960s, mainly due to its role as administrative and trading centre. The oil boom and flow of investment from foreign countries further boosted development since the late 1970s. Jakarta quickly became renowned as an emerging global city in Southeast Asia [10] and has experienced dramatic physical transformation since then. The massive urbanisation is observable not only by considering the growth of the property industry or

the number of new cities constructed in the surroundings of Jakarta, but also in the extending and intensifying of infrastructural network and land uses. The extended infrastructure proliferated further developments in Jakarta's 'new frontiers'. The densely built area, that in the 1960s covered 10-15 km (the inner city), has grown into an area of 70 by 70 km today. It encompasses Jakarta and six surrounding towns (Jabodetabek) which form an unintermittent urban landscape and intense mix of functions.

The metropolitanising process can be seen in the growth of infrastructure constructed to facilitate larger scale movements of goods and people. In the case of Jakarta, this new large-scale movement network (motorways, flyovers and tunnels and a series of ring-roads) becomes layered over the existing urban network. This network critically shrinks the distance between physically detached locations and practically creates a more intelligible form of city as it becomes more geographically spread. As the volume of larger scale movement (metropolitan or regional) increases rapidly and becomes a daily necessity due to suburbanization and sprawls, the first-level supergrid gradually becomes the new urban front. The land along this network becomes appropriated for higher-level economic activities serving at the metropolitan or bigger-than-regional scale (Figure 3). The dots in the map represent, for example, top office locations, important governmental offices, luxurious shopping malls, etc.

The pre-existing urban network of the city (which emerges from the 'broken-up' connecting pathways among adjacent kampungs (section 2.2.1), functions on the other hand to convey smaller-scale movement (intracity/inter-neighbourhoods). Accordingly, the space becomes appropriated to urban programmes serving at the level that is more closely related to the everyday life of ordinary dwellers; to house social and economic activities that are more accessible to the majority of the city's inhabitants. This space is where street markets, hawkers, shops/stalls selling low-medium priced foods or other merchandises are found. For the purpose of this paper we called the pre-existing network *the second-level supergrid* and the new layer network serving larger scale movement, *the first-level supergrid* [11]. This layered structure of urban networks is illustrated in Figure 2, in which these three layers (including the local network) are superimposed.

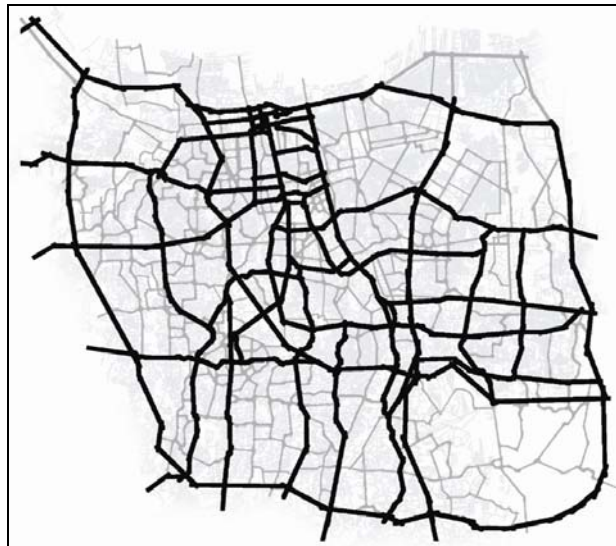


Figure 2: The first-layer of supergrid network (black), the second-layer supergrid network (dark grey) and the local network (light grey)

Moving down again in scale, we arrive at the local network. The kampung space, for example, is accessible from the second-level of supergrid through narrow and winding alleys. These spaces remain largely concealed from the public (non-locals) and they are used more for local/domestic scale functions. Regarding this layering process, kampung space is local and its configuration of streets is likely unintelligible for non-locals. It is unlikely that kampung space will be entered by non-locals. Kampung space is also used for domestic functions, such as chatting, baby sitting or cooking carried out by dwellers in the outdoor space. As discussed in section 6, this is considered as part of normal kampung habits and social conduct.

This layering of networks shows that, in the case of Jakarta, the process of 'being urban' is constructed through layered networks; remaking what was once conceived as 'haphazard' growth into an 'integral metropolitan', in which varying degrees of intensities and mixture of urban programmes are presented. Firstly, this becomes concrete in the emergence of the highest-scaled network serving the metropolitan or greater region. The space along this highest-scaled network potentially affords top-level economic functions of the city and is used for large developments and major functions. At the same time, street-level activities and other socio-economic processes which matter greatly to the majority of the city's inhabitants must be considered, and hence, a new layer of network is recognised, intersticing the first layer network of the city. This second network takes on the role of supporting inhabitants' routine daily activities. The sustenance of this second-level supergrid network is similar to the European cities, in which the streets support street-edge vitality and are enriched by interactions of people from different groups. Going down to the local scale, compartmentalisation and inward orientation remain strongly present in kampungs.



Figure 3: The distribution of metropolitan/large functions in Jakarta.

4.2 Spatial pattern of kampungs and dwellers' daily activities

Our previous study depicted three types of kampung settlements in Jakarta. The typology is based on the spatial structure and the specific way each kampung connects to the larger city. The surveyed kampungs can be grouped into three types, which affirms the study done by Krausse [12] that identified three types of kampung (the inner-city, peripheral, and woodland kampung) based on the location of kampung clusters relative to the urban centre. Similar to Krausse, our study demonstrates a

strong correlation between this typology and the socio-economic activity of kampung dwellers, although the focus and procedure taken is quite different.

While Krausse underlined the relation between the locations of kampung agglomeration to dwellers' occupancy/main source of incomes, our study emphasises the way in which a kampung's spatial structures/patterns (measured using space-syntax techniques), relate to dwellers' socio-economic life. We analyse three samples from each group of kampung based on Krausse to see if there is a relationship between dwellers' socio-economic processes and the spatial configuration in their kampungs, and the specific way these kampungs connect to the larger city. In most cases, the connection between kampung and the city is 'mediated' by the network of *second-level supergrid* as direct connection between kampung, while the *first-level supergrid* is mostly absent or blocked by large urban functions located along the first-level supergrid network.

The results clearly demonstrate that each group of kampung shows some variations in spatial configuration ranging from regular grid pattern (inner-city kampung), to labyrinth-like pattern (woodland kampung), to mixed pattern (peripheral kampung). Their patterns are shown in Figure 4. Inner-city kampungs generally also tend to have a high number of street intersections between kampung and *second-level supergrid* network, with this number decreasing in the case of peripheral and woodland kampungs. In woodland kampungs, for example, the kampung has a labyrinthine structure which causes it to be seldom entered by non-dwellers, and a more limited number of accesses from the second level street network (i.e. less intersections).



Figure 4: Kampung's pattern of growth (during the time span of 20 years) in an inner-city kampung (left), peripheral kampung (middle) and woodland kampung (right).

This study demonstrates that despite the absence of preconceived planning, kampung space is intelligibly constructed. Kampung construction is seemingly governed by a certain set of tacit-rules as the differences in spatial patterns among them highly corresponds to the occupation types of kampung dwellers. An inner-city kampung, for example, whose dwellers are mostly involved in hawking related activities, has a simple grid pattern and dense intersections between the kampung and the second-level supergrid. A major street, where abundant potential customers are found helps to sustain dweller's economic function. Such configuration of streets, for example, tends to reinforce stronger probabilistic interfaces involving exchange relationships between hawkers (kampung dwellers) and two different potential customer groups, the locals (buyers coming from the kampung itself or adjacent kampungs) and the non-locals (any passer-bys moving along the street). Similar reasoning is also evident in the case of peripheral and woodland kampungs. The labyrinthine structure of woodland kampungs, for example, is tacitly engineered to impede non-locals entering the gardens or workshops where merchandise is produced or being prepared. Their products, such as fruits, vegetables or handcrafts, need to be marketed somewhere else, and are less ordinary than what is being produced and sold in the inner-city kampung (size of market is also considerably different).

In conclusion, it suggests that even though the kampung itself is not pre-conceptually designed to accommodate dwellers' economic activity, the space is still constructed to support dwellers' everyday socio-economic activities through regulating the access and the desired level of interaction between dwellers and strangers. The high number of street intersections between kampungs and the *second-level supergrid* in the case of the inner city kampung, for example, suggests high spatial permeability, important for dwellers' street-level businesses (non-locals moving on supergrid space can easily spot merchandises sold in a kampung). In return, this spatial mechanism is also productive for the city as it makes streets naturally more pleasant for strolling and daily shopping, and the network functions as a transition space between the metropolitan and local (kampung) scale [11]. It is no wonder that the *second-level supergrid* space is a rich mix of people. Also, as far as Jakarta is concerned, these streets are usually the most vibrant spaces in the city, where a wide range of functions and services are easily found day and night (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Street-edge vitality in the second-level supergrid and the heterotopic space
Location (Around Kayu Manis, an inner-city kampung) (photograph by the author)

4.3 Kampung sociality and settlement form

How does the construction of a kampung differ from other forms of settlements? The word 'magersari' is introduced here to explore this issue. The word, from 'mager' and 'sari', means literally 'framing the essence'. The word, however, carries different levels of meaning. At the level of physical formation of settlements, in Java, *magersari* is translated in the formation of a settlement in which the residence of the local chieftain is encircled by followers and civilians. The spatial construction of the kampung does not begin with a geometrical drawing laying out the street pattern (compared to a formal housing development, in which street pattern and allocation of units come first). *Magersari* is based on the distribution of territoriality from the centre of power to the edges. A kampung is similarly a compound, or a collection of compounds, in which streets function merely to connect their centres. The system of kinship and social relationship affects the distribution and position of houses relative to each other and the internal layout of each house [9].

At the abstract level *magersari* indicates a settlement in which 'warmth' or 'friendliness' is felt. In the Javanese culture, as noted by Guinness [2], everybody has the right and the obligation to secure a social bond. This is apparent in the daily life as social gathering is usually regarded as a primary need in a kampung. Such social involvement is crucial for dwellers' survival in Jakarta since the admittance to socio-economic networks is only possible through personal acquaintanceship. Such acquaintanceship is usually cemented through active social engagement at daily practice. At this level, social conducts and a system of kinship are significant and extend beyond family to recognise certain relationships between families or even non-families living in the same kampung. It is customary for instance to welcome a new family by making a social visit and to render any assistance that may be needed, or even provide shelter within their households (*pondokan*). Similar concern or involvement,

in the spirit of mutual help (*gotong-royong*) manifests itself when someone in the neighbourhood is ill or when material assistance is rendered to help a family that is not very well off.

In the socio-economic dimension, *magersari* illustrates the process of 'being urban'. For migrants coming from the rural *kampung*, it is life par excellence. It is a receptacle for their transformation into the urban, which no other place in the city could offer them. It is a container of urbanization which allows most traditions of different ethnic groups to survive and to transform themselves into the urban. This is constituted, for example, through the system of *pondokan*, which is more than an informal rent of rooms. In *pondokan*, rooms are often provided for free, in exchange for service/help in the households or being an apprentice in the business owned by *pondokan's* landlord. This all becomes similarly an extended family to the migrant, which is critical to his survival in the city as well as to gain access to informal jobs, learning new skills and loans (either on goods or money). The *kampung* is the place reserved for such processes (being urbanised). It is a heterotopia of crisis [13]. It is also heterotopic, in the sense that *kampung* dwellers deal with the larger city as an outside world [14] due to the fact that the simultaneous presence of enclosedness and radical openness makes *kampung*s simultaneously penetrable and impenetrable [15].

4.4 Kampung economies and metropolitan economies

It is often argued that the competitiveness of the formal economy in global cities such as Jakarta, depends on a constant supply of cheaply priced goods and services provided by the informal chain of productions, and an immense pool of cheap labours; and that it is a myth that increasing *kampung* inhabitants' participation in formal employment will lead to a decrease in the urban informal economy and social welfare [10,16].

The relevant question is: what is the role of the *kampung* with regard to this process? If it is agreed that the production of space is accomplished through everyday actions, interactions and experiences – a lived space where everyday activities are performed– then being in the *kampung* means being integral with and embedded in the way *kampung* community lives; or being 'situated' in the social and cultural domain one becomes part of [14]. For the *kampung* dwellers –including new migrants coming regularly from rural areas – *kampung* is an active substance through which everyday processes are being induced into the sociality, socio-economic practices and cultural values, of being urbanised.

What we propose here is that the survival of *kampung* dwellers in the city depends largely on the extensive social network they impose, maintain and constitute in intimate relationship with the physical construction of the *kampung*; the form. What is proposed here is to consider the *kampung's* spatial structure as the means to enable a certain form of interaction and social exposure to happen, inside and outside that particular *kampung* community, and to elevate this interaction beyond mere virtual contact to actual involvement in everyday economic activities entailing mental and social dimensions.

It is commonly believed that *kampung* dwellers are involved in the lowest scale of the urban economy and that they are among the poorest in the urban population, but is this true? When Jakarta was hit by an economic crisis between January 1997 to September 1998, for example, the food prices increased by 120 percent. The crisis, as the World Bank has reported, seems to fall more heavily on the urban poor than rural residents (statistics show that real spending on food is reduced by 28% in the urban households compared to 8% in the rural households). In this report the word 'urban poor' is used interchangeably with *kampung* dwellers [17].

The above data is presumably true, but a study by Jellinek provides some criticism by investigating the impacts of crisis in kampung Kemayoran (an inner city kampung in Jakarta that luckily survived the upgrading project), and a non-kampung housing estate (low/middle-class dwellers) in Depok, a Jakarta suburb [18]. She basically asked 'who are the poor' when economic hardship occurs. The results of her study convincingly demonstrated that the crisis hit hardest not for people living in the kampung, but in the 'boomtown' where people had fled to a new life after being pushed out from a kampung. The 'boomtown' communities, which were once upward mobile lower-middle classes in the city, as she said, become the newly poor. It is in this non-kampung community that Jellinek observes how, during the hardship, the occupations that dwellers once hated become the source of survival. As she said, "...consumerism, middle class aspirations and single income provided by the husband has been replaced with out-of-work fathers, houses empty of appliances and consumables, women without luxuries or even necessities...Women who were once housewives are turning to household trade, massage or domestic service" [18].

In contrast to the 'boomtown' communities, she observed that the basic needs can still be met in different kampung neighbourhood through relatives, neighbours and friends that help them to overcome the hardship. Many of them even managed not only to feed their own households but also to send money back to their relatives in the village. Social networks, guilds and extended family relationships, which are characteristic in kampung community, are proven effective survival mechanisms. They also increase the chance of getting informal jobs or engaging in hawking. Informal economy, as noticed by Firman [19] is little affected by the crisis and significantly contributes to, however meagre, a steady stream of income and supply of inexpensive consumption-goods/services.

The crisis has even encouraged circular migration: earning in the city, where money is greatest, and spending in the village, where it goes furthest. Despite overwhelming difficulties and rocketing living costs at that time, Jakarta is still the hub of economic activity; the site of opportunities to improve one's lot [14].

To round off the discussion, this paper goes back to the issue of upgrading and its relationship to the everyday life of kampung dwellers. With regards to this, it is suggested that the contrast between the initial structure of kampung and resettlement housing is in the intimate relationship between physical configuration (including its specific relation to the urban networks) and dwellers' socio-economic life. The resettlement housing seems to provide less support to dwellers' everyday socio-economic activities compared to their initial kampung. The failure is also due to oversimplification of the complex socio-economic layering that constructs the kampung space. The contrasts lie thus not so much on the kampung itself as physical object but in the form and its socio-economic foundations. In the case of an upgraded kampung, for example, the interweaving between local kampung network and urban infrastructure (i.e. to the supergrid) becomes in many cases victimized by modern traffic planning or other standards of modern planning.

5 A challenge for a redesign strategy in kampungs of Jakarta

It is argued that Jakarta has struggled in the process of becoming metropolitan –to metropolitanise, which applies to both the kampung and non-kampung forms of developments; and of participating in the metropolitan economy, which also applies to both formal and informal economies. The formal/metropolitan and informal/kampung economy are intertwined together in system of ecology.

Jakarta is in fact not less and not more than a '*perkampungan besar*' –a huge assemblage of kampungs within a metropolitanising city, not a false global image and pressure over Jakarta as a 'Global City'.

What we see in Jakarta is that when the space is occupied by large economic functions and globalised commerce, a new layer of everyday level businesses starts to emerge. As it is argued before, these two scales of economic activities, the metropolitan and the everyday scale, coexist in system of ecology in which the city functions as an economically and socially productive site offering abundant potential for economic exploitation by local communities. The continuing migration to Jakarta, for example, is in itself testimony to the fact that despite its overwhelming problems, Jakarta offers a practical advantage in terms of this local everyday economy [14].

It would be misleading to think a kampung as just a settlement for an urban population imprisoned by poverty. The bottom line is that kampungs have been the locale of appropriation for urbanisation processes, social changes and economic mobility for those who used to be poor and are trying to improve their life through urbanisation. Kampung communities manage to urbanise themselves by earning a living in the urban environment, in which their labour goes beyond the tradition they learned from generations in the village, and proves to be a more effective way of improving their life rather than through 'formalisation' or 'kampung upgrading'.

It would also be misleading to view the kampung as a condemnation of the poor. These communities make sense in the way they survive, engage into urban life and self-improve their quality of life. The study focusing on genesis and transformation of an urban kampung into a metropolitan city by Harjoko [20], for example, shows that the demographic characteristics of an inner-city kampung are generally a calculus of mixed communities, i.e. people coming from different groups, social groups and ethnicities, ranging from formal to informal employments, education and income levels; kampung community is immersed in the urban. In the eye of developers and planners this will further question the fate of kampungs in Jakarta to help poor rural migrants to urbanise themselves.

The function of kampung is, again, vital. Being situated in a city exposes them to urban life and economy. It is only through the active encounter that social exclusion is repelled and the vicious circle of poverty put to end. Kampungs provide not only cheap accommodation but are an active institution through which rural migrants can be introduced to the urban economy. The challenge for redesign and renewal strategies in the kampungs of Jakarta should then rest upon these ideas rather than by ad-hoc physical upgrading. Without minimising the urgency of physical upgrading and provision of basic services in poor kampungs, there needs to be more adequate understanding of urban social ecology, in which harmony is achieved between the local socio-economic processes of kampungs and the metropolitan and global scales.

Locally sensitive conservative planning is among the possibilities, besides political intervention such as legalisation of land tenure (as put forward by De Soto [21]). These will critically empower dwellers by giving them access to 'capitalization processes'. The social justice to the metropolitanising Jakarta and its thousands of kampungs can only be restored by unlocking the socio-economic capabilities of local inhabitants through empowering the informal local economy, and should not be confined to an image of modernization and formalisation of the whole urban economy. It is rather through acknowledging the mutual co-presence of different circuits of economy, from the metropolitan to the everyday scale. As put forward in Amin & Graham [22], metropolitan buildings should not be a project seeking unity or solidarity across the diverse socio-economic processes of the contemporary city, rather it is centred around democratization and reassertion of the urban collectivity, of the formal metropolitan, and the informal local economy, and as well as the formal and informal settlements.

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