**Kampung kota: locality of places and spaces**

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Jakarta is indeed, at one level, a kampung and at the same time a kota. It is a complex city or city of contrasts: the traditional and the modern, the rich and the poor, the sacred and the worldly, often standing side by side in a bustling metropolis. Jakarta ranges from off-street warungs in kampungs, up to malls at the intersection of main avenues in downtown. They can stay live in kota because localness is one of the significant characteristics of kampungs. They have easy access to everything required for their daily needs; they are close to work and close to adequate public facilities and infrastructure. As well they are close to relatives, family, or friends, which is another reason to stay in the kampungs. The residents hope that, in the future, adequate health, education and social facilities will be provided in kampungs. This paper will explore the significance of kampungs for Jakarta’s urban design through an understanding of how people in kampungs perceive their city. The investigation will be confined to the kampungs in Jakarta itself.

**Keywords:** Kampung, Kota, locality, place, space

**INTRODUCTION**

Physically, there is no doubt that kampungs are in kota and kota in kampungs. In socio-political terms, even though kampungs have been the victims of kota development for a long time, kampungs have a strong bargaining position in a democracy, because 65 percent of Jakarta’s citizens live in them. According to Sihombing (2007), a kampung is simply a traditional, informal spontaneous and diverse settlement in an urban area. Otherwise, kota is a modern, formal, regulated, and planned city. In English kota can be translated urban, city or town.

Jakarta is a big city and, as well, a big kampung (Leaf 1991, p. 1). Leaf makes this point:

…Jakarta is also perkampungan yang besar or the big village, and [this is] a reference to both its physical forms as a multitude of small kampung settlements or villages grown together as well as its social role as a receptor of immigrants from throughout the country.

When considering Jakarta’s urban design, planning and development, urban designers and planners cannot ignore kampungs as they have in the past: it is a two-way street, and kota in the long run cannot develop without recognizing the contribution, strengths and needs of kampungs. Jakarta is kampung and the same time a kota; kampung cannot be separated from kota; they are one. The differences and the sources of prejudice and conflict are as much in perceptions, fears and attitudes as in material relations.

During my research in kampung Kebon Kosong (Kemayoran), I saw on the wall of a warung in kampung Kebon Kosong (Kemayoran) is attached three posters (two neighborhood announcements) and a poster of World Soccer Game to advertise an imported product. Near this warung, there is a small house (little home cinema), usually full of crowds of children, watching imported movies (such as Disneyland and Japanese movie cartoons) and local movies through a VCD player. They also rent these movies to the inhabitants in this kampung. They also rent these movies to the inhabitants in this kampung. The global intersects with the local in seemingly thousands of ways that might match the diversity of spaces and built forms of the kampung. It would provide a benefit for the processes of urban design.
appropriate to or possible for the city. The investigation will be confined to the kampungs in Jakarta itself. The warung\textsuperscript{1} or pasar (traditional market) is the centre of social-economic activities in kampungs. Even the warung kopi (local coffee shop) is an essential place in the kampung, a place for leisure, current information, gossip, and discussing social and political issues. In kampungs can be found pasar kaget (temporary traditional markets) such as morning markets and afternoon markets. This pasar only sells everyday basic needs of people in kampungs, who usually cook their food in the morning before working or in the afternoon after coming home from work (Sihombing, 2007).

METHODOLOGY

I selected a ‘case study’ approach to explore the major problems experienced by kampung dwellers. Yin (1994) defined the case study as: ‘... an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’. He also argued that the case study is a comprehensive research strategy. The case study approach is suitable for social research, including that linked to urban design. By choosing a case study approach, I was able to concentrate on a few chosen case study areas or kampungs and explore deeply the phenomena of people’s lives within the contextual conditions in kampungs themselves.

Lefebvre (1991) discussed how lived experiences can be investigated through ‘lived, conceived, and perceived’ experiences of everyday life. He argued for an understanding of ‘the space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of “inhabitants” and “users”...’ The ‘outer perception’ of kampung life (i.e. from the viewpoint of an outside observer) can be investigated through interviews (including questionnaires), discussions, and direct observation.

The study will then proceed to my own research into people’s experiences of living in kampungs in Jakarta. To choose kampungs for case studies, first of all I classified kampungs in Jakarta (Figure 1) into five groups corresponding to the main problems identified. From the first group, I chose kampung Blok Asin (Tegal Alur) located in West of Jakarta (1). Since 1990 Blok Asin has suffered from flooding as a consequence of new development of industrial and real estate. From the

\textsuperscript{1} Warung is a traditional local shop/kiosk in a kampung, which usually provides the daily needs of people in the kampung. Off-street warungs refers to warungs in kampungs, which usually have no streets or, in other words, these kampungs are accessed by lanes only.
second group, I chose *kampung* Kebon Kosong in East of Jakarta (2), the place where it was planned to build the New City of Kemayan. The New City Kemayan is a huge project for new development in the former Kemayan airport area, which led to the demolition of many *kampungs* in that area. *Kampung* Pejaganal in Central of Jakarta (3) was chosen from the third group, as it is located along a river bank. Finally, Manggarai (4) and Menteng Atas (5) in South of Jakarta were chosen from the fourth group, because I knew these *kampungs* very well as a result of living there for about six years from 1986 to 1992.

Approximately 20 *kampung* dwellers in each of the RT (community),2 around half of the number of households in each chosen RT (community), were identified for interviewing with the help of the society leaders in those *kampungs*. Each of the respondents was interviewed and asked to respond to a questionnaire. The questions asked of the people in the *kampung* related to their lived experiences of everyday life (such as backgrounds and social relationships, public

### RESULT AND DISCUSSION

**Community: Place and Identity**

In Jakarta, community, in terms of socio-cultural relationships among people in *kampungs* can be known as ‘*rukun*’ *tetangga* (the [traditional] ‘harmony’ community), which is also formed in a particular place or territory and by the communal interests of the inhabitants. People in these communities (*rukun* *tetangga*) also recognize each other; and they participate in community activities through the tradition of *gotong royong* (mutual self help).

Community is simply a group of people living together (neighbourhood) united by shared interests or socio-cultural background (interest group). Mayo (considers that community cannot be separated from culture and identity (for example, race, ethnicity, religion, and gender). According to him, the definition of community has two aspects: community related to place (or shared geography) and community related to shared interests. These two meanings distinguish between ‘locality’ or ‘territory’ and ‘a communality of interest’ or ‘interest group’ (Poppel 1995, p. 4; Mayo 2000, p. 39). In other words, place is community of locality and identity is community of interest.

Community is recognized as place or territory (community of locality) and identity or group interests (community of interests). RT (or community) is the lowest organizational institutions, established on the basis of the mutual self-help relationship. Community is locality, and the members of RT can generally recognize each other. In *kampungs*, all of people’s daily needs are accessible or in walking distance for all. Today, the size of a *kampung* is best understood as being somewhere in between community and neighbourhood.

This community is called RT (community). Thus, RT related to place is community of locality, and related to identity is community of interest. As Mayo (2000, p. 39) puts it:

Traditional communities, including working-class communities were presented and valourised as tightly knit, characterized by shared values of solidarity and mutuality, based upon face-to-face communications. Face-to-face communication means that they recognize each other. There is a limit to the size of the community where this can occur. For example, in Jakarta, one community (RT) typically has a population about 250 people or about fifty households. However community of locality, as in *kampungs*, generates uniformity which has the potential of exclusiveness, reinforcing the unity of sameness by marginalizing difference, excluding the other—social class, gender, race, or ethnicity (Whitt and Lack 1994; Mayo 2000). Mayo (2000, pp. 39-40) supports this, referring to Harvey (1989):

Harvey...has argued that different classes construct their sense of territory in different ways. ‘Low income populations, usually lacking the means to overcome and hence command space, find themselves for the most part trapped in space’ (Harvey 1989, p. 265) although they can and do benefit from the mutual aid and self-help which are characteristic means of survival in poor neighbourhoods...traditions of good neighbourliness and reciprocity in social relations characterized the dense interdependence among kin and neighbours in traditional working-class communities, where ‘people helped each other because there was no alternative way of surviving’ (Bulmer 1986, p. 98).

Therefore, community signifies a recognizable group of people who are neighbours or who recognize each other in a limited area or territory; and they have communal interests, which emerge in participation, actions, or initiatives of members to solve their problems and to maximize their strength.

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2 RT is abbreviation of *Rukun Tetangga* (Community in Harmony). RT is the lowest level of mutual self-help organization in *kampungs*. The headmen of these organizations are elected democratically by the people. RT a legitimate part of Jakarta’s municipal structure but, unlike other leaders (*lurah* (head of sub-district), *camat* (head of district), mayors, and governors) the RT heads is unpaid. RTs are spread over all *kampungs* (community and neighbourhood levels) in Jakarta, in both traditional and modern settlements, in *kampungs* and *kota*, in low-rise and multi-storey settlements, and in poor and rich settlements. Officially, where RT exist in a community or neighbourhood, it shows those settlements are legally recognized.
Table 1. The function of open space in kampongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place for playing for children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Place for public meeting</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Place for celebrating or party</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place for local jobs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking area for vehicles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking area for movable kiosk/shops/vendors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A: Kampung Blok Asin, B: Kampung Kebon Kosong, C: Kampung Pejagalan, D: Kampung Menteng Atas, E: Kampung Mangarai
Source: Survey by author

Open Spaces

TABLE 1 shows the answer for my questions of "In your opinion, what is the function of ‘open space’ in this kampung? (Please choose one of the answers in boxes below)" given during my research in kampongs. It gives the views of the respondents on the functions of open space in kampongs. There are many functions of public space, but the most importance is a place for children’s playing. The problem is that the open spaces in kampongs are very poor or inadequate. Children in kampongs play on the streets or even in the lanes around their houses (Figure 4).

Socio-cultural form of kampongs (in Jakarta) refers to a built-environment in relation to everyday life experiences, such as children’s and people’s activities, people’s relationships, traditions, conflicts and problems in kampongs of Jakarta. Dovey (1985) and (Rapoport 1969, pp. 48-49) defined it as ‘sociocultural order’. It is an order of built environments in relation to the particular patterns and rituals of environmental experience and behavior in everyday life. More specifically, in architecture and urban studies, culture is often understood or used as the foundation of the relationship between environment and human behavior.

Kampung Pejagalan is a unique settlement that is still holding to the tradition of gotong royong. According to Kompas (December, 2001) people here live side by side as a ‘big family’ in their ‘friendly’ and tiny settlement. There are ten families living along the river bank. In Pejagalan, the only open space they have is a lane only 50 metres long and 1 to 1.5 metres wide along the riverbank in front of their houses, bordered by the river and the walls of their houses (Figure 2). It is orientated to the river and the main road across the river. It is not a good environment because the river is very polluted, smelly, and often flooded.

In Kampung Blok Asin, as a result of periodic flooding since the beginning of the 1990s, the open space in this kampung has disappeared (Figure 3 and 4) under about 1.5 metres of water. As well, all the ground floors in this area have been regularly flooded. For ten years people in this kampung have suffered from flood, and during this time they have also struggled to get assistance from the many industrial companies surrounding them, from local government (kelurahan, kecamatan, municipality office),
even from the governor’s office (DKI Jakarta), but they always failed. Then they came to ask the NGO UPC\(^3\) to assist them to overcome their problems. UPC used the community empowerment strategy, ‘from people, by people, for people’, to help themselves. UPC trained people how to understand and to solve their problems, and how to operate and maintain the machines to solve their problems, such as pump for flood, generator for electricity. According to Jatiwiryono (2002),\(^4\) an ‘alert system’ is needed to control flooding in Jakarta. For him societies or people who live in kampungs are part of this ‘alert system’. The formal institution, government or NGOs should socialize the system including machines, material, and methods to operate and to maintain this flood alert system.

Because their homes are so small and inadequate, the inhabitants choose to stay outside, on the lanes, during the day. This situation builds a strong connection between the inside and outside of the houses, and a good relationship between neighbours. Thus these small houses and tiny lanes ignore the physical walls between houses and lanes, between one house and another. Much of a kampung resident’s life is lived on the lanes. Kebon Kosong accidentally obtained additional open space from the former households that had been relocated or removed to other places as a result of development of the New City Kemayoran. The empty spaces are used by children for playing and residents for landscaping or gardening (Figure 5). Many young families still live in kampungs and, consequently, many children are found there. Places for playing are very important for children, particularly for kampung residents, where there is generally no adequate provision. Without playing space they are forced to play outside their kampungs, on the streets or roads or in the malls as found in the vicinity of kampung Manggarai.

**Socio-economic**

The most important public facilities are pasars, warungs, puskemas\(^5\) and religious buildings. Pasars have been

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\(^3\) NGO is abbreviation of Non Government Organization. This NGO is named UPC (Urban Poor Consortium).

\(^4\) Jatiwiryono is a staff member of the General Directorate of Water Resources.

\(^5\) Puskesmas is abbreviation of Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat means [Local] Community Health Centre.
very important in Indonesia’s urban development, particularly in Jakarta, because in socio-economic development pasars have provided the nucleus for the development of districts or even cities. In terms of size, we can distinguish six categories of markets including shops: jajanan keling (movable shops or also known as movable warungs), warung, pasar kaget (temporary markets), pasar, mini-markets and supermarkets. I found that pasars and warungs were the most important for the people’s daily needs in kampungs, and the pasar in particular is a centre of socio-economic activities in kampungs.

Pasars and warungs are the places for shopping for their daily, weekly and monthly needs. In general, for daily needs, warungs and pasars have the same function for people. In kampung Pejagalan, Menteng Atas, and Manggarai, warungs (Figure 6 and 7) were the most important for their daily needs, while pasars were the most important for Blok Asin and Kebon Kosong. However, for weekly and monthly needs, most people go shopping to the nearest pasar, rather than to the warungs. Besides going to the pasar for their monthly needs, people in Manggarai go shopping in the supermarket next to this kampung. Warungs, pasars, pasars kaget (temporary markets in the morning or afternoon), and other forms of trade/shopping places are also important for people’s everyday needs in kampungs. Traditional markets in kampungs or their surroundings are usually open only in the morning to serve people’s everyday needs. Pasars kaget (local temporary traditional market) are operated in both the morning and afternoon. Most families in kampungs, who have no microwave ovens, cook twice a day, in the morning before leaving for work and in the afternoon before the husband (or after the wife) returns from work. Warungs are open from early morning to late evening. They sell many kinds of daily needs of people in kampungs: food, drinks, flavours, school materials,
cigarettes, a few kinds of electric and electronic goods, household goods, baby foods and other material, women’s and men’s accessories and so on. Therefore, for their daily needs people do not need to go shopping away from their kampungs.

The warung is not only a centre for socio-economic activities, but it is also important for socio-cultural activities in kampungs. The warungs can be the place for informal meeting of residents, or the place for getting official information (from the upper administrative level of local government), the place for hearing gossip, and the place for other information (such as notices, propaganda, and advertisements). It is quite usual for people to be coming from the warung bringing new information. Thus, the warungs are the agents of information and communication in kampungs.

People also felt pressure from local government through the developer to persuade them to sign a unilateral contract to accept relocation or replacement of their houses by flats. These tensions often result from direct, one-on-one confrontations, using preman-preman or calo, the local mafia or recruiters to intimidate the residents. The worst tensions are when the developer starts to cut infrastructure systems such as drainage, sewerage, rubbish collection, street lighting, etc. The government also cuts the development budget for revitalizing the kampung and public facilities. These tensions were created to make the kampung become worse and poorer so that it could be called kumuh (slum). Then, because it was a kumuh, the government would be justified in demolishing the houses to replace them with flats or to relocate the residents to other places on the outskirts of kota (Sihombing 2001).

**Masjids and Langgars: community centres**

Table 2 shows the local facilities that the respondents

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**Table 2. Respondents’ views on public facilities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Σ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MCK (Public bathing, washing and toilet)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puskesmas (Community Health Centre)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community meeting centre</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools and Kindergarten</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keamanan (Pos keamanan, Hansip, Posko)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation places</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious buildings (masjids, langgars, churches, etc)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasar tradisional (traditional market)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public park, car park, open space, sport ground</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A: Kampung Blok Asin, B: Kampung Kebon Kosong, C: Kampung Pejagalan, D: Kampung Menteng Atas, E: Kampung Mangarai Source: Survey by author

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6 Preman means gangster or local/kampung mafia. Originally, the word was used in Medan (the capital city of the province of North Sumatera), coming from the words ‘free-man’. Calo is a recruiter for negotiating with people to sell their land to the developer.
thought were the most important in their kampung (respondents could choose more than one answer).

The most frequent single response (17 votes) was for the langgar and masjid, but it was concentrated in kampung Menteng Atas only: more than half of the respondents from Menteng Atas chose the masjid and langgar as the most important public facility. This poses a significant question: Why does this not happen in the other kampungs? Religious buildings such as masjid and langgar are important for people’s everyday life. The langgar in a kampung looks like a house, but to distinguish them, some langgars have a small dome on the roof with the shape of a star and a crescent moon on the top, a symbol of Islam; but others look just like an open house. For Moslems, who are the majority of kampung residents in Jakarta, masjid and langgar are important because they pray five times a day as the second of the rukun islam (the five pillars or principles of faith in Islam). They are also important because for Moslems, masjids and langgars can be community centres (the places where they communicate with each other), homes (where they can live), and schools (where they can get knowledge). The masjid and langgar are also important for them, and especially significant is how close they are to their residences. The masjid is not only for praying five times daily, but also a focus for leading a life of chastity, contentment, tolerance, society, and balance. The masjid or mosque is, therefore, not only for the purpose of worship, but also serves as the centre for all social, cultural, political and various other activities. There is no special design or structure for masjids. Any building erected or used for congregational prayers is a masjid.

### Health facilities

Health facilities were also considered very important, with the Puskesmas gaining 16 votes and the MCK gaining 15 (TABLE 2). These facilities were seen as more important in Blok Asin than in other kampungs. As will be described during the Muslim month of Ramadhan; 4) zakat or Islamic tax; and 5) the pilgrimage to Mecca.

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7 Rukun Islam of the five pillars in Islam are: 1) the declaration of faith; 2) obligatory prayers, five times a day; 3) fasting
in the next section, this kampung has suffered from flooding for a long time, leading to unhealthy conditions which no doubt accounts for the strong emphasis on health facilities. The MCK was also important for the people of Pejagalan, because they were not connected to the fresh water distribution system.

Thus we see that the particular locality is the main influence on people’s views of the importance of public facilities in their kampungs. The kampung inhabitants go to the nearest Puskesmas or to a general practitioner close to their kampungs when they are sick and need medical aid. However, since the economic crisis of 1997, the cost of medical checkups and medicine has increased sharply because most medicine components and instruments are imported. Thus, most respondents want the Jakarta government to support or subsidize the Puskesmas. When there is insufficient water, or it is of poor quality, diseases become a serious problem for Blok Asin, Kebon Kosong and Pejagalan. For those places, water is expensive because it has to be bought per barrel.

Infrastructure

Table 3 gives the respondents views on the importance of various forms of infrastructure. Respondents were permitted to name more than one type of infrastructure as very important. The forms of infrastructure mentioned most frequently were street lighting (16), water supply (16), drainage (16) and garbage collection (15). The form of infrastructure they felt to be most important depended again on the particular problems they faced. In Menteng Atas and Manggarai people chose street lights as the most important, to keep them safe on the streets when one kampung was fighting with another. Blok Asin needs a better water supply and rubbish collection, because floods have damaged the kampung environment over the past ten years. Kebon Kosong needs better drainage after the system was damaged during the development of the New City of Kemayoran. Pejagalan considers a fresh water supply system to be most important because they have none. All kampungs agreed that no improvement had been made to either public facilities or infrastructure over the past five years. The worst services were garbage collections, including its distribution system (39), and drainage (23). Besides the destruction of forests in hills or mountains, as frequently reported in the press, these data show that the other reasons why Jakarta has been flooded annually related to poor services of infrastructure, particularly rubbish collection and the drainage system. According to Kompas [8], at least 78 areas in DKI Jakarta and its surrounding are identified as flood areas. The water levels of floods are various, from 30 cm up to 250 cm; and the durations of flood are also various from three hours up to one week.

CONCLUSION

Although the head of RT or RW and its organizations are the representatives of government in kampungs (and perceived thus by the inhabitants), they are also society leaders whom the people consider to be acceptable and trustworthy. It is effective in uniting people in the community to overcome their problems and to help each other in a spirit of familiation. Even though they are often under pressure from immense problems (floods, demolitions, and unregulated settlements) or are fighting each other, they still want to live there. Their neighbors are their family. Their community is their kampung. Kampungs cannot be separated from the local informal sector. Retail buildings (pasars, warungs), religious buildings (masjids or langgars) and community health centres (puskesmas) are the most important facilities for the everyday life of people in kampungs. They need retail shops for buying and selling daily needs, spiritual places for praying, and medical places for attending to their illnesses. Most children walk to get their school; and most daily needs are provided in warungs in the kampungs. Localness is one of the significant characteristics of kampungs. Most children walk to get their school; and most daily needs are provided in warungs in the kampungs. The residents hope that, in the future, adequate health, education and social facilities will be provided in kampungs.

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Kompas [9], 27 November 2002.

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