PENGGUSURAN **OR EVICTION IN JAKARTA:**

Solution Lacking Resolution for Urban *Kampung*

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PENGGUSURAN OR EVICTION IN JAKARTA: [1]

Solution Lacking Resolution for Urban *Kampung*

Abstract

This paper will discuss an issue of planning practices in Indonesia and its implication on generating a just, impartial living space in urban areas in Indonesia, especially for the poor in Jakarta. The research examines continuing eviction of kampung squatter settlements in Jakarta while appropriate provision for them is lacking. It investigates kampung as part of a sustainable urban life-cycle space of a diverse, conflicting aspirations and activities of the communities; it focuses on planning practices and political decisions over the existence of urban kampung. Findings have shown that the governance system and its associated rational planning approach and mechanism have predisposed toward the few and denying the reality of a massive urban poverty, which manifests itself - Jakarta as the Big Village or 'perkampungan besar'..

Introduction

"The British have exploited India through its cities, the latter had exploited the villages. The blood of the villages is the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built."[2]

(Gandhi)

A city, in developing countries, has become alien to local value, and it has been a part of global network and the mechanical elements of simply an economic value. In this mode, a locality operates to channel consumption from which "consumption is an active mode of relations (not only to objects, but to the collectivity and to the world), a systematic mode of activity and a global response on which our whole cultural system is founded."[3]

The term *kampung* in this paper will refer especially to a type of urban settlement in Indonesia. It initially refers to a group of settlement in the village or rural areas in Indonesia. It is characterized primarily by its physical appearance that is constituted of simple raw building materials, such as wood, bamboo, and coconut leaves. While *kampung* is engulfed into urban settings it steadily grows on its own courses, unplanned. Its growth has been unbearable and leaves no space except for houses; it lacks space for i) basic urban infrastructures and services; ii) public facilities, especially open space necessary for people's activity of labor – for both human physical and psychological development, iii) human activity of work –

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[2] Harrison, P., *Inside the Third World,* Penguin Books, 1979, p. 137.

[3] Poster, M. (ed.), *Jean Baudrillard, Selected writings,* Polity Press, 2001, p. 24.

a space for production, and for market place where people exchange their products. In such condition, a house extends more than its primary function (family dwelling). Over-densification of *kampung* has further led to a shortage of adequate urban space of living for the poor rural migrants. Squatting has become the only alternative. This deficiency is worsened by an increasing demand for new urban functions and a gradually converting *kampung* into new commercial type of urban development, for example, urban commercial super-block, such as Kemayoran Trade Center (about 450 hectares and evicted population of about 30.000 *kampung* people) and the Kuningan Triangle, or *Segitiga* Kuningan (700 hectares), is an area designated for prestigious place such as embassies, apartments, hotels (one of which is the Marriot Hotel Complex which was bombed by terrorists on August 6th, 2003). The latter covers an area of about 700 hectares; there is no available recorded data on the numbers of evicted kampung households.

Political decision over a complex urban living space, such as in Indonesia – an archipelago nation - is more than crucial. Coastal urbanism Physical planning and design will end in spatial allocation for different function and uses in an urban area. Promoting desired activities and their spatial allocation while at the same time eliminating 'undesired' or 'problematic' others but essential to the majority of the population will simply multiply the complexity of the problems. Planning practice is closely related to governance system both in the central and local governments.

Life-cycle Space in *Kampung,* Jakarta

This is a borrowed idea derived from Erikson's[4] Life-cycle in the discipline of psychology. The idea of life-cycle associated in the discussion of living space refers to the course of human developmental lines that cannot be reversed from human inception to decease. It is repetitive process of human life, however, among humans the process is not essentially the same.[5] It encompasses the developmental lines of human psychological life, in generations that reflects the gradual outgrowing of human being in the internal and external world. In the spatial context, human life-cycle takes place in a series of localities. This concerns living space for an inception, infancy up to Old-age and decease. Therefore, it will be re-emphasized that environmental settings are a crucial element for an equal right of human development suitable for every citizen irrespective of their social status; and, consequently, the planning and design that deals with the allocation of human living space is a critical political issue.

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[4] See Erikson, E.H., *The Life Cycle Completed,* W.W. Norton & Company, 1997.
[5] For a meditation on difference and repetition, see Deleuze, G., *Difference and Repetition,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1994
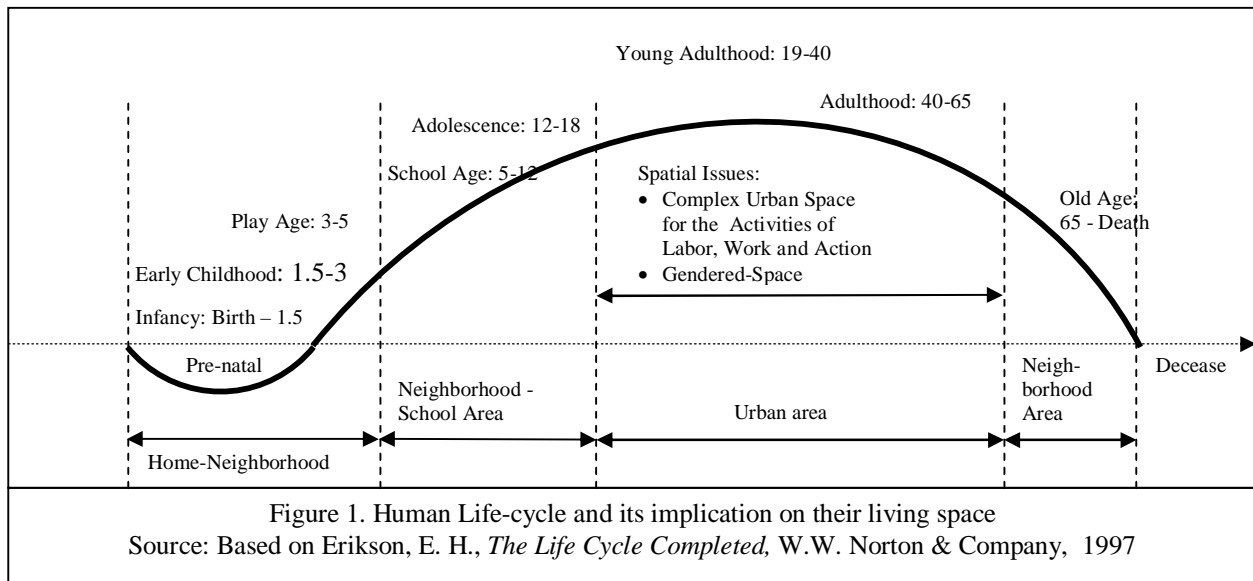
Figure 1. Human Life-cycle and its implication on their living space
Source: Based on Erikson, E. H., *The Life Cycle Completed,* W.W. Norton & Company, 1997

Table 1. Issues of Life-cycle Space		
Development stages	**Psychosocial crises**	**Spatially significant relations**
0. Pre-natal	Psychological development the pre-born child is inherent with psychological stimulus and environment of the mother	Home: the design house that sustains psychological comfort for the mother to minimize stress
1. Infancy	Basic trust versus Basic mistrust	Maternal person distance: space for private development of the child in the vicinity of the mother, in the house
2. Early childhood	Autonomy versus shame, doubt	Parental persons' distance: space for healthy relations to the child's parent in the house
3. Play age	Initiative versus guilt	Basic family distance: space for a suitable relations and recreation with the family in the neighborhood
4. School age	Industry versus inferiority	Neighborhood – school spatial distance: at this age the child has new horizon of relations, namely friends at school
5. Adolescence	Identity versus identity confusion	Peer groups and Out-groups; Model of leadership: space fro the puberty
6. Young adulthood	Intimacy versus isolation	Partners in friendship, sex, competition, cooperation: spatial issues for labor (especially love), work (economic activities), and action (politics, affiliation, and, to certain case, gendered space)
7. Adulthood	Generativity versus stagnation	Divided labor and shared household: space for household care, work and action.
8. Old age	Integrity versus despair	'Mankind' or 'My kind': space for strengthening wisdom
Source: Based on Erikson's Chart of Development Stages, Erikson, E. H., *The Life Cycle Completed,* W.W. Norton & Company, 1997, p. 34-35		

According to H. Arendt,[6] human wellbeing is governed by a triadic condition of labor, work and action. They are interrelated. Firstly, human condition of labor refers to the physical as well as psychological well being. In physical terms or metabolism, human needs proper feeding, cleaning, excreting, resting, and exercise. In psychological terms, human needs proper mind exercise (balance exercise between right and left spheres of the brain), such as knowledge, love and passion. These require proper space to develop both human 'energy' and 'power'. In this regard, poor people with poor housing environment aggravate proper development of their labor. They are less educated and live in a poor house and unhealthy environment. The public space is continuously contracted in the densely *kampung*. This space is needed for recreation and exercise (sporting) that helps to develop a healthy body and mind (such as releasing stress). (Fig. 2,3 and 4)

Secondly, human condition of work concerns the worldly things of human life. The work of our hands, as distinguished from the labor of our bodies, fabricates unendless variety of things whose sum total constitutes human artifacts. These things are mostly, but not exclusively, objects for use. They bear the proof or evidence of productivity. They possess a sustainability of existence, such as human settlement and other material production, which may or may not constitute the notion of property or value demanded in an exchange market. *Kampung* is a locality both for residence and production. With such a necessity of residence and production, human condition is further worsened since the place for resting and family life becomes a mix of incompatible activities for well being.

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Thirdly, according to Arendt, action is a primary activity that goes directly between humans without an intermediary of things or matter. It corresponds to the human condition of plurality, that is, specifically the condition of all political life. As a consequence, this condition permits or enables individuals or groups to have authority, control, and domination over others. Under the condition of plurality, humans take various forms and degrees of social integration. Poor and less educated migrants living in the urban

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[6] Arendt, H., *The Human Condition,* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1958. Especially Chapter I.

kampung suffer most from political rights, since they tend to live in a confined community of the same origins. As L. Jellinek[7] writes in *The Wheel of Fortune,* "there was no political or social organization within the community which might have enabled its inhabitants to stand together to resist this onslaught [eviction]." Within current paternalistic political elites in Indonesia, even when the poor are a member or actively engaged in a political party, this party is fighting its own political gain rather than striving for means and modes for alleviating the burgeoning poverty in the country. This triadic element of human condition, which concerns human labor 'power', skills, and political rights, may tacitly justify the cycle of poverty of the poor within which the poor are also deprived from an equitable urban living space. *Kampung* is the only locale that the poor migrants may urbanize themselves.

While the poor manage to urbanize themselves, their labor is limited to the tradition they learn from generations in the village, the only opportunity to earn a living in the urban environment is that from the available 'work' to engage in an 'illegal' business of *kakilima* or street-vendors, in the informal sector. They do not need any legal formalities. To access a space for this type of business is not unproblematic. They chase customers right on the strategic site – public places – whether they are mobile or staying in a fixed location. When they risk entering an 'illegal' access to public space they have to deal firstly, with *preman*'s leader (a leader of bad boys) who has control over certain areas to secure location for trading. It is a patron-client relationship between *preman* and traders; and, secondly, with the corrupt local government officials who are also poor. They collect illegal levies to traders to occupy a public space, such as a pedestrian pavement. However, such a guarantee for a secure place would be *null and void* if there is an unexpected government policy to 'clean-up' areas from illegal petty trading; these people are powerless. This is a picture of a convoluted problem of the poor living in the city; being the poor is not enough and they must bear a further hardship to become an easy target for blackmail by the *preman* and corrupt government officials.

Kampung is unique locality and life *par excellence*. It is a receptacle for a rural migrants' transformation into urban of which no other place in the city could instead accommodate them. It is a container of urbanization in which it allows most traditions of different ethnic groups to survive and transform into urban life. Demographic characteristics of *kampung,* excluding the squatter type, are calculus of mixed communities (Table 1). They consist of those employed in the formal sector, such as government, army and corporate business, and the great majority of the poor communities engaging in the various types of informal sector, such as trading, food production and transport. It would be misleading if *kampung* was conceived as just an urban settlement of the poor, as what most the elites do. The bottom line is that

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[7] Jellinek, L., *The Wheel of Fortune. The History of a Poor Community of Jakarta,* Sydney, London Wellington, Boston: Allen and Unwin, in association with Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1991.

kampung has been a suitable and appropriate locale for a social change and mobility of those who used to be poor to become urbanized; and, *kampung* life inspires art, music and television programs in Indonesia such as Serial TV films, *Lenong Betawi, Ludruk, Dang-dut* beats and music.
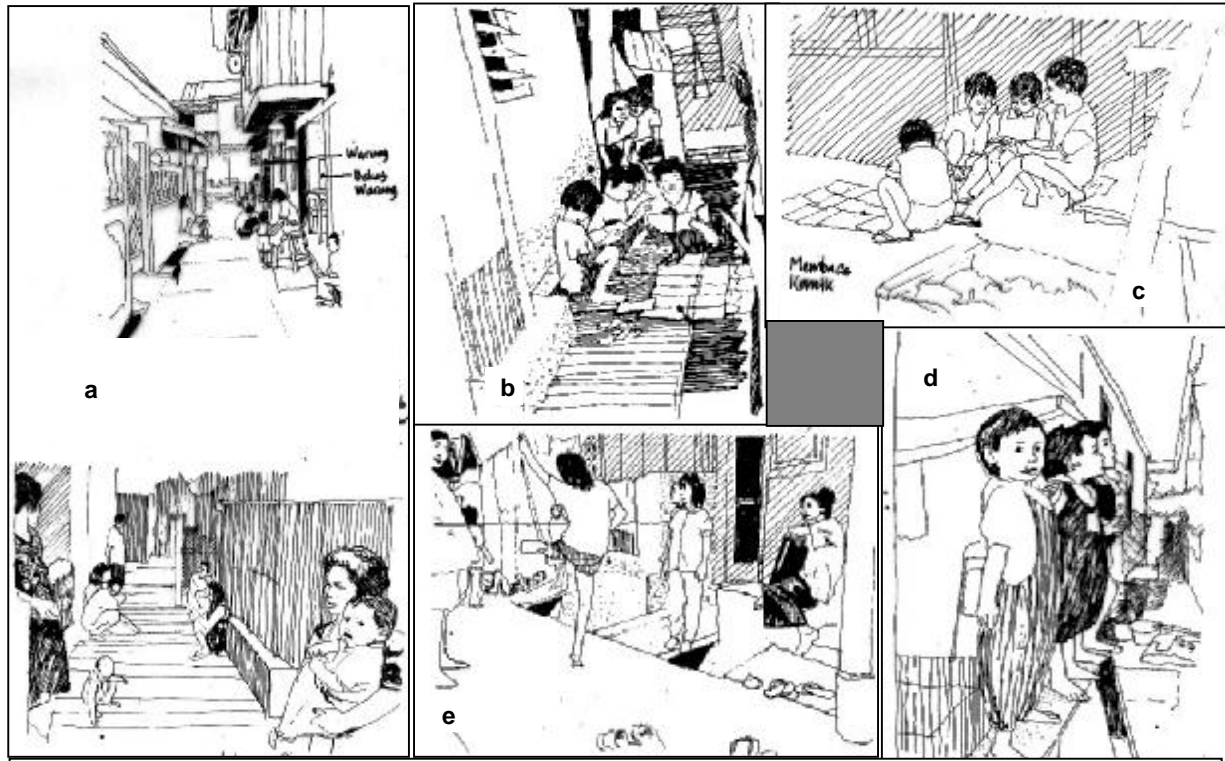

Figure 2. Life-cycle space for recreation: various 'Traditional types' of Children's Outdoor Games or Recreation in the *Kampung*. This games are diminishing and being replaced by individually modern 'cyber' games.
a: Intimate Public Space. Young mothers nurse their children in the vicinity of their house;
b & c: Children are sharing and reading comics;
d: Children are singing on a 'stage';
e: Girls are playing rope jumping.
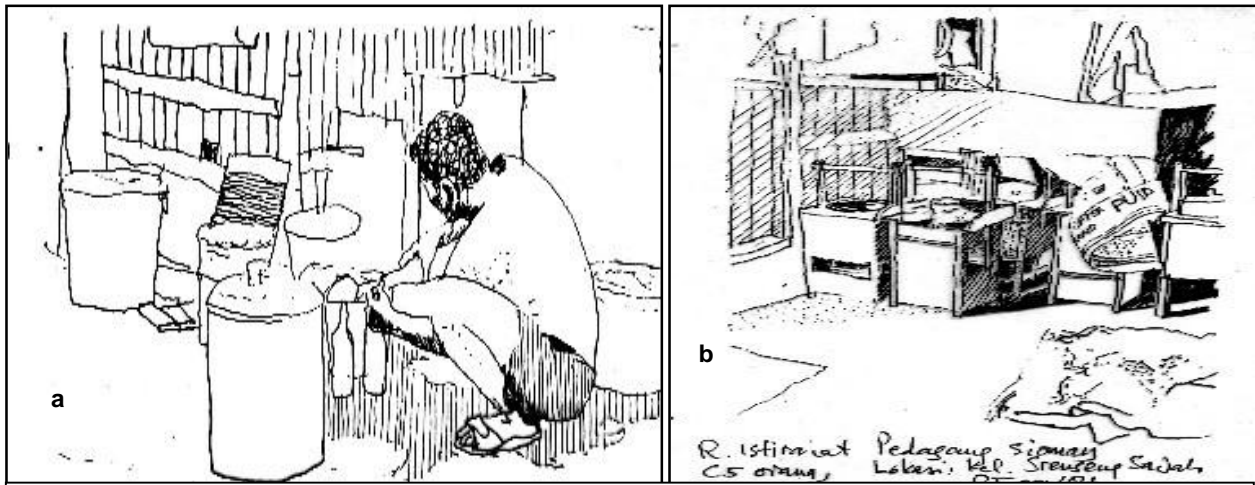
Figure 3. Sketch drawing of a living space shared by five male siomay food traders, in *Kampung Sawah,* RT 001/RW 04. They use the 'house' primarily for preparing food and sleep on the floor in the nigh time.
a). Washing dishes in front of the house; b) Shared rented space for five traders to sleep and keep their belongings

Figure 4. A house of two female *Jamu* traders in room of 2.00 by 2.50 sq.m. The ground floor is used for working and the 'mezannine' is used for sleeping.
a). house plan; b) stepping down the ladder; c) having lunch; d) preparing *jamu*; e) going for trading.

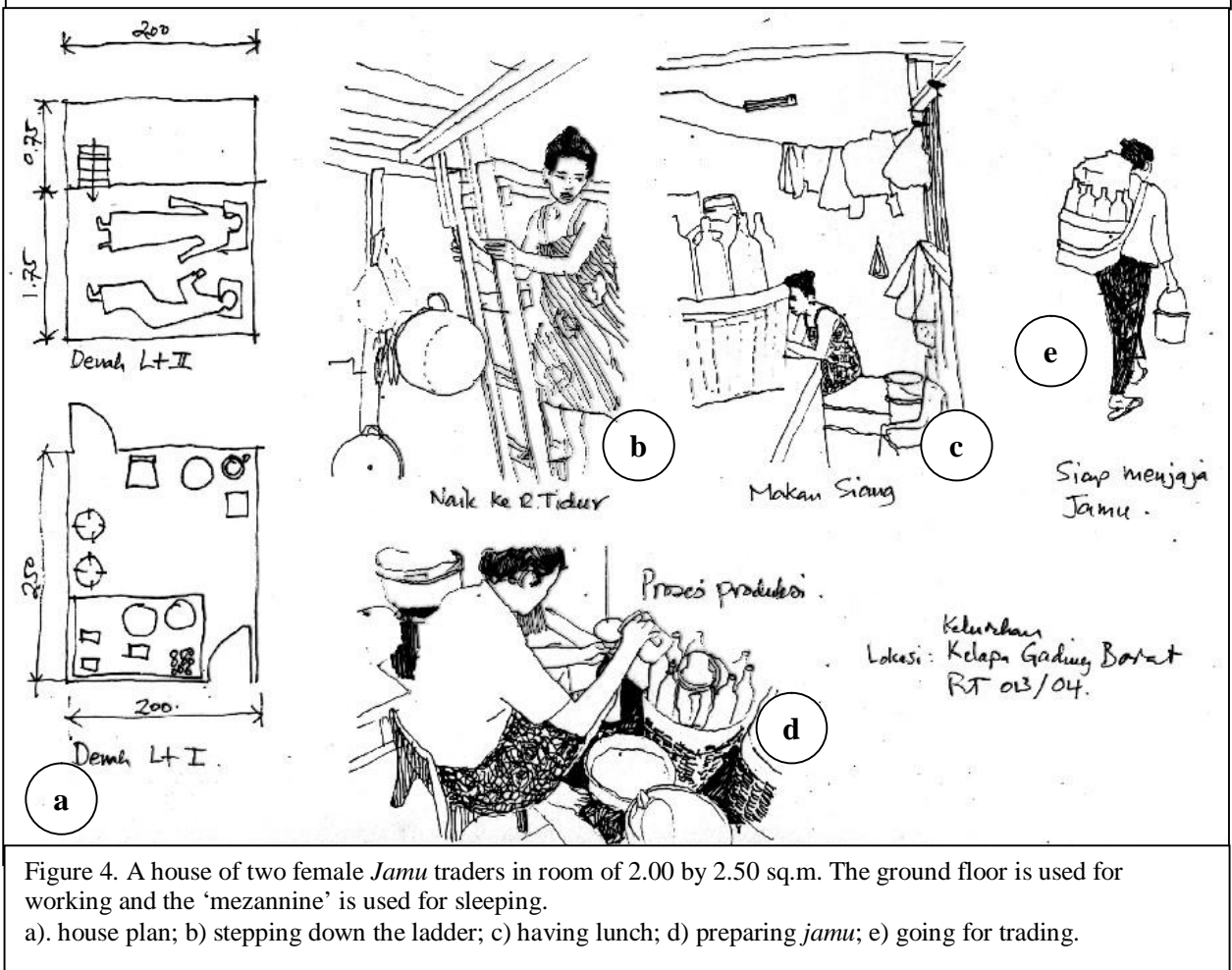| Table 1. Education and Employment in the Case Study of *Kampung* Penggilingan - 1999					
EDUCATION	**Total**	**%**	**EMPLOYMENT**	**Total**	**%**
Pre-school*	656	1.45	Civil serv.	1862	4.12
Elementary School	8901	19.70	ABRI	69	0.15
Junior High Sch.	17361	38.43	Private Company empl.	24105	53.35
Senior High Sch.	13217	29.25	Retired	1093	2.42
Diploma	870	1.93	Trading	4016	8.89
University Grad.	1106	2.45	Peasant	342	0.76
Pesantren	1264	2.80	Craftsmanship	803	1.78
Madrasah	939	2.08	Scavenging	30	0.07
Other relig. Inst.	514	1.14	Labourer	6902	15.28
Illiterate	351	0.78	Service	2040	4.52
	45179	100.00	Others	3917	8.67
				45179	100.00

Source: Harjoko, T.Y., *Urban Kampung: Its Genesis and Transformation into Metropolis, with particular reference to Penggilingan in Jakarta,* PhD Thesis, University of Canberra, 2003, p. 67.

Table 2. Age-structure of the Population in the Case Study of *Kampung* Penggilingan 1999		
Age interval	Number	Note:
0-4	9858	*) & **) – The difference of these statistical data may seem inconsistent or ambiguous. In fact these explain how the methods of schooling are chosen or preferred by the different groups in the society, especially in the *kampung*s.
5-9**	4858	
10-14	3042	
15-19	3399	
20-24	4206	
25-29	4679	For the low-income groups, especially the poor, pre-school is no considered necessary. They usually send their children in their early schooling age of 6 directly to *Sekolah Dasar* (*SD*) or Elementary School.
30-34	3330	
35-39	3016	
40-44	3397	
45-49	1467	
50-54	892	
55-59	1179	
60-64	563	
65-69	555	
70-74	463	
75+	275	
Total	45179	

Source: Harjoko, T.Y., *Urban Kampung: Its Genesis and Transformation into Metropolis, with particular reference to Penggilingan in Jakarta,* PhD Thesis, University of Canberra, 2003, p. 67.

Penggusuran of *Kampung* in Jakarta

Historically, coastal cities in Indonesia from the outset have been associated with *kampung.* In the pre-colonial cities, city-state, *kampung* represented settlement of migrants, either indigenous or alien. It was particularly a sanctuary place for rural migrants to the city. As the city grew, *kampung*s were inevitably engulfed into it. In fact, *kampung*s have never been formally incorporated into the city's development. Upon how the local government views *kampung* settlements, it can be understood on the way planners see *kampung* in the map as 'blank' space in the urban system – subject to potential sources for private investments and local government revenues. In such a view, *kampungs* are deprived from necessary primary urban infrastructures; and they grow as it goes, uncontrolled. This development results in an urban mosaic of spatial mazes within which *kampung* is left as an urban jungle – 'dark' and inaccessible. To most politicians, *kampung* becomes an 'unpleasant' backyard of an upfront ribbon development where urban architecture is simply a spectacle. It gives Jakarta a derogatory name after it – Jakarta as *perkampungan besar,* or the Big Village. With the persisting poverty in the country and increasing a false global image and pressure over Jakarta as a 'Global City', in the eye of the developers and planners, this will further question the fate of *kampung* in Jakarta to help the poor rural migrants to urbanize themselves.[8]

Figure 5. Operation for Order in West Jakarta evicted 586 sites of *pedagang kakilima* (street vendors). It is executed by the offcials from the *Dinas Trantib*, or local government office for public safety and order.
Source: Bertia Jakarta Barat Online,
http://www.dki.go.id/jakbar/Berita/BeritaDetail.asp?Mdl=1&IDKat=1&ID=9404, 29 July 2004

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[8] As put forward by D. Ranney, global decisions (e.g., NAFTA) affect local collisions (poverty, homelessness, and underemployment in urban areas at a local level). Ranney, D., *Global Decisions, Local Collisions: Urban Life in the New World Order,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003.

Following economic boom due to the blessing of the oil prize increase by the end 1970s, Indonesia started its economic plan (the controversial economic growth) in the New Order of government. Primary cities, such as Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya, gained momentum for their development including incessant migration from all over the country. In this period, *government sector,*[9] instead of public, was then and still is now a dominant player in the economy where urban investments were dominated by this sector. As a result, the government programs and implementations were beyond the public control.

The destruction or *penggusuran* of *kampung,* both 'legal' and illegal (squatter's) *kampung,* has been going on since the 1980s up to now. It underwent in either a 'formal' way through a process of negotiation and subsequent compensation, or *paksa* (forced) with no compensation especially for those of squatter *kampung.* Statistical data recorded by Urban Poor Consortium (UPC) in Jakarta indicate that more than 170,000 households evicted and about 8600 houses have demolished (Table 3).

Figure 6. A caricature of Kingkong, the land mafia on top of the National Monument in Jakarta

In the late 1980s, an economic boom due, to the foreign capital inflow to the country and the economic growth of the country, had engendered a property boom, especially in the commercial sector. The extensive land acquisition in the strategic area of the Jakarta has phased out a number of *kampung* settlements.

(Source: M. Kusumawijaya, *Thamrin-Sudirman Aaavenue, Jakarta: A Case Study in the Problems of Modernization in a Developing Metropolis,* International Workshop on Housing - 'Urban Coherence and Housing Strategies', UNHCS and PGCHS KU Leuven, Bandung 1990, p. 6)

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[9] In Indonesia *public sector* is an illusion unless the tax system is reformed; firstly, because tax system has not yet an effective instrument for government revenue; secondly, the government is a wealthy sector because it has its various modes business and corporations that are beyond public control.

NO	LOCATION	DATE	TOTAL* (Households or buildings)
	Table 3. Eviction in Jakarta, 1996 - 2002		
1	DKI Jakarta	1990	739 hh 8037 (buildings, fences, houses, billboards, and canteen)
2	DKI Jakarta	1991	8.443 hh 754 hh 512 buildings 5.049 houses
3	DKI Jakarta	1995	45 buildings
4	DKI Jakarta	1992	6784 (shacks, retail kiosks, buildings, people, and houses)
5	DKI Jakarta	Jan-December 1996	265 hh
6	Greater Jakarta (Jabotabek)	Jan-December 1996	66,526 hh
7	Greater Jakarta (Jabotabek)	Jan-December 1997	61919 hh
8	Flood canals & Kali Jodo, Kelurahans of Pejagalan and Penjaringan, North Jakarta	1998	350 houses
9	Pesing Polgar, Kedaung Kaliangke, West Jakarta	1998	667 houses
10	Kamal Muara, Penjaringan, North Jakarta	1998	208 kk
11	Under the overhead railway lines from the Sawah Besar Terminal to Mangga Besar Terminal in Kelurahan Karang Anyar, Central Jakarta	11 November 2000	300 kk
12	Jalan I Gusti Ngurai Rai, East Jakarta and Kranji, Bekasi	2000	
13	River banks from Kali Kanal to Kali Tanjung West Jakarta	2000	
14	Pulo Gebang, Cakung, East Jakarta	31-Oct-00	50 hh
15	Pulo Gebang, Cakung, East Jakarta	18-Jul-01	12 hh
16	Pulo Gebang Cakung East Jakarta	01-Aug-01	16 hh
17	Bonded Warehouse in Kecamatan Cilincing, North Jakarta	22-Aug-01	
18	Kampung Baru, Kelurahan Karang Tengah, RT 03 RW 01, Ciledug, in Tangerang	23-Aug-01	150 hh
20	Kampung nelayan Ancol Timur, North Jakarta	24-Oct-01	74 hh
21	Tanggul Jagung, Penjaringan, North Jakarta	29-30 October 2001	1200 hh
22	Banjir Kanal, Teguk Gong, North Jakarta	31-Oct-01	5.010 hh
23	Kampung Rawa Das, Pondok Kopi, East Jakarta	29-30 October 2001	2000 people
24	Pesing, Bantaran Kali Angke, Cengkareng, West Jakarta	13 November 2001	30 houses
25	Pela Pela, Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta	13 November 2001	
26	Bantaran Banjir Kanal, Pejagalan, Penjaringan, North Jakarta	13 November 2001	720 hh, 500 people
27	Bantaran kali Banjir Kanal, Penjaringan North Jakarta	27-Feb-02	350 houses
28	Jalan Pegangsaan II, Kelapa Gading, North Jakarta	3-May-02	10 houses
29	Kelurahan Penjagalan, Penjaringan Jakarta Utara	30-May-02	15 houses
30	Cakung Barat Rw 09, Jakarta Timur	30-May-02	22 houses
31	Bantaran Banjir Kanal, Penjaringan Jakarta Utara	24-Jun-02	100 houses
32	Rumah PSK Pela-pela Tanjung Priuk	24-Jun-02	1 houses
33	Nelayan East Ancol, North Jakarta	5-Aug-02	31 hh
34	Kampung Baru, kelurahan Cakung Barat East Jakarta	27-Aug-02	15 houses
35	Kelurahan Pakuan , Bogor	30-Sep-02	14 houses
36	Kebon Jeruk, Jl Budi Raya RT01 RW02 West Jakarta	28 -29-Sept 02	7 houses
37	Kelurahan Kelapa Gading Barat, Kecamatan Kelapa Gading, North Jakarta	24-Oct-02	300 houses
38	Duri Pulo, Kec. Gambir, Central Jakarta	31-Oct-02	16 houses
39	Tegal Danas, kelurahan Cikarang, Bekasi	29-Dec-02	2 houses
	Total		170. 352 hh , 8645 houses

*) The unit measurement is rather confusing since it mixes incompatible units such as houses, buildings, people and households; while at the end the total units refer simply to households and houses.
Source: Urban Poor Consortium Website, *Data penggusuran di Jakarta Dari Tahun 1996 sampai dengan Desember 2002*, http://www.urbanpoor.or.id/41.11.0.0.1.0.shtml, 15 May 2004

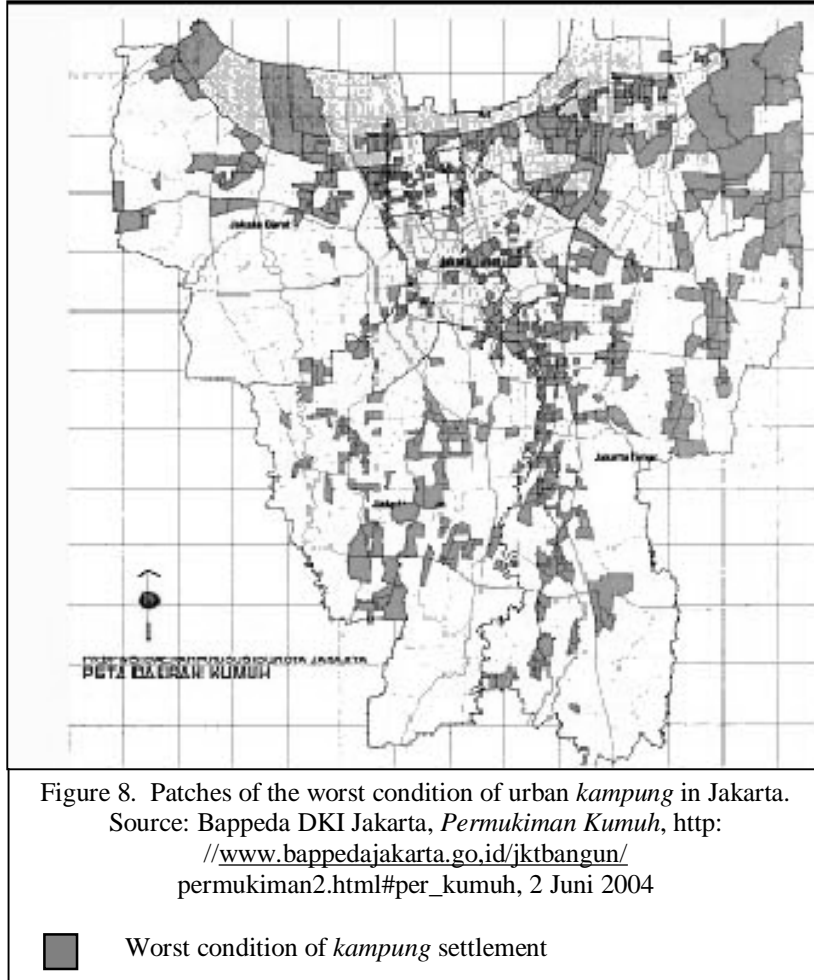| NO	LOCATION	DATE	CATEGORY OF CASES	REASON FOR *PENGGUSURAN*	NO. OF VICTIMS (Households)
	Table 4. Data on *Penggusuran* around Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi 2001-2002				
1	Pulo Gebang, Cakung, East Jakarta	18 July 2001	*Penggusuran* with intimidation	People are accused of squatting	12
2	*Kampung* Baru, Kelurahan Karang Tengah, RT 03 RW 01, Ciledug, Tangerang	23 August 2001	Forced *penggusuran*	Squatting	150
3	*Kampung* of fishermen Ancol Timur, North Jakarta	4 October 2001	Violently forced *penggusuran*	Land claimed owned by PT. PJKA located between Sawah Besar and Mangga Besar's Railway Station	74
4	Tanggul Jagung, Penjaringan, North Jakarta	29-30 October 2001	Violent *penggusuran*	Aligment of Flood Canal; settlements were blamed as the cause of flooding	1.200
5	Banjir Kanal, Teguk Gong, North Jakarta	31 October 2001	Violently forced *penggusuran*	Aligment of Flood Canal; settlements were blamed as the cause of flooding	501
6	*Kampung* Rawa Das, Pondok Kopi, East Jakarta	29-30 October 2001	Violently forced *penggusuran*	Squatting cemetry's land	700
7	Pesing, Bantaran Kali Angke, Cengkareng, Jakarta Barat	13 November 2001	Forced demolition	Aligment of Flood Canal; settlements were accused as the cause of flooding	30
8	Pela Pela, Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta	13 November 2001	Forced *penggusuran*	Location of prostitution and *preman* (criminals)	15
9	River bank of Banjir Kanal, Pejagalan, Penjaringan, North Jakarta	13 November 2001	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & terror	Land for the project of the East Flood Canal	1.000
10	Pulo Gebang Cakung East Jakarta	1 August 2001	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Squatting	16
11	River bank of Banjir Kanal, Penjaringan North Jakarta	27 February 2002	Violently forced *penggusuran*	Continuation of the project of the East Flood Canal	350
12	Jalan Pegangsaan II, Kelapa Gading, North Jakarta	3 May 2002	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Land owned by PT Kelapa Gading	10
13	Kelurahan Penjagalan, Penjaringan North Jakarta	30 May 2002	*Penggusuran* with inadequate compensation	State owned land	15
14	Cakung Barat Rw 09, East Jakarta	30 May 2002	*Penggusuran* with inadequate compensation	State owned land	22
15	River bank of Banjir Kanal, Penjaringan North Jakarta	24 June 2002	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Land allocated for the project of the East Flood Canal	100
16	Fisherman settlement, Ancol Timur	5 August 2002	Violently forced *penggusuran*	State owned land that will be used as water-based recreation area	
17	Kampung Baru, kelurahan Cakung Barat East Jakart	27 August 2002	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Unclear	15
18	Kelurahan Pakuan, Bogor	3 September 2002,	*Penggusuran* with inadequate compensation	Unclear	14
19	Kebun Jeruk, West Jakarta	28-29 Sept. 2002	Forced *penggusuran*	River bank of the Skekretariat river	10
20	Kelurahan Kelapa Gading Barat, Kecamatan Kelapa Gading, North Jakarta	24 October 2002	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Area allocated for bunsiness centre of PT Summarecon Agung	300
21	Tegal Danas, kelurahan Cikarang, Bekasi	26 December 2002	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Toll-road of Bekasi-Cikarang	20
22	Desa Wanasari, kecamatan Cibitung, Kabupaten of Bekasi	6 January 2003	*Penggusuran* with inadequate compensation	Unclear	26
23	Kemuning Raya, Pegadungan, Kalideres, West Jakarta	16 January 2003	Forced *penggusuran*	Land along the side of the road.	4

24	Kalijodo, Rt 01/05, North Jakarta	5 March 2003	Forced *penggusuran*	Prostitution area	250
25	Cipinang Besar Selatan, RT 01/014 East Jakarta	12 March 2003	Forced *penggusuran*	Unclear	60
26	Kali Angke, Pejagalan, North Jakarta	14 July 2003	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation	Alignment of river	360
27	Jembatan Besi, RW 04 dan RW 05, Tambora West Jakarta	26 August 2003	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Land claimed by PT. Cakrawira Bumi mandala	2.500
28	Sunter Jaya, Jalan Tipa RW06, Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta	2 September 2003	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Land claimed by Anton	189
29	Kampung Baru, Cengkareng Timur, West Jakarta	17 September 2003	Forced *penggusuran* with intimidation & violence	Land claimed by Perum Perumnas	500
	Total				**8.443**

Source: UPC, *Data penggusuran beberapa tahun terakhir,* http://www.urbanpoor.or.id/gusur/data.php?action=fullnews&id=1, 24 April 2004

Figure 7. Systemic destruction of *kampung* settlement and life.

a). *Penggusuran* in the 1985 in Bendungan HIlir, Jakarta (Source: http://www.urbanpoor.or.id/galeri, 24 April 2004); b) *Penggusuran* in Kampung Sawah, Jakarta – 2004, (Source: http://www.urbanpoor.or.id/galeri, 24 April 2004)

Figure 8. Patches of the worst condition of urban *kampung* in Jakarta.
Source: Bappeda DKI Jakarta, *Permukiman Kumuh*, http:
//www.bappedajakarta.go.id/jktbangun/
permukiman2.html#per_kumuh, 2 Juni 2004

Worst condition of *kampung* settlement

Government System, Politics and Development Planning

Under the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia has a presidential system of government more similar to the US congressional system than the Westminster model, but without comparable 'checks and balances'.[10] In the New Order Government, the DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat,* People's Representative Council, commonly called the parliament) and the MPR[11] (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat,* Supreme Advisory

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[10] As in the US congressional system, the presidency is the pivotal institution in the political structure. The president makes all key political appointments, with cabinet ministers, senior military and civilian officials and top members of the judiciary all owing their positions to him. The cabinet has no more than an advisory role, as in the United States. The president can disregard his ministers, if he chooses, and he has ultimate power to override all official decisions and policy making. See J. Mackie and A. MacIntyre, 'Politics,' in Hill, H. (ed.) *Indonesia's New Order,* Allen & Unwin, 1994, p. 19.

[11] According to the constitution, the supreme political authority is the MPR, which is convened, among others, every five years to elect a president and vice-president and to lay down the broad guidelines for state policy over the next five-year period. While Soeharto generally respected the letter of the constitution in convening the MPR regularly to carry out these functions, he had in practice let it exercise little independent authority. Because he was authorized to

Council) were far weaker in practice than the executive branch, and had little capacity to constrain the president, the bureaucracy or the military. The basic source of Soeharto's power, however, was not the constitutional authority of the presidency, but his ability to command the loyalty of *Golongan Karya,* or GOLKAR, and of the armed forces. The government was centralized to where local governments were politically administered under the Department of Home Affairs in which they were essentially direct sub-ordinates of this department.

Urban planning was simply a meaningless blue-print loaded with technicalities such as zoning plan and regulation that disregard what actually exists in the real world. Urban development was *adhocism* in practice and completely dictated by what ever private mega project of commercial super-block was proposed at the expense of *kampung*. This mode of development created *urban maze* and criss-crossing along the ribbon development; it disregarded transit oriented development. It resulted in a *semrawut* or chaotic transport system where various modes of transport occupy limited road space. Despite the nation economic crisis, the bazaar economy develops at an unprecedented rate. Urban space for this sector has never been allocated, which resulted in squatting marginal urban public space.

Pembangunan emphasized on *pertumbuhan,* or growth, which GDP's orientated planning. It follows that industrialization is necessary for growth. For efficient development growth, it should discriminately be designated in few big cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan and Makassar. It is a classic development mechanism of center-periphery that it presumably will promote promising results such as 'trickle-down effect', 'forward and backward linkage'. They do not and have never been. These centers developed at the expense of their peripheries (regions at the national level and *kampung* at the local level).

In the societal development, constitution of the society occurs in duality. At the center or national level, world economy and globalization strengthen only those who are rich and getting richer. They are privileged group in the society that enjoyed superfluous facilities and services from the central government policies and regulations. At the other 'end' or periphery, which includes remote provinces as wells as local *kampungs* in the cities, the underprivileged poor in their informal sectors are struggling for their own destiny. This duality is manifest in space – 'center and periphery' - without any necessarily related activities.

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appoint over half the members of the MPR (with a large portion of the remainders being members of Golkar party), there was little prospect of any serious challenge to him there.
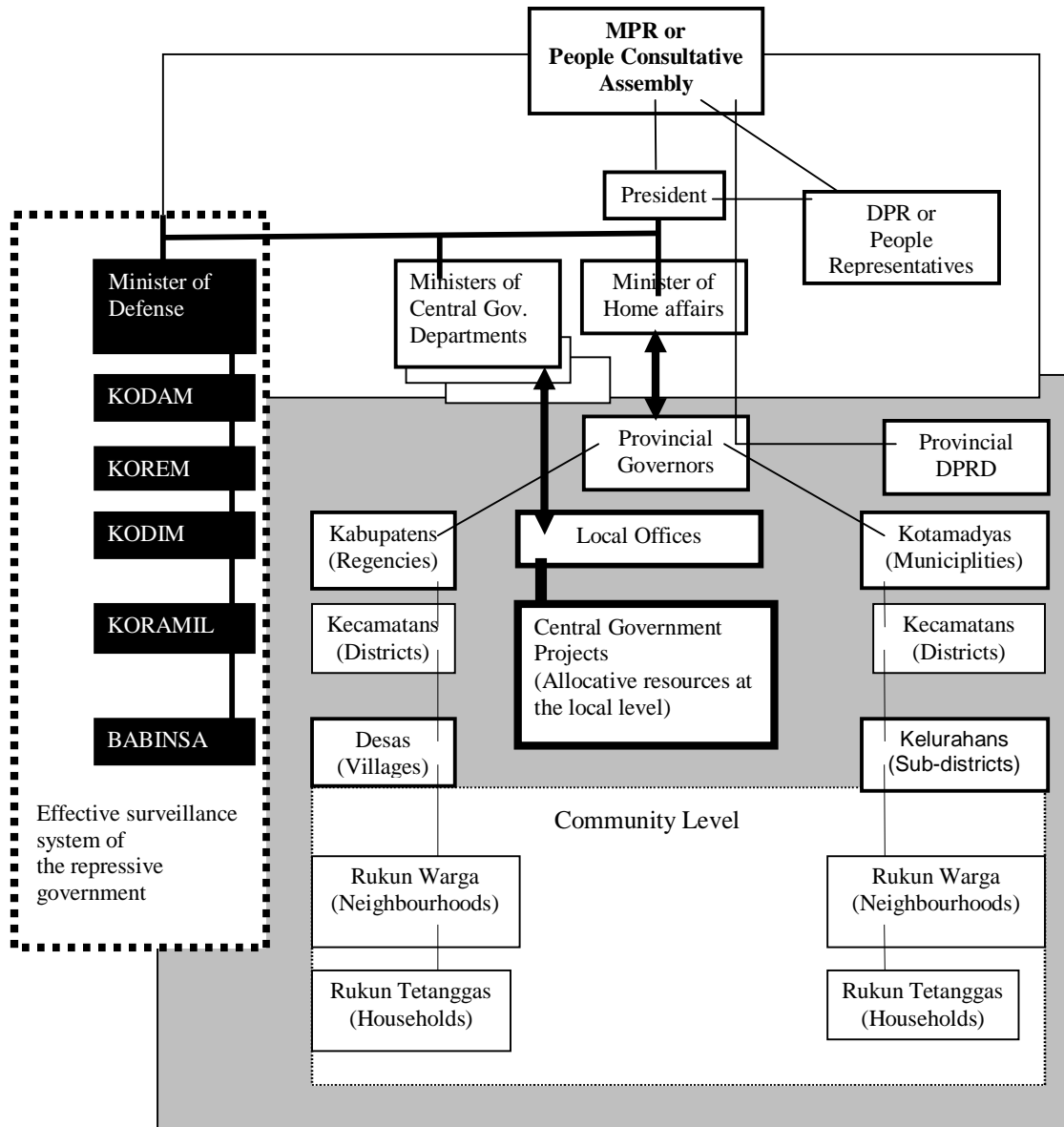
Figure 9. Political structure of the Indonesian State and its subsequent governance system during the period of New Order Government, 1966-1998.

Legend:
KODAM: Regional Army Command at the inter-provincial level
KOREM: Resort Army Command at the provincial level
KODIM: District Army Command at the Municipal and Regency level
KORAMIL: Sub-district Army Command at the district level
BABINSA: Non-commissioned Officer for Village Development at the village and sub-district level

In the Reformation Era, the local autonomy is defined especially down to the local governments of the Kabupaten (Regency) and Kotamadya (Municipalities). The role of army is reduced gradually from the government politics, that is, from the DPR.

 The promote growth in the cities means to find space suitable for it. *Penggusuran* of *kampung,* under the motto of *pembangunan,* is inevitable. It is labeled as 'urban redevelopment', which turns to be 'renewal'.. This type 'development' has diminished the locality for rural migrants to urbanize in the city, particularly those of strategic area for the poor to bridgehead in the city, such as large redeveloped areas of Kemayoran and of the *Segitiga* Kuningan (Kuningan Triangle). With the continuing 'closure' of living space for the urban poor in the city by such projects, besides, there is no way to forbid or stop the poor coming in the cities, it forces them to squat as an act of 'usurpation' in what ever available space in the city. The spatial formation of the city is a representation of a struggle or conflict these major dual societies – production and reproduction of society and its spatial implication. However, the *kampung* image wins, that is, unordered or even chaotic spatial formation.

In terms of a time-space analysis or history, the image of the city can be understood as a social space[12]. It is worth noting that it in itself is the outcome of past actions. According to Lefebvre, social space is that which permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others.[13] Thus, it should be understood as a condition of possibilities of social practices to occur in a dynamic mode. In other words, it is crucial to understand individual subjects and collectivities roles or guiding principles in the reproduction of social space. To Lefebvre, social space is conceived not as a 'something' of social practices that live at a space, but as the occurrence of social practices that 'create' its spatiality. This idea implies that a city is what the society is constituted and the dynamic modes of spatial transformation follow the structuration process of the society. In a country like Indonesia where traditions of the multi ethnic cultures and poverty are significant, the city will be shaped by this condition.

In Indonesia, public sector barely exists. In the West, public sector refers to the part of the economy which is owned or controlled by the public, usually through government agencies. Most schooling is part of the public sector as are hospitals, provision of social services, and some transit services. The political consequences of this sector are that it is accountable to public at large. Government in Indonesia called *pemerintah* (from the verb *perintah* – command*)* or institution that commands. It can be traced back to the nature of government in the city-state or kingdom in the past. In this connotation the term government in the past was 'accepted' or understood as the affairs of the rulers that might address public interest. It is only natural that 'government' and its enterprises benefit mostly the rulers. This system 'escapes' public control and scrutiny since the company operates simply within the circle of the rulers. Moreover, the DPR

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[12] As Lefebvre asserts it, "Social space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products; rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their relationships in their coexistence and simultaneity their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder." See Lefebvre, H., *The Production of Space,* translated by D. Nicholson-smith, Oxford, UK; Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1991, p. 73

[13] Lefebvre, H., *op. cit.,* p. 73

was castrated and tax system, as a fundamental basis for the existence of public sector, was poor if not lacking. Within this 'quasi public sector' *KKN* (an acronym of Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism) was inevitable and beyond public control.

Figure 10. Polarized development of residential estate in the Greater Jakarta. It randomly consumes *kampung* land area from 50 to over 1000 hectares at the periphery. It gives little economic benefit to local communities.

Source: Pt. Procon Indah in association with Jones Lang Wootton, *Major Residential Estates in the Greater Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JABOTABEK),* poster, 1996

Figure 11. A contested urban image

Source: Kenpattern [Online], *Gallery*, http://www.kenpattern.or.id/gallery.html, 13 August 2001

Penggusuran literally means an *act*[14] of bulldozing. As an act, it is socially or politically associated activity. It demonstrates an activity between humans that live or inhabit the world. Arendt[15] asserts that human plurality, or particularly the rise of social, is the basic condition of political activity, of both action and speech. She writes,

> "If [humans] were not equal, they could neither understand each other and those who came
> before them nor plan for the future and foresee the needs of those who will come after them.
> If [humans] were not *distinct*, each human being distinguished from any other who is, was,
> or will ever be, they would need neither speech nor action to make themselves understood.
> Signs and sounds to communicate immediate, identical needs and wants would be enough."
> (Author's *italics*)

Human beings are distinct as a consequence of the condition of plurality. Such a condition is manifest in human facticity, that is, of constraints as well as freedom. Poor people and *kampung* settlement indicate this facticity. Understanding *kampung* requires a proper comprehension of human facticity, especially of being poor. Partial understanding of *kampung* existence purely on its nominal form justifies actions to relieve uneconomic and environmental burden of it to the cities. In fact, it is a reality of the society in itself. The act of *penggusuran* has not been confined to simply the alleviation of the physical settlement; it also denies and disintegrates the *nature* or its very existence of a city-in-itself in Indonesia – *perkampungan besar* or the big village. It destroys the very heartbeat and soul of the urban poor, namely,

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[14] In distinguishing the terms labor, work and action, Arendt identifies that the word to act, in most general sense, means to take an initiative, to begin (to 'lead' and eventually to 'rule'), to set something into motion. Action refers to activity that goes directly between humans without the intermediary of things or matter, corresponds to the condition of plurality. Arendt, H., *Human Condition,* Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1958, p. 177.

[15] Arendt, H., *op.cit.* , 1958, p. 174-5.

housing, working, communal life. This act also denies the very existence of the low income or urban poor with which the city may operate. Demolition of *kampung* of whatever legal aspects will significantly reduce housing stocks and equal access of the poor to an affordable 'urban housing' in the city. Such a political stance in the government to some extent may be attributed to the dominant view of the elite group in the academic society. In an economic sense, it denies the fact that the term economy (*oikos-nomos*) refers to 'housekeeping'; and a city or a state is a huge housekeeping. This dominant view assumes 'economy' as narrowly separated from the domestic. It ignores the fact that in the developing countries one part of the economy is a combination of household/family production, home based but conducted in public. Such assumptions about the marginality of the informal economy ignore the fact that an increasing amount of economic activity is informal, undocumented, and even illegal.[16]
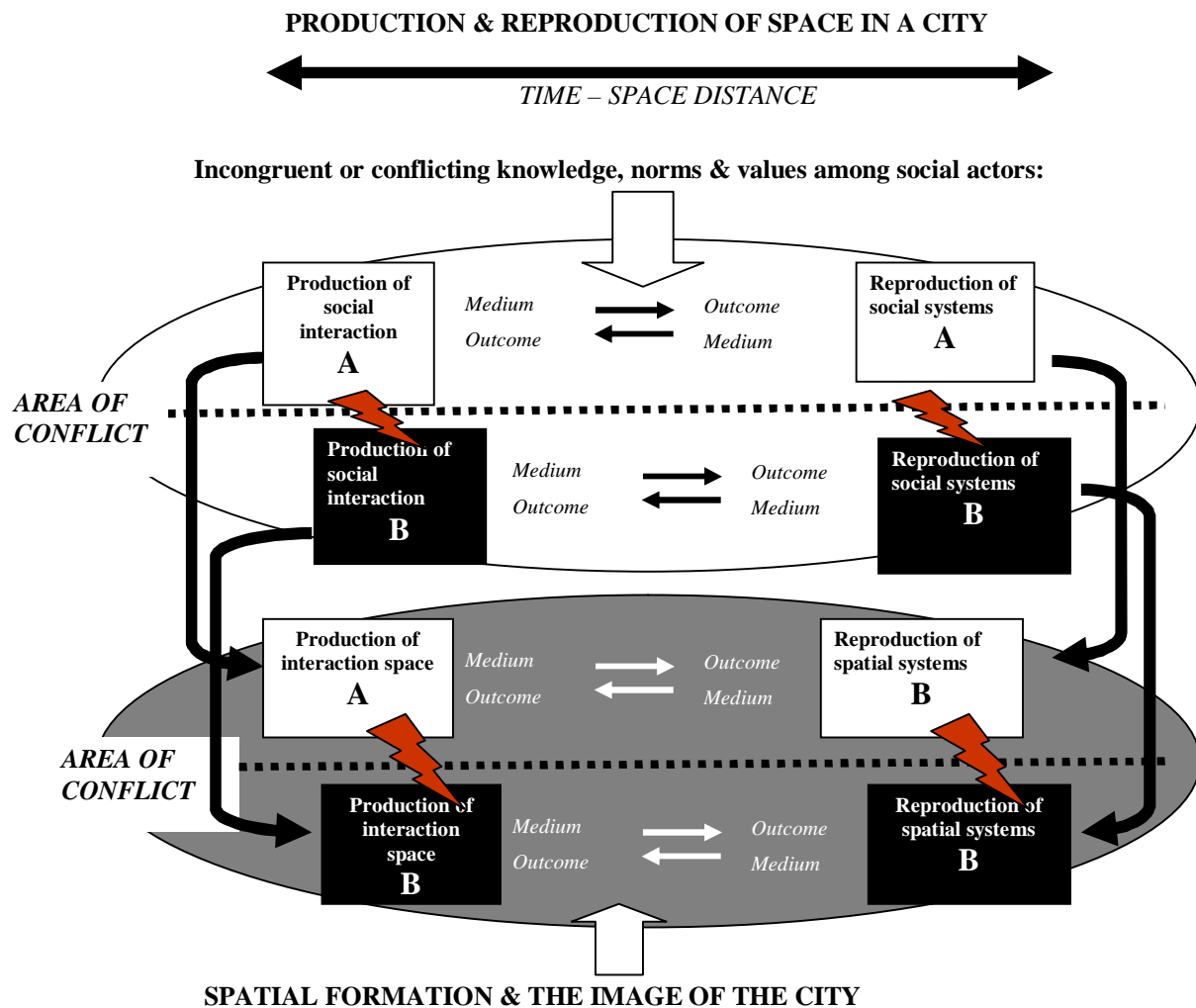
PRODUCTION & REPRODUCTION OF SPACE IN A CITY

TIME – SPACE DISTANCE

Incongruent or conflicting knowledge, norms & values among social actors:

Production of social interaction **A**   *Medium* → *Outcome*   *Outcome* ← *Medium*   Reproduction of social systems **A**

AREA OF CONFLICT

Production of social interaction **B**   *Medium* → *Outcome*   *Outcome* ← *Medium*   Reproduction of social systems **B**

Production of interaction space **A**   *Medium* → *Outcome*   *Outcome* ← *Medium*   Reproduction of spatial systems **B**

AREA OF CONFLICT

Production of interaction space **B**   *Medium* → *Outcome*   *Outcome* ← *Medium*   Reproduction of spatial systems **B**

SPATIAL FORMATION & THE IMAGE OF THE CITY

Figure 12. Production and reproduction of society and its implication the reproduction and production space.

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[16] Bridge, G. and S. Watson, 'City Economies,' in Bridge, G. and S. Watson (eds.), *A Companion to the City,* Blackwell Publisher, 2000: 101-114, p. 104.

Concluding Remarks

Eviction of the *kampung* people clearly shows the intention to promote economic growth is bias, while in fact the poor are part, if not the 'backbone', of the industrialization process – 'cheap labor' in the developing countries. A crucial problem of alleviation of poverty is education, which is a low priority in Indonesian history. Progress and innovation can only be made if human labor is promoted to improve.

Improvement on human condition in general implies living space required to exercise *human vita activa* - a dynamic human life of laboring, working and action activities. *Kampung* appears to be the most suitable place for the poor urbanize in the cities while the government could not afford to provide shelter for them. The deontic issues for developing *traditional kampung* into adapted urban *kampung* are that which governs land uses that promote the people's *vita activa.*

Rational decision making in planning practice ignores the factual knowledge regarding the development issues distinctive to Indonesia and especially the *kampung.* Globalization and its subsequent economic liberalization simply strengthen the domination of the 'center' beyond the national boundary. The peripheries, that is, remote areas in the archipelago and urban *kampung* settlement, remain untouched. Urban spectacles, such as shopping mall, high rise office and apartment buildings, are simply a camouflage of wealth; beyond this point lay isolated, inaccessible, and crowded urban *kampungs.*

Historically it has been demonstrated that *kampung* originates a city in Indonesia and *kampung* is the only locale where various rural migrants, from across the archipelago, allow urbanize themselves. Unless they are encouraged and prepared to adapt to a civic life and society they will remain confined within their local traditions respective to their origins. Urban *kampung* is an exemplary local for such an urban transformation