



## Socioeconomic Transformation and The Resulting Settlement Segregation in A Historic Kampong in Semarang City

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### Abstract

Segregation and migration are urbanization phenomena that are visible in settlements. Motivation to move in or move out which is influenced by socio-economic characteristics is the main factor that changes the neighborhood pattern. This research aims to explain the segregation which is driven by socio-economic transformation and migration in a historic kampong that has ethnic, racial and religious diversity in the city center. Entropy index analysis is used to calculate the level of segregation, while migration motivations and residence preferences that form clusters are explored through interviews. Field observations were carried out to map segregation patterns. The study results show that segregation is influenced by social and economic factors, not religion, race or ethnicity. The affluent young generation tends to separate between working place and living home, but their ancestors loved to live and work in the same place as social contact is worth to them. Social value changes from generation to generation. The low-income migrants show differently. They are clustering due to their origin. Social contact with the community is much more important and makes them secured.

**Keywords:** Historic Kampong; Semarang City; Settlement Segregation; Socioeconomic Transformation

### 1. Introduction

Socioeconomic transformation, economic segregation and temporary migration have a complex relationship within a city or urban region. In the process of social and economic transformation, there are fundamental changes in the social organization of urban space. In Budapest, the transformation was caused by the privatization of housing, the liberalization of the property market, and the increasing global presence of capital, which resulted in a general decline in residential functions and a marked social polarization of neighborhoods (Kovacs, 2009). Transformation also characterizes residential segregation in urban areas, where segregation can be defined as the assignment of residential space by government or market mechanisms to specific social groups and the use of that space to the detriment of certain group. Segregation can sometimes generally be caused by insecurity of tenure, high population density, and so on (K'Akumu & Olima, 2007). Socio-economic segregation occurs due to the uneven grouping of households in urban spaces based on income, education, or employment (Jähnen & Helbig, 2022). The work of Florida and Mellander found that economic segregation itself will be greater in areas that are much larger, denser, and knowledge-based, along with racial factors and income inequality (Florida & Mellander, 2018).

In Indonesia, segregation is prevalent, especially residential segregation, which can be seen in the phenomenon of gated communities and social segregation (Wiranegara et al., 2021). (K'Akumu & Olima, 2007) that formal and

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informal settlements have distinct implication for the urban economy where informal settlements not only provide shelter, but also offer income opportunities and entry points to the urban economy. However, if segregation has negative impacts, it needs to be addressed through integration of different sectors into urban planning and development control mechanisms. Responses to segregation should be based on an understanding of local needs and factors such as age, gender, socio-cultural, and economic activity.

According to Deskalova and Slaev the level of segregation in an urban area can be defined as the level of occupational diversity in the area. If at the city level most of the residents have high-paying jobs and have a high social status, then a high degree of segregation can occur (Daskalova & Slaev, 2015). On the other hand, if an area is made up of residents with a variety of occupations and incomes, it may indicate that there is high mixing, especially if no social group is significantly superior to the others. Then, at the neighborhood level, social segregation can be determined by the extent to which high-and low- income people are living in the proximity.

Today, societies can quickly become culturally and ethnically diverse, especially when aided by mobility, but not more socially and economically equal (Smets & Salman, 2015). Benassi et al., (2020) stated that spatial distribution of migrant populations has attracted researchers' interest, especially when it takes the form of residential segregation (Benassi et al., 2020). However, the segregation that occurs in a historic kampong with diversity of race, ethnic and religion due to transforming social and economic among the young generation is still less researched. This study shows the unique phenomena about the segregation that has been driven by the new preferences of living of the small group of second or third generation as well as circular migrants. As one of the types of temporary migration, circular migration has an impact on socio- economic transformation (Görlach & Kuske, 2022; Library, 2017). The positive impact is that it can provide skilled labors and the lower reservation wages of migrants imply benefits for companies (Görlach & Kuske, 2022). Temporary migrants can also spend their best productive years in the host country or region, resulting in a positive net fiscal impact (Görlach & Kuske, 2022). In China, rural migrants leave behind their spouses and children, or only their children (Fan & Li, 2020).

Circular migration is common phenomena in Indonesia due to social characteristic in which rural economy is predominated. Rural community migrate to urban area in search of employment. Kaplan (2008) observed that immigrant groups exhibit a high level of entrepreneurship because it is a substitute for low-wage work and then the group forms an ethnic enclave that benefits from its concentration. A concentrated ethnic enclave economy benefits from migrant entrepreneurs having capital, supplies, labor, markets, and decent employment opportunities for other migrants. Another country that are also challenged by urbanization such as South Africa have the same experience (Streatfield, 2010). In this case, circular migration can also have a significant impact on household welfare and health (Streatfield, 2010).

This research focuses on the social and economic transformations in a historic kampong namely Kauman that belongs to Kelurahan Kauman (Kelurahan is the smallest administrative area in Indonesia) which is located in Central Semarang Sub-district, Semarang City that shows residential segregation due to socioeconomic transformation and circular migration. It is chosen to be researched as it is the one that still exist in genuine pattern where community with different race and religion have been residing. Residential segregation refers to the unequal distribution of households in urban space due to income, education, or employment that occur in urban residential areas and their spatial patterns, especially in the economic corridor of Kampong Kauman, which is dominated by local residents as well as migrants from outside Kauman including Chinese and Javanese, which some of them are temporary inhabitants. As a rapid urbanizing region, Semarang attracts migrants in search of new economic opportunities. Kauman is chosen to be the case for the research since it is the one that still in genuine condition. There are no significant changes even it is located in the busiest downtown.



Figure 1. Administrative Map of Kampong Kauman

Some of Semarang's citizens have a knack for trading, and are keen to maintain that knack. The pressures of modernization-industrialization were also experienced by Semarang, which grew as a Javanese cosmic city. The cosmic city concept combines spiritual and political power. The Javanese cosmic city is complemented by residential neighborhoods that are grouped by ethnicity or by daily activities (Budiarto, 2015). This also applies to the residents of Kampong Kauman who have diverse villages, ethnicities, and trade commodities that are still ongoing today. The villages in Kampong Kauman can be characterized by the existence of Kauman Pompa Village, Kauman Pungkuran Village, Sumeneban Village, Tamtim Village, Kemplongan Village, and so on. From the existing villages, in this research the study area is divided into 4 corridors, where there are Kauman Corridor, K.H. Wahid Hasyim Corridor, Kanjengan Corridor, and Pedamaran Corridor which have different functions, where the Kauman Corridor tends to be inhabited by Kauman natives, namely Javanese Ethnic with trading commodities in the form of household needs. In the K.H. Wahid Hasyim and Kanjengan corridors, the majority of residents are Chinese, but no longer live in the area, but outside Kampong Kauman. However, they use their houses as a place to sell jewelry. Finally, there is the Pedamaran Corridor, where crops are traded mostly by people from outside Semarang City, who engage in circular migration and live temporarily in colonies.

## 2. Methods

The research employed both quantitative and qualitative method. Quantitative method is conducted to analyse the segregation using Entropy Index. Through this analysis, we found whether race and religion determined the segregation. In the meanwhile, qualitative approach was implemented through interviews with key persons who have been living there for years. In this context, the implementation of qualitative inquiry was referred to ethnographic methods that are widely used in research in the field of cultural anthropology (Sugiyono, 2006). This is particularly relevant in the study of voluntary migration and the resulting residential segregation in Kampong Kauman.

In this study, data collection was carried out in two ways, namely distributing questionnaires for quantitative data, and conducting interviews with key informants for qualitative information. The questionnaire results obtained were then processed using the Entropy Index quantitative analysis technique, which is a measure of evenness to measure the extent to which ethnic and religious groups are evenly distributed in an area, especially in neighborhoods (Iceland, 2004). Furthermore, in conducting interviews with sources, there are criterias that need to be met, namely that the source must be able to provide precise and accurate data and information in research on voluntary migration and residential segregation in Kampong Kauman, so that sources are needed who are community leaders as well as residents who have been living for a long time and have knowledge about the social and economic transformation and circular migration that lead to residential segregation in Kampong Kauman.

## 3. Results and Discussions

The discussion will start with the research questions, then incorporates data obtained from survey and in-depth interviews with settlement residents and business owners. It was investigated that not all formal and informal businesses in the economic corridor are residents of Kampong Kauman. Some enterprises are not owned by the residents of Kampong Kauman, but those who lives both within and outside Semarang City. Circular migrants from outside Semarang City tend to live in colonies based on their regional origin within the neighborhood. They also sell in the street corridors, especially on Jalan Pedamaran. The commodities traded on the street corridors within Kampong Kauman are quite diverse, and are traded by businesses with different backgrounds, in terms of economic ability, ethnicity, and region of origin. Finally, it can be concluded that in addition to social and economic transformation, segregation also occurs due to the grouping of businesses, as well as voluntary migration by businesses so that they no longer live in the Kampong Kauman neighborhood even though they still trade there. In this sense, the community clusters are driven by the origin of hometown and it is done by the low-income migrants. On the other side, the young generation whose ancestor living there for years tend to living in better place due to crowedness. In this regard, the behave group are sticky to the place due to economic reason. Their living culture is changed. The value of shop houses where living and making money took place in the same area is no longer exist.

### 3.1. Socio-economic Transformation

As described above that one of the development impacts is spatial transformation in terms of social, cultural and economic aspects. In addition, transformation also occurs in people's lifestyles from time to time. The current form of urban order is the result of gradual transformation from generation to generation, where each generation leaves its mark on physical, social, economic, and political institutions. Spatially, transformation is also caused by several factors, namely the function or value of an area, the activities in it, and others. Spatial transformation is related to the existence of the attractiveness and land value of the area whose causes vary so that it cannot be generalized (Kurniati et al., 2020).

In Semarang City, especially in Kauman Urban Kampong, the spatial transformation of the existing kampong area tends to be increasingly concerning, marked by tidal flooding and the increasing of population number that has an impact on increasing building density in residential areas, and rapid modernization so that traditional culture is replaced by a culture of capitalism. Most of the existing buildings in Kampong Kauman that were previously residential house with Semarangan architectural style have been transformed because the owners are no longer able to

accommodate trading activities and residential houses (Kurniati et al., 2020). This social and economic transformation is evident in Kampong Kauman where, based on interviews conducted, it was found as mentioned before that most of the business owners in Kampong Kauman do not live in the same building, but have residences outside kampong. They do this even though they are registered residents of Kampong Kauman. This group is dominated by Chinese ethnicity, choose to open their businesses on the side of busy roads because they not only want to make the place a place of business, but also a place of production. The traders who return to their homes outside of Kampong Kauman have an impact on the quietness of the shopping environment when the shops are closed at night. Unlike the formal business owners who are located in the shops, the informal traders who operate on the sidewalks and in front of the shops are not natives of Kampong Kauman, but circular migrants. However, they reside in Kampong Kauman for a while. Both of these provide different patterns of transformation both socially and economically, where the natives of Kampong Kauman begin to tend to utilize the buildings in Kampong Kauman as business premises and living quarters for the employees of the shops, while the migrants whose purpose is to trade in Kampong Kauman are in the *kelurahan* area for 24 hours considering that they reside temporarily together with other migrants.

When compared to the Kovács' research on social and economic transformation in Budapest due to post-socialist transformation, Kampong Kauman is a historic neighborhood, which is one of the civic centers in Semarang City (Kovács, 2009). Historic neighborhoods are parts of the city that are vulnerable to social sustainability. Its social balance and cohesion can be undermined by factors such as the aging of the local population, selective residential mobility, increasing concentration of different social or ethnic groups, and increasing global capital in historic neighborhoods. Social transformation in Kampong Kauman does not occur much, as residents do not migrate much either outward or inward, so there are no dynamics, and if migration does occur, it is due to people from outside kampong marrying local residents, so it does not change the fabric of the kampong.

Changes that do not occur in residential areas can also be evidenced by the low level of residential segregation based on ethnicity and religion in neighborhoods in Kampong Kauman when calculated using the entropy index proposed by Massey and Denton in Iceland (2004) with the following formula:

$$E_i = \sum_{r=1}^r (\pi_{ri}) \ln \left( \frac{1}{\pi_{ri}} \right)$$

With the following information:

$r$  = Number of religious/ethnic groups

$\pi_{ri}$  = The proportion of the population of religion/ethnicity  $r$  in region  $i$

$n_{ri}$  = Population  $r$  in region  $i$

$\ln$  = Natural logarithm

By taking a sample of residents based on religion and ethnicity in Kampong Kauman, the results of the entropy index calculation for each level of residential segregation based on ethnicity and religion are shown in the following table:

**Table 1.** Entropy Index Calculation for The Level of Residential Segregation Based on Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Number of Samples	$\pi_{ri}$	$\pi_{ri} \times \ln \left( \frac{1}{\pi_{ri}} \right)$
Javanese	68	0.7556	0.2118
Chinese	14	0.1556	0.2895
Arabic	3	0.0333	0.1134
Others	5	0.0556	0.1606
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>		<b>0.7752</b>

Meanwhile, the following table shows the results of the entropy index calculation for the level of residential segregation based on religion:

**Table 2.** Entropy Index Calculation for The Level of Residential Segregation Based on Ethnicity

Religion	Number of Samples	$\pi_{ri}$	$\pi_{ri} \times \ln \left( \frac{1}{\pi_{ri}} \right)$
Islam	79	0,8144	0,1672
Protestant	9	0,0928	0,2206
Catholic	7	0,0722	0,1897
Buddha	0	0,0000	0,0000
Confucian	2	0,0206	0,0800
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>		<b>0,6575</b>

Based on the entropy index value obtained as a measure of the level of settlement segregation based on ethnicity and religion, both values have a moderate segregation classification when adjusting the classification made by Yaakub and Masron (Yaakub & Masron, 2021). However, after conducting interviews, it was found that although the number of residents based on ethnicity and religion is quite unequal, the kinship that occurs in the population is quite high because most of the residents who live are natives so that the existing interactions have occurred for a long time and have led to integration among the community. The integration or blending that occurs in Kampong Kauman is also caused by hospitality, affective belonging, openness, habits, and familiarity in community participation (Kuruoğlu & Woodward, 2021). In addition, the existing residential spaces in the residential area have been formed since two to three generations earlier so that cohesion has occurred long ago and has not led to gentrification.

The economic transformation that has occurred in Kampong Kauman is characterized by the clustering of businesses on the highway corridor in the *Kelurahan*, which has led to increased density in the area. Meanwhile, when viewed in the residential area, no changes have occurred. Therefore, the economic value of Kampong Kauman is at the roadside and its development tends to be natural, following the improvement of the road network system and the growth of motorized traffic (ribbon development).

### 3.2. Social and Economic Characteristic of Kampong Kauman Residents

Radhinal and Ariyanto observed that regional development followed by the movement of migration and urbanization flows has an impact on the development of formal and informal economic activities in urban areas (Radhinal and Ariyanto, 2017). In this case, informal economic activities refer to income-generating processes that are not regulated by community institutions, in a legal and social environment where similar activities are regulated as can be found in Raijman's study (Raijman, 2001). In Kampong Kauman, there is a dualism of formal and informal economic activities.

Formal economic activities in the *kelurahan* are characterized by the presence of traders of jewelry, textiles, houseware, and any kind of foodstuffs, while informal economic activities are characterized by the presence of grocery kiosks selling household needs, vegetable sellers, and retail gold buying and selling businesses. Formal economic activities are located in shophouses, some of which are occupied by their owners or employees, while informal economic activities are located on the sidewalks in front of shophouses that are still operating and shophouses that are closed.

The formal economic activities in Kampong Kauman were able to develop because of the strategic location of the area in the city center and the increasing population, as evidenced by the fact that business owners in Kampong Kauman have inherited their businesses from their descendants. In addition, informal economic activities in this area developed because of land scarcity in the city center and the lack of capital. However, there are similarities in the formal and informal economy that occur in Kampong Kauman, namely economic activities that tend to develop linearly following the pattern of the main roads, namely Jalan Kauman, Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim, Jalan Kanjengan and Jalan Pedamaran.

In addition to having a linear pattern, the informal economy actors in Kampong Kauman are clustered. The traders are migrants from outside Semarang City, namely Kebumen Regency, Tegal City, and Gunung Kidul Regency. Clustering by traders is based on the similarity of origin and kinship between street vendors, where they invite other petty vendors from the same region to do the work in Kampong Kauman. This makes the traders migrate to become temporary residents. Just like other street vendors, the migrants in Kampong Kauman leave their family members in the village. Temporary residents who come from various areas outside Semarang City also live in groups according to their origin with similar types of businesses.

Meanwhile, the elderly who have inhabited in Kampong Kauman for many years (native people) live in the kampongs within the *Kelurahan*, and the majority of them work outside the *Kelurahan* as traders and employees. However, there are also migrants who are married to local residents and continue family business in Kampong Kauman, making them long term migrants, which can be interpreted as people who move for more than 12 months so that the place effectively becomes their new place of residence.

In terms of economic class, temporary residents, the majority of whom work as informal traders, tend to be lower-middle class, while local residents and long-term or permanent migrants tend to be upper-middle class, as they own business premises in Kampong Kauman, although some of them do not live in the same premises but outside the kampong. Long-term migrants who are married to local residents continue to live in Kampong Kauman and interact with other local residents, while residents who only own formal businesses without residing in Kampong Kauman have minimum interaction, given that trading activities are only carried out from morning to evening and interaction with local residents only occurs when needed, for example when making donations for Eid al-Adha and Independence Day.

### 3.3. Population and Migrant Patterns and Motivations in The Colonies

In-migration and out-migration in Kampong Kauman are rare, as the population is dominated by senior residents. Out-migration that occurs in this *Kelurahan* is dominated by younger people, who leave the Kampong Kauman because they have higher financial capacity and feel disturbed by the noise that occurs in the Kampong Kauman area, so they choose to move to other residential areas, for example, such as moving to the upper land area in the south. For in-migration that occurs in Kampong Kauman, there are several factors that influence the occurrence of in-

migration, namely marriage between residents who come from outside Kampong Kauman and residents of Kampong Kauman who then continue the trading business owned by their parents in the Kampong Kauman area. Another factor that causes people to migrate to Kampong Kauman is the high opportunity for trading activities, which according to Puspateja and Soetomo the Kampong Kauman area includes Pasar Johar, which is the largest traditional market in Semarang City, and thus has a strong attraction and life expectancy (Puspateja & Soetomo, 2013).

The migrants who migrate to Kampong Kauman come from outside Semarang City, such as Kebumen Regency, Tegal City, and Gunung Kidul Regency. Their desire to migrate is supported by the lack of jobs in their place of origin, so they choose to migrate with friends and relatives who come from the same area. When compared to the areas of origin of circular migrants, Semarang City itself is considered capable of providing a better life for migrants' families as studied by Puspateja (Puspateja & Soetomo, 2013). This phenomenon is referred to the split households, where family members live in different places (Fan & Li, 2020). From the migrants' point of view, when they migrate and leave their families at home, they can make full use of family resources, such as their land and residence at the hometown, while accessing employment opportunities at the destination so as to maximize income and minimize risks. The investigation done by Hugo realized that by leaving their dependents' behind in the village, migrants reduce their living costs in the destination city as the migrating individual alone can cope with cheaper and less comfortable conditions than those required of his or her family (Hugo, 1982). This is particularly proven in Java, where land is scarce, labor demand is highly seasonal, and the complex informal sector in urban areas allows relatively easier access to employment despite the low income and large investment of time and effort.

In migrating to Kampong Kauman, migrants have a motivation to colonize. Migrants tend to colonize with migrants who have the same place of origin. Circular migrants live in pondok boro (low quality of shelters that mainly in semi-permanent condition) which are mostly located around Pasar Johar, in RW 4 and 5, and are only used in the evening and morning. Those settlement are lack of ventilation, that are used to old houses or former warehouses, and some are even only made of gypsum board, with small access roads, giving the impression of slums, especially when experiencing tidal flooding. The facilities at pondok boro are including a television room, a bathroom, and a food stall. However, there are no facilities for washing and toilet activities (MCK), so the Semarang City Government provided assistance for the construction of 4 MCKs in RW 5 Kampong Kauman. The rental system of Pondok Boro is done in two ways: first, paying when going home without the need to inform the person in charge when going back to the village, and second, paying every afternoon if staying at the cottage. The distance from pondok boro to the market where they sell the commodities is quite close, with the majority of circular migrants trading at a distance of less than 500 meters as observed by Puspateja.

In addition, the types of activities carried out also tend to be the same and are divided into two, namely formal activities that also have informal activities and purely informal sector worker. The formal activities include loading and unloading goods, while in the informal sector, the activities carried out are transportation services for goods that have been purchased. Circular migrants have a motivation to colonize, namely the economic limitations of each migrant, which makes them need each other and help each other, especially financially in times of difficulty. Similarly, the study of Wu in China found, that migrants develop communities based on their city of origin and most migrants help fellow migrants of the same origin (Wu, 2012). The migrants' shared sense of need makes them more comfortable with each other so that although they do not exclude themselves, the migrants' kinship ties are stronger than with locals and other residents.

In addition to circular migrants, there are also local residents who tend to colonize according to their common origin or ethnicity, namely residents with Arab Ethnicity. According to the results of the interviews, residents of Arab Ethnicity in Kampong Kauman tend to be closed and limit interaction from the surrounding neighborhood even though they have lived in Kampong Kauman for decades. These residents are considered more comfortable interacting or clustering with people with the same ethnicity whose similar values. The value of the upper-middle economic level that exists in them is their motivation in making exclusiveness.

### **3.4. Specialty/Characteristics of Each Corridor towards Economic Development**

Based on interviews with residents living in Kampong Kauman, the main road corridors in Kampong Kauman such as Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim, Jalan Kauman, and Jalan Pedamaran are complemented by economic activities with different types of businesses and different characteristics. The grouping of characteristics of each road corridor is shown in the map and figure below.



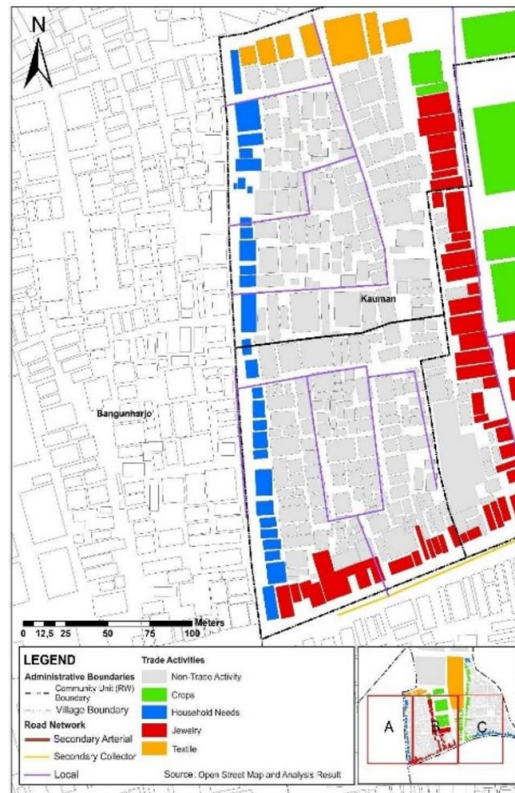


Figure 2. Map of Kauman Corridor

In the Kauman corridor (Jalan Kauman), the type of business is dominated by household appliances, where the items sold are uniforms, electrical appliances, and others. The business owners in Jalan Kauman corridor are dominated by residents of Kampung Kauman, who are of Javanese ethnicity.

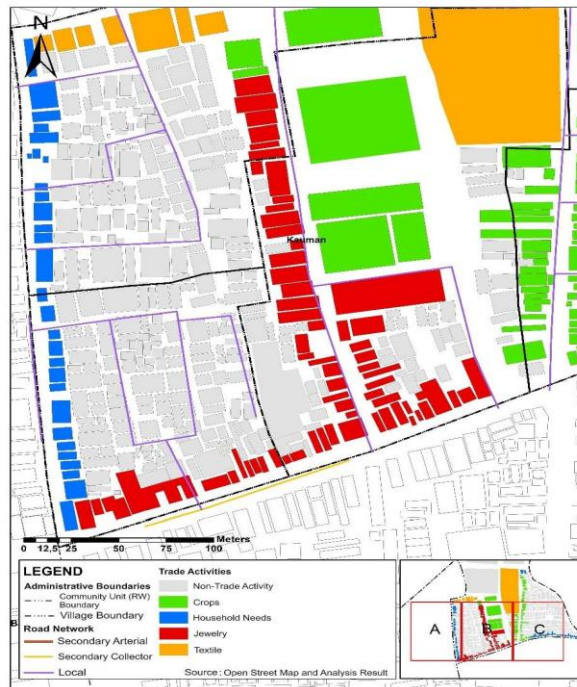
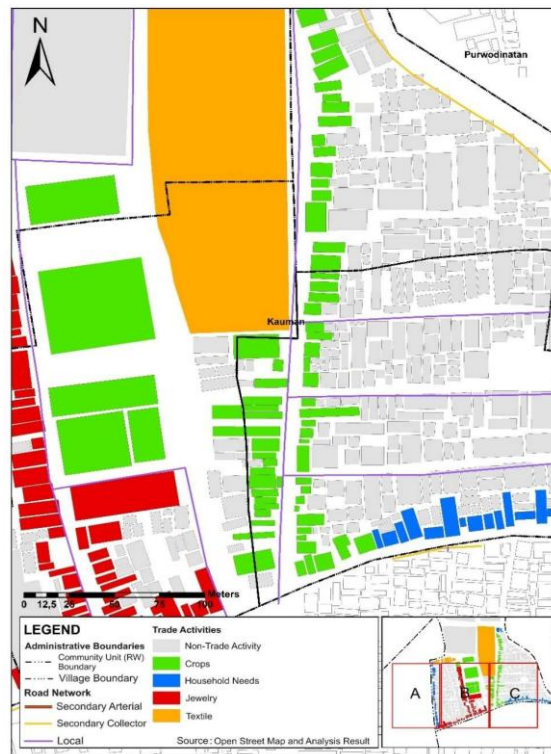


Figure 3. Map of K.H. Wahid Hasyim and Kanjengan Corridor

In other corridors, namely on Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim and Jalan Kanjengan, the type of business is dominated by jewelry. Jewelry business owners in these corridors are dominated by people who do not live in Kampong Kauman, where the business owners do not live in Kampong Kauman, but come from other villages, so that when the shops are closed, the corridors of these two roads tend to have no residential activities. Meanwhile, the majority of business owners in the corridors of Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim and Jalan Kanjengan are of Chinese ethnicity.



*Figure 4. Map of Pedamaran Corridor*

On Jalan Pedamaran, there are foodstuff businesses such as wholesalers of wheat flour, oil, rice with the majority of business owners being residents with Chinese ethnicity, and 4 of the many business owners who sell in Jalan Pedamaran corridor still live in the shophouses, while the rest reside outside Kauman because they feel that their economic conditions have improved for the better and feel disturbed by the noise in the neighborhood. On this road corridor there is also a wholesale market that sells a variety of produce.



*Figure 5. Street vendors in Jalan Pedamaran*



The different types of businesses that exist in Kampong Kauman were originally caused by the presence of Johar Market, which is the center of trade in Semarang City. The development of the market has had a positive impact, improving the economy of the community, especially the traders. However, another impact that occurred in this area was the emergence of a shopping area and then invited street vendors to fill the sidewalks and roads (Azizah, 2015). The street vendors have a variety of commodities, ranging from retail gold, food, to produce such as fruits and vegetables. Street vendors who are actors of informal economic activities are scattered on Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim, Jalan Kanjengan, and Jalan Pedamaran, this is due to the crowds of visitors and the availability of parking lots for motorized vehicles, both two-wheeled and four-wheeled, thus affecting the intensity of visitors passing by and increasing opportunities for shop visitors to be interested in buying the goods they sell. Meanwhile, on Jalan Kauman, informal economic activities do not occur because the road has a narrower width when compared to the other three roads, so there is no land available for parking motorized vehicles and informal economic activity actors such as street vendors.

The different types of businesses in each street corridor in Kampong Kauman give businesses consideration to the agglomeration benefits that occur when they open a business in the neighborhood. For example, if visitors want to buy jewelry, they will tend to visit Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim, because there are many jewelry shops that can be visited on the corridor. The situation will be different if there is only one gold shop in a road corridor. Therefore, the agglomeration that occurs will trigger grouping or clustering. The clustering that occurs can also lead to colonies caused by the similarity of commodities traded. The exchange of shop owners also tends to be more dynamic than the exchange of house owners in residential areas because not all shops are inherited by their descendants. Some shops are the result of buying and selling with relatives of the previous owner.

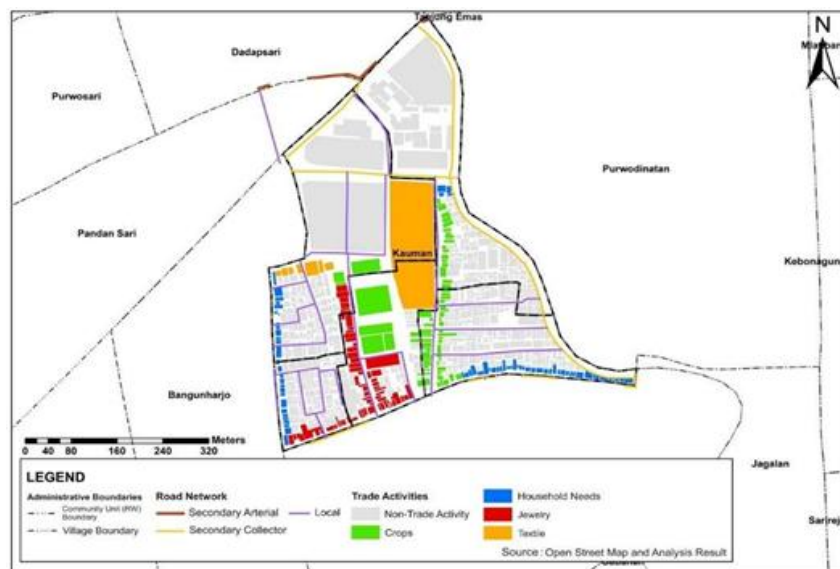


Figure 6. Map of Trade Activities in Kampong Kauman

### 3.5. Factors Affecting Settlement Clustering

In Kampong Kauman, there are several factors that influence settlement clustering, such as access and activity function. Easy access to the main road makes residential buildings and trade and services have a higher economic value compared to settlements on lower road classes. As for the function of economic activity in Kampong Kauman, it can be divided into four, namely there is a trade function as household needs such as electrical appliances, cardboard, building materials in the corridor of Jalan Kauman, then jewelry and textile trade in the corridor of Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim, trade in crops such as crops, vegetables, fruits, wholesale food on Jalan Pedamaran and Jalan Kanjengan, in addition, the difference in road class in this area also affects the economic class of existing trade activities, where for the existing road class on Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim is a secondary collector road, and the economic class of trade in this corridor tends to be higher than other roads which are local roads, where the higher the road hierarchy, the higher the traffic flow that occurs.

In addition, there are other factors, namely history where Jalan K.H. Wahid Hasyim has long been known as a trade center corridor, especially jewelry, so that the existing crowds are used by informal economic businesses to sell at the front of the shops so that it benefits both businesses actors, where formal businesses that sell on busy road corridors make their businesses more frequently visited, while informal businesses also benefit because they can take advantage of the existing crowds to sell retail jewelry and food.

Based on the research, we can find that social and economic transformation has been occurred in Kampong Kauman due to physical and value changing. In social terms, the young generation whose higher financial capacity

tend to use their inheritance living places only for doing business as the need for better living environment without noise and traffic problems. As the consequence, they have less social contact with the neighbors as their ancestor did, therefore the social cohesiveness in the historic kampong becomes issue. In economic terms, the increasing trade and service activity in Kauman as part of the old business district attracts migrants from outside Semarang to live and work as circular migration there. Their settlement that tends to be poor physically makes the kampong becomes worse and crowded. Some areas look like slums. This situation shows how the social change has been taken place in the study area, in which low-income group migrants from outside Semarang create new clusters of migrants. The interesting findings social transformation here is the emergence of new clusters built by the same of origin rather than the same of ethnicity or religion.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Migration in Kampong Kauman is unique, as it is dominated by the communities who have been living for generations. If in-migration does occur in Kampong Kauman, the factor influencing its occurrence is marriage between residents who come from outside of Kampong Kauman and residents of Kampong Kauman who then continue the trading business owned by their parents in the Kampong Kauman area. The out-migration that occurs in this kelurahan is dominated by younger residents, who leave the Kampong Kauman because they already have better economic capabilities and feel disturbed by the noise in the Kampong Kauman area, so they choose to move to other residential areas, for example to the Candi Housing Area. This is included in voluntary migration, where people move because of their own will, such as spontaneous migration as stated by Akbar (Akbar, 2018). In addition, the clustering of economic activities, both informal and formal, in Kampong Kauman is based on different aspects than the clustering of social activities, where segregation arises because of economic motives. Meanwhile, when viewed based on the social activities of the population, such as ethnicity and religion, no segregation emerges. This is due to the fact that residents have lived in Kampong Kauman for two to three generations, so they have been harmonious for a long time regardless of social status, religion or ethnicity. Although the current generation of residents is not as friendly as the previous generation, this is not a problem for the residents because the houses they live in are inherited houses so there are still kinship ties between residents. In addition, there are also residents who have a motive to work outside Kampong Kauman, so they need to migrate out. However, the migration is not based on pulling out of the neighborhood, but rather on the motivation to work.

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