

RETURN AS KAMPUNG: A DEVELOPMENT THINKING PERSPECTIVE OF KAMPUNG SUSUN AKUARIUM REDEVELOPMENT

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Abstract. The Development of Kampung Susun Akuarium has caused many changes. The kampung community had experienced a downturn because they lost their homes, livelihoods and social environment, but they chose to rise again. This research uses a development thinking framework in analyzing the way of views or values of the community, ideas of progress, agents involved, resources, and patterns of change that occur in the kampung community. This framework makes it possible to see community change in various aspects and provides an alternative perspective on development. The qualitative method was carried out with observations and interviews with the community and local leaders, coupled with a review of related literature. As a result, we found that the values as a unified Kampung community continue to be maintained amidst the change. Then, independence and increased capability become the criteria of progress for the community that is being strived for. This is done by actors or institutions that mainly come from the grassroots, namely Koperasi and non-governmental organizations, through community empowerment efforts in improving livelihoods. The local government itself tends to be constrained by internal political dynamics, resulting in a lack of sustainability of the Development program. Finally, the revival of kampung communities is pursued primarily by the communities themselves.

Keywords: Kampung; Development; Change; Koperasi

[Judul: Mengembalikan Jati Diri Kampung: Perspektif Pemikiran Pembangunan dalam Penataan Ulang Kampung Susun Akuarium]. Pembangunan Kampung Susun Akuarium menyebabkan banyak perubahan. Masyarakat kampung sempat mengalami keterpurukan karena kehilangan tempat tinggal, mata pencaharian dan lingkungan sosialnya, namun mereka memilih untuk bangkit kembali. Penelitian ini menggunakan kerangka development thinking dalam menganalisis cara pandang atau nilai-nilai masyarakat, ide-ide kemajuan, agen yang terlibat, sumber daya, hingga pola perubahan yang terjadi di masyarakat kampung. Kerangka ini memungkinkan untuk melihat perubahan masyarakat dalam berbagai aspek dan memberikan perspektif alternatif dalam pembangunan. Metode kualitatif dilakukan dengan observasi dan wawancara mendalam kepada masyarakat dan tokoh setempat, ditambah dengan kajian literatur terkait. Hasilnya, kami menemukan bahwa nilai-nilai sebagai kesatuan masyarakat kampung terus dipertahankan di tengah perubahan. Lalu, kemandirian dan peningkatan kapabilitas menjadi kriteria kemajuan masyarakat yang sedang diperjuangkan. Hal ini dilakukan oleh aktor atau institusi yang terutama berasal dari akar rumput, yaitu koperasi dan lembaga non-pemerintah, melalui upaya pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam meningkatkan penghidupan. Pemerintah daerah sendiri cenderung dibatasi oleh dinamika politik internal, yang mengakibatkan kurang adanya keberlanjutan dari program Pembangunan. Akhirnya, kebangkitan kembali masyarakat kampung diupayakan terutama oleh masyarakat itu sendiri.

Kata Kunci: Kampung; Pembangunan; Perubahan; Koperasi

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1. INTRODUCTION

Slums in big cities like Jakarta are always associated with the *Kampung* area. However, a *kampung* is not necessarily synonymous with slum (McCarthy, 2003). Many assumptions identify *kampung* with a collection of lower-class (poor) people who have inadequate social, environmental and infrastructure conditions. The history of *kampung* development in Jakarta mainly occurred during the colonial era (Kusno, 2017). The Dutch government through the VOC in Batavia did not include *kampung* areas in its urban planning and development, which resulted in the growth of *kampung* without planning. These *kampung* provided housing for laborers at the docks, warehouses, factory workers and other public works. Because of this, the location of the *kampung* is not far from the area where economic activity concentration is located, but the *kampung* does not receive the attention it requires to support the activity of the laborers who are working on the economic powerhouse. It was not until the 20th century that the *kampung* became a destination for migrants from outside Jakarta, who worked as manual laborers who needed a cheap place to live, which was close to their workplace.

One characteristic of the *kampung* is the culture of helping one another or '*gotong royong*', which has enabled the community to be resilient and self-reliant when facing challenges (Kusno, 2023). The condition of the large number of houses which are packed in a small area creates a strong bond between residents. These things then make the bonds of the *kampung* community become deeper, not only to the house and its area, but to the social environment that cannot be separated. However, we should also not misunderstand that a *kampung* is a homogeneous community. In *kampung*, there are many individuals with different socio-economic backgrounds, cultures and motivations.

To overcome the problems surrounding densely populated settlements, DKI Jakarta government has carried out various policies. Since 1969, there has been the *Kampung Improvement Program* (KIP), with housing improvements and basic physical infrastructure such as drainage channels, street

lighting, roads and footpaths, sanitation and waste disposal facilities. Then, there is the *Rumah Susun Sederhana Sewa/Rumah Susun Sederhana Milik* or shortened as *Rusunawa/Rusunami* (Rented /Owned Flats) program, which in its implementation often faces rejection from the evicted *kampung*. Nurdiansyah (2018), portrays one of the programs to overcome the problem of density and slums in Jakarta, namely the *Kampung Deret Program* (Linear Settlement Programs). However, in reality this program faces many problems, one of them is regarding the land legal status that aren't meant for public settlements.

There are many *Kampung* communities in Jakarta with their own problems. One of them is *Kampung Akuarium*, which became the focus of this study. The *Kampung Akuarium* area was once the forerunner of the development of Jakarta. It was once used as a research facility back in the colonial era (Ashadi, Nur'aini, Lissimia, Anisa, & Wahab, 2022). But then, *Kampung Akuarium* is synonymous with the stereotype of a *kampung* in the city with its population density and squalor, thus inviting problems in urban planning. Therefore, the government turned this traditional *kampung* into the *Kampung Susun Akuarium*, which was carried out with the eviction of residents from their homes. Ashadi et al. (2022), also examined the changes in the *akuarium kampung* after the construction of the flats in the physical aspect of the building, namely changes in space and building functions that affect community interaction. Changes that occurred in *Kampung Susun Akuarium* before and after the eviction were found in land function, building type, spatial layout, building construction, house function, home ownership status, socio-economic conditions, and behavior.

Research from Larasati, Hisyam, Hantono, and Afgani (2021), examines the function of local regulations in controlling space utilization in the

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Kampung Akuarium area and the role of these local regulations in overcoming problems in the Kampung Akuarium area. The regulations start from Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning, Government Regulation (PP) of the Republic of Indonesia Number 68 of 2010 concerning the Forms and Procedures for Community Roles in Spatial Planning and Regional Regulation of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province Number 1 of 2014 concerning Detailed Spatial Planning and Zoning Regulations. As a result, the implementation of spatial utilization control still causes many conflicts that are detrimental to the sustainability of the lives of people living in the area. Fadhliana M, Nurcahyanto, and Marom (2022), examined the implementation of improving the quality of settlement of the Kampung Susun Akuarium community, through a community action plan (CAP). This study found that there were several obstacles in implementation, especially in collaboration with the community.

With these various studies on kampung or urban poor development, this research focuses on kampung development with a development thinking framework, namely by looking at how the system values that actually exist within the *kampung* community, then what is the definition of progress or idea of progress for them. The expression 'development thinking' may be used as a catch-all phrase indicating the sum total of ideas about development, that is, including pertinent aspects of development theory, strategy and ideology (Potter, 2024). In Development Thinking, a new set of ideas about previous development theories and strategies is not completely abandoned and replaced. Instead, theories and strategies tend to nest, on top of each other, side by side and in conflict with each other.

It is suggested here that four major approaches to the examination of development thinking can be recognized. Following Potter (2024), development theory can be recognized by virtue of their characteristics with regard to the dimensions of holistic-economic and normative-positive. The approaches are (i) the classical-traditional approach; (ii) the historical-empirical approach; (iii)

the radical political economy-dependency approach; and, finally, (iv) bottom-up and alternative approaches.

Then, according to Sen (1979), development thinking mainly includes increasing the capabilities of individuals or groups, shifting the understanding from just economic growth to increasing the welfare and freedom of the community. This approach emphasizes the importance of creating opportunities for individuals to live a life they value, rather than simply increasing material possessions. By promoting capability, development efforts can aim to empower individuals and enhance their capabilities, thereby contributing to a more inclusive and sustainable form of development. Capabilities themselves refer to substantive freedoms that encompass the doings and beings that a person can achieve, covering basic needs such as adequate nutrition, health and a sense of being valued. In addition, it can extend to more complex capabilities such as the ability to participate effectively in community life and have the freedom to choose a life that can be valued. This becomes very important and significant in conducting development programs, in order to get a deep understanding of what to do and not do to accommodate the changes needed by the community.

Therefore, this research aims to answer questions about the meaning of changes that occur for them. By looking deeper into the value system of the Kampung Akuarium community, the idea of progress, the resources of the community and the role of the actors involved. This research is useful for the advancement of development studies and urban studies, especially the development of the urban poor by understanding their lives and value systems. This is important for development policy makers, especially local governments who often make development policies without looking deeper into the community itself, resulting in public decision-making errors. Kampung development that has occurred so far tends to focus on the provision of basic infrastructure, in this case settlements without thinking about the sustainability of the urban poor with their respective characters and problems.

2. METHODS

This article attempts to capture the changes that occurred in the Kampung Akuarium community after the revitalization or redevelopment into Kampung Susun Akuarium (from landed housing to vertical housing manner). We also identify the actors involved and their roles in the development process and perceive the kampung community understanding of the idea of progress for them, which can be different from the government. This research used a qualitative approach by conducting field observations and in depth-interviews. We interviewed several informant, which consisted of two residents and local kampung leaders, namely the *Ketua Rukun Tetangga* (RT) or Head of the neighborhood association and the Chairperson of the Koperasi Serba Jasa Usaha Aquarium Bangkit Mandiri in Kampung Susun Akuarium to obtain the information needed and analyze the framework of development analysis. These informants were selected based on their involvement in the changes to the Kampung Akuarium, which mainly involved the role of Ketua RT, the Cooperative and the community members. We also conducted study of related literature reviews and spatial area study of Kampung Susun Akuarium through observations using Google Earth Pro, to get an overview of changes in the kampung structure from conventional to kampung susun.

After that we analyzed the findings using a development thinking framework (Potter, 2024). This framework allows us to see society's perspective on development and the changes that occur. Development thinking is not just about theoretical interpretation of facts, but about values, aspirations, social goals, and ultimately what is the moral, ethical and justice in a phenomena. This would show that changes in development studies lead to an evolution of ideas (Potter, 2024). Therefore, this research will explore aspects of way of view (values) by identifying changes in the group's perspective; criteria of progress reflected in the vision or change strategy; order & structure by identifying the institutions involved in change; resource & agent by identifying the potential resources that society has to change; and deliberate changes to see the pattern of changes that occur.

From there, we will then look at alternative development approaches as a novelty.

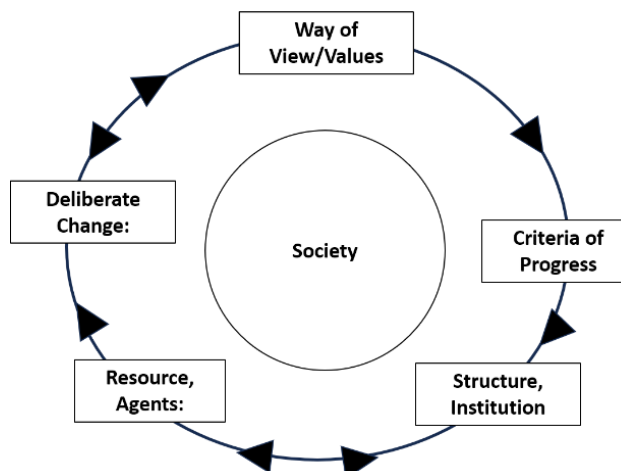


Figure 1. Development Thinking Framework
Source: Potter (2024)

This framework (Figure 1) will explain the phenomenon of change in society, in this case, in Kampung Akuarium. This *Kampung* is located on *jalan* (Street) Pasar Ikan, North Jakarta, part of RT.12/RW.04 area (previously divided into RT.01 and 11, after revitalization only one remains, RT.12), Penjaringan District, North Jakarta. It is bordered on the west by Kampung Luar Batang, on the north by Jakarta Bay and the Java Sea, on the east by Sunda Kelapa Harbor, and on the south by the Hexagon Market (former Fish Market) and the Bahari Museum. Further south is the Old City Center with its iconic Fatahillah Museum or Jakarta History Museum (see Figure 2).



- | | | | |
|--|---------------------|--|--------------------|
| | Kampung Akuarium | | Hexagon Market |
| | Maritime Museum | | Fish Market Museum |
| | Sunda Kelapa Harbor | | Luar Batang Mosque |

Figure 2. Location of Kampung Akuarium

Source: Google Earth Pro (March, 2015), accessed in 2023

The area of Kampung Akuarium from the north and east sides facing the sea was covered by a high wall before the eviction in 2016. Meanwhile, the west and south sides were left open because there is an access roads (from *Jalan Pasar Ikan*) to Kampung Luar Batang and Kampung Akuarium. The Kampung Akuarium area has a natural formed character, which is a physical character that occurs by the existence of Sunda Kelapa Harbor and is surrounded by Maritime Tourism Culture (a form of community cultural attachment to the sea).

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this section we will describe the condition of the Kampung Akuarium community that has experienced a resurgence, from the downturn they experienced during the eviction, the redevelopment into a Kampung Susun, and to the participation of the community in the development plan. Then, we analyze the findings with development thinking analysis that shows the changes that occur in the community in more detail and then we explore the alternative development approach to provide further understanding.

3.1. *Kampung Akuarium Eviction*

The eviction of Kampung Akuarium was carried out because of its increasingly chaotic environment, and was considered an area with a very strategic location to be used as a maritime tourism area by DKI Jakarta Provincial Government at that time (Ashadi et al., 2022). Furthermore, there was a plan to build a sheet piles to prevent sea water from coming in, which located right where Kampung Akuarium is standing. Next factor, the discovery of cultural heritage is another factor in the eviction of Kampung Akuarium, where the existence of housing is not in accordance with Governor Regulation Number 36 of 2014 about the Old City Master Plan (Larasati et al., 2021). The purpose of the eviction of the Kampung Akuarium area is to restore the spatial function that should have been allocated to PD Pasar Jaya and hence the area is not allowed to be used as a residential area as stated in Regional Regulation No.1 of 2014 about RDTR and Zoning Regulations where this area is a red subzone intended for local government areas (Larasati et al., 2021). The eviction of this *kampung* certainly

received rejection from some residents. After the eviction, some of the residents of the area chose to build shacks from the remaining ruins of the Kampung Akuarium. Before being rebuilt as Kampung Susun Akuarium, the residents of the area were relocated to government-owned flats in Marunda and Rawa Bebek. However, not all residents of Kampung Akuarium who have been evicted agreed with the relocation action. Many of the residents still choose to live in the ruins by utilizing the remnants of their destroyed houses and tents to serve as shelter on the flattened land. One of the sources mentioned that in total, there were 49 families who continued to live in the ruins, but over time the number increased due to the source of economy of many residents who had been relocated are within close proximity to that of Kampung Akuarium

However, the residents did not remain in silence, after being evicted on April 11, 2016, the residents sued the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government at the end of the year. In 2018, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government established temporary housing in the form of shelters as a form of accommodating the wishes of residents who still want to live in the area. In total, there are 103 households living in the shelter (Ashadi et al., 2022). As revealed by sources at the location, the period of living in the shelter was the toughest period experienced by settlers who remained in the area. During the two years after the eviction, 22 people died from diseases such as tuberculosis, acute ulcers, and acute respiratory infection due to dust from the rubbles. During this period residents did not have access to health or education organized by the government. This was due to the suspension of residents ID cards (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk*), an administration requirements by the government that could not be fulfilled by the citizen.

3.2. *Kampung Akuarium Redevelopment*

The planning for the redevelopment of Kampung Akuarium as a flat was carried out during the period of the Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period. The planning for the development of Akuarium Kampung is part of the implementation of the kampung arrangement program in DKI Jakarta, which is a political planning between residents and

the Regional Government through the Governor. The planning is to be implemented to transform the spatial arrangement allocated for kampung, initiate land legality for kampung, and create affordable housing programs for the poor. However, the planning to rebuild Kampung Akuarium as a settlement sparked opposition because it was considered that there were permit violations in it (Larasati et al., 2021).



Figure 3. Top view of the eviction of Kampung Akuarium, 2016

Source: Google Earth Pro (July, 2016), Captured in 2023

The redevelopment of the akuarium kampung is stated in Governor Decree No. 878/2018 on the Task Force for the Implementation of Kampung and Community Arrangement, in which Kampung Akuarium is included in Appendix III. Furthermore, the redevelopment coincides with Governor Regulation Number 90 of 2018 about Improvement of Settlement Quality in the Framework of Integrated Settlement Area Arrangement. The two regulations above are regulations that oversee the improvement of the quality of settlements and communities (Fadhliana M et al., 2022). The two regulations are regulations that emphasize community participation in settlement development, with the intended participation being that settlement development adapts to the needs and original characteristics of the kampung as an effort to realize national provisions in spatial planning and the active role of the community in implementing Law No. 26 of 2007 and PP No. 68 of 2010 (Fadhliana M et al., 2022; Larasati et al., 2021).



Figure 4. Top View of Redevelopment of Kampung Susun Akuarium in 2021

source: google earth (December, 2021), captured in 2023

2022 is the deadline for the construction progress as stated in the contract agreement and conveyed by the Head of the RT of Kampung Susun Akuarium. In the planning, there is a construction plan for five towers of Kampung Susun Akuarium. However, until now (December 2023), the completion progress of the Kampung Susun Akuarium is far from completion. The construction of the last tower (Tower E) has still not been carried out. Chairperson of the Koperasi Serba Jasa Usaha Aquarium Bangkit Mandiri in Kampung Susun Akuarium, Dharma Diani, explained that this obstacle began to occur when there was a change in the leadership of DKI Jakarta. The current PLT Governor (Temporary Governor) of DKI is considered to no longer prioritize the construction of the Kampung Susun Akuarium. This is suspected due to differences in political views and perspectives in seeing the problem of Kampung Susun Akuarium.



Figure 5. Kampung Susun Akuarium Redevelopment Timeline

3.3. Community Participation

The eviction in 2016 has left a painful trauma among the residents of Kampung Akuarium. Those who choose to stay in the remnant seek a way to pertain what was once their home. In a desperate situation to voicing out their aspirations. The residents who choose to stay gathered and form Koperasi Jasa Serba Usaha Akuarium Bangkit Mandiri. Koperasi then became a medium where it's member which comprises only of residents of Kampung Akuarium could participate in a proactive manner, according to Dharma Diani, head of Koperasi in 2023.

Under Anies Baswedan Gubernur regime, a cooperation was initiated, forming a collaboration known as Community Action Plan (CAP). CAP is a planning process that involves the community to create collaboration between the government and the community in the planning phase (Fadhliana M et al., 2022). The community is a very influencing actor within the constellation of community action plan. It signifies that the role of the community in decision making is to create the decision which represent the community itself as they are the one with the most information that are shared within their daily lives, and hence an efficient and representative decision could be resulted (Omar, Omar, Othman, & Yusoff, 2016).

The CAP phase was carried out in two stages, namely pre-CAP or preparation for the upcoming CAP and CAP. During the pre-CAP the residents which unionized under koperasi along with external facilitators such as RUJAK RCUS, Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota, and LBH Jakarta create a discussion forum in designing their initial plan ahead from November 2017 to April 2018. CAP phase was carried out together with a consultant directly appointed by DKI Jakarta Government namely Harja Moekti consultant. The result of the whole process of Pre-CAP and CAP is a construction or development of flats for the residents which stated by Dharma Diani in 2023. During both the pre-CAP & CAP, the residents which unionized under

Koperasi, and the facilitators in active manners to formulates the initial statement for the long run plan of the Kampung Susun Akuarium. Being the result of this discussion is the decision to rebuild Kampung Akuarium in a vertical manner.

Rijal (2023), stated through participation in the scheme, essentially it increases the legitimacy and accountability of a decision making process. As it involving the beneficiaries it may produced a much more subtle decision that reflects their needs and fulfils their satisfaction. It also minimizes the challenges that may rise ahead, hence it is a mode of efficiency and effectiveness while at the same time serves as a way of minimizing conflict. As the nature of involving the beneficiaries and facilitators it may also lead to a creation of ideation. But, above anything else, through a participation mode, a community empowerment shall be reached

Participation is still a saturated aspect in Kampung Susun Akuarium. Up until this day participation is depicted through Koperasi which comprises of residents itself, acting as a management official in Kampung Susun Akuarium. Not only managing the physical aspects, but it also serves as a tool to empower the social life in Kampung Susun Akuarium.

3.4. Development Thinking Analysis

Various problems and policies have been formulated to overcome the problems of Kampung Susun Akuarium, but often provide new problems, resulting in horizontal and vertical conflicts with the local government. Now the kampung community has been given a new form of housing that is much different from before - very organized and uniform - which is one of the answers to their problems so far. The change from a slum and unplanned kampung community to *kampung susun* must have provided many stories and challenges in the community. The result of analysis that has been found from the field study could be found on Figure 6.

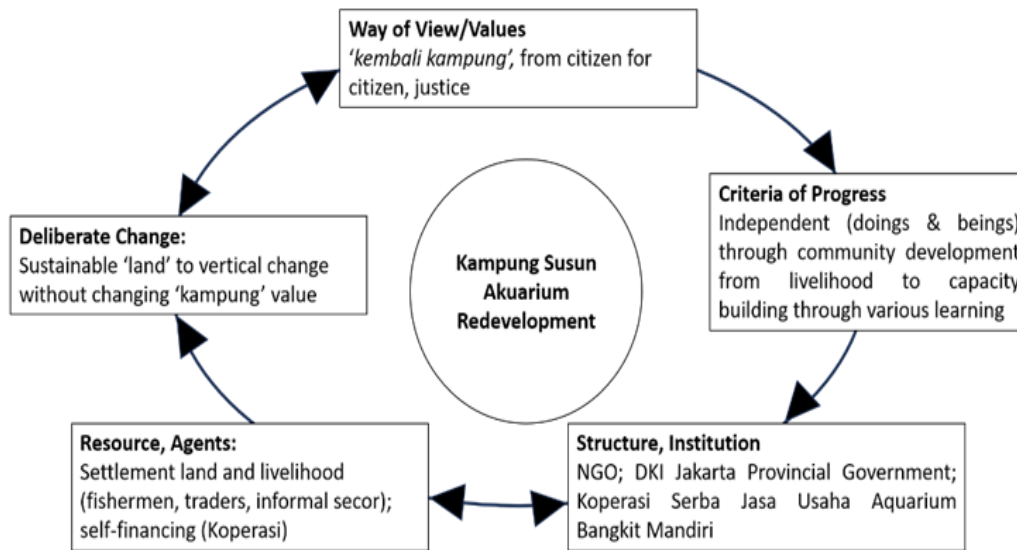


Figure 6. Development Thinking Analysis

3.4.1. Value & Idea of Progress of Kampung Susun Akuarium Community

"So our initial goal, First, we want to 'return as kampung' for people who have a house with assets here, but because the process cannot be done all at once, the return is also gradual. Second, Kampung Susun Akuarium is organized based on collaboration, we want to manage this kampung by ourselves, from residents for residents", (Dharma, Diani 2023).

From the interview, it can be stated that the core value of the long run plan of Kampung Susun Akuarium is to 'return as kampung'. This then implies that those who can live here, in the newly developed Kampung Susun Akuarium are those who lost their homes in eviction in 2016. Secondly the utmost important aspect is that the strong bonds, 'gotong royong' between the residents which characterized Kampung in general are pertained in a way of activity that is conducted through koperasi as organization.

"We have already felt the pain of. If we still take it easy now, we won't become anything...The idea is that after the houses are developed, the economy of the community must also develop" (Dharma Diani, 2023).

The statement above indicates that there is a progress in increasing capability. Capability is the choice of what actions can be done (doings) and the choice of what kind of person (beings) one chooses to be (Sen, 1979). In this sense, a person needs the

necessary means to achieve the desired state. The capability approach is a change in perspective that was originally oriented towards means to goals. The means are the resources that people have and the public goods that they can access, which means what they can do with the availability of resources and public goods.

The concept of capability has broadened into a bigger locus of collective systems (Pratiyudha, Kafaa, Farransahat, & Suyatna, 2022). In this sense a collective capabilities is defined as a capability that is achieved and generated as involvement of individuals with their capabilities in a collective action are applied in accordance to achieve life that they value, hence it is a mutual understanding of collection of capabilities (Pratiyudha et al., 2022). Basta (2015), adopted the capability approach from Sen and Rawls to carry out spatial planning. According to him, capability is related to identification, prioritization and steps aimed at advancing justice in society in urban environments.

In this case through a collective capabilities under Koperasi, firstly it acted as an enabler of gathering forces, it increased their power to voicing out the aspiration, then it also became a medium of collecting aspiration as in example of CAP process. Then after an establishment has been achieved, Koperasi then distributes empowerment to its members such as in providing the members with training so that they could participate in a job and

opening business unit to expand its income (Figure 7). Hence a collective action to sprouting up capabilities in its member.



Figure 7. Results of Empowerment and Community Businesses of Kampung Akuarium

3.4.2. Institutions - Agents & Resources

Institutions are the fundamental spheres of social action, exchange, and communication, they encompass the whole population of a given society (Abrutyn, 2014). Institutions consist of individuals, collectives, and groups of collective actors whose actions, exchanges, and communications are facilitated and constrained by the division of labor. Agency then emerges as an important component of empowerment, to be able to make choices and realize desired outcomes. Agency can be defined as the ability to act on what is valued. Then, attention to 'agency', well-being and the expansion of individual capabilities draws great attention to discourses of human development and poverty (Tiwari, 2014).

During the development journey of Kampung Susun Akuarium, many institutions were involved in ordaining the development, it involves the government, the private sector, and the residents. In 2017, the people who settled to live in the remnant of Kampung Akuarium decided to create an aspiration platform in the form of pre-Koperasi. The idea of forming a Koperasi did not come out of nowhere, it was based on the need for a forum for struggle and aspiration on behalf of the Kampung Susun Akuarium residents. Koperasi then not only acts as an institution that takes care of the financing

of Kampung Susun Akuarium, but also has the role of collective agency (Tiwari, 2014). Koperasi gave the ability of the community to act on behalf of what the community values and has the reason to value becomes ever more significant amidst groups experiencing both economic and social resources constraints. Koperasi plays an active role as a mediator between the residents of Kampung Akuarium and the provincial government and private parties during the development planning process of Kampung Susun Akuarium. In running its empowerment and business, Koperasi tries to see the potential of the community, especially in relation to their resources as informal sector workers and fishermen.

The institutions that were also involved in the development of the Kampung Susun Akuarium were non-governmental and private institutions including the Rujak Center for Urban Studies, the Urban Poor Consortium, Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota, and the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH Jakarta). These non-governmental organizations acted as facilitators who listened to and provided input to the residents of Kampung Akuarium during the planning process. In the planning process of Kampung Susun Akuarium, there were often differences of opinion between the residents affiliated with the Koperasi and the planning institutions. In addition, differences of opinion also occurred in the transition of leadership in the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government. Thus, we can see the dynamics related to the push and pull of priorities between the institutions involved in the planning and execution of Kampung Susun Akuarium.



Figure 8. The Sea as a Resource for Kampung Akuarium

3.4.3. *Deliberate Change in Kampung Susun Aquarium*

The community of the Kampung Susun aquarium is undergoing a transition of change after the reconstruction of buildings in the kampung. The change from a conventional kampung structure to a vertical one certainly has an impact on various aspects of community life. This transition of change is not only with the shape of the building but also with the conditions of community livelihoods, community social interactions, institutions and more deeply the idea of progress from the 'kampung' itself. However, the changes that occur here are sought to occur partially or incrementally rather than radically which will make structural changes as a whole. Incremental changes are continuous changes made by an organization to maintain the general balance of the organization. It is usually limited to one part of the organization and the impact is felt by that part alone (Meyer, Brooks, & Goes, 1990).

Long-term change in housing regimes is most fruitfully analysed as a reciprocal interaction between physical and social structures, between formal and social institutions, and between critical junctures and incremental change. Bengtsson and Kohl (2020), observed at incremental change in settlement area, according to them, this pattern of change can be seen through two things, namely changes in the physical structure of settlements and institutional changes.

Institutionally, the change is manifested through Koperasi as a new form of *kampung* management based on grassroots movements, replacing conventional institutions that are part of the formal local government structure, for example through the Regional Work Unit (SKPD), for some aspects of services that can be coordinated by the residents themselves. Through this institution, initiatives are also born through community empowerment programs. Building is one aspect and the initial foundation of change that brings hope for the better for the kampung, but the sense of belonging to the kampung that has changed shape needs to be maintained.

Change is not to be interpreted as a change in the *kampung* system into a new form of community, which is more 'modern' following the shape of the buildings that seem modern. The community still wants to be recognized as a unity of the *kampung*, without any significant changes in values and habits, which may only change the physical form of the house. As a *kampung*, there is already a collective awareness to jointly build and maintain what has been given. Without the same sense of awareness and understanding of the concept of *kampung*, they will feel no different from residents who 'live' in rental flats, as offered by the previous government. This sense of awareness and ownership is what local kampung leaders are trying to continue to cultivate, one of which is through the concept of Koperasi in the management of flats.

The process of *kampung* development that involves community participation from the beginning of planning (Pre-CAP and CAP) to implementation is also part of the efforts to foster a sense of responsibility and ownership of the changed *kampung*. Changes in the structure of the *kampung* building are not expected to change the collective memory of the community regarding the origin and history of the kampung. Instead, these changes should serve as a foundation for the *kampung* community to face the future challenges of life in urban areas that are always full of uncertainty, ranging from economic, social, political to legal uncertainty.

3.5. *Alternative Development*

The theory and implementation of Development that has been developed so far has a common denominator, which is oriented towards the state or government as the main actor. However, its development shows a tendency to shift towards an Alternative Development Perspective (Potter, 2024; Seda, 2023), where the state is not the only pillar or main actor in the development process. Other pillars or actors that are no less important are the market and society itself. The Alternative Development Perspective is characterized by redefining the meaning of development and shifting the entire perspective towards civil society. Redefining the meaning of development means that human welfare and development is the ultimate

goal of development and not economic growth alone.

The development approach in modernist theories tends to emphasize the role of the state as a superstructure, but alternative development provides more space for other actors, namely local communities as the foundation of human development. This means that development so far continues to be dominated by issues in the realm of the economy (corporations) and the state (government) and should place more emphasis on the realm of society and community. In this approach, the role of the state does not become weak, but has a symmetrical portion with the market and society. The market-driven globalization process is accompanied by a stronger process of local community independence.

The state or government organizers are not the only parties that can provide solutions to social problems such as poverty and inequality in society. The market can also contribute to the solution of social problems through various Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs. Communities consisting of various communities, groups, and organizations, and assisted by the presence of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) with increased independence and self-empowerment will be able to increasingly have the capacity, capability, and collaboration to find effective solutions in dealing with various poverty problems. Thus, they can be sovereign over their welfare and communal ideas about progress and not just be objects receiving aid and policies from the state and the market.

3.5.1. *Koperasi as a Synthesis of Kampung Community Development*

Koperasi not only plays a significant role in economic locus. According to Nuraini and HS (2022), koperasi also embarked on a commitment in a broader locus of social which reflect its effort as a means of generating social welfare of its members. Koperasi created an environment where its members could help each other, exchange information, creating a strong bond and in turn, not only democratic participation is increased Nuraini and HS (2022).

In the case of kampung susun akuarium, the role of the Koperasi, which was built on the initiative of the community, is significant and central compared to the local government. Koperasi became a non-state actor that accommodated and channeled the needs and aspirations of the *kampung* community. This was initially based on the community's disappointment with the policies and implementation of kampung susun development carried out by the local government and the private sector, which could not accommodate the aspirations and needs of the community. With Koperasi, a sense of ownership and awareness of the progress of the *kampung* can be managed, because it is implemented with the principle of 'from us to us'. Koperasi manages all basic facilities and services for residents with a fee system, replacing the usual rental fee system in government flats. In fact, it further becomes a driving agent that empowers the *kampung* community to rise and advance according to the idea of its community.

The implication is that everything is managed by the residents, from cleanliness, security, health, small business development, and other community empowerment programs. With this self-management, they also reject the further role of the local government to enter into the community space. In addition, the central role of non-governmental institutions, namely the Rujak Center, Urban Poor Consortium and other institutions has also become a facilitator of residents' aspirations, especially during the planning stage (pre-CAP & CAP) and will continue to oversee the development implementation stage until now. With this approach, it means that the physical development of kampung susun is not the ultimate goal of the progress of the kampung community, but more than that is what they can do to be able to stand on their own and realize the community's ability to develop.

3.5.2. *Kampung Dilemma*

The ethical dilemma in slum redevelopment lies in its intersection with poverty alleviation efforts. On the one hand, slum kampungs are transformed into aesthetically pleasing modern buildings that are integrated with the rest of the city, but on the other hand, the government often neglects the purpose

of the development, which is to empower the community according to their idea of progress. Housing is a basic facility that must be accommodated by the government, but it is not the main goal. The purpose of residential development is to improve the welfare of its residents, both in terms of economic, social and environmental relations. So, what the community can do after the shelter is built is to execute the main purpose of the development itself.

Kampung communities are retained in an urban area, but their empowerment is still neglected. Access to livelihood improvement does not come with residential revitalization. They may live in a nicer and more livable place, but with the same job and wages, as labors whose wages are unequal, fishermen who do not have boats, small traders who do not have business capital, or domestic workers who do not have job security and protection, nothing has changed except the form of housing.



Figure 9. Kampung Susun Aquarium and Neighboring
Source: Observation Results, 2023

There is an attempt to keep them in an urban ecosystem that needs cheap labor close to industry, *"if not us, who else would do dirty jobs like in the market or other menial jobs, we are definitely also needed by the city"* so a sentence from the residents of the kampung susun aquarium.

According to Kusno (2023), *kampung* forms a mutually constitutive relation with the formalized city in the coproduction of a urban norm and form that is "middle" in position. *Kampung* exist, survive and grow within the contradictions of capitalism, which causes inequality in urban development. Thus, *kampung* that are socially considered

marginal need to be placed centrally in the middle of cities and capital centers. The presence of the urban poor is needed to do dirty work, namely jobs that are dangerous, dirty, temporary and poorly paid. So their presence close to industry is also a certainty. Rather than empowerment, it is their disempowerment that is needed in the city, and ironically they become actors in achieving the 'progress' of other communities.

4. CONCLUSION

The community of Kampung Aquarium is experiencing changes that have been occurring since the eviction to the redevelopment into Kampung Susun Aquarium. Through the development thinking framework, we found that there are values that unite them as a community. Changes in the shape of the building does not necessarily change their living system as a kampung community in the metropolitan city of Jakarta. On the contrary, these traditional values are their resources to continue to progress amidst the siege of urban modernity. These idea of progress were then institutionalized, namely a Koperasi. The role of Koperasi become central as an institution that strive to increase the capabilities and independence of the community, both as individuals and collectively.

Koperasi also act as agents that increase public awareness about their resources that have not been explored, both natural and human resources. Besides that in this process of change the involvement of non-state actors in the development also initiated with assistance from NGO. Meanwhile, the government, in this case the DKI Provincial Government, still tends to focus only on providing access to housing by prioritizing the physical aspects of the building, without further thinking about the sustainability of the community's lives.

Their existence as a *kampung* community needs to be maintained, so as not to lose the reason why they are in one community and the needs of the community to develop their ideas of progress. This is where other actors come into play and fill the void of government presence. A symmetrical

triangulation between the government, the market and the community needs to be fought for, where so far the position of the community is considered weaker and has no significant influence. However, the struggle carried out by the people of the Kampung Susun Akuarium needs to be applied to other communities, especially communities that are marginalized in the development process controlled by the modern development paradigm.

The alternative approaches to development that emphasize the important role of non-state actors can be an approach that complements the shortcomings of the mainstream approach to urban development, which emphasizes the role of the government in controlling the way of life of kampung communities. This alternative view needs to receive a larger portion in development policy, so that community involvement does not stop only at the time of planning, but throughout their life in their environment.

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