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**KARYA ILMIAH: BOOK CHAPTER**

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The Urban Kampung : The Case of Semarang

Jumlah Penulis : 3 penulis

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Semarang, 11 Mei 2023  
Reviewer



Dr. Ars. Anita Ratnasari Rakhmatulloh, ST, MT  
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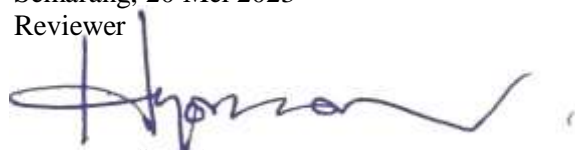
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	Internasional/ 15	Nasional	Nilai Akhir yg diperoleh
a. Kelengkapan unsur isi buku (10%)	1,5		1
b. Ruang lingkup dan kedalaman pembahasan (30%)	4,5		3
c. Kecukupan dan kemutakhiran data/informasi dan metodologi (30%)	4,5		3
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	15		11,5
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Semarang, 20 Mei 2023

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b.Ruang lingkup dan kedalaman pembahasan (30%)	3	3	3
c.Kecukupan dan kemutakhiran data/informasi dan metodologi (30%)	3	3	3
d.Kelengkapan unsur dan kualitas terbitan/buku(30%)	4,5	3	3.5
<b>Total = (100%)</b>	11,5	10	<b>10,5</b>
<b>Nilai = (40% x 10,5)= 4,2/2= 2,1</b>			

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# Routledge Handbook of Urban Indonesia

Edited by Sonia Roitman and Deden Rukmana



# ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF URBAN INDONESIA

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This handbook focuses on the practices, initiatives, and innovations of urban planning in response to the rapid urbanisation in Indonesian cities.

2

The book provides rigorous evidence of planning Indonesian cities of different sizes. Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country, is increasingly urbanising. Through the lens of the Sustainable Development Goals, chapters examine specific policies and projects and analyse 19 cities, ranging from a megacity of over ten million residents to metropolitan cities, large cities, medium cities, and small cities in Indonesia. The handbook provides a diverse view of urban conditions in the country. Discussing current trends and challenges in urban planning and development in Indonesia, it covers a wide range of topics organised into five main themes: Indonesian planning context; informality, insurgency, and social inclusion; design, spatial, and economic practices; creative and innovative practices; and urban sustainability and resilience.

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11

**Sonia Roitman** is Associate Professor in Development Planning at The University of Queensland (UQ), Australia. Her research interests include housing and poverty alleviation policies; the role of grassroots organisations in urban planning; disaster planning and informal practices; and gated communities, segregation, and planning instruments in Global South cities. Her main research locations are Indonesia, Uganda, Argentina, and Australia. She serves in the Board of the RC21 Committee (Research Committee of the Sociology of Urban and Regional Development, International Sociological Association) since 2014.

22

**Deden Rukmana** is Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Community and Regional Planning at Alabama A&M University, USA. He has eight years of experience as an urban planner in Indonesia. His research centres on health disparities and homelessness in the US, and spatial planning and development challenges in Indonesia. His previous publications include *The Routledge Handbook of Planning Megacities in the Global South* (ed., 2020). He serves as the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning representative to the Global Planning Education Association Network (GPEAN) since 2022.

“This comprehensive collection draws issues and materials from a whole range of Indonesian cities making it a definitive one-volume source on the urban conditions of the largest archipelago in the world. It gathers an extraordinary cast of contributors from Indonesia and international urban scholars to present a panoramic view of historical, theoretical and empirical accounts of Indonesian cities, with implications for the study of urbanization and urban planning the world over. An indispensable resource for anyone interested in the dynamics of urban change in Indonesia and beyond.”

*-Abidin Kusno, York University, Canada*

“Writing from cities large and small, from the academy and beyond, and across the Indonesian archipelago, the studies in this book go beyond a review of urban planning in Indonesia; they provide novel insights into the contemporary Southern urban condition. Most importantly, the book decenters professional urban planning by highlighting the multiple ways that grassroots movements, NGOs and ordinary urban residents are struggling for and contributing to the creation of more just and sustainable cities.”

*-Helga Leitner, UCLA, United States of America*

“This book is authoritative and representative. It doesn't only help us see how urbanization works in Indonesia but also shows to the world how Indonesia sees urbanization works. From informality to creativity, from history to sustainability, the book doesn't miss any aspect of how Indonesia uniquely contributes to the global understanding of urbanization.”

*-Delik Hudalah, Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia*

“I would make this volume essential reading for every urban student on the planet. This handbook presents intelligent commentary and case studies of all the truly important planning challenges now facing the majority of the world's urban peoples. It is high time that Southeast Asia's massive successes in urban-led poverty reduction, economic and social advancement, and governmental modernisation were told. This book will help reshape this century's planning debates.”

*-Chris Webster, Hong Kong University*

“Indonesia is known largely through studies of its metropolitan centre, Jakarta, and surrounding *desakota* landscapes. But the Indonesian archipelago encompasses a diverse array of towns, cities and urbanisms. The editors have assembled a long-overdue volume that begins to do justice to this urban diversity. They bring critical postcolonial planning perspectives to bear on 19 cities, including several that have remained ‘off the map’ of urban planning discussions. Even more significantly, this skilfully-curated handbook compels and enables us to revisit planning theory and practice from urbanizing Indonesia.”

*-Tim Bunnell, National University of Singapore*

# ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF URBAN INDONESIA

*Edited by*  
*Sonia Roitman and Deden Rukmana*

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*For our families and all the people who contribute to improving Indonesian cities  
and their residents' lives*



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# THE STREET ALLEY (GANG) AS NEGOTIATING SPACE IN THE URBAN *KAMPUNG*

## The Case of Semarang

*Wakhidah Kurniawati, Diah Intan Kusumo Dewi, and Nurini*

In the era of rapid urbanisation, the *kampung* (residential settlement) as representative of informal development patterns exhibits a critical aspect of the distinctive urban setting which is true for many cities in Indonesia. It serves a specific function in the city as it is home to large numbers of the urban poor who have no connection to the official housing market. Communities in a *kampung* participate in economic and social activities in several forms in their own neighbourhood (see Chapter 18 about the ‘creative *kampung*’ in Solo), and in most cases, these activities occupy street alleys (*gangs*). The *gang* is the primary physical asset and context for the *kampung* community’s activities. It is a negotiated space that shows the inhabitants’ acceptance of one another. Residents do not seem to mind sharing this space for all activities. The *gang* and the condition of acceptance it engenders reduce social vulnerability and can even eliminate social conflict in these informal settlements.

This chapter will scrutinise the negotiated space phenomena in *gangs* in the *kampung*. To recognise, describe, and analyse this condition of social acceptance, this research went through several phases as below: (1) Selecting *Kampung Gandek Puspo* as the representative *kampung* in Semarang; (2) Identifying the presence of daily and temporary activities in *gangs*; (3) Analysing the interactions in *gangs*, and (4) Understanding the processes of negotiation in this place.

This research has used qualitative methods to capture these empirical phenomena in a specific district in urban *kampung* in Semarang in a small plots area near Semarang River. It carried out in-depth interviews with 12 key participants and residents and direct observation to capture shared space daily in December 2020. The results show the interactions involved in particular activities that generate negotiated spaces in the *gang* in Kampung Gandek Puspo, namely house extensions, small shops and economic activities along the *gang*, specific infrastructure, and temporary activities in the *gang*. These activities create both permanent and temporary or shifting negotiating spaces in the *gang*. The sharing of spaces in the *gang* happens regularly based on mutual trust between inhabitants. This distinctive social model in the Kampung Gandek Puspo Semarang creates resilience in social stability and may reduce social

vulnerability in supporting economic sustainability in the urban era. The chapter is organised into four sections. The first section is background, and the second is theoretical discussion, then discussion, and finally the conclusion.

## Background

The urban *kampung* is a phenomenon in Indonesian cities. It is an urban reality. *Kampungs* have existed since the colonial period (Siregar 1990). The *kampung*, which was peripheral and considered a rural enclave in early colonial times, eventually became an informal settlement for migrants in the city centre (Ford 1993 in Siregar 1990; Tunas 2008).

The informal settlements located on the Semarang River banks in Semarang City, Indonesia, represent the sporadic settlements that have emerged in sensitive river bank areas since the nineteenth century. The Semarang River (*kali*, river in Javanese) was the lifeblood of movement and economic activity before the development of land roads, and postal roads, especially that of *De Grote Postweg* in 1810. Indigenous settlements with toponyms based on the occupation, ethnicity, and function typical of each area grew up along this river. Together with the main road development, physical and visual degradation have come to the urban *kampung* as a figurative backwater along the Semarang River's perimeter due to its increasing marginalisation and environmental problems. Nonetheless, it has continued to develop, with new architectural and aesthetic features, a growing population, and recent economic activities.

When first established, Gandek Puspo was a *kampung* on the Semarang Riverbank to live and work in. There was a coexistence space between the landlord and additional residential space allocated for its workers called *Rumah Boro* (*boro* house). The word "Boro" in Javanese means "migrants" (Interview with the heads of RT and RW, 2020). The *boro* house offered accommodation to (poor) migrant workers called *Kaum Boro* in urban areas. This type of *boro* house as a single building for at least 20 workers still exists today and is a place for immigrant residents from surrounding cities. Due to the growing number of immigrants, they expand their dwelling to the small plots area around the *boro* house. As a result of the limited size of their house, residents use the *gang* in front of each house as an additional space for interaction, household, and economic activities. It creates a negotiated space phenomenon.

This study stresses the social dynamics of community interaction in creating the negotiated space and enriching the space form in the urban *kampung*. It aims to find the significance of sharing space amongst people. Preliminary studies on location revealed constant street space changes based on people's needs, which finally succumbed to a unique negotiated space to support its social and economic sustainability.

## Theoretical Discussion

### *The Kampung as Part of Informal Settlement*

The informal settlement is a global urban phenomenon (United Nations 2016), especially in the Global South (Bolay 2006; Cohen 2006 in Park et al. 2019) due to urbanisation (Kasarda and Crenshaw 1991 in Park et al. 2019). In an informal settlement, residents often do not have tenure security for the land or place they occupy (see Chapter 4 on tenure security in *kampungs* in Jakarta). Besides, the informal settlement usually lacks basic urban services and infrastructure. Housing may not comply with planning and development regulations and is often located in geographically and environmentally sensitive areas (Avis 2016; Brown 2015; Dovey and King 2012; de la Hoz 2013; UN-Habitat 2015). Today, an estimated 25 per cent

of the world's urban population live in informal settlements, about 1.6 billion people (Habitat for Humanity 2020; UN-Habitat 2013).

The *kampung*, as an urban settlement that is not formally planned (Tunas 2008), also faces the problems mentioned above. Besides the legacy of colonial urban development, several factors have led to the emergence of the urban *kampung*, including population growth, rural-urban migration, a lack of affordable housing, weak governance in urban policy matters, planning and management, economic vulnerability, and low-salary jobs, marginalisation, and displacement caused by conflict, natural disasters and climate change (UN-Habitat 2015 in Avis 2016).

The urban *kampung* is related to the informal sector (Tunas 2008). ILO (1993) defines the informal sector as household enterprises with informal own-account, informal employers, and non-registered enterprises. This informal sector engenders the informal economy and the informal pattern of space of residential and workplaces. The spatial geography for the informal sector in the urban *kampung* is realised in specific workplaces such as house extensions, workspaces, small shops, green spaces, public infrastructure, vehicle types, and street access (Rybczynski 1984; Watson et al. 2003). All of the above support the claim that the *kampung* is part of an informal pattern of settlement.

### ***Space Used in the Urban Kampung***

Each urban *kampung* has its unique character depending on location, types of informal activities, ethnicities, social cultures, and so on (Setiawan 2010; Tunas 2008). The *kampung's* spatial form follows the physical conditions, inhabitants' needs, economic activities, and community agreements of the location and its residents. Research by Tunas (2008) in the *Kampung Kebon Kacang* in Jakarta shows a socio-spatial dynamic in managing the flexibility of informal used space and time due to 50 per cent of the families hosting informal activities. This *kampung* has a functional relationship with the city and its surrounding areas due to several economic activities such as selling low-cost consumption goods and amenities to office and Central Business District (CBD) area employees; this being a result of the location of the *Kampung Kebon Kacang's* close proximity to the Golden Triangle in Jakarta, located precisely behind the row of high-rise building along the Thamrin Boulevard.

The need to host both households and informal economic activities generates practices of sharing space in the urban *kampung*. Usually, residents use the public *gang* as an extension of the private space. The implicit community agreement engenders a specific form of space use. These particular forms are called co-habitation spaces (Prayitno 2017), fluidity spaces (Kamalipour 2020), spontaneous public spaces (Bawole 2009), multifunctional spaces (Shobirin et al. 2018), alternative used spaces (Darmastuti et al. 2018), and negotiated spaces (Kamalipour and Peimani 2019; Wuryanto and Arch 2010). These terms portray the flexibility of spaces used in the urban *kampung* due to its functions of accommodating household and informal economic activities in a small area. The *kampung* needs different values and community agreements. All of the terms mentioned above are elaborated in Habraken (2000) and Lefebvre's (2007) theories about space as a social product and social consumption. The elementary everyday activities hosting household and informal economic activities in the *kampung* are linked roughly with the physical form of the space used (Wuryanto and Arch 2010).

### ***Rootedness in the Urban Kampung***

Being rooted in a place is being-at-home, a feeling of home being in one place. Research by Harun et al. (2015, 536) describes how "rootedness is represented through a deep understanding



of physical properties, social interaction, historical and cultural representation in place". This rootedness in one place, including in an urban *kampung*, is the key to social harmony and survivability.

The urban *kampung* derives its distinctive character from the unique social cohesion it creates. Research by Prayitno (2017) in the *kampungs* Jogoyudan and Macanan in Gowongan (Yogyakarta) reveals that the harmony (*guyub*) of the *kampung's* residents is a rootedness that generates flexible and multifunctional space pocket areas and the *gang*. It creates space-sharing and co-habitation spaces as a highly developed form of community agreement. This corresponds to Habraken's (2000) theory about how the "built environment is universally organised by the Orders of Form, Place, and Understanding" (cited in Wuryanto and Arch 2010, 1).

The rootedness of community can be seen in the relationships between the community and their place as inhabited. According to Cross (2001), the relationship between society and residential place can be engendered by relations of place like feeling being born in and living in a place, feeling a sense of belonging, simply felt rather than created, living according to moral guidelines for human responsibility to place, learning about a place through stories, choosing a place based a list of desirable traits and lifestyle preferences, and constrained by lack of choice.

Numerous urban *kampungs* foster very close social interactions due to the biographical relationships of the community. The relationships among fellow residents are very close, like a family, because residents have been born and have grown up together in the urban *kampung* over the years. Generally, these close relationships can be seen in the limited social conflict that occurs between communities.

### ***Spatial Order in Urban Kampung as the Relationship Between Permanent and Temporary Use of Space***

The constant interaction among society and the space is an important aspect of the shape of the built environment. All persons are agents in transforming the shape of the place they inhabited. The concept of negotiated space is related to the concept of shared resources (Damayanti et al. 2017) which can be used permanently or temporarily. Usually, the shared resource in urban *kampung* is the public space inside like local street, public infrastructure, and public park. The public space became the multifunctional and negotiation space. The use of space in the concept of a negotiation room is also based on the existence of an agreement on norms and mutual trust among the residents. This agreement on norms and mutual trust resulted in a negotiation of space based on historical background, demographic composition, urbanisation and migration, land use conditions including infrastructure, small building plots, and house extensions. Thus, when we talk about housing, we must discuss society, the socio-spatial dynamics in a place, and its habitation patterns. A location's harmonious socio-cultural interactions generate social stability, supporting sustainability in liveable cities and communities.

### **Research Methods**

To scrutinise the empirical conditions of the Kampung Gandek Puspo as representative of the urban *kampung* in Semarang City, primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with key participants and residents and direct observations.

The in-depth interviews were done in December 2020 with selected key informants living in Kampung Gandek Puspo, especially the community leader, the head of the RT (*Rukun Tetangga* – neighbourhood unit) and the head of the RW (*Rukun Warga* – community unit). Besides, to gain knowledge about residents' daily activities and the social dynamics in shared

space, interviews with local residents were conducted. The study involved 12 participants, which consisted of seven heads of RW and RT, one head of community empowerment agency and four residents.

An in-depth field observation exercise was undertaken in December 2020. The field observation elaborated a detailed mapping of the *kampung*, capturing the empirical conditions by measuring the space used, taking photos, and recording video documentation. Direct observation was done three times per day, morning, noon, and night, on weekdays and weekends. It was carried out in small plot houses in the part of *kampung* near the Semarang River. The study area is approximately 0.9 Ha or 9.048 m<sup>2</sup>, with 128 small houses. The object of observation was any kind of shared space (both economic and domestic spaces) in the *gang* in the small plot area. Collected data were analysed with descriptive analysis techniques to discover negotiated space patterns in this *kampung*.

## Discussion

### History and Land Tenure of the Kampung Gandek Puspo

The Kampung Gandek Puspo is located in Jagalan sub-district, Semarang Tengah district. As laid out in Semarang City Regulation No. 14 of 2011 concerning the Spatial Plans of Semarang City in 2011–2031, Semarang Tengah District is one of the City Area Section I (BWK I) as a location selected for developing offices, trade, and service functions. Jagalan sub-district has been designated as one of the regional development areas for the trade and services sectors, as can be seen in the rows of shops on M.T. Haryono Street near Kampung Gandek Puspo. Meanwhile, this *kampung* is one of the cultural heritage areas of Semarang City and has a heritage theme, especially in the part of Kampung Kulitan.

The Kampung Gandek Puspo is the toponymy of four *kampungs*, namely Kulitan, Gandekan, Banginggris, and Pusparagan (Figure 13.1). Kulitan was established in the nineteenth century. First, it was built as a noble (high social status) *kampung* and as a leather business centre complex owned by Mr Tasripin, one of the richest Indigenous people of Semarang City during the Dutch Colonial Era. From 1820–1950 the business had grown successfully under Mr Tasripin. The noble houses with large lots in a local road in Kulitan coexisted with migrant employee houses, *Rumah Boro* near Semarang River. At first, these houses provided shelter for 20 persons in the 1800s. Eventually, the *boro* house grew in population with migrant worker families and Tasripin descendent occupancy rising to 703 inhabitants in 2006 (Hanifah and Yuliasuti 2017). Today, the majority of migrant residents live in the former and extension of the *boro* house. This extension of *boro* house is typically marked by a street alley (*gang*) as a circulation way with a width of approximately one metre. This place is equipped with an old well as a communal wash facility historically used as a leather wash in Tasripin's era.

The Kampung Gandekan was designated as a supporting area for business activities, since Tasripin divided the land into several large plots such as those for warehouses and for the drying of leather. Meanwhile, Kampung Banginggris and Kampung Pusporagan were designated as residences for the workers or servants of the Tasripin family. Here the land was divided into several small plots, which were then leased to the local community and migrant residents. Part of Kampung Pusporagan was owned by Oei Tiong Ham, the wealthiest Chinese person in Semarang City during the Colonial Era.

Based on the interviews with the heads of RT and RW, it seems that parts of the land of Kampung Gandekan, Kampung Kulitan, and Kampung Banginggris still belong to Mr Tasripin, as rent houses. However, the community now no longer pays the rent due to the Tasripin



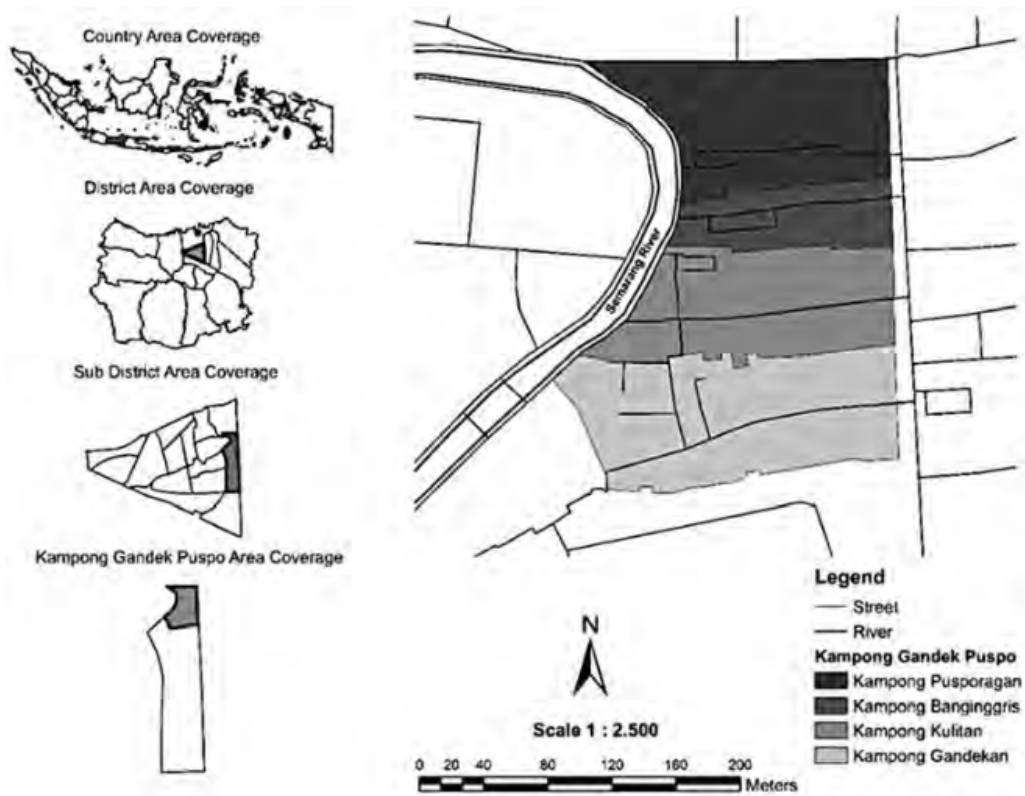


Figure 13.1 Study area delineation: Kampung Gandek Puspo.

Source: Authors

family wanting the community to buy the land without the community having the funds to do so (Table 13.1).

Demographics and Urbanisation

Table 13.1 shows the total population of Kampung Gandek Puspo (1,007 residents), 54 per cent of the population is male. According to the local RT and RW head, 80 per cent of the people living in Kampung Gandek Puspo are third generation migrants and sixth generation Tasripin descendents. About 60 per cent of residents work as small traders, including chart food traders (called as *gilo-gilo*), street vendors, and traders who deposit their merchandise at the nearest market. Twenty-seven per cent of residents work as entrepreneurs and in the private sector, in occupations such as shopkeeper, shopowner, driver, or service provider (workers in establishments including laundrettes, ‘gallon depots’ at which water is dispensed in bottles, gas distributors, etc.) and labourers. Finally, 12.5 per cent of residents are civil servants.

Research by Hanifah and Yulastuti (2017) and Nursyahbani and Pigawati (2015) shows that immigrants came and settled in Kampung Gandekan, creating a dense population with increasingly tightly-packed buildings with 5–10 per cent population growth per year. The smaller number of first-and second-generation immigrants came from areas such as Sukabumi Regency; Solo Regency; Demak Regency, and even from China. They came to Kampung Gandekan and Kulitan from the 1930s–1950s. In the interviews, the heads of RT 01 and RT

Table 13.1 Conditions of Kampung Gandek Puspo

Numbers of buildings and the status						
Location	Have certificate / Ownership right	Rent status	Number of buildings			
8						
Kampung Gandekan	40	47				87
Kampung Kulitan	5	84				89
Kampung Banginggris	4	36				40
Kampung Puspوران	5	25				30
Total of Buildings	54	192				246
Population in kampung gandek puspo						
Location	Population (person)		Number of population (person)	Number of households	Profession (percentage)	
	Women	Men			Civil servant	Private sector/ entrepreneur
8						
Kampung Gandekan	153	140	294	72	10%	30%
Kampung Kulitan	206	154	361	90	10%	10%
Kampung Banginggris	108	79	187	46	0%	30%
Kampung Puspوران	82	83	165	56	30%	40%
Total	484	549	1007	264	12.5%	27.5%
Number of houses based on private toilets availability						
Location	Private toilet	No toilet	Total house			
8						
Kampung Gandekan	70	12				82
Kampung Kulitan	57	42				99
Kampung Banginggris	37	3				40
Kampung Puspوران	23	7				30
Total	187	64				251

Source: Interview with the Head of RT and RW Kampung Gandek Puspo (2020)

02 explained that people arrived from various regions from the 1930s–1950s and settled in Kampung Gandekan and Kulitan, either coming alone or coming with their families.

Land Use and Infrastructure Situation

Residences dominate land use in Kampung Gandek Puspo. This *kampung* provides several sorts of infrastructure and public facilities provided by the community and the Tasripin family, such as mosques, *mushola*, kindergartens, public toilets, community spaces, neighbourhood parks, and small shops. Research by Hanifah and Yulianti (2017) shows that a large amount of land conversion occurred during a 17-year period at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. The majority of this shift has seen open space converted into residential space.

As shown in Table 13.1, 64 houses in Gandek Puspo do not have private toilets. Residents use public restrooms utilising groundwater. The toilet charges are IDR 2,000 (USD \$0.14) for bathing, IDR 3,000 (USD \$0.21) for washing, and IDR 1,000 (USD \$0.07) for other activities. There is also one free public toilet in Kampung Kulitan. Several houses with private toilets have been equipped with personal wastewater management facilities. Still, some waste drainages go directly into the river, while the public bathrooms have been provided with wastewater management facilities. Most of the clean water used for daily activities comes from groundwater, the local water company (PDAM), and water stored in gallon-size plastic jugs.

Analysis: The Negotiation of Space in the Kampung Gandek Puspo

The focus of this research is the social space located in small plots of Kampung Kulitan and Kampung Gandekan situated close to the Semarang River that is produced as part of the negotiation of space in Gandek Puspo in the extension of *boro* house site. The extension of *boro* house is classified as an informal settlement as there is no legal title to land, and this site has been used by generations of migrant (non-natives) residents. Most of the land belongs to Mr Tasripin and has been leased to occupants since the 1800s to the present day. Another reason for the negotiation of space being so important is that, as mentioned earlier, residents work in the informal sector, especially in small trading. There is a collective rhythm, with their daily routines being largely the same. The buildings are smaller than other buildings in the area. This pressure on space can generate closer social relationships as people collaborate to utilise the *gangs* to accommodate their activities. The negotiation spaces are concerned with the residents’ actions or outcomes that are required, prohibited, or permitted to use space.

In order to capture the negotiation space in the Kampung Gandek Puspo, this research arranges an approach to analyse the situation in using the shared resource, namely *gang*. The analysis examines the determining factors which influenced the social consumption and production in space, namely building conditions and their occupants, the history and development of migrants, the shared space due to the household and economic activities such as house extension, small shops, and other informal activities, the particular infrastructure and access, the temporary activities, and also the mutual trust in the location.

- a. Buildings in Small Lots of Kampung Kulitan and Gandekan  
The small residential plots in Kampung Kulitan consist of 58 buildings, three empty buildings, two buildings with the same ownership status (one family member owns two

houses), and 53 inhabited houses. Of these, 58 buildings have a lease status. The number of households and the population in the Kampung Kulitan included in the research study area was 81 families with a population of 227 residents.

Small plots in the Kampung Gandekan consist of 70 buildings containing five empty buildings, four buildings with the same ownership status (one family member has two houses), one boarding house, and 60 inhabited houses. Of these, 49 buildings have a lease status, and 21 houses have ownership status. Within this *kampung*, 89 families with 250 residents were counted in the research area.

b. *The Existence of Migrant Communities (Kaum Boro)*

From the 1930s–1950s, people from various other regions came and lived in Kampung Gandekan and the Kampung Kulitan. As mentioned before, these migrants worked as employees in Mr Tasripin's business, servants of the Tasripin family, and mobile traders. Local people know these immigrant residents as *Kaum Boro*. The *Kaum Boro*, who worked as travelling traders, hawked their wares using 'baskets' carried on their shoulders. These merchandise baskets contained various traditional sorts of food including snacks. Eventually, the basket was transformed into a wheelbarrow containing many products (various traditional snacks, packaged rice, fried foods, fruits, and drinks). The local people know the wheelbarrow as *gilo-gilo*, a word which comes from the Javanese word *Gi Lo Ono*, which means 'all-in-one'. The word illustrates how the pushcart sells a comprehensive variety of foodstuffs. *Gilo-gilo* carts, which are 70–80 cm wide and 150 cm long, have usually been parked sideways on the edge of the road in the past and still are today. *Gilo-gilo* traders still conduct business, but recently the number of *gilo-gilo* traders has started to decrease, although their activities still influence the space used in the research area.

The daily routine of a *gilo-gilo* trader shows that these sellers are active for almost 24 hours a day. At around 02.00 am, they start to cook food to sell. Then at 07.00 am, the traders start selling products such as fruits, packaged rice (*pecel* rice), and various fried foods. *Gilo-gilo* traders sell food until it runs out between 12.00 and 3.00 pm when they go home to rest and prepare stock to trade at night, with trading starting at 5.00 pm and continuing until 10.00 pm. The daily activities of the *Kaum Boro* as *gilo-gilo* traders engenders the production of space in this research area.

c. *House Extensions in the Research Area*

The size of the houses in Kampung Kulitan varies from 3 m × 5 m (15 m<sup>2</sup>) to 4 m × 5 m (20 m<sup>2</sup>), and from 4 m × 7 m (28m<sup>2</sup>) to 4 m × 6 m (24m<sup>2</sup>). Some houses consist of two stories. The first-floor space is designated as a living room, communal bedroom, and support room for selling activities (wrapping food, arranging food, and mixing spices). The second-floor space is a private room, usually for changing clothes, a wardrobe, sleeping and sometimes for drying clothes.

The small houses and limited land for expansion mean that some community activities cannot be accommodated inside. So, people use the *gangs* to undertake some domestic activities such as the preparation and cooking of food, the washing of clothes and household equipment, the drying of clothes, and the storage of food. Vehicles are parked here, and the *gang* become a shared living room for the community.

The use of the *gang* as a kitchen can be seen from the number of household and utility items arranged in front of houses, including stoves and pans. Cooking activities are daily routines, which may occur at any time as needed. There are two types of cooking activities: cooking food for sale and cooking food for personal consumption. Sometimes, these activities disturb the community's comfort due to the heat from the gas stoves' fires.

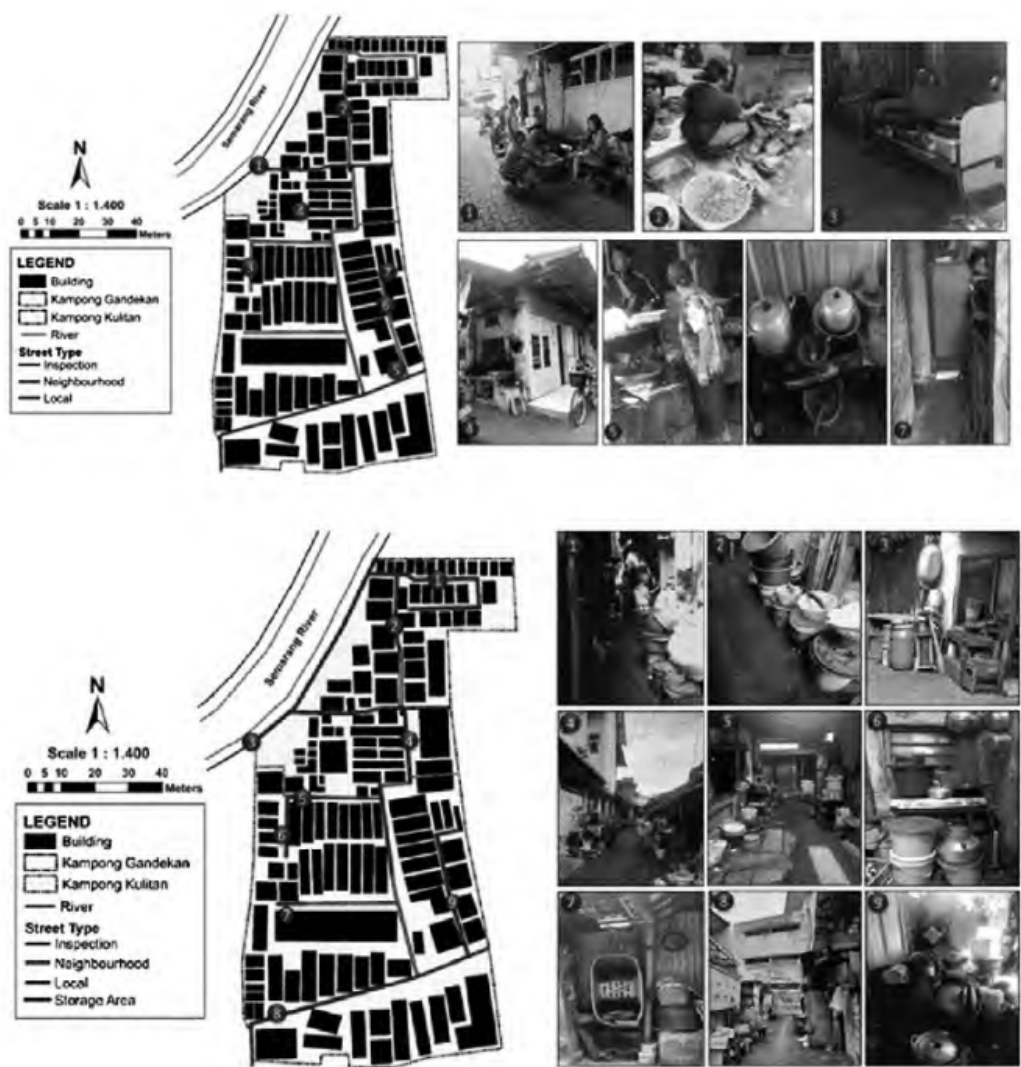


Figure 13.2 The gang as a kitchen (above) and a storage area (bottom) in Kampung Kulitan and Gandekan.  
Source: Authors' direct observation, December 2020

These activities are carried out in the *gang* right in front of or beside the house, occupying a width of 0.5–0.6 metres (Figure 13.2).

The use of a *gang* as a space for washing clothes and dishes is usually obvious from the presence of kitchen furniture, buckets, and water pipes in front of the house. Some people clear a square space, which is equipped with a drain for water drainage, as a place to wash dishes. This activity is a daily routine for the community; washing clothes is usually done at 09.00 am or at noon when cooking and taking children to school is finished, while washing dishes is traditionally carried out as needed. Washing activities typically occupy a street space ranging from 0.3–0.7 metres wide, and create foul smells and waste that degrade the environment. These conditions seem normal, however, and people report being used to them.



People dry clothes daily on fences between houses, on the second floor of houses, on house walls, and in *gangs*. Most people take advantage of the second floor of buildings, house fences and house walls to dry clothes. This is necessary due to the lack of light entering certain residential areas, causing the *gangs* to appear dark. Drying clothes on the second floor of houses and on house walls tends to go on even when it rains, and the clothes are not removed but left outside in the *gangs*; however, by contrast, the clotheslines will be lifted up and brought inside when it rains.

The *gang* also have a function as a storage area for household furniture, both items that are still in use and things that are no longer in use. This is indicated by the large number of household items such as buckets, cooking utensils, and toiletries that can be seen in the *gangs*. There is a pattern of household equipment being stored continually in front of houses, due to the limited space inside houses to accommodate such implements. Placing household furniture in the *gangs* will undoubtedly affect their width and function, since these activities can occupy anything from 0.3–0.5 metres. Even so, the community is accustomed to these conditions and takes responsibility for regulating the placing of such home furnishings (Figure 13.2).

House furniture stored in front of houses runs the risk of being stolen. However, based on the interviews with local RT and RW heads, it was found that the loss of household furniture is rare, while lost items usually take the form of small items such as plates and spoons. One of the causes of the loss of these items is that people have a habit of sharing by lending household implements and furniture to neighbours. Often, borrowers forget to return items to the owners. However, this situation does not pose a serious problem because people generally have strong feelings of kinship, tolerance, and maintaining harmony among neighbours.

The use of housing *gang* to accommodate household activities is part of a community habit. Even though they do not have written rules for using this negotiated space, the community lives by mutual understanding. The community almost always communicates concerning all matters related to the use of that space. For example, we saw in the *Kampung Gandekan*, cooking activities are usually carried out to accommodate the community's needs. These activities, which can cause heat that disturbs residents of the houses around the *gang*, are not carried out during naptime. People who store household items or furniture right in front of the houses rarely lose them, and this usually happens when one of these items or pieces of furniture is used or borrowed by neighbours. Such cooperation and mutual tolerance minimise social tension between communities and within communities, indirectly building social cohesion and interaction.

d. *Small Shops and Economic Activities Along the Gang*

The residents of the *Kampung Gandek Puspo* primarily work as small traders, mobile traders, small shop traders, and traders who leave their merchandise at shops or markets. Apart from trading, the community also runs consumer services such as electronic good shops and laundrettes. Due to being close to the CBD, most people also become food suppliers or producers.

As happens in domestic activities, economic activities occur in the *gangs* as a public domain. Possibly because the space is quite limited so the area is very busy with all the different activities. There are several economic activities in *Kampungs Kulitan* and *Gandekan*: supplying food, running neighbourhood shops, cooked food stalls (*warung*), and laundrettes, and providing electronic services. Some of these economic activities occupy the *gang* as a residential space extension as large as 0.3–0.74 metres wide. However, this extension space is a routine phenomenon, with no conflicting interests found in the research area.



e. *Typical Infrastructure and Permitted Vehicles*

Several typical sorts of public amenities are provided in these *kampungs* such as green spaces, communal washing facilities, and parking areas. Public green spaces in the Kampung Gandekan are rows of trees along the Semarang River, and are commonly used as places for social interaction and children's playground, while private green spaces are located in several houses, marked by trees and flower-pots in the front gardens and the *gangs* in front of the houses.

Communal washing facilities and public toilets are located in Kampung Kulitan. This communal wash place is marked by a well in the middle of the *gang* and a public toilet building on the well side, which occupies a 1.3-metre-wide path. This is a free public toilet jointly managed by the local community.

The modes of transportation that are allowed to use the *gangs* include two-wheeled vehicles (bicycles and motorbikes) and four-wheeled vehicles (wheelbarrows and cars). These vehicles can only use certain streets. In both *kampungs*, all vehicles such as cars, *gilo-gilo* carts, motorbikes, and bicycles can pass the local street with a 2.7-metre-width in Kulitan and 3.9-metre width in Gandekan. Meanwhile, in the narrow *gangs* in both *kampungs*, with between 1.31 and 2-metre width, only limited vehicles such as *gilo-gilo* cart, motorbike, and bicycle can access this path. The limited number of parking spaces has led people to park vehicles in *gangs*. Near Semarang River, cars are parked on local roads and inspection roads which have a width of 1.66–2 metres, motorbikes and bicycles are parked in roads as wide as 0.8 metres, while wheelbarrows park in roads 0.74 metres wide. So, the width of the *gang* varies considerably from place to place in this *kampung*. The *gang* is usually narrow and should accommodate vehicle circulation, parking, and domestic activities that take place here.

f. *Temporary Activities*

The *gangs* are often used to support temporary activities both for personal and collective interests, such as parties and celebrations, community social interactions, children's play, and the storage of building materials (sand, stone, etc.). These activities often occupy anything from part of a street to an entire neighbourhood section. Residents who use the area for personal gain must have an awareness of their use of the space, such as an adherence to a time limit. When street space is used for celebrations and parties, these activities end at a certain hour, and the use of space for storing building materials will be adjusted to match the estimated length of construction and road space is only partially used so that access in and out can continue smoothly.

Both *gangs* in Gandekan and Kulitan are children's playrooms every day for cycling, kite flying, and playing with balls. When a vehicle passes on the *gang*, the children will step aside for a moment to let the vehicle pass and then return to play when no vehicles cross. There is a shifting space used between circulation and temporary activities in the *gangs*.

g. *Mutual Trust as an Influencing Factor for Creating Negotiating Space*

The negotiation of space in the *gang* arises because residents carry out economic and social activities in the *gangs*. Residents do not have enough space in their houses, and sometimes their homes are inhabited by many families. People have many activities but limited space, so these activities come to occupy public space in the *gangs* (see Chapter 11 on *nusumawa* apartments in Surabaya).

The particular negotiated space in the *gang* is the household extension space which partly occupies the *gang*. This negotiated space can happen due to the mutual trust rooted in immigrants as new inhabitants are compelled to collaborate. They have no choice. This mutual trust can reduce social vulnerability, create social stability, and build economic sustainability.

The use of the *gang* as a community space for different kinds of exchange to support daily activities is influenced by several factors, such as:

- Length of stay: The average length of stay of the community is approximately 50 years, so that the social relationships formed become very close and strong. The negotiation of space has been ongoing since the 1950s.
- Kinship: Residents of several houses have family relationships.
- Tolerance: Residents' collective patience is high, promoting the regular sharing of space, tools, and devices for daily activities so that this becomes a habit of the community. Social conflicts between communities are rare.
- Social activities that have not been accommodated have resulted in the community utilising the *gang* as a multifunctional joint public space as a pathway for movement, as a children's playroom, and as a social interaction space.

## Conclusion

Drawing on the explanations and discussions above, we can conclude that the Kampung Gandek Puspo, especially Kampung Kulitan and Gandekan, is an ideal representative of the urban *kampung* in Semarang City. They are the legacy of the colonial period but exist today with different functions, different inhabitants, and different physical features. Both *kampungs* in small lots feature particular spaces and activities since they have been home to the urban poor, migrant workers, or *Kaum Boro* since the Colonial Era. The negotiation of space in those *kampungs* consists of house extensions, small shops and economic activities carried out along the *gangs*, communal amenities and infrastructure, permitted vehicles and parking areas, and temporary activities.

The *gang* has two kinds of negotiated space: permanent shared space for house extensions, small shops, communal amenities or infrastructure, and temporary or shifting space for social and economic activities, permitted vehicles and vehicle parking, and events. Both types of negotiated space in Kampung Gandek Puspo reveal that the high tolerance and mutual trust in the urban *kampung* is vital for inclusiveness and social stability. That inclusiveness and social resilience will establish a sense of being-at-home and *kampung* sustainability.

Back to the definition of the informal settlement, this type of settlement is a significant provider of housing, especially for the poor since approximately 25 per cent of people in the world live in informal settlements. The informal settlement is seen as a positive force for the urban future. The urban *kampung* generates sustainable communities in a location with minimal infrastructure and space. The sharing of space in *gangs* demonstrates the inclusiveness of the urban *kampung*. Everyone and every activity has a place in the *gang* at any time. This accommodating space supports social sustainability. Everyone feels at home and safe in the *kampung*. This condition generates stability and supports informal economic resiliency. Due to these characteristics, namely inclusivity, safety, and resilience, the *kampung* achieves sustainability. Thus, the goal of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 to make cities and all human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable is supported by this particular negotiating space modelled in the urban *kampung*. Then the informal economic activities that take place in shared spaces support the goal of SDG1 to end poverty in all its forms everywhere, SDG8 to support employment by decent work and economic growth and also SDG10 to reduce inequality.

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