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Symbiosis of Kampong and Large Scale Development: The case of Kampong Menteng Atas and Rasuna Epicentrum Development

Wita Simatupang *, Miya Irawati * and Rully Mardona *

Tarumanagara University, Indonesia

* Authors to whom correspondence should be addressed; E-mails: witasimatupang@yahoo.com; miya_irawati@yahoo.com; rullymardona@gmail.com.

Abstract: Large scale development in urban areas will create impact not only to itself but to the surrounding areas. Kampong in Jakarta has its own particular structure and morphology. Originated as land for future development, lies in the middle of Jakarta, and often just at the back of the city's main street; urban kampong has high potential land value. Many scholars argue that urban kampong in Jakarta is one of the key elements of the survival of Jakarta to ne liberalization. This paper studies how does work a mutual symbiosis between Kampong Menteng Atas and large scale development. Is it a smart option to maintain kampong physical existence in urban area? Or is it a gentrification in slow progress? Using the case of kampong Menteng Atas, this paper identifies economic activities which have done by informal sectors in a kampong in Asian Metropolitan City. Kampong Menteng Atas, at Kuningan area, South Jakarta is located just at the back of Rasuna Epicentrum development, which accounts more than 40ha of land. Such large scale development has changed the economic and social environment of kampong. Kampong Menteng Atas adapted against the pressure by providing various services with low values, such as food stall, cell phone shops, laundry, and rental rooms. The captive market of these services is mostly people who work at the development, such as employee, security guards, waiters, drivers, etc. With this little "help", real estate does not need to provide these services, thus keeping the development value high. In the early stage of the development, only food stalls emerged; but in later stage of the development (after 5 years) the service became more varied. The economic changes have also encourages social changes in kampong. Tempted by high return from these new economic activities (food stall can earn up to 3mio IDR/month, laundry can earn up to 7mio IDR/month, minimum wage for Jakarta is 2.4mio/month), the indigenous community flew away from the area. Those who choose not to sell (or not yet) their properties, prefer to

convert them into commercial or rent them out. The high number of renters (often more than 1 in one room) indicates the high influx rate of immigrants in this kampong. The immigrants have dominated the economic activities in the area by 73% against the original inhabitants. As many of them do not mingle well with the original community or amongst themselves, it creates a fragmented society – far from the usual warm-hearted kampong society. The research for this paper was carried out through observation, field survey and in-depth interviews as main data collection. The results of the study demonstrate the potential of economic activities by informal sector in kampong Menteng Atas, where is adjacent with the well-developed superblock development, to deal with superblock development and to finally contribute to the understanding of how urban economic activities have been working in an Asian metropolitan city like Jakarta. The process and form of economic activities in kampong becomes a survival tool for social, economic and environmental urban aspects of the city.

Keywords: informal sector, network society, kampong, social justice.

1. Introduction: Urban Development and Transformation in Jakarta

Urban development occurs through a series of process in four dimensions, which are length, width, height, and time. Urban structure is a manifesto of different layers of development within time, conducted by multiple actors. In many cases, it is not enough to categorize and describe urban structure simply by planned and unplanned development. Often, it a mixture of both, whose composition is different from time to time. These changes impose and juxtapose themselves, formulate a series of layers or urban development.

The current urban structure of Jakarta (Indonesia, 237,641,326 populations, BPS 2010) owes very much to its structure in the early development. From pre-colonial period, Jakarta were inhabited both by original inhabitants and migrants. Originated from the colonial era, Jakarta urban structure was characterized by strong spatial division between formal and informal development. The urban area had main roads as its backbone, where building parcels were laid out along. Parcels had thin rectangle shapes with the short side facing the road; thus allowing as many as possible building parcels to be laid out. This arrangement leaves large open space at the back of the parcels. It has been assumed that these spaces were reserved for future development: although their original spatial lay out did not show any access reserved for them (see Picture 1a).

Despite its future intention, these ‘reserved space’ provided land for the original inhabitants of Jakarta as well as migrants of the new growing city. In 2014 population of Jakarta grew from 1.4 mio (1950) to 3.9 mio (1970) to 15.3 mio (2014). These population filled in the ‘gap’: the space behind the tiny row of parcels. These settlements are often referred to as the urban kampong of today (see Picture 1b). The formulated settlement were very organic in structure and morphology. They had web-networks of small roads; which might not be considered well designed for modern urban planning but still ensuring the

provision of multi-purpose social space or communal facilities. The social and communal space and close neighborhood relation create the life of kampong.

Figure 1. Spatial structure of Jakarta urban kampong in colonial era (a) and current (b).



Another important character in kampong is the existence of economic activities providing goods and services. Most of them cater own needs of the inhabitants, such as groceries and food. However, although they share common structures and morphology, kampongs in Jakarta have each unique characters which depend on the inhabitants' origin, livelihood, or ethnicity. There are kampongs whose most of their inhabitants have similar and particular jobs; thus their work spaces were entangled into the kampong which creates particular characters. Examples for these kampongs are kampong Rawa Belong and kampong Tambora. Some other kampongs owed their spatial structure to ethnicity of their majority residents, such as Petak Sembilan.

Most of these kampongs are located at the inner part of a residential area, while the front side are used for commercial, offices, or facilities. Originated as land for future development, lies in the middle of Jakarta, often just at the back of the city's main street, with its own particular structure and morphology; urban kampong has high potential land value. These inner "filings" (kampongs) maintain a close relationship to their front end, in terms of access and function. These relationship is referred here a symbiosis, which is the living together of two similar organism. Their relations can be mutual for both in one way, yet can also be very disadvantage for one of them in many ways. The transformation of one (either kampong or front end functions) are influencing to each other. This kind of relationship and how they have been affecting each other have been further examined in our research.

2. Case Study: Kuningan Area and Kampung Menteng Atas, South Jakarta

Kuningan is one of the office areas in Jakarta. It has strategic location close to the main business area and good access through the inner city toll road and city's main arteries. Its development was started in the early 70-ies. Pembangunan Jaya, a state owned building contractor, was the primary contractor in charge. Spatially, the whole area was structured by an avenue (3.8 kilo length, 40 m width) and large land parcels facing the avenue. Unlike the previous corridor development with narrow and deep land parcels (see Picture 1a and b), here they are very large. Some land parcels accounted more than 100.000

square metre. Kampung areas lied behind the parcels on both sides of the avenue. Kampung Menteng Atas is located at the east side of the avenue (see Picture 2).

Figure 2. Map of Kuningan Area (Source: Google Maps).

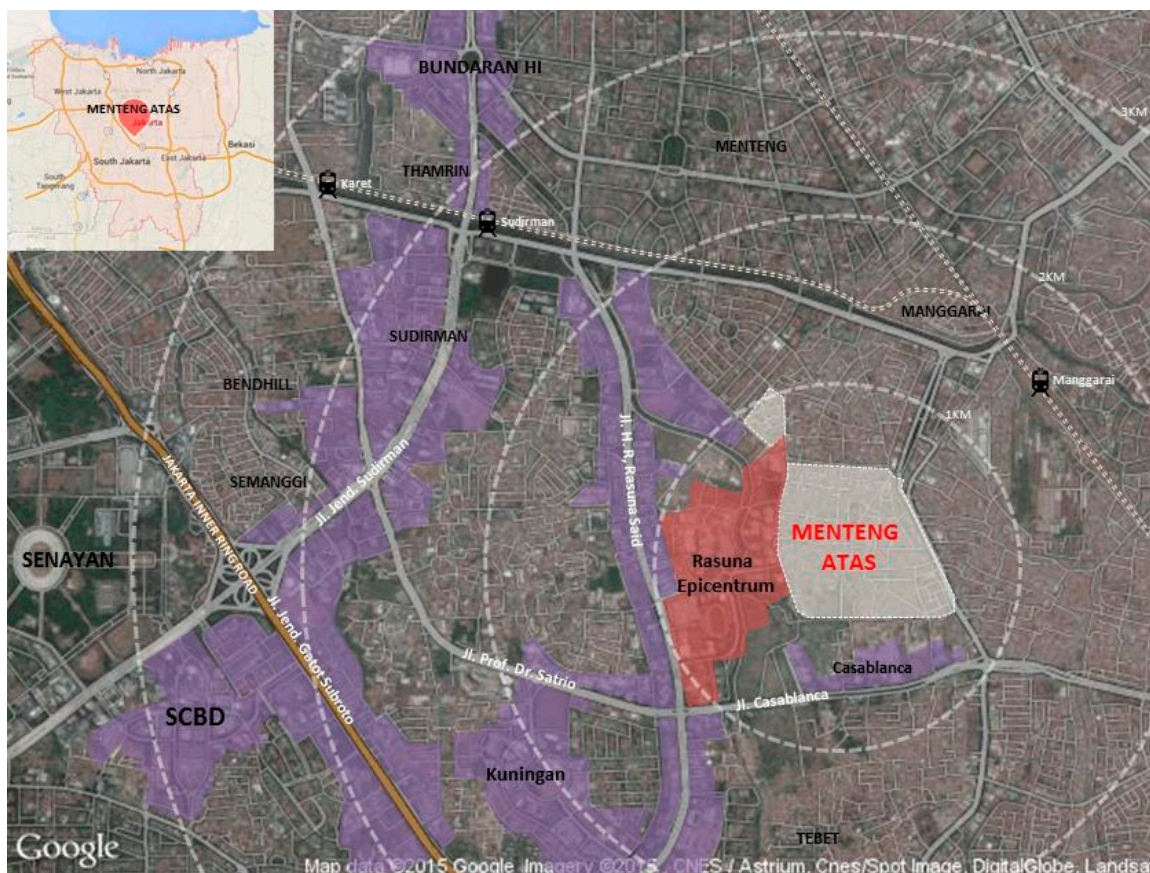


Figure 3. Timeline of Land Acquisition.



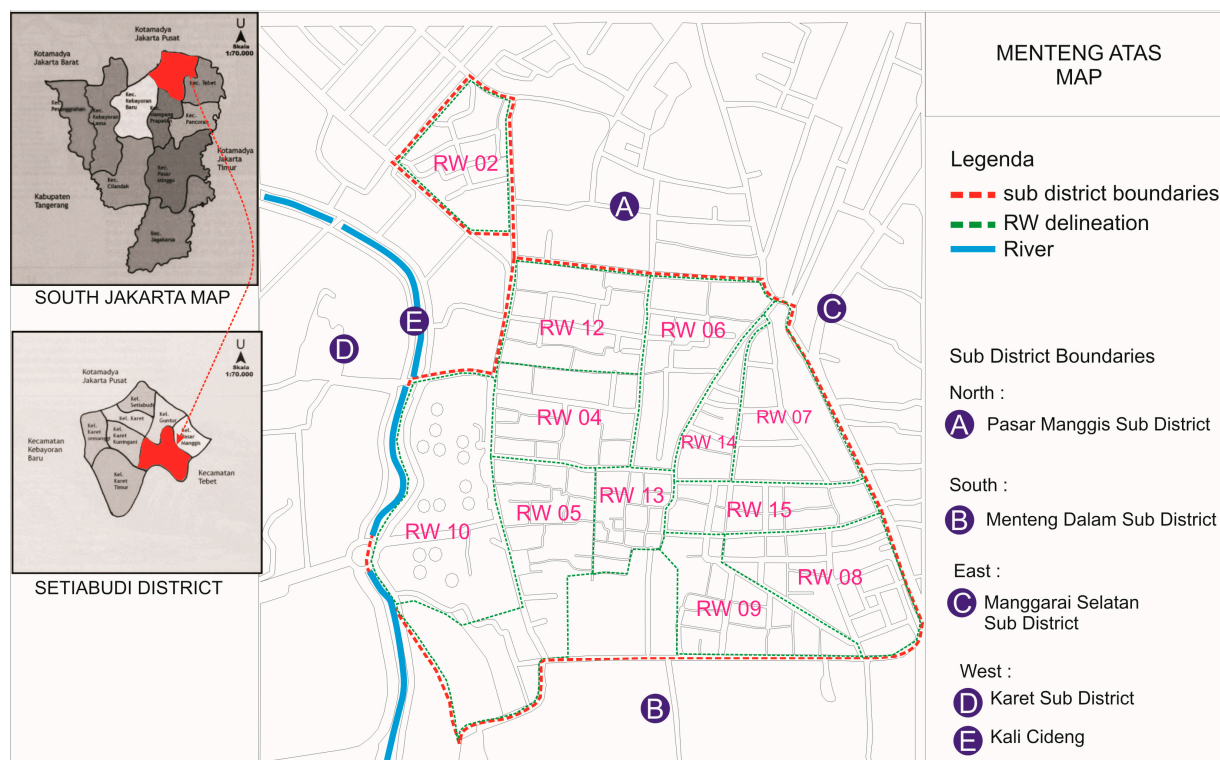
It is mainly due to this original structure, that such large scale development (started in 90-ies) is feasible at Kuningan area. In the beginning of the development, developer can acquire large amount of land by acquiring from only single or few entities. Epicentrum development is part of a larger scale of

property development, which was mostly owned by a single developer. Land acquisition started from 1992 in several stages (see Picture 3). In 2007, total area of land being acquired is 336.831 square metre. However, there has been two significant changes between these acquisitions over time. First, in the early stage the land was acquired from private sectors or local government bodies through different mechanisms, such as *Built Operate Transfer (BOT)* and *Build Transfer Operation (BTO)*. It consisted of large land parcels ranged from 20.000 to more than 100.000 square meter. Second, in the later stage the land was acquired from multiple individual owners. It constituted more than 70.000 square meter and had “eaten up” some of kampong areas in Menteng Atas.

Kampung Menteng Atas is administratively a *Kelurahan* which is part of Setiabudi sub district in City of South Jakarta. It has currently 12 RW, which is a typical Indonesian neighborhood unit. A single RW in Jakarta can consists up to 5-10 thousand inhabitants. One RW covers the area of the apartment blocks in Epicentrum. The population is 31,917 people with total area of 90.45 hectare. Just like another kampong, Menteng Atas consists of housing and its facilities; but it also covers an urban facilities (public cemetery). The housing is similar in general, but it can be differentiated into 3 different types (see Picture 4):

- Apartment complex with its own infrastructure and facilities (RW 10). These blocks are part of Epicentrum development.
- High density housing with mixed used function (RW 05, RW12, RW04); i.e. small stalls, groceries, laundry, rental rooms, etc.
- High density housing with no additional function (rest of the RW)

Figure 4. Location of Kampung Menteng Atas.



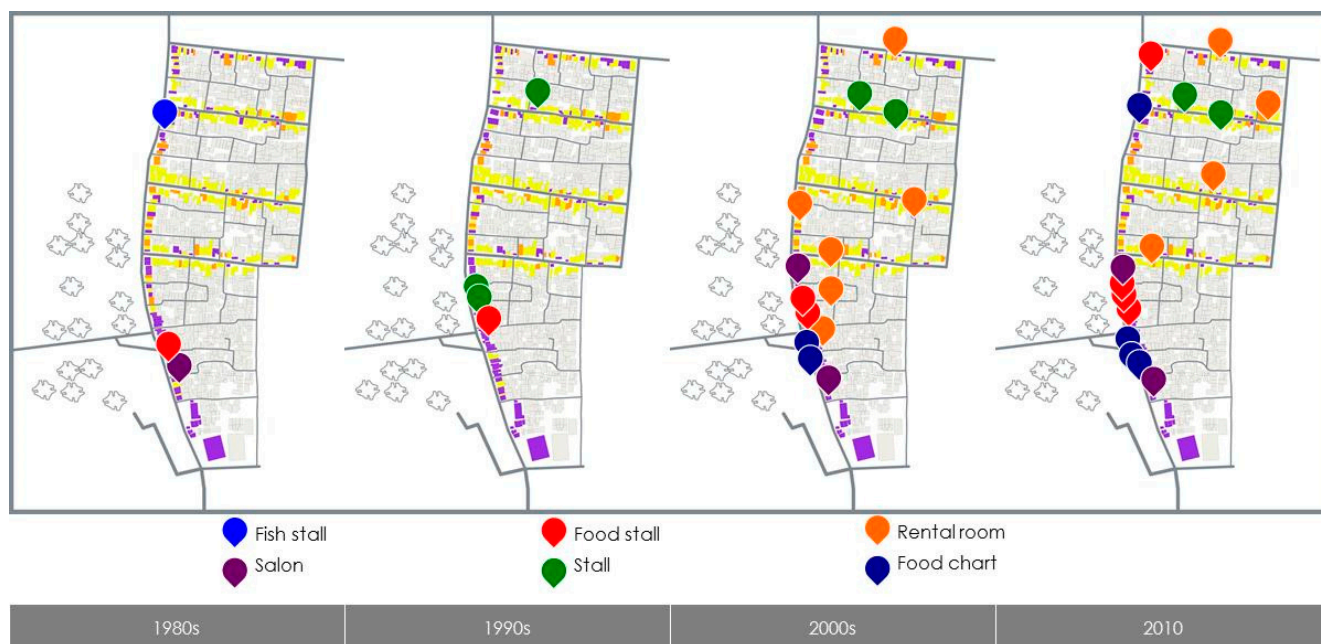
In our observation, in contrary to its original structure and morphology, kampong Menteng Atas has shown two characters of transformation process, namely: 1) land of kampong which bounded directly

with Epicentrum will continue to be acquired by the developer as part of the development Epicentrum, 2) border kampong with Epicentrum in the form of a neighborhood road will turn into a commercial area functions as a way of resident to be survive, adaptive and capturing the economic potential due to Epicentrum development. This paper will discuss the transformation process of Kampong Menteng Atas on the south side of Epicentrum which grows to meet the needs of Epicentrum.

3. Transformation of Function at Kampong Menteng Atas

The transformation at Menteng Atas has been highly influenced over time by large scale development next to it. Both kampong Menteng Atas and large scale private development at Kuningan have existed side by side. In many cases, large scale development usually eats up its surrounding less regulated kampong areas. Although very strategically located and has high land value, but less regulated land such as in kampong usually has lower price. Yet, although private developer continuously expand their areas, kampong Menteng Atas has never been fully acquired or eaten up. Although private developer maintains a completely different economic scale of its development against the kampong, but relationships between them nevertheless exist. How could this possible? Two different areas which are not meant or designed to live together, yet maintain to exist. One of the key answer to this is the creative ways of kampong residents to adapt.

Figure 5. Increasing of Economic Activities in Menteng Atas, especially in Boundary between Kampong and Epicentrum Large Development.

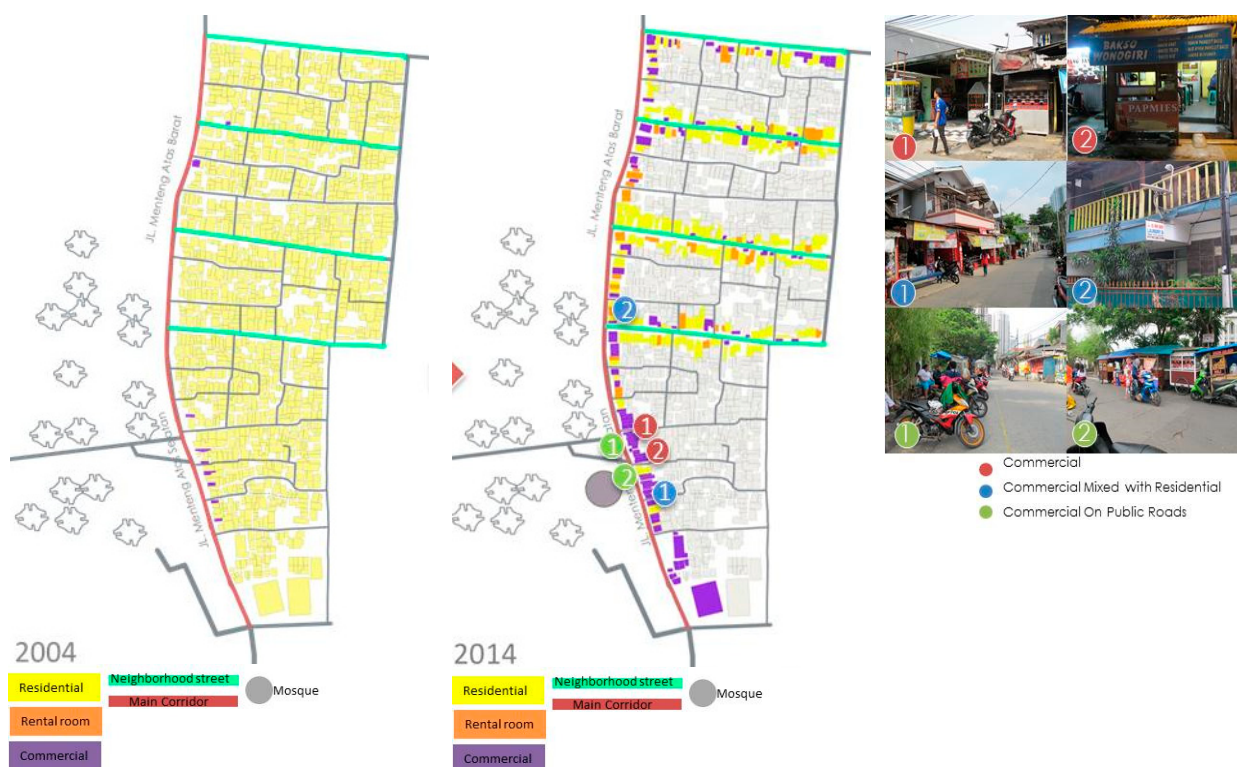


Opening up a business is a way of kampong residents to take benefit from Epicentrum and large scale development activities. These new economic activities by providing services and goods to cater both people who live and work in Epicentrum (such as apartment residents) and people who work in Epicentrum but live in Menteng Atas (such as employee). These new economic activities are (1) selling daily consumables (such as food, pre-paid card, etc.), (2) providing services (such as hair dressing, photocopy, laundry and motorcycle taxi), and (3) providing rental room.

Table 1. Timeline of economic activities transformation in Menteng Atas (21).

		1992 - 1996	1996 - 2000	2000 - 2004	2004 - 2008	2008 -2012	2012 - 2014
Rasuna Epicentrum development		Land Acquisition - Pasar Festival - GOR Soemantri - Klub Rasuna	Apartmen Taman Rasuna I dan II		Hotel Aston - Mesjid Al Bakrie - Universitas Bakrie - Apartmen 18 - Rasuna Office Park	Bakrie Tower - Lifestyle Centre	Apartmen The Wave
Economic Activities in Menteng Atas							
1	Rented Room	-	-	-	4	8	3
2	Food Stall	1	0	2	3	6	4
3	Stall	-	1	1	0	3	0
4	Prepaid Stall	-	-	-	-	2	3
5	Beauty Salon	1	0	0	0	2	0
6	Laundry Services	-	-	-	-	4	1
7	Mobile Stall	-	-	-	2	2	1
8	Others	1	0	0	0	1	0
Total		3	1	3	9	28	12

Figure 6. Land use transformation of the major residential into a commercial in Menteng Atas.



Transformation has been occurred since 1992, but still in small quantities. Major transformation has started since 2004, which is in line with the finish of the first phase of Epicentrum development. Later, in Menteng Atas economic activities has greatly increased since 2008.

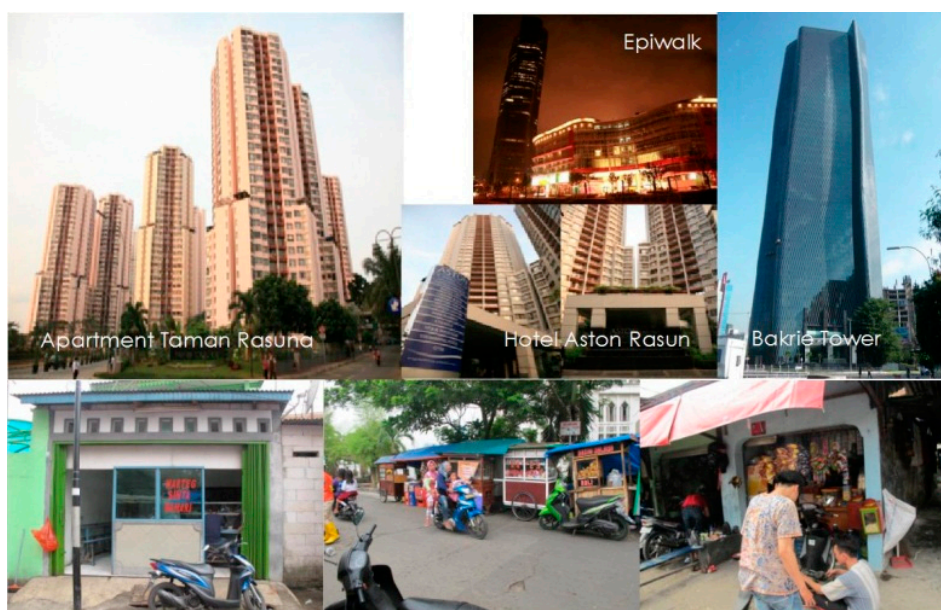
Consequently, many houses at kampong Menteng Atas have transformed from residential into commercial and mixed use. Between kampong Menteng Atas and large scale development next to it, there is 3-meters high wall built along Jalan Menteng Atas Selatan to jalan Atas Menteng Atas Barat. The economic activities of selling daily consumables and providing services have changed the houses in many different ways, ranging from turning one of the rooms into shops, building extra rooms or floors, to renting the front yard to push carts. These changes are observed at the houses, which are located at

the border wall. These areas have higher possibility to be bought up soon or later by private developer. While the economic activities of renting rooms have also changed the houses in many ways, from renting of the rooms in the house to turning the whole houses into rental rooms. These changes are mainly observed at the houses, which are located at the local streets perpendicular to the border wall.

Figure 7. Physical Transformation in boarder between Menteng Atas and Epicentrum.



Figure 8. Physical Transformation in Menteng Atas where transformed become Epicentrum Development (above), Physical transformation in Kampong Menteng Atas (below).



However, due to land acquisition by the developer, RW 02 has been discharged from residents who sold their land and moved to the outskirts Jakarta; while RW 10 became part of Epicentrum Development, namely Taman Rasuna Apartment.

Figure 9. Building Characteristics Caused of Economic Transformation in Menteng Atas.



Figure 10. Diagram of Economic Subject in Menteng Atas.

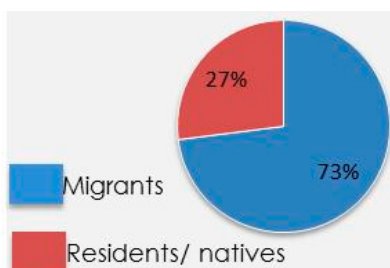


Table 2. Market Target of Economic Activities in Menteng Atas.

Economic Activity	Rasuna Epicentrum	Menteng Atas Residents	Others
Rented Room	✓		
Food Stall	✓	✓	
General Stall	✓	✓	
Prepaid Stall	✓	✓	
Beauty Salon	✓	✓	
Laundry Services	✓		
Others		✓	✓
Motor-Taxi	✓	✓	
Mobile Stall (Chart)	✓	✓	

Building intensity and population density had increased since the increasing of economic activities in Menteng Atas. Natives who had sold his house then moved to the outskirts of Jakarta (Depok, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi). However, increasingly migrants came to Menteng Atas to speculate their life as

small traders, employees and the blue collars in Epicentrum. Economics subject are 73% migrants and mostly they are from Central Java, Madura and Sumatra. There are 166 economic activities which can absorb labor around 500 persons through the activities of the informal economy in Menteng Atas.

As we gathered, economic activities at Menteng Atas have been influenced by the large scale development; thus access to Epicentrum and target market becomes important factors in the development of economic activities. From kampong Menteng Atas to large scale development next to it, there are only 2 accesses. They are 1-metre width door (at the border wall) and another one through Masjid al-Bakrie. Both can be accessed by pedestrians only and often used by village residents, workers and employees of Epicentrum. In 2000, economic activities occurred for 6 hours/ day (8 am – 2 pm), but in 2014 economic activities occurred 16 hours/ day and some food stalls even open for 24 hours. Peak hours in weekdays is at 12 pm, 4- 8 pm, which is lunch time and after office hour in Epicentrum. More economic activities occur on weekdays (Monday - Friday,) while on the weekend (Saturday and Sunday) economic activities is less crowded.

Table 3. Economic Value of Informal Economy in Menteng Atas.

No	Economic Activities	Income/Month (million Rp – USD)			
		Rp 1- 3 million (USD 90-250)	Rp 3.1 - 7 million (USD 260-590)	Rp 7.1 – 10 million (USD 600-850)	Rp 10.1 -15 million (USD 860-1250)
1.	Food Stall	1	4	4	6
2.	Stall	-	3	1	1
3.	Prepaid Stall	-	2	3	-
4.	Beauty Salon	-	2	-	1
5.	Laundry Services	-	1	2	2
6.	Others	-	1	-	1
7.	Motor-Taxi	5	-	-	-
8.	Mobile Stall (Chart)	2	3	-	-
Total		8	16	10	11

Table 4. Price for rental room in Menteng Atas Based on Location.

Location/ Position		Rental Price/ month	Established (year)
Alley	Road (5-6 m)		
X		Rp 700.000 (USD 60)	2006
	X	Rp 450.000 – Rp 800.000 (USD 35-65)	2007
	X	Rp 1.000.000 (USD 90)	2007
	X	Rp 500.000 – Rp 1.000.000 (USD 40-90)	2008
	X	Rp 800.000 – Rp 1.000.000 (USD 65-90)	2008
	X	Rp 450.000 – Rp 1.100.000 (USD 40-95)	2009
	X	Rp 1.600.000 (USD 140)	2009
X		Rp 900.000 – Rp 1.300.000 (USD 75-110)	2009
X		Rp 1.000.000 – Rp 1.500.000 (USD 90-130)	2009
X		Rp 700.000 (USD 60)	2009
	X	Rp 1.500.000 – Rp 2.000.000 (USD 130-170)	2010
	X	Rp 1.000.000 – Rp 1.500.000 (USD 90-130)	2010
	X	Rp 500.000 – Rp 1.000.000 (USD 40-90)	2010
	X	Rp 550.000 – Rp 600.000 (USD 45-50)	2012
X		Rp 1.500.000 – Rp 2.000.000 (USD 130-170)	2012
5	10		

4. Conclusion and Recommendation

Often large scale development eats up its surrounding less regulated kampong areas; because although very strategically located and has high land value, but less regulated land such as in kampong usually has lower price. Yet, although private developer continuously expand their areas, kampong Menteng Atas has never been fully acquired. Kampong residents maintain its existence by providing goods and services, required by people who work at the large scale development. While private development maintains the economic standard of its development but not having to provide lower value services.

On one hand, private development pushes and expands into the kampong areas; while on the other hand they also 'need' kampong, who has provided goods and services which they cannot or will not provide. Although strategically located, land at kampong will never reach its appropriate price. On one hand, kampong residents sell their land and move, yet it does not necessarily mean that kampong disappear. It – or at least some of it – remains as kampong and take the advantage to provide goods and services. Therefore, regardless the injustice borne by kampong residents (having strategically located, but low land price), the relationships between them nevertheless exist.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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