

Preservation in a Changing Urban Landscape: Kampung Case Studies in Three of Jakarta
Heritage Districts

Husna Abharina Mulyani

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Urban Planning

University of Washington
2025

Committee:

Dylan Stevenson

Manish Chalana

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:
Urban Design and Planning

©Copyright 2025

Husna Abharina Mulyani

University of Washington

Abstract

Preservation in a Changing Urban Landscape: Kampung Case Studies in Three of Jakarta
Heritage Districts

Husna Abharina Mulyani

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Dylan Stevenson

Department of Urban Design and Planning

This thesis examines the intersection of urban heritage preservation and the transformation of kampung, Jakarta's vernacular settlement form. Historically excluded from formal planning, kampung has played a key role in the city's spatial and social development. Recent efforts to include some kampungs in designated heritage districts signal a shift in their perceived value. Using archival research, policy analysis, and case studies from Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru, this study explores Jakarta's preservation goals, policy shifts, and their impact on kampung's spatial and social fabric. The findings reveal a gap between formal preservation strategies and the everyday practices that sustain kampung life. By emphasizing spatial features like alleyways and communal areas, the thesis calls for a more inclusive, community-centered approach to preservation. It offers policy insights for aligning heritage efforts with equitable urban development in Jakarta.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	1
I. INTRODUCTION	2
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1. Development of Jakarta Kampung	8
2.2. Transformation of Jakarta Kampung	14
2.2.1 From village settings to urban settings	16
2.2.2 Changing to urban environment	18
2.2.3 Infrastructure services over physical attributes	20
2.2.4 Collaborative effort between stakeholders	24
2.2.5 Changing kampung character	26
2.3. Preserving Kampung	27
2.4. Exploring Preservation Values	30
III. METHODOLOGY	33
3.1. Archival Research	34
3.2. Descriptive Policy Analysis	35
3.3. Case Study Analysis	36
IV. INDONESIA PRESERVATION POLICY	43
4.1. Indonesia Cultural Heritage Preservation	45
4.2. Dutch - Indonesia Cultural and Heritage Diplomacy (1950s-1970s)	47
4.3. Vernacular Preservation (1970s-1990s)	1
4.4. Utilization and Management of Cultural Heritage (1990s - 2000s)	2
V. JAKARTA KAMPUNG: CASE STUDY	0
5.1 Kota Tua	1
Kampung Akuarium	6
Kampung Tongkol	10
Kampung Luar Batang	15
5.2 Menteng	19
5.3 Kebayoran Baru	22
Kampung Leuser	24
Kampung Petogogan	25
VI. FINDINGS	30
VII. LESSON LEARNED	37
VIII. DISCUSSION	39
IX. CONCLUSION	44
REFERENCE	47

I. INTRODUCTION

Kampung is a recurring neighborhood typology within the urban landscape of Indonesia. Despite its informal character, its development has played a crucial role in the growth of Indonesian cities, particularly Jakarta. Historically, kampungs began to emerge during the Dutch colonial era (1600-1942), as the colonial administration sought to house native laborers near city centers. These settlements grew organically alongside the more formally planned colonial districts and granted autonomous status in 1901 following the Dutch's ethical policy (Colombijn & Bawegen 2010). Over time, a sharper distinction developed between the formal colonial settlements and the informal kampung areas. For example, while the colonial buildings were constructed with permanent materials, often brought from the Netherlands, such as cladding bricks and clay roofs, kampung residents relied on locally sourced, impermanent materials, like woven bamboo panels.

Over time, material and spatial forms have become powerful indicators of authority over urban space. As kampungs expanded organically and grew increasingly overcrowded, concerns about deteriorating living conditions intensified. However, the physical development of kampung houses has rarely been a policy priority. Although housing transformation efforts were frequently proposed, they often failed due to financial constraints and social customs. Instead, infrastructural improvements, such as streets, drainage, lighting, gained more traction. These efforts were seen to preserve the modest communal character of kampung life. This arrangement reinforced the spatial and social hierarchy by highlighting the contrast between the well-planned Dutch settlements and the informal kampung, which visually asserted Dutch dominance.

In the post-independence era, urban migration surged, especially to Jakarta. Kampungs became sanctuaries for migrants from rural areas, valued not only for their affordability but also

for their tight-knit social networks. These social networks are sustained by the open spaces in the form of kampung alleyways networks, porches, and communal areas, which facilitate circulation of information that supports their livelihood. Their central locations also made them ideal for informal laborers. The government continued infrastructure improvements but now emphasized community participation and *gotong royong* (mutual aid). This gave rise to two distinct transformation models: one led by government or NGOs, often aligned with urban development goals like disaster mitigation or tourism; and another, driven by residents themselves, responding to their own changing needs, financial capacity, and spatial constraints (Columbijn & Bawegen, 2017; Funo, et al, 2004; Kusno, 2020) . These processes are often overlapping, creating a collaborative form of necessary urban transformation.

Accordingly, the transformation of kampung aligns with key theories of vernacular environment. Rapoport (1969) defines vernacular architecture as a form of traditional architecture that is continuously evolving in response to changing social, economic, and everyday conditions. Although subject to ongoing transformation, vernacular environments retain core elements that help frame their analysis; patterns of activity, contextual relationships, interactions, and symbolic meanings. These four elements provide a useful lens for examining how kampung environments adapt over time while maintaining their cultural relevance.

Running parallel to these changes is a more recent shift toward cultural heritage preservation. While kampungs were initially excluded from heritage considerations, growing interest in vernacular heritage, tourism and urban identity has led to the selective inclusion of older kampungs, particularly those with ethnic or religious significance, into heritage district zones. In contrast, newer kampungs, typically established on illegal site, are incorporated to the heritage district zone although without a clear defined rationale or conservation framework. These

disparities reflect broader inconsistencies in heritage designation practices on kampung and raise critical about how kampungs are valued, represented, and impacted within the broader discourse of cultural heritage preservation in Jakarta.

Additionally, there are notable inconsistencies in how kampung are described across government documents. For instance, while the Jakarta government began formally recognizing kampung as a substantial component of the city's urban fabric in 2014, the implied definitions have varied significantly over time. This study examines Jakarta's Master Plan (Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah or RTRW) and traces the shifting definitions of kampung across its five-year updates between 2014 and 2024. In earlier iterations, kampung were portrayed positively as integral to the city's social and spatial structure. However, in subsequent plans, they were increasingly framed as problematic or substandard settlements. These inconsistencies reflect broader tensions in urban planning discourse and contribute to the growing complexity of kampungs and their relationship with formal authorities, particularly local government.

This thesis aims to investigate the preservation of kampung as an urban vernacular in Jakarta. Specifically, it addresses three key questions:

- 1) What are Jakarta's preservation goals regarding the preservation of kampungs as a form of urban vernacular?
- 2) How has the Jakarta's preservation policy for kampung changed over time?
- 3) What are the impacts of these changes on the social and cultural elements of kampungs?

By exploring these questions, the study seeks to inform how preservation policies can better reflect the lived realities of kampung communities and contribute to more inclusive urban development. Ultimately, it aims to offer policy-relevant insights that bridge the gap between

formal preservation frameworks and the informal dynamics that define Jakarta's vernacular urbanism.

The goal of this study is to propose more inclusive preservation strategies that align with Jakarta's evolving urban agenda while remaining sensitive to kampung-specific needs. This ensures that the preservation of kampung, as a vital element of Indonesia's cultural history, is not overshadowed by other urban development priorities. By centering community needs, spatial practices, and vernacular forms, this study emphasizes preservation as a dynamic process rooted in lived experience rather than static architectural criteria. Ultimately, it seeks to inform more inclusive and context-aware policy approaches that recognize the unique contributions of kampung to Jakarta's urban identity and resilience.

This study is significant because it addresses a persistent gap between urban heritage preservation and kampung development—two domains often treated separately in planning discourse and practice. By examining their intersection, the research explores how preservation frameworks can either support or undermine kampung values and spatial dynamics. While preservation efforts tend to formalize and standardize space according to fixed historical or aesthetic criteria, kampung development is typically fluid, resident-driven, and adaptive. Yet, if approached critically and inclusively, preservation can also serve as a powerful tool to safeguard the social cohesion, spatial identity, and cultural richness that define kampung life.

This study draws from archival data, including government documents and newspaper reports. These sources reveal how kampung has been differently interpreted—at times reduced to indicators of poverty or high density, and at other times cherished for its affordability and community strength. Government archives often treat kampungs as a problematic settlement typology, while public memory preserves its social value. To deepen the analysis, the study

includes case studies of three conservation areas in Jakarta: Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru. Each of these areas contains kampung settlements with distinct spatial and regulatory conditions. Using historical imagery, including Google Street View and archival data, the research examines how spatial configurations, such as alleys, porches, and open spaces, transformations support or hinder social interaction, which is central to kampung resilience.

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study by situating kampung within Indonesia's broader urban development context and highlighting its dual role as a socio-spatial phenomenon and a contested site of preservation. Chapter 2 reviews existing literature on kampung settlements, urban vernacular, and heritage preservation, constructing a theoretical framework that connects informal urbanism with formal conservation practices. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology, including archival research, visual analysis, and case studies of three heritage areas: Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru. Chapter 4 examines the evolution of preservation policy in Jakarta, tracing how kampung has been represented, or neglected, within official planning discourses, and explores the influence of tourism and infrastructure on policy shifts. Chapter 5 analyzes how preservation efforts intersect within the kampung settings through physical changes driven by various stakeholders, resident participation, and informal responses. Chapter 6 draws these insights together, reflecting on the tensions and possible synergies between kampung development and preservation goals. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the study by summarizing key findings and offering recommendations for more inclusive, adaptive preservation strategies that recognize kampung as both heritage sites and living urban communities.

Overall, this thesis contributes to the ongoing conversation about urban heritage in rapidly changing cities like Jakarta. By examining the intersection of preservation policy and

kampung transformation, it reveals the complex negotiations between these two fields however still need to be developed. In doing so, it advocates for a preservation approach that does not merely freeze kampung history in time but instead supports the continued vitality of kampung as part of Indonesia's urban future.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Development of Jakarta Kampung



Figure 1. Jakarta's drawing from around 1605-1608 showing the traditional houses made from impermanent material (Title: "Vue de Batavia telle que' elle étoit autrefois sous le nom de IACATRA (View of Batavia as it was formerly under the name of Iacarta). Source: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen/Tropenmuseum

Jakarta, now the capital city of Indonesia, was originally planned as a port city, as documented in 1512 by Tomé Pires, a Portuguese diplomat. In his journal, Pires not only described the adequate standards of the port at Calapa but also noted the *kampung* settlements, portraying them as "well-built houses of palm leaf and wood," while the king's residence was more advanced, featuring "many thick wooden pillars and beautiful timberwork on top" (Heuken, 2002). The form of these different structures was later captured in a 1605 drawing of Iacarta, former name of Jakarta, that showed the numerous houses made from impermanent material lining the waterfront before later replaced by Dutch forts (fig.1). This architectural hierarchy that links material permanence and intricate ornamentation with social status, reflected a broader cultural order. It can be inferred that durable materials, such as masonry, were reserved

for religious (e.g temples, mosque, churches) or royal (e.g castle) structures, while impermanent materials, such as bamboo and thatched leaves, were used for the dwellings of the public. This hierarchy is also evident in Javanese traditional houses, where the simplest roof structure is named “kampung”, and its simplicity is an important feature that ensures anyone can build the house (Tjahjono, 1998).

Building on this established hierarchy of materials and their association with status, the Dutch adopted a class-based approach to construction, deliberately using material distinctions to reinforce social and political divides. As the Dutch presence in Jayakarta shifted from temporary trade outposts to long-term colonial control, they increasingly relied on durable materials like brick to assert permanence and dominance (Heuken, 2014). This shift violated the 1610 agreement with the native rulers of Jayakarta, which had explicitly restricted the Dutch to building only with temporary materials, to limit their influence and prevent the establishment of permanent structures. Nevertheless, the Dutch constructed brick houses and warehouses, which were later fortified and armed with cannons, eventually acting as fortresses. These new structures displaced existing kampungs and embedded colonial dominance into the built environment, signaling that material decisions were deeply tied to strategies of control and territorial assertion (Heuken, 2014).

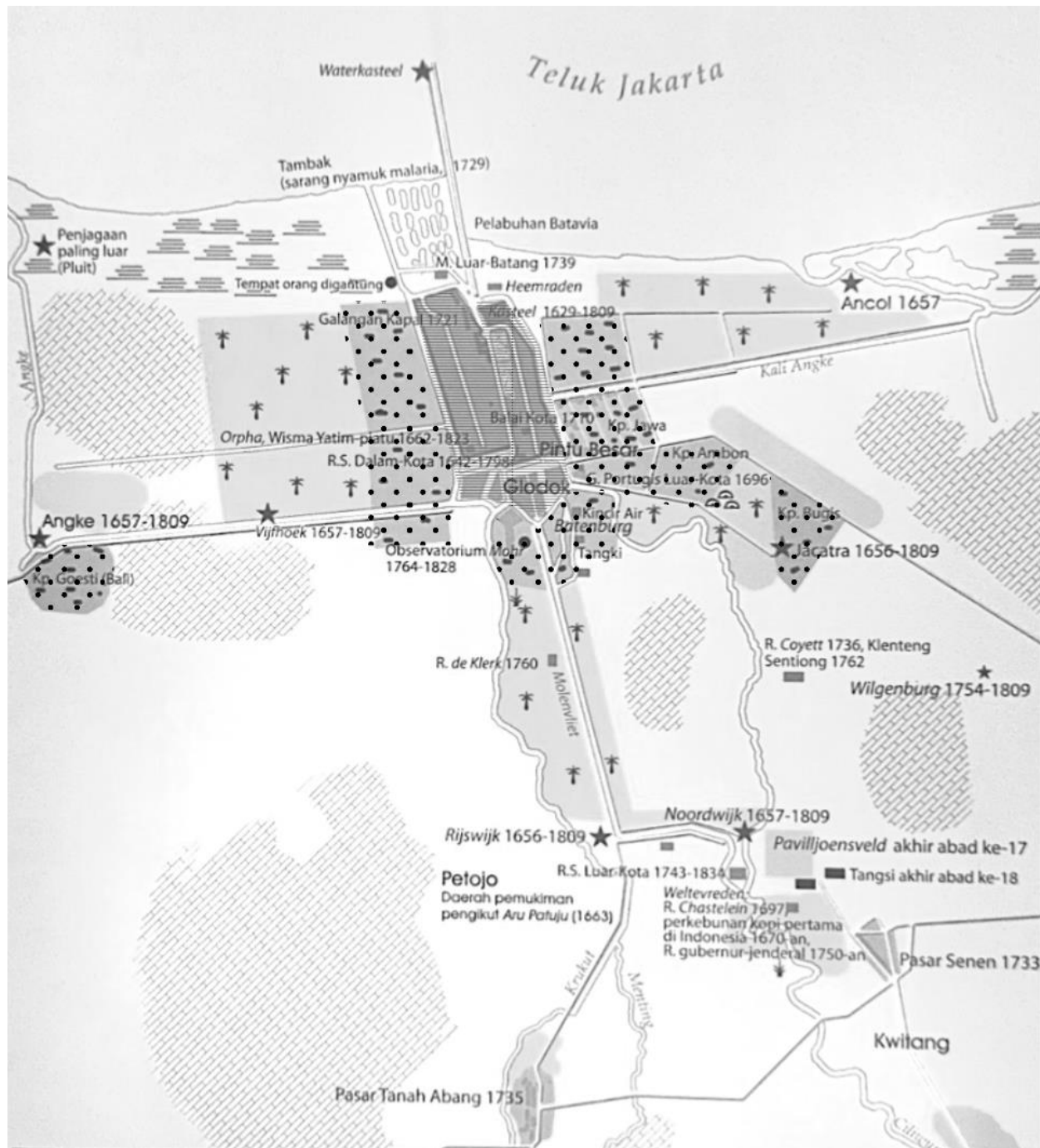


Figure 2. Map showing the proximity of native kampungs (dots) to the Dutch fort (star) in the early 18th century. During times of local resistance, these kampungs functioned as additional security buffers to the Dutch fortifications and castles (line). Source: Heuken (2014), based on kampung location descriptions from Faes (1893) and de Haan (1935).

As the Dutch required more workers to support their expanding operations, kampung settlements were once again ‘invited’ to form outside the city walls, after having previously been

demolished. These new kampungs were initially inhabited by native soldiers of the Dutch army, drawn from various Indonesian islands. They were intentionally and strategically dispersed around smaller forts at measured distances from the city walls, functioning as buffers in the event of local attacks (Heuken, 2014) (fig.2). In addition to their military role, these kampung communities were also tasked with cultivating the kampung land. As the Dutch-East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, or VOC) expanded rapidly, the increasing number of the Dutch employed laborers, and kampungs began to appear in sporadic and scattered locations. Despite their physical contrast with the European residential neighborhoods (fig.3), kampungs were nonetheless perceived as orderly and of acceptable quality, gradually becoming a vital part of the city's social and spatial fabric. Over time, they came to be valued less about their appearance and more their intangible contributions to the community, such as defense and labor for the colony.



Figure 3. Left: Dutch leader's houses lining along Tiger Canal with brick walls and tile roof. Right: Javanese man and woman with kampung houses as background. Source: Leiden University Archive

The Dutch primarily viewed kampung as efficient sources of labor, a perspective that inadvertently preserved kampung's temporary character through minimal attention. Furthermore, the modest appearance of kampung dwellings reinforced the perceived superiority and, by extension, the authority of Dutch colonialism. Beyond concerns of labor efficiency, the Dutch were also focused on the accessibility of kampung. By 1904, as they expanded their administrative and economic reach into rural areas across Java, efforts were made to improve connectivity between native and migrant kampungs through the construction of streets. All these developments were framed as necessary for the benefit of the colony, particularly to facilitate the exploitation of land and resources (Fock, 1904).

This early colonial approach to kampung, valued for their function, connectivity, and ability to serve external and broader interests, offered a foundation for how kampung would continue to be treated in later urban discourse. While the Dutch maintained a utilitarian view, treating kampung as labor zones structured for colonial efficiency, the end of Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia marked a turning point in the kampung development. After the Dutch occupation was replaced by Japanese control during World War II, a major land redistribution occurred. The Japanese administration returned many lands previously owned by the Dutch and other foreigners to native Indonesians. However, despite this gesture, the implementation of land registration processes was severely hampered by a shortage of civil service personnel, in stark contrast to the robust Dutch bureaucratic system. This administrative vacuum, combined with widespread displacement during the Japanese occupation, resulted in a significant number of vacant or unregistered parcels. In many cases, these lands were informally occupied, often by those fleeing conflict or seeking housing amid the breakdown of formal governance, laying the foundation for the postcolonial growth of informal kampungs.

In more recent decades, scholars have revisited these spaces through a different lens. Kampung, once viewed primarily through their functional role in the colonial system—supplying labor and serving as buffers for security—are now increasingly recognized as socially dynamic and spatially strategic components of the urban landscape, as well as continuing sources of informal labor that sustain the city’s everyday functions. Despite decades of urban transformation, informal kampung settlements continue to exist in Indonesian cities today, often operating outside formal planning frameworks while remaining deeply embedded in the social and economic life of the city. It is in this context that Kusno (2020), an architectural and urban historian focusing on Indonesian development, offers a critical rethinking of the kampung’s place in the urban hierarchy.

Kusno argues that kampung, neither strictly urban nor rural, represents intermediary zones within the modern city. He introduces the term “middling urbanism” to describe how kampung operates as adaptive environments—places where rural migrants learn to navigate and gradually integrate into urban life. Similarly, Budiarto (2005) suggests that kampung should be understood not only through their historical or poverty-related associations, but primarily through their capacity to sustain everyday life for those who inhabit them. He warns that while preserving the historic image of kampung may serve heritage goals, it does not necessarily ensure the vitality or survival of these communities. Both Kusno and Budiarto emphasize the importance of kampung’s physical and spatial characteristics, as well as the need for ongoing support.

Though Kusno and Budiarto reject the simplistic framing of kampung as poor, chaotic, or informal, both scholars acknowledge that these communities still require structural and social support. For Kusno (2020), this support is not always administered by the state but emerges

through mutual interdependence between kampung dwellers and the city's formal residents. Kampung represents what he calls a "cut in the wall" urban culture of self-reliance introduced as part of being resilient yet embedded in the broader system of capitalist modernity. Far from being passive or stagnant, the kampung actively reshapes its spatial and social arrangements in response to changing urban pressures. In this sense, it operates as a transformative space, one that adapts, negotiates, and redefines its place within the evolving city, laying the groundwork for further analysis of its architectural and spatial adaptability (Kusno, 2020).

2.2. Transformation of Jakarta Kampung

Building on the idea that kampung functions as a transformative space capable of sustaining the everyday lives of its inhabitants, scholars such as Budiarto and Kusno have emphasized kampung social adaptability and spatial fluidity within the urban fabric. This perspective echoes Rapoport's (1969) earlier argument about vernacular architecture that derived from traditional architecture that is continuously in the process of adaptation. Rapoport highlights a shift from architecture shaped primarily by climate and customary practice, such as traditional Javanese house (fig.4), to one that reflects changing socio-cultural values and everyday realities, such as kampung. This transformation is especially visible in everyday dwellings which, unlike monumental architecture, are not typically preserved as legacy by its inheritors. Instead, it remains flexible and responsive to present-day needs and constraints, unbound by the restrictions of heritage laws or conventional tradition (Rapoport, 1969).

Roy (1988) refers to this ongoing process as "active vernacularization," a continuous rearticulation of the built environment that embodies the collective hopes, negotiations, and aspirations of its community. These aspirations extend beyond buildings to include open spaces,

signage, and other artifacts—elements that reflect a community’s adaptive sensibilities toward the ordinary functional features of daily life. As a result, any transformation may produce new models of living conditions rooted in the evolving needs of the community.

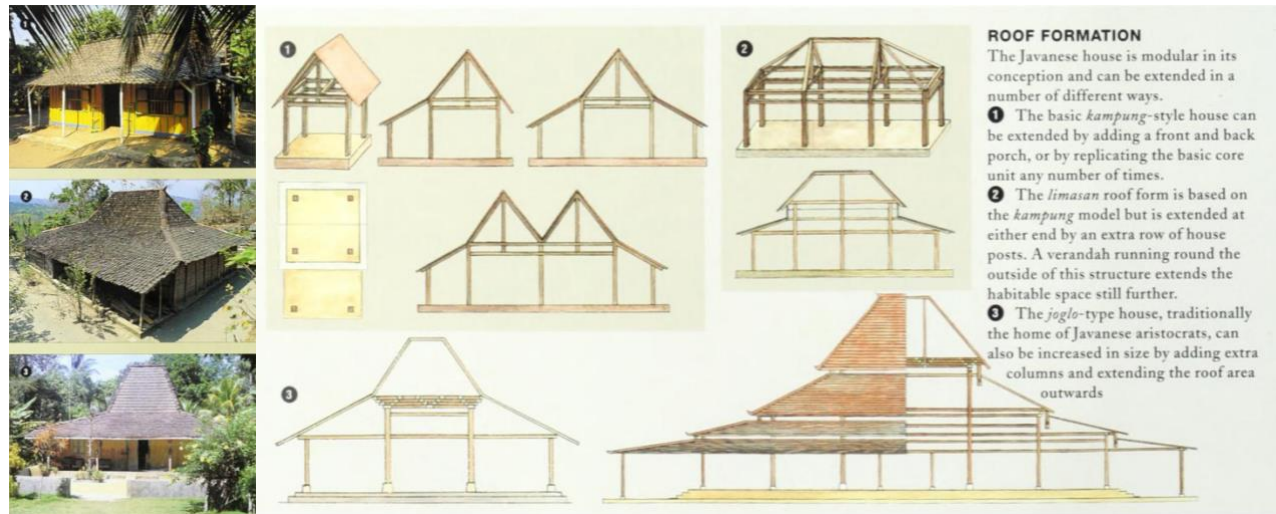


Figure 4. Javanese traditional architecture. The different roof types and its structure, ranging from the simplest kampung roof to the more complex joglo roof. The Kampung roof is presented as number (1) depicting its simplicity, in contrast to other roof structures. Source: Tjahjono (1988)

Rapoport (2005) identifies four key factors essential to understanding how vernacular environments evolve over time: 1) the activities that occur within a space; 2) the broader environmental and cultural context in which it exists; 3) its interaction with surrounding activities and spaces; 4) and its associated cultural and symbolic meanings. These elements emphasize that the transformation of built environments, particularly those not shaped by formal planning, must be seen as a process that is continuously negotiated through everyday use and social engagement. Applied to the case of kampung, these principles demonstrate that such spaces are far from static remnants of the past. Rather, they are dynamic environments where adaptation, innovation, and memory coexist.

2.2.1 From village settings to urban settings

The transformation of kampung from rural to urban settings marked not only a change in physical location but also a reinterpretation of traditional spatial forms and social practices. Originally situated in familiar village landscapes, kampung residents had to adapt to the unfamiliar conditions of the city. As a result, Javanese traditional architecture which consisted of communal spaces like the *verandah*, *peringgitan*, and *pendapa* (fig. 5), underwent significant shifts. These architectural elements, once central to rituals, social gatherings, and performances such as traditional dance and shadow puppetry, meant to nourish the house's soul and provide a sense of calm and balance (Pitana, 2024), were recontextualized in the urban kampung environment in which the dominance of public space over private space are carried over. In this new context, collective memory remained influential.



Figure 5. Author-generated illustrations depicting elements of Javanese traditional architecture as adapted in kampung forms. Image Source: Tjahjono (1988), BBC (2009), Hamdani (2024).

While verandahs just now reappeared as front porches in contemporary kampungs, *peringgitan* and *pendapa*, have been found in historic *kampungs*. The narrow form of the *peringgitan* is reflected in *kampung* alleyways, while the open and flexible nature of the *pendapa* can be seen in communal spaces within neighborhood enclaves. Although these forms were not always designed to replicate what was originally in traditional Javanese architecture, their presence still invites informal gatherings, sustained by collective memory and cultural familiarity, although the interaction goal changes.

For example, during the colonial period, the purpose of these gatherings were less about ritual and entertainment and more about the circulation of information, as residents need to adapt to an unfamiliar social and political environment. Additionally, post-independence *kampung* continue to evolve in their patterns of interaction, placing greater emphasis on communal social and economic activities that often take place in shared outdoor spaces. These practices reflect recent adaptive responses to challenging urban environments, where economic pursuits are shaped by spatial constraints and limited resources (Elissa, 2016; Mizanni and Elissa, 2018).

This ongoing practice of gathering reflects more than cultural continuity; it highlights the *kampung*'s role as a resilient social environment. Social interaction, and the spatial scale at which it occurs, is a defining feature of *kampung* life leading to its resilience. At the core of *kampung* resilience is its capacity to generate and sustain social networks. Social gathering in *kampung* serves not only to connect individuals across boundaries of class and geography but also to reinforce everyday solidarity among neighbors. Helen & Elissa (2023) distinguish between social institutions in *kampung* that are formally regulated by the government and those that evolve organically from tradition and cultural norms, noting that the latter were more effective on disseminating news or information because of strong social bonds. Within these

networks, different household members engage in distinct forms of knowledge-sharing and informal leadership—what they identify as the “seeds” of kampung resilience.

Traditional Javanese Architecture Public Space Element		Adaptation into Vernacular Urban Kampung Setting
Verandah	Social interaction, threshold between public and private area	Porch
Peringgitan	Connecting space between living and public space (narrow), public performance space	Alleyways
Pendapa	Public space, often used to host performances.	Communal Space

Table 1. The sources of urban kampung elements and its adaptation Source: Author (2025)

2.2.2 Changing to urban environment

The transformation of urban kampungs occurred in two categories: first, the demolition of kampung settlements and their replacement with buildings perceived to be of higher quality (occurred, mostly around 2015-2020); and second, the improvement of existing kampung through infrastructure, services and in some cases, housing form upgrade (started in 1930s) (fig.6). These transformations were largely driven by external actors, often motivated by concern or sympathy for the poor living conditions in kampung areas. Frequently, the transformation by these stakeholders targeted development concerning hygiene and accessibility, mandating more control, particularly over sewage and roadways (Colombijn & Barwegen, 2010; Kusno & Colombijn, 2017).

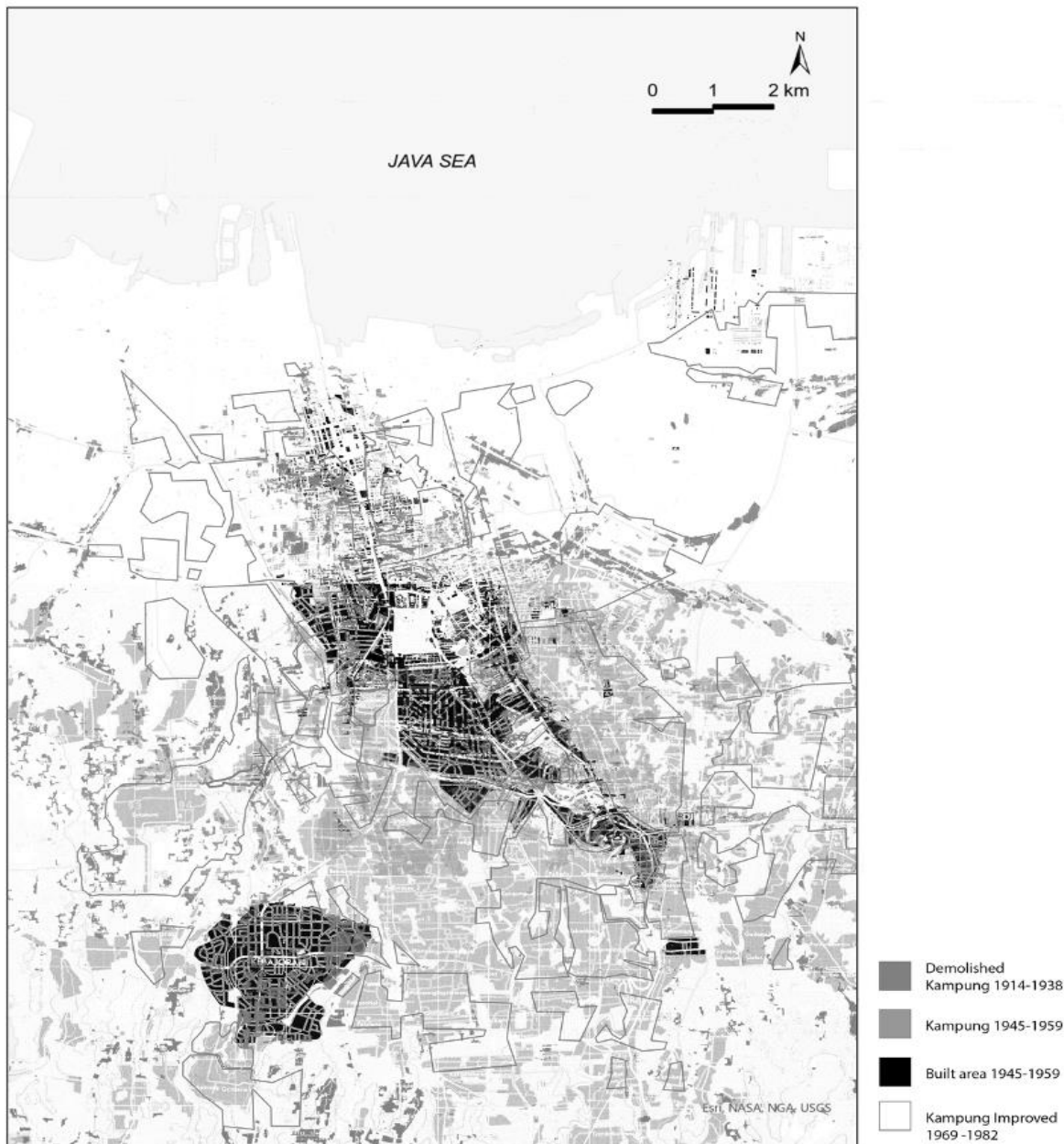


Figure 6. Kampung and its improvement over time. Source: Author translation from colonial map showing kampungs location retrieved from Leiden University Archive (2025)

Additionally, kampung residents themselves have long contributed to the improvement of their settlements (Funo, 1981). These resident-led changes are typically incremental and modest in scale, shaped by the community's limited financial capacity, available materials, and immediate needs—such as repairing walls, adding informal extensions, or upgrading sanitation

with basic infrastructure. Despite their limited scope, these improvements reflect strong local agency, adaptability, and a collective investment in everyday livability. In contrast, externally driven transformations—often initiated by government agencies, NGOs, or private developers—tend to involve more comprehensive physical interventions. These may include road widening, housing reconstruction, drainage upgrades, or aesthetic enhancements, typically supported by larger budgets and formal planning processes. While such changes can improve physical conditions and infrastructure, they may also alter the spatial and social fabric of the *kampung*, especially when not aligned with community priorities. The tension between these two modes of improvement highlights ongoing questions about equity, participation, and the long-term sustainability of preservation and redevelopment efforts.

2.2.3 Infrastructure services over physical attributes

The transformation of Jakarta's *kampung* settlements has historically involved the interaction of multiple actors, including the government, non-profit organizations, and *kampung* residents themselves, shaped by social, environmental, and political struggles. These shifts were often driven by top-down decisions, with residents responding through various forms of adaptation. The first major transformation of Jakarta's *kampung* was initiated in response to epidemic outbreaks inside the walled city in 1733, which forced the relocation of European residents (Heuken, 1997). Even before this, the Dutch had begun planning an expansion to the southern part of Jakarta, into the Weltevreden area (now the districts of Sawah Besar, Gambir, Senen, and Menteng), as the walled city became increasingly crowded with European settlers. However, this area was not uninhabited, it was occupied by native *kampung* residents who were later displaced through demolition. The inhabitants of these *kampung* sought refuge in other nearby *kampungs*, resulting in overcrowding and environmental degradation.

Concerned Dutch observers viewed the deteriorating conditions in *kampung* as both a public health hazard and an urban management issue. Tillema (1923), in his report on housing conditions, described the *kampung* as “smelly quarters” overcrowded with people who were less educated about hygiene, leading to repeated outbreaks of disease (fig. 7). If left unaddressed, these conditions were seen as a threat to nearby Dutch settlements. This concern contributed to the planning of a new city layout and laid the groundwork for the *Kampung Improvement Program* (KIP), which officially began in 1927.

No. 16. Straat in Kampong Doro in Soerabaja. Zoo zijn er daar ettelijke!
 Het zij hier uitdrukkelijk gezegd, dat een foto nooit de werkelijkheid weergeeft, al was het alleen maar omdat een afbeelding het reukorgaan niet kan beledigen. In een volgend hoofdstuk zal ik de plattegronden van deze buurten laten zien. Soerabaja is de eerste handelsstad in Tropisch Nederland!
 Ach, dat er weer eens een rilling door Nederland ging!

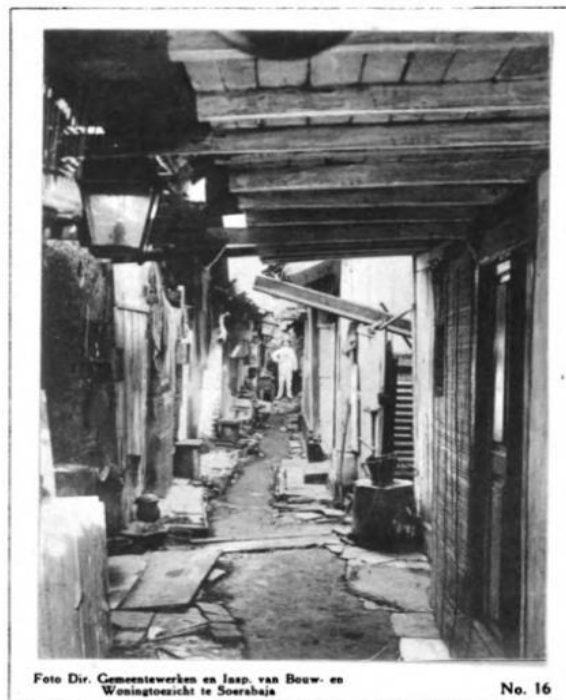


Figure 7. Tillema journals depicting an unpleasant olfactory experience when he travelled through the captured kampung across Java. (Translation: No 16. Street in Kampung Doro in Surabaya. There are several of them. It should be said here explicitly that a photo does not represent reality, if only because an image cannot offend the olfactory organ....) Source: Tillema (1923)

Interestingly, the issue of the *kampung*'s temporary building materials was not addressed in the improvement program—suggesting that it was perceived as a lesser problem compared to infrastructure deficiencies. The program originated from Tillema's 1923 report and was later reinforced by Karsten's 1930 assertion that poor *kampung* environments were fertile ground for

revolutionary sentiment. The KIP's primary focus was on infrastructure: the construction and maintenance of streets, bridges, water supply, and street lighting within urban kampungs.

Indonesian advocates like Mohamad Husni Thamrin supported the program, emphasizing the importance of maintaining the kampung's character.

It is also worth noting that early practice to change the physical housing structures were largely unsuccessful, further reinforcing the notion that architectural form was not the central concern. During the 1915–1920s, various Dutch local councils, in collaboration with architects, launched experiments to develop affordable housing models, many of which had to be subsidized by the proponents themselves. While cities like Semarang (with the 'Mlaten' kampung) and Medan (with the 'Sekip' kampung) experienced modest success (Roosemalen, 2024), the Taman Sari project (fig.8), built in 1913 in Batavia, was ultimately abandoned. Its failure was attributed to multiple factors, including costs that exceeded the purchasing power of kampung residents and a design that clashed with the social customs and spatial needs of kampung life. Roosemalen (2024) mentioned that the development “organized by size and price rather than social status, and the layout of the units, which were efficient but lacked culturally important features such as a dedicated guest reception room, failed to reflect local social hierarchies and customs”.



Figure 8. Taman Sari. Source: Colombijn (2010)

In contrast to Taman Sari, the kampungs of Mlaten and Sekip demonstrated greater sensitivity to local cultural practices and community needs, resulting in more positive outcomes. The Mlaten kampung in Semarang (fig.9) incorporated a variety of housing types that reflected both economic diversity and social customs. Homes ranged from basic units made of local materials to more formal *kleinwoningen* with designated living spaces, including kitchens and bedrooms. Communal facilities, such as shared bathrooms and kitchens, supported daily needs and fostered a sense of social cohesion. Importantly, the layout and design responded to the informal, communal nature of kampung life, making the housing not only functional but culturally appropriate.

Sekip (fig.9), developed in Medan in the early 1920s, went further by introducing a participatory planning approach. The local council involved residents in the design and construction of their homes, using the project as a pilot to test what was socially and financially viable. Initial trials revealed that residents preferred semi-permanent houses over costlier permanent ones, a preference that challenged the assumptions of colonial planners. The final development included a mix of housing types along with communal kitchens, bathing areas, and a shop, all tailored to residents' preferences and routines. These two cases underscore how cultural sensitivity and resident involvement were critical to the success of early kampung housing efforts—features notably absent in the Taman Sari project. Karsten (1930) argued that social interaction is a crucial component of kampung livability, as residents depend on one another for information sharing, support, and survival in the urban setting. Eventually, the Dutch government recognized the uselessness of constructing new kampung-style settlements,

acknowledging the unnecessary expense in the “1938 Explanatory Note on the Urban Development Ordinance”.

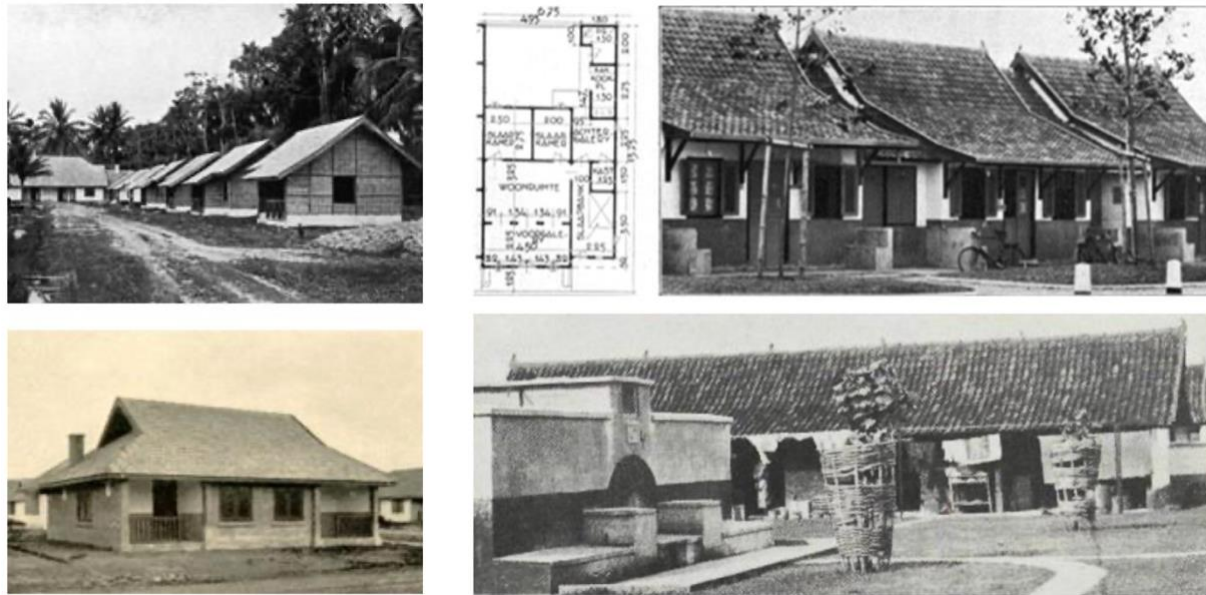


Figure 9. Kampung development by Dutch during colonial era. Left: Kampung Mlaten, Semarang. Right: Kampung Sekip, Medan (Source: Roosemalen, 2024)

2.2.4 Collaborative effort between stakeholders

The first Indonesia-led Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) was launched in 1969 (Chifos, 2022) in Jakarta before expanding into a national project. It was funded through a combination of the World Bank, the Indonesian government, and kampung residents. Like the earlier Dutch initiative, the new KIP, named after Mohamad Husni Thamrin (MHT), an indigenous advocate of the colonial-era program, focused on infrastructure and public space rather than the physical characteristics of houses, due in part to limited funding (Kompas, April 1973). While the post-independence KIP retained the infrastructure emphasis of its colonial predecessor, it introduced significant changes in funding, decision-making, and resident participation.

The first key difference was the funding scheme. The Indonesian KIP promoted a spirit of collaboration by incorporating multiple funding sources, including the 1969 national budget year and a cost-sharing model. Kampung residents were responsible for 60% of the project costs, while the government covered the remaining 40%. However, the initial funding phase sparked controversy when the government used revenue from gambling taxes. Many kampung residents, identifying as Muslim, opposed the use of such funds on moral and religious grounds. In response, a law was passed in 1974 prohibiting local governments and institutions from collecting taxes from illegal businesses such as gambling. Later that year, in 1974, the World Bank stepped in with a grant that accelerated the project timeline from 15 years to just 10.

The second key difference lay in the participatory planning process. Since kampung residents contributed financially, they were also granted a voice in the decision-making (Chifos, 2022). Residents could object to government-imposed changes, propose project priorities, such as streets construction, communal toilets, or drainage improvements, and identify which parts of the kampung should be addressed first. These discussions were frequently reported by the newspaper Kompas, which also documented how government officials responded to community feedback. Despite the increased involvement, the majority opinion usually determined the outcome; if only one or two households objected, the project still moved forward.

As in the colonial-era program, demolition of existing houses could not be entirely avoided. Most projects required residents to reduce the size of their homes, and in some cases, entire houses had to be demolished. Street widening was a primary concern, especially in overcrowded kampung, to allow emergency vehicle access to main streets. Compensation was provided to affected residents, and in certain cases, neighborhood associations also contributed, particularly for elderly, widowed, or low-income residents. Nevertheless, land acquisition posed

a significant obstacle and contributed to delays in several kampung, especially where residents were unwilling to relinquish their land (Kompas, February 1977).

Criticism was also directed at the contractors, particularly those responsible for street construction. Issues arose due to poor oversight and technical negligence, which often left projects partially completed (Kompas, January 1976; Kompas, February 1976). These disruptions imposed daily hardships on kampung residents, who relied heavily on the streets for income and mobility. The loss of street access created an economic burden greater than originally anticipated. The government acknowledged the lack of supervision during the project's initial phase, though later stages followed stricter World Bank guidelines improving its monitoring

Chifos (2022) in her study about the Indonesia's Kampung Improvement Program in terms of urban environmental management at Jakarta, also mentioned the new trends of kampung improvement. Her study found that the recent trend of the program is more diverse inclusion of several stakeholders, such as, individuals, informal leaders, non-governmental CBOs, government CBOs, informal entrepreneurs, public service groups, religious groups, donors, military, informal leaders, semi-government leaders, and the various levels of formal organizations. This aimed to help informed what are the best approaches on guiding the environmental development, without demolishing kampung like the earlier years. She also mentioned that other than the environmental management, kampung tourism trend tend to be the approach of local government to improve the living condition in kampung.

2.2.5 Changing kampung character

While street construction aimed to retain the kampung's character, the new well-paved streets, while successful, also brought unintended consequences. The improved streets attracted

more street vendors, creating a collective memory of kampung life for many children, as described by kampung youths in interviews with Mrazek (2010). On the other hand, motorcycles, nimbler than cars, began to use these narrow 1.5-meter-wide alleys, originally designed as shared pedestrian spaces for children, vendors, and social gatherings. This created safety concerns and undermined the kampung's communal atmosphere. The shift may have resulted from a new wave of migrant residents who lacked the same sense of place or memory as original inhabitants. In response, residents organized community-led practices to install speed bumps. Since these were funded locally, their quality varied depending on the wealth of each community.

Beyond safety, the influx of unauthorized types of vehicles contributed to the gradual degradation of newly improved infrastructure. Although these streets were originally intended for light vehicle use, the absence of formal enforcement allowed cars and bigger vehicles to traverse them regularly. This frequent misuse led to potholes and surface damage, reducing the longevity of the infrastructure improvements. As these streets also functioned as central social spaces, their deterioration not only disrupted mobility but also affected the daily rhythms and communal life of kampung residents (fig.9). The tension between physical upgrades and the organic, adaptive use of space reflects broader challenges in reconciling planning interventions with lived urban realities.

2.3. Preserving Kampung

For decades, earlier urban preservation efforts in Indonesia focused on Dutch colonial architecture, largely driven by the Jakarta Department of Museum and History. However, criticism from the Dutch government regarding Indonesia's domestic policies, particularly following the East Timor conflict, prompted a renewed approach in the 1970s that sought to emphasize the country's own cultural identity through traditional and vernacular architecture.

Kampung settlements were among the first vernacular environments in Jakarta to receive heritage recognition, not initially for their historical value, but as attractions for tourism and cultural interest by the Jakarta Department of Museum and History. Many of these kampung featured longstanding religious structures, like mosques or shrines, linked to their original communities, such as Kampung Tugu and Kampung Condet. These elements transformed kampung into ethnic and religious enclaves that visitors sought out to experience diverse cultural and spiritual traditions. This shift reflects how vernacular architecture, such as kampung, came to be preserved, by the Jakarta Department of Museum and History in 1970 (Governor Degree CB 11, 1970) not only for its physical form but also for its symbolic and experiential value.

This tourism-oriented aspect of vernacular architecture has been examined by a range of scholars. Vernacular architecture serves not only as everyday environments but also as environmental markers of local identity, with the potential to generate cultural tourism (Zamudio, 2013 in Silva et al., 2021; Pardo, 2023). Accordingly, vernacular tourism has been adopted in many countries as part of broader preservation strategies, particularly to recognize and sustain places that are often overlooked in formal heritage frameworks. For example, Wang (1997) examined *Hutong* tourism in Beijing, where visitors are invited into the narrow alleys of traditional residential areas. He argued that vernacular tourism is inherently fragile, as it often struggles to meet the rigid standards of authenticity typically expected of heritage sites. Yet, as Pardo (2023) also observes, cultural tourism can offer critical support for maintaining vernacular architecture, especially in cases where residents may lack the resources to preserve it themselves.

A central reason for preserving such spaces lies in their perceived connection to lesser-known or marginalized histories, which offer alternative ways of understanding the world. Their continued presence in contemporary life—often misinterpreted as primitive or outdated—reveals

a unique cultural perspective. Nutt et al. (2016) emphasize the social value of these environments, highlighting how everyday interactions within them foster a sense of community and shared identity. Nursanty et al. (2023) further argue that heritage preservation can serve as a tool for city branding, contributing to tourism, economic development, and stronger social cohesion.

The kampungs included in the tourism plan have historically attracted religious tourism, due in part to the presence of mosques, churches, and temples that reflect the religious makeup of their communities. For example, Chinese temples were historically tied to Chinese communities, although they now housed diverse ethnicities (Widjaja, 2010). Kampung Luar Batang has drawn visitors from Malaysia and Singapore since the colonial period with its Luar Batang Mosque and the tomb of Habib Husein. These sites now host Islamic festivals and events that draw additional visitors. However, the condition of these kampung may not meet standard preservation criteria due to their substandard living conditions. Long neglected for their substandard conditions, various improvement programs significantly improved the kampung infrastructure, especially streets and drainage systems. Although these programs did not focus on architectural upgrades, the improved accessibility laid the groundwork for increased tourism and better quality of life for residents.

This practice culminated in the 2014 Kota Tua Masterplan, which formally acknowledged the historical significance of kampungs and integrated several kampung into the heritage district. This inclusion was influenced by state-level regulatory changes in 2014, specifically Perda DKI Jakarta No. 1/2014, which explicitly acknowledged kampung as areas eligible for preservation. This shift was underpinned by prior broader national regulatory developments. For example, the 1992 Cultural Heritage Law (UU No. 5/1992) renewed national interest in heritage preservation,

while its 2010 revision (UU No. 11/2010) expanded the criteria for preservation to include structures and environments that may not fully meet conventional standards of material integrity or monumental significance. Together, these policies created an enabling framework for recognizing the cultural value of kampungs. In this context, preservation became a collective effort to safeguard the vernacular practices of Indonesia's native communities, even as these practices vary significantly across kampungs, particularly those classified as informal.

2.4. Exploring Preservation Values

Like any transformation of the built environment, historic preservation is a form of conscious curation of the built environment. Fitch (1982) describes historic preservation as a form that is shaped by values of historic, cultural, political, aesthetic, and economic value which correspond to its perceived benefits. However, these values are fluid, context-dependent, and subject to interpretation (Mason, 2002; Avrami & Mason, 2019) (table 2). They shift with social trends, meaning gains in preservation may conflict with other development goals such as infrastructure or housing. Historic preservation, for instance, has intermittently been ascribed to hampering practice to modernize urban areas, diminishing construction of new development (Listokin et al, 1998). Thus, historic preservation is a fight for a cause, movement, and the idea of our built environment.

As modernization accelerates, so does public interest in the past. The rationale behind historic preservation is subject to higher scrutiny following the growing scale of preservation practice due its "too elastic" application (Rose, 1981, as cited in Listokin et al 1998). Many historic preservation practices must justify that their benefits triumph over other development activities, are sustainable, and serve larger communities in the same way they were originally designed to (Avrami & Mason 2019). This pressure leads to the formal designation of

historic sites through a structured process involving documentation and negotiation, grounded in the heritage values recognized by local regulations. However, these values are often vaguely defined. As a result, their application tends to be inconsistent across different sites and projects.

Scholars	Historic Object Values
Fitch (1982)	Economic (including tourism) and social value
Mason (2002)	Held values (principle or ideologies owned that guide preservation initiative) and Assigned values (assigned by people- sociocultural and economic values)
Koziol (2008)	Populist, Entrepreneurialist, Essentialist, Privatist
Avrami & Mason (2019)	Essential (sociocultural) Instrumental (Economic)

Table 2. Historic object value among different scholars. Source: Author (2025)

To facilitate the identification of values in conservation, Mason (2002) distinguishes between *held* values, a moral conviction about the past, and *assigned* values, which refer to the qualities attributed to a heritage object. In addressing the latter, he proposed a provisional typology comprising two broad categories: sociocultural and economic values. While analytically distinct, these categories often overlap and interact within heritage discourses. Building on Mason’s framework, Koziol (2008) operationalizes these value types through the Preservation Discourse Matrix (PDM), which juxtaposes intrinsic (sociocultural) and market-oriented (economic) values along two axes (fig.10). The matrix yields four idealized policy orientations: essentialist, populist, privatist, and entrepreneurialism. As an analytical tool, the PDM enables critical assessment of how these value systems intersect and influence preservation policy, whether through tracing historical trajectories or evaluating the implementation of conservation practice. When applied to kampung, the matrix provides a framework to examine how different preservation logics compete or converge in shaping the treatment of kampung within heritage districts. This approach allows for a more nuanced understanding of the policy

tensions that underpin efforts to conserve informal and vernacular environments in urban Indonesia.

However, the debate over which values should take precedence remains a major topic in preservation discourse. Understanding the intricate balance between held and assigned values is crucial, as overemphasizing one over the other can undermine the entire preservation effort. Avrami and Mason (2019) argue that integrating both types of values is necessary for a more holistic, inclusive, and effective heritage conservation practice. Essential values can guide protection and management, while instrumental values can align preservation practice with broader social, economic, and environmental goals. Strengthening the connection between these paths enables heritage practice to better serve the public interest, especially in a rapidly changing world.

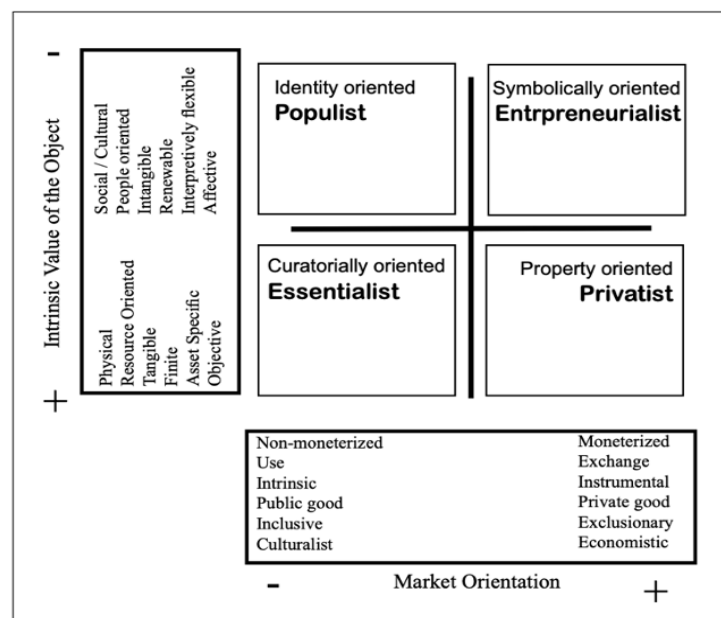


Figure 10 Preservation Discourse Matrix. Source: Koziol (2008)

III. METHODOLOGY

This thesis aims to investigate the preservation of kampung as an urban vernacular in Jakarta. Specifically, it addresses three key questions about preservation goals of kampung, Jakarta preservation policy, and implementation as well as impact of these policies on kampung. To answer these questions, this study utilized archival research, with the data collected including government regulations in the context of heritage protection. Some regulations include maps as appendices, most of which are used to regulate land use planning. The maps are necessary to inform the boundaries of cultural heritage districts, in which most kampung, a recurring neighborhood typology within Indonesia urban landscape, are part of and protected through zoning systems. The compiled regulations include both current and past regulations on heritage protection at the national and local levels. Regulations concerning kampung, such as kampung improvement programs, will also be explored to assist in the second phase of the study, as some regulations may overlap with others. Hence, the importance of cross-examining them.

This study utilized a qualitative methodology, divided into two phases: policy analysis and a comparative case study of Jakarta's conservation areas, to explore the implementation of the preservation of Jakarta's kampung in its urban vernacular context. The urban vernacular is a significant characteristic of Indonesian cities, rooted in lived experience, cultural values, and social practices, yet it is often marginalized in formal historic preservation frameworks. As vernacular environments are shaped more by necessity than by aesthetic desire, they resist easy classification under conventional preservation paradigms. The kampung kota environment reflects this tension: as everyday urban formations, especially in regards of integrity as kampungs evolve rapidly while retaining cultural and spatial identities.

3.1. Archival Research

Archival research served as a critical component of this study, enabling a historical reading of how preservation practices evolved over time in relation to kampungs. The study drew on a diverse range of archival sources, such as government records, historic and recent publicized maps, and mass media archives. These sources helped to examine how kampungs were represented, managed, or transformed under different policy regimes.

A particular challenge in kampung research was the evolving terminology used by the Indonesia government, both the state and local. The Jakarta government refrained from using the term “kampung” in its formal planning regulation, replacing it with alternatives such as “slum neighborhood (RW kumuh)”, “very dense settlement (perumahan padat)”, or “small house”. This strategic renaming reflected an emphasis on urban upgrading and redevelopment, which often obscured the distinct cultural and spatial logics of kampung life. Earlier government documents, however, frequently used the term “kampung,” making them valuable for tracing spatial continuity, naming practices, and policy shifts. Archival sources from both the Dutch colonial era and the post-independence period up to 2014 map, the latest government map using the word “kampung”, were used to map this transformation.

Colonial-era maps were critical for identifying the original locations of kampungs, as they illustrated the spatial division between indigenous and colonial populations. These maps, housed in Leiden University’s Digital Archive and produced between 1600s to-1945, served as key evidence for understanding how kampungs emerged through patterns of displacement and resource control during Dutch rule. Post-independence government documents from 1945 onward, including preservation policies and spatial regulations, were also reviewed to analyze how the state conceptualized and intervened in kampung areas. Since the term “kampung”

persisted in public discourse but was avoided in official regulation, news media such as *Kompas* helped bridge this gap by offering insight into how kampungs were understood and experienced by both residents and the broader public.

3.2. Descriptive Policy Analysis

In the first phase, this study conducted a descriptive analysis of Jakarta's preservation policies, following chronological timeline, from 1945 to 2014 to understand their guiding motives and practical implementation. This involved tracing the historical development of conservation regulations from the colonial period through post-independence Jakarta, with particular attention to the inclusion, or exclusion, of kampungs within formal conservation discourse. To contextualize policy shifts, the analysis incorporated Birkland (2019) concept of "focusing events", a sudden, disruptive occurrences that reshape policy agendas. Events such as evictions, floods, and international development projects were examined to assess how they catalyzed or constrained the development of preservation policy in Jakarta.

While the core policies were sourced from government archives, the study also drew on mass media archives to identify major contemporaneous events that could help explain the rationale behind specific policy changes. Given Indonesia's transitional period following independence, during which ties to Dutch colonial administration persisted, secondary literature was also used to supplement the analysis, particularly to address limitations in the author's ability to access Dutch-language materials. These combined sources provided a more comprehensive understanding of the political, social, and historical contexts that shaped Jakarta's evolving preservation policies.

The outcome of this phase resulted in a synthesized trajectory that maps how the Indonesian government has negotiated between essentialist and instrumental values in its

approach to preservation. By tracing these value orientations across different regulatory periods, the study identifies patterns in how preservation has been framed in relation to broader political and planning agendas. To visualize this trajectory, a policy timeline was constructed, capturing key shifts in heritage discourse and regulation across multiple government agencies, including cultural departments, urban planning offices, and regional authorities. This timeline was complemented by a compiled list of official documents, ranging from national laws and regional regulations to local planning guidelines, which served as the primary dataset for evaluating the institutional treatment of kampung within Jakarta's heritage framework.

3.3. Case Study Analysis

The second phase of this study consisted of a comparative case study of three conservation areas in Jakarta: Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru (Fig. 11). These areas were designated as *cagar budaya* (cultural heritage districts) in the 1970s, yet each represents a distinct urban typology: Kota Tua as a historical tourism destination, Menteng as a mixed-use area, and Kebayoran Baru as a primarily residential neighborhood. Despite their differences, all three contain kampung settlements that vary in terms of legal status, ranging from formally recognized neighborhoods to informal occupations. These sites were selected based on their capacity to illustrate the varied ways in which urban heritage policy intersects with vernacular settlement patterns in Jakarta. Each case reflects a different mode of urban development and state engagement with informal communities, enabling comparative insight into how preservation frameworks accommodate—or marginalize—kampung. The selection was also guided by the availability of planning documents, visual data, and prior academic studies, which helped compensate for the study's inability to conduct ethnographic fieldwork. By drawing on these

sources, the comparative case study approach allowed for a nuanced analysis of how institutional logics and spatial practices shape the integration of kampung within formal heritage districts.

Several kampungs were selected for closer examination within the boundaries of designated cultural heritage districts in Jakarta. These include Kampung Luar Batang, Kampung Tongkol, Kampung Aquarium, Kampung Kunir, Kampung Petogogan, Kampung Leuser, and Kampung Polri. Each of these settlements offers a unique perspective on how informal or semi-formal communities navigate the constraints and opportunities of living within areas subject to heritage preservation policies. Located within or adjacent to historic districts such as Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru, these kampungs reflect a wide range of socio-spatial conditions, legal statuses, and relationships with state-led conservation efforts. Their inclusion allows for a comparative understanding of how heritage policy affects kampung life, both in terms of spatial organization and cultural continuity, and highlights the uneven application of preservation frameworks across Jakarta's urban landscape.

To interpret the ideological underpinnings of these policies, the study applied Koziol's (2008) Preservation Discourse Matrix (PDM). This framework categorized preservation rationales into four discourses: essentialist, entrepreneurialist, populist, and privatist—each representing a distinct view on what should be preserved and why (see Chapter 2, page 30). Applying this matrix clarified how Jakarta's shifting political and economic priorities influenced preservation decisions, and whether kampungs were valued for their cultural vitality, historical significance, or land value.

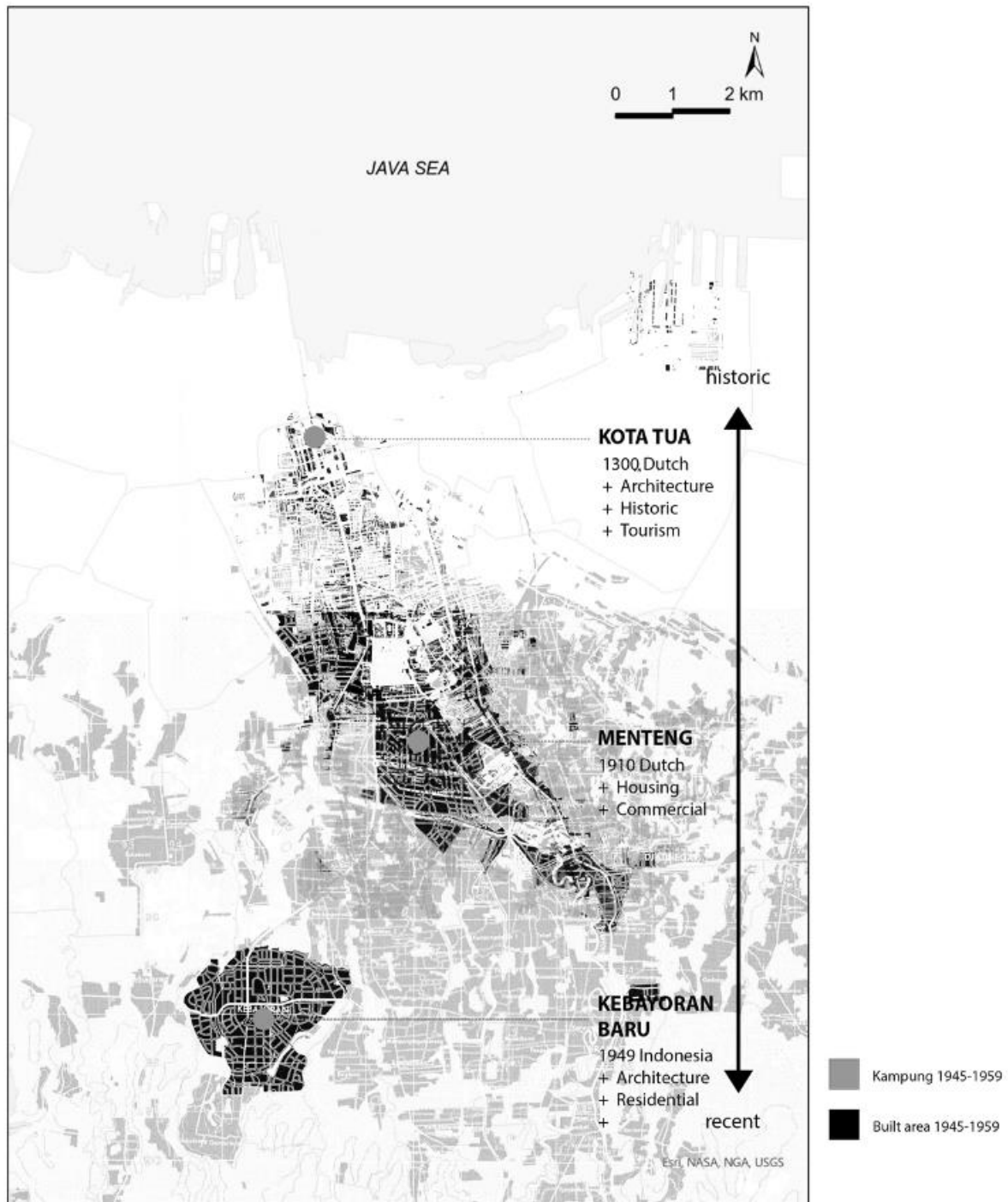


Figure 11. Map of study area and its character. Source: Author (2025)

The case studies will investigate how each area's conservation approach has interacted with existing kampung environments, focusing on three dimensions: 1) spatial organization, 2) social dynamics, and 3) cultural practices.^t To analyze the changing spatial and cultural dynamics of kampungs, this study incorporates Rapoport's (1969) and Roy's (1988) urban vernacular frameworks (see chapter 2.2). These theories provide a lens for interpreting both the physical arrangement and social meaning of vernacular environments. Following Rapoport, the study emphasizes how activities, meanings, and associations embedded in space can reflect cultural values, while Roy's framework highlights the importance of attitude, lifestyle, control, and rule in shaping urban vernaculars.

To operationalize these ideas, the study uses a distinction between "space given" (e.g., alleys, open spaces) and "space needed or desired" as expressed through social activities such as communal gatherings, non-commercial cultural practices, and informal commerce. These concepts help clarify how kampung spaces are shaped by a combination of state regulations and physical constraints, while also serving as containers for cultural practices and community life. This conceptual framework highlights the dynamic negotiation between imposed spatial forms and everyday social use, offering a lens to understand how residents adapt built environments to meet collective needs.

Building on this framework, the study adopts a mixed-method approach to measure changes in the scale and function of public and semi-public spaces over time. This involves a comparative analysis of historical maps, architectural drawings, and planning documents to identify shifts in spatial dimensions such as alley widths, building footprints, and the ratio of built-to-open space. These sources are supplemented by Google Street View, satellite imagery, and prior architectural surveys to document physical alterations and patterns of spatial infill.

Indicators such as the reduction of shared courtyards, the narrowing or blockage of pathways, or the enclosure of previously open thresholds are interpreted as proxies for the erosion or adaptation of vernacular practices. These spatial findings are contextualized through archival analysis, including policy documents and public narratives, to trace how institutional discourse frames or overlooks these changes. Combined, these methods enable the study to capture both the material transformation of kampung environments and the evolving balance between planned space and lived experience.

Due to constraints related to travel access, and the conditions of graduate research during the study period, field-based ethnographic research could not be conducted. This limitation posed a significant challenge, particularly in understanding the everyday spatial practices and social interactions within kampung environments. To address this gap, the study relied on a combination of secondary sources, including prior scholarly research, architectural documentation, and published surveys that have engaged directly with kampung communities. These sources provided valuable insight into how residents adapt to spatial constraints, organize communal activities, and negotiate their built environments. The findings from these studies were not only used to supplement the spatial and visual analysis but also to critically inform interpretations of change within the kampung, particularly where primary data was unavailable. This methodological choice allowed the research to retain depth and contextual relevance, despite the absence of direct ethnographic fieldwork.

To visualize and compare the spatial and cultural changes in kampung environments before and after redevelopment, this study translates qualitative findings into a structured comparison table format (see Table 3). Drawing from interviews, policy documents, and visual materials such as Google Street View and prior studies, the table categorizes features into

tangible (e.g., physical qualities of alleys, porches, and communal spaces) and intangible dimensions (e.g., forms of interaction, community initiatives, and *gotong royong*). Each feature is analyzed in terms of its condition “before” and “after” redevelopment, with attention to physical characteristics, spatial use, social actors, and the stimulants or constraints affecting community life. This table format enables a clear, comparative representation of transformation across multiple scales, from built form to lived experience, and helps articulate the nuanced ways preservation efforts impact kampung vitality.

By examining each case in relation to both top-down policies and bottom-up spatial practices, the study aims to reveal the tensions and possibilities that arise when kampungs are preserved as part of a broader urban heritage narrative. While many kampung studies focus primarily on eviction, tenure, or quality of life, this research foregrounds the intersection of preservation ideology, lived spatial experience, and cultural continuity. In doing so, it moves beyond the dichotomy of formal versus informal planning, and instead critically engages with how preservation frameworks interact with vernacular practices embedded in everyday life.

The study methodology, which combines policy analysis and case study comparison, enables this study to trace both material and symbolic changes in Jakarta’s kampungs. The comparative approach not only highlights site-specific dynamics but also allows for the identification of recurring patterns and contradictions in the implementation of heritage policies across different urban typologies. Ultimately, this methodology is designed to support a more nuanced understanding of Jakarta’s preservation discourse. It seeks to uncover whether current heritage practices accommodate kampung values and ways of life, or whether they contribute to their erasure under the guise of cultural heritage protection. In doing so, this chapter lays the analytical foundation for the subsequent findings and discussion chapters, where each case is

examined in depth to evaluate the broader implications of heritage preservation in Indonesia's rapidly urbanizing capital.

Features	Before	After
<i>Tangible</i>		
Alley	Physical qualities:	Physical qualities:
	Activities:	Activities:
Communal Space		
Porch / Hallway		
	Function:	Function:
<i>Intangible</i>		
Organic interaction	Actors:	Actors:
	Stimulant:	Stimulant:
	Space:	Space:
Programmed interaction	Space:	Space:
Gotong Royong		
Community Initiative		

Table 3. Kampung Comparison Table. Source: Author (2025)

IV. INDONESIA PRESERVATION POLICY

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, cultural heritage in Indonesia is an act of conscious curation of the built environment, shaped by selective processes that reflect broader social, political, and historical narratives. However, as a postcolonial nation, Indonesia's preservation practices are deeply entangled with the legacy of colonialism, which continues to influence how heritage is defined, valued, and managed (Fig.12). This legacy creates ongoing tensions between national efforts to construct a cohesive identity and the realities of local cultural expressions, particularly in informal or vernacular settings like kampungs.

From 1945 to the present, Indonesia's approach to cultural heritage preservation has shifted from postcolonial negotiation to the development of a nationally driven framework rooted in identity, cultural pride, and economic strategy. Yet despite gaining sovereignty in 1945, it took more than fifty years for Indonesia to formalize comprehensive heritage preservation laws, reflecting the delayed prioritization of cultural policy in the postcolonial nation-building agenda. It was not until the New Order era under President Muhammed Suharto that heritage began to take on a more strategic role, used to promote vernacular nationalism and unify the country under a shared cultural narrative. Over time, regulatory frameworks expanded to encompass not only the protection of historic sites but also their economic functions. Preservation gradually evolved into a tool for balancing national identity, public benefit, and international visibility, laying the groundwork for a more integrated and community-conscious heritage planning system. The following section examines how this diplomatic turn unfolded chronologically, as preservation policy was negotiated through multiple motives, including artifact repatriation, national identity, tourism, and economic development.

Indonesia Heritage Regulations & Value Overtime

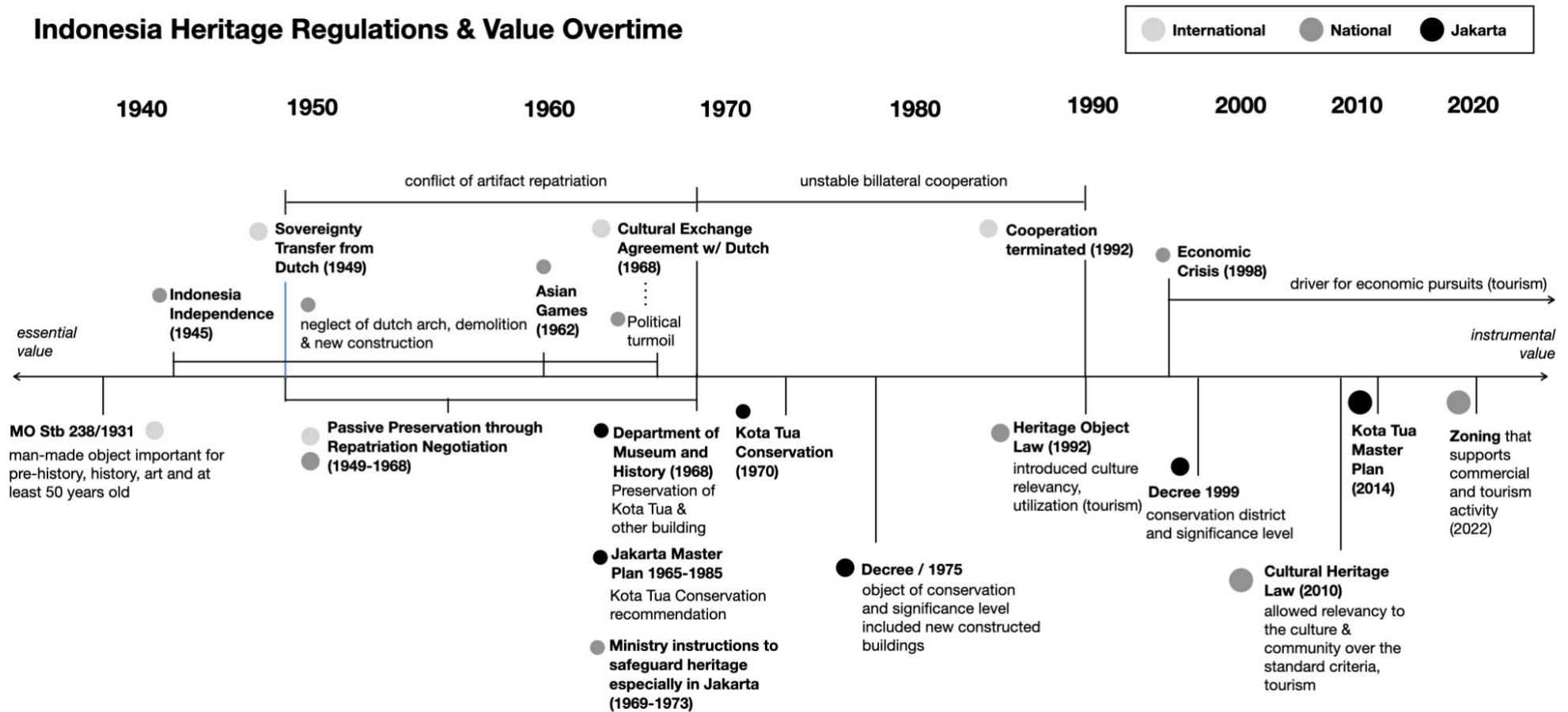


Figure 12 Indonesia Cultural Heritage regulation from time to time. Source: Author (2025)

4.1. Indonesia Cultural Heritage Preservation

The administration of cultural heritage in Indonesia is shaped by a layered governance system that links national policy, legal frameworks, and local planning instruments. As heritage becomes increasingly integrated into urban development agendas, particularly in cities like Jakarta, it is crucial to understand how responsibilities are divided across government levels and how legal tools support implementation on the ground. Preservation is not only about symbolic recognition but also about regulation, spatial designation, and the operational role of state institutions. This section outlines the key legal foundations, institutional bodies, and spatial planning mechanisms that structure cultural heritage management in Indonesia, providing essential context for how heritage—including kampung environments—is governed, protected, and mobilized in practice.

At the national level, the protection of cultural heritage is constitutionally guaranteed, affirming the state's responsibility to safeguard cultural assets as part of Indonesia's national identity. This mandate is operationalized through Law No. 11 of 2010 on Cultural Heritage (Undang-Undang Cagar Budaya), which provides the legal foundation for the identification, classification, protection, development, and utilization of cultural heritage. The law is further supported by Government Regulation No. 1 of 2022 (Peraturan Pemerintah No. 1 Tahun 2022), which offers detailed technical and procedural guidelines for implementation, including provisions related to heritage zoning, public participation, and adaptive reuse. At the local level, regional governments may enact supporting legal instruments, such as Jakarta Governor Regulations (Peraturan Gubernur) or Regional Regulations (Peraturan Daerah), to strengthen

heritage management within their jurisdiction, provided these remain consistent with the national regulatory framework.

Administratively, the cultural heritage sector is overseen by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kemendikbudristek). Within this ministry, the Museum dan Cagar Budaya (MCB) is the primary institution responsible for managing museums and cultural heritage sites throughout Indonesia. The implementation of preservation efforts is supported by the Tim Ahli Cagar Budaya (TACB)—certified expert teams composed of professionals from various disciplines—who provide formal recommendations on the designation, ranking, and removal of cultural heritage status. These teams operate at both national and regional levels. Complementing their work are the Tenaga Ahli Pelestarian, individuals with certified expertise in the protection, development, or utilization of heritage, who support preservation initiatives across jurisdictions.

In terms of spatial governance, heritage management must also be aligned with Indonesia's spatial planning instruments. In urban areas such as Jakarta, heritage districts (kawasan cagar budaya) are expected to be formally designated within the city or provincial spatial master plan (Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah—RTRW), which is typically updated every 20 years. The RTRW is further detailed through five-year detailed spatial plans (Rencana Detail Tata Ruang—RDTR), which regulate land use, zoning, and development controls at the neighborhood scale. These instruments serve as legal mechanisms to integrate cultural heritage into urban development plans, ensuring that heritage preservation is not only symbolic or aesthetic but also spatially and operationally embedded in long-term city planning.

This multilayered system of legal, institutional, and spatial governance reflects Indonesia's growing commitment to formalizing heritage preservation within broader

development frameworks. However, the effectiveness of this structure depends not only on regulatory clarity but also on how well it accommodates the complexities of local contexts, including informal and vernacular settlements like *kampung*. While the legal instruments and planning tools provide a strong foundation, their success ultimately hinges on implementation practices that are inclusive, adaptive, and responsive to the lived realities of the communities they affect. The following section examines how these national frameworks are applied—interpreted, contested, or negotiated—on the ground in Jakarta’s designated heritage districts.

4.2. Dutch - Indonesia Cultural and Heritage Diplomacy (1950s-1970s)

Preservation of Indonesia’s built environment began with practice to reclaim intellectual property and cultural artifacts from Dutch possession. Suharto’s administration (1967 – 1998), placed greater importance on retracing Indonesia’s cultural identity (Kompas, September 1965) in response to what was perceived as the ideological radicalism of the Sukarno era. Suharto believed that such radicalism threatened national development and unity. He also believed that four pre-colonial artifacts requested by Indonesians that were held by the Dutch could serve as entry points for rediscovering Indonesia’s deep cultural roots—its power, wealth, and religious traditions (Kompas, September 1970).

After the transfer of West Irian from the Netherlands to Indonesia in 1963, calmer political conditions allowed the resumption of bilateral cooperation, including heritage negotiations. The 1968 Indonesia–Netherlands Agreement on cultural cooperation served as a mechanism to revisit unresolved provisions from the 1949 Round Table Conference. These talks had previously been halted due to differing political ideologies. During the colonial period, the Dutch had used the exchange of artifacts as a tool to gain limited influence over local rulers

(Scott, 2017). Drawing from this precedent, the Dutch viewed post-independence negotiations over cultural property not just as matters of diplomacy, but also as opportunities to maintain a presence in Indonesia's cultural discourse. This was achieved either directly or through financial support for Indonesian cultural programs.

“II. ... each contracting party shall in its own country offer the other contracting party the opportunity to make its cultural values known... V. Each contracting party shall set up in ... a committee that shall be responsible for suggesting to the government ways and means towards the attainment of the objectives of this agreement (cultural exchange).” – Agreement on cultural cooperation between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia (*Overeenkomst inzake culturele samenwerking tussen het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden en de Republiek Indonesië*) Jakarta, July 1968

These treaties functioned as a form of modern imperialism. The Dutch government often imposed changes in Indonesia's preservation and educational systems as conditions for the return of artifacts. Decisions regarding which items would be returned rested solely with the Dutch, who assessed whether Indonesia had sufficient capacity to preserve and study them. This exertion of authority under the guise of caretaking reflected the Dutch belief in their role as stewards of Indonesian and world heritage.

Although Dutch interest in colonial heritage only emerged in the 1980s (Roosemalen 2013), the 1968 agreement resulted in several preservation-related instructions issued by Indonesia's Ministry of Education and Culture to the Jakarta provincial government. These included directives to begin conserving Kota Tua Jakarta, which is the neighborhood that was the station of Dutch multinational trade company (VOC) that gain international momentum during colonial era, though the official designation did not occur until 1973 (Governor of Jakarta Decree D.III-b.11/4/54/1973). Three other areas were also designated around that time: Chinatown Glodok (D.III-b.11/4/56/1973), Menteng (D.IV-6098/d/33/1975), and Kebayoran Baru (D.IV-6099/d/33/1975).

The designation of Kota Tua was in part a response to a diplomatic gesture. In 1970, during Suharto's visit to the Netherlands, the Dutch returned the Nagarakartagama, a significant Old Javanese manuscript that documented the power and territorial reach of ancient Indonesian kingdoms. This return followed several failed attempts by Dutch governments and was likely a goodwill offering (fig. 13). In exchange, the Netherlands received privileged access to Dutch East Indies and VOC-era archival records. The growing recognition of the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) as the world's first and largest multinational trading company may have further encouraged the Dutch government to urge or support local practice to preserve Kota Tua.

The agreement benefited both parties. For Indonesia, it came at a time of increased concern over the loss of historic urban fabric amid Jakarta's rapid growth. For the Netherlands, the partnership offered international legitimacy, especially in the context of pressure from UNESCO and its allies for former colonial powers to repatriate cultural heritage. Indonesia, burdened by significant international debt (Kompas, February 1967), saw heritage and international tourism as economic opportunities. With Dutch encouragement (Kompas, January 1966), tourism development began, including the revitalization of Kota Tua with international appeal.

Menjambut Penjeraan Kembali Nagarakrtagama

Figure 13. Article that described how many failed attempts of the repatriation of Indonesia historic artefact owned by the Dutch, especially the "Nagarakertagama" (or in this article "Nagarakrtagama") Source: Kompas (September 1970)

The agreement benefited both parties. For Indonesia, it came at a time of increased concern over the loss of historic urban fabric amid Jakarta's rapid growth. For the Netherlands, the partnership offered international legitimacy, especially in the context of pressure from UNESCO and its allies for former colonial powers to repatriate cultural heritage. Indonesia, burdened by significant international debt (Kompas, February 1967), saw heritage and international tourism as economic opportunities. With Dutch encouragement (Kompas, January 1966), tourism development began, including the revitalization of Kota Tua with international appeal.

The revitalization drew on the success of earlier conservation projects, such as Borobudur, the largest Buddhist temple in the world. The site first gained international attention in 1814 through its discovery by an English lieutenant governor and was later preserved under Dutch administration, eventually emerging as a prominent destination for international tourists. In the absence of comprehensive heritage regulations, the detailed plans for Kota Tua were heavily influenced by Dutch tourism models. For example, the area was branded with 18th-century East Indies themes, referencing the Dutch colonial term for Indonesia. Restoration plans included spice shops, slave reenactments, traditional baskets, a cleaned river, multinational ships, and a museum of trade. Alongside this theme park aesthetic were gift shops, restaurants, taverns, and cafés priced for middle-income visitors (fig. 14). This approach reflected a curated vision of heritage that prioritized colonial nostalgia and tourist consumption over the cultural values of local communities.

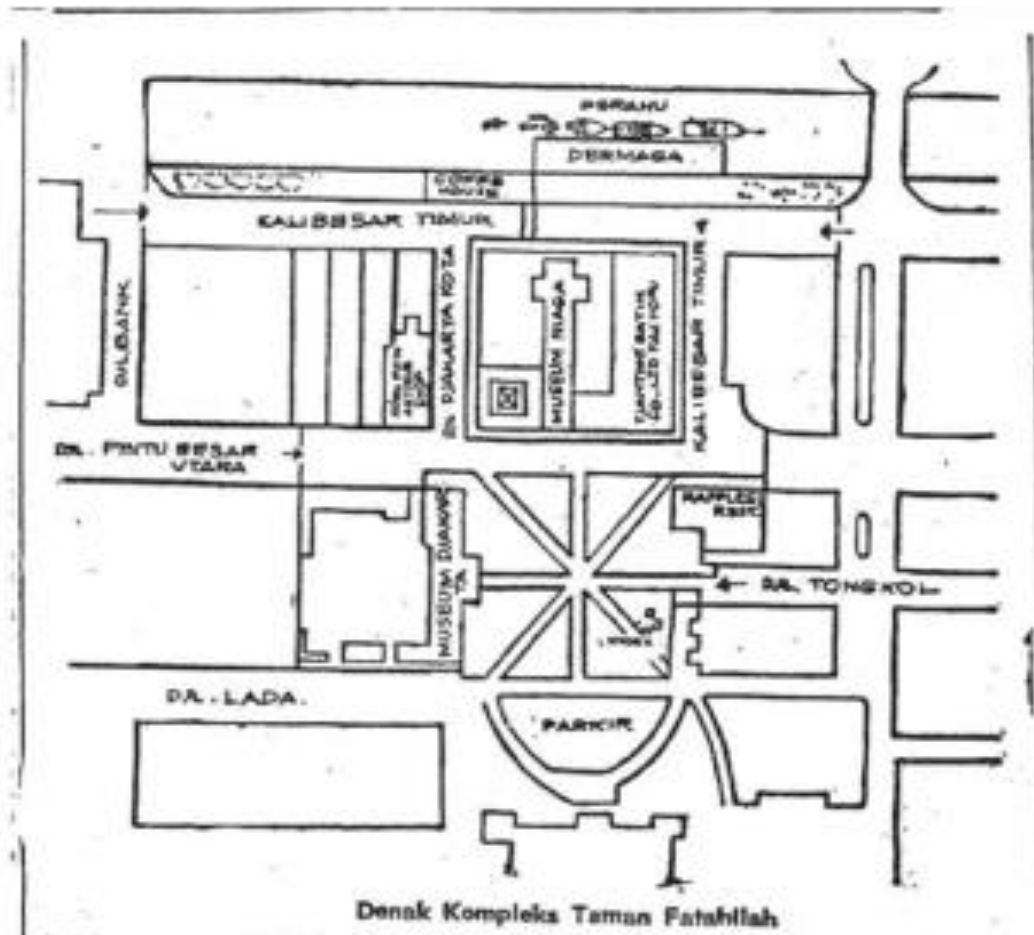


Figure 14. Plan of the Kota Tua restoration showcasing various tourism-oriented elements that reflect a Dutch perspective on the area. The layout shown in the article did not include any locally themed caf  s, indicating they were not part of the conservation plan. In contrast, the Dutch-themed “Raffles Restaurant” was prominently located at the center of the site. Source: Kompas (February 1971)

The restoration concluded in 1974 and was met with enthusiasm by Jakarta residents. In a letter to the editor column titled “Redaksi yth (Dear Editor)” in Kompas (September 1974), one Jakarta resident proposed two additional restoration projects, including the reconstruction of the proclamation building demolished during the Old Order period (1945–1967). She suggested that if funding was unavailable, the local or central government could request a one-rupiah donation from each of Indonesia’s 128 million citizens. She even offered a Rp 200 donation herself (equivalent to around 2 USD), noting that the remaining Rp 199 should go toward indigenous

communities in Irian Jaya. This anecdote reveals the differing values between the state and the public, especially in how heritage preservation was envisioned and financed.

4.3. Vernacular Preservation (1970s-1990s)

The Indonesian government, under Suharto's regime, was more committed to nationalism by channeling traditional culture and heritage to help define Indonesia's identity. Although the Dutch government was willing to participate in cultural agreements, it did not come at the cost of Indonesia's sovereignty, especially in terms of freedom to define its cultural presence. The tough negotiations with the Dutch, despite being successful in the end, shaped Suharto's mindset regarding the preservation of Indonesia's vernacular architecture. Playing both sides, local governments preserved more of Indonesia's own cultural gems, such as Kebayoran Baru, which was designated as a heritage district two years after the Dutch-designated Kota Tua. (in 1984) However, its designation was quite unusual. Kebayoran Baru, planned in 1948 by Mas Soesilo—an Indonesian planner and a student of Kota Tua planner Thomas Karsten—was not even 30 years old when it was designated in 1975. Although the designation decrees were more focused on the architectural grandeur of the district, it can be argued that the designation followed Suharto's vernacular nationalism (Fitri et al, 2017). Not only was a modern neighborhood preserved during Suharto's era, but Kampung Condet (fig. 4), a traditional Betawi (Jakarta native ethnic group) village, was also preserved under the Jakarta Master Plan 1985–2005, alongside Kota Tua, Kebayoran Baru, and Menteng, for their traditional architecture and natural environment, which still produced native fruits. The preservation of Kampung Condet, however, was criticized by its residents, as the land prices there did not increase, and they felt left out of Jakarta's rapid development. The local government responded by implementing a regulation to adjust the land prices in the Condet area.

President Suharto, by that time, also ordered the construction of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Indonesia Beautiful Miniature Park), a miniature representation of Indonesia that showcases various traditional houses and many other aspects of traditional culture, in the 1970s. This was meant to promote and introduce Indonesia's culture to the world, and to encourage the Indonesian people themselves to love their homeland culture more than foreign influences. Unlike other preservation projects, this tourism-based preservation was not funded by the Dutch government; it was mainly financed by contributions from the local or central government, as well as donations from Suharto (Ardiani et al., 2023). Furthermore, the complex interplay of collaboration between the Dutch and Indonesia worsened in 1985 when the local government decided to demolish De Harmonie, a former exclusive social club for the Dutch, as part of a streets-widening scheme. This vision of promoting vernacular heritage and culture was carried over to the 1992 regulation, which mandated that preservation practice should contribute to the nation's prosperity (Law 5 Cultural Heritage Objects, 1992).

4.4. Utilization and Management of Cultural Heritage (1990s - 2000s)

The Cultural Heritage Objects in the 1992 regulation were defined in terms like those in the 1931 Ordinance for Monuments, such as the requirement that the object be at least 50 years old. However, the Indonesian government under Suharto added cultural aspects as a significant value, rather than just focusing on paleoanthropology, as was emphasized in the Dutch ordinance. Later in the commentary section, which serves as an explanatory background for the law, it was stated that the preservation of cultural heritage is now part of the National Cultural Advancement Program. This is a departure from the prehistoric and knowledge-development focus of the Dutch Monument Ordinance. The cultural objects, under the national cultural

advancement program, can be “maintained, fostered, and developed in order to strengthen the appreciation and practice of Pancasila, improve the quality of life, strengthen the nation's personality, deepen the sense of self-esteem and national pride, strengthen the spirit of national unity and oneness, and serve as a driving force for the realization of the nation's ideals in the future” (Indonesia Constitution Article 32, 1945). This shift from essentialist to more instrumental values reflect how heritage preservation in post-independence Indonesia moved from valuing cultural objects for their intrinsic historical significance and role in shaping national identity to leveraging them for economic development, tourism, and other utilitarian goals.

The 1992 regulation, like its predecessor, allowed for the preservation of objects that were representatives of architectural styles at least 50 years old. With the new emphasis on cultural, historical, and social values, Jakarta revised their 1972 list of historic buildings to include newer structures that represented post-independence architecture, such as the Mercusuar Project of the Old Order period, including the Senayan Sports Complex, which hosted the 1962 Asian Games, the National Monument, the House of Representatives, and Istiqlal Mosque (Jakarta Governor Decree 475/1993). It can be argued that the preservation of these structures not only showcased Indonesia’s construction skills but also demonstrated political stability to the international community. Despite this, international professionals still participated in some of the projects; for instance, a Soviet firm contributed to the technical aspects of the Bung Karno Main Stadium for the 1962 Asian Games. It was also argued that many of these projects, while led by Indonesian architect Silaban, involved collaboration with Groenewegen, a Dutch architect who remained in Indonesia after the transfer of sovereignty. All of these projects, however, were limited to being worked on by Indonesians (Roosmalen, 2013).

Additionally, the 1992 regulation also discussed the utilization of cultural heritage objects, in addition to their protection and preservation as regulated by the MO 238/1931. Several functions for heritage structures were outlined in articles 18-23, including functions that support religious, social, tourism, educational, scientific, and cultural interests. It was also clarified that the utilization should benefit the broader community. These additional values further clarified the next steps in preservation, especially for Jakarta's designated heritage buildings and districts dating back to 1975. For example, the building complex in Kota Tua, which had no concrete conservation plans since the 1970s, was reevaluated. Jakarta published a new preservation ordinance that set criteria for both heritage objects and districts, introducing integrity as one of the benchmarks and guiding points for conservation (Jakarta Province Ordinance 9/1999). This policy shift renewed official interest in Kota Tua, leading to more structured efforts to assess, designate, and rehabilitate buildings in line with the new conservation standards.

A more recent Cultural Heritage regulation was issued in 2010 (Law 11/2010), acknowledging the importance of cultural heritage in supporting society today through a more holistic and balanced approach. After moving away from the radical mindset that destabilized the country during the Old Order, Indonesia experienced another economic crisis, which affected many Asian countries, culminating in the 1998 Indonesian Monetary Crisis, during which the Indonesian Rupiah lost half of its value. Having learned from the economic value of successful cultural heritage preservation, the current regulation focuses on using heritage objects to increase Indonesian prosperity.

"With the shift in the paradigm of cultural heritage conservation, a balance among ideological, academic, ecological, and economic aspects is necessary to enhance the well-being of the people." (Cultural Heritage Law No 11 Preamble, 2010)

The regulation was expected to provide more robust heritage protection as it covered a larger and more diverse area, including the addition of water conservation and five different categories of heritage: objects, architecture, structures, sites, and districts. The heritage district category was a substantial addition to this regulation because any area registered as a heritage district will be owned by the state, except for those owned by indigenous communities (Article 13). Additionally, the vernacular nationalism values upheld by Suharto still appear in this regulation. It allows for the registration of heritage objects that may not meet the standard criteria (age, integrity, cultural, faith, and scientific value), if the object holds special significance for the community or Indonesia (Article 11).

With the added goal of promoting national cultural heritage to the international community, the regulation introduces rigorous protection for cultural heritage, utilizing special police (Article 62) and zoning (Articles 72-74). Zoning itself was an approach introduced by UNESCO to create a transition or buffer zone between well-preserved heritage areas and the rest of the city. The goal of zoning is not only to prevent drastic changes but also to control development and other activities that could impact the site. Regarding tourism, it was argued that zoning should prevent displacement by protecting the integrity of the entire site, including the local communities. This stems from the growing understanding that heritage objects cannot be separated from their context. In line with this zoning regulation, Indonesia allows for the utilization of space for recreation, education, appreciation, and religious purposes. This law has become the basis for many master plans designed for heritage districts around Indonesia, such as the 2014 Kota Tua Master Plan (Jakarta Governor Regulation 36/2014). However, as of the present time, no renewed or updated master plan has been formally issued for Kota Tua, despite ongoing revitalization efforts.

Later, in the 2022 Government Regulation, the purpose of zoning became clearer with the classification of cultural heritage areas into four main zones based on their function and purpose (Government Regulation 1/2022) (fig.15). The Core Zone serves as the primary protection area, preserving the most vital elements of the Cultural Heritage Site or Area. Surrounding this is the Buffer Zone, which acts as a safeguard to protect the integrity of the core. The Development Zone is designated for enhancing and utilizing the potential of the cultural heritage, allowing for educational and cultural growth. Lastly, the Supporting Zone is allocated for the placement of infrastructure and facilities, including areas for commercial and general recreational activities, to support the overall function and accessibility of the site.

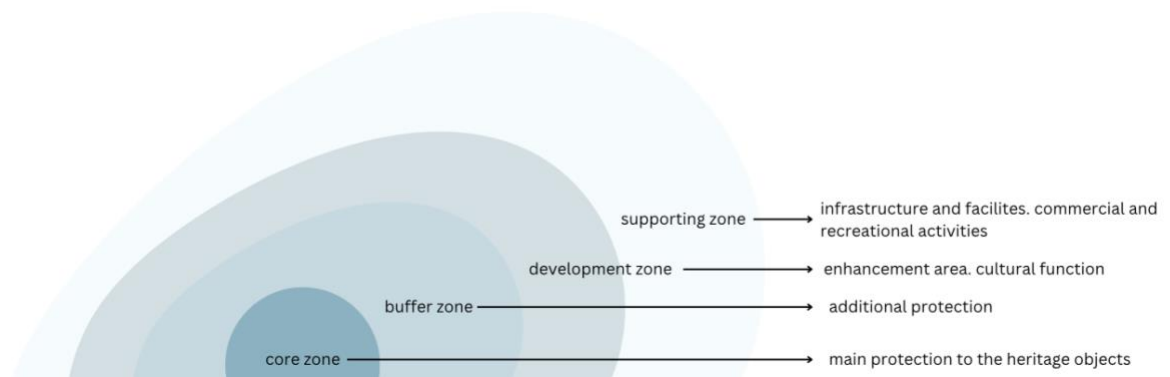


Figure 15. Different types of cultural heritage zoning in Indonesia's 2022 Cultural Heritage Law. Source: Author (2025)

Taken together, these shifts in Indonesia's cultural heritage policies, from postcolonial diplomacy and nationalist preservation to economic utilization and zoning regulation, have laid the foundation for how heritage is practiced and understood today. While policies have increasingly recognized the value of local identity and community benefit, their implementation often reflects a complex negotiation between state-driven agendas, international influence, and on-the-ground realities. In the next chapter, these dynamics will be examined through a closer

look at three key heritage areas in Jakarta: Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru. By exploring how national preservation frameworks have been applied within these distinct urban contexts, the case studies reveal how heritage policy intersects with everyday life, particularly in kampung settlements that continue to challenge formal boundaries of conservation.

No	Document	Year	Jurisdiction	Subject	Cultural Heritage	Evaluation
						Kampung
1	Stb 238/1931	1931	Dutch Colonial Government	Monument Ordinance	Monument: informal or movable made of b	N/A

					y h u m an ha n d (b ot h o bj ec t an d sit e) , ol de r th an 5 0 ye ar s or be lo n g	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					to a pe ri o d of st yl e at le as t 5 0 ye ar s ol d, si g ni fi ca nc e to pr eh ist or y, hi	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					story and art. The goal is for development of prehistory and human de	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					ve lo p m en t k n o w le d ge (p al eo an th ro p ol o g y) .	
2	U U D 1 9 4 5	1 9 4 5	In d o ne si a N at io na	In d o ne si a C o ns tit	C ul tu ra l o bj ec ts ca	N/A

			l G o v e r n m e n t	ut io n	n be de ve lo pe d to st re n gt he n id en tit y, fo st er u ni ty , an d su p p or t na ti o	
--	--	--	---	---------------	--	--

					na l pr o gr es s.	
3	R o u n d T a b l e C o n f e r e n c e	1 9 4 9	In d o n e s i a - D u t c h G o v e r n m e n t	S o v e r e i g n t y H a n d o v e r	H a n d o v e r i n c l u d e d r e p a t r i a t i o n o f I n d o n e s i a a r t e f a c t	N/A

					s w h i c h b r o u g h t t o t h e N e t h e r l a n d b y t h e D u t c h	
4	A g r e e m e n t o n c u l t	1 9 6 8	In d o n e s i a - D u t c h	C u l t u r a l E x c h a n g e	R e s p o n d e n c e	N/A

	ur al co o pe ra ti o n be t w ee n th e K in g d o m of th e N et he rl an ds an d th e		G o ve rn m en t	A gr ee m en t	re pa tri at io n. T he D ut ch ag re ed to re pa tri at ed ar te fa ct s w it h co n di ti o n th	
--	--	--	------------------------------------	-------------------------------	--	--

	R ep u bl ic of In d o ne si a			at b ot h co u nt ri es ar e co n d uc te d in a fo r m of cu lt ur al ex ch an ge . T hi s	
--	---	--	--	---	--

					in cl u de re g ul at io n th at su p p or t th e ad va nc e m en t of cu lt ur al he rit ag e	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					and pr o m ot io n.	
5	P er g u b D K I Ja ka rt a D. II I- b. 1 1/ 4/ 5 4/ 1 9 7 3	1 9 7 3	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn men t	K ot a T ua C o ns er va ti o n A re a	R ea so n fo r de si g na ti o n: hi st or ic b ui ld in gs , b ui ld in	N/A

					gs w it h hi g h ar ch it ec tu ra l va lu e, an d w el l- or ga ni ze d, ha r m o ni o us en	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					vi ro n m en ts.	
6	P er g u b D K I Ja ka rt a D. I V - 6 0 9 8/ d/ 3 3/ 1 9 7 5	1 9 7 5	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn men t	M en te n g C o ns er va ti o n A re a	R ea son n fo r de si g na ti o n: hi st or ic b ui ld in gs , b ui ld in gs w	N/A

					it h hi g h ar ch it ec tu ra l va lu e, an d w el l- or ga ni ze d, ha r m o ni o us en vi ro	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					n m en ts.	
7	P er g u b D K I Ja ka rt a D. I V - 6 0 9 9/ d/ 3 3/ 1 9 7 5	1 9 7 5	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn m en t	K eb ay or an C o ns er va ti o n A re a	R ea so n fo r de si g na ti o n: b ui ld in gs w it h hi g h ar ch it ec tu ra l	N/A

					va lu e, an d w el l- or ga ni ze d, ha r m o ni o us en vi ro n m en ts.	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

8	S K G u be rn ur D K I Ja ka rt a N o. C b. 1 1/ I/ 1 2/ 1 9 7 2	1 9 7 2	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn m en t	D es ig na ti o n of C ul tu ra l H er it ag e O bj ec t	D es ig na te d a ro w of b ui ld in gs w it h si m il ar ar ch it ec tu ra l st yl e in th e	N/A
---	--	------------------	--	---	---	-----

				same street. Bordered by another Governor's Decree on 14 April	
--	--	--	--	--	--

					9 7 2 re ga rd in g th e pr ot ec ti o n of b ui ld in gs an d o bj ec ts (f or ts, ol d b ui	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					ld in gs , th e re m ai ni n g se a w al l an d ol d sh ip ya rd s fr o m th e 1 7t h ce	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					nt ur y b y D ut ch E as t In di es C o m pa n y) lo ca te d o n a n u m be r of isl an	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					ds w it hi n th e T h o us an ds Is la n ds (P ul au S er ib u) in th e B ay of Ja ka rt a (E	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					ry u d ha w an , 2 0 1 7)	
9	P er da D K I Ja ka rt a 5/ 1 9 8 4	1 9 8 4	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn men t	M as te rp la n 1 9 8 5- 2 0 0 5	C ul tu ra l H ei rt ag e di st ri ct in cl u de K eb ay or an	N/A

					Bar u (l es s th an 5 0 ye ar s) an d C o n de t (n at iv e et h ni c en cl av es) (E ry	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					u d h a w a n , 2 0 1 7)	
1 0	U U N o 5 1 9 9 2	1 9 9 2	In d o n e s i a N a t i o n a l G o v e r n m e n t	C u l t u r a l H e r i t a g e O b j e c t	D e p a r t m e n t o f M u l t i m e d i a a n d C o m m u n i c a t i o n (1) , c u	N/A

					lt ur e de fi ne d as m or e i m p or ta nt to de si g na te d as cu lt ur al he rit ag e o bj	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					ec t, al o n gs id e w it h hi st or y, an d sc ie nc e. T he g oa l fo r co ns er va ti o n
--	--	--	--	--	---

				are to be used for religious, social, tourism, educational, scientific, and	
--	--	--	--	---	--

					cu lt ur al p ur p os es .	
1 1	K ep g u b D K I Ja ka rt a 4 7 5/ 1 9 9 3	1 9 9 3	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn m en t	D es ig na ti o n of C ul tu ra l H er it ag e O bj ec t	R ev isi o n to 1 9 7 7 de cr ee . In cl u de b ui ld in gs th at	N/A

					are not yet 50 years, but either were built by Indian, or representatives	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					ent t In d o ne si a hi st or y af te r in de pe n de nc e. In cl u de al so w er e st ru ct ur	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					es th at re pr es en t In d o ne si a cu lt ur e.	
1 2	U U N o 1 1 2 0 1 0	2 0 1 0	In d o ne si a N at io na l G o ve rn m	C ul tu ra l H er it ag e L a w	T o su p p or t th e cu lt ur e i m p or	N/A

			ent	ta nc e, th e la w al lo w ed th e de si g na ti o n of an y o bj ec t th at n ot co nf or m	
--	--	--	-----	--	--

					to th e st an da rd ca te g or ie s (5 0 ye ar s, hi st or ic an d cu lt ur al si g ni fi ca nc e)	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

				as lo n g as it ha ve i m p or ta nt m ea ni n g to th e co m m u ni ty or In d o ne si a.	
--	--	--	--	--	--

					C o m p e n s a t i o n t o t h e o w n e r o f c u l t u r a l o b j e c t i n t e r m o f t a x i n c e n t i v	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					es · Z o ni n g fo r re cr ea ti o na l, ed uc at io na l, ap pr ec ia ti ve , an d/ or re li gi	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					o us p ur p os es .	
1 3	P er da D K I Ja ka rt a 1/ 2 0 1 4	2 0 1 4	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn men t	M as te rp la n 2 0 1 1- 2 0 3 0	H er it ag e di st ri ct in cl u de K ot a T ua , K eb ay or an	Defined as a group of houses designated by the government as a preserved/maintained area that is part of the city, inhabited by a community with a specific culture, unstructured, and not well-planned, with row-type buildings and a maximum building height of three (3) floors.

					Baru, Menteng, Condott, Situ Babakan, Keping. Seribu. Kotak Tua : Her	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					it ag e T o ur is m . K eb ay or an B ar u: M ed iu m In co m e R es id en ti al, L oc al G	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

				o ve rn m en t of fi ce s, an d C o m m er ci al. M en te n g: N at io na l G o ve rn m en	
--	--	--	--	--	--

					t of fi ce , In te rn at io na l re pr es en ta ti ve of fi ce s, H igh In co m e R es id en	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

					ti al.	
1 4	P er g u b D K I Ja ka rt a 3 6/ 2 0 1 4	2 0 1 4	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn m en t	M as te rp la n K ot a T ua	R ea so n fo r de si g na ti o n: b ui ld in gs w it h	Improvement of the quantity and quality of existing housing accompanied by the provision of medium to high density housing. Several kampung include, Kp. Luar Batang planned for marine and religious tourism, Chinatown for commercial, Pekojan for residential. Residential function as part of tourism.

					hi g h ar ch it ec tu ra l va lu e, an d w el l- or ga ni ze d, ha r m o ni o us en vi ro n m	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

					ents. Two zones; core and support	
15	PP1/2022	2022	Indonesian National Government	National Register and Cultural Heritage	Zoning approach: Core, Buffer, D	N/A

				it ag e	ev el o p m en t, S u p p or ti n g	
1 6	P er g u b D K I Ja ka rt a 3 1/ 2 0 2 2	2 0 2 2	Ja ka rt a L oc al G o ve rn m en t	D et ai le d S pa ti al Pl an 2 0 2 2	H er it ag e di st ri ct s in cl ude K ot a T ua ,	Defined as highly dense residential area that has developed without infrastructure planning and good building quality, with a high population density.

					K eb ay or an B ar u, M en te n g, C o n de t, Si tu B ab ak an , K ep . S er ib u	
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

17	Perda DK I Jakarta 7/2022	2024	Jakarta Local Government	Mas ter plan 2024	Heritage district 2024 Kotabaru, Kebayoran Baru, Menteng, Caton	Defined as a settlement that has developed without infrastructure planning, particularly regarding clean water, sanitation, and building quality. It has a high population density and lacks guaranteed land tenure, requiring a quality improvement strategy based on community empowerment. Subject to Redevelopment, renewal, and resettlement.
----	---------------------------------------	------	--------------------------------	----------------------------	---	--

					de t, Si tu B ab ak an , K ep . S er ib u	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Table 4. Document reviewed (Source: Author, 2025)

V. JAKARTA KAMPUNG: CASE STUDY

As discussed earlier, Jakarta has spearheaded urban space preservation in Indonesia while undergoing significant transformations shaped by both international and domestic political changes (see chapter 4). These shifts are reflected in the types of objects and sites prioritized for preservation. The development of preservation practices, from the initial focus on Dutch colonial remnants, to the inclusion of indigenous cultural heritage, and more recently, the promotion of tourism, illustrates the evolving values and strategies within heritage management. These changing values do not affect all historic structures uniformly; when they do, the impact varies in scale and visibility.

Further complicating this practice is the presence of long-established urban kampung communities scattered throughout Jakarta. Some of these kampung are situated inside the interior of heritage districts, either as historic enclaves or as more recently developed structures. Their presence presents a challenge in integrating heritage conservation with the realities of everyday urban life. While preserving kampung offers Indonesia an opportunity to promote local living traditions, the complex relationship between formal preservation agendas and kampung social structure must be carefully understood. Without this sensitivity, preservation risk eroding the essential characteristics of kampung life, particularly the culture of genuine interaction, sometimes for economic or educational pursuits, and mutual support between inhabitants, often expressed through shared public space such as interconnected system of alleys, porches, and streets (see Chapter 2.2.1)

The study focuses on three heritage districts in Jakarta: (1) Kota Tua, (2) Menteng, and (3) Kebayoran Baru (fig.11). These areas have been consistently designated as heritage districts since the 1970s. Beyond their formal designation, these districts represent distinct approaches by

the Jakarta government in shaping urban planning and preservation policies. Kota Tua, with its multilayered historical narratives, has long been a space of negotiation among tourism, historical conservation and commercial interests, along with being a place for residential settlements. Menteng, originally designed to accommodate upper-income households, now includes high-end office towers and commercial boulevards. Kebayoran Baru, by contrast, was planned as a middle-income residential neighborhood, offering modern amenities tailored to its population. While all three areas are regarded as highly desirable urban neighborhoods, they continue to face development pressures, though to varying degrees and in different forms.

On the other hand, the *kampung* settlements within these districts differ in both character and historical depth. Those located in Kota Tua are arguably older than those in Menteng and Kebayoran Baru. Furthermore, informal *kampung* appears regardless of government controls. While *kampung* exist in all three areas, their inclusion in official heritage frameworks, and the extent to which they are actively preserved, remains a contested and central issue in Jakarta's preservation discourse. Studying these three areas will offer valuable insights into the diverse strategies and persistent challenges of *kampung* preservation in Jakarta, particularly regarding how planning visions, socio-economic contexts, and historical narratives shape heritage outcomes.

5.1 Kota Tua

Kota Tua is a heritage district located in the northern and western parts of Jakarta. The area spans four neighborhoods, including Penjaringan, one of Jakarta's northernmost districts, which houses the historic Sunda Kelapa Port. Situated at the mouth of the Ciliwung River and connected to the Java Sea, this port historically served as a major entry point for traders engaging in commerce across the Indonesian archipelago. Although the port now only accommodates

inter-island vessels, the port remains relevant as a site of trade and industry. In 2014, the Indonesian government formally recognized Kota Tua's economic potential through heritage tourism, transforming the once-thriving port, and its surrounding into a historical destination, with former Dutch trade offices and warehouses repurposed as museums.

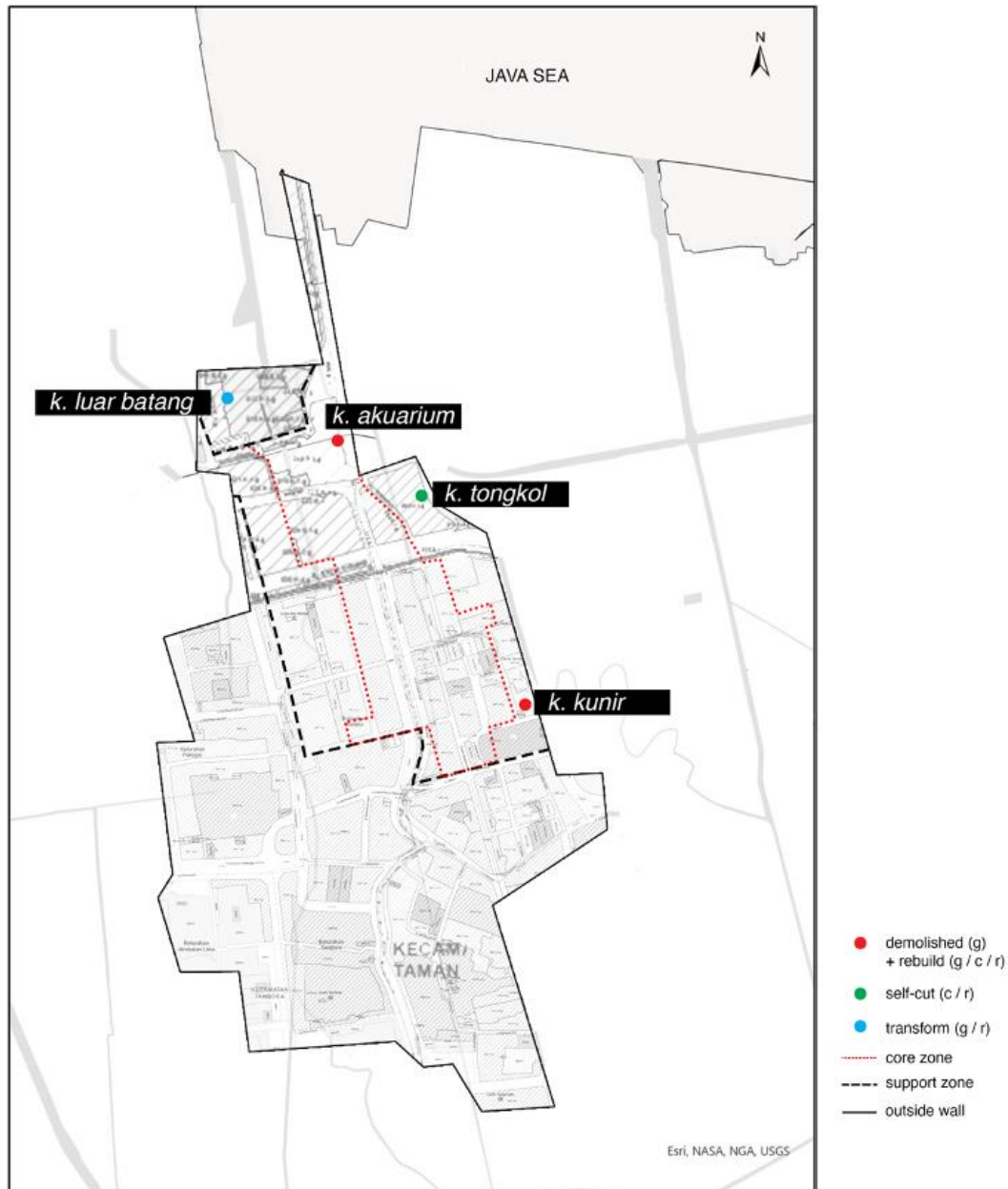


Figure 16. Kota Tua heritage district boundary and its kampung. Source: Author (2025)

Kota Tua represents a multilayered and complex urban history, carrying significance at the local, national, and international levels. These characteristics have introduced challenges and dynamism into preservation efforts over time. With each reorientation of Indonesia's heritage preservation policies, Kota Tua has consistently been at the center of change. Yet, one aspect has remained constant: a strong emphasis on tourism-driven development. This emphasis on tourism has deep historical roots and can be observed in earlier preservation initiatives shaped by international cultural cooperation and economic interests

The tourism-oriented preservation, although just regulated in 2014, can be traced back to the area's early preservation practice in 1970 influenced by cultural agreement (chapter 4). The agreement aimed to promote heritage so that the culture would gain greater visibility.

Additionally with the growing interest of the Dutch government to develop the tourism industry in Indonesia (Kompas, January 1966; August 1971), it is understandable that the Djakarta Kota Projectware tourism oriented. The whole project aimed to revive the 'glory' of the 18th-century district, with particular focus on Fatahillah Square, the former administrative heart of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), and its surrounding buildings (Kompas, February 1971). The project concluded in 1974, with the area being the reception for the 23rd Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) Annual Conference participant. However, while tourism development brought visibility and investment, it also introduced new questions about representation in the historical narrative.

The restoration of Kota Tua began to reflect not just a celebration of heritage, but a selective interpretation shaped by foreign interests. With significant funding from international donors, particularly the Dutch, the project centered on constructing a narrative that catered to

foreign fascination, especially with native spices and the global spice trade historically dominated by Dutch and British companies. In contrast, this focus often overlooked the historical experiences and cultural memory of local communities, whose connections to the area were shaped by very different, often marginalized, histories. Indonesian food, for instance, was sold cheaply in kiosks repurposed from former bus stops, while upscale “special” meals were served in the Raffles Restaurant, named after Thomas Stamford Raffles, the former British governor of Java (Kompas, February 1971). These differences underscored the class and cultural imbalance embedded in the site’s transformation.

Despite these tensions, the Kota Tua restoration stood as Indonesia's first large-scale urban heritage project and became a platform for showcasing the government's capability in managing heritage amid competing interests. This was especially strategic during the 1974 Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) Conference, where delegations from numerous countries gathered to discuss tourism. The political dimension of heritage became more pronounced in 1980, following Dutch criticism of Indonesia's unilateral occupation of East Timor. In response, the government organized a *wayang* performance in Fatahillah Square for Independence Day (Kompas, August 1980). These traditional Javanese shadow puppet plays, many of which carry stories centering on resistance to colonialism, signaled a shift in the narrative, reclaiming the colonial site as a space of national identity. This act underscored how preservation could serve not only as a form of historical representation but also as a vehicle for political negotiation. Eventually, Indonesia suspended all bilateral cultural cooperation with the Netherlands in 1992. This rupture was followed by a reorientation of preservation policies, placing renewed emphasis on Indonesian-owned heritage, such as vernacular kampung. In this

context, the focus began to shift from colonial legacies to the preservation of living urban traditions, setting the stage for a deeper examination of kampung within the Kota Tua area.

The preservation of historic kampung in Kota Tua started with the recognition of their tourism trait (chapter 2.3). Governor Ali Sadikin, following completion of Kota Tua partial restoration, initiated a plan to develop maritime tourism, aiming to highlight Indonesia's maritime history. Selected sites include Onrust Island (1972) and Kota Tua surrounding kampung areas, such as Kampung Luar Batang. While these early tourism-driven initiatives did not always align with the principles of preservation, they opened pathways for kampung to be acknowledged and transformed in ways that could eventually meet the criteria of heritage value. The numerous improvement initiatives that happened in the 1970s-1990s have helped elevate *kampung* from informal settlements to essential components of Jakarta's urban identity (see chapter 2.2.3 and 2.2.4) making it fit enough for carrying out tourism objectives.

By the time the 2014 Kota Tua Master Plan was introduced, both historic kampung and more recent informal settlements had been formally included across various zoning categories within the Kota Tua cultural heritage district (fig. 16). This marked a significant shift: kampung, once peripheral to formal heritage narratives, was now entangled in the city's efforts to reorganize, preserve, and market its historic urban core. Yet, inclusion within the heritage boundary did not always guarantee protection. Depending on their location within the district's zoning system, whether in the core zone (*perlindungan utama*), the support zone (*zona penyangga*), or the outside wall zone (*zona luar tembok*), kampung faced varying degrees of regulation, demolition risk, or participatory opportunity. What follows is an analysis of how spatial designation shaped the fate of different kampung within Kota Tua and how residents, city planners, and civil society actors navigated the tensions between heritage preservation, urban development, and social

equity. This analysis is operationalized through close observation of spatial scales and everyday use of space, such as alleys, porches, and shared communal areas, based on data from Google Street View and prior study results. By examining these micro-scale practices, the study reveals how residents adapt to, resist, or reinterpret formal heritage designations in ways that challenge top-down preservation frameworks.

Kampung Aquarium

Background



*Figure 17. Left: Kampung Aquarium before development. Right: Current Kampung Susun Aquarium
Source: Asian Coalition of Human Right (ACHR) (n.d.), The Jakarta Post (2021)*

Kampung Aquarium, once a densely populated settlement located within the 2014 core zone of the Kota Tua heritage district, was rebuilt into five-story multifamily housing blocks after its residents were forcibly evicted in 2016 (fig. 17). The kampung had existed since the 1970s, following the relocation of a government research institution. This move left vacant a parcel of land historically known as Pasar Ikan (Fish Market), a site closely tied to Jakarta's colonial-era maritime research and trading activities. The demolition displaced 386 households, many of whom worked in the nearby market or operated rented wooden boats catering to the tourism sector. The government justified the demolition based on the 2014 Kota Tua Master

Plan, which envisioned transforming the Pasar Ikan area into a commercial hub supporting historic maritime tourism.

By 2021, following sustained advocacy by NGOs and resident groups, the Kampung Aquarium community regained the right to return to the site. The area was redeveloped into a vertical urban kampung, co-designed with input from residents and civil society organizations. The new kampung retained simple traditional Javanese architectural elements, such as modest building forms and gable roofs. Interestingly, even though the original kampung was demolished to make way for tourism-oriented development, residents themselves embraced the idea of creating a “marine tourism kampung” (Asian Coalition of Human Right (ACHR), n.d). While they did not frame their role within formal heritage narratives, they recognized their active participation in the tourism economy surrounding Sunda Kelapa Port.

Changes

Architecturally, the redevelopment was intended to replicate key social aspects of traditional kampung life that is a greater portion of space allocated for communal use rather than private units (table 4), in an effort to preserve the social interaction that defines kampung culture (see Chapter 2.2.1). Spaces once represented by alleys, pocket lands, and front porches were reinterpreted as split-level floors and wide hallways. However, photographs of the interior of the new kampung suggest a diminished sense of place. The former dense, narrow, and crowdedly organized environments were replaced by bright, clean, and sparsely furnished interiors. Despite this, residents adapted by reintroducing flexible social zones, many laid out floor mats—a culturally significant element of kampung living—to informally define shared areas, allowing for gatherings without the need for permanent partitions. Where mats once served to shield against dirt floors, they now provide insulation from the cold, hard surfaces of tiled interiors. These new

interpretations of alleyways continue to host communal traditions such as Independence Day celebrations, *slametan*, *tahlilan*, and *arisan* gatherings (see fig. 18d).



Figure 18. Left to right: Space and interactions of former kampung (a-c) and new kampung (d-i). Source: CNN (April 2016), ACHR (n.d.)

At the same time, the clean and orderly nature of the new living spaces has contributed to a noticeable decline in spontaneous, everyday activity that once fostered social interaction (fig. 18). In the original kampung, communal life spilled into the alleys and shared spaces, vendors sold food, informal construction or renovation took place, and neighbors gathered organically. In contrast, the new housing blocks, where each unit comes pre-designed and functionally complete, leave the corridors largely empty unless a scheduled event is taking place. While efforts to retain *gotong royong* culture are evident in the cooperation agreement between

residents and the government—granting residents responsibility for maintaining the buildings—these activities have become more formalized, typically occurring on a weekly basis.

As a result, the spontaneous interactions once triggered by overlapping domestic and economic uses are increasingly rare. Commercial activity that now concentrated on the ground floor, further reducing the social functions of upper-level corridors. These everydayness unplanned encounters, once a source of surprise, humor, and vital information exchange, were essential to kampung continuity, and their diminishing presence signals a subtle transformation in the texture of community life.

Aside from this kampung, another kampung that underwent the same challenges is Kampung Kunir which was rebuilt with the same concept as Kampung Aquarium, although different in management and overall household it housed. The case of these kampungs illustrates the complexities of preserving kampung life through architectural form alone. While the redevelopment successfully introduced physical improvements and incorporated community participation, it also unintentionally disrupted the spontaneous, everyday interactions that once defined the social fabric of the kampung. Residents have demonstrated remarkable adaptability in reconfiguring space and maintaining traditions, but the transformation reveals a deeper tension between formal housing interventions and the informal social dynamics they aim to protect. Ultimately, sustaining kampung values like gotong royong requires more than spatial mimicry—it demands an ongoing commitment to enabling lived practices, social autonomy, and cultural expression within new urban forms.

Features	Before	After
<i>Tangible</i>		
Alley / Hallway	Physical qualities: narrow, crowded, outside	Physical qualities: clean, wide, sparse, inside
	Activities: mostly organic interaction	Activities: mostly and programmed interaction
Communal Space	Open Field/Alley/Leader house/Religious space	Community center
Porch / Hallway	Very active	Less active
	Function: interaction, small trades, storage (furniture, plants, drying clothes)	Function: interaction, storage (small furniture)
<i>Intangible</i>		
Organic interaction	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)	Actors: mostly individual
	Stimulant: neighbor activities	Stimulant: Unplanned encounter
	Space: Alley, Porch, Shop	Space: Hallway, Commercial space, Open space
Programmed interaction	Space: Open Field/Alley/Leader house/Religious space	Space: Hallway, Commercial space,
Gotong Royong	During certain event, Communal awareness	During certain event
Community Initiative	Everydayness interaction	Communal garden

Table 5 Changes in Kampung Akuarium. Source: Author (2025)

Kampung Tongkol

Background

Kampung Tongkol, established in the 1960s, stretches along the edge of the Ciliwung River and is located within the support zone of the Kota Tua Heritage District. The kampung lies just five meters from the remnants of the historic Casteel Batavia complex, making it one of the few informal settlements in the support zone of Jakarta's colonial heritage core. Home to

approximately 164 households, Kampung Tongkol has long supported a working-class population composed primarily of fishermen, warehouse porters, and factory laborers.

The community has faced repeated threats of eviction, with the 2014 demolition warning marking the second major attempt by the Jakarta government to clear the area—following a partial demolition in 1989 that removed structures within a five-meter strip of land to allow for street construction. Although that street was eventually built, it remained unused for many years. During that time, new homes were gradually rebuilt on the same five-meter strip. When the government revived its plan to widen the river these newer homes once again became targets for removal.

Unlike most kampung that grow around inner alley networks, Kampung Tongkol has a distinct linear structure: its houses are arranged in a single row facing the river, with narrow streets directly in front. Because of this layout, there are virtually no internal alleyways. What might appear as informal side paths are often extensions into the five-meter buffer zone that residents have used for daily activity and social interaction. The linear form, shaped by the constraints of the river on one side and infrastructure pressure on the other, has deeply influenced how the kampung functions, making it particularly vulnerable to spatial interventions yet also socially interdependent in its everyday organization and shared use of space.



*Figure 19 Left: Kampung Tongkol before self-demolition. Right: Kampung Tongkol after self-demolition
Source: ACHR (n.d.)*

The residents of Kampung Tongkol began negotiating with the government by voluntarily changing their behavior, demonstrating their commitment to caring for the river. They proposed taking responsibility for maintaining the riverbanks if they were allowed to remain in place. This initiative reflected not only a pragmatic survival strategy but also a deeper understanding of the city's goals for environmental management and heritage-based tourism. Aware of Jakarta's vision to integrate tourism and waterfront revitalization, the residents embraced the opportunity to transform their neighborhood in a way that aligned with these broader objectives, which means make it more appealing and accessible to the government standard. The negotiation was ultimately successful, resulting in a community-led transformation between 2015 and 2017 (fig.19). During this period, residents demolished all structures within five meters of the riverbank and relocated the demolished housing to upper levels of existing buildings. This process was carried out entirely by the community, supported by NGOs and academic collaborators, and rooted in the traditional value of gotong royong.



Figure 20. Space and interactions of former kampung (a-b) and new kampung (c-f). Source: ACHR (n.d.), Project Multatuli (June 2022)

Changes

The outcome of this transformation did not fundamentally alter the social structure of the kampung, as the changes addressed only what was necessary to meet the city's spatial and tourism goal (table 6). In fact, the relocation created new communal spaces by freeing up the five-meter strip of land along the river (fig.20). Although this wide street was likely intended for vehicular access, photographs reveal no evidence of cars; instead, the space is actively used by residents for social gatherings and daily activities. Children play, neighbors converse, and community events unfold in this reclaimed public space, maintaining the social vibrancy of the kampung. Moreover, the residents constructed small wooden platforms along the river's edge, functioning as extensions of their homes and serving as informal community centers—like shared spaces found in other kampung environments.

Features	Before	After
<i>Tangible</i>		
Alley / Buffer streets	Physical qualities: narrow, crowded	Physical qualities: less narrow and crowded
	Activities: mostly organic interaction	Activities: organic and programmed interaction
Communal Space	-	Buffer streets and wooden platform
Porch	Less active	More active
	Function: interaction, small trades, storage (furniture, plants, drying clothes)	Function: interaction, small trades, storage (furniture, plants, drying clothes)
<i>Intangible</i>		
Organic interaction	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)
	Stimulant: neighbor activities	Stimulant: neighbor activities Unplanned encounter
	Space: Alley, Porch	Space: Buffer streets, Porch
Programmed interaction	-	Space: Buffer streets and wooden platform
Gotong Royong	During certain event	During certain event, Communal awareness, Kampung upgrading
Community Initiative	-	Communal garden, art display and performances

Table 6 Changes in Kampung Tongkol. Source: Author (2025)

The spirit of gotong royong has remained central throughout the transformation and continues to guide everyday life in Kampung Tongkol. The redevelopment process, while initiated in response to external pressures, empowered residents to take control of their spatial environment. With support from civil society and academic actors, the community not only adapted but also enriched their surroundings with cultural expression. Post-transformation,

residents have been encouraged to integrate art into their environment and are allowed the flexibility to modify the appearance of their homes. This permission to continue shaping their neighborhood according to their needs has ensured that adaptation remains dynamic and culturally grounded. Today, Kampung Tongkol retains its characteristic density and visual complexity. Far from being sterilized by redevelopment, the kampung is full of activity, its layered textures, colorful walls, and bustling street life standing as evidence of a living, evolving urban vernacular shaped from within. However, due to their informal status, the ongoing threat of demolition continues to loom over the community (Kompas, November 2016).

Kampung Luar Batang

Background

Kampung Luar Batang is one of Jakarta's oldest and most culturally significant urban *kampung*, developed in the early 1700s and located just outside the fortified walls of Kota Tua, adjacent to the historic Sunda Kelapa harbor. Known for its deep Islamic traditions and as the site of the revered Luar Batang Mosque, the kampung has long functioned both as a religious pilgrimage destination and a working-class maritime community and traders. In 2016, however, the area was threatened with demolition under a wave of urban improvement initiatives tied to flood control and heritage tourism. The 2014 Kota Tua Master Plan documents explicitly encouraged the integration of kampung areas like Luar Batang into the broader vision of Kota Tua tourism, implicitly calling for improved spatial quality, better infrastructure, and easier public access. This approach positioned the kampung not merely as a settlement, but as part of the tourism apparatus itself, placing significant pressure on its existing informal structures.

While Kampung Luar Batang had long been recognized as a destination for religious tourism, rooted in communal and spiritual practices centered around its historic mosque, more

recent tourism narratives have shifted toward the commodification of heritage. Urban planning initiatives began to prioritize visual order, infrastructure control, and visitor accessibility, often at the expense of the kampung's everyday spatial and social rhythms. This shift from community-led religious visitation to state-directed heritage development introduced tension, as informal spatial patterns and traditional practices came under scrutiny. In the process, the kampung's identity as a living neighborhood was gradually overshadowed by its symbolic role within the city's broader redevelopment agenda. Although a planned demolition in 2016 was ultimately cancelled, the pressure to transform Kampung Luar Batang into a tourism-oriented area has persisted. Instead of large-scale clearance, the city moved forward with infrastructure improvements, most notably by raising the main access roads by 60 centimeters to address chronic flooding.

Change

While this intervention addressed environmental concerns, it introduced new spatial challenges for the kampung (table 7). The street leveling project created a disjuncture between the new streets surface and existing building foundations, disrupting access to shops, homes, and pedestrian routes (fig 21). While it was hard at the very first for residents to adjust—many experienced difficulties accessing their own homes, and some ground-floor businesses saw a temporary decline in customers—the community quickly responded with improvised solutions. Residents independently renovated their structures to accommodate the new height difference.

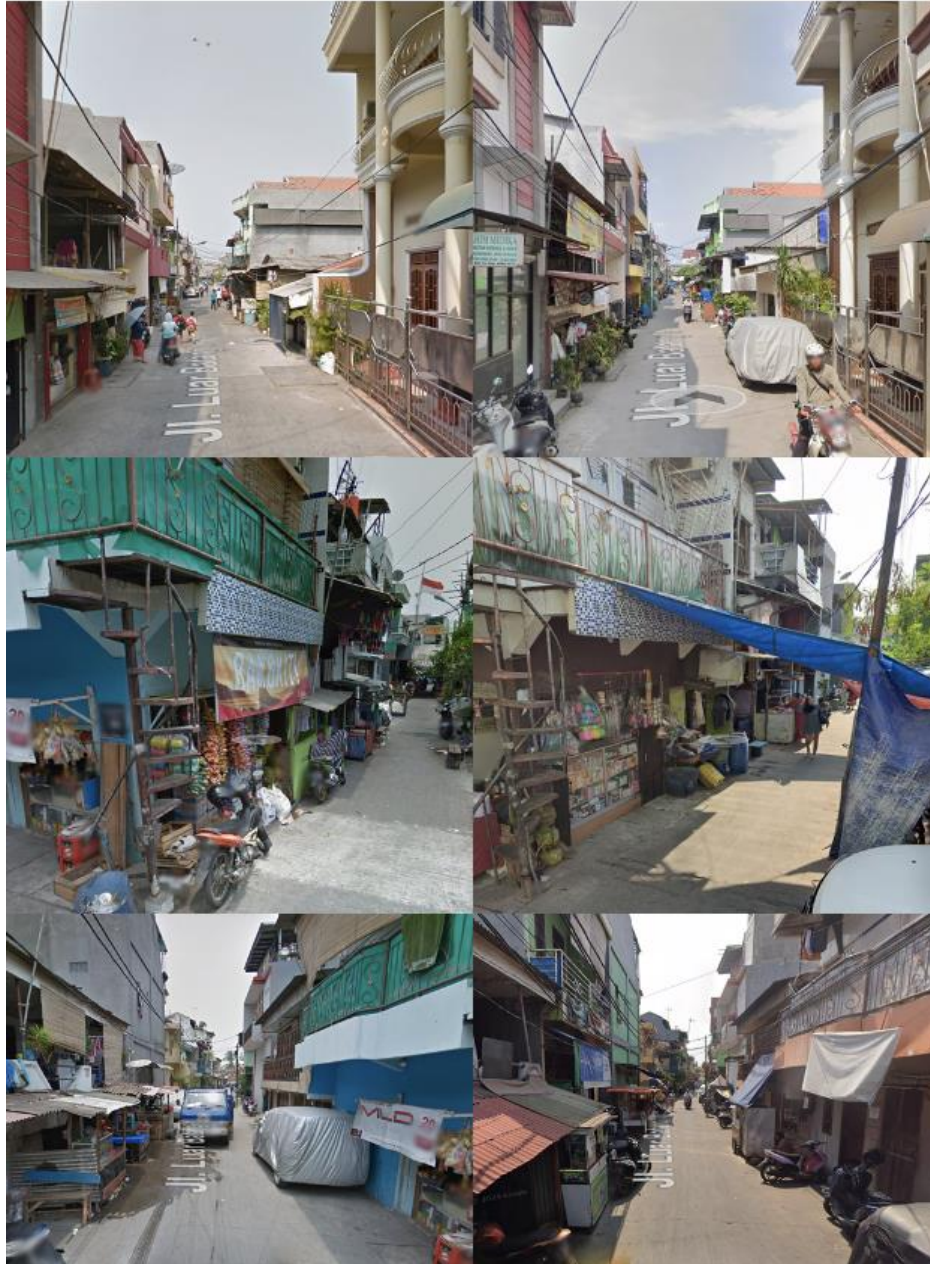


Figure 21 Space and interactions of former kampung (a-c) and new kampung (d-f). Source: Google Street View

A review of 2020 Google Street View imagery reveals a patchwork of architectural adjustments: steps extended into the street, porches raised with reused materials, and makeshift ramps constructed to maintain commercial accessibility and daily routines. Though these adaptations often appeared improvised or uneven, they testify to the spatial ingenuity and

resilience of the residents. Moreover, as captured by Google Earth imagery in 2024, most of the impacted buildings have fully adapted to the new elevation, reinforcing the long-term capacity of the community to reorganize space on their own terms. These self-directed transformations reflect not only practical adaptation but also a powerful assertion of local agency in the face of state-imposed infrastructural change.

Features	Before	After
<i>Tangible</i>		
Alley	Physical qualities: same level as the porch and living space, outdoor and indoor almost have no boundary	Physical qualities: higher than the porch creating obvious difference
	Activities: organic interaction, parking space for tourism, small trades, although become communal during festival event	Activities: interaction, parking space for tourism, small trades, although become communal during festival event
Communal Space	Mosque, Community center	Mosque, Community Center
Porch	Active	Less active
	Function: interaction, small trades, storage (furniture, plants, drying clothes)	Function: interaction, small trades, storage (furniture, plants, drying clothes)
<i>Intangible</i>		
Organic interaction	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)
	Stimulant: neighbor activities	Stimulant: neighbor activities
	Space: Alley, Porch	Space: Buffer streets, Porch
Programmed interaction	Space: Mosque, Community Center	Space: Mosque, Community Center
Gotong Royong	During certain event	During certain event
Community Initiative		Communal garden, art display and performances

Table 7. Changes in Kampung Luar Batang. Source: Author (2025)

Far from passive recipients of top-down urban planning, the people of Kampung Luar Batang reasserted their presence in the transformed streetscape. Street trading, informal gatherings, and cultural rituals continued, even as the ground beneath them changed. The altered streets, initially intended as a utilitarian flood prevention measure, has become a new kind of communal platform—used for evening food stalls, religious processions, and neighborhood conversation. These adaptations reveal how *kampung* residents repurpose infrastructure to support social life rather than be constrained by it.

Moreover, the community's modifications reflect a broader assertion of spatial agency. Rather than resisting change outright, the residents navigated a path between preservation and transformation. Their responses did not seek to return the kampung to its previous form, but instead demonstrated how vernacular architecture and collective practices could evolve in dialogue with urban intervention. The visual texture of the kampung remains dense and irregular, alive with layered surfaces, overlapping uses, and everyday activity—testament to a settlement that, while shaped by state-led development, continues to assert its own terms of survival and identity.

5.2 Menteng

Menteng was designated as a conservation district in 1975 due to its concentration of well-designed architecture and the perceived harmony of its spatial layout (fig.22). Originally developed during the Dutch colonial period as a garden city for European officials, Menteng became emblematic of modern residential planning in the Indies. Its tree-lined boulevards, uniform setbacks, and architectural coherence made it a model of urban form deemed worthy of preservation. However, by 2013, a reassessment by the Jakarta Conservation Committee revealed that much of the original architectural integrity had been compromised. Many buildings within

the district had undergone unauthorized renovations by residents, leading to a classification downgrade—most properties were re-categorized as "C," indicating limited historical significance.



Figure 22 Menteng Heritage District Boundary and its kampung. Source: Author (2025)

In the 2014 Jakarta Detailed Spatial Plan, only one kampung, located on land owned by the local government, was within the designated area, until eventually demolished to build a high-rise police dormitory (fig 23). This particular kampung originally functioned as police barracks. Following independence, members of the national police force began investing in more permanent structures, expanding the barracks into a functioning kampung with family housing and basic communal facilities. Over the decades, the area developed its own urban rhythm, social networks, and architectural character—though informal in origin, it played a significant role in the postcolonial urban fabric of Menteng.



Figure 23. Left: Kampung Aspol 2013. Right: Present police dormitory. Source: Google Street View, [Okezone.com](https://www.okezone.com) (2022)

As the community grew, it developed its own distinct urban rhythm, rooted in a combination of professional affiliation, residential permanence, and mutual support networks. The kampung's spatial character reflected adaptation to local needs for flexibility, shade, and communal interaction (table 7). Although informal in origin and not officially recognized as a heritage site, the kampung made meaningful contributions to the postcolonial urban fabric of Menteng, one of Jakarta's most historically significant planned neighborhoods. Its 2019 demolition reflects broader tensions between top-down spatial planning and the lived histories embedded in urban vernacular settlements, raising critical questions about which histories are

preserved, and which are deemed expendable in the face of modernization and bureaucratic efficiency.

Features	Before	After
<i>Tangible</i>		
Alley	Physical qualities: same level as the porch and living space, outdoor and indoor almost have no boundary	Physical qualities: -
	Activities: organic interaction	Activities: -
Communal Space	-	-
Porch	Active	-
	Function: interaction, small trades, storage (furniture, plants, drying clothes)	Function: -
<i>Intangible</i>		
Organic interaction	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)	Actors: -
	Stimulant: neighbor activities	Stimulant: -
	Space:	Space: -
Programmed interaction	Space: -	Space: -
Gotong Royong	During certain event	-
Community Initiative	-	-

Table 8. Changes in Kampung Aspol. Source: Author (2025)

5.3 Kebayoran Baru

Kebayoran Baru has long been celebrated as one of the first major projects led by Indonesian urban planners following independence. Conceived as a modern satellite city to Jakarta, it was designed in the late 1940s and early 1950s with principles inspired by the garden city movement—aiming to balance residential living, green spaces, and urban infrastructure. The

earliest phases of development focused on medium-sized, single-family homes surrounded by green belts and tree-lined streets, reflecting a vision of modern, orderly, and self-contained urban living. These neighborhoods symbolized postcolonial aspirations for progress and middle-class stability.

However, over time, the character of Kebayoran Baru began to shift. As Jakarta expanded and administrative demands increased, parts of the neighborhood were gradually repurposed to accommodate various South Jakarta government offices and commercial activities. This transition altered the original low-density residential fabric and introduced new land use pressures, gradually eroding the spatial coherence that had once defined the area.

In recognition of its historical and architectural value, Kebayoran Baru was officially designated a conservation district in 1975 (fig. 24). The designation sought to preserve not only the neighborhood's early post-independence modernist buildings but also the overall harmony of its urban design and streetscape. Yet, as in many parts of Jakarta, conservation efforts took place alongside the growth of informal settlements. Over the decades, various *kampung* began to emerge within or adjacent to Kebayoran Baru, often forming around unused or state-owned land. These *kampung* served as housing for workers, civil servants, and laborers who supported the expanding bureaucratic and service sectors within the district.

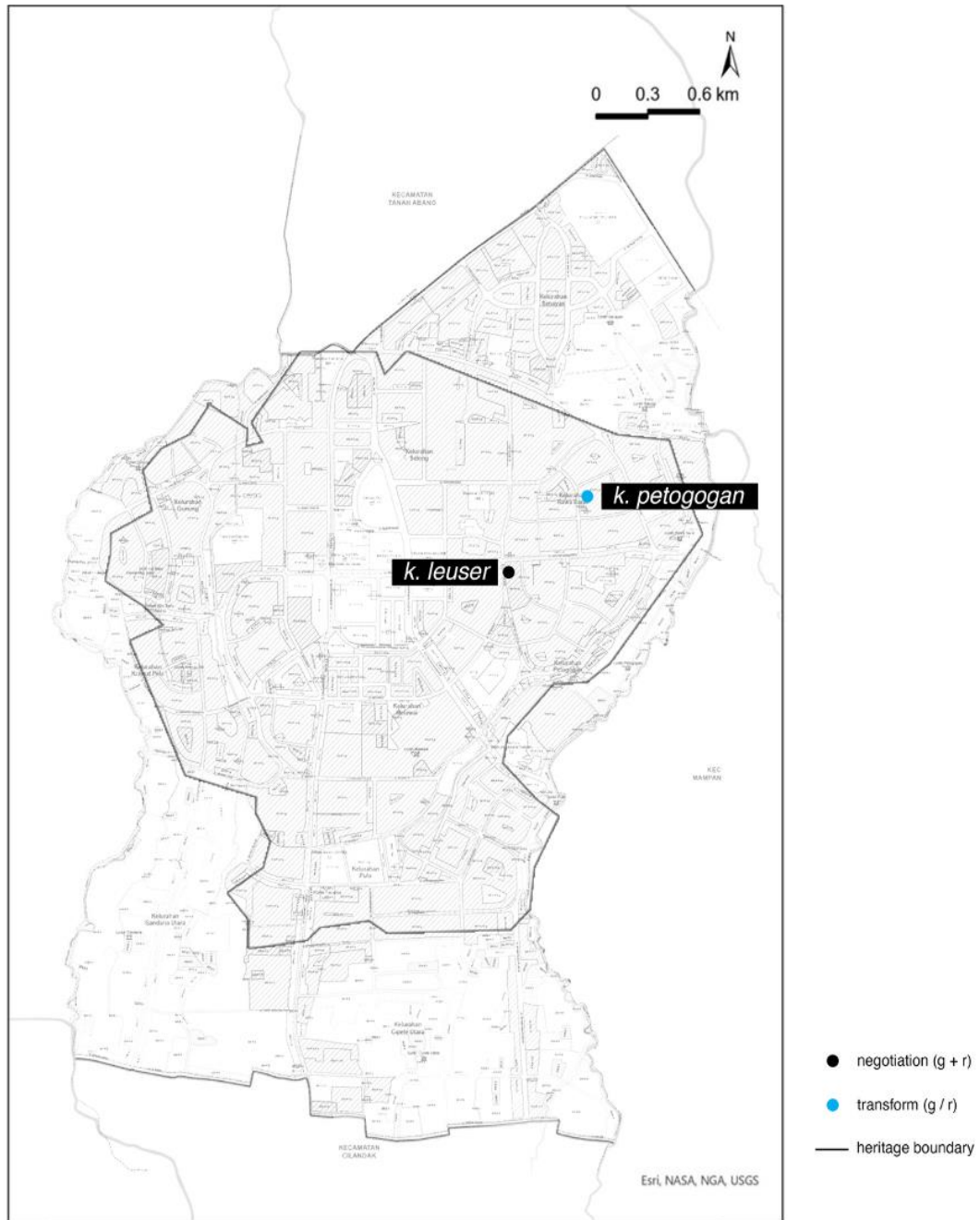


Figure 24. Kebayoran Baru Heritage District Boundary and its kampung. Source: Author (2025)

Kampung Leuser

Kampung Leuser, developed in the 1960, situated on the Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum (Municipal Water Utility)'s land that housed water pump and pump operator residents. After being left unattended, kampung formed as employers asked to take care of the land. Granted by

the company, the employer settled and made a living and houses (fig.25), until 2016 the company's plan to give the land to the local government to build a public green space. This plan, aligned with broader visions of urban sustainability and environmental restoration, positioned the kampung as an obstacle to official land-use objectives.



Figure 25 Kampung Leuser. Source: Google Street View

Kompas reported that the city council encourages kampung residents and local government to find a way out so they can settle the solutions together. The kampung's residents have actively negotiated their place in the city. Through ongoing dialogue with local authorities, they temporarily postponed redevelopment. Although demolition has not occurred, the community remains in a state of uncertainty, lacking formal tenure rights and vulnerable to shifts in political and environmental priorities.

Kampung Petogogan

Kampung Petogogan, home to approximately 207 households, was previously designated as a slum settlement before undergoing a government-led improvement initiative in 2013. The program, initiated by the Jakarta Government, aimed to transform slum-like environments into orderly, well-planned neighborhoods through various strategies tailored to each area's conditions. This study focuses on RW 05, where the kampung was redeveloped into two-story multifamily housing units.

Prior to the intervention, most houses in the kampung were built from temporary materials such as multiplex wood and asbestos, which posed serious health and safety risks. The area's vulnerability was tragically highlighted by a fire in 1983 that destroyed many homes. The kampung was later rebuilt with assistance from both the government and residents through *gotong royong*. Overcrowding was also a persistent issue, with multiple households often sharing a single housing unit.

Changes

The alleyways in Kampung Petogogan not only continue to exist after redevelopment, but they have also persisted in scale—some even becoming noticeably wider. While the surface texture has changed, with asphalt replaced by paver blocks, the spatial logic of the alley remains consistent with the kampung's earlier form. The surrounding housing units, now uniformly rebuilt as two-story structures with simple gabled roofs and open-plan layouts, frame the alleyway and reinforce its role as a shared social space. The overhanging roofs contribute significantly to the sense of place, providing shade that makes the alley more comfortable for daily use while still allowing enough sunlight to pass through. These architectural features—though standardized—enable continuity of use and atmosphere. As a result, the alleyways continue to function as flexible, communal corridors where residents can gather, pass through, or engage in informal economic and social activities, just as they did before the redevelopment (fig.26).

In terms of social interaction, the dispersal of commercial activity has been maintained in this kampung, allowing residents to continue engaging with one another much as they did before redevelopment. Just like the original settlement, the commercial activities are spread throughout the area rather than concentrated in a single location, helping to preserve everyday encounters

among neighbors. Due to the high density of the original kampung, most homes did not have porches—a condition that remains in the newly developed area. However, for residents with shophouses, the space in front of their units now functions as informal porches, as they use it to carry out small-scale economic activities.



Figure 26. Space and interactions of former kampung (a-b) and new kampung (c-f).

As discussed in the case of Kampung Aquarium, restrictions on how much residents can modify their buildings can significantly affect social interactions. In contrast, at Kampung Petogogan, only the facades were completed by the government, allowing residents some flexibility to make cosmetic changes to the interior according to their preferences, albeit within certain limits. The continued presence of benches along the alleyways indicates that these spaces still serve as informal gathering places. However, like in the original kampung, these benches are not intended to be permanent, as the alleys are used for multiple activities throughout the day.

Features	Before	After
<i>Tangible</i>		
Alley	Physical qualities: narrow, crowded with different temporary material finishes, not uniformly shaded	Physical qualities: wider, more formal and cleaner, shaded with enough natural lighting
	Activities: organic interaction, parking space, drying clothes	Activities: organic interaction, parking space
Communal Space	Mosque	Mosque, playground, open field
Porch	-	Shophouses
	-	Function: small trades, storage (small furniture, plants, drying clothes)
<i>Intangible</i>		
Organic interaction	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)	Actors: Individuals, Groups (womanhood, children, fatherhood, youth, workers)
	Stimulant: neighbor activities	Stimulant: neighbor activities
	Space: Alley	Space: Alley, Porch
Programmed interaction	Space: Mosque	Space: Mosque, open field
Gotong Royong	During certain event	During certain event
Community Initiative		Communal garden

Table 9. Changes in Kampung Petogogan. Source: Author (2025)

The alley surfaces were also upgraded from asphalt to paver blocks, enhancing the sense of place for pedestrians and encouraging their use as community gathering spaces rather than as thoroughfares for motorcycles. Even so, motorcycles are still parked along the alleyways, much as they were before—illustrating how residents have adapted these improved public spaces to meet their ongoing needs. These alleys represent negotiated spaces, shaped both by official

design and everyday use. Additionally, the kampung now includes a dedicated playground and open spaces for community activities. These additions help improve airflow and offer communal areas for residents to gather, supporting both health and social interaction across the neighborhood.

VI. FINDINGS

By comparing kampung in Jakarta's three heritage districts, Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru, this study shows how different factors shape the future of informal settlements. These areas, each with their own history and planning background, help us see how official rules, preservation goals, and community efforts come together in complex ways. Looking at six kampung, Kampung Aquarium, Kampung Tongkol, Kampung Luar Batang, Kampung Aspol, Kampung Leuser, and Kampung Petogogan, the study finds that preserving heritage is not just about being included in government policy. It is also about the values behind those policies, and how they are put into action. These values, such as focusing on community needs, economic growth, historical importance, or government interests, affect how preservation is carried out and how kampung residents respond. In short, the fate of these kampung is shaped not only by official policies, but by how residents, government institutions, and other stakeholders implement and respond to them across different levels of planning and governance.

Using Koziol's Preservation Discourse Matrix (see chapter 2.4), which outlines four main approaches to preservation: essentialist, populist, privatist, and entrepreneurialist, this study shows that preservation in Jakarta is rarely limited to just one type. Instead, many efforts combine elements from different approaches. This mix reflects changing influences, including government plans, economic interests, and community needs. In Jakarta's kampung, preservation is shaped by ongoing negotiation between these forces. It is not just about protecting buildings and community, but also about deciding whose values matter, whether it's history, profit, community well-being, or tourism. This makes preservation in the city both flexible and deeply tied to current social and political conditions.

In Kampung Aquarium, the state initiated a highly publicized redevelopment project after the kampung's demolition, presenting it as a flagship model of vertical kampung housing. The new housing blocks replaced the former low-rise, organically developed neighborhood with five-story apartments designed to meet modern standards. This project was clearly influenced by entrepreneurialist values, as it emphasized modernization, economic development, and alignment with Jakarta's image as a globalizing city. Yet, the project also included a participatory design process in response to public outcry and civil society pressure, introducing a populist element. Residents reclaimed communal rhythms by repurposing structured hallways and open areas into spaces for informal gatherings—evident in their use of floor mats to recreate shared domestic zones. This duality captures a key tension: while the state prioritized formal aesthetics and vertical efficiency, residents adapted the space to maintain cultural patterns of everyday life. The case thus reflects a negotiated preservation outcome, one that hybridizes top-down redevelopment with bottom-up social continuity.

By contrast, Kampung Tongkol presents a clearer example of a populist preservation approach, driven by grassroots action rather than state planning. Facing threats of eviction due to environmental concerns and heritage zoning in the Kota Tua support area, the residents voluntarily reorganized their kampung to align with state requirements. They demolished structures that encroached on the five-meter buffer zone along the riverbank and rebuilt with a more regular layout, without displacing the community. Importantly, they preserved informal spatial dynamics, including the continuity of *gotong royong*, communal river-edge platforms, and social use of alleyways. Unlike Aquarium, Tongkol's residents retained control over transformation, showing that vernacular preservation can be effectively community-led when governments provide space for negotiation and flexibility. This case exemplifies the power of

populist discourse, where preservation aligns with lived practices rather than externally imposed formality.

Kampung Luar Batang, located near the historic Sunda Kelapa Port, is closely tied to Islamic pilgrimage traditions and long-standing local histories. Initially aligned with essentialist and populist values, due to its religious significance and strong community ties, the kampung's transformation is increasingly shaped by entrepreneurialist interests. Its symbolic heritage status has made it a target for tourism-driven development, where preservation efforts are often motivated by the site's potential to attract visitors rather than to sustain everyday life.

Government-led infrastructure projects, such as street elevation for flood mitigation, have disrupted pedestrian flow and accessibility—both vital to kampung social interaction. In response, residents created ad hoc spatial solutions like ramps, steps, and reclaimed thresholds, reflecting a vernacular adaptation rooted in resilience and community cohesion. Despite being officially recognized as a historic area, preservation actions prioritize tourism and functional upgrades over cultural continuity. This shift illustrates a growing disconnect: while essentialist narratives legitimize its historic status, the actual interventions reflect entrepreneurialist goals, offering partial and reactive support for vernacular life.

In sharp contrast, Kampung Aspol in Menteng reveals the vulnerabilities of kampung that lack formal recognition. Originally developed as housing for police families in the post-independence era, Aspol was demolished to make room for a high-rise dormitory. No community consultation took place, and the kampung's social value was entirely overlooked. Here, privatist logic prevails, land and building use is dictated by ownership and state utility, with heritage value assessed narrowly through physical permanence and legal designation. Aspol's erasure reflects how informal settlements, even those with significant postcolonial

histories, remain at risk when heritage policies do not account for social memory or informal tenure. This case highlights the dangers of preservation frameworks that reduce heritage to material or institutional control, rather than recognizing intangible, lived experience.

The two kampung in Kebayoran Baru, Kampung Leuser and Kampung Petogogan, offer contrasting outcomes under similar pressures. Kampung Leuser, situated on state-owned land designated for green open space, is shaped by an essentialist preservation logic that prioritizes formal spatial planning goals over lived heritage. While no demolition has occurred, the kampung exists in a state of uncertainty, as its location within an area marked for ecological or spatial conservation limits its recognition as a legitimate residential settlement. This essentialist framing emphasizes the value of the site's function within the masterplan—such as landscape preservation or public green space—rather than the community's historical presence or social practices. Residents engage in informal negotiations and advocacy efforts to resist displacement, but these efforts remain fragile due to the absence of legal protection or formal heritage recognition. The case illustrates how essentialist preservation, when narrowly applied, can produce exclusionary outcomes, especially when it disregards vernacular life in favor of fixed planning ideals.

Kampung Petogogan, however, offers a more promising model of integrated redevelopment. Its 2013 upgrade, implemented by the Jakarta government, involved the construction of standardized two-story housing units. Unlike Kampung Aquarium, the design of Petogogan was attentive to preserving key features of kampung spatial logic: narrow alleyways were retained, porches remained multifunctional, and small-scale commerce continued at thresholds. Though visually modernized, the redevelopment allowed the vernacular rhythms of life to persist. As such, the project reflects a blended populist–entrepreneurialist orientation. On

the one hand, it embodies populist values through its attention to everyday practices, social interaction, and community agency. The retention of spatial elements essential to kampung life—such as alleyways and porches—ensured that residents could continue their routines and social relations without displacement. On the other hand, it aligns with entrepreneurialist goals by formalizing the built environment and supporting small-scale economic activity within a framework of urban modernization. The use of standardized structures contributes to a more orderly and planned appearance, while still enabling economic productivity. This hybrid approach suggests a model where modernization and local continuity are not mutually exclusive, pointing to a more balanced path for vernacular redevelopment in Jakarta.

Taken together, these six case studies demonstrate that Jakarta's kampung preservation outcomes are not dictated solely by zoning or designation as heritage districts. Rather, they are shaped by how values embedded in policy and governance frameworks are applied—whether they enable or restrict community adaptation, whether they recognize intangible heritage, and whether they foster meaningful participation. When populist preservation strategies are present—grounded in everyday use, community agency, and adaptive spatial logic—they produce outcomes that are socially and culturally sustainable. Entrepreneurialist approaches may also align with these goals when they integrate participatory processes and respect informal practices, as seen in cases like Kampung Petogogan where modernization did not come at the cost of community coherence.

However, essentialist and privatist discourses, when applied narrowly, risk excluding kampung unless they broaden their definitions of significance to include lived heritage. Although essentialist approaches prioritize the physical integrity of historic objects, in the context of kampung, this often translates into tourism-oriented preservation. For example, in Kampung

Luar Batang, symbolic recognition based on religious and colonial-era significance has led to preservation efforts that prioritize visitor experience over residents' needs. Similarly, privatist frameworks emphasize property value and individual economic gain, which tend to overlook the communal and adaptive nature of kampung life. Without a more inclusive understanding of heritage that values both tangible and intangible dimensions, these approaches may reinforce selective preservation practices that marginalize vernacular settlements.

Koziol's matrix thus proves to be a valuable lens not just for categorizing preservation rationales, but for evaluating their consequences in practice. By distinguishing between essentialist, populist, privatist, and entrepreneurialist values, the framework helps reveal how different stakeholders define what is worth preserving—and why. It allows us to ask: who defines heritage, who benefits from its protection, and what values are prioritized or overlooked in the process? For example, essentialist approaches emphasize historical authenticity and often serve state or tourism agendas but may fail to support the everyday needs of kampung residents. Populist approaches, by contrast, center community agency and vernacular practices, resulting in outcomes that are more socially embedded and sustainable. Entrepreneurialist logics may support preservation when tied to economic productivity, but risk commodifying heritage without safeguarding its cultural meaning. Privatist approaches, focused on property rights and market value, tend to marginalize communal life altogether.

In Jakarta's case, where informality is a fundamental feature of urban life, preservation efforts that privilege permanence, formality, or market-driven aesthetics—without accounting for lived realities—risk reinforcing existing inequalities and contributing to spatial exclusion. Koziol's matrix proves useful here not only as a tool for categorizing preservation rationales, but for critically evaluating their impacts. By distinguishing between essentialist, populist, privatist,

and entrepreneurialist values, the matrix helps uncover whose perspectives shape heritage policy, who benefits from its protection, and which values are amplified or neglected. For instance, essentialist and entrepreneurialist approaches often align with state or tourism agendas, prioritizing visual integrity or economic productivity, but may overlook the informal, adaptive practices that sustain kampung life. In contrast, when kampung residents are recognized as heritage stewards—rather than seen as barriers to modernization—preservation becomes a more democratic and inclusive process. This recognition affirms the cultural agency embedded in everyday spatial practices and opens pathways for preservation strategies that are more equitable, participatory, and contextually grounded.

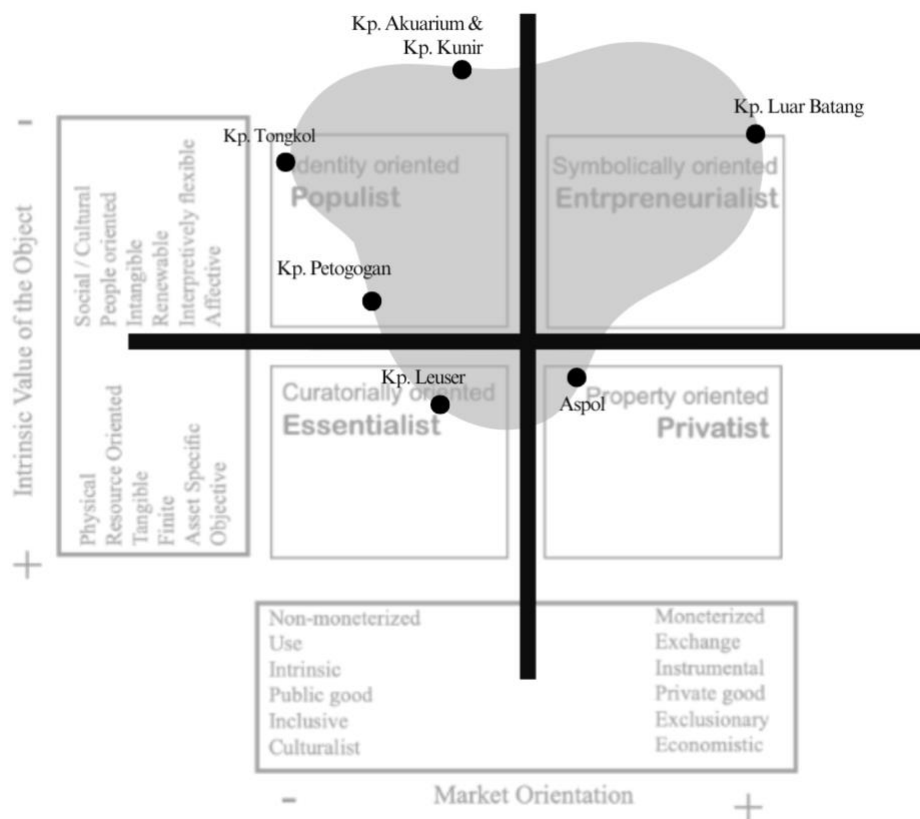


Figure 27. Kampung Preservation through Kozioł's Matrix (Source: Author, 2025)

VII. LESSON LEARNED

The preservation of kampung settlements within Jakarta's heritage districts has revealed critical lessons about the limitations and possibilities of current heritage practices. As the preceding case studies of Kampung Aquarium, Kampung Tongkol, Luar Batang, Menteng's Aspol, and Kampung Petogogan demonstrate, formal preservation efforts often struggle to balance architectural conservation with the lived social realities of kampung life. While each case offers a different response, ranging from full redevelopment to in-situ adaptation, they collectively underscore the need for a preservation model that integrates not just buildings, but also the social, cultural, and ecological systems embedded in everyday urban life.

A key lesson is that preservation must move beyond fixed notions of heritage as visual authenticity or static form. In cases like Kampung Tongkol and Kampung Petogogan, the physical fabric of the settlement was altered, yet the spirit of community, expressed through social rituals, cooperative maintenance, and flexible space use, persisted. This resilience was made possible because residents retained some level of spatial agency. In contrast, Kampung Aquarium's vertical redevelopment—though participatory in its planning process—imposed a rigid spatial order that limited organic social interaction, highlighting the limitations of architectural mimicry when it is not accompanied by sustained social support systems.

Integrating kampung into Jakarta's formal preservation framework requires a more holistic and inclusive strategy. Preservation must be redefined to consider the complex dynamics of kampung life: economic informality, community-based governance, and spatial improvisation. It must also acknowledge the collective knowledge embedded in kampung practices, including how alleys double as commercial corridors, porches become social thresholds, and shared

courtyards serve as sites of intergenerational exchange. These are not incidental elements of urban life, they are constitutive of the kampung's heritage value.

Rather than treating kampung as obstacles to modernity or as relics of a disappearing past, preservation practice should recognize them as dynamic environments that embody resilience, adaptability, and living memory. This means enabling gradual transformation, allowing for informal adaptation, and shifting the role of government from top-down enforcer to long-term collaborator. Importantly, this also means rethinking zoning, land tenure, and funding structures to accommodate hybrid, evolving urban forms.

Going forward, Jakarta's preservation policies must reflect this complexity. A socially grounded preservation approach, one that acknowledges kampung as a living, participatory urban system, will better align with the city's goals for sustainability, equity, and cultural continuity. This approach must move beyond token inclusion, granting real decision-making power to residents and incorporating their ways of knowing and using space into planning frameworks. Only then can preservation fulfill its role not just as a safeguard for buildings, but as a means of sustaining the plural identities, practices, and aspirations that define Jakarta's urban vernacular.

VIII. DISCUSSION

In Indonesia, the development and shift of preservation policy often reflect changing national priorities. Initially, heritage initiatives were rooted in identity-making during the early post-independence era, emphasizing cultural pride and national unity. This led to the heritage designation of architectural works that, at the time, were still relatively recent, despite the requirement in the 1992 Cultural Heritage Law that buildings must be at least 50 years old to be considered for conservation. In addition, the government also promoted the improvement of local settlements, particularly *kampung*, through more collaborative and community-based approaches—contrasting sharply with the top-down interventions typical of the colonial era. These earlier efforts encouraged locally oriented improvements that, whether intentionally or not, helped sustain the spatial character, and cultural identity embedded in *kampung* communities.

However, following the 1998 Asian Financial Crisis, preservation has increasingly been instrumentalized as part of national economic recovery. This shift is reflected in national frameworks such as the 2010 Cultural Heritage Law, which promotes tourism-driven revitalization. As a result, heritage is often approached with financial and tourism potential prioritized over cultural and social value. This is especially evident in Jakarta's heritage areas, where the transformation of *kampung* communities, often overlooked in government initiatives, including preservation policies, within different types of designated cultural districts reveals how preservation policies reshape vernacular practices (Table 9).

Furthermore, the study found that, at the time of research, there were no conservation programs specifically tailored for *kampungs* located within designated cultural heritage districts, both having or not having contributing qualities. This resulted in an almost undistinguishable

transformation outcome between kampung outside and inside the heritage district that resulted in sudden disruption towards their social structure. The transformations occurring in areas such as Kampung Deret Petogogan and Kampung Susun Aquarium and Kampung Susun Kunir were part of a broader urban development program in Jakarta, where more than twenty kampung developed using the same approach. Rather than being guided by a preservation framework rooted in kampung-specific values, these interventions served the city's objectives, such as housing standardization, infrastructure modernization, or tourism enhancement, often at the expense of the settlements' social and spatial character.

Historic District	Kampungs	Main Characters	Kampung Intervention after preservation	Reason	Spatial Change Related to Socialization			Limitation of Change	Impact on Intangible Social Character
					Alley	Community Hall	hh shops		
Kota Tua (historic tourism)	K. Aquarium + K. Kunir (1900s)	Riverbank	Demolition + Rebuild	Flood	Stairs (-)	Hallway, Riverbank (+)	centered but might be in their own houses (-)	Not allowed to change the appearance, several customs (hanging their laundry) prohibited	(-) gotong royong to improve the building (+) gardening space
	K. Tongkol (1900s)	Riverbank	Volunteer Partial Demolition	Flood	Existing	Existing, Riverbank (+)	Existing	Add 1 stories to their existing space	(+) gotong royong
	K. Luar Batang (1600s)	Historic, Religious Tourism	Infrastructure Improvement	Flood	Existing but rised (-)	Existing but rised (-)	Existing but rised (-)	N/A	(-) change of scale
Menteng (high income residential and commercial)	Police Barrack		Demolition	Rebuild of dorm	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Kebayoran Baru (residential, government office)	K. Leuser (1960s)	Riverbank	Community Participation to Negotiate	Green Space	Existing	Existing	Existing	N/A	
	K. Petogogan		Voluntarily Demolish + Rebuild	Slum	N/A	Outdoor space (-)	N/A	Not allowed to change the appearance, several customs (hanging their laundry) prohibited	(-) gotong royong to improve the building

Table 10. Comparison between Jakarta's kampung transformation on three cultural heritage district

Kampungs have undergone various forms of transformation across the three study areas within Jakarta's designated cultural heritage districts—Kota Tua, Menteng, and Kebayoran Baru. The study found that kampungs located in tourism-oriented areas such as Kota Tua, or in proximity to high-income neighborhoods like Menteng, were more prone to large-scale

transformations that significantly altered their social structure. These changes are typically the result of top-down planning processes led by government agencies, often with limited community involvement. In such cases, community organizations sometimes intervene to advocate for residents' rights to remain on the land, while also providing technical assistance to mediate between government agendas and kampung interests.

In contrast, the approach in Kebayoran Baru reflected a more locally negotiated process. While the planning remained largely top-down, it allowed space for resident participation—particularly when residents were willing to align with government expectations. Here, the transformation was led directly by the government, rather than by community organizations as in the previous cases. Although still directive in nature, this model introduced a more collaborative element that had not been present in earlier interventions, offering a new precedent for reconciling formal planning with the lived realities of kampung communities.

Although contributing kampungs such as Kampung Luar Batang were able to avoid demolition—thereby preserving much of their physical character—they were still subjected to transformations that temporarily disrupted social and economic interactions among residents. One such disruption came from the raising of the road level, a solution implemented in response to land subsidence and frequent tidal flooding. However, this intervention was not clearly communicated to residents in advance, resulting in unintended consequences—such as floodwater entering homes due to the new elevation difference. In kampung settings, where the boundary between public and private space is fluid and interdependent, urban interventions must account for both domains equally. Improvements that overlook this dynamic risk disrupting the spatial and social balance that sustains everyday community life. As such, infrastructure upgrades should always involve direct communication with residents to ensure they can respond

effectively—something Kampung Luar Batang has demonstrated in the past, particularly during the second phase of the MHT Kampung Improvement Program in the 1970s (see chapter 2.2.3).

The findings of this study highlight a critical disconnect between Jakarta's preservation policies and the lived realities of kampung communities situated within cultural heritage districts. While heritage regulations and urban development programs increasingly prioritize tourism, infrastructure, and modernization, kampung areas—whether formally designated as contributing to heritage or not—are often overlooked in both planning and conservation agendas. This lack of attention has resulted in homogenized interventions that frequently disrupt the social fabric and spatial organization that define kampung life. The absence of tailored approaches for kampung within heritage zones further reveals that official frameworks fail to recognize and accommodate the unique values embedded in vernacular urbanism. Without the proper integration of kampung-specific considerations, heritage districts risk becoming superficial displays of preservation, disconnected from the everyday cultural and social interactions that give them meaning.

However, this study is limited by the methods used for data collection. Due to the author's reliance on archival materials—such as government documents, media sources, and historical imagery—the study was unable to capture in-depth, space-based interactions or observe the nuanced dynamics of everyday life within the kampung settings. The absence of direct site visits, which were not feasible at the time of research due to geographic constraints, further limited the ability to document spatial practices, informal use of public space, and resident interactions with their built environment. As a result, while the study offers a strong policy and historical analysis, it lacks the ethnographic or observational data that could provide a richer understanding of the lived experiences within transformed kampung areas.

Future studies are encouraged to build on this research by incorporating field-based methods such as participant observation, spatial mapping, or interviews with residents and local planners. These approaches would allow researchers to document the impact of preservation and urban development on kampung social structures and spatial behaviors in greater detail. Additionally, a comparative study involving kampungs outside of designated heritage districts could further illuminate the distinctions in treatment, perception, and transformation outcomes. By combining archival, policy, and on-the-ground methodologies, future research can contribute to a more holistic understanding of kampung preservation as both a social and spatial practice.

IX. CONCLUSION

This study has explored the complex and layered nature of preserving urban kampungs. Their challenges and how the government and residents respond to it were varied because of many contrasting aspects. Most interestingly, is the case of Kampung Luar Batang—currently the only kampung in Jakarta with a formally declared vision for tourism. Starting with this case provided a structured foundation for understanding how preservation initiatives are shaped when formal goals exist, before turning to kampungs that have been informally or inadvertently included within heritage districts. This approach helps establish a structured understanding of preservation implementation on kampungs without prematurely judging which type of transformation is more successful.

The transformation of Kampung Luar Batang is particularly noteworthy due to its designation as part of the 2014 Kota Tua Masterplan, which aimed to improve spatial quality, infrastructure, and accessibility. One of the most visible changes occurred in 2015, when the street level was raised by over 50 cm to address chronic flooding. While this intervention disrupted local trade and accessibility, it also inadvertently triggered a process of adaptation among residents. Guided by necessity and resilience, residents gradually raised their own shop floors, altered building interiors. Even before they could afford substantial structural changes, many adapted by placing display cases along the street or setting up temporary carts to continue their business activities.

Unlike housing improvements, which often come with detailed requirements and obligations for residents, the street transformation was not accompanied by strict regulations on how residents should respond, or maintain the street. This gave kampung inhabitants greater flexibility to use and adapt the public space according to their needs. At the same time, the

intervention served the city's growing concern with flood mitigation, through the long-term effectiveness of the elevated street plan remains uncertain.

Drawing on the work of Rapoport and Roy, this study emphasizes that transformation itself is an important identity of vernacular architecture. Kampung spaces are inherently adaptive, thus placing strict limits on residents' ability to modify their environment risks undermining the very social structures that give kampung their resilience. As seen in Luar Batang, resident-led adjustments were not only practical but also integral to maintaining everyday interaction. These informal exchanges—whether during renovation, trading, or mosque gatherings—stimulate organic forms of communication and mutual support, which prior scholars have identified as key to kampung resilience (Elissa, 2016; Mizanni & Elissa, 2018; Helen & Elissa, 2023).

While government-led improvements are important and, at times, necessary, they must be designed to allow and even encourage continued transformation by residents. Organic, unplanned interactions often foster a level of knowledge-sharing and adaptation that exceeds what is possible through formalized, communal engagement alone. Whereas communal activities may center on transmitting top-down plans, organic interactions emerge from necessity and circumstance, often addressing deeper and more nuanced aspects of everyday survival and resilience. Preserving this space for informal transformation is not only a recognition of kampung's cultural vitality but also a strategy for sustaining their social fabric in the face of urban change.

Integrating kampung into Jakarta's formal preservation framework requires a more holistic and inclusive strategy. Preservation must move beyond visual and structural concerns to consider the complex social, environmental, and cultural dynamics of kampung life. This

includes acknowledging the ongoing challenges of climate adaptation, ensuring residents' agency in rebuilding, and respecting localized knowledge systems that have long governed spatial use. Instead of treating kampung as obstacles to urban modernity or relics to be frozen in time, preservation practice must recognize them as evolving environments that embody resilience, adaptability, and collective memory. In doing so, Jakarta can reframe its preservation goals to include not only the protection of built forms but also the safeguarding of everyday practices and social networks that give kampung their enduring vitality.

Going forward, preservation efforts must embrace this complexity. Rather than enforcing fixed models of conservation, policies should create space for resident agency, gradual transformation, and informal adaptation. A preservation approach that acknowledges kampung as a living, socially active environment, not merely as a physical form, will better align with the values and practices of its residents. In doing so, it can support more resilient, inclusive, and culturally grounded models of urban heritage.

REFERENCE

- Avrami, E., & Mason, R. (2019). Mapping the issue of values. In E. Avrami, S. Macdonald, R. Mason, & D. Myers (Eds.), *Values in heritage management: Emerging approaches and research directions* (pp. 1–12). Getty Conservation Institute.
- Birkland, T. A. (2019). Agenda setting and the policy process: Focusing events. In W. R. Thompson (Ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.165>
- Budiarto, L. (2005). Magersari: The spatial-culture of kampung settlements as an urban strategy in Indonesian cities and urban housing. In *XXXIII IAHS World Congress on Housing*. <https://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/4352>
- Chifos, C. (2017). Meeting unmet expectations revisited: Environmental management in Indonesian urban kampungs after 30 years. *Environment and Urbanization ASIA*, 8(1), 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975425316683863>
- Colombijn, F., & Barwegen, M. (2010). *Under construction: The politics of urban space and housing during the decolonization of Indonesia, 1930–1960*. KITLV Press.
- Colombijn, F., Kusno, A., Vorms, C., & Harris, R. (2017). Kampung, Buitenvijken, and Kota Mandiri: Naming the urban fringe on Java, Indonesia. In *What's in a Name?* (pp. 152–172). University of Toronto Press. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442620643-009>
- Ellisa, E. (2016). Coping with crowding in high-density kampung housing of Jakarta. *Archnet-IJAR*, 10(1), 195–212. <https://doi.org/10.26687/archnet-ijar.v10i1.790>
- Fitch, J. M. (1982). *Historic preservation: Curatorial management of the built world*. McGraw-Hill.
- Fock, D. (1904). *Beschouwingen en voorstellen ter verbetering van den economischen toestand der inlandsche bevolking van Java en Madoera*. M. Nijhoff.
- Funo, S., Ferianto, B. F., & Yamada, K. (2004). Considerations on space formation and transformation of Kampung Luar Batang (Jakarta). *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 3(1), 173–180. <https://doi.org/10.3130/jaabe.3.173>
- Helen, N., & Ellisa, E. (2024). Investigating the knowledge commons practice in high-density low-income residential urban kampung during COVID-19 pandemic. *Cities*, 148, 104901. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2024.104901>
- Heuken, A. (1997). *Tempat-tempat bersejarah di Jakarta*. Cipta Loka Caraka.
- Heuken, A. (2002). *The earliest Portuguese sources for the history of Jakarta: Including all other historical documents from the 5th to the 16th centuries* (English ed.). Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka.
- Heuken, A. (2014). *Atlas sejarah Jakarta = Historical atlas of Jakarta* [Map]. Cipta Loka Caraka.

- Karsten, Th. (1930). Volkshuisvesting I. In F. W. M. Kerchman (Ed.), *25 Jaren decen.*
- Koziol, K. (2008). Historic preservation ideology: A critical mapping of contemporary heritage policy discourse. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 25(3), 205–221.
- Kusno, A. (2019). Middling urbanism: The megacity and the kampung. *Urban Geography*, 41(7), 954–970. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2019.1688535>
- Larrea Silva, J., Sanchez Ruiz, J., Ortega Ortega, J., Loarte Tene, M., Román Aguirre, R., & Díaz López, M. L. (2021). Vernacular architecture as a resource for tourism. *Centro Sur*, 5(4).
- Listokin, D., Listokin, B., & Lahr, M. (1998). The contributions of historic preservation to housing and economic development. *Housing Policy Debate*, 9(3), 431–478. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.1998.9521303>
- Mason, R. (2002). Assessing values in conservation planning: Methodological issues and choices. In M. de la Torre (Ed.), *Assessing the values of cultural heritage* (pp. 5–30). Getty Conservation Institute.
- Mizanni, D., & Ellisa, E. (2018). Urban kampung as a space of opportunities: Women's strategies to make a living in high-density informal settlements. *The Journal of Social Sciences Research, Special Issue 6*, 312–318. <https://doi.org/10.32861/jssr.spi6.312.318>
- Mrázek, R. (2010). *A certain age: Colonial Jakarta through the memories of its intellectuals*. Duke University Press.
- Nursanty, E., Husni, M. F. D., Rusmiatmoko, D., & Destiawan, W. (2023). Balancing heritage preservation and city branding: Prospects and strategies for vernacular architecture in Indonesia. *ISVS e-journal*, 10(6), 225–237.
- Nutt, N., Hiob, M., & Kotval, Z. (2016). Supilinn, Tartu—The lively vernacular against urban renewal: A Lefebvorean critique. *Space and Culture*, 19(4), 332–344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331215621002>
- Pardo, J. M. F. (2023). Challenges and current research trends for vernacular architecture in a global world: A literature review. *Buildings*, 13(1), 162. <https://doi.org/10.3390/buildings13010162>
- Rapoport, A. (1969). *House form and culture*. Prentice-Hall.
- Rapoport, A. (2005). *Culture, architecture and design*. Locke Scientific.
- Roy, A. (1988). *Interpreting a contemporary urban vernacular for cities: The case of Delhi* (Master's thesis). Massachusetts Institute of Technology. <https://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/78984>
- Tillema, H. F. (1923). “Kromoblanda” Over ’t vraagstuk van “hel wonen” in Kromo’s groote land (Vol. 1).

- van Roosmalen, P. K. M. (2024). Through trial and error: Public housing in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies around 1900. https://www.pkmvr.nl/site/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/Lim_Van-Maanen_Putri_2024_Through_trial_and_error.pdf
- Wang, N. (1997). Vernacular house as an attraction: Illustration from hutong tourism in Beijing. *Tourism Management*, 18(8), 573–580. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(97\)00079-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(97)00079-4)
- Widjaja, E. (2010). *Memori kolektif kota Jakarta dalam restoran Cina* (Master's thesis). Universitas Indonesia. <https://lib.ui.ac.id/file?file=digital/old19/133634-T%2027882-Memori%20kolektif-HA.pdf>