

THE TRANSFORMATION OF KAMPUNGKOTA: SYMBIOSIS BETWEEN KAMPUNG AND KOTA, A Case Study from Jakarta

Antony Sihombing

a.sihombing@eng.ui.ac.id

Department of Architecture, University of Indonesia
INDONESIA

1. Introduction

In Jakarta, there are more than 600 settlements or areas named *kampung*, and all of them are old settlements, such as: *Kampung Ambon*, *Kampung Bali*, *Kampung Rambutan*, *Kampung Melayu*, *Kampung Makasar*, etc. (*Kompas*, 19 February 2000).

Kampung is an unstructured, unorganized and informal settlement in relation to the broader socio-economic system. It can also be realized as a settlement in an urban area without infrastructure, planning or urban economic networking. Poverty and poor of quality of life are the features of *kampungs*.

Kampung, a settlement in an urban area, is influenced by trade and commercial goods, and generally has high population density, a compact community pattern, better education, more skilled labour and management of society and companies than *desa*¹ (Geertz, 1965; Wiranto, 1997). *Kampungs* are also influenced by the presence of the *kota*, the centre for political and economic activities. The original Javanese *kampung* is an off-street neighbourhood in an urban settlement (Geertz 1965, p. 106; Guinness 1986, p. vii).

The transformation of a *kampung* was discussed further by Geertz (1965, pp. 106-107):

This transformation had three major aspects. First, there was the emergence of a new, semimodern occupational structure which allowed and encouraged people to move off land and into non-agricultural work. Second, there was the atomization of the traditional forms of village social life within the *kampungs* as the agricultural basis of community integration disappeared, and, coincident with this atomization, the emergence of new forms of social organization to combat it. Third, there was a partial dissolution of village political structure and also a partial reorientation toward urban political leadership. In brief, it was a process of readaptation, not simply of disintegration—as urbanization is so often described.

Kota has three meanings: first, *kota* as an urban, city or town; second, *kota* as a city's centre (down town); third *kota* as a *negara* or government system. *Kota* is the centre of power, a manifestation of Jakarta as the centre of the Indonesian government in all activities: social, cultural, economic and political. This has influenced the separation between Jakarta as a centre of power and other Indonesian provinces, regencies and cities (separation 'of the city'), and the separation between *kota* and *kampungs* (separation 'in the city'). *Kampungkota* is simply a traditional, spontaneous and diverse settlement in urban area.

2. Jakarta: From Tugu to Monas

Tugu or monument is the representation of a new kingdom or ruler in Javanese civilization. It is also a symbol of bureaucracy in Indonesian government from the Dutch colonial era up to the present. I raise the question of what is the message of *tugu* (monument)

¹ *Desa* is a traditional settlement in rural area.

in Jakarta since the era of *Tugu*, the first settlement on the north coast of present Jakarta, up to the *Monas* of today.

2.1. *Tugu*, Sunda Kelapa and Jayakarta

*Prasasti Tugu*² (a monument conveying ancient script) was excavated from a site to the south of the present harbour Tanjung Priok (north coast of Jakarta), which was built in the 5th century AD by King Purnawarman from the Tarumanegara Kingdom. It was on this *Tugu* (monument) that was found the script that described how King Purnawarman constructed the Chandrabagha River, also known as the Bekasi River, and the Gomati River (12 kms) in 21 days. Obviously a large number of people would have been needed to build both projects, and this demonstrates that there were settlements (or *kampungs*) in the Tarumanegara Kingdom. The *Prasasti Tugu* was located at what is now Jakarta.

Jakarta's origins as a port can be traced back to about the twelfth century, when there was mention of a town called Sunda Kelapa, which appears to have been a harbour for the Hindu–Javanese kingdom called Pajajaran, the capital of which was near the present mountain resort of Bogor. Sunda Kelapa comes from two words: Sunda refers to the people of Sunda in West Java and *kelapa* to the coconut palm, which thrives in this coastal area. Sunda Kelapa kept growing following rapid economic development, political changes, and its influence on the structure of government.

In 1527 Prince Fatahillah³ from Demak, supported by the Sultanate of Banten (on the coast to the west of Sunda Kelapa), took the harbour town of Sunda Kelapa by invading the Pajajaran Kingdom. On 22 June 1527, Fatahillah (also known as Prince Jayakarta) renamed Sunda Kelapa to Jayakarta (meaning Glorious Victory) (Figure 1), the origin of the present name of Jakarta (Abeyasekere 1987, p. 6; Heuken 1997, p. 27). The Jayakarta Kingdom ruled the city (Jayakarta) for nearly a century until the Dutch military came and conquered it in 1619.

Between 1527 and 1618 Jayakarta was identified as a *kota-negara*,⁴ and lasted as a kingdom until it was conquered by the Dutch in 1619. Before the end of this era, Dutch accounts described it as a *kota-negara* of ten thousand citizens, built on the west bank of the Ciliwung River. According to Abeyasekere (1987, p. 6), 'in keeping with [the] Javanese town planning, the centre of the town was the masonry residence of the Prince of Jayakarta (appointed by the Sultan of Banten), located next to the town square and mosque'. Its urban form and structure were drawn as a *dalem* (inside wall) and mosque located in front of *Alun-alun* (Square Park). The Jayakarta area was where *kampung* Luar Batang is today. Physically, the urban form and structure of Jayakarta was of a *negara* encircled by a *luar* (outside wall) and *dalem*.

² *Prasasti Tugu* comes from two words, *prasasti* means ancient script and *tugu* means monument.

³ Fatahillah is also known as Fadhillah Khan or, to the Portuguese, as Tagaril or Falatehan (Abeyasekere, 1987)

⁴ *Negara* was the centre of political and economic power in Indonesia cities, which were called *kuta*, *khita* or later *kota*. In line with the concept of *negara* in Hindu–Buddhist civilization, *kota* in Javanese tradition was both a centre of government (*negara*) and a city (*kuta*), which was therefore called *kuta-negara*. Originally, the word *kota* came from *kuta* or *khita* (Indian) through Hindu–Buddhist civilization in Java in the 5th century (Wiryoartono 1995). *Kota* means fortified place or city wall (Heuken 1997). It is also possible to find the philosophy of *negara* in the mainland of Southeast Asia, South China, Khmer (Cambodia), and Thailand. So *kuta* or *khita* was a *negara* (kingdom or government) system in an urban area, the centre of social, cultural, economic, and political activities.

2.2. Kota (Batavia I)⁵

In 1618 Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the first Governor-General of the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), arrived in the estuary of the Ciliwung River, and designed and built the Dutch-Indies military camp. He realized that the area around Sunda Kelapa harbour had a good potential for trading, and during the years 1618–1620 he constructed *Batavia Benteng* (the Batavia fortress) in Sunda Kelapa harbour to control trading in Southeast Asia (Figure 1). The Dutch East Indies Company, which captured the town (Sunda Kelapa) and destroyed it in 1619, changed its name to *Batavia* and made it the centre for the expansion of their power in the East Indies.

In the early 17th century the Dutch decided that Batavia would be the capital city of the Netherlands Indies. It grew like a tiny town in the city of Batavia. Abeyasekere (1987) commented that:

...the fortress was tiny, and so crowded with buildings that it must have been stifling for the wretched clerks who toiled in the counting-houses for hours each day and were locked up in the attics at night (p. 15).

According to Abeyasekere (1987) the Company, as a representative of Holland, built Batavia like a Dutch town. It was not because of nostalgia, but more about geography (the contour level of the town was under sea level), and for utilitarian reasons.

While Holland colonized Indonesia, they also started modernizing Jakarta, especially the area of Batavia or *Kota* (old Jakarta). Dutch people wanted to live in Batavia just as they did in Holland. In Holland people aspired to live on a canal. It was both more convenient and more fashionable. Notwithstanding its great power, the Dutch colony was unable to imprint a strong European image on the town.

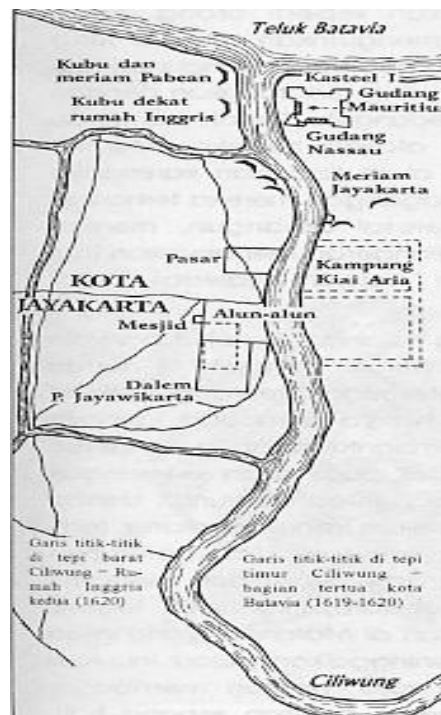


Figure 1: Map of Jayakarta and *kasteel* (castle) of Batavia in 1619 (reconstructed map by J. W. Ijzerman)

Source: Heuken 1997

⁵ *Kota*, known as Oud Batavia (Dutch) or Old Batavia (English), is also called Batavia I in this thesis.

2.3. Weltevreden and Koningsplein (Batavia II)

During their colonization, the Dutch established Batavia twice, first at *Kota*, on the coast north of old Jakarta and then in the surrounding Weltevreden and Koningsplein. According to Heuken (1997, p. 32), in 1809 Herman Willems Daendels, the Governor of Batavia (who was Dutch and later became a French General), moved the centre of Batavia's government to the south, to Weltevreden (around Lapangan Banteng, Pasar Senen and Pejambon) and later developed Koningsplein (around Independence Square). Daendels thought that the *benteng* (fort) in *Kota* was not adequate to defend Batavia against English aggression (1811–1816), so he demolished (Heuken 1997, pp. 100, 111, 204, 205) that fort and built a new great palace in Weltevreden (Figure 2). Weltevreden and Koningsplein (King's Square, 1818) were at the centre of the next Jakartan urban development, after Holland re-acquired Batavia from the British.

In 1879 Koningsplein (today known as Independence Square) officially became the centre of the Dutch colonial government. In the north of the square, between it and the Hotel der Nederlanden, the Batavia–Dutch government built a palace called Koningsplein Pleis (1873–1879), known today as *Istana Merdeka* or Independence Palace.

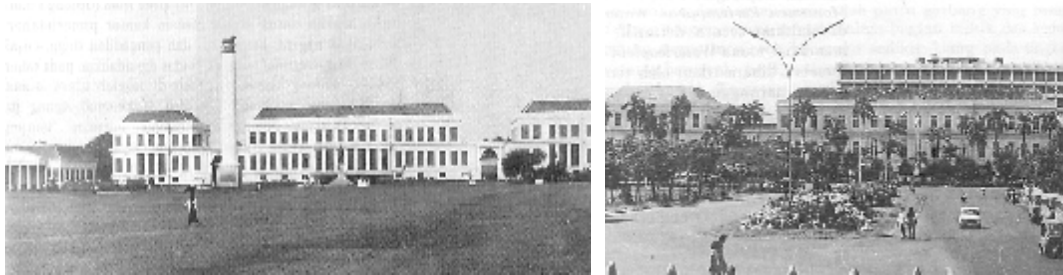


Figure 2: Weltevreden in 1828 (top), and at the present (bottom)

Source: Heuken (1997)

Weltevreden and Koningsplein, known as ‘Queen of the East’, had a central role and meaning during the second Dutch colonial period in the nineteenth century, after the British period in Batavia: they were also the symbols of victory and power. All buildings surrounding this special place were monumental buildings, such as the beautiful and monumental Waterlooplein palace (now the Treasury Ministry Office) in east Weltevreden, Schouwburg cinema (now the *Gedung Kesenian* or Art Building), the pseudo-Greek façade of the Department of Justice (the *Mahkamah Agung*) and of the Army Commander's Office (now the *Gedung Pancasila*), the Protestant Willemskerk Church, and the neo-Gothic Roman Catholic Cathedral.

The Dutch also modernized Batavia's urban development. At the same time, Holland maintained the culture or tradition of old Jakarta society to give them easier access to Batavian society and its leaders. The Dutch government felt that it was advisable for them to rule fairly directly some part of the Indonesian Archipelago, particularly Batavia, centre of its government. For example, Holland still used the *priyayi*⁶ as public or government officials. *Priyayis* were nobility who were respected by the common people in the Javanese tradition.

⁶ *Priyayi* was a member of royal clan, a member of social group of employees in government institutions (including employees of the Dutch colonial government), or an educated person who could work in government institution through qualifications.

The Dutch government took advantage of the disintegration of local governments, *kota-negaras*, kingdoms, and society leaders; and they subjugated local government through their political slogan *divide et impera* (divide and rule).

Holland maintained the tradition of Jakartan urban development by dividing the *kota* (centre of economic and political activities) from *kampung*s (places for common people), which were surrounded by *sawah* (rice fields), where people worked. Some people also worked as unskilled labour in the *kota* or downtown.

2.4. Monas and Independence Square

After the outbreak of World War II, Batavia fell into the hands of the invading Japanese forces, who changed the name of the city to Jakarta as a gesture aimed at winning the sympathy of the Indonesians. Japanese forces occupied the city from March 1942 to August 1945, during World War II. During this period the development of Jakarta almost stopped.

Since Independence, the government buildings of the Republic of Indonesia have been centralized around Independence Square or *Monas* (Figure 3). Soekarno⁷ ruled Jakarta from 1950 to 1965. He combined two ideas, the western (Dutch) and eastern (Javanese) in his idea of Independence Square. By placing the centre of government in the former Koningsplein, which was built by Daendels (the Dutch Governor-General), and locating the monument in the centre of this square (see Figures 3), Soekarno had adapted western ideas. Then, by choosing this square as an *alun-alun* surrounded by the palace and *masjid*, he absorbed the Javanese tradition. With both these ideas, Soekarno achieved the same aim, to set this place as a centre of authority of Indonesian government. Thus, as well as establishing a modern image for the city, he also kept the Javanese tradition. In 1950, Soekarno renamed Koningsplein *Lapangan Merdeka*. He dreamed of building a monument like the Eiffel Tower in Paris in the centre of the square. Soekarno attempted to bring together modernity and tradition in developing Jakarta (Kusno 2000, p. 50).

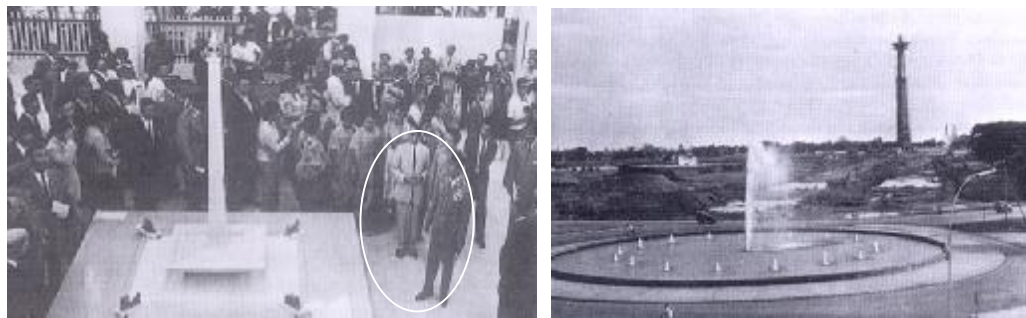


Figure 3: Soekarno admiring the idea of *Linggam-Yoni* and a model of the *Monas*, 1950s (top); *Monas* during construction (bottom)

Source: S. Damais in Kusno, 2000 (top) and Karya Jaya in Kusno, 2000 (bottom)

According to Abeyasekere (1987, p. 169), the *Monas* is a hybrid of tradition and modernity: its form strikes a chord with the *lingam-yoni* sculptures of Indonesia's Hindu days; its dimensions are based on the numerals of the date of the proclamation of Independence, 17 (day), 8 (month), and 45 (from the year 1945) (Figure 3).

This period was marked by the development of national identity. Soekarno combined two important symbols of power, *tugu* (monument) and *istana* (palace) in one place, itself symbolically to be called Independence Square. Since this time, *Monas* has been very

⁷ Soekarno was the first President (1945–1966) of the Republic of Indonesia.

important as a symbol of unity, democracy, and at the same time a symbol of power. Thus, Jakarta's government chose *Monas* as a logo for its city (Figure 4). *Monas* is important as a symbol of independence, national unity and identity.

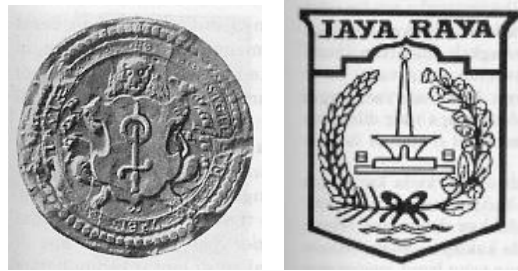


Figure 4. Logo of Batavia (left) and DKI Jakarta today (left)

Source: Heuken (1997)

3. Jakarta: the Differences and Conflicts, and Symbiotic Links between *Kampung* and *Kota*

3.1. The apparent contrast

A city is 'a place that permits differences, encourages the concentration of differences' (Radovic 1994, p. 166). And Jacobs (1961, p. 155) pointed that 'diversity is natural to big cities'. Talking about how cities contain differences, and how the images of cities are often conflicting, Dovey (2002, p. 47) also argues that the 'concept of "place" and "authenticity" should be approached dialectically, as the products of conflict, contradiction, resistance and the play of difference.' Such has certainly been the experience of Jakarta, which consists of different and even conflicting spaces, places, interests, feelings, and activities. There is apparently a great contrast between the world of the *kampungs* and that of *kota*. This generalized picture might be represented in the following table (though different observers might put it in different terms, and emphasize different points in the contrast).

The phenomenon of differences between *kampung* and *kota* in Table 1 can be simplified to be the difference or contrast between qualitative value and quantitative value; social and human development versus economic and political development; personal and interpersonal relationships versus management; day-to-day needs and aspirations versus business orientation; all-round competence versus specialization; mutual-self help versus top-down relationships; self-sufficiency versus top-down dependency; local versus inter-local and global but centralizing; and community versus down-town.

However, the black and white descriptions of the differences between *kampungs* and *kota* mask complexity, ambiguity and even instability in the way that the two realms are to be seen. This might be because of different perspectives ('inside' and 'outside', or 'local' and 'inter-local'), different observers and different interests, and also because of complexity. There is an immense complexity, ambivalence, and ambiguity.

The differences in images between *kampung* and *kota* can be summarized as the differences between 'quality' values (such as nostalgia, humanity, community and urbanity) and 'quantity' values (measurable progress of growth or development). The government, supported by scholars, has pushed to develop and modernize Jakarta based on 'development' or 'growth', while ordinary people, supported by other scholars and NGOs activists, advocate development based on nostalgia, humanity or socio-cultural relationships.

Table 1: Apparent contrast between *kampung* and *kota*

	<i>Kampung</i>	<i>Kota</i>
Space and place	Low-rise (on earth) settlement Tiny spaces Dense low-rise settlement Fine grain Diversity Soft space Public	High rise (on sky) settlement Large spaces Dense high-rise settlement Coarse grain Uniformity/monotony Hard (enclosed, rigid and walled) space Private
Legal	Majority illegal (uncertified) Unprotected Insecure Inclusive: no barriers, and unfenced Unplanned and unregulated Informal and uncontrolled Unrecognizable boundaries	All legal (certified) Protected Secure Exclusive: gated and fenced Planned and regulated Formal and controlled Recognizable boundaries
Structure	No bureaucracy Democratic Non-government, <i>RT</i> and <i>RW</i> ⁸ Society leaders	Bureaucracy Top-down power Government <i>DPRD</i>
Socio-cultural	Community Self-management of crisis Horizontal conflicts Adaptable Tribal	Individualism Top-down management of crisis Vertical conflicts Inadaptable Multi-ethnic or multi-cultural
Multi-plicity	Multiple use of buildings Multiple jobs	Single use of buildings Single jobs
Modernization and globalizatio	<i>Kampung</i> and slums Traditional Local Mutual self-help	Metropolitan Modern Global Urban management

For example, both *kampungs* and *kota* are dense, but with *kampungs* in low-rise settlements and *kota* in high-rise buildings. It is misleading to label *kampung* as diverse, and *kota* as lacking diversity. They are both diverse, but in different ways. Similarly, it is wrong to think of *kampungs* as hard space: the spaces of *kota* are just as hard, but in a different way. Thus, the images of dense, diverse, and hard space of *kampungs* and *kota* are blurred, and the words take on different meanings in relation to the two contexts. The perception of inclusiveness or exclusiveness is also slippery. It depends on whose viewpoint is being used. *Kampungs* are inclusive from their own perspective, but at the same time exclusive from the perspective of *kota*, and vice versa.

3.2. Hard and soft edges

Section 3.1 gave contrasting—even contradictory—views of *kampungs* and *kota*. The proverbial ‘visitor from Mars’, looking down upon Jakarta, would have no difficulty in distinguishing one from the other, and Table 1 given at the beginning of this section might be that visitor’s superficial description. Yet, Section 3.1 has also demonstrated the ‘slipperiness’ of such a description once one is ‘on the ground’ and residing in either *kampung* or *kota*. It is the detail that gives the problem. Terms like ‘controlled–uncontrolled’, and ‘small space–large space’ seem clear enough until one suddenly realises that, in their application, they

⁸ *RT* stands for *Rukun Tetangga* (Indonesian) means community, which consists of about 250 people. *RW* stands for *Rukun Warga* (Indonesians) means neighbourhood, which consist of about 10–15 *RTs* or about 3000 people.

could be reversed. Other terms are simply ambiguous (like inclusive–exclusive, where *kampung* and *kota* are both inclusive, and both are exclusive, but the terms themselves have different meanings in each case). All might agree on the ‘reality’, but there are no terms that simply summarize that reality. There might also be words too deeply embedded in individual experience (like friendly for some, or liberating—for some *kampung* dwellers; for example, the *kampung* might be friendly, but for others alienating, or freeing for one but a virtual prison for another). These slippery and ambiguous characteristics are now displayed in the middle two columns of Table 2. Many of the labels in these inner columns could well be reversed, as they apply to both *kampung* and *kota* but in different ways. Others, as we have seen, are so ambiguous as to lose meaning. There are of course cases of no reversibility, no ambiguity, and no dependence on personal experience—like high-rise and low-rise, or fine grain and coarse grain. But these are the simple cases. They remain on the outer two columns of Table 2.

Table 2: Re-examination of contrast between *kampung* and *kota*

	<i>Kampungkota</i>			
	<i>Kampung</i>	Ambiguity of differences of images between <i>kampung</i> and <i>kota</i>		<i>Kota</i>
Space and place	Tiny space Fine grain Public	Low-rise (on earth) settlement Dense (low-rise) Diversity Soft space	High-rise (on sky) settlement Dense (high-rise) Uniformity/monotony Hard space	Large space Coarse/massive grain Private
Legal	Majority illegal (uncertified) Unprotected Unplanned and unregulated Informal and uncontrolled Unrecognizable boundaries	Insecure Inclusive: no barriers, and unfenced	Secure Exclusive: gated and fenced	All legal (certified) Protected Planned and regulated Formal and controlled Recognizable boundaries
Structure	No bureaucracy Non-government (<i>RT</i> and <i>RW</i>) Society leaders	Democratic	Top-down power	Bureaucracy Government <i>DPRD</i> (Provincial Legislative Assembly)
Socio-cultural	Community Self-management of crisis Adaptable Tribal	Horizontal conflicts	Vertical conflicts	Individualism Top-down management of crisis Inadaptable Multi-ethnic or multi-cultural
Multiplicity	Multiple jobs	Multiple use of building	Single use of building	Single job
Modernization and globalization	<i>Kampung</i> and slums Local Mutual self-help	Traditional	Modern	Metropolitan Global Urban management

3.3. Symbiosis between *kampungs* and *kota*

As seen above, although *kampung* and *kota* are often in opposition, worlds apart, there are also important interfaces between them. As Kenworthy (1997, p. 6) stated about improvement of *kampungs* in Surabaya (East Java): ‘it is...a partnership programme between urban community and government’.

The legal, administrative (bureaucratic), social and economic, health and moral aspects of life in Jakarta show the contrast between *kampungs* and *kota* when discussed separately. However, historically and in present everyday reality, *kampungs* cannot stand or live alone without *kota*, and vice versa. Siregar (1990, p. 55) has argued that Indonesian cities from the time of Hindu civilization up to the present have contained *kampungs* but they have never been a *kampung*. Because there was always poverty and an informal sector, *kampungs* always attached themselves to *kota* to serve it.

Today the real ‘community’ is found only in *kampungs*; and *kota* is a space for socio-political activities (government and politics) and socio-economic activities (private sector and development). The relationship between *kampungs* and *kota* is in some ways similar to the relationship between community (*komunitas*)⁹ and cities, citizens and government as a state. This relationship is comparable with the idea of urbanity for Radovic (1994, p.166): ‘the relationship between humans and cities...urban and civil dignity of the citizen, finds its expression in all aspects of living’. Moreover Radovic argues that community (or *koinonia* of the Aristotelian idea), is the fundamental link between the city and people (Radovic 1994, p. 166; Downey 1976, p. 318). Thus *komunitas* as a concept of social relationship (*rukun*) and as a community institution (*RT*) is the link between *kampung* dwellers and *kota*.

Kampungs need something for their everyday life which *kota* provides; and *kampungs* provide something which *kota* needs. ‘In general, the conditions of city life mean that a community is composed of haves and have-nots’ (Downey 1976, p. 317). *Kampung* residents need jobs and *kampungs* have no adequate provision for this, while *kota* has. *Kota* needs *kampungs* for its workforce and it does not provide this, while *kampungs* do. *Kota* needs an informal sector such as *warungs*, *jajanan pikul* or *gerobak* (on street shopping or moveable *warung*),¹⁰ while *kampungs* need *kota* for job opportunities. *Kota* Jakarta is the city on people’s doorsteps or at their fingertips (Sihombing 2000). All people’s needs can be obtained in front of their homes; or it will be ready when someone signals for it.

The problems of *kampungs* in Jakarta are inequality and the inequity of the economic system, itself arising from inequality and inequity of government policy. These *kampung* problems generate *kota* problems. The conditions that effectively maintain the traditional *kampung* life style indirectly influence the *kota* lifestyle. *Kota* can lead in some aspects (the economy and politics) and *kampungs* in others (social relationships, the ‘invention’ of democracy and of democratic culture, and community) in the endeavour of transforming of Jakarta city. Thus, Jakarta’s urban development depends in various ways on *kotanization* of *kampungs* and also *kampungization* of *kota*.

4. Conclusions

The history of Jakarta shows that its urban development has been much influenced by the concept of *kota-negara*—city as a kingdom or nation, ruled by a central government. The

⁹ *Komunitas* (Indonesian) is community.

¹⁰ *Warung* is traditional kiosk in *kampungs*.

specific characteristic of *kota-negara* is separation between central government (power) and people, as typified by city walls, whether physical (Batavia) or metaphorical (Jakarta).

Jakarta indeed consists of differences: formal and informal, modern and traditional, rich and poor, and *kota* and *kampungs*. Both *kampung* and *kota* in Jakarta have faced modernization and globalization, but in different ways. Even though they are both influenced by modernization and globalization, *kota* has clearly been much more influenced, while *kampungs* still retain their own spirit of local space. Yet this spirit might itself constitute an appropriate and even necessary context within which a real transformation of Indonesian culture can occur.

The images of *kampungs* and *kota* discussed above demonstrate that although the images each holds of itself and of the other are different, they are ambiguous, blurred, ambivalent, or slippery. Another impression emerging from this discussion is that, despite their adverse images of each other, *kampungs* and *kota* are strongly interdependent. I conclude that the transformation of Jakarta's urban form is symbiosis between *kampung* and *kota*

5. References

- Abeyasekere, S., 1987, *Jakarta A History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- Dovey, K. 2002, 'Dialectics of Place: Authenticity, Identity, Difference', in Samer Akkach (ed. of Camea 3rd Symposium), *De-placing Difference: Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography*, Centre for Asean and Middle Eastern Architecture, The University of Adelaide.
- Downey G 1976, 'Aristotle as an expert on urban problems', *Ekistics*, vol. 42, no. 253, pp. 316-321.
- Geertz, C. 1965, *The Social History of an Indonesian Town*, Greenwood Press Publisher, Westport, Connecticut.
- Guinness, P. 1986, *Harmony and Hierarchy in a Javanese Kampung*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- Heuken, A.S. J. 1997, *Tempat-tempat Bersejarah di Jakarta*, Cipta Loka Caraka, Jakarta, Indonesia.
- Jacobs, J 1994 [1961], *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Penguin Books, London
- Kenworthy, J. 1997, *Urban ecology in Indonesia: The Kampung Improvement Program (KIP)*, Asian Sustainable Development, Murdoch University, Perth, www.wasdev.murdoch.edu.au/cases/kip/kip.pdf.
- Kompas*, 19 February 2000
- Kusno, A. 2000, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, urban space and political cultures in Indonesia*, Routledge, London and New York
- Radovic, D. 1994, 'Urbanity and Ecologically Sustainable Development', Proceeding in A. Dawson (ed.), *Architectural Science: Its Influence on the Built Environment*, Anzasca 94, Deakin University, Geelong.
- Sihombing, A. 2000, 'Kota di depan pintu rumah', *Kompas*, Jakarta.
- Siregar, S.A., 1990, *Bandung—The Architecture of a City in Development: Urban analysis of a regional capital as a contribution to the present debate on Indonesian urbanity and architectural identity* (Doctoral dissertation), Katholieke Universiteit Leiven, Leiven.
- Wiranto, T. 1997, 'Model Keterkaitan Desa-Kota Sebagai Pendekatan Pengembangan Perdesaan', in B. T. S. Soegijoko and B. S. Kusbiantoro (ed.), *Bunga Rampai: Perencanaan Pembangunan di Indonesia*, Grasindo, Jakarta.
- Wiryomartono, A. B. P. 1995, *Seni Bangunan dan Seni Binakota di Indonesia: Kajian Mengenai Kosep, Struktur, dan Elemen Fisik Kota Sejak Peradaban Hindu-Buddha, Islam Hingga Sekarang*, PT Gramedia, Jakarta.