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'Kampung Kota' as Third Space in an Urban Setting: The Case Study of Surabaya, Indonesia

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Abstract Lefebvre (The production of space. Blackwell Publishing, Victoria, 1974), Bhabha (The location of culture. Routledge, London, 1994) and Soja (Thirdspace; journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places. Blackwell Publisher, Oxford, 1996), classify the condition of urban marginality as a 'Third Space', which is an expression of the ambivalent reality of urban wealth in a city. Marginality in urban settings is represented through urban slums, a phenomenon that is usually driven by poverty and the unregulated occupation of urban space, which most cities in the East face. The chapter will compare approaches of First and Second Space related to the creation of 'Third Space', especially the notion of the 'Third Space' through the inner-city village of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya. It is neither a real slum nor is it regarded a poor area; the houses are permanently built and have legal ownership or tenant documents. Although located in the centre of Surabaya 'Kampung Kota' exists between urban and rural, hence alluding to the notion of the hybridization of the social, as characterised by the 'Third Space'. While the existence of 'Kampung Kota' brings benefits the city (it is the home of service industry workers mostly working in the central city area) it is also under constant threat as the location has high land value leading to ongoing negotiations and insecurity for the residents. The chapter also explores threats to and the possible prospects for 'Kampung Kota'.

Keywords 'Third space' · Kampung · Post-Colonial · Marginality

Introduction

Marginality in the Third World in an urban setting is usually associated with slums, the informal and the poor (Lim 2008). The current condition of 'Kampung Kota' in Indonesia is strikingly different to the slum area. The terms 'Kampung' and 'Kota'

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are Indonesian words both meaning respectively village/rural and urban. This chapter uses the phrase 'Kampung Kota' to refer to its originality of dialectic that mostly occurred in Indonesian cities; rural and urban. Historically, Surabaya city was initiated by many villages or kampungs that emerged as a town. Since the Dutch colonisation, the development of the city has mainly focused on the area around and along streets. The grouped kampungs have survived on locations inserted among streets in the urban area (Basundoro 2009). 'Kampung Kota' experiences the dialectic of the social conditions, regarding history, society and spatiality. The theoretical context for understanding 'Kampung Kota' is developed here through reading on the Production of Space by Lefebvre (1974), Bhabha (1994), and Soja (1996). Space is understood not only by its physical characteristics but also in terms of time and society whose power creates the space. The term 'Third Space'; sometimes referred to as the 'Other', reflects the condition between, or compilation of, the First and Second space: the Western and the Eastern world, the Colonial and Post-Colonial paradigm, and also the urban and rural social condition.

The condition of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya based on the Triad Spatial Concept by Lefebvre and Soja: historically, socially and spatially. The approach also compares the First and the Second space condition of the case study to define the unique characters of 'Kampung Kota'. The significance of the research is to highlight the difference in exploring urban phenomena in the Eastern and Western worlds. The current approach to urban design and planning in Eastern cities mostly comes from Western ways of thinking, which bring destruction to the existence of 'Kampung Kota' since the Western (classical) approach does not recognise urban marginality.

Space Production

The writings on the Production of Space by Lefebvre, Bhabha and Soja, are used here to compare three positions of 'Third Space'. Bhabha and Soja use the phrase 'Third Space', while Lefebvre gives a concept of spatiality, which includes the character of 'Third Space'. The three authors focus on space as a product of social and cultural actions. Lefebvre develops a philosophy of space as social production based on power and functional capabilities (such as religion and politics), while Soja focuses on a triad of human sensibility (history, social, spatial). Bhabha highlights subject positions regarding cultural identity as a starting point to distinguish colonised and post-colonial approaches. The three authors define 'Third Space' about cultural identity, seeing it as a determining concept of marginality.

Space is understood not only by its physical characteristics but also in terms of time and society whose powers create the space (Soja 1996). Space, or the social space, is not identical and is a process (Lefebvre 1974) made by society with their cultures of multiple elements, histories and subject positions (Bhabha 1994). Space, or in this case urban space, should be understood as a product of society and history. In the case of 'Kampung Kota,' this is seen as a strong dialectic between

Modernisation and Traditional social life (Harjoko 2009). History, society and culture are major factors in creating the space of 'Kampung Kota' (Cote 2011).

The phrase—'Third Space' or the 'Other' reflects the condition between or compilation of the First and Second space: the Western and the Eastern world, the Colonial and Post-Colonial. Specific characters of the Eastern city give different meaning in reading urban space to the Western city, mainly because of the difference in history and society. A colonial city is a spatial product of a civilising mission representing the violence of colonisation (Hernandez 2010), which is characterised by its plural society regarding racial, cultural, and religious value (Yeoh 2003). Bhabha (Hernandez 2010) and Yeoh (2003) highlight the dialectic in reading space and architecture, while Soja (1996) does not focus on the dialectic, but more on the three sides of human sensibility to read a space: space, history and society; or the First, the Second and the 'Third Space'. Contemporary issues of urbanism also give different cultural character to the Western and Eastern city, particularly issues of industrialisation and urbanisation.

Characteristics of 'Third Space'

To understand the characteristics of 'Third Space', it is important to define the spatial concepts of the First and Second space. Figure 1 compares the features of the First and the Second Space that divides into four categories: Dualism Context; Built Form and Space Character; Process of Industrialization; and, Society and Culture. The categorisation is developed mainly from grouping similar characteristics mentioned by authors who have discussed space production and the Post-Colonial Paradigm.

There is a contrast of views of and the reasons for the creation of 'Third Space'. The Third Space is understood by two approaches: in-between the two other spaces (Hernandez 2010), and the new possibility of approaching space production that is sometimes both similar or strikingly different (Soja 1996; Lefebvre 1974). The second position includes the first position's approach. The second method represented in the table (Fig. 1) in Grey, is Lefebvre's and Soja's theory known as 'Triad Conceptual Space'. 'Triad Conceptual Space' connects physical/perceived space to mental/conceived space to social/the space of representation, or First-Second-Third space. In understanding the case study of Surabaya, both approaches will be used to keep an open view.

The detailed character of each position referred to the 'Triad Conceptual Space' of Lefebvre and Soja is explained in Fig. 2. The 'Third Space' presents a new possibility to understand and analyse space, due to its spatiality, history and societal link. The three dimensions will give new insights and unveil the real meaning of spatiality. Lefebvre and Soja give emphasis to the study of marginality, regarding the social product by illustrating the case study of 'Kampung Kota' in its marginal position—socially and culturally—in Surabaya city. In tracing its character, it is important to observe spatial functions in the area regarding everyday life (First

Fig. 1 The 'Third Space' comparison (*source* Author, provide date)
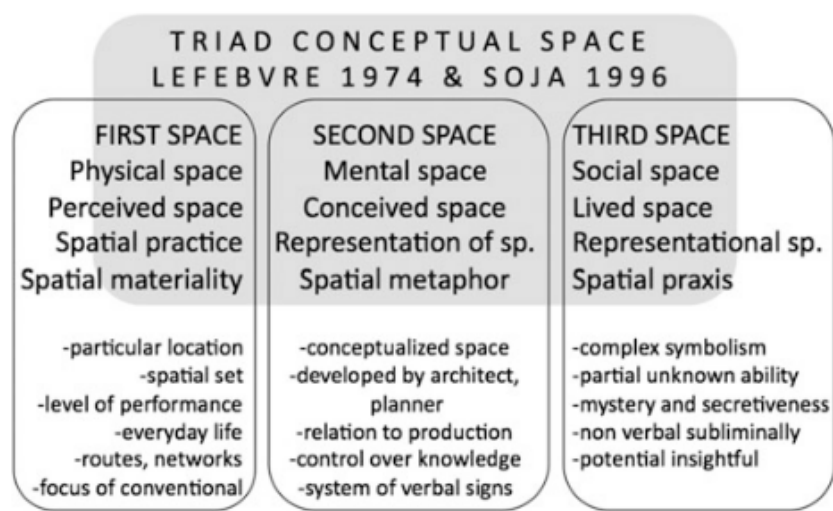
Fig. 2 The 'Triad Conceptual Space' (*source* By Author, provide date)

space) and the official plan of the area (Second space) to understand the cultural symbols of the city as interpreted by the inhabitants ('Third Space').

'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya

Kampung and Kota are Indonesian words which mean 'village/rural' and 'urban' respectively. According to Kresno Murti (2011), there has been unclear evidence on where the word Kampung came from and when it was first used, but in Dutch

colonisation, there was a program named 'Kampung Verbetering' which referred to kampung improvement. Here the phrase 'Kampung Kota' is used to refer to its rural-urban dialectic that has similarly occurred in most Indonesian cities. Indonesia is an archipelago country that covers thousands of ethnicities and traditional villages (kampung). Historically, social practices in traditional villages are the main generator in changing society and living spaces, represented through conditions and relationships of human individuals or groups (Harjoko 2009). Villages emerged to create the city, which was usually under the control of specific social practices such as a kingdom, to strengthen the economic power of the area and empower the kingdom (Handinoto 1996).

Surabaya is the second biggest city in Indonesia (Fig. 3), with a population of 2,765,908, the size of 374.78 km^2, and density of 7400/km^2, based on the 2010 census. Surabaya city is more than 700 years old. Villages located near the Kalimas River are the original parts of the city. Due to Dutch colonisation, these villages grew larger and larger. In the colonisation era, Surabaya became strong in the maritime and business sectors as the main port to deliver spices from the hinterland to the outside world, and vice versa (Handinoto 1996). Nowadays, after more than 700 years, the existence of the villages, which is represented by 'Kampung Kota', gives significant meaning to the city, culturally and economically. 'Kampung Kota' are scattered in and around the central city. As seen in Fig. 4 there are numbers of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya, with some of the names referring to specific ethnic groups, jobs, and characteristics in nature (Basundoro 2012a). In the Dutch era, clustering settlements based on ethnicity was one town planning strategy used to control the city, with kampungs emerging as settlements for indigenous people (Basundoro 2009). Besides the native people, the current inhabitants of the

Fig. 3 Location of Surabaya (*source* By Author—interpretation of http://maps.google.com, accessed 04 April 2012)

Fig. 4 Location of Kampung Kota in Surabaya City Centre (*source* By author interpretation and http://maps.google.com, accessed 04 April 2012)

'Kampung Kota', are migrant individuals who work in the city centre and who are less able to afford formal houses on the periphery (Pieters 2011). Figure 4 also shows the scattered locations of 'Kampung Kota' inserted in the central city.

'Kampung Kota' as 'Third Space' in Surabaya

Understanding and reading cities in the Eastern world occurs under the umbrella of the Post-Colonial Paradigm. Bhabha (1994) states that understanding the social worlds is always ambivalent: no entity is pure and the diversity increases creating hybridity. Learning about marginality in 'Kampung Kota', should be related to the past (as pedagogical learning) and the current condition (as performative learning). The phenomenon of 'Kampung Kota' always refers to the history, dynamic growth and the social life of the city (Cote 2011). 'Kampung Kota' was the embryo of the city (Figs. 4 and 5) and has now become the main location of housing for city workers because of its accessibility and relatively cheap land value.

In terms, its built form and the spatial characteristics 'Kampung Kota' is similar to informal cities, commonly known as slum areas. Still, the formality and legal ownership of properties in 'Kampung Kota' differs from the character of the slum.
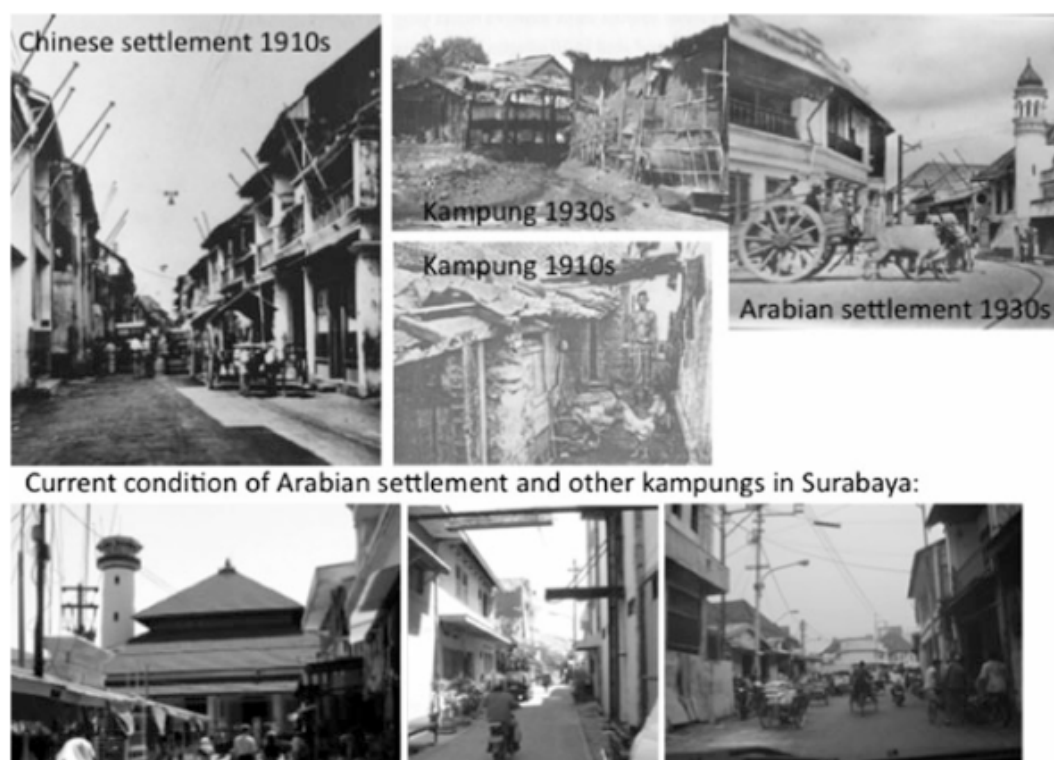
Fig. 5 *Photographs* of old and current 'Kampung Kota' (*source* http://www3.petra.ac.id/surabaya.memory, accessed on 04 April 2012 and Basundoro 2009)

Most of the houses in 'Kampung Kota' have legal documents of ownership (Pieters 2011). Therefore, its position in-between the First and the Second space becomes clearly definable.

According to the Surabaya Master Plan of 2010, the location of some of 'Kampung Kota' will be changed from residential use to commercial purposes, and will become vertical social housing (Fig. 6). It made the position of 'Kampung Kota' formal and ordered, In some parts of 'Kampung Kota', especially along the paths reconstructed by the local government, the housing typology and structure become formal and are brought under official housing regulation. Most houses have legal documents of ownership, while some houses that are located on the main street (only narrow alleys between buildings) have legal rights to occupy the land for a particular period (usually ten years). Hence in the First space position, the location is under the control of the government planning strategy, which includes rights to have clean water and sanitation access.

In the Second space position (Figs. 6 and 7), 'Kampung Kota' identifies the built form and the space character as 'smooth', 'kinetic' (Mehrotra 2010) and 'shapeless' (Hernandez and Kellett 2010). The three characteristics that define the built form and space are that they are not regulated by building codes; the shape/form follows the function, and there is no static performance or uniformity. The houses, public buildings and commercial buildings in this area have been developed following the needs of the users, or precisely the society in the social position. Figure 7 shows the
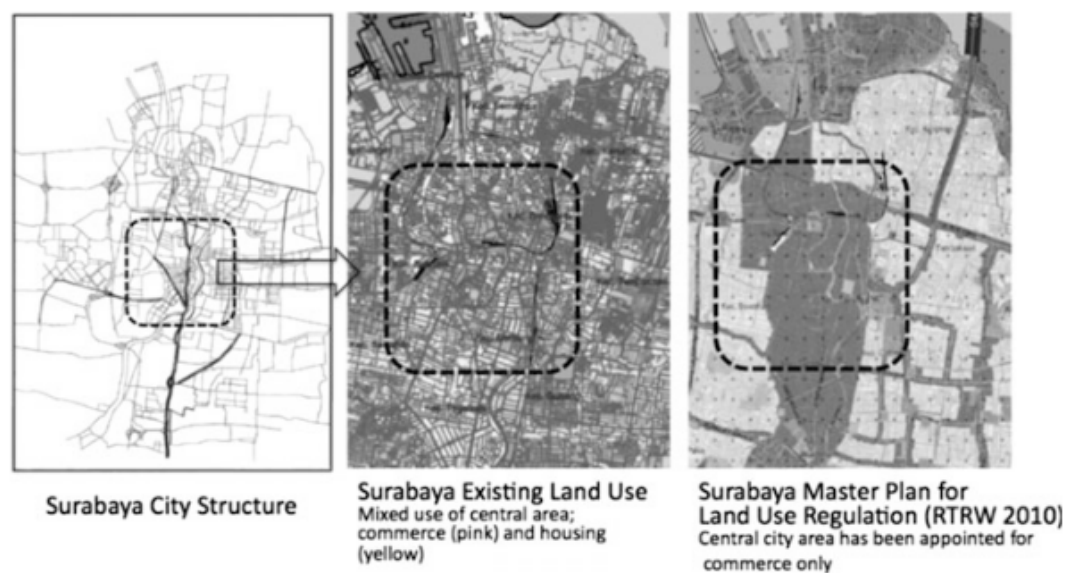
Fig. 6 Surabaya City Plan (*source* By Author, Interpretation of the RDTRK Tunjungan, 2008, Pemkot Surabaya, 2012)

Fig. 7 Photographs of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya (*source* By Author (2012), documentation and http://www.journeymart.com/de/indonesia/surabaya.aspx, re-accessed 25 February 2016)

Second space of 'Kampung Kota' i.e. the smoothness and shapelessness are represented through its mixed use of space occupation and its physical performance of the buildings and narrow alleys.

Some of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya is far from slum or dirty conditions since the government in the 1970s started a program named the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP). The programme provides clean water, sanitation and another resource (such as electricity and telecommunication) to the Kampung. Even though

the public works approach is not related to the economic and employment opportunities to the society (Harjoko 2009), it is evident the Kampung residents have the same rights and access to the primarily basic needs of any society in the city.

Lefebvre (1996) has differentiated two conditions relating to the process of industrialisation in its era about the focus on the product. They are money/commerce which refers to the products of the medieval/modern era (after the industrialisation), and works of arts which are the result of the Oriental/old era (before the industrialisation) (Lefebvre 1996). Recently in 'Kampung Kota' there has been a shift in the social conditions: from a society that was focused on the non-material, such as togetherness, kinship and family ties, to a society that puts money and commerce as it a central priority. For example, when some owners decide on house/space for rent (rooming houses) they consider the rental price based on the market price of the location (Pieters 2011). Before the industrialised era in Indonesia, personal and social relationships were the most important factor to be considered by its citizens. Another example is the houses along the main path, designated with a large privacy of security shown by high fences and closed gates. The presence of physical barriers of exclusion shows that the community bond is not giving a sense of security with an increasing need to of house owners to protect their properties (Pieters 2011) (Fig. 8).

'Cityness' is a word that expresses another reading of 'Kampung Kota' (Simone 2010). The term refers to 'the process' rather than to 'the product/city', which are social processes of the people and activity in the area. Lefebvre (1996) prefers to use 'in-habit' rather than 'habitat' to express the same meaning as Simone's 'cityness'. Reading 'Kampung Kota' regarding society and culture allows a focus on the people's process of creating the space/place to survive because of its marginality character (Colombijn and Cote 2011). The culture and the society in 'Kampung Kota' are similar to the condition in rural areas, where people have a strong sense of the natural environment and always give an interpretation of the context regarding their belief in a higher power (Padovan 1999). In this case study, the ties among inhabitants are strong, people in the neighbourhood know each other and like to share food and offer help to their neighbours. The social activity that occurs in the public space is very common, and everyone will give his/her private space freely social activity.

Mixed used activity and fences for security in 'Kampung Kota'

Fig. 8 Photographs of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya showing the real condition of security and privacy (*source* By Author, 2012)

Prospects and Threats of 'Kampung Kota'

To define prospects and threats of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya for the future, the current benefits and losses of the phenomenon should be investigated. The dialectic characteristics of the 'Kampung Kota' bring both advantages and losses to the society and the local government. The position of reading 'Kampung Kota' is crucial in defining the position of benefit or loss: in some cases it is beneficial for the society and a loss for the government, and it will be different from divergent views. This chapter contends the position of Lefebvre's and Soja's 'Triad Spatial Concept' is the best position from which to understand the meaning of 'Kampung Kota.

Historically, 'Kampung Kota' is a major factor in developing the city; it is an origin of the city. Further development of the city is more like 'star-shaped' development (only focused on the area around and along major streets). Therefore the location of 'Kampung Kota' is inserted in the middle of the high development area. For many years, 'Kampung Kota' is out of the government strategy but since the KIP programme in the 1970s; the area became cleaner and accessed by basic housing services. Furthermore, the current local government (the Mayor) is paying attention to empowering the society through activities which will increase the environmental quality (Fig. 9). Based on the city's history, 'Kampung Kota' has a significant position to be preserved and has a good prospect to be developed as a location of the city's identity.

Conversely, the capitalist economic power of the city let the more power of urban areas slowly evict out the less authority in the central city, or move out of the most expensive space of the city (Lim 2008). The inhabitants of some 'Kampung Kota' sooner become less and less of original people that experienced the social value of the area; it is changed to migrant people who more concern to the economic value of the area (Basundoro 2012b; Pieters 2011). The migrant population in some points less cares about the social meaning and ties among the inhabitants. Hence, a threat to 'Kampung Kota' regarding culture comes from inside the inhabitant, when they cannot preserve and maintain the unique value of 'Kampung Kota', which is culture and social role.

Surabaya Green and Clean

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Surabaya hijau dan bersih adalah salah satu dari program Jawa Post, bersama-sama dengan pemerintah kota surabaya dan mitra perusahaan banyak. Setiap tahun sejak 2005, Jawa Post mengadakan dan mempromosikan kompetisi lingkungan bagi masyarakat Surabaya. mereka dengan lingkungan terbersih dan terhijau akan menerima penghargaan langsung dari walikota surabaya .

Surabaya Green & Clean

Surabaya Green and Clean is another one of Jawa Pos program, together with Surabaya city government and numerous corporate partners. Every year since 2005, Jawa Pos held and promote environmental competitions for the people of Surabaya. Those with the cleanest and greenest environment received awards directly from the mayor of Surabaya.

Fig. 9 Snapshot of Surabaya green and clean initiative (*source* http://rt4rw3.ketintang.blogspot.co.uk/, re-accessed on 25 February 2016)

For most low-income workers in Surabaya, 'Kampung Kota' is the most affordable area to live; cheap and close, while public transportation is limited and not readily available. Based on Basundoro's study in 2011, 'Kampung Kota' is the settlement for most informal sector proprietors in the city, such as street vendor, hawker, and seller in traditional market, and also serviced workers/labour of malls, offices, hotels, and other works/pleasures facilities in the central city. Moreover, based on Pieters's study, by 2009 most kampungs contained a new type in the form of rooming houses (rumah kost) since the mall boom in Surabaya. Hence, Kampung is an attractive location for most mall workers, especially young sales promotion girls. The informal economy in most Third World Cities contributes significantly to the city's economic life, gives benefit not only to the low-income people but also to the higher economic level. The strategic position of 'Kampung Kota' making the distribution of informal goods/service becomes efficient and covers almost all area of the city. In this point of view, the existence of 'Kampung Kota' is critical to support formal economics consumptions and services (Basundoro 2012b).

In the future, it depends upon the local government's position whether to preserve the 'Kampung Kota' or diminish it, or more precisely it depends on the urban designer and planner's approach. According to Harjoko (2009), the dual power of modernization and 'traditional' culture always in conflicts as long as a planner and urban designers in Indonesia preoccupation the urbanism learnt from Western ways of thinking. The Western modes of thinking put the 'Kampung Kota' in weak position inside the city setting, or out of the place (Simone 2010). Therefore, destruction of 'Kampung Kota', regarding the social role and physical existence, has frequently occurred in many cities in Indonesia. The urgency to consider 'Kampung Kota' in the planner and urban designer's view should be framed in the position of Lefebvre and Soja's Triad Spatial Concept: related to its social, history and society.

Conclusion

The best approach to understanding the existence of 'Kampung Kota' is through Lefebvre's and Soja's 'Triad Spatial Concept'. There are some reasons for this: first, the concept is connecting three dimensions of being and space; and second, the concept is free of a rigid division of views; while 'Kampung Kota' is the Eastern world urban phenomenon that has foundations in dynamic society and culture. It also refers to Indonesian society that has a tendency to feel and sense the environment (nature and built) in an abstract way, reflecting the social rather than physical symbol, mostly in the society that has a unique character of culture and social position (Padovan 1999). Another reason for Triad Spatial Concept application is that the term of 'Kampung Kota' reflects the condition of marginality resulting from the ambivalence/dialectic of urban development and world context. The Triad approach brings us to a conclusion that 'Kampung Kota' is in the position of Third Space in the urban setting.

The character of 'Kampung Kota' in Surabaya is reflected through observation of three different spatial functions: observation of everyday life (first space); study official plan of the area (second space); and exploration of the social symbol of the area to the inhabitant (third space). The case study is always in dialectic position: modern—traditional, urban—rural, and, unplanned—planned; whether regarding culture, social life or building types. The dialectic character brings both prospect and threats to 'Kampung Kota' itself. The way of seeing 'Kampung Kota' is crucial in defining the position of benefit or loss, the net benefit for society and net losses for the government, and vice versa. The role of the urban designer and planner is crucial to preserve 'Kampung Kota' have because the dialectic character is always in conflict as long as a planner and urban designers in Indonesia preoccupations learnt from Western ways. The urgency to consider 'Kampung Kota' in the planner and urban designer's view should be framed in the position of Lefebvre and Soja's triad spatial concept, to protect social meaning and identity.

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