

## Redefining Conservation through Collective Memory

Khusnul Hanifati<sup>1</sup>, Yulia Nurliani Lukito<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Postgraduate Student, Departement of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Lecturer, Departement of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia  
khusnulhanifati@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

The concept of memory determines the conservation theory. Collective memory is an accumulation of events remembered by a group who shared and involved in shaping the memory. It plays a vital role in articulating meaning that relevant to the current context, needs, and plan. In the old quarter of Jakarta, the concept of memory was produced as a collective effort to reconstruct Kampung Kunir, which had been evicted in 2015. With its strategic location, it is impossible to exclude the revitalization of Kota Tua to its enclave surrounding. The surrounding community Kota Tua was experiencing a conflict of inclusion when the revitalization process has begun. Kota Tua has become a tourism object while, in reality, it is surrounded by kampungs, creating a distance between the residents and Kota Tua. After the eviction of Kampung Kunir, the government establishes a program to reconstruct the settlement for several families who resist living there. A group of architects, ASF-Indonesia, facilitated physical and historical mapping, and projecting the new Kampung Kunir. Thus the reconstruction of Kampung Kunir can be seen as an effort from the community to redefine conservation and question for whom the conservation is. This paper seeks to elucidate how collective memory plays an important aspect to conserve historical sites.

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### 1. Introduction

Community participation is one of the aspects to foster the integration of heritage conservation. The community is attached to experience the environment they live in, and history is part of it [1]. In the old quarter of Jakarta, Kota Tua, Kampung Kunir, as one of the communities who reside there for almost 40 years, experienced conflict of inclusion where community participation was in ambiguous circumstances [2]. The conflict raises in 2015 when settlements of Pinangsia district alongside Ciliwung River, including Kampung Kunir, was evicted. The eviction was part of the city government plan to revitalize Ciliwung River and to resolve flooding issues around Jakarta by making 10 meters wide of inspection road. Before the eviction, there had been resistance from the community to stay there since the existing inspection road had already

made 5 meters wide. In this context, Kampung Kunir cannot be separated from Kota Tua since the community who lived there co-existed with the presence of Kota Tua. Most of the resident of Kampung Kunir works nearby. Some are street vendors in Fatahillah square, and some others are laborers around Kota Tua. The government had planned to move the evicted residents in Rumah Susun (low-cost housing). Still, the locations are quite far away in Marunda (North Jakarta), Bantargebang (Bekasi), Daan Mogot (West Jakarta near Tangerang), and Komarudin (Cakung, East Jakarta). They are thus resulting in some of the residents to refuse the offer. In Kampung Kunir, over 73 families before the eviction, 40 family members decided to move out, consisting of 14 families moving to low-cost housing and 26 families back to their hometown. There were four public facilities demolished, consisting of

musholla, primary school, common area, and raft (for crossing the river).

Meanwhile, the rest of 33 families resist settling in their former land. The new political landscape was changing further development of this area. The former governor, Basuki Tjahja Purnama, has been replaced by Anies Baswedan, who serves as the Governor of Jakarta. The new government makes a political contract with several Kampung, namely Community Action Planning (CAP). It is a program to improve the livelihood of kampung with emphasis on participatory approach [3]. One of the purposes of CAP in Kampung Kunir is to rebuild temporary shelter for the evicted families. A group of architect, ASF-Indonesia, was involved on CAP in facilitating physical and historical mapping and projecting the new Kampung Kunir.

Many aspects must be considered in reviewing the reconstruction of evicted Kampung Kunir. Agrarian reforms, community resiliency, right to the city, not to mention the adequate housing by UN-Habitat [4] are some of them. In this paper, the author will be focusing on discussing the existence of the project to the development of the Kota Tua heritage site. Despite its political contract with the new government, the presence of Kampung Kunir shows how community participation raises integrated conservation in the heritage site. Thus the reconstruction of Kampung Kunir can be seen as an effort from the community to redefine conservation.

Kampung Kota (urban village), initially describes as a small clustered human settlements, is homes to Southeast Asian communities with a well-knitted, warm, and intimate bond among its members. Today, this term has been associated with social segregation issues caused by unbalanced development in the city. This urban development is expanded rapidly, sacrificing small and poor communities in the city's

strategic areas. Kampongs have long settled in these vital areas were to represent places of interest and conflict, such as along the riverside, unused land, below the highway. Others have found spaces along the railway, under toll roads and bridges. This caused many problems such as floods, uncontrolled development with high density, and an unhealthy environment. The over densification in kampung has degraded the living standard, shifting the area for the poor [5]. Nowadays, kampongs, whether formal or informal, might refer to one as slums and shantytowns, they represent the city with diverse characteristics. These human settlements still bear samples of old times, village life, human cohabitation, community, and shared spaces. It contributes to the urban character and economy of metropolises.

An effort to untangle the problem in kampung has been made throughout many years. Many approaches, namely community participation, money or material compensation, and infrastructure improvement, are among them [6]. However, forced eviction still becomes the most common way to solve the problem. In this case, forced eviction under kampung improvement in an urban setting is a form of social control shaped by power relations. The resistance towards kampung improvement, particularly forced eviction, comes from kampung residence to claim their right to settle in urban areas.

The demands arising from the community to settle in the urban area are based on the provisions of Article 1963 and Article 1967 of the Civil Code and Article 24 paragraph (1) and paragraph (2) PP (government regulation) No. 24/1997 concerning land registration. This provision gives the right for residents who occupy the land to register their property. If the occupation period has exceeded 30 years, land rights cannot be prosecuted by third parties. It is also stated that these provisions also protected the people who had occupied land in

good faith (*rechtsverwerking*) for at least 20 years.

The codification of collective memory after 20 years of occupation became the basis of the community's reasons for staying in their settlements and the designer's approach in reconstructing the Kampung. We can see this from the Kampung Kunir eviction cases of how collective memory is used as cultural representations and cultural claims to redefine conservation and to develop heritage sites. ASF-Indonesia, a group of an architect who becomes a facilitator in mapping the need of Kampung Kunir residents, uses collective memory on their proposed design for the temporary shelter. Kampung Kunir, which located in Kota Tua, was evicted due to river revitalization. As part of the heritage site, the presence of the community in developing the area should be taken into consideration since the presence of both is evolve to coexist. Many Kampung Kunir resident works nearby Kota Tua, while their presence makes the vibrant environment of Kota Tua. The revitalization and beautification of Kota Tua have been prepared as a proposal for UNESCO's World Heritage. Therefore this eviction was also an effort to revitalize surrounding Kota Tua.

The consideration of community participation will change the direction of further development of the heritage site. If the memory of Kota Tua can be translated into collective memory by the community, then the physical building will be changed with the presence of the community who had lived in the engulfed area. The heritage site will not be seen merely as a tourism object and creating distance between the local community and the site itself. The main question is whether the local communities can redefine conservation and create more integrated heritage development with lee conflict. This paper seeks to elucidate how collective memory plays as an essential aspect to conserve historical sites.

## 2. Material and Methods

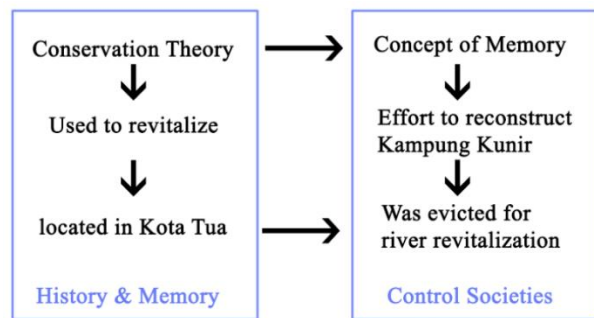


Figure 1. Research framework on *Redefining Conservation through Collective Memory*  
Source: (Hanifati, 2019)

### Control Societies

Foucault explained that each individual in control societies will always be connected in a closed system that moves from one institution to another (family, school, work, hospital, prison). Discipline power is not a concept of energy held based on authority to control others, but it functioned in and towards every social, economic, family, and sexuality relation. Power in this context is not a matter of the legality of actions and punishments in controlling others, but regarding the normalization of behavior designed by utilizing the body's productive and reproductive abilities. However, power must be understood as a form of power relations in the space in which power operates. Power is understood as something which forms a chain or system of connections or isolates from others from a power relation. Therefore, energy is a strategy in which power relations are the effect. The issue of power is not an issue of ownership, in the context of who controls who or who is powerful while others are powerless.

From Foucault's Control Societies, Deleuze added that society of control refers to disciplinary communities that are a continuous modulation or institutionalization on individuals who move from one moment to another. This transfer or mutation occurs due to

the impulse of economic value (capitalism) in the form of a grand narrative in the middle of society. In this discussion, grand narratives referring to every act of domination that comes from robust authorization. Deleuze stated that disciplinary societies are always starting (from school to the barracks to the factory). At the same time, in the communities of control, one is never finished and in a loop, coexisting in the same modulation, like a universal system of deformation.

The eviction that had happened in Kampung Kunir was an effort to control the societies. Power relations in this regard appeared in the form of political power changes in the government of Jakarta. The grand narrative from the former government was to demolish riverside settlements alongside the Ciliwung River. Meanwhile, the new government rebuilds a temporary shelter to accommodate the evicted families. In this discussion, we should carefully understand that power is not a term to search for political correctness. Instead, the opposition of control societies will occur through changes of power. In further discussion, this paper will analyze how collective memory took place in the community of control.

### **Collective Memory and Conservation**

Memory conceived to be significant for conservation. History, at present, implies the changes in the creation of memory. Therefore it merits new considerations. There is two respect that different between memory and history. Collective memory is a current of continuous thought to retain from the past, only what still lives or is capable of living in the groups' consciousness. History gives the impression that everything is transformed from one period to another. The apparent persistence of the same groups merely reflects the persistence of external distinctions resulting from places, names, and the general character of societies.

At the beginning of the 20th century, there were many normative definitions of history by experts, which were authoritative narratives. At the same time, memory and tradition were considered subjective, bias, primitive, and irreversible and outside of the historical time zone. There was a historical crisis, and the end of the grand narrative was marked by globalization and the rise of postmodernism. This builds a critical formation where history is detached from the nation-state. The counter-narrative also appears where memory acts as corrective, which previously was only an exception in official history. Later, memory is not only pre-scribed but also codified and produced collectively. This is a fighting chance that arises from grand-narrative.

Grand-narrative, in other words, general history, starts when tradition ends, and the social memory is fading. So long as a remembrance continues to exist, it is useless to set it down in writing or otherwise fix it in memory. Historical memory refers to memories that are not experienced by the individual itself but play an important role in group identity [7]. The difference between historical events and historical memory lies in subjectivity and relation in agencies.

Collective memory is not a given but rather a socially constructed notion nor is it some mystical group mind. Maurice Halbwachs, a French sociologist who coined the term, stated in *The Collective Memory*: "While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember [8]". Collective memory plays an essential role in building communities who use the past to articulate meaning that relevant to the current context, needs, and plan. Thus, exploring collective memory can generate insights about the construction of cultural reality and logic, especially at the national level [9]. Collective memory is generally far from objective memories of the past. They depend, built, and

used to create a sense of togetherness and ownership. A. Erll in "Memory in Culture" mentioned that memory as a subjective reconstruction, very selective, depends on the situation in which they are recalled. Collective memory is generated to support specific representations of the current state, which raises questions about who defines and takes advantage of visible memories. Although collective memory is articulated artificially, such memories can be considered facts and not interpretations. Thus, collective memory can be utilized to strengthen the perception that the community's need about themselves and the appearance of others, while drawing a line between those who have and those who do not.

The shifting definition of history from authoritative narratives to social memory affected the new approach in conservation practice. The narratives, which previously explained as a power in control societies, were a by-product of government's development planning. The grand-narrative in this regards was mainly focused on the narrative that comes from the dominant power.

### **3. Results and Discussions**

#### **Kampung Kunir**

Kampung Kunir is a forcefully evicted settlement in 2015 to make way for the as-of-yet unrealized riverside road. 10 m road from the edge of the river was built as an inspection road to avert from the flood. Many have allegedly believed that the settlement of riverside is causing the flood by clogging the river from their waste. Widening the river and building the inspection roads on both sides of the river, has a purpose of allowing dredging machines easily accessed. During the Dutch period, all the rivers in Jakarta had inspection roads, but people started to reside there since independence. Kampong is one of the examples of urban space escalation as the result of the power relations in urban planning and

development. There was control of the community where land ownership was determined by the power relations that took place to plan the city. Kampung Kunir became the landscape of social control within the city with specific schemes towards physical or infrastructure through eviction. On the other hand, these infrastructure changes are indeed a narrative for development, with or without the eviction, because it is essential to continue the improvement of the city. Evictions happened to rejuvenate, redevelop, or revitalize for the specific purpose of capital power. The citizens are also empowered to work and arrange for better living, even with limited ability. The citizen empowerment scheme is an escalation of other urban spaces that appear unreal but provide a true narrative about an area, a township, and citizenship.

The issue of Kampung Kunir eviction becomes more complicated when we see it through the lens of conservation. According to Government Regulation no 35/2014 regarding Kota Tua Masterplan, the location of Kampung Kunir is on a connection path of the heritage trail and the planned riverfront promenade from the Kota Tua area, starting from the Kota Station to Pasar Ikan and Sunda Kelapa through Kampung Lodan, Kampung Tuna, Kampung Krapu. As part of the Kota Tua area, kampung's existence as the local community who lived in the engulfed surroundings contributes to enliven Kota Tua with more vibrant communities. The heritage site is doomed to become a tourism object with a money-economy as the primary purpose. This causes a tight capital competition among its residents and only allows higher financial states able to afford it in a heritage site. The delineation around the old quarter will cause a more significant gap in marginalization. It is essential to democratizing the heritage for popular consumption rather than being used only for the elite. The real value of the heritage has to be reassured by the citizens.

The residents of Kampung Kunir had been working in demanding their right for housing, both politically and socially. They had formed their arguments by presenting a compelling vision for the kind of house that is socially, culturally, and ecologically appropriate for its context. ASF-Jakarta takes up the role as facilitators to assist the residents in transforming this vision into a coherent narrative. Their engagement began in May 2017 and is ongoing. They facilitated numerous workshops that deal with (re)constructing a history of the settlement, planning issues, the law and regulations, housing design, among others, some of which are in partnership with other NGOs. In August 2018, they facilitated a workshop to design a temporary shelter that has since been built; a shelter whose purpose is to house the residents as they appeal for their right to housing.

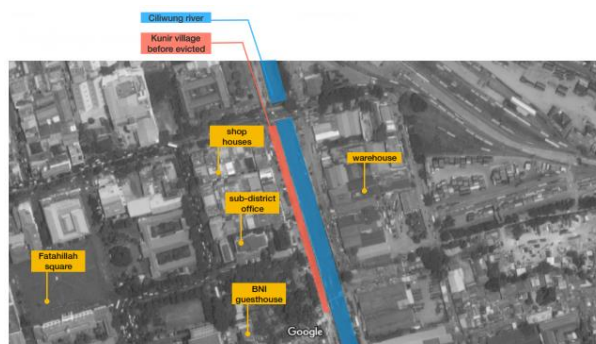


Figure 2. Location of Kampung Kunir in Kota Tua  
Source: (ASF – Indonesia, 2019)

Kampung Kunir, as the name of the village, is located on the banks of the Ciliwung River West Jakarta. In this Kampung, 149 families were inhabited around 50 houses located four meters from the river's edge. The veranda of the resident's house at that time was facing the river. The beginning of this settlement was as early as in the 1970s when Mr. Samiran moved there. Mr. Samiran is one of the first people who started to live in Kampung Kunir. There were several improvements during that time, and the most significant one was when the government began to put interest in this Kampung. In October 2010, the government of

Jakarta gave an award to Kampung Kunir as "Jakarta Green and Clean".



Figure 3. Kampung Kunir 1990 and 2009  
Source: (ASF – Indonesia, 2019)

When the eviction happened on 27 May 2015, there was resistance from the resident of Kampung Kunir. Under the leadership of Governor Basuki Tjahja Purnama, the government mobilized hundreds of joint personnel to revitalize the area by making 10-meter inspection roads for the Ciliwung River. It affected many families who reside in Piangsia, Taman sari district alongside the river. Some residents, the victims of eviction, had chosen to stay on their former land. Kampung Kunir which was previously known as beautiful surrounding by many greeneries now becomes a dusty and wasted area.



Figure 4. Kampung Kunir after the eviction  
Source:

(<https://www.indopress.id/article/nasional/kampung-kunir-riwayatmu-kini> accessed 11 October 2019)

## The Reconstruction Process

After the changes in the city government in 2017, there are also changes in the development of this area. The new government created a political contract with several Kampung,



including evicted Kampung. It resulted in a Community Action Plan (CAP) program to improve the livelihood of kampong with emphasis on a participatory approach. In the evicted Kampung they rebuild temporary shelter for the evicted families. A group of architects, ASF-Indonesia, was involved in CAP in facilitating physical and historical mapping and projecting the new Kampung Kunir.

Despite its political contract with the new government, the existence of Kampung Kunir shows how community participation raises integrated conservation in a heritage site. Thus the reconstruction of Kampung Kunir can be seen as an effort from the community to redefine conservation.

With an emphasis on community participation, ASF-Indonesia started the facilitation process by intriguing the resident of their memories of Kampung Kunir. This aimed to make a historical mapping and to understand the existence and the importance of Kampung Kunir for them. The historical mapping was first to reconstruct the resident's former house and create a timeline of the history of Kampung Kunir. The beginning of Kampung Kunir was no later than 1979, when Mr. Samiran, the elderly of Kunir resident, was settled there. During that era, the big flood regularly happened, Mr. Samiran built a house on stilts to cope with that problem. Several families were followed, to move and to build a house in Kampung Kunir. "This kampung has been established since 1979," said Uun Samiran. He is one of the heads of the neighborhood units in Kampung Kunir. He is also among the few residents who witnessed the birth of the Kampung. This will raise their sense of place, understand the size of the space, and ultimately compromise their future housing. The understanding process not only by the residents but also by the designers is an essential stage in which the decision-making in design took place.



Figure 5. Historical mapping process in Kampung Kunir  
Source: (ASF – Indonesia, 2018)

The next step in the reconstruction process is assisting the residents in transforming this vision into a coherent narrative. Since May 2017, ASF-Indonesia facilitated numerous workshops that deal with (re)constructing a history of the settlement, planning issues, the law and regulations, housing design, among others, some of which are in partnership with other NGOs. They facilitated a workshop to design a temporary shelter that has since been built, a shelter whose purpose is to house the residents as they appeal for their right to housing. The residents took part to decide the house's fundamental needs while the architect chooses to on the technical aspects.



Figure 6. Left: Temporary Shelter in Kampung Kunir,  
Right: The Design Process with The Residents  
Source: (ASF – Indonesia, 2018)

The building material is made of boards reinforced with hard iron and lightweight steel frames. It consists of two mass located facing one another painted white-brown on the 1st and 2nd floor. Doors and windows only installed in

the front of the units while inside of each unit remain empty to reduce the unnecessary budget.

During the historical mapping after the eviction, the resident of Kampung Kunir reminiscing past events when they reside there. The collective memory then played a role in the community's resistance from eviction. The memory then becomes the narrative of the community in maintaining their occupancy, which has been inhabited for 30 years even more. The architectural description of how the people in Kampung Kunir lived was tried to be managed and produced. This is where architecture as a part of culture and tradition acted to humanitarian relief.

A further step following Kunir, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, has followed up the Presidential Regulation Number 86/2018 on Agrarian Reform (RA) with the making of DKI Governor Decree Number 192/2019, which formed the Jakarta Provincial Agrarian Reform Task Force (GTRA). Furthermore, later was revised with DKI Governor's Decree number 574/2019. Since the beginning of August 2019, GTRA has presented an academic paper on assessing the land and building rights for Kampung Kunir, Kampung Walang, Kampung Tongkol, and Kampung Lodan, Kampung Krapu, Kampung Aquarium in the northern part of Jakarta. According to the Agrarian Reform Task Force of DKI Jakarta Provincial Government's 2019, the reconstruction of Kampung Kunir must be seen as an opportunity to answer a further question regarding (1) housing affordability, (2) Kota Tua development and (3) consideration in human right and adequate settlement. [10]

#### 4. Conclusion

Historical sites have two essential features; the first one is the environmental capital represented by their buildings and infrastructure, and the second is the socio-

cultural values. The last feature is to signify the historic site's role in defining a sense of place, community belonging, and social cohesion.

Kota Tua and Kampung Kunir are two features that complimented on another. The physical and societal attributes are inseparable; thus, both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage should be paid attention to conservation. Conserving and revitalizing cultural and social values as well as creating physical and mental cohesion and integrity is of considerable significance in sustainable conservation interventions in historic areas. Utilizing the existing cultural, social, physical, spatial, and aesthetical capacities and capabilities would expedite the achievement of a vibrant historical site. Collective memory is produced in a specific, social memory and its reproduction is related to the place where the events took place. The sense of the place may be personal, but it is the result of collective perception, and therefore the area can contribute significantly to the creation of collective memory.

When collective memory is valued, it is the identity of a place that has been valued, and that increases people's attachment to it. In this way, there will be more public involvement in conservation actions as well as less neglect and social vulnerability of historic areas. As a result, there will be a higher spatial quality of the environment, and cultural and social values will be maintained in a better way. However, if the collective memory of the population is neglected, the attractiveness and facilities of the modern part of the city will attract them. The area will run out of native populations and potential social and cultural abilities. It will be replaced with new population populations without an attachment to places. One of the most important effects of this problem is the community's failure to be involved in the conservation of historic areas, which will ultimately lead to unsustainable material and material structures throughout the city. Thus, it can be emphasized that consideration of



collective memory contributes to conservation and will highlight the social features of this sustainability. Further reconstruction of Kampung Kunir should be part of the development of Kota Tua. ASF-Indonesia's efforts in mapping the collective memories of Kampung Kunir residents is one of the ways to involve the community in developing Kota Tua.

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