

Temporal and Regular Placemaking: A Stimulating Tool for Reinforcing Local Identity and Pride

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Abstract

Placemaking has been one of the attempts by grassroots communities to improve the aesthetic appeal of informal settlements, kampungs in Indonesia, in hopes of creating new opportunities for the residents to develop creative output relevant to their historical value of the place and cultural specialty. Hence, they will be able to strengthen and use their local identity as a form of resistance against the government's demolition plan of their kampung. However, it is still unclear whether these initiatives have contributed to the betterment of kampung and its inhabitant. Therefore, the main purpose of this sequential mixed-method study was to examine the effects of placemaking in Indonesia's kampung. Two main research questions are addressed: How is the relationship between types of placemaking and perceived social outcome measure, in this case, is the local identity and pride? What distinguishes each of these relationships? In order to answer these questions, a quantitative survey and in-depth interviews were conducted in two Indonesian kampungs, Dago Pojok and Bustaman.

Keywords: Placemaking, informal settlements, local identity and pride, mixed methods

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Introduction

The terms 'kampung' initially referred to rural space in Indonesia, which also has a very strong relationship with Indonesian culture itself (Roychansyah, 2010). However, throughout its development, the terms are also used to describe an informal settlement area that exists in a city (Setiawan, 2010). Nowadays, kampungs are equivalent to urban villages and mostly associated with the slum. They are the smallest administrative unit in the urban area, which can be classified as a neighborhood unit. Despite the poor physical quality and lack of adequate basic services, it is believed that kampung in Indonesia substantially plays an important role in the process of urban development as it represents informality of marginalised community in a modern city that is surrounded by formality (Sihombing, 2004).

An example of the informality of kampung can be obviously seen from its physical and environmental condition. From the view of shanty houses with rusty iron sheeting to the elders who can be found everywhere on the streets in their tattered underwear, giving smiles to the random passers-by. But the prime example of this informality is indeed its social system, such as the 'non-governmental and non-bureaucracy' leadership structure of local communities and the mutual self-help that is shown in the way its inhabitants improve their lives (Setiawan, 2010). In this context, kampungs are believed to convey more vibrancy and creative informal activity, which also give identity to the city (Sastrosasmito 2009 in Hutama 2016).

For almost a decade, placemaking is one of the attempts by some grassroots community, to improve the aesthetic appeal of kampung in the hope to create opportunities for local residents to produce and develop creative output relevant to their own potential neighbourhood and communities. Many authors have described placemaking earlier as an on-going process of enhancing the quality of places through creation and transformation, which in these cases, refer to the built environment in various scales from public places, urban open space, neighbourhood, town, city, to region (Benson and Jackson 2013; Brunnberg and Frigo 2012; Buser et al. 2013; Douglas 2016; Elwood, Lawson, and Nowak 2015; Lombard 2014; Quayle and Driessen Van Der Lieck 1997). Franz et al. (2008, 316) defined placemaking as "collective appropriation of the own environment by the residents that has the potential to create new 'places' of identification for the local residents".

The placemaking movement in kampungs has started in different cities in different years by different local organizations, but they departed from the same starting point. The movement has started from local creative communities that aim to improve the poor social and environmental conditions of kampung, through a participatory approach, by which the poor act as active participants and use local creative resources. In this case, the creative resources are not limited to the production of hand-made crafts, but also through activities which are hoped to be the solutions to generate local economic activities run by local inhabitants (Ekomadyo et al., 2013).

However, it is still unclear whether the placemaking practices, particularly the ones by external initiatives, have made any real contribution in strengthening the local identity to face the rapid modernization that has been putting more pressure on the kampung. Most of the placemaking research (Indrarajasa, 2010; Harimurti et al., 2013; Prasetyo and Iverson, 2013; Safira, 2012) in the country is more focused on the

design and spatial perspectives, and tend to pay less attention to the influence of institutional aspects of the involved actors. Moreover, given that socioeconomic, physical, and institutional contexts of developing countries are clearly different from those in the developed world, the outcomes which mainly discuss from the 'West' context might differ in developing countries, particularly for informal settlement settings. Therefore, understanding the type of significant influential factors and outcomes of placemaking in an informal settlement is important.

Research Questions

This paper, therefore, aims to investigate the social outcomes of placemaking, particularly the local identity and pride, towards residents in *kampung* and to explore factors which affect them. While most previous research has focused on a variety of outcomes of placemaking, a few studies explicitly deal with the relationship between influential factors and outcomes of placemaking. Three main research questions were addressed to guide the study:

- Is there any significant relationship between regular and temporal placemaking with local identity respectively?
- How is the relationship between types of placemaking and the perceived social outcome measures? Why the relationships are different?

Literature Review

The definition of 'regular' and 'temporal' placemaking

Although extensive research has been carried out on the position of placemaking as an everyday social process of making and remaking spaces, there is no general agreement about the specific type and frequency (daily, weekly, monthly, annually) of activity that is considered as 'everyday life' placemaking. This is, however, resulting in a broad range of activities that are considered as everyday life. For instance, in his study about Shan-Hsia, a 1500 years-old neighbourhood in Taiwan, Friedmann (2007, p.272) defined placemaking as "observable patterns and rhythms of everyday life that are centered on local institutions where the daily rituals of life are performed, creating new subjectivities". In this way, he included all recurrent activities of residents in the neighbourhood, from daily prayers at the temple, weekly open-air markets, to annual county fair as an everyday experience. This study clearly showed that everyday life placemaking was boundless in terms of its occurrence, location, and the type of activity.

Meanwhile, recent authors seem to draw the fine boundary of the everyday activities, more particularly in informal settlements where construction of places is done through dynamic and contextualized process. By using placemaking approach to investigate residents' mundane life, Lombard (2014) limited the type of everyday practices only to those activities that can be seen as a form of resistance to what she called as 'discursive constructions of place'. There were three types of placemaking based on the nature of activity: 'spatial placemaking' refers to acquiring land and building, 'social placemaking' refers to religious practices and schooling, and 'cultural placemaking' refers to vernacular architecture and place naming. These activities were chosen because through the processes of making the places in the

neighbourhood, they keep the residents from being marginalized by the reproduction of external's stigma towards their settlements. Indeed, those activities help the residents becoming part of the city.

Unlike Lombard, instead of seeing placemaking based on the nature of an activity, Kern (2015) divided the type of placemaking by residents based on the time occurrence and involved actors, which led to another concept of placemaking other than everyday life. While everyday life placemaking refers to daily activity by ordinary residents such as talking, smoking, playing cards, or drinking coffee while sitting in a corner of a parking lot in neighborhood; weekly farmers markets and music performances, occasional flea markets, one-off events, and annual summer festivals were grouped under 'temporal events'. By this, the temporal placemaking, refers to place activations through occasional events, both small and large scale, in public spaces. His intention to divide the two was because he found that the latter one, which was more formally organized by local neighborhood-level organizations, had influenced the 'everyday life' of a particular group of residents.

While this study was not intentionally framed around particular authors, in general, the classification of placemaking in this research seemed to be in line with the previous studies. First, residents' recurrent activities were divided based on the timescale. While the daily, weekly, and monthly activities of residents were grouped under 'small-regular activity', the occasional and annual events were grouped under 'strategic-temporary activity'. Second, the activities were also classified based on their type, in this case, there were divided into sixteen categories. Furthermore, the activities limited only to those that related to collective works and engagement with the community, although unnecessarily restricted in publicly owned spaces. On that note, limited public spaces in informal settlements made the residents to use privately-owned spaces, such as resident's house or local organization's space, for particular community activities.

Local Identity and Pride

In several studies, place is considered to have an influence on the formation of identity as it could provide social and cultural connections through which self- and group-identity can be preserved and declared (Andres, 2012; Piribeck and Pottenger, 2014). By this, placemaking is important to identity, not only due to its ability to improve identity of the place itself, but the identity of its inhabitant. Previous researches demonstrated that while placemaking was able to strengthen the local community's confidence towards their own selves, cultural and communal identity (Chan, 2011; Lombard, 2014; Rota and Salone, 2014), it also resulted greater sensitivity of the inhabitants towards place histories (Ho and Douglass, 2008; Lazarevic et al., 2015), and affected local action including participation in grassroots organisations (Main and Sandoval, 2015). One study by Chan (2011) showed that in the process of reworking public image of their places and creating cultural representations for themselves, the local residents in a Taiwanese village enhancing their communal spirit and identity. Despite the various initial motivation to participate in voluntary activities, the study found that many residents developed pride towards their local culture and attachment to their place by participating in placemaking activities for an extended period.

Meanwhile, Grodach et al. (2014) pointed out that the cultural-based temporal project that interlaces a mutual relationship with the host urban context can engender positive impacts in terms of artistic clustering and image building. However, successful projects would not likely occur unless they are situated in an area that provides adequate space and they contain suitable activities for the area. In this way, he argued that the type of spaces and activities are the main factors that influence the success of the cultural-based project, where 'success' refers to the (resulting) physical form of the area. While Campo and Ryan (2008) argued that the symbiosis mutualism between temporal practices and an urban area does not necessarily require major changes in the built environment in the related area. By this, they considered the lasting transformation on a human and social aspect of the area is more important than the physical aspect. This perspective was in line with Rota and Salone (2014) who viewed that the success of temporal practices, which they referred to 'unconventional art events', was highly dependent on their impact on the existing spaces rather than creating the new ones. On their studies, they demonstrated that art festival successfully created a more vibrant and dynamic neighbourhood, as well as reinforcing social ties and renovating local identity of both places and its people.

Research Method and Materials

Areas of Study

The residents of Kampung Dago Pojok in Bandung City and Kampung Bustaman in Semarang City were chosen as target populations in this study.

Kampung Dago Pojok is located within the administrative zone RW 03, covering 30 hectares of Dago land and providing a house for at least 3.852 people with the head of a family equal to 1.035. Like many kampungs in Indonesian cities, the majority of people residing in Dago Pojok are poor, but there are also middle and higher-middle income households also settled in the kampung. The kampung is located adjacent to the urban renewal area, Dago Street, which has been well known as a major tourist and commercial area in the city. As the area has been rapidly developed into upper-class residential areas and shopping centers, this situation led to the increase of social problems in Dago Pojok, along with the threat of its existence due to poverty. In order to save the kampung from demolition, a placemaking movement, which became popular under the term "creative kampung movement", was initiated in 2003. However, only 6 out of 9 blocks (RT) in RW 03 were included as part of Creative Kampung, which are RT 01, RT 02, RT 03, RT 04, RT 07, and RT 09. While the other three RTs were excluded because it was a luxury residential area.

The other kampung, called Bustaman, is a high-density urban settlement located in Purwodinatan sub-district. It consisted of 0.6 ha with a population density equal to 590 people per ha. The kampung consists of 2 RT, namely RT 04 and RT 05, where approximately 400 inhabitants live. It is one of the old kampungs in the city which has been popular with its Gulai Kambing or goat curry making, a local tradition since the Dutch colonial period. Most residents rely on goat trading with various jobs, from butchers, goat merchant to catering that specializes in the goat curry. Despite its limitation as of the city's slum area, it has a high productivity level based on its goat-trading and culinary activity.

Data collection and sampling

Most of the foundational research in placemaking was done with the qualitative approach, which makes the operationalization of this concept as a contextualized social process become quite challenging. Therefore, a combination of quantitative and qualitative assessment methods is needed to deeply understand the concept of the social outcome of placemaking. This research is based on the sequential mixed method which indicates compiling and analysing quantitative and then qualitative data in two consecutive phases within one study. While the quantitative survey was applied to measure the relationship between influential factors and social outcomes of placemaking and also to gather socioeconomic data of the kampung dwellers, the qualitative method is used to further explain and integrate the results from the surveys by interviewing a few selected local residents.

This research used questionnaires and semi-structured personal interviews as data-collecting techniques. A survey of 227 was completed to gain a general perception of local residents of two kampungs in Indonesia. The sample size was identified based on Yamane's formula with 7% precision level and confidence level is 95%. Regarding the sampling in each kampung, the 67 respondents were residing in Kampung Bustaman; while the other 169 respondents were living in Kampung Dago Pojok. For the latter sampling group, nine respondents rejected and not completed the questionnaires, so they are not included as respondents of this research.

The survey was followed by 33 in-depth interviews with purposefully selected individuals from residents involved in the kampung to explore and elaborate those survey results. For the semi-structured interview, the selection and sample size of participants was based on purposive sampling. The participants were asked to participate and were interviewed up to a point of saturation. Lastly, documentary sources ranging from books, a website to newspapers were also considered as an additional source of information.

Results

In the statistical sample, the majority of respondents who filled in the questionnaires were female (66,5%). The data collected also shows that 180 households were female-headed (20.7%) because of the death of their spouse. Most of the respondents (47.6%) were the spouse of the household head. For the average age of the respondents was in the range of 41 – 50 years old. The majority of respondents were born in the same city of residence (80.6%), while the rest (19.4%) were from other cities. The reasons for migration were varied, but mostly because the respondent's spouse and family who move to the kampung they live in now.

Findings from regression showed that temporal placemaking ($\beta = .322$) had a higher impact on local pride and identity than regular placemaking ($\beta = .216$). Both of placemaking types were found positively significant at $F(2,224) = 19.765$, $p = .000$, with an R^2 of .150. The equation which forecasts the factors influence on this aspect implied that respondent's pride and identity increased by 0.214 and 0.143 for each point of the arrangement and participation in temporal placemaking and regular placemaking consecutively. On the other hand, the qualitative interviews with a few selected residents seemed to be consistent with the regression results. More positive

responses were found related to temporal placemaking outcomes rather than regular placemaking. According to the interview, temporal placemaking positively influenced local identity on four aspects: greater sensitivity to place history, recollection of traditional culture and heritage, integration between old tradition and modern art, and preservation “gotong royong”.

Table. 1 Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

<i>Local pride and identity</i> (Alpha: 0.829)						
Constant	3.734		91.298	.000***		
Temporal Placemaking	.214	.322	5.223	.000***	1	1
Regular Placemaking	.143	.216	3.500	.001***	1	1
Regression equation: Local pride and identity = 3.734 + .214 (Temporal Placemaking) + .143 (Regular Placemaking)						
R ² = .150	F (2, 224) = 19.765		(P=.000)***			

Source: *Analysis, 2018*

Greater sensitivity to place history

The first positive outcome of temporal placemaking was that it increased the sensitivity of participants towards their kampung history. However, this outcome was only found in Bustaman.

From historical values, Bustaman has been known as kampung of where the most internationally known Indonesian painter, Raden Saleh, was born and raised. The kampung itself got its name from Raden Saleh’s great-grandfather, Kyai Bustam, which was also a religious leader and a communicator between the Dutch government and the locals in the 18th century. Despite those popular facts about Bustaman, some participants notably had known little about the history of their kampung, especially before Tengok Bustaman was held. They further explained that the event made them understand their history better through its various range of activities, including mural painting, historical theatre, art exhibition, discussion and activities related to the past and current circumstances of the kampung.

The most obvious one is the mural painting along the kampung walls, which was made with particular themes and incorporating famous or important symbol, so it can be either an inspiration or reminder for the residents. For instance, Bustaman was historically built around a goat slaughterhouse, and thus the art was popularized with a ‘goat spirit’. On the other sides of the kampung, some murals are seen, portraying the likeness of kampung founders and dwellers who significantly contribute to the kampung, along with a narrative about them. In the center of the kampung, one can see huge, bright, and colorful murals with the aforementioned symbols as well as long narratives and pictures explaining the historical significance of the village. As the kampung is poor and rather slum, the value of the mural painting is doubled up, which bring enjoyable aesthetics and expose the local sense of pride.

Regarding the use of mural as one of the placemaking tools in the kampung, Jones

(2017) also stated that it is not only aesthetically pleasant for the kampung residents but also proposed as a tool for leveraging the inhabitants' voices in city policy development. Often times, the government provides public spaces in the city, which is based on the top-down approach. But through these mural paintings, Hysteria and the kampung residents wanted to prove a successful example of public spaces improvement based on the community needs.



Source: Fieldwork, 2017

Figure 1: Murals in Bustaman

Recollection of traditional culture and heritage

The second outcome showed that temporal placemaking brought back some of the forgotten heritage in both kampungs. Interestingly, both kampungs showed that it was their art festivals which played important roles in recollecting their potentials.

In Bustaman, some participants admitted that many of the residents, particularly the natives, tend to sell their goat curry outside of the kampung. They thought that there would be fewer buyers in the kampung since many of the residents can make goat curry and there were not much visitors come to the kampung. It was only since Tengok Bustaman was held that almost every resident in the kampung sold their goat curry. There was part of the event called Festival Kampung Kambing or Goat Meat Festival, where for two consecutive days from morning to evening, the kampung residents collectively sell any kind of local cuisine which is based on goat meat. During the event, almost every resident sold their local dishes on a wagon and put it in front of their houses. A participant explained that by doing this, the residents wanted to introduce two things: their specialty in culinary including their signature dish, which is the goat curry, and also their habits that make their front yards as their kitchen. Although there has not been any significant change in the number of residents who sell goat curry in the kampung, the event successfully made many residents selling the products, which was something unusual.

Meanwhile, in Dago Pojok, the recollection of traditional art was clearly seen through Creative Kampung Festival, which using Sundanese culture as the primary entertainment. Indeed, it was one of the main program's aims to bring back the local cultural heritage that handed down from the kampung ancestors and yet had been neglected by the current residents. The kampung was formerly known to have rich

potential in Sundanese traditional art and culture, from a martial art, dances, music instruments, crafts, to culinary. Therefore, since 2012, Creative Kampung Festival has been held for two days as a part of kampung's annual program to promote and rebuild Sundanese traditional culture and art in Dago Pojok. The annual festival exposed the kampung potentials, which mainly comprised various Sundanese based activities, including music and dance performances. There were also other activities such as art exhibition, free movie screening, and food bazaar.

This recollection of cultural heritage has emerged not only through the festival alone. Indeed, it was through pre-event preparation and regular practices where the residents improved their skill while also fostering their pride towards the heritage. For instance, the Martial Art Groups or *Silat* often train weekly to maintain their performance skills for the annual festival. Similar responses also came from other participants who joined the Batik workshop which was held as pre-preparation for an art exhibition at the festival. The workshop was started two years ago where the housewives were invited, particularly those who did not have other things to do after they finished their household works. The participant admitted that before participating in the workshop, she knew nothing about the Batik and its making process. However, ever since her participation in the activity, she has been able to make Batik by herself even though she was no longer participated.

Integration between old tradition and modern art

The interview finding, specifically in Bustaman, also demonstrated that temporal placemaking has not only brought back and strengthened local tradition, but also can be a positive attempt to recognize the old tradition and combine it with modernity through the facilitation of art practice. As a result, a new tradition is formed and can be an additional identity to the kampung.

Since 2013, Gebyuran has been annually held in Bustaman. It takes place a week before Ramadhan, where local residents throwing water and colored powder to each other. It was believed that Kyai Bustam used to have a tradition before Ramadhan in which he showered his descendants with water from an old wall in the kampung to make them become 'holy' again. This tradition, whether was true or not, inspired a resident named Hari Bustaman to recollect the tradition and at the same time integrating it with modern art. The event was held only for two until three hours, from late afternoon to evening and took place in the entire communal space in the kampung. It was followed with eating food together which was usually donated by some residents. For the first event, most of the participants were only residents. But in the following years, there have been participants come from outside kampung. To add more excitement in the event, since 2016 music performance was also held after the participants finished with the water throwing.



Source: Fanyanto, 2017

Figure 2. *Gebyuran* tradition

What is more interesting from *Gebyuran* is that it can make a new ritual while also bring back local tradition without making it too rigid and religious. As stated by another researcher that it is difficult to say the event is sacred because it is not really the same with other common religious rituals (Ramdhon, 2018). The only thing that makes the event sacred is the opening where two *kampung* representatives pouring water to local kids. This was supported by finding from the interview that although the event seems like a ritual and local tradition, actually the residents want to emphasize on two things: to strengthen connection among residents and to add more identity to the *kampung*. For the former, there is an agreement among the event's participants that they are not allowed to get angry whenever and from whomever they got hit. This is also one of the interesting things from *Gebyuran* because actually the message of the ritual that makes the participants 'become holy again' is not the water itself, but instead by the time they throwing water to other participants. They use the 'water war' event as positive ways to release their anger, hatred, and grudge.

While for the latter point, which is to add more *kampung*'s identity, some participants explained that the event is part of local's strategy to save their *kampung* from demolishment. It was stated by Hari Bustaman (2017) himself as an initiator of *Gebyuran*, "Art is part of our attempts in strengthening *kampung*, particularly when its existence is not important enough in the eyes of the government and other high-rank officers. In that case, our value would be low". Regarding his statement, he further explained that the more events take place in the *kampung*, the more exposure from media, the more popular Bustaman in public, the more people would recognize their existence. By that, the harder it would be for government and other parties to demolish the *kampung*. On his article, Ramdhon (2018, p.6) also stated the role of media in supporting the *kampung*. "Attracting the mass media is one of their (*kampung* residents) decent ways to emphasize their existence and *Gebyuran* is a cultural diplomacy which denoting that they exist and significant for the city".

Preservation of "gotong royong"

The impact of temporal placemaking is not limited to bring back the history and cultural heritage, but also maintaining a particular identity of the *kampung* residents. In this case, some participants explicitly stated how they used *gotong royong*, means

sharing burdens or mutual assistance, in temporal placemaking. Some other authors even say that it is a national identity of Indonesia which enables kampung dwellers to sustain amid the pressure of urbanization and difficulties of inequality of urban areas (Rahmi et al. 2001).

Some other participants also mentioned implicitly how the *gotong royong* was implemented during other temporal placemaking practices in the kampung, namely Tengok Bustaman, Gebyuran, and Creative Kampung Festival. In this case, the events required conceptual to logistical cooperation with other residents. There were multiple sessions during the first until third Tengok Bustaman where artists and local residents cleared trash and debris from unused lots, installed new street lighting fixtures, rerouted carts and stalls to a different central location, and organized a park for bikes so as not to block the narrow entrances to the village. Besides, it was noticed in all the temporal placemaking practices that during the preparation and on the event, residents divided some tasks. For instance, in Tengok Bustaman, youth's role is related to conceptual, operational, and public relations; gentlemen' is funding, and housewives' is cooking and catering. The same was also implemented in Dago Pojok, where almost every activity had a specific group whose task was to coordinate and prepare for the festival.

Regular Placemaking and Local Identity

There were only a handful of participants mentioned the direct impact of the organised regular activities in their kampung towards their identity. Interestingly, in Bustaman, it was actually their “unorganised” daily and mundane activities that held fundamental point in making the kampung unique and distinctive with other kampungs.

An extraordinary identity from ordinary activities

Multiple responses from a number of participants in Bustaman showed that regardless of the ill-maintained housing and inadequate infrastructure in the settlement, the kampung was cherished by its inhabitants. One of the reasons was because it has a certain rhythm with which they all are familiar with. Regarding this, some participants described their kampung as a place that never sleeps because almost every single night, there were always things happening in the kampung for 24 hours. During afternoon till evening, the kampung was packed with various local merchants who sell their specialty in front of their houses. While there were also local residents who buy food while also having daily conversations with the sellers or other consumers. Then from evening to midnight, groups of youth gather in a corner of the kampung. Sometimes they just chat, play guitar, cards, or eat together. While from evening to midnight, some external merchants from outside kampung usually come and go alternately. Around the time, some gentlemen already wake up to start preparing their businesses until sunrise. It is this rhythm, these daily repetitive cadences that allowed particular identity to emerge from Bustaman and its dwellers. In this case, the everyday living and the connections available to individuals and communities have given meaning to the form of places. By that, an enriching sense of belonging can also be cultivated.

Conclusion

The results of both quantitative and qualitative analysis indicated that temporal placemaking hold a more important role than regular placemaking in influencing local identity and pride. The most obvious component of temporal placemaking that made the practice become superior was the use of what Kern (2016, p.1) called as “placemaking events”. There was a large volume of published studies describing the role of bottom-up practices through artistic and cultural intervention, including festivals, exhibitions, and other art and culture-led events in “formal” neighborhood. It was said by them that the artistic and cultural practices impacted different positive results, such as attracting different segments of audience and visitors in less frequented part of the cities, creating collective entertainment opportunities in the public space, and engender pride in a community (Hannigan 2003, Lewicka 2005, Richards & Wilson 2007).

In agreement with them, this study apparently found that the similar events in the kampung, namely Tengok Bustaman, Gebyuran, and Creative Kampung Festival, also helped the community to build local pride by gaining external recognition for their potentials. Firstly, the residents could see from someone else’s perspective about their potentials. In this case, enthusiasm and encouragement from various communities and stakeholders who involved during discussions, workshops, and the main event, contributed to making the community more aware. In another way, the kampung started to build more positive image since their potentials become positively popular among different segments of audience and visitors who came to the events.

That external recognition was notably important for kampung dwellers, seeing that they lived under negative stigmatisation on their ‘illegal’, ‘slum’, ‘poor’ status, which is also felt by other millions of urban informal settlers. Such stereotypes often cause discrimination, exclusion, eviction, displacement, and marginalisation by other citizens, as well as a “pretext to justify redevelopment of settlements” by the authorities (Lombard 2014, p. 4). It was through these events too, that the kampung residents were trying to change the stigma while were in the process of becoming part of the city. Since the first time the events took place in the kampung, its main purpose was to strengthen the kampung identity until it can be acknowledged at the city level. By then, the kampung would not be easily swayed by external forces. An earlier author who found a unique Brazilian *favela* which was distinctive from other *favelas*, precisely stated what Bustaman and Dago Pojok residents missed: “What they do not have is an opportunity to fulfill their aspirations” (Perlman 1976 in Lombard 2014, p.8). In this regard, the cultural and art events in both kampungs were used as an opportunity for the kampung dwellers to evidence their potentials and gain attention from the public, particularly the authorities. It was in the hope that once they get the attention, they could fulfill their aspirations, like an access to adequate housing and build creative industry-based kampung.

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