Considerations on Space Formation and Transformation of KAMPUNG LUAR BATANG (JAKARTA)

Shuji Funo*1, Bambang F. Ferianto2 and Kyouta Yamada3

1 Associate Professor Department of Architecture and Environmental Design, Graduate School of Engineering, Kyoto University, Japan
2 Kajima Corporation, Japan
3 Ph.D Candidate Department of Architecture and Environmental Design, Graduate School of Engineering, Kyoto University, Japan

Abstract
Kampung Luar Batang today is located at the northern end of Jakarta, which belongs to former Sunda Kelapa, the oldest area of Jakarta, about 100 meters to northwest of Kota (Batavia). The oldest mosque, Al-Aydrus Masjid, which was built in 1739, is located in Kampung Luar Batang and attracts pilgrims from other areas of Jakarta city, and had been declared as one of cultural heritages by the issuance of Governor Decree No. 475/1993. However, the area suffered a huge influx of population especially after independent, because of which its living environmental condition has deteriorated. Although modern buildings dominate in Kampung Luar Batang, traditional houses or houses with features of traditional architecture still exist in the kampung. How to improve the living condition and preserve the historical features of the built environment are important and urgent questions. This paper, based on the field survey, clarifies the formation and transformation process of Kampung Luar Batang and discusses the problems for the future improvement.

Keywords: Kampung Luar Batang; Batavia; Jakarta; Sunda Kelapa; Betawi; Dutch colonial city; Kampung Improvement Program (KIP)

1. Research Objective and Background
This paper is one of the outcomes of the research project entitled “Field Research on Origin, Transformation, Conversion and Conservation of Urban Space of Colonial cities”, the major target of which are the Dutch colonial cities. One of the major subjects is to compare the urban house types. Dutch had developed some prototypes of urban house in highly dense circumstances. What kind of house types were introduced to each colonial situation is the point. In addition how evaluate the urban heritages and revitalize the urban core formed in colonial period is becoming major common concern of urban planning. One of the objectives, in practice, is to discuss strategies for urban renewal.

This paper picks up one kampung named Kampung Luar Batang2 of Jakarta and clarifies its formation and transformation process in history as basic analysis to get knowledge for the objectives above. Numerous studies have been carried out in the past and are still being conducted from various disciplines and perspectives in terms of Batavia (Jakarta) founded by Dutch.

Kampung Luar Batang is located in former Sunda Kelapa area, the oldest area of Jakarta. There is a Maritime Museum built in 1652 about 100 meters southwards. It is a part of Dutch fortified warehouse called ‘Westzijdse Pakhuizen’ (Warehouse on the west bank) including its two bastions: bastions Zeeburg and Culemborg. Bastion Zeeburg was the northernmost bastion of the western city wall of Batavia. Based on these bastions we can figure out the location of Kampung Luar Batang by comparing the present map of 1994 and a historical map of 1770, where the places are noted as ‘Javasche Kwartier’ or Javanese Quarter.

Ridwan Saidi, an expert of Betawi3 culture, emphasizes that the natives who first settled in Sunda Kelapa were originally from the island of Java. They spoke Sanskrit language and in the period of Pajajaran Kingdom they spoke ancient Sunda language. These people then intermarried with the natives from West Kalimantan who came to this area in 10th century, and formed a new community, known as Melayu Jawa or Javanese Malay. In 1865 this ethnic group called themselves ‘Betawi’. It might be said that Betawi formed the first population group in the settlement history of Kampung Luar Batang.

One of the reasons why we chose Kampung Luar Batang is that it is one of the oldest kampung that is symbolic of various development issues that Jakarta faced and continues to face. This paper will discuss the problems for the future improvement clarifying the formation and transformation process of Kampung Luar Batang based on the field studies conducted in February and August 2002. The important references related to the subject matter are listed at the end of the paper. The most relevant references related to the present paper, in terms of the history of the locality, are studies done by Raben, Van der Brug, and Heuken.
2. The Origin and Formation of Kampung Luar Batang

Kampung Luar Batang is alleged to have emerged in the first decades of 18th century. There are some evidences, one of which is the inheritance of sacred grand mosque Al-Aydrus or so called Masjid Luar Batang and the tomb of Syeh Sayid Husein Abubakar Al-Aydrus who was a religious leader from Hadramaut in southern Yemen and is believed as a descendant of the prophet Muhammad. He came to Kampung Luar Batang in 1736 and built a mosque in 1739. He died in 1756 (in 1798 according to other sources) and buried in the area called Tanah Abang. Other evidences are historical maps of Batavia of 1770 by P.A. Van der Parra and by C.F. Reimer of 1788 (Fig. 1).

Van der Brug mentions in his paper that construction of Kampung Luar Batang as a settlement for Javanese laborers and fishermen coming from elsewhere was proposed by F.J. Coyett, a chief merchant and harbormaster for the VOC, and approved by the High Government on 13 December 1729. R. Raben says that its initial inhabitants were Javanese fishermen, headed by an indigenous officer from Bali named Mohamat Mochomien who was appointed by the Dutch in 1773 to hold sway over this kampung. In addition, another assumption for the emergence of Kampung Luar Batang holds that initially this settlement was a swampy area where many local boats from Sulawesi, Madura and Bali stopped-by to wait for inspection and to pay revenue of toll and assessments at the nearby custom house before entering the walled city of Batavia, begining thereby the erection of temporary huts since the inspection took some days.

The emergence of settlements in the Ommelanden (suburbs) was caused by two main factors. The first was the gradual exploration and cultivation of wilderness surrounding Batavia in the 1620s, done by Dutchmen and Chinese entrepreneurs, mainly towards southward direction. The second was the gradual and increasing immigration of Javanese, either from the west of Bantenese settlement or the Mataram provinces at the east. There were two types of settlements: settlement formed by Javanese population and settlement formed by martial groups and liberated slaves after manumission. Auxiliary troops from Ambon, Makassar, Bugis and Bali were immigrated since 1656 onwards. The land lying between the city and the sea was provided for this kampung. Along with the rapid population growth in Batavia, the area consequently grew into a settlement, which is known today as Kampung Luar Batang.

3. Transformation in 20th Century

Development process of Kampung Luar Batang in the 20th century is analyzed utilizing the maps and aerial photographs of Batavia and Jakarta of 1918, 1945, 1980, 1994 (Fig. 2, Fig. 3), and field surveys. On the map of 1918, the built up areas are seen on the southern part, which was a residential area, and the northern part where the Al-Aydrus Mosque was located. The most densely settled area was along the canal on the southern part close to Pasar Ikan (Fish Market), which by this time had already been established. It can be assumed that the occupations of most inhabitants were related to fishery instead of agricultural industry. This statement is also supported by the number of streets laid on the kampung, all of which are directed to Pasar Ikan area.
There was also a street that directly connected Pasar Ikan and the Al-Aydrus Mosque.

It also appears that the northern area of this kampung was occupied by a number of coastal fishponds. These fishponds on the silted-up coastal area were blamed as the main reason for the unhealthiness in Batavia that led the city to move to Weltevreden in the southern suburb in the early 19th century. These salt-water ponds were ideal breeding places for the malaria-transmitting mosquito ‘A. sundacius’. This situation continued until these fishponds disappeared in the early 19th century. Around 1900 fishponds were reconstructed.

By 1945, the eastern part had been fully occupied while in the western part the land still looked empty where only few houses were erected in scattered location, surrounded by coastal vegetations. The development rather was directed to the northern part around the Al-Aydrus Mosque. By this time at least seven blocks had been formed, with each block occupied by less than twenty houses. In each block the houses stood apart from each other thus allowing spaces for courtyards that were grown by coastal vegetations, such as coconut trees. As depicted on the photo by C.P. Jansen-van Schieveen, it is obvious that the houses were considerably large without any particular orientation and enclosed by bamboo or wooden fences. All the houses were of one-storey structures with roofs mostly using roof-tile.

It appears that a hexagonal market had been established in Pasar Ikan area, dating to 1920s. Kampung Luar Batang and Pasar Ikan had been separated by a canal, and boats were used as transportation means. Another access possible was from the western side of the kampung through a bridge across the Moeara Baroe River.

After independent, Jakarta was attacked by huge influx of migrants. The impact of urbanization in Jakarta was also great in the Kampung Luar Batang. As it is depicted on the map of 1980, by this time the entire area of Kampung Luar Batang had been fully occupied. The western part of the kampung had been developed to an extent even surpassing the area across the Muara Baru Street which formerly was the Moeara Baroe River. Observing the aerial photographs of 1945 and 1980 it appears that Moeara Baroe River on the western side of the kampung had been filled-in and altered into Muara Baru Street, and a new curved canal, called Kali Kanal, was constructed towards west. The canal on the southern side, which is called Kanal Pakin, was blocked and its direction altered to the south ending at southern Kali Kanal. When the western part had been congested and fully occupied, the settlement grew to the northern part of the kampung, which formerly were coastal fishponds. The size of the newly built up area on the north side was almost as big as the size of the original kampung.

The rapid growth of the population in the Kampung Luar Batang was caused by several factors. The most significant one was caused by the rapid development of new industrial and commercial areas around this kampung such as Pluit, Kota, Glodok and Mangga Dua, which provided better job opportunities. Other factors were the clearance of the slum areas near Kampung Luar Batang such as Ancol Passier, Ancol Bintang Mas, Ancol Barat, Jaag Paad and Muara Karang that made their inhabitants move to surrounding areas such as Kampung...
Luar Batang. Makassar and Bugis who had settled here from the beginning increased in significant numbers, particularly after the unstable situation in South Sulawesi caused by the revolt of so-called DI/TII Kahar Muzakar in 1950s.

Sunda Kelapa Harbor area on the eastern side had been developed well and even today is still used extensively by sailing prows of traditional design, so-called ‘Bugis Phinisi’, which penetrate the narrow rivers of Kalimantan to bring back their cargoes of timber. Many of the boats are now powered exclusively by motor or, at least have engines available. Before the municipal government closed Pasar Ikan as a fishing port in 1977, Kampung Luar Batang was occupied by numerous groups of fishermen, fish traders, boat makers, porters, and market traders. Despite that the municipal government had already provided new fisherman houses in Muara Angke, they were reluctant to leave and chose to continue their stay in Kampung Luar Batang.

Drastic change occurred in mid 1980’s. Fires had burned the buildings in this area successively in 1984 and 1986. The population decreased significantly along with the disappearance of the northern part that covered an area of about 5 hectares. It is said that this area had been bought and cleared by the developers to be developed as a commercial area, as can be seen on the aerial photograph of 1994 where building lots had been formed and streets had been laid out in this area. Some residents who previously lived here moved and settled along the western bank of western Kali Kanal (formerly Moeara Baroe River) in the northwestern side of the kampung. The Kanal Pakin that previously flowed to the south and empties into the southern Kali Kanal had been filled-in with the result that the canal stopped at its western end. On the northern side of Al-Aydrus Mosque two ponds had been dug for the purpose fish breeding, which also functioned as part of the drainage system. By this time the Pasar Ikan area was more congested by the addition of small buildings at the northern side of hexagonal market and at the eastern side of Maritime Museum.

4. Spatial Formation of Kampung Luar Batang
4.1. Street Blocks and Neighborhood Units

Initially the streets in Kampung Luar Batang were formed to connect three main parts: kampung, Pasar Ikan (fish market) and Al-Aydrus Mosque respectively. There are 19 different blocks with no definite names including the Al-Aydrus Mosque complex. Street network consists of primary, secondary and tertiary streets12. The primary streets have widths wide enough to allow two vehicles passing through at the same time. They are well maintained, are paved and have been raised to avoid inundation. Open and close drainages are also provided along both sides of the streets, which serve as primary drains. Secondary streets connect inner areas of the kampung with primary streets. Not all secondary streets are in good condition. The tertiary streets or lanes connect inner areas within the blocks, all of which have no names. Most of them are unpaved and a few of which have small open drainages on both sides; though they often do not function well, because of the dirt and garbage thrown inside them.

Kampung Luar Batang consists of three RWs (Fig. 4)13. RW-1, covering the southern part, consists of 11 RTs; RW-2, covering the central part area, consists of 12 RTs; and RW-3, covering the northern part area, consists of 14 RTs. Four RTs in RW-1, which are RT-11, RT-12, RT-13 and RT-14, and one RT in RW-3, which is RT-1 had disappeared because of fire incidents in 1984 and 1986. Each RW is headed by a chief or Ketua RW and has a secretariat office with siskamling14.

RW-1 covers the area of about 4.25 hectares or 27 percent of the whole area. The layout of the streets and blocks in this area had been formed since early 20th century. Houses that incorporate warung (small shop) inside are numerous in this area. However the area is still short of public and social facilities. Only three facilities exist within this area, which are religious, educational and social facilities. While there are buildings in bad state, particularly along the bank of the canal, the condition of buildings in RW-1, in general, is better than those in other RWs. RW-2 covers the smallest area of the kampung which is about 3.5 hectares or 22 percent of the whole area. RW-2, that occupies the lowest land, is often inundated by flood especially during the rainy season. Many attached and detached warungs are found in this area. RW-3 is the largest covering the area of about 8 hectares or 51 percent of the whole kampung. It houses the sacred grand mosque. Although part of Luar Batang V Street has been paved, the other lanes still remain unpaved. The worst condition is the area at the east of Al-Aydrus Mosque where many buildings have almost collapsed. The area along Luar Batang V Street where many Chinese descendants live is occupied by buildings with commercial functions.
4.2. Distribution of Facilities

Social and public facilities in Kampung Luar Batang, although not to the desired extent, are nevertheless adequate to serve the needs of the inhabitants of the kampung (Fig. 5). There are four educational facilities: one junior high school still under construction and one elementary school both of which are located in RW-3, one kindergarten located in RW-2, and one madrasah (Islamic school) located in RW-1. Seven health facilities including polyclinics and medic-doctors serve the inhabitants scattered in the kampung, but most of them are found in RW-2. Community facilities such as orphanage and charity house are also found in this kampung; one is located in RW-1 and the other in RW-2.

The area along Luar Batang V Street of RW-3 is dominated by various commercial functions. At least four commercial facilities including trading office, printing office, tokos (grocery stores) can be found along this street. There are four religious centres, which are distributed in each RW. The old grand Mosque Al-Aydrus and one neighborhood mosque are located in RW-3, another neighborhood mosque is located in RW-1, and a langgar (prayer house) is located in RW-2.

The only public open space is the complex of Al-Aydrus Mosque, which also functions as a playground and car park for tourists and pilgrims. On this place a temporary market opens every Thursday selling ready foods, handicrafts and equipments for sholat. Thursday night is a particular time for pilgrims to visit Al-Aydrus Mosque and make prayer to Syeh Sayid Husein Abubakar Al-Aydrus. Islamic religious celebrations such as the Maulid (Prophet’s birthday) celebration are often carried out in the backyard of this mosque. Generally, people gather in places such as streets, in front of houses, or in public open space in front of Al-Aydrus Mosque. Based on the field observation, the inhabitants use mosque or langgar as a popular gathering place. Besides mosques, people often flock at warungs, siskamling posts near the RW offices, and at the area near the small bridges that connect Kampung Luar Batang and Pasar Ikan area. This area is congested almost everyday since the bridges are the only access from the west (Pasar Ikan).

About 69 percent of households did not have private toilet in 1990, and those who have toilet at home did not have septic tank, so the human excrements are thrown to the ditches and canal without treatment. Kampung Luar Batang had only two public toilets before, and only one was functioning well and was able to serve 150 people a day while the demand was 8,000 people a day. After improvement project conducted by PT. Spektra Matrika Indah and supported by BORDA (Bremen Overseas Research and Development Association), seven public toilets had been built on the various locations. These public toilets have a total capacity of serving 3,000 people a day and still serve the inhabitants of the kampung. Beside those public toilets, several common toilets managed privately were also found in this kampung, serving the inhabitants with 500 Rupiah entry-fee or equal to about 7 Japanese yen.

4.3. Building Functions, Structures and Materials

Based on the field survey, it was recorded that Kampung Luar Batang has 63 houses that incorporates warungs (small shops), 12 tokos (grocery stores), five wartels (warung telepon) or telephone rental houses, five laundryshops, three video rentals, two tailors, one hairdressing salon, run by Indonesian-Chinese, one photo studio, one copy and printing office, and 11 rental houses and rental rooms (Fig. 6).

Landowners usually build houses on their own sites that consist of some rental rooms with various room sizes. However it was found that rental rooms were created by setting aside some spaces in their houses, or expand their houses horizontally or vertically. The smallest unit of rental house usually measures about 3 x 4 square meters and sometimes has WC (toilet) inside. This is a single occupancy unit with monthly payment varying between 125,000-150,000 Rupiah. The larger unit of rental house is about 3 x 6 meters size with WC and space for kitchen in the backside. This unit is for double occupancy or family occupancy with monthly payment between 170,000-250,000 Rupiah. Almost all rental rooms have their own access independent of the owner’s house. Usually either rental house or rental rooms, they are placed facing to each other separated by a corridor. The corridor is a common space where the occupants associate with each other.

Buildings were gradually rebuilt from temporary structure to permanent structure. Most of the buildings are permanent, built of concrete structure and enclosed mainly by brick wall. Others are semi-permanent, of wooden structure and enclosed by wooden board, plywood, and corrugated-metal wall or combination of them. Based on the field survey, out of 507 buildings recorded, only 51 buildings (10.0 percent) are made of semi-permanent structure.

The heights of the buildings vary from one to three
stories. The greater stock is of two storys (300 out of 507 or about 59 percent), while the three-storied building is only 12 or 2.4 percent (Fig. 7). Out of 300 two-storied buildings, 127 buildings (43 percent) used wooden structure on second floor. There are four main materials for the wall: brick wall (tembok), wooden board, plywood, and corrugated-metal. People refer tembok wall than other materials. Many two-storied buildings have tembok wall on their first floor and wooden board, plywood or corrugated metal wall on the second floor. Regarding roof materials, the inhabitants prefer to apply corrugated-asbestos for roof materials with about 55 percent of the buildings while the rest apply roof-tile (43 percent) and concrete (2 percent). However there are buildings that apply combination of those materials mentioned above.

Buildings are laid out irregularly without planning and sometimes share common walls. This condition does not allow adequate natural light or provide enough opening for cross ventilation. Since the local streets and lanes have been repaired several times, the ground-floor levels of some buildings have now been lower than the street level. Thus, to deal with the annual floods, the residents built solid barrier at the front of their buildings, or raised their ground-floor level to equalize, or even to surpass the streets level. It is interesting to observe that the inhabitants raised their ground-floor levels of the buildings without making improvements on the ceilings or on the roofs. Thus, in many instances, it was found that the distance between floor and ceiling of the buildings measure less than 180 centimeters.

4.4. Drainage System and Flood Control

High tides in Sunda Kelapa harbor, particularly during the full moon or spring tide when the tidal level reaches +1.55 m PP, often cause flooding in the Kampung Luar Batang, which has mean sea level of about +0.80 m PP (Priok Peil). Flooding is not only caused by high tides. Short period flooding also frequently occurs during the rainy season around January. The present drainage system in DKI Jakarta is an open drainage system, determined by network of primary, secondary and tertiary canals. For the open drainage system this principle will be further maintained throughout the design. The primary canals are made up by rivers and man-made canals. The secondary canals convey the storm water towards these primary canals. Each secondary canal is design to handle the drainage requirement of a given drainage area (secondary sub-catchment) within the city. The tertiary canals convey their water into the secondary system or even into the primary system. Each secondary sub-catchment is further sub-divided into tertiary sub-catchments. A set of tertiary drains belonging to one single secondary sub-catchment are drained together into the only secondary drain of the same sub-catchment. Each tertiary canal drains off a small sub-catchment area (tertiary sub-catchment) within the secondary sub-catchment.

5. Socio-economic Conditions of the Inhabitants of Kampung Luar Batang

In Kampung Luar Batng, almost 50 percent of the inhabitants are presently the descendants of Bugis from South Sulawesi and the rest belong to Betawi, and other ethnic groups mainly from east and central Java. Besides the native groups, there are few Chinese descendants most of whom occupy the northwestern part of the kampung.

Based on the interviews with the household heads, each household has family members ranging from two to ten persons. The average of family size is 5.65. The inhabitants can be divided into three main groups according to their occupations, which are (1) Trading, (2) Service industry, and (3) Private sector employees. In 1990 there were about 500 traders who earn money by trading fish in Pasar Ikan, selling drinking water (water vendor), foods and other items of daily necessities (warung and toko), and woods that were supplied from Kalimantan, 200 service sellers who work as carpenter, boat farer, tailor and hairdresser and 675 private sector employees in Kampung Luar Batang. Unemployment rate in Kampung Luar Batang has increased significantly in the last five years.
Resident mobility of the inhabitants is not so high. The group of immobile families consists of families who, (1) most likely can not afford the same quality of housing in the new place of stay; (2) most likely will loose income or could not get new earning at the same or higher level in the new place of stay; and (3) most likely are not able to adapt new customs and traditions in the new place of stay. There are many companies in and around Kampung Luar Batang that need laborers such as garment makers, harbor laborers, shrimp factory employees with plenty of labors from Pasar Ikan, Muara Karang, Kampung Luar Batang and Sunda Kelapa Harbor. However, the ratio of inhabitants who move in and out is in increase recently.

6. Conclusion

Kampung Luar Batang is one of the oldest kampungs established in early 18th century, which is very important place for the history of the City. Nevertheless, environmental conditions are not so good for the inhabitants. The issues Kampung Luar Batang faces are as follows.

1. Road condition is not so good in secondary and tertiary level which are unpaved and are without drainage channels; a few of which have small open drainages, but often do not function well because of dirt and garbage thrown inside.

2. The problem of garbage disposal is serious. Community seems to be well organised, but inhabitants can not afford to take care of the neighborhood.

3. Drainage system is not complete and sanitation is very poor.

4. Flooding is a serious problem caused by low level of the land. The fundamental treatment to redress this situation is urgent.

5. Housing condition is also not so good. The number of traditional Betawi houses is decreasing and kampunscape is losing the historical appearance.

6. Open space is scarce and is far from fulfilling the requirement of the residents. To preserve and improve the open space around grand Mosque is the foremost task.

7. Job opportunity is the basic need of the inhabitants. But newcomers are increasing and community structure is changing. The change should be monitored and guided to meet the basic needs of the community.

The living conditions are very critical although the area is next to historical core (Kota) and should be remembered as the oldest kampung. It is obvious that Comprehensive Kampung Improvement Program is an urgent need, before launching the conservation program of the historical sites.

There are a few traditional Betawi house in the area that might give some clues to reconstruct the kampung. We would like to prepare another article regarding traditional Betawi house and transformation of houses.

Endnotes

2 Administratively, Kampung Luar Batang belongs to Kelurahan (sub-district) Penjaringan and Kecamatan (district) Penjaringan. The area is bordered by marshland to the north, the Pasar Ikan and Kota area to the south, Ciliwung River and Sunda Kelapa Harbor to the east, and Gedong Panjang and Muara Baru Streets to the west. Presently, Kampung Luar Batang occupies the area of about 15.75 hectares.
3 The name of Betawi is not derived from Batavia, but from the term of Fatani, referring to the noble families of the rulers of Jayakarta kingdom. Beside fatani there were also immigrants in Jayakarta. The Betawi nobilities claim that descendants of the fatani and of their followers constitute the aristocratic stratum of Betawi society, while the descendants of the immigrants are the common people - Nas, Peter. 2000. p.201
4 Alaydrus, Sayid. 1998. p.2
5 Alaydrus, Sayid. 1998. p.15
7 Raben, Remco. 1991. p.10
8 Raben, Remco. 1991. p. 2-4, 10-11
9 Initially fish market was located inside the city wall next to the Chinese carpenter’s yard on the northern block of the Westerstad of Batavia. It was moved to the present Pasar Ikan area outside the ramparts in 1846.
10 Nas, Peter. 2000. p.65
12 The municipal government has made plan for the widths of streets in Kampung Luar Batang. All the primary streets were planned to have 8 meters wide, the secondary streets to have 6 meters wide and the tertiary streets to have 3 meters wide. Besides, the major arterial roads of Muara Baru and Gedong Panjang Streets were planned to have 26 meters wide and 32 meters wide respectively.
13 Community structure in kampungs in Indonesia is composed by two smallest municipal organizations, which are Rukun Warga (RW) or Community Association and Rukun Tetangga (RT) or Neighborhood Association. Rukun Tetangga (RT) is the smallest administrative organization, usually made of 20-50 households, and headed by an elected leader or so-called Ketua RT, a non-paid civil servant who is usually a respected elder in the neighborhood. Ketua RT is responsible for knowing everything that goes on in his neighborhood, and for carrying out all government programs. The RTs were under direct control of a larger unit, Rukun Warga. Usually each RW consists of 10-15 RTs depending on the population density of a particular kampung. The head of RW or Ketua RW is in charge of such local matters as sanitation and maintenance of public facilities as well as directing hansip patrol duties. Hansip is the abbreviation for pertahanan sipil, a para-military public security system organized originally under the Sukarno administration. He also receives instruction from and reports directly to lurah (the highest official of a sub-district or kelurahan).
14 Siskamling is the abbreviation of Sistem Keamanan Lingkungan, a neighborhood security system organized and carried out by community of a kampung.
15 Sholat or solat is ritual prayers and actions performed five times daily - Echols, John. 1998. p.523
16 Data is based on the survey conducted by PT. Spektra Matrika Indah and supported by BORDA (Bremen Overseas Research and Development Association).

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