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Yayasan Pondok Rakyat (YPR, literally People's Shelter Foundation) is a non-profit organisation activated by a group of people from various backgrounds who join in one common interest that is to participate in building a more just social order. Based on its expertise and social commitment, the group focuses its activities on participatory action research on community-based urban development.

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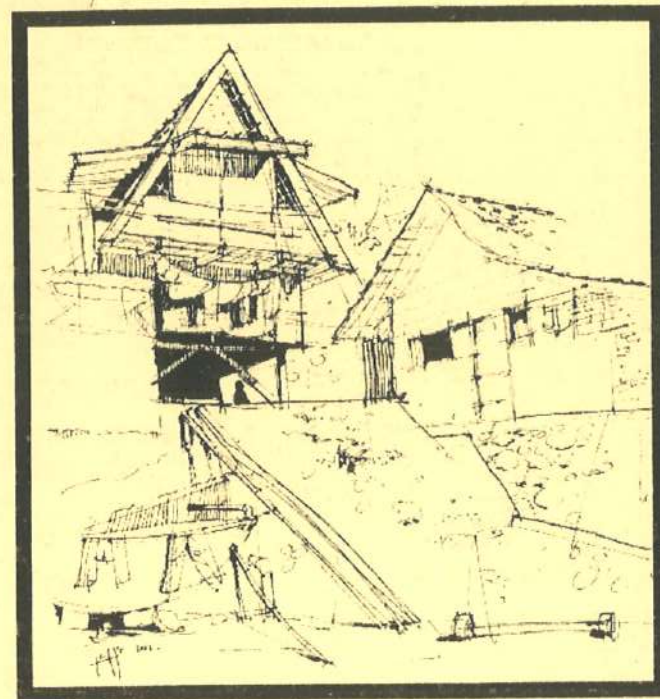
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THE HIDDEN MEANINGS OF KAMPUNG CODE

“Non-housing” and “Housing” Movement in a
Community-based Urban Development

Yogyakarta, Indonesia

by Darwis Khudori



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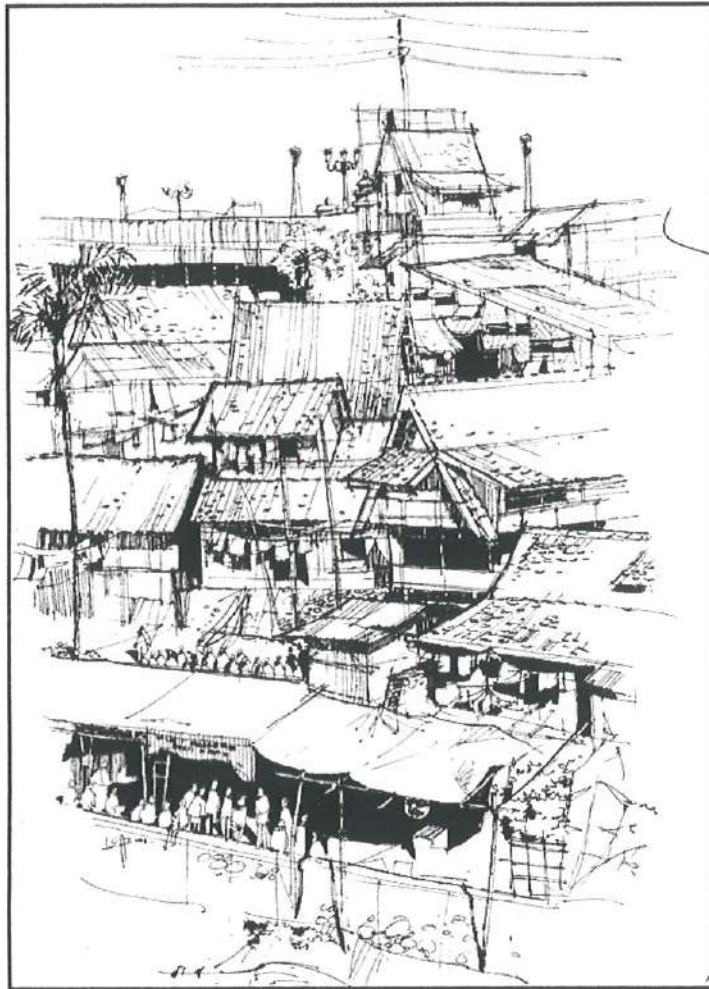
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THE HIDDEN MEANINGS OF KAMPUNG CODE¹

"Non-housing" and "Housing" Movement in a Community-based Urban Development

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¹ To be pronounced "Choday" in English, "Tjodé" in Dutch, "Tchodé" in French.

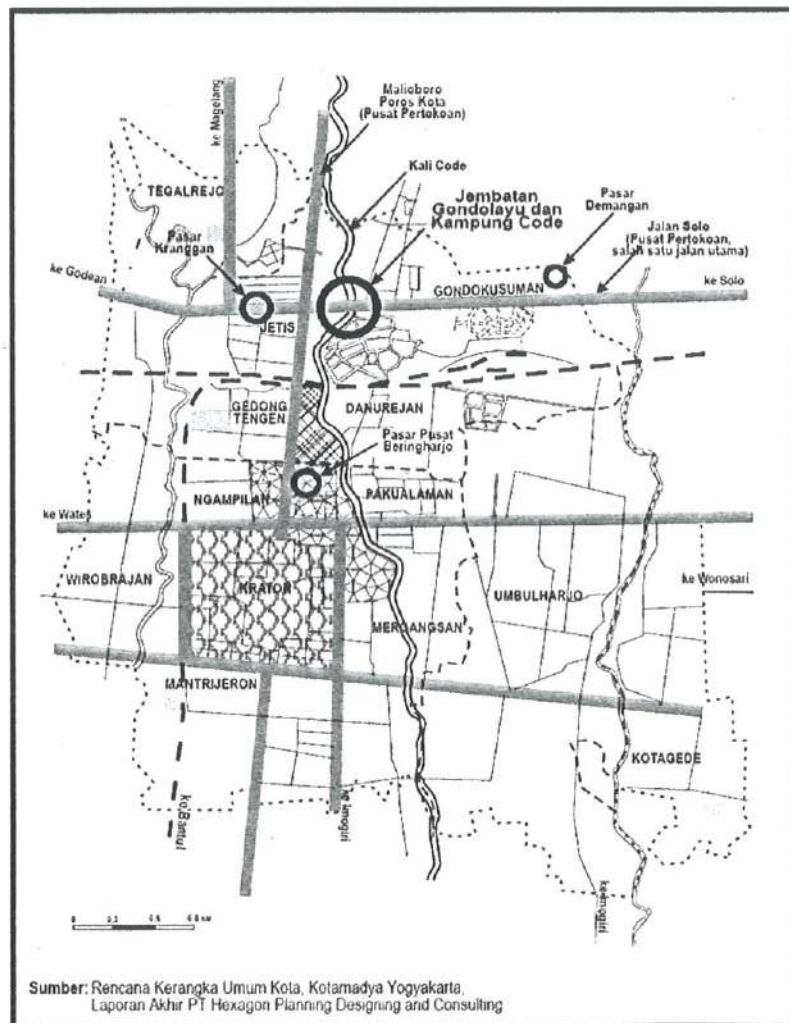


SKETCH 2: View of Kampung Code

Abstract

Kampung Code is a tiny neighbourhood (around 40 households) in a tiny city (around 500 thousand inhabitants compared to Jakarta which has around 10 million people) of Indonesia (around 190 millions of population in 1994), but its "humanitarian" and "architectural" character has led it to receive national as well as international appreciation.

This paper tries to show that the seemingly tiny and simple Kampung Code represents, in fact, a complicated reality of Indonesian society and that it has, not only single, but multiple meanings, due to various issues it touches in connection with the social problems emerging in its historical epoch. The meanings of Kampung Code lie, not primarily in its quantitatively insignificant scale of urban popular housing solution, but more in its symbolic manifestation of a new moral consciousness in the evolution of Indonesian society in general. Study on the biography and the work of its leading actor under the light of its historical (geographical, political, social, economical, cultural) context shows that Kampung Code radiates a spectrum of values of a visionary movement which can be qualified as "moral", "social", "emancipatory", "religious", "altruistic", "humanitarian" or "popular", where architects and urban planners as the new actors of development can participate.



MAP 1: Situation of Kampung Code in Yogyakarta City

Introduction

From a "spontaneous" (not to say "squatters" or "illegal", terms bearing the government judgement) cardboard housing on a very narrow piece of sloping land on the Code riverbank in the city centre of Yogyakarta, Kampung Code was transformed in 1983, by a group of activists (intellectuals and students) led by Romo Mangun (a prominent Indonesian priest-architect-writer) who himself lived there until 1986, into a safer, more hygienic and colourful nice looking bamboo settlement. The housing forms a collective property and is managed in a co-operative way. Thanks to its conflicts with the government plan to clean-up the Code river-bank from "spontaneous" settlement in 1986 and 1988, Kampung Code, advocated by the activists, was brought by the press into local and national public affair which led to its fame, the popular sympathy and the cancellation, or at least the indefinite delay, of the government plan. After three years of direct supervision from the activists, Kampung Code started to be a self-managed urban popular neighbourhood. The settlement continues to stand, neither growing nor degrading, well maintained, up to the present. In 1986 it received the Human Rights Award from the Legal Aid Institute, a prominent organisation of Human Rights movements in Indonesia. In 1992 the Aga Khan Award for Architecture selected Kampung Code and its architect as laureate. This international award has provided Kampung Code with a double advantage: at one side, the fund from the award forms a capital for the well-being of the kampung; at the other side, the award itself strengthens the fragile position of Kampung Code, in the eyes of society in general, government in particular. Behind these successes, however, an unchangeable condition remains intact. The inhabitants continue to live in subsistence. Neither "vertical mobility" nor "economical improvement" among these people happened. So,

what is the meaning of people's struggle so far? What is the contribution of the activists in this area? What are, at last, the meanings of Kampung Code in Indonesian development?

I. Challenge of Epoch and People's Responses

Kampung Code event happened when Indonesia was under the Soeharto regime in its full strength. Seen from the world history, the military dictatorship was a general phenomenon in the Third World (especially in Africa and Asia), which emerged in the 70s as the end of a series of wars and violence characterising the 60s (independent wars in Africa, the still going American war in Vietnam, the G-30-S 1965 tragedy in Indonesia, the 1968 Cultural Revolution in China, the Indo-Pakistani war giving birth to Bangladesh in 1971, the Arab-Israeli war 1967-1973,...). It is necessary to look at this international circumstances before focusing our view on Indonesia.

1. From National Revolution to Globalisation

Three general phenomena characterise the 70s.

The first one is the change of governmental orientation in many developing countries. The decolonisation provoked by the Bandung Asian-African Conference 1955 was almost entirely accomplished in the 60s. But poverty and backwardness persisted in the former colonised countries. Meanwhile, the disappearance of the common enemy, that is the coloniser, transformed the struggle for independence into ideological quarrels in the newly independent countries. At the

end, a new orientation appeared in the leadership of these former colonised countries: from "political" to "economical" goals; from "revolutionary" to "stability and security" discourses; from "anti-colonialism" to "economic development" spirit; from "Third World solidarity" to "national development"; from "socialistic" dream to "capitalistic" reality. Marxism and its derived ideologies (Socialism, Communism, Leninism, Maoism,...) were discarded radically (like in Indonesia) or gradually (like in Egypt), and replaced by an economic system called often "mixed economy" (of capitalism and socialism), which was in fact a "wild capitalism". Within this context, the death of Soekarno and Nasser at the same year (1970) — both of them are leaders of Bandung Asian-African Conference, founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, and followers of Socialism — and the similar orientation of the replacing governments led respectively by Soeharto and Sadat seems to give a sign of the changing epoch. Both Soeharto with his *Orde Baru* (New Order) and Sadat with his *Infitah* (Opening) left the "revolutionary" and "socialist" lines of their predecessors to take the "pragmatic" and "capitalist" way by "authoritarian" and "military" means. These countries that wished to be self-sufficient opened finally to foreign investment, industrial products from developed countries and debts from international financial institutions.

The second phenomenon is the emerging process of globalisation, not only in the field of economy (capitalism/liberalism), but also politics (New World Order) and culture (way of life provoked by the technological progress). While in term of politics the geographical borders between countries have become fixed, in term of economics and culture they become vague. The capitals and big companies can move from country to country easily. The revolution of communication and information technology make the states

unable to control the movements of information, ideas and thoughts from diverse origins and destinations. In this way, the concept of Liberation Theology from Latin America and the religion-based revolutionary thoughts from Gustavo Gutierrez, Don Helder Camara, Adolfo Perez Esquivel,... inspired humanitarian and social movements in the countries living under dictatorship: Philippines under Marcos, South Africa under apartheid, Indonesia under Soeharto,... In the Muslim world, the fever of "Islamic Revolution" from Iran and the teaching of its leaders (Khomeyni, Ali Shari'ati, Bani Sadr,...) spread in Muslim countries, translated into local languages, pushing the emergence of Muslim groups looking for alternative social order based on Islam.

One of the effects of globalisation is the feeling of interrelation and interdependence among the nations and the states. In developed countries, this appeared since the 60s in the defence of the Third World (Thirdworldism), the call of the Pope Paul VI (March 26, 1967) for "People's Development", the student revolution of May 1968, new left movements, the work of René Dumont (on environment), Schumacher (*Small is Beautiful*), Willy Brandt (*Club of Rome*),... In developing countries, appeared the critical work on the injustice of world order as written by André Gunder Frank, Samir Amin, Frantz Fanon, Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich,...

In accordance with those thoughts, emerged new development actor previously unknown, that is the N.G.O. (Non Governmental Organisation), especially in the capitalist countries, be they are developed ones (Western Europe, USA, Australia) or developing (Asia and South America). As social organisations, N.G.Os. are not new in Indonesia. Religious organisations (Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama,...), Red Cross, Boy Scout,... had existed since long time. What is new

is their objectives and activities. While the old social organisations played a role of "assistant" of the government in taking care of the social problems, N.G.Os. are not always in line with the government policy. They are even sometimes in opposition to the government in term of concept, programme and activities. While the development approach used by the government is always "top-down", the one defended by N.G.Os is "bottom-up". For playing their role, the N.G.Os received financial support from developed countries.

The third phenomenon is the rise of religion-based associative movements, especially in the countries where religions play important role. There are several types of movements according to their vocation, either spiritual, social, economical, cultural or political ones. The last one is the most outstanding, especially in the Muslim world since the 70s, called in the Western World as fundamentalism. Their main call is to replace the existing social order, considered as contradictory to religious teachings, by a social order based on religion. The call is often carried out by armed struggle against the ruling power, government or state. This does not happen only among the Muslim communities, but also among the Christian and Jewish ones. The most outstanding examples are the Islamic Revolution in Iran (1979), the Liberation Theology movements in South America (1974) and the occupation of Palestine (1977).

The facts that the religion-based movements appeared in the second half of the 70s is understandable. They appeared after the capitalist, militarist and liberal policies produced perverse effects: economic inequality, social injustice, proliferation of corruption, collusion and nepotism, absence of freedom of expression and of association, oppression and repression of the ruling power to the opposition, etc. While

ideologies defending people's interests (Marxism, Socialism, Communism) are forbidden, the influence of modern civilisation coming from developed countries (secularism, consumerism, hedonism, individual and sexual freedom,...) had shaken the traditional system of values. It is logical that people look for guidance and protection from religion.

Those are the grand lines of world situation when the community development in the Kampung Code took place. As we will see in the following part, these global phenomena have a correlation with Kampung Code community development.

2. Indonesia under New Order Regime

In Indonesia, the phenomenon of military dictatorship started with the G-30-S 1965 (of which the brain behind the order is still a secret), followed by the taking over of the power from Soekarno by General Soeharto (in 1966) and the complete destruction of Indonesian Communist Party (with more than half million communists and communist sympathisers being massacred). The Soeharto regime called itself *Orde Baru* (New Order) and called its preceding regime *Orde Lama* (Old Order). This event has become a turning point of the Indonesian modern history, event that initiated a huge change in the orientation of Indonesian politics: from "nation building" to "economic development"; from "civil government" to "military government"; from "revolutionary struggle" to "pragmatic measures"; from "socialist dreams" to "capitalist reality".

The politics of development of the New Order can be described briefly as: strict control of national stability and security on behalf of economic growth. Toward outside, this politics is done through the opening of the country to foreign

capital investments and industrial products. Inside, it is translated into the depoliticisation of the society (all the political parties were dissolved and forced to join into two parties formed by the government; the prohibition of ideologies and political activities); the persistence of the military in power; the accession of the depoliticised technocrats into state's functionaries; the suppression of the freedom of expression and association; the obligation of the people to adopt one of the five religions recognised by the state.

The effects of this politics are, among others, at one side, the stable increase of G.N.P.; the national self-sufficiency in basic needs; the improvement of the quality of life in general; the abundance of all kinds of consumptive products. At the other side, it creates also the enlargement of the gap between the rich and the poor, Java and other islands, the urban areas and rural areas; the preponderance of the army in every aspect of life; the domination of "conglomerates", despotism and nepotism in state's affairs; the proliferation of corruption within the bureaucracy; the increase of tension in inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations; the spread of violence and crimes in society,...

The most suffering part of society in this situation is, as usual, the so called "little people" (minority in name, majority in number): the farmers in rural areas, the workers in urban areas and the uncertain/unclassified group of people (unemployed; informal sectors). Within "intelligentsia" circles (university lecturers and students; writers and artists; religious personalities), unrest also increases, due to their concern in social problems and the military oppression to their freedom of expression. Meanwhile, since any political activity outside the framework of "formal" political parties formed and controlled by government is forbidden, religions become the refuge and

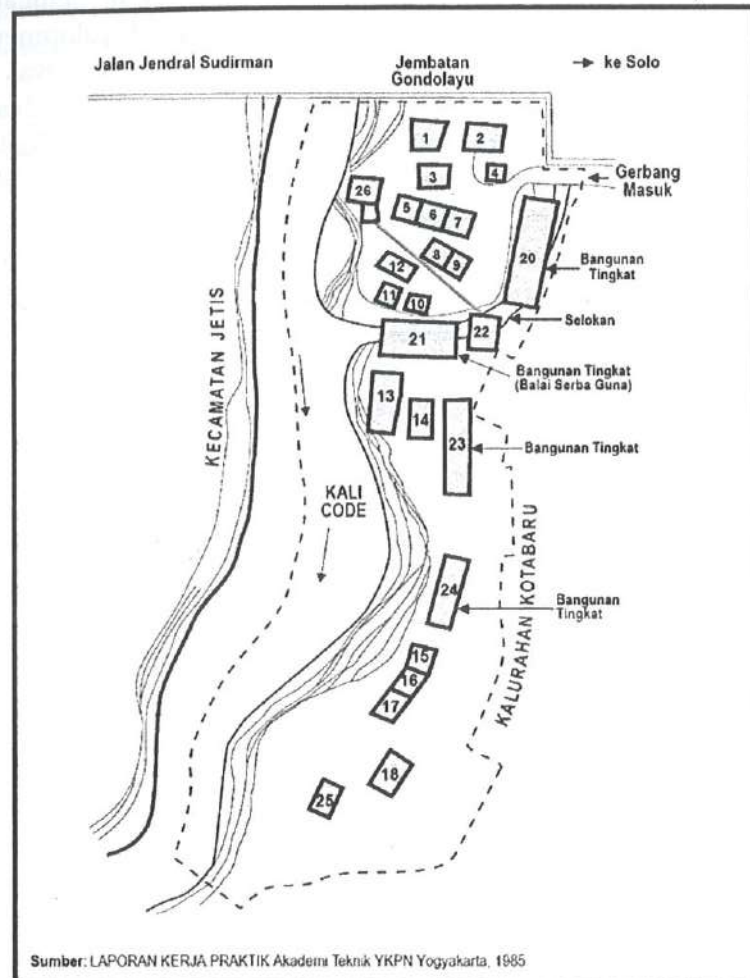
the basis of "informal" political gatherings. Religious leaders, due to their own consciousness or the solicitation of their co-believers, take a responsibility to lead or to support religion-based movements.

Thus, we saw the change of orientation of intelligentsia movements along the 70s and 80s. In the 1970s, intelligentsia movements were marked by student protests in the big cities of Java and Sumatra. This form disappeared at the end of the 70s due to the military repression and imprisonment of student leaders. The military regime went even further in their repression by controlling students activities in universities. Consequently, in the 1980s, universities and streets were deserted from demonstrations. We saw, instead, two types of intelligentsia movements. The first type happened in the universities. Students organised activities that were tolerated by the regime: religious activities (religion-based study groups, cultural events, cooperatives,... with two outstanding centres: Jama'ah Salman of the Bandung Institute of Technology and Jama'ah Salahuddin of the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta). Some of them became later actors of radical religious movements. The second type happened outside universities. Intellectuals, activists and students went to rural areas, creating activities together with farmers such as medical care, alphabetisation, appropriate technology, etc. This corresponds to the spread of the alternative thoughts on development (such as *Liberation Theology*, *Small is Beautiful*, *Paedagogy of the Oppressed*, *Deschooling Society*, the Islamic thoughts of Khomeini, Ali Shari'ati, Bani Sadr, Sayyid Qutub, Abul A'la Al Maududi.) introduced by well known religious intellectuals (such as Romo Mangun and Jesuit priests among the Catholics, Abdurrahman Wahid, Dawam Rahardjo and other Muslim intellectuals among the Muslims). It is at that period that *pesantrens* (Islamic Boarding Schools) in rural

areas, that were relatively free from the government interventions, were seen as ideal basis for alternative development. Many students came to *pesantrens* to dedicate their knowledge and energy for community-based development (the *pesantren* Pabelan near Borobudur in Central Java was a famous example, visited by international thinkers such as Ivan Illich, receiving technical assistants from voluntary students, obtaining the Aga Khan Award for Architecture). In concordance with the expansion of European N.G.Os offering financial or technical supports to the activists in developing countries, many Indonesian N.G.Os were born. Under the title of "humanitarian" or "study" activities, N.G.Os operated in various strategic fields of action: legal aid, woman emancipation, workers' organisations, etc.

In brief, the non-governmental responses to the politics of development of Soeharto's regime can be classified into four categories: students demonstrations (in the 70s); religious groups in the universities (in the 80s); study groups and N.G.Os led by young people; community development based on alternative thoughts on development (especially *people-centred development*).

It is in this context that Romo Mangun led the Kampung Code community development. By looking at the leading actors and the method of intervention, we can classify Kampung Code easily in the fourth category mentioned above. Meanwhile, the activities were characterised by housing improvement. The question is: in what way it can be classified into "people-oriented" ("non-housing") movement in general and "housing" movement in particular?



MAP 2: Position of the Kampung Code dwellings in 1985

II. Kampung Code as “Non-housing” Movement

Kampung Code, despite its concrete action (housing), is not primarily a housing oriented work. Housing is treated more as a “means” rather than as an “end”, as a manifestation of “non-housing” values, as a “symbol” to represent certain concept of human development in general, architecture and urban planning in particular. By studying the biography and the work of its leading actor and putting them into the historical (geographical, political, social, economical, cultural) context within which Kampung Code was developed, we will see that Kampung Code covers a spectrum of various visionary movements we may qualify as “moral”, “social”, “emancipatory”, “religious”, “altruistic”, “humanitarian” or “populist” movements.

1. Vision and Mission of Romo Mangun

Romo Mangun has many attributes in accordance with his function, his education and his work: religious dignitary (Catholic priest), intellectual, man of culture, engineer, architect, educator and writer. The most appropriate ones may be “Defender of the Poor and the Oppressed” and “Guide of Young Generation Moving to the Future”.

Several factors have led Romo Mangun to his achievement. The most fundamental ones may be the Christian teachings that characterised the life of his family, that stressed love and compassion, especially towards the poor and the weak; the Western humanism that he learned in his early education during the Dutch colonial period; and his experiences in the war of independence (where he witness the sufferings of

the people, especially in rural areas, who became the victims of the abusive actions of the Dutch as well as Indonesian soldiers). Later on, these factors were reinforced by his education in Indonesia (Seminary of Sancti Pauli, Yogyakarta) and in Germany (Technical School of Aachen).

Romo Mangun saw the world problem in general and social problem in particular as a part of the evolution of the universe, especially the human evolution towards higher (moral, social, cultural, political, cosmic,...) consciousness, which is marked by the diminishing of wild-dominating structures replaced by civilised-just ones.

In Indonesia, the fundamental structural change has been initiated by the Generation 28 (Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahrir,...) who constitutes, according to Romo Mangun, the "new men" for the fact that they did not serve the wild-dominating structures in which they were born and brought-up, either the feudal-primordial-traditional structures of their ancestors or the capitalist-colonialist-imperialist structures of the West. They have led the Indonesians to structural fundamental changes through the political independence. However, the wild-dominating structures did not transform automatically into civilised-just structures. In addition to that, the old structures coming from the West have not died, they just change the "skin" and appear in the form of neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. The founding fathers of the Indonesian Republic were aware of this. That is why Soekarno said, "The Revolution has not finished". It is the duty of the young generation to continue the struggle for civilised-just structures.

Under Soeharto regime, Indonesian economy was progressing. However, seen from the fundamental structures described above, Indonesia was regressing. Different from the

leaders of the Old Order regime, who were the pupils of "Western Humanism", the leaders of the New Order regime, according to Mangun, have never been acquainted with humanitarian ideas. They were just the pupils of Japanese fascism, by whom they were formed during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945). Mangun's personal experiences as a student army during the war of independence (1945-1949), where he got to know many figures in power, mark his judgement to the Soeharto regime.

Under the New Order, Indonesia set back, Mangun said often, to its situation before 1908 (the year of National Awakening), where the feudal-primordial-traditional structures (in the form of militarism) and the capitalist-colonialist-imperialist structures (in the form of capital investment and loans from developed countries) come back to power. It means that the whole atmosphere of life in Indonesia during Soeharto period perpetuated the "collective consciousness" where all the energy of people is to serve the upper "class" of society, where the idea of lifting the poor in an overall development is absent in the mind of the ruling group.

It is in this context that Romo Mangun dedicated his energy. According to him, it is morally imperative for the "fortunate" people (the rich, the intellectual, the well educated,...) to correct this wrong direction and to support or, at least, to be in solidarity with the poor in their struggle for a better life in a better social order. It does not mean that they have to make themselves poor, to look poor or to imitate the poor, but to keep in mind this imperative as point of departure of their acts, whatever their profession. This is the vision which underlies the advocacy work of Romo Mangun in writing, lecturing as well as in social activities.

2. Idea, Moral, Cultural and Populist Movement

Seen from its characteristics, Kampung Code community development can be classified as Idea, Moral, Cultural and Populist Movement.

Kampung Code community development was not done by any institution, but by a group of individuals who accompanied voluntarily a group of poor people in improving their living condition. The activities were not based on a written concept nor a strategic planning as a guideline or a criteria of evaluation. The activities were done mostly by trial and error, and spontaneous problem solving, in accordance with the situation and condition of the field. The most important point of their action is "to be in the side of the poor and the oppressed". That is why we may classified the activities as an Idea Movement.

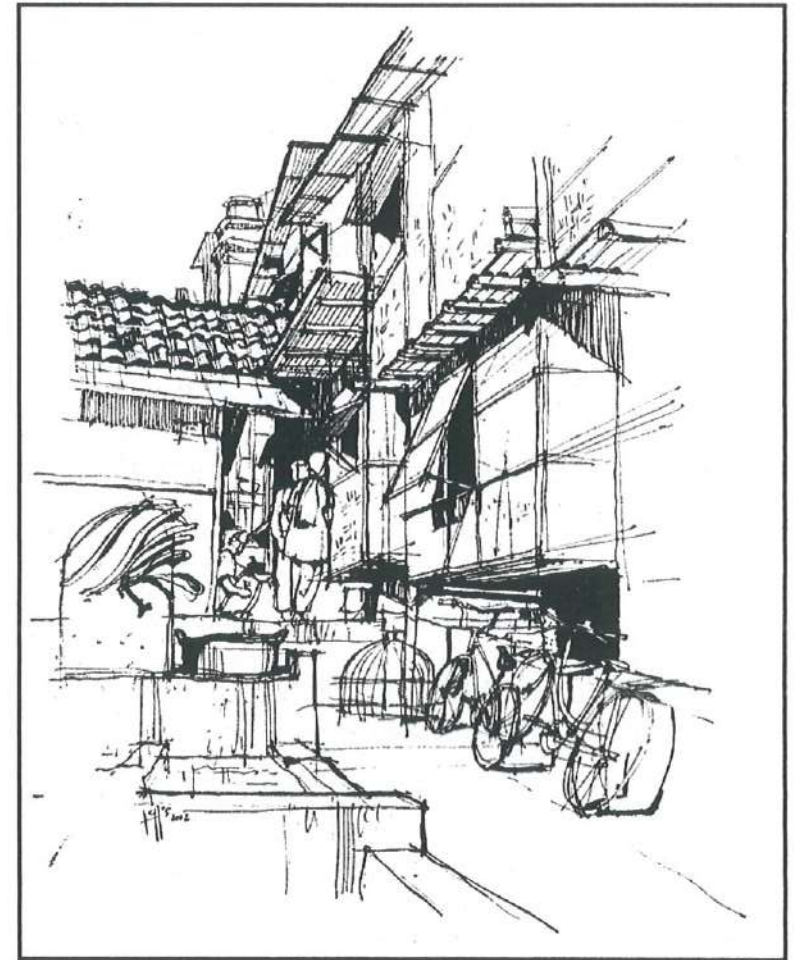
Kampung Code community development can also be classified as a Moral Movement for the fact that it is aimed at fulfilling the moral call of its leader, and not aimed at other interests (religion, politics or economy). It is true that the initiator and leader is a Catholic priest, and the mission of a Catholic priest in serving a community — especially among the poor people whose origins and religions are not clear — is to spread the Catholic teachings and to bring people into this religion. This notion of mission however is not true anymore in the Catholic Church, especially since the 60s (Council of Vatican II). Romo Mangun was among the priests who discarded that out-of-date mission of christianisation. He was not a follower of the Liberation Theology, but he acknowledged that he had the same vision with this Latin American social movement based on Christian faith and Marxism. The sameness lied in his total position at the side of

the poor and the oppressed, in terms of thought as well as actions. It is clear that there was no religious mission (in the sense of looking for new followers) in the Kampung Code community development. The volunteers of the movement came even from various religious background (Catholic, Protestant, Muslim). There was no political goal (in order to gain political power) nor economical target (profit making). In this way, we may call this action a Moral Movement.

Kampung Code development can also be classified as a Cultural Movement for the fact that the vision behind the action considered Kampung Code as a cultural problem, not in its narrow meaning as arts and way of life, but in its deeper meaning, that is the world view and the system of values of the society. The problem of Kampung Code is rooted in the world view and in the system of values of the society where Kampung Code is situated, that is the "Javanese feudalism". The Javanese world view and system of values, which had been rooted since many centuries and had created a structure domination of the "*priyayi*" (upper class of society around the power) upon "*wong cilik*" (little people, the poor, the farmers, the workers), had not been replaced by the modern world view and system of values (republic, democracy), which were supposed to create an egalitarian structure of society. The old structure of domination persisted and appeared in new forms: political elite, bureaucrats and technocrats at one side; farmers, workers, small vendors at the other side. Within these feudal world view and system of values, the first group takes a position of "master" (who controls the sources of life) and the second group "servant" (who needs the sources of life). The actions of Romo Mangun and his volunteers in Kampung Code carried a cultural mission in two ways. Firstly, to "conscientise" (raise the awareness of) the society in general and the inhabitants of Kampung Code in particular on the need for change of the world view, from the

“feudal” to the “egalitarian” one. Secondly, to give themselves as example: Romo Mangun and his volunteers, who were a part of the “priyayi”, were willing to live together in the same place with the “wong cilik” in egalitarian way.

Finally, the actions of Romo Mangun and his friends in Kampung Code can be called Populist Movement in the sense of a movement initiated and led by the elite (religious leaders, intellectuals and students) for the interests of the people, especially the urban poor. We cannot call this People’s Movement since this movement did not emerge from the people and the people did not participate fully in the actions.



SKETCH 3: Bamboo Flat on stilts

III. Kampung Code as "Housing" Movement

Mangun's choice of Kampung Code to materialise his moral vision can not be separated from the fact that he was architect. And his being architect can not be separated from his moral vision described above while at the same time it was marked by his architectural education in Aachen Technical School (*Rheinisch-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule Aachen*) from 1960-1966, where architecture was treated as a discipline of engineering. This gave him two tendencies in his architectural school of thought. Firstly, his passion of working with materials and creating physical forms. Secondly, his consciousness □ thanks to Professor Liborius Schelhasse, his professor of Urban and Regional Planning in Aachen □ that architecture and urban planning are something less technical and aesthetical than socio-political.

This architectural school of thought, however, did not meet its place to grow when he came back to Indonesia in 1966 (a transitional period from Soekarno's to Soeharto's regime). It seems that two factors which did not fit with his "moral appeal" led him to leave the architectural circle.

The first, the sociological factor, is the capitalistic reality of New Order Indonesia, where architecture and urban planning become its instrument. Architects and urban planners work finally only for the rich or the power who give them money, while the poor who are needy of service but unable to pay, are neglected. Not only they are neglected, but even more, sometimes they are victimised (e.g. direct or indirect expulsion in urban renewals) for the benefit of the rich or the big enterprises.

The second, the personal factor, is his experiences of working in architecture and urban planning, especially during more than a decade of teaching at university. He was one of the leading lecturers at the Department of Architecture of Gadjah Mada University, the state university in Yogyakarta. He founded two institutes which have direct contact with society: Research Centre, for searching, documenting, studying and publishing the architectural heritage of Indonesia; and Design Centre, for serving people with architectural design and providing students and teachers with a place to practice. In the 1970s, however, the increasing physical development thanks to the "oil boom" at one side, and the lack of consultant of development at the other side had pushed these two centres into professional agencies. Research Centre became a consultant of Urban Planning. Design Centre a consultant of Architectural Design. These new businesses pushed, in turn, the teachers to involve more in professional projects rather than in educational activities. The university was transformed into a hidden business agency.

In 1981/1982 Mangun resigned from university to spend more time in religious services, social activities and writings. Four factors, besides his disappointment mentioned above, seem to lead him to his resignation. The first is the emergence and the spread, in the whole developing world, of the new ideas in social movement and education such as the "Liberation Theology", the thoughts of Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, etc., which evoked enthusiastic reactions among the intellectual circles in Indonesia. It marked also the birth dates of the earlier Indonesian N.G.Os. The second is the readiness of Mangun and his small group of intellectuals and students to do a concrete work after many years of preparation. The third is the raising issue of the government project to clean-up the Code river-bank from building and to transform it into a beautiful green-belt.

The main governmental reasons were that the Code river-bank was considered unsafe for settlement due to the frequent flood; the spontaneous settlement increased the pollution and blocked the river course; it created also dirty and disorder image of the city. The fourth is the coincidental match between Mangun and his group who looked for a field of action at one side, the Chief of Kampung Code area, a young popular leader and admirer of Mangun who needed help to develop his kampung at the other side.

Mangun found in Kampung Code a perfect example of "cultural" and "structural" problems of Indonesian development described above. It is a "cultural" problem because Kampung Code is located in Yogyakarta, the centre of Javanese feudalism, where "little people" (farmers, petty traders, workers,... let alone the homeless, scavengers, prostitutes) are considered "out caste", not deserving respect, affection nor protection from the "ruling caste" (state officers, government functionaries, bureaucrats,...). In the eyes of society, therefore, Kampung Code is regarded as, in Indonesian terms: the "garbage of society", the "black area", the "nest of criminals",...

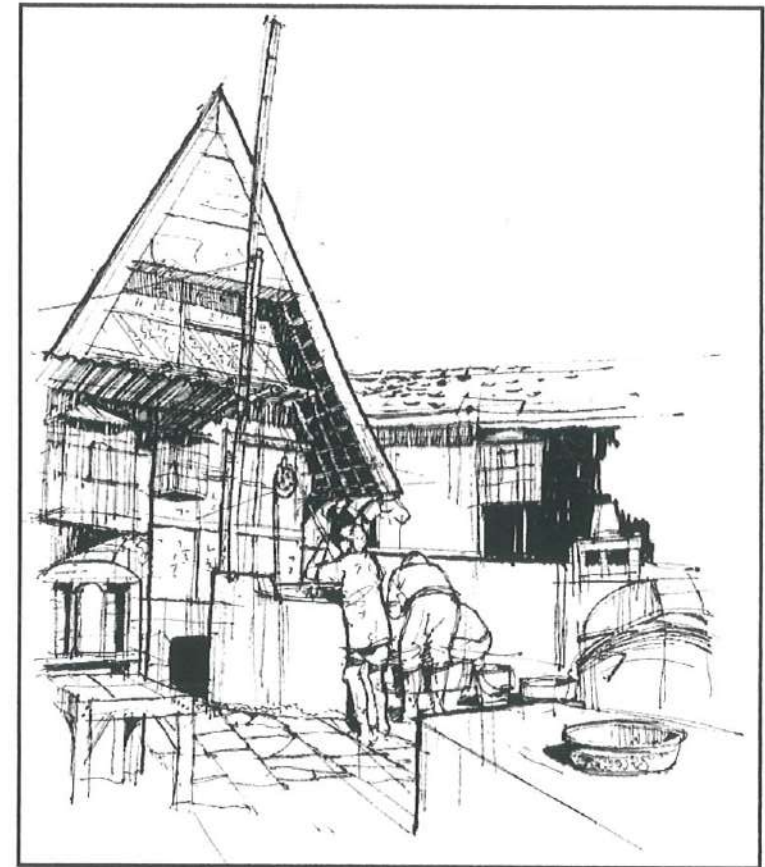
It is "structural" problem, because in term of economical structure, the inhabitants of Kampung Code are "victimised" doubly by the state politics of economical development. Firstly: they can not survive anymore in rural areas and therefore they go to the city to earn a living. But, secondly, the city does not provide them with any means of living: neither shelter nor job. They create therefore their own job: scavenging, "becak" (pedicab) driving, petty trading, ... all kind of the so called "informal sector". They supply the city with cheap labours and the industry with recycled raw materials, but they are rejected in the redistribution of public wealth.

The rejection of society toward the inhabitants of Kampung Code in culture and economy is completed in politics. At the initial action of Mangun in the kampung (1983) these people were considered "illegal" inhabitants of the city. The government did not recognise their existence. They were not registered at any level of government agencies, they did not have any identity nor residential card. They did not have any access, therefore, to any level of political participation. They were not reckoned even by any political party during the campaign of general election, because their number was too small to enable any political party to win the election.

There, at last, Mangun found a field for his architectural school of thought to grow. The government project of cleaning-up the Code river-bank from settlement became his basis of action. Opposing to the government plan, he proposed to the local authority a concept of development for Kampung Code approved by the Chief of kampung. It is a concept of "community" (and not "housing") development for the benefit of, not only the inhabitants of Kampung Code, but also, the city in general. The main points of the concept are: firstly, the Code river-bank settlement should be improved instead of being removed; secondly, Kampung Code should be managed by the inhabitants as a collective belonging and in a co-operative way, the community meetings and discussions should become the basis of decision making and community cohesion; thirdly, the land on which Kampung Code takes place remains the property of the state and, therefore, the inhabitants would not have the right to own, to rent, to sell nor to pass it onto their relatives; fourthly, to develop Kampung Code conceived above, supervision from a competent team acceptable by the inhabitants is needed.

Concerning Kampung Code as a "housing" development, however, we do not find any pre-established concept of physical planning nor design. The concept was there, but it was not written exclusively for Kampung Code. It was to be found in various articles and conferences of Mangun in different places or to be drawn from his existing architectural work. Only ten years later, in 1991, we found the concept and the physical design of Kampung Code reconstructed for the assessment of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture 1992¹. The content of this concept confirms our conclusion that as a "Housing" Movement, Kampung Code is more "architect's creation for people", which reminds us to Hassan Fathy's "Housing for the Poor", rather than "people's creation enabled by architect", which reminds us to John Turner's "Housing by People".

In order to identify more precisely the characteristics of Kampung Code as "Housing" Movement, it would be useful to see it in a comparative perspective with other types of housing development: the KIP (Kampung Improvement Programme) and other housing schemes in Indonesia and in the Third World countries. But this is another story that needs to be written in another article.



SKETCH 4: Community Well (Clean Water Source)

¹ SETYO-BUDHI Tulus (ed.), *Cooperative Housing for Slum Dwellers, Chodé Kampung Yogyakarta Indonesia*. Project Document submitted to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1991.

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