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PEOPLE-CENTRED PERSPECTIVES ON RESILIENCE: A STORY OF URBAN KAMPUNG IN SURABAYA, INDONESIA.

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ABSTRACT

Over the last decades, urban resilience has been high on the urban development research agenda. These research efforts have yielded various resilience frameworks and assessment tools. Resilience is a broad concept and needs contextualising. This research takes a people-centred approach, to understand what resilience actually means to people, particularly low-income people. The research takes the position that everyday risks and micro-economic phenomena have a disproportionate significance on the lives and wellbeing of urban populations. These have not been well considered in research on resilience which tends to relate the concept of resilience with disaster management. This paper seeks to address this imbalance by focusing on resilience towards everyday risks as determined by local populations themselves. The research uses the case study of urban populations living in Southeast Asia, a region with vigorous economic development and rapid urbanisation. This paper aims to ascertain the meaning of resilience from the perspectives of people living in urban kampung in Surabaya, Indonesia. Within Surabaya most people live in kampung which are the main urban settlement type in Indonesia. These urban villages play an important role in structuring the city and housing the majority of Surabaya's population. Transect walks and 28 interviews with community leaders and community members in kampung are used to capture how urban communities manage daily challenges and build resilience. This detailed, bottom-up perspective provides insight into the underlying socio-economic systems that exists in kampung. Findings such as the most important risk, the resilience factors and the applied local resilience framework from the perspectives of people are important that recommendations to build resilience for a dynamic and uncertain future can be made and implemented.

Keywords: Bottom-Up, Kampung, Low Income, Surabaya, Urban Resilience.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last decades, urban resilience has been high on the urban development research agenda. These research efforts have yielded various resilience frameworks and assessment tools. They were developed based on indicators deemed as suitable to measure resilience by national and local organisations, international donor organisations and academic researchers (Sharifi, 2016). Resilience is a broad concept and needs to be contextualised. There is a need for more innovative and equitable approaches to understand resilience in the context of informal urbanism considering that much of the current analysis is towards Euro-American planning perspectives (Jones, 2017).

The concept of resilience also tends to be related with big disaster events. Many scholars study resilience in relation to naturally-triggered disaster such as flooding (Hellman, 2015; Sitko, 2016; Wilhelm, 2011), earthquake (Bruneau et al., 2003; Renschler, Frazier, Arendt, & Cimellaro, G. P., Reinhorn, A. M., & Bruneau, 2010) and other large scale disasters (Arbon, Steenkamp, Cornell, Cusack, & Gebbie, 2016; Cutter et al., 2008; Djalante & Thomalla, 2011). It is apparent that the focus of current research is geared towards large scale disasters as usually the impact of these events is extremely large. However, discussion on daily risks faced by local residents is rare, even though they may be more significant for the residents given the frequency of occurrence and relevance of these daily risks (Ziervogel et al., 2017). They happen more frequently and can have chronic manifestations that impact on household and communities and result in economic loss, social disruption and even death (Shrestha & Gaillard, 2013). Focusing on holistic urban setting

risks is highlighted as critical rather than focusing on one single risk (Flower, Fortnam, Kol, Sasin, & Wood, 2018). As such, this study focuses on daily risks that may affect households like financial loss, theft, housing damage, injury, and also community as a whole such as flooding, fire, drugs, crime, and disease outbreak.

For many, a key question in resilience to ask is, 'to what' and 'for whom', and 'whose resilience to care about' (Vale, 2014). People-centred resilience attempts to answer the needs to understand what resilience means for people. The bottom-up perspective has been recognised as more practical (Hamdi, 2004), provides various benefits to communities (Sharifi, 2016), and reflects local specific risks and perspectives (Flower et al., 2018; Kwok, Paton, Becker, Hudson-Doyle, & Johnston, 2018). In fact, informal urbanism in Southeast Asia is a demonstration of bottom up incremental approach in searching for affordable housing provision (Hawken, 2017). However, the bottom-up perspective needs to be integrated as the top-down approach dominates the resilience discourse (Kwok et al., 2018; Sharifi, 2016). The need to understand problems on the ground leads to a bottom-up approach which has been seen as the work in practice (Hamdi, 2004). Therefore, it is important to use a perspective derived from bottom-up or people's perspectives, particularly low-income people, who is the most vulnerable group. These vulnerable groups are most affected and have lack of access to means of protection and exposed to socio-economic-environmental risks (Hellman, 2015; Shrestha & Gaillard, 2013). Focusing on vulnerable people is important in developing urban resilience because these vulnerable people develop resilient properties as a part of an urban system. A resilient city is both a process and an unfinished product (Vale, 2014), the need to response to changes is therefore the call for resilience.

“human-dominated social systems are different from ecological systems because of these three things: they rely on the power of human stories, depend on the human capacity to invent powerful symbols to guide action, and rise or fall in accordance with the human ability to exercise political power” (Vale, 2014, p. 200).

Based on these reasons, this paper aims to reveal the meaning of community resilience in Surabaya's *Kampung* (urban traditional settlement) from people-centred approach. *Kampung* is the main urban settlement type in Indonesia. This type of vernacular urbanism was also existed in some countries of Southeast Asia like Singapore and Malaysia. An urban *kampung* in Surabaya, one of the emerging megacities in Indonesia that is experiencing vast economic development and rapid urbanisation, is the case study used in this research. In Surabaya, *kampung* covers more than 60 percent area of the city and plays important role in the structure and the history of the city. These urban villages play an important role in structuring the city and housing the majority of Surabaya's population. The housing conditions are also mixed as the *kampung* inhabitants range from low to middle-income family. Previous literature (Shirleyana, Hawken, & Sunindijo, 2018) has identified a local resilience framework for urban *kampung*: (1) social ties, (2) adaptation, (3) community initiatives, (4) place attachment, (5) place identity, (6) security, (7) economic stability, (8) environmental protection, (9) government support. To further understand communities' perspectives of the risks and resilience within a local setting, this study adopts a people-centred approach, which relies on people's stories in developing resilience capacities. The next section of this paper explains the methods employed to answer the objectives of the study. Following this, the results of the investigation are discussed in the form of the dimensions of risks and resilience based on people's perspectives. This paper concludes with coping mechanism levels created in an urban *kampung* setting's practice: household level, neighbourhood level, and institutional level and the applied local resilience framework.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted to investigate how urban communities manage daily challenges and build resilience. The study area is located in the inner-city location of Surabaya, in *Kampung Lawang Seketeng* in Peneleh District. The *kampung* is mainly inhabited by low-income people and exposed to different type of risks, including physical, social, economic, environmental risks. The area has a strong historical value in the city and a part of urban *kampung* which is preserved by the Municipality.

To obtain in depth information for the study, a number of research approaches were employed, with findings triangulated. The field work for this paper was undertaken in March and April 2019. Transect walk and interviews were employed. "A transect walk is an observatory walk to make the profile of any given area or path" (Lassa et al., 2011, p. 63). The purpose is to get information needed while walking across a certain section or path in the case study. Transect walk was done in *kampung* alleyways during various time in weekdays and weekend. The observation was looking at physical characteristics, social economic activities, visible risk and capacities of *kampung*. Transect walk helps to observe an environment thoroughly based on specific criteria, such as daily activities, physical attributes (alleyways, facilities), social economic attributes, visible risks and capacities.

Interviews were conducted with 28 participants (Table 1), 19 women and 9 men. Of these, 7 were community leaders (RW and RT leaders). The participants were selected using snowball sampling method. The interviews used an interview guide which is intended to find out people's perspectives of what is important for them to stay in *kampung* and what makes them resilience. Participants were asked how long they had lived in the *kampung*, things they like or dislike, and changes they would like to see. The findings were coded and categorised to identify resilience frameworks based on people's perspectives. First, the interviewees' responses were coded based on the content. Second, the responses were group into themes. Then, the themes were reviewed based on the responses and checked whether they fit in the developed local resilience frameworks (Shirleyana et al., 2018). For the purpose of triangulation, additional interviews with 2 community leaders were conducted to clarify social network in the *kampung* and the transect result.

Table 1. Interviewees profile in Lawang Seketeng

No.	Code	Position	Gender	Age	Length of Stay (years)	Origin
1	LWS I-HMS	Comm. leader	M	>55	28	Outside Surabaya
2	LWSI-MH	Resident	M	>55	59	Lawang Seketeng
3	LWS I-AW	Resident	M	35-44	17	Lawang Seketeng
4	LWS II-JSM	Resident	F	>55	5	Others in Surabaya
5	LWS II-TH	Resident	F	45-54	50	Lawang Seketeng
6	LWS II-WN	Comm. leader	M	45-54	45	Lawang Seketeng
7	LWS IV-LN	Comm. leader	F	35-44	44	Lawang Seketeng
8	LWS IV-SF	Resident	F	>55	28	Others in Surabaya
9	LWS VI-AL	Comm. leader	F	>55	60	Lawang Seketeng
10	LWS III- NH	Resident	F	>55	50	Others in Surabaya
11	LWS II-DP	Comm. leader	M	45-54	52	Lawang Seketeng
12	LWS III-AH	Resident	M	35-44	1	Outside Surabaya

No.	Code	Position	Gender	Age	Length of Stay (years)	Origin
13	LWS VI-IR	Resident	F	25-34	32	Lawang Seketeng
14	LWS V-SY	Comm. leader	M	45-54	54	Lawang Seketeng
15	LWS V- WW	Resident	F	35-44	5	Others in Surabaya
16	LWS V-AH	Resident	M	35-44	3	Others in Surabaya
17	LWS V-ER	Resident	F	>55	33	Others in Surabaya
18	LWS V-KS	Resident	F	>55	8	Others in Surabaya
19	LWS V-HM	Resident	F	>55	30	Others in Surabaya
20	LWS II-RT	Resident	F	>55	20	Others in Surabaya
21	LWS V-EN	Resident	F	35-44	5	Lawang Seketeng
22	LWS IV-WD	Resident	F	45-54	9	Others in Surabaya
23	LWS I-DN	Comm. leader	M	45-54	31	Lawang Seketeng
24	LWS III-MN	Resident	M	35-44	3	Outside Surabaya
25	LWS III-PMH	Resident	F	>55	10	Others in Surabaya
26	LWS IV-JL	Resident	F	45-54	48	Lawang Seketeng
27	LWS II-AS	Resident	F	18-24	2	Outside Surabaya
28	LWS III-SR	Resident	F	>55	10	Others in Surabaya

The following sections present the case study area, dimensions of risks and resilience, and discuss the risks and resilience from people's perspectives.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Case Study: Lawang Seketeng, an inner-city *kampung* in Surabaya

Lawang Seketeng is located in Peneleh District (*Kelurahan Peneleh*), which is under Genteng Subdistrict (*Kecamatan Genteng*) in Surabaya. It has a strong historical value in the development of the city. During 1800s, the area was a cemetery area before being developed into a settlement (Interview with community leaders). This urban *kampung* comprises 350 households in the registry, but in reality, there are only 150 households reside in the *kampung*. This inner-city *kampung* is located behind a secondary street (Peneleh Street) which is located next to the Kalimas River. Kalimas was very important waterway for transportation and trading in the city's history. Many expeditions and export import companies are still operating on the street in front of the *kampung*. The rest are hotels, small snack shops and old buildings. Behind this commercial area is the *kampung* Lawang Seketeng, which comprises 6 neighbourhoods ('*Rukun Tetangga*' or Resident Associations). It has six main *kampung* alleyways, gg¹ I to VI. Next to *kampung* Lawang Seketeng are *kampung* Pandean (South), *Kampung* Grogol (East), and *Kampung* Jagalan (North) (Figure 1).

The observation was carried out in all 6 alleyways in the *kampung* Lawang Seketeng. Lawang Seketeng gg I and IV connects the Peneleh Street and *kampung* Pandean gg V. Lawang Seketeng gg I and IV are also the access to go to Lawang Seketeng gg VI from the street or from the back of the *kampung*. Lawang Seketeng gg VI is also accessible from gg II, III, and IV. In between these alleyways, there are smaller alleys which connect one *kampung* alleyway to the other. For example, there are connecting alley from gg I to gg II, gg II to gg III, and gg IV to gg V. The small alleys in *kampung* serve as connecting spaces, which make *kampung* similar to a giant maze,

¹ gg – read as gang, is a name for small alleyways in the *kampung*, such as gang 1, gang 2, etc.

especially to those who are not familiar with the area.

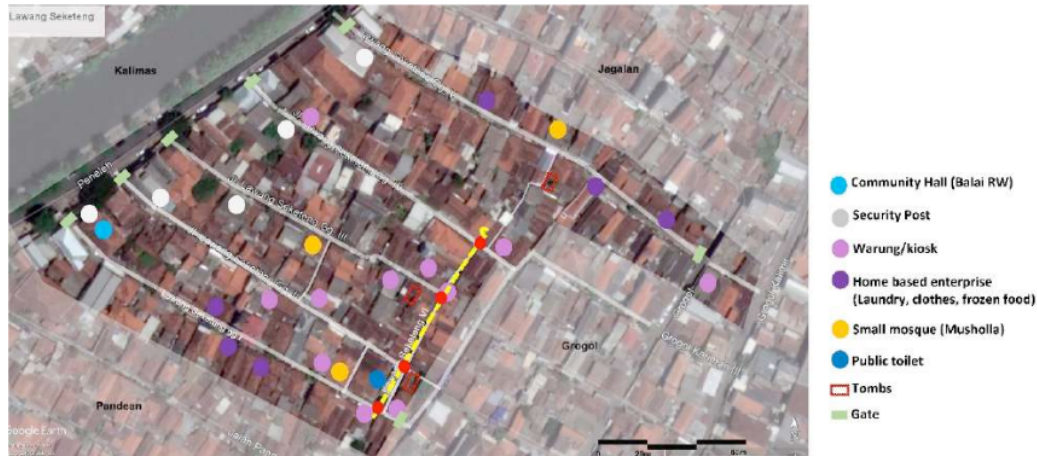


Figure 1. Map of the case study: Lawang Seketeng
Source: Modified from Google Earth image, 2019

Alleyways in the *kampung* range from 2.5 to 4 meters. These alleyways can serve many functions, such as motorcycle parking, food stalls, sitting benches for chatting with neighbours, playing spaces for children, hanging laundry, and in some parts of *kampung*, for doing household activities like cooking and washing. *Kampung* alleyways are busy in the morning at around 8 am and in the afternoon at 4 to 6 pm. During daytime, when some residents taking a nap, *kampung* tends to be quiet. However, in Lawang Seketeng gg VI, the alleyway seems to be frequently busy. There are always residents who stay outside, mingling with their neighbours or doing household activities.

Kampung gate is placed in gg I to V which are accessible from the main street, but not from the back (from *Kampung* Pandean). From *Kampung* Pandean, only Lawang Seketeng gg I is accessible through another gate. In gg V, there are gates which separate Lawang Seketeng with *kampung* Gregoi. These *kampung* gates were placed to increase *kampung* security from theft, drugs, and gambling (Interview LWS IV-LN). Several houses open *warung* or kiosk in their house. In gg VI, almost along the alleyway there are *warung*, food stalls, or a small table set up by residents to sell food. Public toilet ('*ponten*') in *kampung* is also located in gg VI, and used by those who rented rooms in boarding house ('*rumah kosan*') next to the public toilet.

Since the area was a cemetery before being developed into an urban settlement, there are still some tombs left in the *kampung*. These tombs exist in gg III, VI, connecting alleys from gg IV to gg V, and inside a house in gg II. *Kampung* dwellers maintain these tombs and conduct religious ceremonies before the tombs in gg III and gg VI to receive blessings ('*slametan*').

From the transect walks, an urban *kampung* has specific characteristics and differences even within the same *kampung* area (inter *kampung*). Among the six neighbourhoods, there are different characteristics as follows (Table 1, Figure 2):

Table 2. Six neighbourhoods in RW XV Lawang Seketeng

Neighbourhood	Description
RT 1 (gg I)	The largest numbers of residents (households) in the <i>kampung</i> neighbourhood. The back of alleyways is livelier because <i>warung</i> /shops/kiosks are available. Many residents had been staying for years in the <i>kampung</i> . Some of the residents are relatives.
RT 2 (gg II)	Many residents are old (aged 60-70 years old). There are only ± 20 houses, and some houses have more than 1 household. For example, one house accommodates 5 households, but only 3 households live inside, the other 2 households do not actually live in the <i>kampung</i> . There are few residents, but they still have a monthly women group meeting every month (' <i>arisan</i> '). Some of the residents are newcomers (from riverbank). The boarding houses where these residents stay are considered as a slum area by other <i>kampung</i> members because they hang their laundry in vacant houses.
RT 3 (gg III)	The smallest total household number in the <i>kampung</i> . Residents are passive. Many residents are old people. Some local residents have left the neighbourhood.
RT 4 (gg IV)	The most active <i>kampung</i> in terms of community activities, but the alleyways are quiet. RT leader actively supports and initiates activities for <i>kampung</i> members and brought RT 4 into the green and clean competition and also win MDS (' <i>Merdeka Dari Sampah!</i> ' Free from Garbage) Award. There is a waste bank to recycle <i>kampung</i> households' waste.
RT 5 (gg V)	The longest alleyways in the <i>kampung</i> neighbourhood. Towards the end of alleyways, there are more children, making the place lively. There is no women group meeting, no monthly meeting, no community activities except for Independence Day celebration. RT leader serves as administrative purpose only. Many of the residents are old residents (had been staying in the <i>kampung</i> for years).
RT 6 (gg VI)	The liveliest alleyways in the <i>kampung</i> . Residents mingling with neighbours on terraces, doing households' activities outside their houses, such as washing, cooking, or just sitting around. This neighbourhood has the poorest housing condition in the <i>kampung</i> . The majority of the residents are low income people. Many are Maduraneses and relatives. This area is spotted as slum by other <i>kampung</i> members, because they hang laundry, cooking and washing outside their houses. Some food stalls are placed outside the houses.

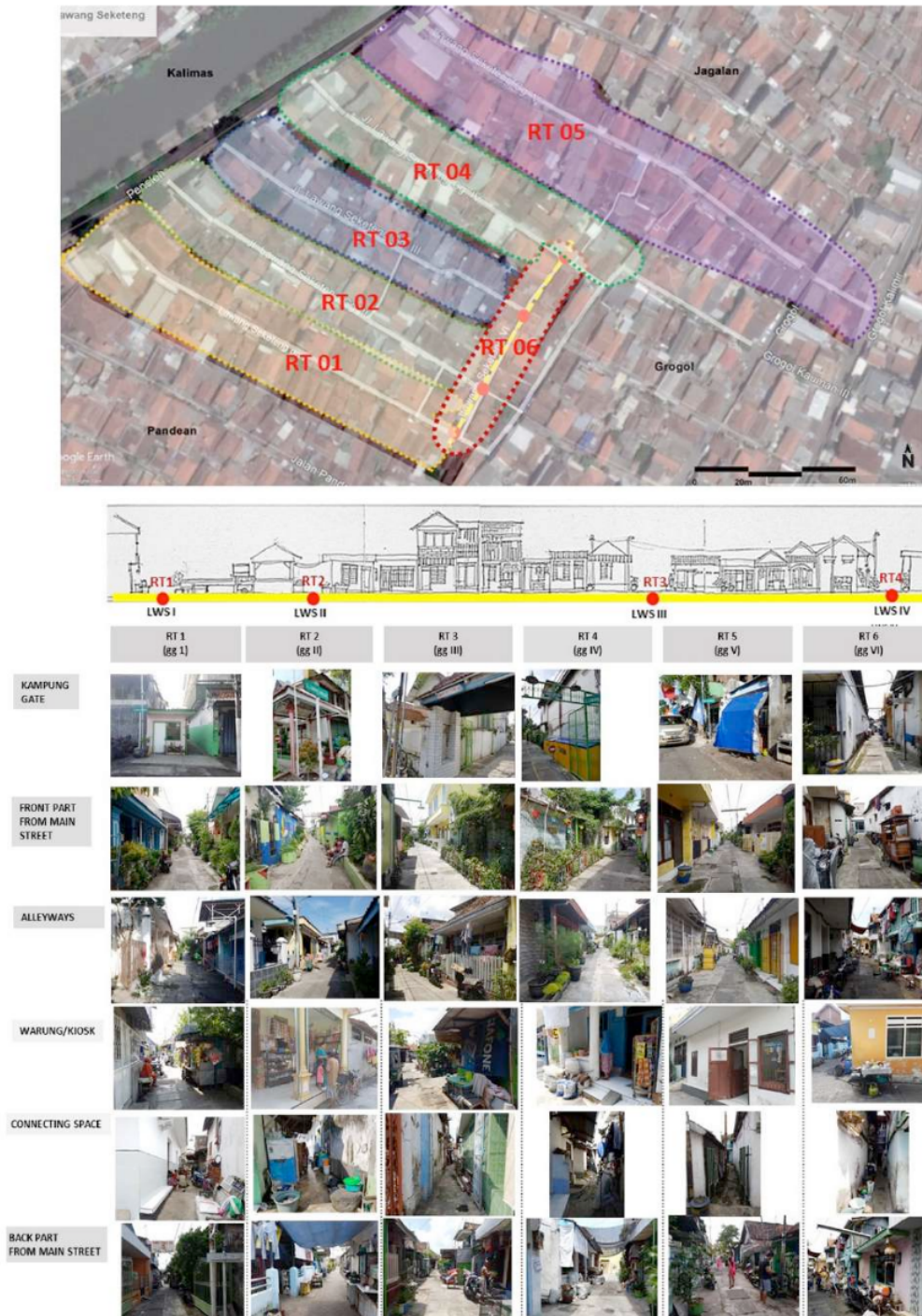


Figure 2. Six neighbourhoods in Kampung Lawang Seketeng

Dimensions of Risks: What do kampung dwellers perceive as risks living in the kampung?

There are several risks identified in *kampung*, which affects individual households and the community as a whole. When given the list of what could be the most important risks, terrorist attack was mentioned by some *kampung* residents. This factor seems to be a result of terrorist bombing which happened in the city in May 2018. Residents are terrified because it is easy for a newcomer to enter the *kampung* area and then rent a room in a boarding house ('*rumah kosan*'). RT leaders in the *kampung* area has increased the security in *kampung* by giving instruction for new people to report and provide ID when entering *kampung* (Interview with community leader RT 01,03,05).

Although *kampung* does not experience much flooding, it seems that flooding is also common in the city and perceived as an important risk in the *kampung*. Some *kampung* dwellers perceived flooding to be a risk that will affect their daily activities. Flooding happens in the *kampung* when it rains for an extended period of time. The drainage level was not well designed to let the rainwater flow.

"I experience flooding, but not too much like in television... Even though it rains hard, after 30 mins it will drain fast. If the city is flooded, *kampung* will be flooded. But if only some parts of the city are flooded, it won't be flooding here." (LWS-IV-SF)

Crime is also perceived as an important risk in the *kampung*. *Kampung* dwellers reported crime cases like motorcycle being stolen or mugging. Many motorcycles are parked outside the *kampung* houses. Bag theft also happened especially near Hari Raya time. Crime acts are mostly happened during daytime since it is the time where many *kampung* dwellers are not outside and the area is quiet.

Diseases outbreak was mentioned as another possible risk. This was related to what happened in the *kampung* recently, in which three *kampung* dwellers got Dengue fever.

Other risks in the *kampung* involved fire, drugs, lack of money, conflict with neighbours, housing damage, and earthquake. In the case of drugs, some residents argued that there are no more drugs in the *kampung*. The drug users and dealers have been caught (LWS-II-RT). Others still believed that drug users still exist in the *kampung* (LWS-VI-IR).

Dimensions of Resilience: Why kampung dwellers like and choose to stay in the kampung?

Many residents, who have been staying there for years, were born in the *kampung*. Some of them stay for more than 40 years. They were born and grew up in *kampung* and stayed for years because they enjoyed living in the *kampung*. Most of the residents who are newcomers stay there because they followed their relatives. For example, they moved to the *kampung* after married, following their husband (LWS-IV-SF, LWS-V-HM), wife, or following their parents (LWS II-TH) or children who stay in the *kampung* (LWS V-KS). Some of these newcomers also stay in the *kampung* because they sold their previous house and then stay in the house which are owned by their relatives (LWS-II-JSM, LWS-IV-WD, LWS-V-AH). Having relatives in the *kampung* might attract newcomers to live in *kampung* (LWS III-AH).

Other reasons that may attract people to stay in *kampung* are from *kampung* characteristics, particularly its environment and its central location. First, they chose *kampung* because of its

environment (free from flood, safe, quiet, good neighbours). Second, they chose *kampung* because *kampung* is located in the inner city. Therefore, it is easy for them to access various facilities, including markets, shopping centres, education facilities, and hospitals.

“Since my marriage, I like to stay here. My children asked me to move out, but I like to stay here. This *kampung* is safe. My neighbours, Chinese, are nice.” (LWS-V-HM)

The majority of *kampung* dwellers like to stay in the *kampung*. One of the main parts that the *kampung* dwellers like about their *kampung* is their neighbours. They like their neighbours because they are friendly and can help if something happens. When they leave the houses, they trust that their neighbours will take care of their houses.

“If there is anything happened, neighbours are the first to know. We asked neighbours to take care of our houses every time we want to go.” (LWS-IV-LN)

Kampung is also perceived as a safe place, having no thieves and no riots. Although in some interviews there are some cases of theft in the *kampung* (LWS-I-MH), *kampung* dwellers did not take it seriously. It is normal especially near *Hari Raya* (Eid Mubarak) celebration.

Strong togetherness or harmony (*‘guyub’* or *‘rukun’*) in the *kampung* also makes people like to stay in *kampung*. They believe that *kampung* members will always help each other when seeing their neighbours in trouble.

“Communal work is common in the *kampung*, when there is a deceased *kampung* member, it will be announced through *musholla*, and all will come.” (LWS-VI-AL)

Other factors that they like about the *kampung* are free from flooding, the environment and greeneries in *kampung*, and the community leader.

As neighbours have a high influence on people in *kampung*, few residents do not like to stay in the *kampung* because of the conflict they had with neighbours (LWS-III-RT). Lack of cleanliness because of dirty parts in *kampung* or because of animals are other aspects of *kampung* that they do not like.

The way *kampung* dwellers view their *kampung* is influenced by the physical conditions of the *kampung*. Most of them wanted changes in the *kampung* to improve the physical conditions, such as improving cleanliness in the *kampung*, improving alleyways, adding facilities and greeneries, and improving drainage.

Dimensions of Resilience: How do kampung dwellers cope with problems and build resilience?

When talking about problems and daily risks, neighbours is the most important factor for *kampung* dwellers to live within an urban *kampung*. They perceive good relationships with neighbours are highly crucial to live in the *kampung*. Neighbours are people who they can ask for help, for information, and the ones they can count on if something happens (LWS-V-WD).

However, *kampung* Lawang Seketeng also experiences problems with social ties in *kampung*. *Kampung* is no longer like *kampung* used to be in old days. It is now quieter and difficult to find residents mingling with their neighbours. The spread of technology may affect the way people interacts in the *kampung*. Previously community meetings played an important role in social interaction. Now the community uses Whats App group as a means of communication.

“Before, we used to gather, so harmonious although there are many Chinese. Now, people are getting old and not going out of the house.” (LWS-II-TH).

“When I was a kid, at 4pm we went to the mosque for ‘*pengajian*’, and then playing after *maghrib* time. Now, only gg VI is still busy, because there are lots of kids. Here, many children had grown up. Now, when kids are bored, they play with their mobile phones instead.” (LWS-IV-LN).

The second most important factor for *kampung* dwellers is their income. Since the majority of them are low-income people, livelihood is important.

Relatives in the *kampung* is also perceived as important. Most of the time, when *kampung* dwellers face difficulties, they received help from their relatives.

Other supports, such as religious institution and government support are also important. For, those who do not have formal income and live alone, these support means so much for them.

“It was good that the government provide KIP (*Kartu Indonesia Pintar*). I received IDR 500,000 per semester, which can be used to pay school needs for my daughter.” (LWS-II-TH)

“Since my husband passed away, I receive 10kgs of rice every month from the church. They know I live alone and they help me. RT leader also cuts my monthly fee into half.” (LWS-III-PMH)

Supports from the community leader also make the residents feel that living in the *kampung* is convenient. For instance, some new residents who came from the riverbank outside the *kampung* feel safe because they are protected by the RT leader.

Education is also important for *kampung* dwellers to improve their living conditions. In addition, there is one response who mentioned skills as necessary for everyone to have, especially when having a low level of education.

“My father told me to have at least one additional skill, because I am only an elementary school graduate. I learnt to sew and now who knows that my skill is useful. After my husband passed away, I earn money from receiving order for sewing shirts.” (LWS-III-PMH)

Another important factor to cope with problems in the *kampung* is security. Security in the *kampung* include not being evicted, or asked to move out. This was the experience of two residents in the *kampung* who were evicted from nearby *kampung* (Tambak Bayan). Previously, they did not have a legal certificate for their house, but here in this *kampung* they finally have ownership rights. Security here also means *kampung* is free from crime. When *kampung* dwellers feel safe, they like to stay in the *kampung*.

Beyond Resilience: Understanding people's perspectives and actual risks

Based on the story of *kampung* dwellers, there are several risks happening in the *kampung* (Table 2). The most prominent risks identified are social-related risks, such as terrorist attack, crime (theft), drugs, and conflict with neighbours. The literature review (Putra, 2017; Shirleyana et al., 2018) noted that physical risk is prominent, such as *kampung* may be evicted by urban development in the city, lack of or limited open space. However, as explained by the *kampung* dwellers in this research, social risk is perceived as the most crucial. They perceived social

interaction with neighbours is important for them. *Kampung* as a traditional informal settlement used to have high social ties. With the use of internet, the physical social interaction has decreased. While *kampung* physically stays in the location, the communal spirit in *kampung* gradually disappears. Hence *kampung* is no longer active like the traditional *kampung*. As a result, crime rate is increasing. Some residents told a story about a motorcycle stolen in the *kampung*. Until now, the only prevention taken by *kampung* dwellers are only to install the *kampung* gate, which is closed at night until early morning. The problem is that crime tends to happen during daytime where no one is around in *kampung* alleyways.

Kampung also suffers from environmental risks like flooding and disease outbreak. Flooding was not perceived as something serious in the *kampung*, but it is still perceived as something that may happen in the city. Disease outbreak like dengue fever is also one of the consequences of poor living condition since the majority of *kampung* dwellers have low-income levels. For these people, livelihood and financial matters are serious concerns. However, for those who have better economic conditions in the *kampung*, cleanliness becomes their priority.

Table 3. Risks perceived by *kampung* residents

Physical Risks	Social Risks	Economic Risks	Environmental Risks
Housing damage Fire	Terrorist bomb Crime Drugs Conflict with neighbours	Lack of money (financial loss)	Flooding Disease outbreak Earthquake

However, the risks perceived by *kampung* residents may not reflect the actual risks as “the perception of risks is often relative and subjective” (Hamdi, 2004, p. 54). Most of the responses were based on previous hardship experienced by the residents. The actual risks happen in the *kampung* are related to *kampung* conditions. Most of the residents are low income people and therefore struggle in managing their income with daily needs. Crime cases often happen in the *kampung* and need preventions to be undertaken. Another type of actual risk is fire because of housing density and it is difficult for a fire brigade to access *kampung*.

Despite all the risks experienced by *kampung* dwellers, they develop a system to be resilient to daily risks (Table 3). *Kampung* dwellers are vulnerable to daily risks but they adapt to the *kampung* where they live. They know that they do not have lots of money, but they use whatever means they have to make a living. Although *kampung* situations have changed, many of *kampung* dwellers feel attached because they were born in the *kampung*. Relatives are also found to be helpful for *kampung* dwellers. A key support system outside the households and family is their neighbours. Neighbours in the *kampung* will be the first to know if *kampung* members need help. Another important source of support is the community leader, especially when they have difficulties like having conflicts with their neighbours. Outside the community, religious institutions and the government support *kampung* dwellers to fulfill basic needs and giving education to their children.

There are resilience themes developed based on the stories of *kampung* dwellers in the *kampung*: (1) adaptation, (2) place attachment, (3) economic stability, (4) social ties, (5) community initiative, (6) security, (7) environmental protection, (8) accessibility, and (9) institutional support. The most important of these factors is the social ties, reflected as a good relationship with their neighbours. Neighbours are the first support for the residents in the *kampung*, especially when they live far from relatives. They are also a factor that support place attachment in the *kampung*. In supporting economic stability, it is crucial that *kampung* dwellers are equipped with skills and economic

generation opportunities. Accessibility factor actually shows that *kampung* is always related to the city's facilities. *Kampung* as a vernacular urbanism supplies labour, human resources and supports local economies (Hawken, 2017). Despite all resilience adaptation efforts, support from the Municipality is the one that make *kampung* resilient. *Kampung* is an important urban heritage of the city. Although the traditional life in the *kampung* may change and adapt to the current development, *kampung* is a part of the city's structure and accommodates low-income people. Therefore, the resilience policy needs to be strengthened in the city.

Table 4. Communities' perspectives

Coping mechanism level	Resilience factors	Responses from Interviewees
Household - Family	Adaptation	"Like it or not I will just live with it."
	Place attachment	"I like to stay here. My children asked me to move out, but I like to stay here. "
	Economic stability	"If only from this shop it is not enough, luckily I get additional incomes from making snacks by order."
Neighbours	Social ties	"If there is anything happened, neighbours are the first to know. We asked neighbours to take care of our houses every time we want to go." "In this <i>kampung</i> , neighbours are individual, at the front part there are many Chinese, less Javanese. They just say hello when they see each other. At the back part of <i>kampung</i> there are Javanese and Maduranese."
Community leader	Community initiative	".there is no one who waters the plants. Always in this area, only me. We are bored...We are also busy. If all members contribute, it will be easier. I also want to plant hydroponic like in my school. But when I want to implement here, <i>kampung</i> members are ignorant (' <i>cuek</i> ')." " <i>Kampung</i> alleyways used to be narrow, but because drainage is now covered, alleyways are wider. Ambulance can come in now." "No more PKK in this <i>kampung</i> ... before the present RT leader there was a PKK group."
<i>Kampung</i> physical attributes	Security	" <i>Kampung</i> gate was installed because there were drugs and theft in <i>kampung</i> , especially approaching <i>Ramadhan</i> . They stole motorcycles. "
	Environmental protection	"I want <i>kampung</i> to be good...clean, especially with more greeneries..."
	Accessibility	"We don't know suddenly there are new renters. Maybe because here is a central location. Easy to go everywhere. Going to ITC is near, Blauran is near, PGS also near, Siola is also close. If there are parades, we just need to walk. Going to market is near, Puskesmas is near. Everything is nearby."
Religious Institution	Institutional Support	"From <i>pengajian</i> , every 4 th Friday, I receive 4kg of rice, 1kg of sugar, 1 litre of cooking oil, and fried noodle. If I don't get fried noodle and cooking oil then I get money IDR 50,000."
Government		"The government provides lighting for <i>kampung</i> alleyways." " <i>Kampung</i> also receives donation from the government like sound system and tents."

Source: Author, 2019

4. CONCLUSION

The concept of resilience discourse to date has been largely directed towards big disaster events. The discussions on daily risks are rare although they happen more frequently and have significant impacts on households and communities. Further, many of the resilience measurements and tools are developed from the top-down approach. This paper seeks to address this imbalance by focusing on resilience towards everyday risks as determined by local populations themselves. People-centred resilience attempts to understand unique perspectives of low-income people in an urban environment on resilience.

Resilience is a process. The community develops a capacity as they learn to adapt with *kampung* where they live. Neighbours in the *kampung* plays an important role. It is a must to maintain good relationships with neighbours when living in such an urban *kampung*. The stronger the social ties, the stronger the support system available inside *kampung*.

The risks perceived by *kampung* dwellers are based on the hardship they experience. These risks may not reflect the actual risks are on the ground. While *kampung* is deemed as having social-economic risks, in the urban development, *kampung* is not guaranteed to be untouched and still prone to be replaced by large development projects, unless the government has put some preventive measures.

Dimensions of resilience developed from peoples' perspective in this paper include: (1) adaptation, (2) place attachment, (3) economic stability, (4) social ties, (5) community initiative, (6) security, (7) environmental protection, (8) accessibility, and (9) institutional support. Place identity is important, but it is more of a result of resilience adaptation rather than a factor that promotes strength or capacity to cope with risks that happen in the *kampung*.

A bottom-up approach is crucial in understanding problems on the ground, however, it does not mean that a bottom-up approach can work alone. Therefore, further research efforts need to integrate both top-down and bottom-up approaches to address urban resilience as a system.

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