Negotiation Abstract and Social Space in the Development of Kampung Bekelir: A Study of Multi-Actor Collaboration in Tangerang City

Rani Titis Sukowati [1]*, Ayu Riyanti[2], Ika Agustina[3]

[1,2,3]Department of Sociology Education, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa
email: rani.titis@untirta.ac.id

Abstract

This study is important because it provides a different understanding of Henri Lefebvre's concept of the production of space, particularly in *Kampung* Bekelir, Tangerang City, where negotiation rather than domination becomes more apparent. The development process of *Kampung* Bekelir involved various actors, including NGOs, the city government, residents, and the private sector. A qualitative approach was employed in this research, utilizing in-depth interviews, field observations, literature reviews, and official government documents. The findings reveal that Lefebvre's concepts of abstract and social space occur simultaneously during the *kampung* development process. Abstract space is represented by external actors, such as the Public Policy NGO and the city government, who bring ideas and resources. However, instead of the usual contestation or domination associated with abstract space, the development process was marked by negotiation emphasizing the alignment of abstract space actors with social space. This collaboration illustrates a more participatory and bottom-up approach to development. In addition to supporting the local government's RPJMD program and city branding efforts, the development of *Kampung* Bekelir also improved the *kampung*'s image and boosted residents' economic conditions. This study demonstrates that abstract space does not always oppress social space, rather, it can synergize under certain contexts through equitable collaboration. The research contributes to the understanding of urban space production based on multi-actor collaboration in urban areas.

Keywords: *spatial production, abstract space, social space, negotiation, kampung bekelir*

Abstrak

Penelitian dalam artikel ini penting dilakukan karena dapat memberikan pemahaman berbeda mengenai produksi ruang Henri Lefebvre, khususnya di Kampung Bekelir, Kota Tangerang, yang justru lebih memunculkan negosiasi dibandingkan dominasi. Dalam proses pembangunan Kampung Bekelir melibatkan berbagai aktor, seperti LSM, pemerintah kota, warga, dan sektor privat. Pendekatan kualitatif digunakan dalam penelitian ini dengan memanfaatkan wawancara mendalam, observasi lapangan, studi literatur, dan dokumen resmi pemerintah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa konsep ruang Lefebvre, terutama ruang abstrak dan sosial, terjadi secara bersamaan dalam proses pembangunan kampung. Ruang abstrak direpresentasikan oleh aktor luar, seperti LSM Kebijakan Publik dan pemerintah kota, yang membawa ide dan sumber daya. Namun, pembangunan kampung tidak selalu terjadi kontestasi atau dominasi, sebagaimana lazimnya ruang abstrak, melainkan negosiasi yang lebih menekankan pada keberpihakan aktor ruang abstrak kepada ruang sosial. Kolaborasi ini menunjukkan pendekatan pembangunan yang lebih partisipatif dan *bottom-up*. Selain menguntungkan pemerintah dalam mendukung program RPJMD dan branding kota, pembangunan Kampung Bekelir juga meningkatkan citra kampung serta ekonomi warga. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa ruang abstrak tidak selalu menindas ruang sosial, melainkan bisa bersinergi dalam konteks tertentu melalui kolaborasi yang setara. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi dalam memahami produksi ruang kota berbasis kolaborasi multiaktor di kawasan urban.

Kata kunci: *produksi ruang, ruang abstrak, ruang sosial, negosiasi, kampung bekelir*

*****Corresponding Author**: Rani Titis Sukowati (*rani.titis@untirta.ac.id*). Department of Sociology Education, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Indonesia.

Introduction

Urban tourism is one type of tourism that takes place in urban spaces with attributes characterized by a non-agricultural-based economy, such as administration, manufacturing, trade and services, and transport. Urban tourism destinations offer various experiences through a broad and diverse range of cultural, architectural, technological, social, and natural products for leisure and business (www.unwto.org/urban-tourism). The emergence of social, spatial, economic, and technological issues, as well as urbanisation governance and local responses to globalisation, are inseparable from the existence of urban tourism.

The presence of urban tourism is a form of urban development that does not solely involve physical changes to the area, but also contains complex social, political, and economic dimensions. According to Lefebvre (1991), space is not a neutral entity, but a socially produced and contested entity shaped by spatial practices, representations, and lived experiences, and involving power relations between actors. The production of social space is indeed closely related to the interests of subjects who seek to control the space and mark it according to their interests and meanings. Therefore, it is important to understand how space is constructed, which actors play a role in its formation process, who benefits, and how the space is given meaning in daily life.

Tangerang City, as one of the urban areas on the outskirts of Jakarta, is developing its tourism sector, for example through the existence of thematic *kampung* (*kampung tematik*). This is due to the pressure of modernization and the need for city branding, which aligns with Tangerang's flagship program, namely LIVE, an acronym for liveable, investable, visitable, and e-city (smart city). The development of thematic *kampung*s in Tangerang City is being carried out massively, which can be seen from the large number of thematic *kampung*s, reaching over 100. The development of thematic *kampung*s, like other development policies, is also inseparable from the dynamics between actors and potential conflicts of interest.

Referring to the definition of a thematic *kampung* (*kampung tematik*), this concept emphasizes the active involvement of the community in the process. This means that a thematic *kampung* is not only community-based, but also emphasizes the process of creating a distinctive and sustainable space by the residents themselves (Idziak et al., 2015). Furthermore, a thematic *kampung* can be viewed as a form of social innovation because it arises from the initiatives and creativity of the community or social groups (Kloczko-Gajewska, 2014).

The concept of transforming urban *kampung* space into a tourist *kampung* can be explained using Henri Lefebvre's concept of the production of space. According to Lefebvre (1991), the production of social space is closely related to the interests of the actors who control the space and mark it according to their interests and meanings. Lefebvre's approach regarding these actors relates to his concept of abstract space, which is interpreted as space shaped by planners, technocrats, and those in power. Abstract space is hegemonic and dominates the social space of the residents. However, in the case of *Kampung* Bekelir, abstract space does not completely displace social space. Instead, negotiation and collaboration become the primary elements in the transformation of space in this *kampung*.

The Public Policy NGO, although not originating from the *kampung* residents, was the initiator of the mural *kampung* idea and was involved in providing assistance. This role did not indicate unilateral dominance, but rather opened a space for resident participation in the form of communal work (*gotong royong*), discussions, and active involvement in the development process. The Village Head (*Lurah*) of Babakan also acted as a mediator between the residents and external actors. Furthermore, there was a paint company that contributed by supplying materials without intervening in the decisions regarding design or space management.

The Tangerang city government was present as an actor that strengthened the collaborative narrative by officially designating *Kampung* Bekelir as part of the city program. The government took on the role of a protector, not the owner of the idea. The city government gained legitimacy for the program's success because *Kampung* Bekelir became a project that benefited many parties, including residents who experienced economic improvement and identity

recognition. The concept of space in *Kampung* Bekelir is the result of various interests, but not single-party domination. In Lefebvre's concept of space, the interesting point of the *Kampung* Bekelir development process is the meeting point between the interests of the abstract actors and the social aspirations of the residents. Thus, the production of space did not occur rigidly top-down, but was fluid, allowing residents to actively participate in giving meaning to the space. This is also related to the utilization of the urban *kampung* tourism concept, which is interpreted positively by residents because it provides tangible benefits, both symbolically and materially. This is what distinguishes the case of *Kampung* Bekelir from a narrative of abstract space dominance to negotiation between spaces.

A number of previous studies can generally be categorized into five groups: First, the sustainability of thematic *kampung* implementation (Setyono, 2018; Tamara & Rahdriawan, 2018; Ngabiyanto et al., 2019; Surjono et al., 2020; Irwandi et al., 2019; Syarifa, N. H., & Wijaya, 2019; Arini et al., 2020). Second, the participation of the community or local residents in the development of thematic *kampung*s (Idziak et al., 2015; Akbar & Alfian, 2018; Suliyati et al., 2019; Kinanti & Harsasto, 2019; Mahendro, 202; Suroso et al., 2020). Third, thematic *kampung*s viewed from an environmental aspect (Wungo et al., 2019; Subekti & Putri, 2020). Fourth, the role of stakeholders in the development of thematic *kampung*s (Falina & Setiawan, 2021; Hamamah et al., 2020). Fifth, the tourism potential of thematic *kampung*s (Putri & Pawestri, 2019; Cahyani et al., 2020; Irhandayaningsih, 2018). However, there are still few studies that discuss how these formal actors play a role in the production of abstract space, particularly in examining the transformation of urban *kampung*s into thematic tourist *kampung*s.

This research focuses on the production of space in a thematic urban tourist *kampung*, specifically *Kampung* Bekelir, Tangerang City. Unlike previous academic studies that focused on the sustainability of thematic *kampung* implementation, the participation of the community or local residents in thematic *kampung* development, thematic *kampung*s viewed from an environmental aspect, the role of stakeholders in thematic *kampung* development,

and the tourism potential of thematic *kampung*s, this study aims to demonstrate the production of space in the Bekelir tourist *kampung* by showing the negotiation of space between abstract space and social space using Henri Lefebvre's concept of the production of space.

Specifically, this article aims to examine the concept of the production of space, namely abstract space and social space, in the context of the development of *Kampung* Bekelir, Tangerang City, by highlighting how multi-actor collaboration can give rise to a more negotiated form of space. This article intends to show that not all abstract space is hegemonic, in certain contexts, it can open up new social spaces that enable residents to become active subjects in development.

Method

This research is a study to examine the concept of the production of space in *Kampung* Bekelir as one of the thematic *kampung*s in Tangerang City. The results of this research are expected to complement studies in the field of urban sociology through the use of Henri Lefebvre's concept of the production of space, especially concerning the issue of transforming urban residential spaces into *kampung* tourist destinations. Furthermore, on a practical level, this article can contribute knowledge related to planning and policies that are based on the representational space of urban *kampung* residents.

The research approach used in this study is a qualitative research approach because it allows the researcher to deeply explore the role of the actors in the *kampung*'s development and how abstract space and social space are formed. The purpose of qualitative research itself is directed toward providing a profound and interpreted understanding of the social world by studying people's social and material conditions, experiences, perspectives, and histories (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

The data sources for this article are primary (main) data and secondary (supporting) data. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with key informants, consisting of representatives from the Tangerang City Government, namely the Head of the Tourism Division, Tangerang City Culture and Tourism

Office (1 person), the Head of the Community Social and Economic Division of the Bappeda (Regional Development Planning Agency) of Tangerang City (1 person), and the Head of the Economic Sub-Division of the Bappeda of Tangerang City (1 person), *kampung* residents (2 people), RT/RW management (Neighborhood/Sub-Neighborhood Heads) (3 people), and the conceptualizing NGO (1 person).

The selected informants had good knowledge of the case being studied, were easily accessible, and could provide leads to other informants. Furthermore, all informants were knowledgeable about the entire process flow of the development of *Kampung* Bekelir. Secondary data sources were obtained from literature reviews, journals, books, and government documents.

Results and Discussion

Tangerang City Government Policy for Two Periods (2014-2018) and (2019-2023)

The development policy of the Tangerang City Government can be traced through the RPJMD (Regional Medium-Term Development Plan/*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah*) of Tangerang City 2014-2018 and the RKPD (Regional Government Work Plan/*Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah*) for each respective year. The Vision of Tangerang City in these documents is "The realization of an advanced, independent, dynamic, and prosperous Tangerang City with a moral and noble society (*berakhlakul karimah*)," which is then elaborated into missions, including: improving the quality of education, health, and social welfare; providing decent urban infrastructure; and environmentally friendly sustainable development (Alhusain et al., 2018).

Initially, thematic *kampung*s were designed to address the problem of slum areas. This issue of slum areas was first tackled with the Clean and Healthy Living Behavior (*Perilaku Hidup Bersih dan Sehat*/PHBS) program, which prioritized the physical change of the *kampung* and aimed to change the residents' mindset so they would improve their environment. Subsequently, the concept of the thematic *kampung* emerged. The thematic *kampung* concept itself carries a theme and characteristic feature tailored to its local identity, in line with the principle of development based on local wisdom. With this approach, thematic *kampung*s are expected to become tourist destinations, thus capable of increasing the income of residents, especially MSME (Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) actors, through visits from both local and foreign tourists (Sukowati, 2022).

The thematic *kampung* program became one of the policy innovations of the Tangerang City Government to address the issues of residential areas previously considered slum, unhealthy, and aesthetically poor. The government chose not to evict the residents but instead sought to revitalize the *kampung*s by giving them specific thematic identities, be it art, culture, religion, environment, or the creative economy, so that the *kampung*s could possess an appeal and strategic value from social, economic, and tourism perspectives. Thus, the *kampung* is viewed not just as a living space, but also as a social and economic space that contributes to the city's image.

The thematic *kampung* policy in Tangerang City is also closely related to the "Tangerang LIVE" concept, an acronym for Liveable, Investable, Visitable, and E-City. This concept serves as the framework for urban development, prioritizing comfort, investment appeal, tourism potential, and the strengthening of digital services. Thematic *kampung*s play a major role in the "visitable" vision by presenting tourist *kampung*s that invite external visitors. In this context, residential spaces are transformed into tourist attractions without eliminating their community character. The following is an excerpt from an interview with the Tangerang City Government.

> So, the Tangerang City Government has a concept, you know, it has a work program that also serves as a guideline for the programs and activities carried out by the Tangerang City Government through its departments, sub-districts, and urban sub-districts, which is called the Tangerang LIVE program. LIVE stands for Liveable (a city that is liveable), Investable (a city that is investment-worthy), Visitable (a city that is worth visiting), and E-city or smart city. So, from the Tangerang LIVE concept, of course, we have already endeavoured to make Tangerang a liveable city,

investment-worthy, worth visiting, and also an E-city. To support this program, one thing we do is create the thematic *kampung* program, which is spread across 13 sub-districts and 104 urban sub-districts throughout Tangerang City. And, you know, the initial forerunner of the thematic *kampung* was actually the PHBS *kampung*...” (PB, Head of the Tourism Division, Tangerang City Culture and Tourism Office).

Kampung Bekelir is one of the *kampung*s that was subsequently used as a model for the implementation of the thematic *kampung* program. Although it was not directly initiated by the city government at first, this *kampung* developed thanks to the collaboration between residents, an NGO, and artists, which later received support from the city government. The city government assisted through the creation of regulations or policies, especially the legal recognition of the *kampung*'s existence as a mural-based tourist *kampung* and through promotion. The following is an excerpt from an interview with the Public Policy NGO.

“...Well, *Kampung* Bekelir is one of the sweetening features of Tangerang City that supports the city's business concept, which is LIVE City, Liveable, Visitable, Investment-worthy, and a technology-based city. *Kampung* Bekelir happens to be located on the banks of the Cisadane River, a slum *kampung*. That's what attracted me from Melaka City, giving me a strong inspiration, thinking, 'Is it true that Tangerang City can't do this?' something like that. That's where I initially got my inspiration from Melaka City...” (IJ, Public Policy NGO and Conceptualizer of *Kampung* Bekelir)

The process that took place in *Kampung* Bekelir demonstrates that the policy for *kampung* development was not entirely top-down. Collaboration among various actors, namely the government, NGOs, local communities, and the private sector, became an important element that shaped the dynamics of the *kampung*'s development. The government did not only act as the authoritative body but also as a facilitator that responded to the initiatives of the NGO. This aligns with a participatory development approach, where the community is not merely an object, but also a subject that helps determine the direction of change for its space.

The development of *Kampung* Bekelir as a tourist *kampung* provides benefits for various parties. For the residents, this transformation brings economic opportunities from the tourism sector and improves the *kampung*'s image. Meanwhile, for the Tangerang City Government, the success of *Kampung* Bekelir helps achieve the targets in the RPJMD and strengthens the city's branding as a creative and participatory region. The success of this *kampung* was subsequently replicated in other areas, expanding the scope of the thematic *kampung* policy in the city. The following is an excerpt from an interview with one of the residents of *Kampung* Bekelir.

“It was drastic, because what was once never famous is now being visited by, well, it was visited by people from Australia, people from Bali, and basically people from outside the region. I'm just happy, and there's also been a change in the residents' economy. For the residents of *Kampung* Bekelir, back then, those who traded inside only had the same people cycling through. If we traded inside, the circulation was just the same people. Now, we are allowed to trade outside, it's been really drastic, meaning it's quite good for introducing products.” (TM, *Kampung* Bekelir resident and vendor).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the thematic *kampung* policy remains within a framework of spatial production that is inseparable from power relations. According to Lefebvre (in Gottdiener et al., 2019), governments, entrepreneurs, and investors often view space abstractly (abstract space), focusing on size, location, and profit potential. Meanwhile, the space used interactively by the community in daily life is called social space. These two understandings often conflict, especially when spatial planning by the state or the private sector does not consider the way residents have been using that space socially. The government, as the dominant actor, still retains control over the direction and form of development. However, in the case of *Kampung*

Bekelir, the space for negotiation remains wide open, so development is not purely instructive. The collaboration that occurred allowed for a blend of government interests and residents' aspirations, creating a new form of spatial governance at the micro level.

Genealogy of *Kampung* Bekelir: From Slum Area to a New Colourful Identity

Before it became widely known as *Kampung* Bekelir, this area was merely part of RW 001, Babakan Sub-district, Tangerang District, Tangerang City. Like many other densely populated areas located on the riverbank, this *kampung* was often portrayed as a slum area. This nickname stuck due to the physical condition of the environment, which had not yet been significantly touched by large-scale revitalization or improvement programs from the city government. The *kampung* even lacked communal washing/toilet facilities (*Mandi*, *Cuci*, *Kakus*/MCK), meaning residents still relied on the Cisadane River for sanitation needs. This statement is corroborated by an excerpt from an interview with a local resident.

> "The people were mostly just typical *kampung* people, you know, they did whatever they liked, throwing trash in the river, not wanting to clean up, they didn't really understand, what is it, washing hands, maintaining cleanliness." (IE, Babakan *Kampung* resident).

However, this *kampung* actually held great social potential because of the strong solidarity among residents, the continued practice of communal work (*gotong royong*), and the high level of resident participation in *kampung* activities. The following is an excerpt from an interview with the Babakan RT/RW management (Neighborhood/Sub-Neighborhood Heads).

> "The process for *Kampung* Babakan initially started when it was considered a moderately poor slum, right? Because the government held the PHBS (Clean and Healthy Living Behavior) program, the government then proposed to RW 01 to hold the PHBS program. Thankfully, we won first place, so the government then launched an initiative to make the area of 01 a tourist destination to create *Kampung* Bekelir, because the location is strategic

and it's nice to look at, you get the view of the Cisadane River, you see." (AK, Babakan RT/RW Management).

The significant change began in 2017, when RW 001 participated in the Clean and Healthy Living Behavior (PHBS) competition at the Tangerang City level. The encouragement to join this competition came from the *Lurah* (Village Head) of Babakan at the time, who saw that RW 001 had readiness both socially and in terms of the physical environment. With a collective spirit, residents carried out environmental cleaning, repainted several public facilities, and rearranged the open spaces around the *kampung*. The active participation of the residents yielded results, as RW 001 won the competition. This success became a turning point and an important momentum in the transformation of the *kampung*'s appearance.

The momentum of winning the PHBS competition attracted the attention of external parties, one of whom was IJ, a public policy activist and campaigner from a local NGO. IJ's interest in this *kampung* was not by chance. His previous experience observing the transformation of areas abroad, such as in Melaka City (Malaysia), had opened his eyes to the potential of riverbank areas which, if managed well, could be turned into community-based tourist destinations. The situation in Melaka City, Malaysia showed similarities to *Kampung* Babakan, especially due to its proximity to the river. The brightly coloured houses in Melaka made it a popular tourist destination. This inspired the actor IJ to develop a *kampung*-based tourist area in Tangerang City.

IJ then contacted the *Lurah* (Village Head) of Babakan to convey the idea of a *kampung* transformation based on mural art, house painting, and the development of local economic potential. In the ensuing discussion, the *Lurah* welcomed the idea positively and saw it as a logical continuation of the PHBS spirit. However, this transformation naturally required more than just an idea. The initial step taken by IJ was to build intensive communication with community leaders and *kampung* residents to convey a more concrete vision. A participatory approach began to be designed, where residents were given space to voice their opinions, choose

the paint colours and mural designs, and decide how their *kampung* would be reorganized.

However, despite the enthusiasm that emerged, there was also resistance because not all residents immediately agreed to the idea of painting their houses and muralizing the walls. Although small in scale, some residents refused to have their houses painted, especially the roofs, due to fear of collapse. Yet, with guarantees from the RT/RW (Neighborhood/Sub-Neighborhood Heads), the *Lurah* (Village Head), and IJ that any damage would be compensated, the residents finally agreed. Resistance also occurred regarding the mural art, but it was not significant and was allowed to remain until the residents were willing after seeing the results.

The name "Bekelir" itself was chosen because it refers to many colours, corresponding to a local term that denotes many colourful drawing pencils. Before starting, IJ and the team documented the initial condition of the *kampung* using a drone in May 2017, and then involved the artist Abdi Sadrax to create sketches for the transformation of *Kampung* Babakan RW 001.

The peak of this transformation occurred on November 19, 2017, when the Mayor of Tangerang officially inaugurated *Kampung* Bekelir as a new tourist *kampung* destination based on mural art and community empowerment. This inauguration was not merely ceremonial, it provided formal legitimacy for the transformation that had begun at the grassroots level. Since then, *Kampung* Babakan has no longer been known as a slum area, but as *Kampung* Bekelir, a *kampung* full of colour, the spirit of collaboration, and new hope for a more humane and participatory urban future.

Negotiating Urban Space: Actor Roles in the *Kampung* Bekelir

The development of the *Kampung* Bekelir in Tangerang City represents a complex and evolving process of interaction among diverse actors with varied backgrounds, interests, and capacities. In this context, actors are not limited merely to individuals or formal institutions but also encompass social groups, artistic communities, and local residents who participate in the *kampung's* transformation process. Each actor contributes at different levels, ranging from planning and implementation to spatial maintenance and offers distinct perspectives and

approaches toward achieving the *kampung's* development vision.

The initial initiative for the *Kampung* Bekelir originated with IJ, an NGO activist instrumental in developing art-based tourism *kampung* concepts. In this process, IJ mediated the interests of residents and the city government, particularly through cross-sectoral collaboration with artists and local government agencies. IJ's experience visiting Melaka, Malaysia, which shares characteristics with *Kampung* Babakan, notably its proximity to a river served as the initial inspiration to revitalize *Kampung* Babakan, an area previously perceived as run-down and unappealing, both visually and functionally. Using an informal approach, IJ established communication with the *Lurah* (Head of the sub-district/village) of Babakan and proposed the idea of a mural-based thematic *kampung*. The *Lurah* subsequently became a crucial liaison, connecting this idea with other formal actors, primarily the Tangerang City Government.

The Tangerang City Government welcomed this initiative as it aligned with the regional development programs stipulated in the RPJMD for 2014–2018 and 2019–2023. This alignment was particularly evident through the thematic *kampungs* program, which is part of a strategy for environmental quality improvement and community empowerment based on local potential. Within this framework, the *Kampung* Bekelir development became a form of "pilot project," combining elements of art, resident participation, and urban tourism. Government support manifested not only as formal legitimacy but also through budget allocations for basic infrastructure, such as roads, lighting, and drainage.

Equally important, actors from the artistic community, such as local muralists and creative collectives, made significant contributions to shaping the new identity of *Kampung* Bekelir. They adorned the walls of residents' homes with colourful murals laden with social messages. These murals became an iconic element of the *kampung*, attracting public attention, particularly from local tourists and the media. These artists did not merely work under instruction, they brought artistic values, visual narratives, and their interpretations of the space and residents' lives, which were articulated in the murals. In

some instances, they also interacted directly with residents to uncover narratives that were subsequently visualized.

From the private sector, the role of corporate actors, such as PT Pacific Paint, was vital in the provision of the primary material, paint. Although this contribution was material in nature, the corporation's presence significantly accelerated the implementation of the mural project, which required a large volume of high-quality paint. Furthermore, this private sector involvement added a new dimension, demonstrating that such *kampung* development projects do not always depend on government funding but can also be cross-sectoral collaborations.

The residents of *Kampung* Bekelir themselves were an equally critical actor. They were not merely passive recipients of the development but active participants in the process. Resident involvement was evident in their willingness to allow their house walls to be painted, their participation in communal work to clean the environment, their welcoming of the mural artists, and their efforts to maintain the *kampung*'s preservation post-development. Consequently, some residents adopted new roles as tourism managers, local guides, or artisans for MSMEs based on the *Kampung* Bekelir image. Although initial scepticism emerged among some residents regarding the *Kampung* Bekelir development, intensive and participatory communication among the NGO, sub-district officials, and community leaders successfully alleviated these concerns and built collective trust in the program's implementation.

The development process of *Kampung* Bekelir involved various actors with diverse backgrounds, interests, and orientations, thereby generating complex interactional dynamics. Differences in perspectives and approaches frequently emerged among residents, the NGO, and the local government. Some residents, for instance, exhibited resistance to having their homes painted, while the NGO, as the initiator, promoted the tourism *kampung* concept, adapting practices from abroad and emphasizing creative participation as the program's core. The local government, conversely, championed a more formal, structured, and target-oriented development framework. Despite these differences, the development process was not

marked by open conflict, instead, it was conducted through channels of negotiation and adjustment that unfolded dynamically, in both formal and informal settings.

Kampung Bekelir serves as an example of how an urban space, one that initially grew organically from the daily activities of its residents without formal planning intervention, can be transformed into a touristic space through creative and collaborative interventions from various actors. No single dominant actor governed the entire process, rather, it was the collaboration and dynamics among these actors that allowed the development to proceed with high social intensity. The *kampung* was not shaped merely by physical intervention or visual aesthetics, but also through a social process rich with negotiation, adaptation, and the reinterpretation of spatial identity.

Consequently, understanding the actor roles *Kampung* Bekelir in the development of *Kampung* Bekelir requires more than observing who did what, it involves examining how power relations, interests, and legitimacy mutually influence one another in the creation of a new space. This understanding provides a crucial foundation before proceeding to the analysis of how that space is subsequently abstractly and socially produced.

Production of Space: The Dialectic between Abstract and Social Space in *Kampung* Bekelir

In the development process of *Kampung Bekelir*, various actors were involved, ranging from the government, the private sector, residents, to NGOs. The involvement of these actors gives rise to complex social dynamics, particularly when viewed from the perspective of the production of space as described by Lefebvre. In this context, the development process of *Kampung* Bekelir can be analyzed through the interaction between abstract space, defined as space designed and conceptualized by institutional actors such as the government, planners, and the private sector and social space, which is the space formed through the daily activities and experiences of the *kampung* community.

Each actor involved played a different role in realizing the transformation of *Kampung* Bekelir into a tourism *kampung*. The primary

initiative emerged from a collaboration between a public policy NGO and the *Lurah* (Head of the sub-district) of Babakan. Both can be categorized as representatives of abstract space, as they originated from outside the local community and introduced an external vision for change. The public policy NGO acted as both the initiator and the chief architect of the tourism *kampung* concept, which was inspired by the successful revitalization of a similar area in Melaka, Malaysia. This concept was not only aimed at beautifying the *kampung* but was also aligned with the development policy direction of the Tangerang City Government, as outlined in the RPJMD and the "Tangerang LIVE" program, which promotes the development of tourism-based thematic *kampungs*.

The strategic role of the NGO served as a catalyst in driving significant change in *Kampung* Bekelir. Nevertheless, local figures such as the *Lurah* of Babakan also made crucial contributions to this process. Residents perceived that the *kampung*'s success was inseparable from the leadership and initiative of the *Lurah*. One example occurred when the area was categorized as a "moderately slum" settlement. The *Lurah* of Babakan subsequently motivated residents to participate in the PHBS program, which led *Kampung* Bekelir to win a first-place award in 2017.

Beyond encouraging resident participation, the *Lurah* of Babakan also played an active role in monitoring and guiding the *kampung*'s physical and social development. He also allocated resources, in the form of both budgetary support and personnel, to strengthen resident involvement at every stage of the transformation. From this, it can be observed that although the NGO and the state apparatus occupied the position of abstract space, they performed functions that opened spaces for negotiation with the community in shaping a new social space.
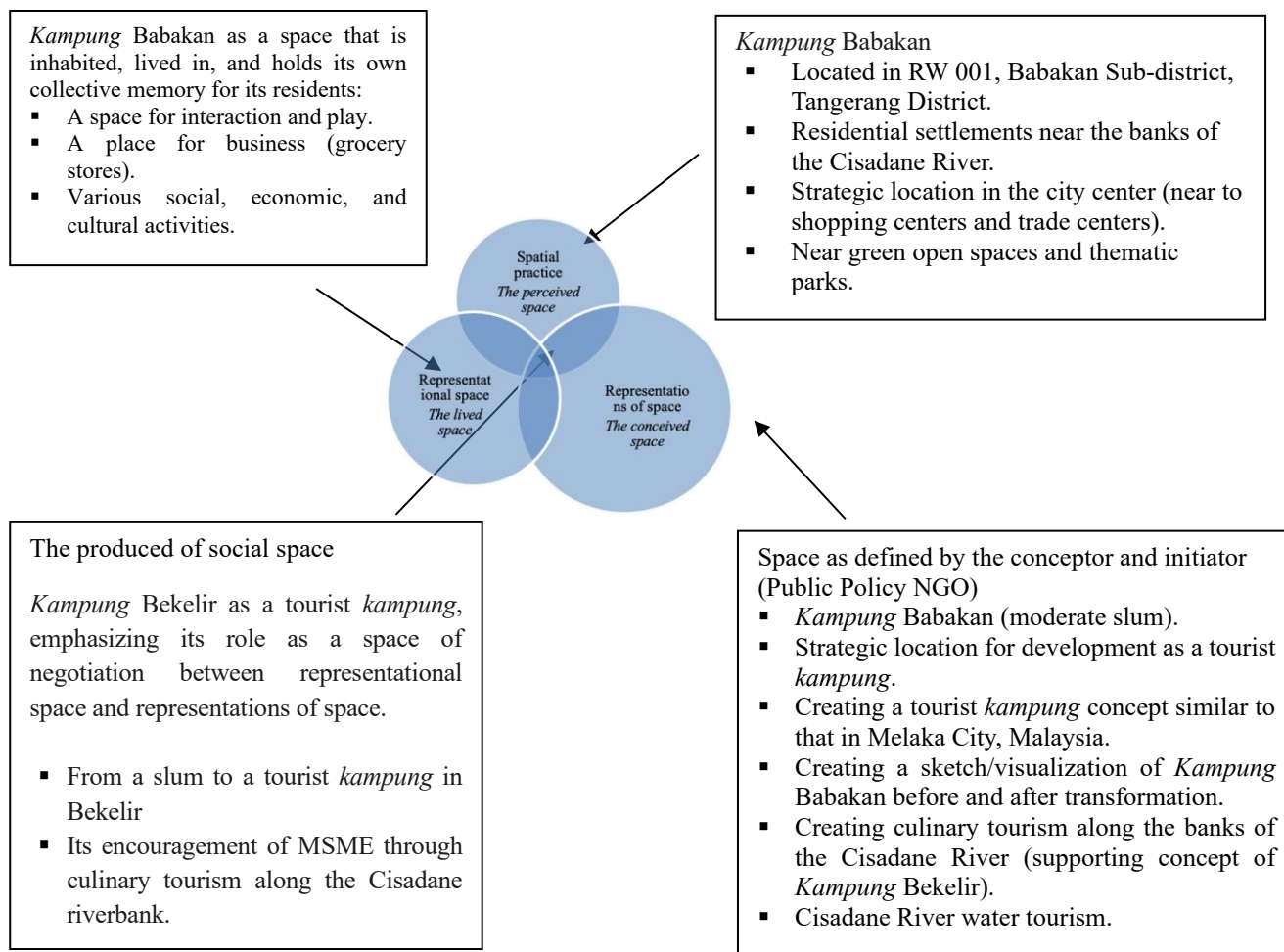
The Public Policy NGO actor designed the concept for Tourist *Kampung* Bekelir by first documenting the initial condition of the *kampung* using a drone. The initial visualization and plans for change were then created together with artists through "before and after" sketches. This concept was presented to the *Lurah* Babakan and residents, which initially sparked debate, although the majority of residents eventually agreed. After receiving local approval, the concept was submitted to Mayor of Tangerang as part of support for the RPJMD and the "Tangerang LIVE" program. The city government approved the idea, but the funding for murals and painting did not utilize Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*/APBD) funds. Instead, NGO seek CSR support.

To realize this idea, the artists and NGO submitted funding proposals to several paint companies. A positive response came from PT Pacific Paint, which then contributed through donations of paint and brushes. This affirms the strategic role of the NGO, not only as the initiator of the concept, but also as the primary facilitator in mobilizing external support without financially burdening the residents.

The active role of the Tangerang City Government in the development of *Kampung* Bekelir became more prominent after the area was designated as a *kampung* wisata. Through agencies such as the Tourism Office, Environmental Office, Public Works, and Communications and Information Office, the city government provided support in the form of public facilities such as drainage, toilets, and Wi-Fi. Although mural painting was not funded by the APBD, residents were given allowed to apply for assistance through proposals to Regional Work Unit (*Satuan Kerja Perangkat* Daerah/SKPD).

The Triadic Concept in *Kampung* Bekelir

Kampung Babakan as a space that is inhabited, lived in, and holds its own collective memory for its residents:
- A space for interaction and play.
- A place for business (grocery stores).
- Various social, economic, and cultural activities.

Kampung Babakan
- Located in RW 001, Babakan Sub-district, Tangerang District.
- Residential settlements near the banks of the Cisadane River.
- Strategic location in the city center (near to shopping centers and trade centers).
- Near green open spaces and thematic parks.

Spatial practice
The perceived space

Representational space
The lived space

Representations of space
The conceived space

The produced of social space

Kampung Bekelir as a tourist *kampung*, emphasizing its role as a space of negotiation between representational space and representations of space.

- From a slum to a tourist *kampung* in Bekelir
- Its encouragement of MSME through culinary tourism along the Cisadane riverbank.

Space as defined by the conceptor and initiator (Public Policy NGO)
- *Kampung* Babakan (moderate slum).
- Strategic location for development as a tourist *kampung*.
- Creating a tourist *kampung* concept similar to that in Melaka City, Malaysia.
- Creating a sketch/visualization of *Kampung* Babakan before and after transformation.
- Creating culinary tourism along the banks of the Cisadane River (supporting concept of *Kampung* Bekelir).
- Cisadane River water tourism.

Source: Researcher's Findings

From Henri Lefebvre's perspective, the involvement of government and private actors in shaping space reflects the dominance of abstract space, or conceived space. *Kampung* Bekelir is an example of a space externally designed by a Public Policy NGO that adapted the urban *kampung* tourism model from Melaka, Malaysia. Although not part of the state's formal structure, this NGO supported the city government's vision through the "Tangerang Live" program and the RPJMD. However, Lefebvre asserts that abstract space often clashes with social space or lived space. In this context, Babakan residents, as the subjects of space, such as strong social bonds and culture of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*). The process of spatial transformation did not occur without resistance, especially during roof painting or murals near the mosque, which drew opposition from some residents. Nevertheless, the majority eventually supported the plan.

This transformation also gave rise to representational space, such as the allocation of trading land along the Cisadane riverbank, which matches the socio-economic identity of residents, most of whom are informal traders. Empowerment efforts also came from academics who provided MSME training, although implementation was often unsustainable. Even though some plans, like river tourism, failed to materialize, the concept of tourist *kampung* still demonstrates how urban space is produced through complex interactions between abstract and social space. The case of *Kampung* Bekelir illustrates that thematic *kampung* development in Indonesia cannot be strictly equated across regions, as each community has its own memory, symbols, and social structures.

Abstract and social spaces are interrelated in the development of *Kampung* Bekelir, even though both follow different logics. The dominance of abstract space in development

discourse often prioritizes control and aesthetics for tourism objectives, but in *Kampung* Bekelir, the economic orientation is not so prominent. What stands out more is the effort to make the area a tourist *kampung* through visual interventions such as murals and culinary gardens. These interventions reflect the transformation of conceived space by external actors, but still interact with the residents' everyday lived space.

After the passing of the *Lurah* of Babakan in 2021, residents felt major changes in *kampung* management. The previous *Lurah* was seen as a central figure who supported various community activities, including hydroponics and other social events. The absence of the new *Lurah* in daily activities created a sense of distance between administrators and residents, weakening the continuity of the previously established social space. This shows the importance of local figures in keeping social space alive and connected.

Spatial transformation in *Kampung* Bekelir also brings about representational space, namely the residents' expression of the space they inhabit. Physical changes such as colourful painting and the use of green spaces for business reflect residents' adaptation to the abstract space shaped from outside. As most residents are informal traders, these adjustments serve as negotiation over the transformed space. Empowerment efforts through MSME training became one way to create knowledge-based social space. However, in practice, this training was not taken seriously by the residents, most of whom were women. This needs attention, especially in the context of the sustainability of tourist *kampung*.

According to Fathy (2022), the success of transforming a *kampung* into a tourist destination is greatly influenced by the negotiation process between local and external actors who can unite objectives. Thematic *kampung* in Malang, for instance, developed through participatory interaction, not one-sided domination (Sair, 2015). However, from Lefebvre's perspective, space production cannot be separated from power dynamics, where dominant interests often determine the direction of development. Thus, negotiations are not without inequalities but are part of the tug-of-war between power, discourse, and daily practice.

This is also reflected in the case of *Kampung* Bekelir, the success of its development was not determined only by visual aesthetics or structural government intervention, but by the residents' ability to sustain and redefine the meaning of their living space amid the flow of external development narratives. In addition, this success is due to a tourist *kampung* concept that is more adapted to the conditions of *Kampung* Bekelir residents, as well as a development process that prioritizes negotiation over domination.

Conclusion

The production of space in *Kampung* Bekelir as a tourist *kampung* demonstrates the involvement of various actors, both before and after its official inauguration. Referring to Lefebvre, space is produced by actors with their respective interests. In this context, the two main actors are the Public Policy NGO and the *Lurah* of Babakan. Private actors, such as paint companies, are not dominant and only contribute through CSR. Meanwhile, the Mayor of Tangerang acts as a protector, and relevant agencies support the provision of tourist *kampung* facilities.

Different from Lefebvre's view that actors in abstract space are typically dominated by the government or corporations with economic-political interests, the development of *Kampung* Bekelir was actually initiated by actors from outside the government. Although the Public Policy NGO can be considered an abstract space actor, their approach focused more on strengthening the residents' social space through a bottom-up development model.

The development process started with the PHBS program as a foundation for environmental and behavioural transformation before the thematic tourist *kampung* was implemented. Most residents, who work in the informal sector, experienced economic benefits from these changes, especially as the *kampung* became more attractive and crowded with visitors. The concept of tourist *kampung* was reinforced through the NGO's visualization of the *kampung*'s future, which stimulated the spirit of change among residents who were previously labelled as living in a moderate slum.

During the development, negotiation prevailed over contestation or domination. Increased resident incomes and a positive *kampung* image were tangible impacts. On the

other hand, the city government of Tangerang also benefited because this program supported the RPJMD, the concept of "Tangerang Live", and aligned with the plan for thematic *kampung* development. The shared views between actors of social and abstract space led to broad acceptance of the program.

A reflection from this article shows that Lefebvre's concept remains relevant for understanding urban development processes, but these processes do not always involve contestation or domination. Rather, negotiation is more prominent, emphasizing the alignment of abstract space actors with social space. Therefore, this article demonstrates that the production of abstract space in *Kampung* Bekelir does not always dominate social space, and the emergence of abstract space actually comes from the Public Policy NGO, which foregrounds representational (social space). This in turn led to more negotiation rather than domination in the development of *Kampung* Bekelir as a tourist *kampung*.

References

Akbar, T., & Alfian, F. (2018). Kampung Tematik Sebagai Bentuk Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Permasalahan Permukiman Kumuh Di Kota Malang. *Wahana*, *70*(2), 37–48. https://doi.org/10.36456/wahana.v70i2.1741

Alhusain, A. S., Mauleny, A. T., Sayekti, N. W., & Lisnawati. (2018). *Kebijakan dan Strategi Peningkatan Pendapatan Asli Daerah dalam Pembangunan Daerah*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Arini, A. A., Antariksa, & Rachmawati, T. A. (2020). Sustainable Livelihood Tourism of Thematic Kampung in Malang City. *International Research Journal of Advanced Engineering and Science*, *5*(3), 115–119.

Cahyani, S. D., Astuti, W., & Putri, R. A. (2020). Kampung Tematik Sebagai Elemen Primer Kegiatan Wisata Perkotaan Di Surakarta. *Desa-Kota*, *2*(2), 117. https://doi.org/10.20961/desa-kota.v2i2.31442.117-129

Falina, E. D., & Setiawan, B. (2021). Peran Stakeholer pada Placemaking Kampung Warna Warni dan Kampung Tridi. *Reka Ruang*, *3*(2), 81–92. https://journal.itny.ac.id/index.php/rekaruang/article/view/2079%0Ahttps://journal.itny.ac.id/index.php/rekaruang/article/view/2079/1144

Fathy, R. (2022). *Fathy, R. (2022). Transformasi Kampung: Eksotisme yang Menarik Sepasang*. https://pmb.brin.go.id/transformasi-kampung-eksotisme-yang-menarik-sepasang mata/

Gottdiener, M., Hohle, R., & King, C. (2019). *The New Urban Sociology*. Routledge.

Hamamah, H., Suman, A., Setiawan, F. N., & Nufiarni, R. (2020). Wisata Dolanan: Pengembangan Wisata Tematik Berbasis Budaya di Kampung Biru Arema (KBA) Kota Malang. *Jurnal Surya Masyarakat*, *3*(1), 66. https://doi.org/10.26714/jsm.3.1.2020.66-70

Idziak, W., Majewski, J., & Zmyślony, P. (2015). Community participation in sustainable rural tourism experience creation: a long-term appraisal and lessons from a thematic villages project in Poland. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *23*(8–9), 1341–1362. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2015.1019513

Irhandayaningsih, A. (2018). Kampung Tematik Sebagai Upaya Melestarikan Seni Dan Budaya Daerah di Jurang Blimbing Tembalang Semarang. *Anuva*, *2*(4), 377. https://doi.org/10.14710/anuva.2.4.377-385

Irwandi, E., Sabana, S., & Kusmara, A. R. (2019). Mempertahankan Eksistensi Kampung Kota melalui Mural di Era Disrupsi. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Unoflatu 2019*.

Kinanti, A., & Harsasto, P. (2019). Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Melalui Program Kampung Tematik (Studi Kasus Kampung Tahu Tempe Gumregah di Kelurahan Lamper Tengah, Kota Semarang). *Journal of Politic and Government Studies*, *8*(02), 21–30. https://kisahsemarangan.blogspot.co.id/2017/09/kampung-tempe-di-lamper-tengah-viii.html.

Kloczko-Gajewska, A. (2014). Can We Treat Thematic Villages As Social Innovations? *Journal of Central European Green*

Innovation, 49–59.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell Publishing.

Mahendro, A. Y. M. (2021). Penguatan Jejaring Komunitas Melalui Tindakan Kolaboratif. *Saskara : Indonesian Journal of Society Studies*, *1*(1), 95–115. https://doi.org/10.21009/saskara.011.05

Ngabiyanto, M., Susanti, M. H., & Setiajid, M. (2019). Empowering and Developing The Local Potency Through Thematic Village in Semarang. *ICoRSIA 2018*. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2991/icorsia-18.2019.2

Putri, D. H., & Pawestri, T. A. (2019). Kajian Potensi Wisata Internasional Kampung Tematik Kota Malang dengan Konsep Genius Loci. *Arsitektura*, 87–98.

Ritchie, J., & Lewis, J. (2003). *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Sciences Students and Researchers*. Sage Publications.

Sair, Abdus (2015) Penanggulangan Bencana Berbasis Pengembangan Komunitas (Community Development). Jurnal Entitas Sosiologi, 2 (1). pp. 181-201. ISSN 2088-8260

Setyono, D. A. (2018). Analisa Tingkat Kesiapan Pengembangan Kampung Tematik di Kota Malang. *Seminar Nasional ASPI 2018, Iicc, 605*. https://p4w.ipb.ac.id/aspi-seminar-2018/proceeding/06-02. Dampak Urbanisasi terhadap Iklim Perkotaan di Jabodetabek.pdf

Subekti, T., & Putri, E. Y. K. (2020). *Thematic Village Model Management as an Effort to Established Environmental Sustainability (Case Study at Thematic Village in Malang City)*. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.5-11-2019.2292527

Sukowati, R. T. (2022). Program Kampung Tematik: Problematika Perubahan Ruang Kampung Kota menjadi Destinasi Wisata. *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis*, *7*(3), 27–43. http://journal2.um.ac.id/index.php/jsph/

Suliyati, T., Yuliati, D., Subekti, S., & Handayani, T. (2019). The Dynamics of the Community of Kampung Batik Semarang in Overcoming Slumness. *E3S Web of Conferences*, *125*(201 9), 0–5. https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/201912509006

Surjono, Rahma, F. D. P., & Setyono, D. A. (2020). Sustainability of Thematic Kampongs. *Proceedings of the International Conference of Heritage & Culture in Integrated Rural-Urban Context (HUNIAN 2019)*, *195*(Hunian 2019), 130–135. https://doi.org/10.2991/aer.k.200729.021

Suroso, R. K., Sukristyanto, A., & Kusbandrijo, B. (2020). Head of Village Participation in Thematic Village Policy in Pamekasan District. *Journal of Public Policy and Administration*, *4*(4). https://doi.org/10.11648/j.jppa.20200404.14

Syarifa, N. H., & Wijaya, A. (2019). Partisipasi Masyarakat dalam Kegiatan Pemberdayaan melalui Program Kampung Tematik (Studi Kasus di Kampung Batik Kelurahan Rejomulyo Kecamatan Semarang Timur Kota Semarang). *Solidarity: Journal of Education, Society and Culture*, *8*(1), 515–531.

Tamara, A. P., & Rahdriawan, M. (2018). Kajian Pelaksanaan Konsep Kampung Tematik di Kampung Hidroponik Kelurahan Tanjung Mas Kota Semarang. *Jurnal Wilayah Dan Lingkungan*, *6*(1), 40. https://doi.org/10.14710/jwl.6.1.40-57

Wungo, G. L., Dewi, S. P., Susanto, H., Desiriani, R., & Karamah, E. F. (2019). Towards Collaborative Batik Waste Management Model in Kampong Batik Semarang. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, *396*(1). https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/396/1/012025