

Urbanization and the Crisis of Social Solidarity: A Multidisciplinary Analysis of the Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu Areas

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Abstract

This article discusses urbanization and the crisis of social solidarity in Jakarta: a multidisciplinary analysis of the Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu areas. Given that social phenomena in Jakarta show a rapid rate of urbanization, this has created significant social pressure, threatening traditional social cohesion and triggering conflicts over the use of urban space. This phenomenon is the main background of this study. The purpose of this study is to analyze in depth how the process of urbanization erodes social solidarity and gives rise to spatial conflicts, using a multidisciplinary approach that focuses on case studies in the Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu areas. This study uses a qualitative method with a literature review (*library research*) that analyzes various relevant sources descriptively and qualitatively. The results of the study show that urbanization does not necessarily eliminate social solidarity, but rather transforms it into a complex mosaic. In Tanah Abang, which is dominated by economic competition, fragmented mechanical solidarity based on groups has emerged. Conversely, in Kampung Melayu, the threat of eviction due to state development projects has actually strengthened defensive mechanical solidarity among residents. Thus, the crisis of solidarity in Jakarta is more accurately understood as a crisis of integration, in which various forms of solidarity have failed to be accommodated by an inclusive urban order.

Keywords: Jakarta, Spatial Conflict, Social Solidarity, Urban Sociology, Urbanization

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas urbanisasi dan krisis solidaritas sosial di Jakarta: analisis multidisiplin terhadap kawasan Tanah Abang dan Kampung Melayu. Mengingat fenomena sosial di Jakarta yang menunjukkan laju urbanisasi yang pesat, hal ini telah menciptakan tekanan sosial yang signifikan, mengancam kohesi sosial tradisional dan memicu konflik penggunaan ruang kota. Fenomena inilah yang menjadi latar belakang utama penelitian ini. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah menganalisis secara mendalam bagaimana proses urbanisasi mengikis solidaritas sosial dan menimbulkan konflik spasial, dengan menggunakan pendekatan multidisiplin yang berfokus pada studi kasus di kawasan Tanah Abang dan Kampung Melayu. Penelitian ini menggunakan

metode kualitatif dengan tinjauan pustaka (library study) yang menganalisis berbagai sumber relevan secara deskriptif dan kualitatif. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa urbanisasi tidak serta merta menghilangkan solidaritas sosial, namun justru mentransformasikannya menjadi sebuah mosaik yang kompleks. Di Tanah Abang yang didominasi persaingan ekonomi, muncul solidaritas mekanis yang terfragmentasi berdasarkan kelompok. Sebaliknya di Kampung Melayu, ancaman penggusuran akibat proyek pembangunan negara justru memperkuat solidaritas mekanis defensif antar warga. Dengan demikian, krisis solidaritas di Jakarta lebih tepat dipahami sebagai krisis integrasi, dimana berbagai bentuk solidaritas gagal diakomodasi oleh tatanan perkotaan yang inklusif.

Kata Kunci: Jakarta, Konflik Spasial, Solidaritas Sosial, Sosiologi Perkotaan, Urbanisasi

Introduction

Urbanization is one of the most dominant global trends shaping the face of the world in the 21st century, especially in developing countries.¹ In Indonesia, this process is occurring at an extraordinary pace,² serving as both an engine of economic transformation and a source of complex social problems.³ Urbanization is more than just the movement of people from rural areas to cities; it is a process that reshapes social structures,⁴ changes patterns of interaction, and fundamentally redefines the way people live together.⁵ As the economic, political, and cultural epicenter of Indonesia, DKI Jakarta is the main magnet for urbanization. Since regaining its status as the capital after independence in 1949, Jakarta has been seen as a "city of hope," attracting millions of migrants seeking a better life. This explosive population growth from 1.6 million in 1950 to over 10 million today has created extreme population density and placed tremendous pressure on environmental carrying capacity, infrastructure, and land availability.

Amidst this dynamic, a fundamental question arises that forms the core of this article: how does such rapid and massive urbanization affect social cohesion or solidarity among city residents? This article argues that this process triggers a "crisis of social solidarity." This crisis is not interpreted as a total loss of solidarity, but rather as a paradigmatic shift from communal and personal social bonds (typical of rural communities) to more individualistic, functional, and impersonal forms of social

¹ Solu Nor Amaya, Altharik Mubarak, and Reza Mauldy Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota," *RISOMA: Jurnal Riset Sosial Humaniora Dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 4 (2024): 116–26.

² Zara Hadijah and Mohammad Isnaini Sadali, "Pengaruh Urbanisasi Terhadap Penurunan Kemiskinan Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Wilayah Dan Lingkungan* 8, no. 3 (2020): 290–306.

³ Fitri Ramdhani Harahap, "Dampak Urbanisasi Bagi Perkembangan Kota Di Indonesia," 2013.

⁴ Rahadian Ranakamuksa Candiwidoro, "Menuju Masyarakat Urban: Sejarah Pendatang Di Kota Jakarta Pasca Kemerdekaan (1949-1970)," *Dalam Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 4, no. 1 (2017).

⁵ Firsia Asha Sabitha, "Analisis Pengaruh Tingkat Urbanisasi Terhadap Ketersediaan Lahan Lahan Permukiman Perumahan Di Kota Surabaya," *Jurnal Lemhannas RI* 10, no. 1 (2022): 19–26.

relations.⁶ This phenomenon does not only occur at an abstract level, but is manifested in the daily lives of city dwellers, one example being conflicts over the use of urban space. The struggle for space to survive, both economically and socially, is the arena where this crisis of solidarity is most clearly visible.

To thoroughly test this thesis, this study will use two areas in Jakarta as social laboratories: Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu. Both were chosen because they represent two contrasting faces of the impact of urbanization. Tanah Abang, as the largest textile trading center in Southeast Asia, is a symbol of the city's dynamism, competition, and economic energy.⁷ Here, spatial conflict manifests itself in the daily struggle between informal sector traders trying to make a living and the formal city order that demands order.⁸ On the other hand, Kampung Melayu, a densely populated settlement on the banks of the Ciliwung River, is a symbol of urban vulnerability and marginalization.⁹ In this area, spatial conflict¹⁰ takes the form of a struggle between communities trying to defend their living space and large-scale state development projects, such as river normalization,¹¹ which threaten their existence.¹²

Thus, the objective of this research is to analyze in depth how the urbanization process in Jakarta erodes traditional forms of social solidarity and gives rise to spatial conflicts. This analysis will be conducted through a multidisciplinary approach that combines urban sociology, policy studies, and urban history, with a focus on the case studies of Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu. Through this analysis, it is hoped that the dual nature of solidarity in Jakarta's ever-changing and negotiated urban space will be revealed.

Research/Service Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach with a literature review (library research) type of research, in accordance with guidelines that emphasize in-depth analysis of

⁶ Supriadi Torro, "Solidaritas Sosial Masyarakat Di Perkotaan Dan Pengaruh Industrialisasi," *Predestinasi* 1, no. 2 (2018).

⁷ Ervan Kautsar, "Pilihan-Pilihan Publik Terhadap Pengaturan Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Pasar Tanah Abang" (Universitas Brawijaya, 2019).

⁸ Suzie Attiwill, "Interiority in the Urban Environment: A Refrain," in *Public Interiority* (Routledge, 2025), 211–22.

⁹ Ahmad Zamahsari, "Resolusi Konflik Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Di Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta," *Jurnal Damai Dan Resolusi Konflik* 3, no. 2 (2017).

¹⁰ Selvia Mutiara Agita, Kadar Pamuji, and Supriyanto Supriyanto, "Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Pedagang Kaki Lima Kawasan Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta Berdasarkan Peraturan Daerah Nomor 8 Tahun 2007 Tentang Ketertiban Umum," *Soedirman Law Review* 2, no. 4 (2020).

¹¹ Zamahsari, "Resolusi Konflik Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Di Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta."

¹² Hasanuddin Hasanuddin, "Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kali Lima Pasar Tanah Abang," *Jurnal Ilmiah Akuntansi Dan Manajemen* 15, no. 1 (2019): 59–70.

existing library sources.¹³ This approach was chosen because it allows for comprehensive exploration of the complex and multidimensional phenomena of urbanization and the crisis of social solidarity, utilizing the wealth of data and analysis that already exists in the scientific corpus.

The data sources for this study were collected from various secondary literature relevant to the research topic. These sources were classified into two main categories. First, primary sources in the context of literature studies, which included articles published in reputable scientific journals, reference books in the fields of urban sociology and development studies, dissertations, and research reports that specifically discussed urbanization, social dynamics, and urban conflicts in Jakarta.¹⁴ Second, secondary sources that serve as supporting data¹⁵, including publications from government agencies¹⁶ such as population data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS)¹⁷, spatial planning policy documents¹⁸, and analyses from the mass media documented in primary literature.¹⁹

The data analysis technique used in this study is descriptive-qualitative analysis. The analysis process was carried out through several systematic stages. The first stage was the identification and collection of literature relevant to the keywords of urbanization, social solidarity, spatial conflict, Tanah Abang, and Kampung Melayu. The second stage was the classification of data based on a thematic framework that had been developed, which included the theoretical basis, the context of urbanization in Jakarta, and an in-depth analysis of each case study. The third stage was the synthesis of data and arguments from various sources to construct a coherent and structured analytical narrative. In the final stage, the synthesized findings were interpreted by critically linking them to the framework of urban sociology theory, particularly Emile Durkheim's theory of social solidarity and Georg Simmel's psychology of the metropolis, to produce a deep and nuanced understanding of the issues under study.

¹³ Sy Aisyah Salsabila, "Kajian Etnobiologi Masyarakat Adat Kecamatan Kluet Tengah Kabupaten Aceh Selatan Sebagai Referensi Mata Kuliah Etnobiologi" (UIN Ar-Raniry, 2021).

¹⁴ Harahap, "Dampak Urbanisasi Bagi Perkembangan Kota Di Indonesia."

¹⁵ Christy Vidiyanti, "Sustainable Waterfront Development Sebagai Strategi Penataan Kembali Kawasan Bantaran Sungai," *Jurnal Lingkungan Binaan Indonesia* 5, no. 4 (2016): 171–81.

¹⁶ Nur Aini Fitrianti and Nurul Laili Fadhilah, "Relokasi Permukiman Warga Bantaran Sungai Ciliwung Di Provinsi Jakarta," *Lentera Hukum* 5 (2018): 293.

¹⁷ Torro, "Solidaritas Sosial Masyarakat Di Perkotaan Dan Pengaruh Industrialisasi."

¹⁸ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

¹⁹ Kautsar, "Pilihan-Pilihan Publik Terhadap Pengaturan Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Pasar Tanah Abang."

Results and Discussion

The Transformation of Solidarity in Metropolises: From Durkheim to the Context of Jakarta

To understand the crisis of solidarity in Jakarta, the theoretical framework of classical sociologist Emile Durkheim offers a solid foundation. In his work, Durkheim distinguishes two fundamental types of social cohesion: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity.²⁰ Mechanical solidarity is characteristic of pre-modern or rural societies, where social bonds are strong due to homogeneity in beliefs, values, and life experiences.²¹ Collective consciousness is so dominant that individuals are directly integrated into the community without much differentiation. In contrast, organic solidarity arises in complex and heterogeneous modern societies, such as large cities. Social cohesion is no longer based on similarity, but rather on functional interdependence arising from highly specialized division of labor. In organic societies, individualism flourishes because each person has a different role and function, yet it is precisely these differences that bind them together in a mutually dependent system.²²

The transition from mechanical to organic solidarity, according to Durkheim, is not a smooth process. When social change occurs too quickly, society can experience a pathological condition called *anomie*, a state in which old social norms have collapsed, while new norms appropriate to the complex social order have not yet been firmly established. This condition of *anomie* creates feelings of confusion, alienation, and a lack of direction for individuals.²³ Durkheim's macro-structural analysis can be enriched by Georg Simmel's micro-psychological perspective. In his monumental essay, *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, Simmel argues that life in big cities is characterized by an extreme intensification of sensory stimuli: the hustle and bustle of traffic, crowds of people, and the relentless pace of economic transactions.²⁴ To protect themselves from this barrage of stimuli, metropolitan individuals develop a psychological defense mechanism called "*blasé* attitude: an indifferent, calculating, and emotionally distant attitude. Social relations in cities tend to be intellectual and

²⁰ Irma Octalita Manurung and Charles Situmorang, "Pengaruh Relokasi Pemukiman Kumuh Terhadap Kualitas Kesehatan Lingkungan (Studi Kasus Kampung Pulo Jakarta Timur)," *JURNAL TECHLINK* 6, no. 02 (2022): 17–28.

²¹ Agita, Pamuji, and Supriyanto, "Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Pedagang Kaki Lima Kawasan Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta Berdasarkan Peraturan Daerah Nomor 8 Tahun 2007 Tentang Ketertiban Umum."

²² Irma Octalita Manurung and Charles Situmorang, "Pengaruh Relokasi Pemukiman Kumuh Terhadap Kualitas Kesehatan Lingkungan (Studi Kasus Kampung Pulo Jakarta Timur)," *Jurnal Techlink* 6, no. 02 (2022): 17–28.

²³ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

²⁴ Kusumandari Jatiningrum, "Dampak Relokasi Program Normalisasi Sungai Ciliwung Terhadap Ekonomi Masyarakat Kelurahan Bukit Duri (Studi Kasus: Rumah Susun Rawa Bebek Jakarta Timur).," 2018.

calculative, where other people are more often seen as functions or tools for achieving goals, rather than as emotionally whole individuals.²⁵

Durkheim's analysis of the structural shift towards organic solidarity can be understood more deeply through the psychological lens offered by Georg Simmel. The *blasé* attitude and calculative rationality identified by Simmel are not merely moral deviations, but rather an essential psychological defense mechanism that allows individuals to function amid the intensification of metropolitan stimuli. In other words, Simmel explains how individuals personally experience and adapt to the structural changes described by Durkheim. Individualism, in this context, is not merely a choice, but an inevitable coping strategy. These two theoretical frameworks are highly relevant for analyzing the context of Jakarta. The massive flow of urbanization has uprooted millions of migrants from rural environments where mechanical solidarity may still be dominant, and thrown them into the vortex of a metropolis governed by the logic of organic solidarity. Fierce economic competition, anonymity, and extreme population heterogeneity.²⁶ This has become fertile ground for the growth of individualistic attitudes and transactional relationships, as predicted by Simmel and Durkheim. Furthermore, the speed of urbanization in Jakarta, which often exceeds the government's capacity to provide infrastructure, formal employment, and an integrated social order, creates conditions of chronic *anomie*.²⁷ ²⁸ Many migrants, especially those from poor backgrounds, fail to fully integrate into the city's formal system. They are pushed into the informal sector and slums, where they live in a kind of "normative vacuum"²⁹ where the formal rules of the city feel foreign and irrelevant to their daily struggles, while the norms of their hometowns are no longer adequate to cope with the realities of the city.³⁰

Tanah Abang: Arena of Economic Contestation and Fragmentation of Public Space Solidarity

The Tanah Abang area is a microcosm that reflects the complexity of social solidarity in Jakarta. As the largest wholesale center in Southeast Asia, Tanah Abang is the perfect embodiment of organic solidarity.³¹ Thousands of traders, suppliers,

²⁵ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

²⁶ Torro, "Solidaritas Sosial Masyarakat Di Perkotaan Dan Pengaruh Industrialisasi."

²⁷ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

²⁸ Zamahsari, "Resolusi Konflik Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Di Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta."

²⁹ Alamsyah Pratama, "Implementasi Program Kotaku: Studi Penanganan Permukiman Kumuh Berkelanjutan Di Kelurahan Lappa, Kabupaten Sinjai= Implementation Of KOTAKU's Program: Study Of Sustainable Slum Handling In Lappa Village, Sinjai Regency" (Universitas Hasanuddin, 2022).

³⁰ Waston Malau, "Dampak Urbanisasi Terhadap Pemukiman Kumuh (Slum Area) Di Daerah Perkotaan," *JUPIIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 5, no. 02 (2013): 39–47.

³¹ Hasanuddin, "Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kali Lima Pasar Tanah Abang."

porters, transport drivers³², and millions of buyers who come from all over Indonesia and even abroad are bound together in a complex web of functional interdependence.³³ Without this mutual dependence, the trillion-rupiah economic ecosystem of Tanah Abang would not be able to function. Each individual and group has their own role, and their survival depends on the smooth functioning of the entire system.

However, behind this facade of organic solidarity lies a chronic conflict over space, particularly between street vendors and local government officials.³⁴ For thousands of street vendors³⁵, public spaces such as sidewalks and roadsides are not merely areas of circulation, but vital spaces for economic survival³⁶. Their existence is a manifestation of the failure of the formal economy to absorb the entire workforce that continues to flood Jakarta.³⁷ On the other hand, local governments, with a mandate to enforce local regulations (Perda) on public order³⁸, view the activities of street vendors as violations that cause congestion and chaos.³⁹ Repeated attempts at enforcement and relocation often end in failure and conflict.⁴⁰ This is due to *top-down* policies that fail to understand the economic and social logic of street vendors. Relocation to government-provided sites, such as Blok G, often means losing access to customers, which ultimately leads to a drastic decline in income.⁴¹

This conflict reveals the dual nature of solidarity that exists paradoxically in Tanah Abang.⁴² On the one hand, in open public spaces, interactions are dominated by fierce competition and transactional individualism, which is characteristic of Simmel's description of the metropolis.⁴³ On the other hand, however, very strong forms of mechanical solidarity grow and persist within smaller, more homogeneous communities. The most prominent example is the community of traders from Minangkabau. Their ethnic, regional, and kinship ties not only function as a social

³² Salsabila, "Kajian Etnobiologi Masyarakat Adat Kecamatan Kluet Tengah Kabupaten Aceh Selatan Sebagai Referensi Mata Kuliah Etnobiologi."

³³ Hasanuddin, "Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kali Lima Pasar Tanah Abang."

³⁴ Hasanuddin.

³⁵ Torro, "Solidaritas Sosial Masyarakat Di Perkotaan Dan Pengaruh Industrialisasi."

³⁶ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

³⁷ Zamahsari, "Resolusi Konflik Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Di Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta."

³⁸ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

³⁹ Zamahsari, "Resolusi Konflik Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Di Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta."

⁴⁰ Pratama, "Implementasi Program Kotaku: Studi Penanganan Permukiman Kumuh Berkelanjutan Di Kelurahan Lappa, Kabupaten Sinjai= Implementation Of KOTAKU's Program: Study Of Sustainable Slum Handling In Lappa Village, Sinjai Regency."

⁴¹ Vidiyanti, "Sustainable Waterfront Development Sebagai Strategi Penataan Kembali Kawasan Bantaran Sungai."

⁴² Hasanuddin, "Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kali Lima Pasar Tanah Abang."

⁴³ Salsabila, "Kajian Etnobiologi Masyarakat Adat Kecamatan Kluet Tengah Kabupaten Aceh Selatan Sebagai Referensi Mata Kuliah Etnobiologi."

safety net, but also as vital social and economic capital that supports their trading activities.⁴⁴

Thus, the conflict between street vendors in Tanah Abang can be understood not merely as a matter of order, but as a clash between two different logics of solidarity. On the one hand, there is the logic of formal organic solidarity promoted by the government through universal and impersonal regulations that apply to all citizens. In this logic, sidewalks have a single function as a space for pedestrians. On the other hand, there is the logic of informal mechanical solidarity that exists within the street vendor community. They, who are often bound by a shared fate and background, develop unwritten norms regarding the division of space, collective security, and ways of surviving together. The state's efforts to enforce order are essentially an imposition of organic logic into a realm governed by mechanical logic, making conflict almost inevitable. The result is not the creation of a single, cohesive organic solidarity, but rather a process of fragmentation of solidarity. Solidarity becomes compartmentalized: it is very strong within one group (for example, among fellow Minang traders), but tends to be weak or even competitive when dealing with other groups or with the state. This is a form of social adaptation in which individuals seek security and certainty in small groups amid the anonymity and fierce competition of the metropolis.

Kampung Melayu: Community Struggle and Defensive Solidarity on the Riverbank

If Tanah Abang represents the dynamics of the urban economy, then Kampung Melayu represents the other side of urbanization:⁴⁵ vulnerability and the struggle to maintain living space. Historically, this area was one of the oldest Malay ethnic settlements in Jakarta.⁴⁶ However, decades of urbanization pressure have transformed it into a densely populated residential area,⁴⁷ where most residents live in slum conditions along the banks of the Ciliwung River.⁴⁸ Vulnerability to seasonal flooding has become an inseparable part of the identity and daily life of the community here.⁴⁹

The major conflict in this area was triggered by the Ciliwung River normalization project launched by the government.⁵⁰ From the government's

⁴⁴ Hasanuddin, "Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kali Lima Pasar Tanah Abang."

⁴⁵ Harahap, "Dampak Urbanisasi Bagi Perkembangan Kota Di Indonesia."

⁴⁶ Salsabila, "Kajian Etnobiologi Masyarakat Adat Kecamatan Kluet Tengah Kabupaten Aceh Selatan Sebagai Referensi Mata Kuliah Etnobiologi."

⁴⁷ Fitrianti and Fadhilah, "Relokasi Permukiman Warga Bantaran Sungai Ciliwung Di Provinsi Jakarta."

⁴⁸ Harahap, "Dampak Urbanisasi Bagi Perkembangan Kota Di Indonesia."

⁴⁹ Torro, "Solidaritas Sosial Masyarakat Di Perkotaan Dan Pengaruh Industrialisasi."

⁵⁰ Hasanuddin, "Penataan Dan Pemberdayaan Pedagang Kali Lima Pasar Tanah Abang."

technocratic perspective, this project was a rational solution to overcome the flooding problem that plagued Jakarta as a whole, an action taken in the "public interest."⁵¹ Settlements along the riverbanks are considered illegal structures that are the main cause of the narrowing and silting of the river, and therefore must be cleared.⁵² However, from the residents' perspective, this policy is not "normalization," but rather "forced eviction" that threatens to destroy their entire way of life.⁵³ Forced relocation means losing more than just physical homes; it means being uprooted from decades-old social networks of neighbors, losing access to informal jobs in the area, and losing a sense of belonging to a place they call "kampung" (village).⁵⁴ Moving to government-provided apartment buildings (rusun) often brings a new set of problems: the burden of monthly rent⁵⁵, locations far from sources of livelihood, and unfamiliar, individualistic social environments that sever community ties.⁵⁶

Interestingly, the massive external threat from this country has actually become a catalyst for strengthening internal social bonds within the community. Residents who previously may have lived their own lives were suddenly forced to unite against a common enemy. They organized community forums, staged collective protests, shared information, and provided each other with emotional and material support. This phenomenon demonstrates the emergence of defensive solidarity. This is a form of mechanical solidarity that was not born out of past traditions, but was forged reactively by a shared fate as victims of development policies. This solidarity became a tool of resistance and a key strategy for survival.

This situation shows a different dynamic from Tanah Abang. While solidarity in Tanah Abang is fragmented by economic competition, in Kampung Melayu communal solidarity is actually strengthened by threats from the state. *Top-down* development projects with minimal public participation have inadvertently revived a spirit of mechanical solidarity in the heart of the modern city. When residents face the same existential threat of losing their homes and communities, internal differences tend to be set aside. A new collective identity ("us, the displaced residents" versus "them, the government") is formed, and collective action becomes the only rational choice for struggle. This also reveals a paradox in urban development: policies aimed at achieving physical improvements (flood risk reduction) often result in profound social damage (the destruction of social capital and community cohesion). This points to a "sociological blindness" in urban planning, where space is often viewed solely as a physical-technical object, ignoring

⁵¹ Hasanuddin.

⁵² Torro, "Solidaritas Sosial Masyarakat Di Perkotaan Dan Pengaruh Industrialisasi."

⁵³ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

⁵⁴ Zamahsari, "Resolusi Konflik Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Di Pasar Tanah Abang Provinsi DKI Jakarta."

⁵⁵ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja, "Dampak Urbanisasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Kota."

⁵⁶ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja.

the fact that space is a vessel for the web of social relations, history, and meaning that is alive for its inhabitants.⁵⁷

Synthesis Analysis: The Dual Face of Solidarity in Jakarta's Urban Space

Analysis of Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu reveals that the crisis of solidarity triggered by urbanization in Jakarta is not a single linear process, but rather a complex, contradictory, and highly contextual reconfiguration. Urbanization does not necessarily result in a completely individualistic society, nor does it preserve traditional communal solidarity. Instead, it gives rise to a mosaic of solidarity with various faces. The following table synthesizes a comparison between the two case studies to clarify this argument.

Table 1. Comparison of Conflict Characteristics and Forms of Social Solidarity in Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu

Characteristics	Tanah Abang Area	Kampung Melayu Area
Dominant Function of the Area	Economy & Trade	Residential & Settlement
Main Actors in the Conflict	Street Vendors & Merchants vs. Local Government	Residents vs. Central/Local Government
Main Triggers of Conflict	Public Space Planning & Economic Regulation	River Normalization & Forced Relocation
Dominant Forms of Solidarity	Organic Solidarity (economic interdependence) & Fragmented Mechanical Solidarity (ethnic/trade groups)	Defensive Mechanical Solidarity (collective resistance to eviction)
Impact on Social Cohesion	Competitive individualism in public spaces, but strong cohesion within sub-groups	Strengthening of internal community bonds due to external threats

The table above clearly shows that urbanization in Jakarta simultaneously encourages *individualism* in the public sphere and a competitive economy (such as in Tanah Abang), while also triggering new forms of defensive *collectivism* in response to existential threats (such as in Kampung Melayu). This finding challenges the simplistic view that slums are merely spaces of *anomie* and social disorganization.^{58 59} On the contrary, areas such as these have become arenas where social capital such as trust, networks, and norms of reciprocity are the most crucial resources for survival. The solidarity that grows within them may be strong, but it is

⁵⁷ Amaya, Mubarak, and Raharja.

⁵⁸ Mita Ayu Dwi Jayanti, “Kajian Pola Spasial Yang Terbentuk Pada Permukiman Kumuh Pesisir Kota Tuban,” *Tugas Akhir. Surabaya: Departemen Perencanaan Wilayah Dan Kota Fakultas Arsitektur Desain Dan Perencanaan Institut Teknologi Sepuluh November*, 2018.

⁵⁹ Malau, “Dampak Urbanisasi Terhadap Pemukiman Kumuh (Slum Area) Di Daerah Perkotaan.”

often internal and isolated from the broader urban structure, making it vulnerable to external intervention. Thus, the solidarity crisis in Jakarta is better understood as a crisis of integration, where various forms of solidarity fail to be bridged and accommodated by a fair and inclusive urban order.

Conclusion

This study concludes that urbanization in Jakarta does not necessarily destroy social solidarity, but rather transforms it radically. The broad and homogeneous communal solidarity that may have characterized the migrants' communities of origin has been replaced by a complex and often conflicting mosaic of solidarity. Solidarity in the Jakarta metropolis takes many forms: impersonal and transactional organic solidarity in the economic sphere; fragmented and exclusive mechanical solidarity within groups based on ethnicity or economic interests; and defensive and reactive mechanical solidarity within communities threatened by development policies. The constant spatial conflicts that erupt in areas such as Tanah Abang and Kampung Melayu are not merely a matter of lawlessness or disorder, but rather a symptom of a more fundamental failure in urban governance. This failure lies in the inability to understand, acknowledge, and accommodate this diverse social reality. Urban policies that focus too much on technical efficiency and physical order, while ignoring social capital, life networks, and the meaning of space for citizens, will inherently continue to generate conflict, marginalization, and resistance.

The implication of these findings is the need for a paradigm shift in the planning and management of Jakarta. Sustainable and equitable development cannot be achieved without placing a sociological understanding of community and solidarity at the core of the policy-making process. A more participatory and negotiable approach is needed, one that is capable of bridging the various existing logics of solidarity, rather than imposing a single *top-down* logic.

As a suggestion for further research, future studies could explore how the development of digital technology and the widespread use of social media have the potential to create new forms of urban solidarity. Virtual communities, hashtag-based social movements, and digital information networks may be building bridges of solidarity that transcend the physical, ethnic, and social class boundaries analyzed in this article, opening a new chapter in the social dynamics of the Jakarta metropolis.

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