

Cemetery Kampung: Spatial Characteristics *and Exploration of Identity*

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Abstract

This research discusses the spatial characteristics of urban kampung (village) interaction with a cemetery by investigating the physical, social and economic effects. The snowball approach was employed to collect data from 16 key informants such as community leaders, cemetery caretakers, visitors at the Bergota Public Cemetery (BPC) and traders in the Bukit Bergota area. Primary data consisted of field notes, in-depth interviews with secondary data being historical documents of the area, government and community-based documents. Using case study research design, the study was carried out by categorizing kampungs into three different zones as analytical units to reflect its character as well as identify spatial, social and economic interactions. The areas background was gleaned from historical references and publicly available digital documents. There are three main characteristics of cemetery kampung: It is fluid space for the kampung with a memorial identity on a foundation of the economics of cemetery activities. These characteristic generate a particular and significant urban scale identity. Its distinctiveness of place identity strengthens the kampung's role. Its place identity are embodied in its landscape, history, traditional characteristics and demand for related services. The unique interaction between cemetery and kampungs can be used by urban practitioners, local governments and academics as guidelines for improved understanding of issues related to local identity and provide a better quality of life in these neighborhoods.

Keywords: Cemetery Kampung, Identity, Spatial Characteristics, Urban Interaction, Indonesia

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Introduction

This article introduces the cemetery kampung (village), a unique settlement in numerous Indonesian urban areas distinguished by its spatial features within and surrounding cemetery area. Except in the archaeological field of historical sites, urban settlements that blend with cemetery areas have received less attention in worldwide discourse over the past 20 years (Madsen, 1997; McGill et al., 2020; Midgley, 2006; O'Reilly et al., 2008; Pliberšek & Vrban, 2018). In these investigations, cemeteries and those found close to archaeological sites interact spatially. In Southeast Asia, which has a more complex cultural pattern, the problem of interaction and usage of settlement and cemetery space is not widely discussed. Cemeteries in Singapore, Malaysia, and Vietnam do not necessarily blend in with the surrounding environment (Afla, 2020; Hong, 2018; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2018). Both of them are separated in various locations, with no interaction or peculiar characteristics to bring up as an urban issue.

Cemeteries are very synonymous with the historical background, culture and behavior of the people of a region because they have specific rituals (Dethlefsen, 1981; Miller & Rivera, 2006; Zhen, 2009). In Indonesia, especially in the Java region, the existence of settlements will be followed by the presence of graves. Graves and mosques are the background for the growth of settlements in the Java region (Yuristiadhi, 2011). Therefore, cemetery and settlement are a specific issue because the pattern of interaction between burial activities and settlements will emerge the unique spatial character of the area. The relationship between humans or individuals with the environment will bring up attributes that show the quality of the relationship between the two (Soemarwoto, 2004).

This article presents Indonesian context where different conditions are seen in certain cemeteries in Indonesia. Settlements grows in the middle of the cemetery area and forms such neighborhood called kampung (Farida, 2019; L. Larasati, 2019; Pradana, 2019; Rakhmanty, 2015; Swastika, 2007; Utami & Choiron, 2019; Winoto, 2018). Urban settlements that located within cemetery area are commonly noticed as informal settlements in Indonesia. Although urban sprawl contributes to the growth of informal settlements (Kamran et al., 2020), the case of cemetery kampung demonstrates a more fundamental cause. Pradana (2019) and Swastika (2007) reviews into Kramat Kampung, a community that had formerly housed war refugees. Other kampung investigates by (Utami & Choiron (2019) and Winoto (2018) where the poor are living in this area in slum condition. Furthermore, L. Larasati (2019) presents other cemetery kampung that have a specific community that lives in the area, namely cemetery caretakers. Farida (2019) finds that different settlement, informal and formal, can live together within cemetery area and creates varied memories and perspectives among inhabitants. Those previous research indicate that numerous factors contribute to the growth of these settlements, but the primary driver is the need for housing, sometimes the poor can obtain illegally.

Researches that previously mentioned are spatially interact with cemetery but not in its social and economic life at the same time. This study discusses the spatial characteristics of the cemetery kampungs that interacts with surrounding urban facilities. Kampung is component of urban system (Setiawan, 2010) especially when located in the city center. It is threatened with conditions of competition for urban space with other, more modern city functions, such as commercial and trading. Kampung have experienced pressure due to the

expansion of these modern facilities (Aprianto, 2016; Evansyah & Dewi, 2014; Juwono et al., 2009), demolition and even redevelopment (Kochan, 2015; Puspitasari et al., 2018) for functions such as creation of green spaces, commercial development or high-density residential units (Guinness, 2019). In another hand, identity in resilience perspective is important in building the system cohesion (Cumming & Collier, 2005). Recent scholars also point out the significance roles of identity on community resilience (Belanche et al., 2021; Ischak et al., 2018; Waddell, 2021). This paper proposes the concept of spatial characteristics of cemetery kampung and argues that the particular characteristics strengthens the identity of the kampung and its existence amidst city development. The relationship between spatial characteristics and identity of kampung becomes a gap in this research. The case of different kampungs character surround large-scale cemetery area helps to explore the comprehensive spatial characteristics of the cemetery kampung.

The unique case of kampungs at Bukit Bergota, Semarang City, Indonesia is suitable to be investigated. Bergota Public Cemetery (BPC) is the largest public cemetery in Randusari Sub District, Semarang City which spatially interacts with the surrounding kampungs. Randusari Sub District has an area of 66 hectares with 30 hectares in which is BPC area. The cemetery, which occupies almost half of Randusari sub district's land, has an important contribution in shaping the character of the area known as the cemetery kampungs. There are several groups of kampungs located in Randusari Sub District which attached with BPC area. These kampungs survive within their limitations in the midst of development in the city center. The historical context states that the location of the cemetery and the surrounding kampungs is located in a landscape called Bukit Bergota (Budiman, 1978; Brommer, Budihardjo, & Montens, 1995; Tio, 2007; Nurhajarini & Fibiona, 2019). The area has become a cemetery area since the 16th century and adjacent to the surrounding kampung for decades, creating a unique character of life and space.

The present paper is structured as follows. First, we briefly explain the significance of Bukit Bergota that has historical background as initial form of Semarang. Then, we continue digging on empirical evidence of spatial characteristics of cemetery kampungs and discussion of how spatial characteristics contribute to kampungs identity and its existence. Finally, the paper concludes with answering the research objectives and an outlook on future work. This paper gives new perspective on unique interactions of cemetery and kampungs in the discussion of Indonesian kampung that creates life in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Literature Review: Kampung, Spatial Characteristics and Identity

There are three issues delivered in this article, kampung, spatial characteristics and how those issues strengthen the identity of kampung amidst city development. The literature review flows in discussing references of kampung in Indonesian urban settlement to frame the context of specific location, then we discuss the interaction of kampungs and other urban facilities, finally, concluding the significance of this article. Kampung in this article refers to original settlements of urban space located in the city center.

In order to determine the spatial characteristics of a cemetery kampung, we first integrate notions about kampung in urban centers "kampung kota" and provide the context of a cemetery. In the early kampung after independence, physical situations were mostly discussed such as slum, squatter, and lack of basic infrastructure. These factors also make

kampungs have a high population density of people who live in temporary or semi-permanent housing (Abrams, 1966; Turner & Fichter, 1972). Guinness (2019) comprehensively defines kampung uses the term kampung to designate to a low-income urban community in Indonesia and Malaysia. There has been a shift in terminology of kampung, but it still relates to the same image. Although the term kampung was initially associated with slum or squatter, it was later given other names such as spontaneous settlements, slum of hope, or autonomous settlements (Silas, 1983). The change in this phrase implies a shift in attitudes about the kampung, later, positive perspectives are arisen in the discussions.

Kampung has significant role in the urban development especially in Indonesia. Peters (2013) observe that half of urban population live in kampung including rural migrant, low-income people that cannot afford street-side house and someone that choose to live close to family or neighbors. It also provides human resources for formal economic sector in urban (Newberry, 2008; Peters, 2013) such as factory, commercial and business, services, and for informal sectors, precariat provides services, food and transport, recycling and sometimes sexual services. The kampung is basically a passion for living in a community in a residential environment that has neighborly relationships and knows each other. Such a strong relationship forms a community as the essence of life (Sutanudjadja & Pujiyanto, 2019).

The interaction between community and the environment formed in a socio-temporal manner creates different characters of kampung. Semarang itself has many kampungs with specific characteristics especially from its economic basis. Semarang Municipal Government has declared a program called “Kampung Tematik” (thematic kampung) in 2017 to elevate the distinctive character of the kampung which contributes to improving the quality of life of its citizens. For example, in Kampung Kranggan, most of the residents are spring roll (lumpia) skin makers (Semarang snack specialties), Kampung Bustaman is a center for processed goat food which is distributed throughout the city of Semarang, Kampung Batik is a center for making Semarang typical batik and other kampungs in Semarang with their specific character. Within these kampungs an important economic sector grows for its residents but not as a response to interactions with the surrounding urban space (N. F. Larasati, 2014; Sudarwanto et al., 2018; Sukmawati & Yuliasuti, 2016).

Those strong kampung characteristics play an important role in the contestation of urban space against the expansion of modernism. Interactions between the city and the kampung may exist in the propagation of urban activities into the kampung. The result can be a struggle of social power against capital power, hereinafter, evidence shows that the kampung lost this battle (Aprianto, 2016; Juwono et al., 2009; Pratama, 2019; Sigijateng, 2019). Ujang and Aziz describes when modern development and traditional life in the kampung collide, traditional life would be altered, and the kampung's identity may change even if no destruction occurs (Ujang & Aziz, 2016). On the other hand, characteristics on greening in kampung may also contribute the forming of identity (Putra et al., 2019). As long as the kampung is undervalued, it remain threatened with demolition and neglect (Aprianto, 2016; Evansyah & Dewi, 2014).

Kampung and identity are inextricably linked. Paasi analyzes two dimensions of place identity: the place identity of a place and people's place identification. The place identity

refers to the characteristics of nature, culture, and people that are used to identify one location from others in the discourses and classifications of science, politics, cultural activism, regional marketing, tourism, governance, and political or religious regionalization. The people's place identity refers to the association of individuals with a location (Paasi in Peng et al., 2020). This research is using the approach of place identity that related to characteristics of a place rather than people's identification. Identity can be cultivated from visual connection of building that blends with the context of neighborhood in urban fabrics (Intaraksa & Ongsavangchai, 2022). Identity is also a determinant of kampung resilience when confronted with urban life (Shirleyana et al., 2018). Shirleyana's assessment of kampung resiliency demonstrates that kampung identity is relevant to inhabitants' attachment.

Location and social interaction are also related to kampung identity (Damayanti & Kossak, 2016). Previous study on the spatial character of settlements and the surrounding urban area has not addressed its relationship to the identity of the settlements that are formed. The identity of kampung is crucial in order for it to thrive and not be overlooked due to its important function in metropolitan regions. The case of Bukit Bergota's kampungs demonstrates a distinct phenomenon. In terms of economic and social character, interaction with the urban region around the kampung creates a distinct way of life. Despite the possibility of losing the kampung in the city core, Bukit Bergota provides parts of living that metropolitan communities in general require. Finally, the purpose of this research is to investigate the spatial characteristics and their contribution to kampung identity in order to survive amid urban development.

Methodology

This study employs three theoretical underpinnings to examine the relationship between spatial characteristics of the cemetery kampung and the identity that is formed: theory of urban kampung, kampung-urban interaction and place identity. Using case study approach, this research offers an effective way to describe the actual phenomenon of a case (Yin, 1989). The observation units are kampungs in the Bukit Bergota, Randusari Sub District, Semarang City, Indonesia.

Bukit Bergota is part of the Randusari Sub District that evidenced by the settlements area on the hilly landscape (figure 1). Bukit Bergota is located in Semarang's city center, close to the BPC, heritage buildings, national hospital, and commercial corridor. There are several kampungs in the region, including Kampung Randusari, Kampung Wonosari, Kampung Bergota, and Kampung Bergota Kamar Mayat. In order to classified those kampungs into units of analysis, zoning is employed. This zoning classification is based on the distinct physical, social, and economic aspects of each zone.

There are three kampung zones as units of analysis based on the typical features of the kampungs, namely zone 1 is hilly kampung (Kampung Wonosari), zone 2 is grave kampung (Kampung Bergota), and zone 3 is trading-and-service kampung (Kampung Randusari and Kampung Bergota Kamar Mayat). Hilly kampung is famous for its kampung on a hilly landscape, grave kampung is a group of houses located on cemetery land, and trading-and-service kampung is located near trading and service facilities such as Pandanaran's commercial corridor, Randusari Market, and Dr. Karyadi's National Hospital. These qualities are processed qualitatively based on the findings of an empirical inquiry, direct observation,

and key informant interviews. The snowball approach was employed to collect data from 16 key informants who are well familiar with the area's characteristics. Primary data used field notes and in-depth interview, and secondary data uses historical documents of the research area, government-based and community-based documents. Historical background referred from historical references from the Semarang and digital documents that can be accessed by the public. There are two aspects discussed in this article, i.e., the historical background of Bukit Bergota to explore the significance of the research location and the current developing of the kampungs in Bukit Bergota to synthesize the spatial characteristics of cemetery kampung. In order to establish a picture of the spatial characteristics of the cemetery kampung, the research emphasizes the community's spatial, social, and economic relationship with the cemetery and other neighboring urban services.

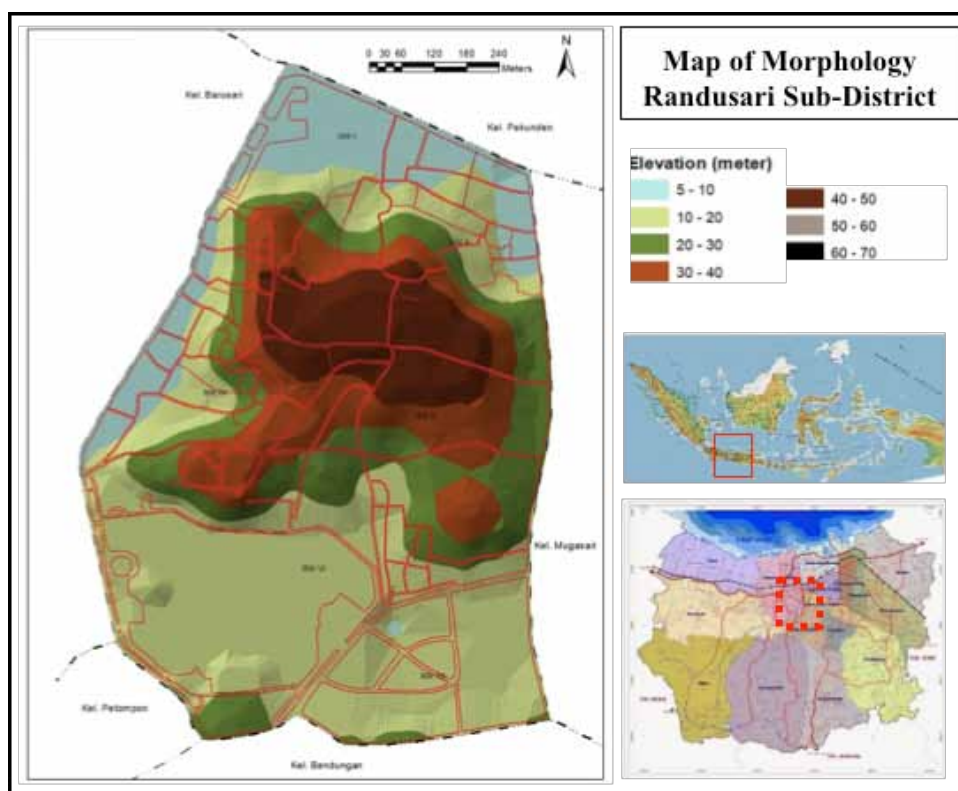


Figure 1. Research Location in Bukit Bergota, Randusari Sub District, Semarang City, Indonesia (Source: Author Analysis, 2021).

Results and Findings

Bukit Bergota's History as a Prominent Port to The Growth of Settlements

Bukit Bergota was a coastal location that became a key port on Java's North Coast in the seventh century as an important gateway for the Hindu-Javanese Mataram Kingdom (Brommer et al., 1995). The Semarang harbor was positioned below Bukit Bergota and immediately facing the Java Sea from the ninth to fifteenth centuries (Nurhajarini & Fibiona, 2019). The coastal location of Bukit Bergota caused the growth of settlements around it. This area was already crowded and be an important settlement of Hindu priests during the Hindu era (Budiman, 1978; Rinke, 1911). Ki Pandan Arang (the first mayor of Semarang) in 1476 came to Bergota to spread Islam to people who previously believed in Hinduism.

In 1650 Bukit Bergota had developed into a settlement for Javanese traders and fishermen (Muljadinata, 1993). In 15th century, enormous river sedimentation has led the Bergota shoreline to silt, and the coastline is progressively jutting into the Java Sea (Brommer et al., 1995). The result of this silting process, Bergota was no longer a port location and the focus of Semarang's growth. The port relocated to the coast's north, specifically to the Sleko region. This new port contributed to Semarang's prominence as an important port city on Java's North Coast in the sixteenth century (Budiman, 1978). Port of Bergota's changed and its environs grew into a wide territory that formed a part of Semarang's city core, and settlements also grew.

Along the way, based on the results of the interviews with sources, the land in Bukit Bergota had become land that was controlled by the Ngayogyakarta Palace of the Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono XI era. By the Palace, the management of the land that had become a cemetery area was handed over to the community as a fief land and this was passed on from generation to generation. In 1964, the land was handed over to the Semarang Government and inaugurated as public cemetery Bergota (Larasati, 2019 and the narrative of the informant). The important point of this handover is that the community and cemetery caretakers who have lived in the BPC location for generations are allowed to build houses if they are the generation of predecessors who have lived in the area before. Currently these kampungs are growing with various characteristics but still have types of activities related to their proximity to the BPC area. The land-use surrounding Bukit Bergota is evolving into important services of Pandanaran Commercial Corridor, Dr. Karyadi's National Hospital, Cathedral Church area, various conserved heritage buildings, traditional markets, and BPC. These facilities are on an urban size and have played significant roles in Semarang's growth and historical trajectory (Tio, 2007). When city developed, Bukit Bergota's kampungs retain their own physical patterns, social lives, and economic conditions (Sunarjan, 2014; Agitha & Kurniati, 2018; Larasati, 2019; Riyulida & Sunarti, 2019).

Units of Analysis of Bukit Bergota Kampungs

The empirical procedure demonstrates that the kampungs next to the cemetery area interact in various ways. Therefore, the study is carried out by categorizing the kampungs into different zones. The kampungs were divided into three zones as an analytical unit to exhibit the kampung character and to identify the spatial, social, and economic interaction (Figure 2).

To determine the border of each kampung zone, we overlay the land use map and solid void map of settlements. Figure 2 depicts kampung, or settlement clusters, on each land use. Based on our initial observations in the area, we believe that each kampung has distinct traits that may be classified. There are three types of character: physical (hilly landscape), neighborhood (kampung settlement on cemetery area), and trading center (traditional markets, national hospital, and commercial corridor close to kampung). First, we discovered a series of settlements known as Kampung Bergota in the cemetery region, and we designated this kampung as a grave kampung. The BPC region forms the kampung's boundary. Outside of the BPC region, settlements are classified as hill kampung or service-and-trade kampung.

Zone 1 is identified as Hill Kampung because the settlements are located on the hilly part of Bukit Bergota. Zone 2 is identified as Grave Kampung because the settlements are located exactly on the BPC area. Zone 3 is identified as Trade-and-Service Kampung because the kampung was dominantly interacting with commercial activities. Although each kampung has different character, cemetery activities are elements that mostly forms the life of kampungs on Bukit Bergota. The next section goes over the discussion of spatial characteristics of kampungs in each zone.

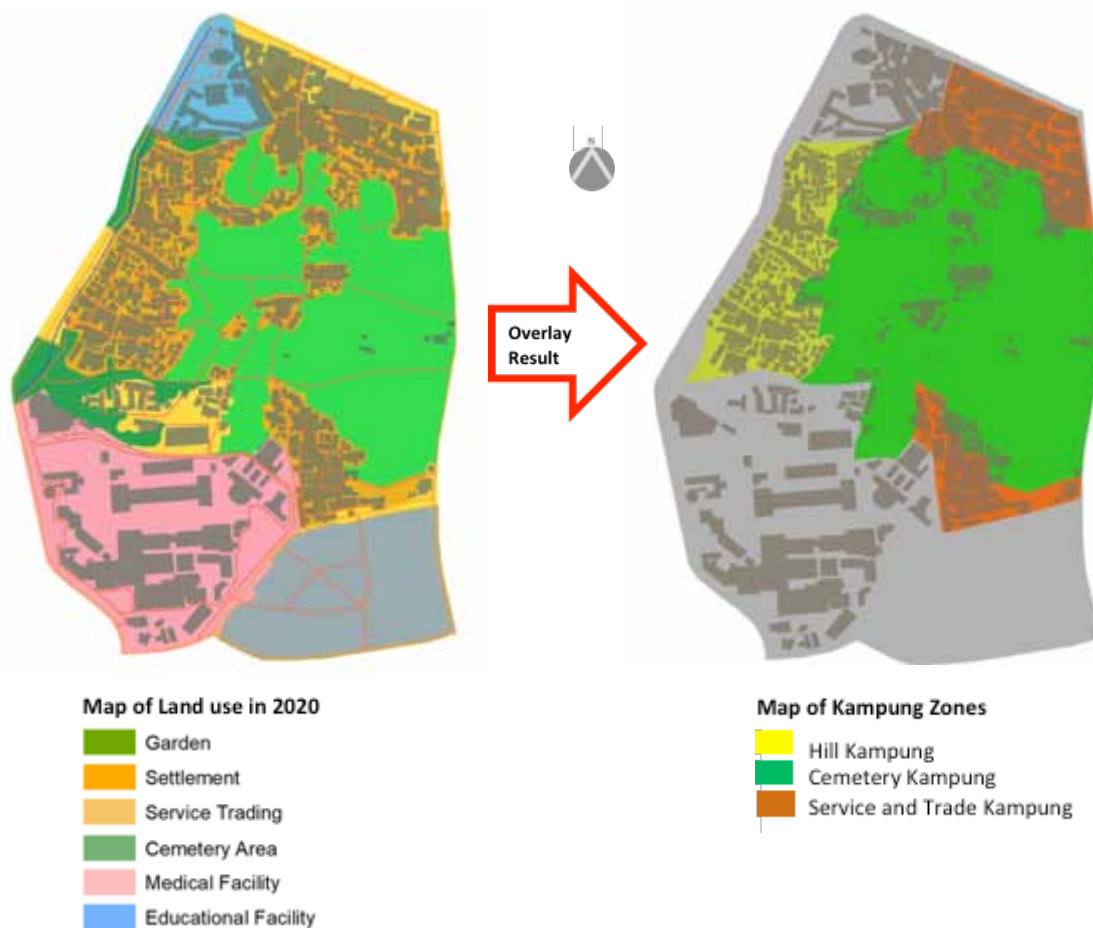


Figure 2. Overlay of Land Use Map and Solid Void Map to Determine Kampung Zoning. (Source: Author analysis, 2021).

Spatial Characteristics within Cemetery Kampung

Zone 1 Hill Kampung

Zone 1 is kampungs that are located outside of the BPC region visible from the west side of the city center. The steep environment with a series of terraced settlements distinguishes this kampung. In 2017, Hill Kampung become part of thematic kampung program held by Government of Semarang to improve the visual of the landscape. The government and community painted the houses in bright colors that creates colorful visual. That is the origin of the name Kampung Pelangi (rainbow kampung). After the establishment of Kampung Pelangi, the kampung become tourist attraction that viral around the nation.



Figure 3. Features of Hill Kampung in Zone 1 (Source: Field data, 2021).

The hilly terrain effects the nature of the living space (figure 3). First, the home is on a tiny scale (less than 50 m²) and adjacent to each other. Second, circulation occurs on narrow roads and steps that are inaccessible by motorcycle. This situation necessitates the use of shared parking spots on the sides of the road and also the available space between residences. Residents use circulation space, such as steps, for social contact, particularly on the shady side. Walking on the stairs promotes intensive social engagement among neighbors, such as speaking, welcoming, and providing a playground.

The BPC area allows for the growth of supporting activities in Pasar Kembang (Flower Market), which is located on the zone 1 bordering Soetomo Street. Pasar Kembang has evolved into a prominent flower market in Semarang. The cemetery motif is reflected in the trade of three sorts of products: flowerpot kiosks, flower board kiosks, and live plant kiosks. Although the proportion of zone 1 inhabitants who own businesses in Pasar Kembang is minimal, the contact stems from a need for labor. Furthermore, activities of paper flower producers are emerging to assist the flower board industry at Pasar Kembang. These inhabitants' items are subsequently given to collectors surrounding their houses, who eventually sell them to market dealers. Other supporting economic activities such as parking attendants, food vendors, cafés, and traditional culture activists have grown in the zone 1.

Zone 2 The Grave Kampung

The kampung in zone 2 is the one that is directly adjacent to a BPC area. Zone 2 is the kampung with the most spatial, economic, and social interactions with the cemetery. Houses on BPC region cannot be awarded land ownership rights, either as fief land or government

land. This informal status made inhabitants controlled their property from generation to generation by exploiting cemetery land as settlements. Moreover, the culture of cemetery caretaker is growing by giving the caretakers and their successors the right to administer cemetery plots. The rights that arise are limited to utilizing but not legally owning. In general, the houses of the cemetery caretakers are not far from the managed cemetery plots. As a consequence, the houses are gathered and spread out across the BPC region.

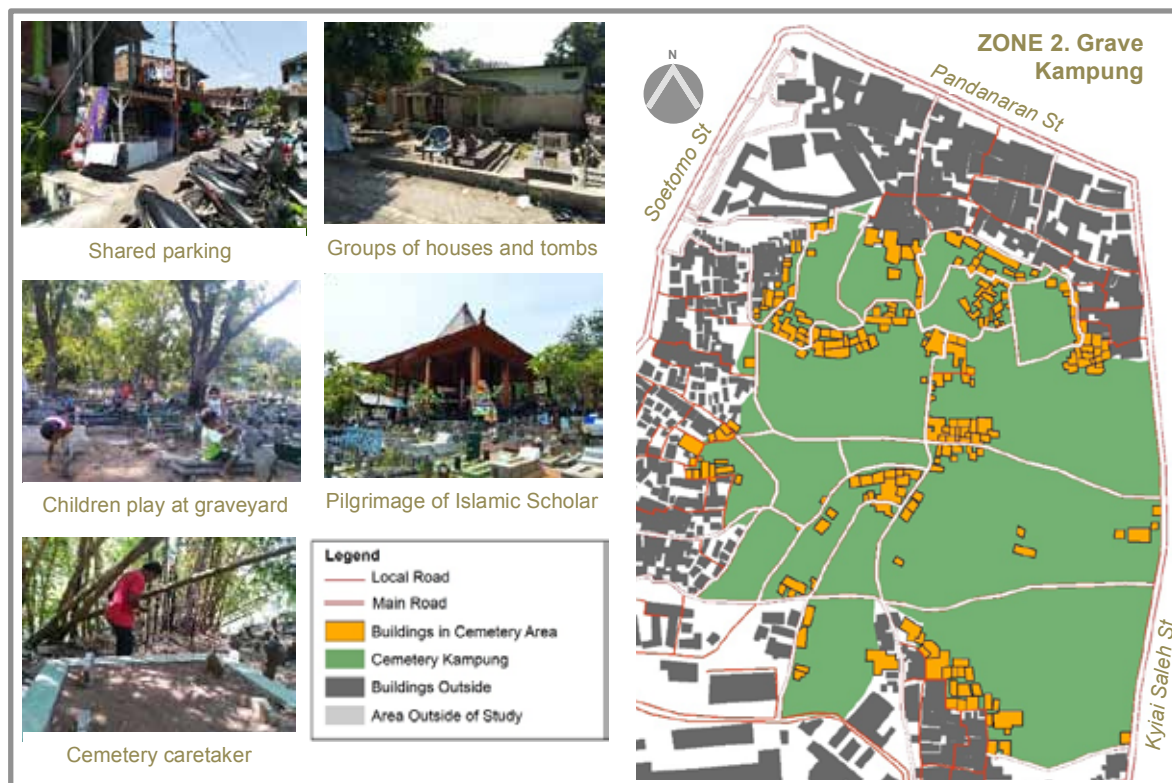


Figure 4. Features of Grave Kampung in Zone 2 (Source: Field data, 2021).

Houses and graves have become one entity with no limits other than the walls of the housing. They live in narrow house and crammed between tombs. The growth of informal settlements has taken place quite rapidly in 2010 up to present. Graves can be seen on the terraces and courtyards of houses in zone 2. The graveyard has evolved into a public park, serving as a place for social interaction, a cart vendor, a playground, and even a kitchen and drying room (figure 4). The growth of houses propagates through the acquisition of cemetery spaces into houses. This acquisition process occurred informally without legal documents especially in cemetery ground reserve. This propagation mechanism is substantial in the northern area of zone 1. This region is mostly populated by the homeless, beggars, parking attendants, and other informal laborers.

Cemetery caretakers become a distinctive livelihood of zone 2. People who wish to bury their family will communicate directly with the caretakers in charge of the plot. They will assist in obtaining permissions from the Semarang City Cemetery Office in order to supply burials at a predetermined price. This price is entirely determined by the agreement reached between the caretaker and the heirs. As a result, the majority of the residents in this kampung are extended families of cemetery caretaker. The only "outsiders" were the

daughters-in-law who married into the caretaker's family. Due to illegal land status considerations, the process of purchasing and selling houses or land has never occurred for inhabitants outside the kampung, and some individuals are hesitant to live in the cemetery region. In brief, the local government is in charge of grave taxation, while the caretaker is in charge of cemetery maintenance and rent. This income potential encourages the cemetery caretaker to continue working for generations, especially because many are from low-income families. Aside from caretakers, locals rely on the cemetery area for various sources of income, such as gravediggers, parking attendants, grocery stores, food vendors, and even beggars. More beggars and other informal workers will come when the pilgrimage season arrives.

Zone 3 Trade and Service Kampung

Zone 3 kampungs typically engage with urban trade and service sector. Kampungs in this area shows typical activities related with trading. Zone 3 is separated in two areas which is on north side and south side of Randusari Sub-District (figure 5). On the north side, kampungs mostly interacts with activities at Pandanaran Street and Randusari Market, while zone 3 on the south interacts with activities associated with National Hospital Dr. Karyadi. On northern part (see figure 6), there are the commercial corridor of Pandanaran Street which shops selling typical Semarang souvenirs, apartments, and office buildings; and Randusari Market well-known for selling fresh flowers and death paraphernalia. Furthermore, kampung contacts are stronger with commercial activities than with BPC. The owner of shops bought the second the second layer behind the row of stores to extend their storage and production space. Shop employees, hawkers, food sellers, and parking attendants are examples of economic activity associated with trading and services. Pandanaran Street is also serves as the physical boundary of the kampung located behind this commercial district. Residents of Kampungs get priority as laborers or employees at Pandanaran Street stores. Pandanaran's kampung supplies human resources for the commercial sector. This mutualistic symbiosis was expressed by the informants and activities that grow in the area.

In contrast to the Pandanaran part, the activities of the kampungs adjacent to the Randusari Market have a closer relationship to BPC (see figure 6). Randusari Market is a traditional market, but as the demand from BPC has grown, fresh-cut flower and sow-flower vendors have sprouted up around the market. In this region, a unique interaction occurs since the majority of the locals who live near the market work as traders for death and wedding supplies and floral strand manufacturers. Residents, particularly women, manufacture flower strands in their houses to supplement their income. They receive orders from Randusari Market clients and online orders via their gadgets. Randusari Market is also a hub of community activity in the surrounding area.

On the southern side of Zone 3, National Hospital Dr. Karyadi plays a key role in bringing the image of kampung. The name of this hospital's neighboring kampung is Bergota Kamar Mayat (or Bergota Morgue), which indicates this kampung is located on the side of hospital morgue facilities. Settlements in this area tend to have a more regular pattern. The hospital also contributes to the kampung's economic activity. The economic operations that sustain hospital activities are where the interaction between kampung and hospital emerges. Some of the kampung residents work in the hospital as cleaning services, parking attendants, morgue workers, and other supporting workers. Furthermore, a row of ambulances lined the side of the kampung street near the hospital every day. They provide ambulance and

driver rental services for hospital patients. This ambulance service is locally run and has a symbiotic relationship with hospital demand. Supporting activities such as food vendors, grocery stores, and photocopying can be found on the side of the kampung that borders the hospital.

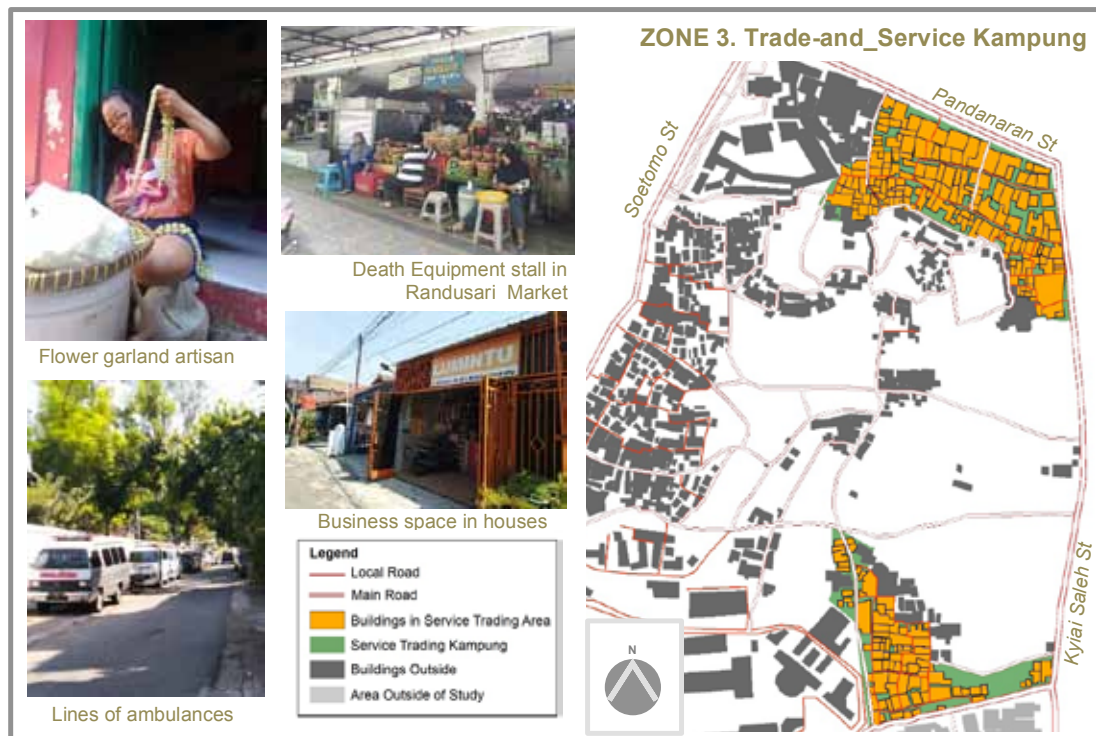


Figure 5. Features of Trade-and-Service Kampung in Zone 3 (Source: Field data, 2021).



Figure 6. Northern part of Zone 3 - Pandanaran Corridor and Kampung (Source: Field data, 2021).

From the description above, there are several typical characters of kampungs in Bukit Bergota that can be derived. There are topographic conditions, kampung pattern, use of space, circulation, economic center and activity (figure 7). These characters unite the discussion on spatial characteristics within cemetery kampungs in order to reach the concept that represents cemetery kampung characteristics.

Character	ZONE 1	ZONE 2	ZONE 3
Topography	Hilly	Hilly	Flat
Kampung Pattern	Dense, irregular plot	Dense, irregular plot, scattered in groups in the graveyard	Arranged in plots, getting denser closer to the cemetery area
Spatial Use	Shared parking, social interaction at the circulation path, shared space	Shared parking, shared space, cemetery as liquid space	Home space for business, shared space, circulation path for economic activities
Circulation	Stairs and motorcycle lane	Motorcycle and limited car lane	Motorcycle and car lane
Economic Center	BPC, Flower Market, Kampung Pelangi tourism spot	BPC, pilgrimage of Islamic Scholars	BPC, commercial area of Pandanaran, Randusari Market, National Hospital Dr. Karyadi
Economic Activities	Flower market traders, parking attendants, paper flower artisan, food stalls	Cemetery caretakers, grave diggers, beggars, parking attendants, food stalls.	Shop employees, food stalls, photocopiers, market traders, flower strands makers, ambulance operators, boarding houses, hospital staff.
Social Ties	Hereditary residents, social closeness due to neighbors	Hereditary residents, social closeness due to kinship of cemetery caretaker's society	Hereditary residents, social closeness due to neighbors

Figure 7. Table of Cemetery Kampung's Characteristics in Bukit Bergota.

The first characteristic is topography. Cemetery kampung in hilly terrain are kampung in zone 1 and 2. Those are zones of kampung that interact mostly to cemetery area. Graves and kampung in Java Region are closed each other (Yuristiadhi, 2011). Hilly areas are the choice for cemetery areas because hills, mountains or high places are considered sacred places. The choice of this location occurs especially in the Java area because this tradition originates from the pre-Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist and has been passed down from generation to generation until now (Afla, 2020; Erniati, 2021; Juliantho & Syahrin, 2018). Bukit Bergota in its natural landscape is located in the city center. Settlements in zone 1 and 2 have been developed organically followed the terrain and available space. The demand for housing in the city center occupied the burial area especially for informal settlements. Informal settlements that grow in the cemetery area are one way out for urban marginalized people to get space to live, even with limited infrastructure (Swastika, 2007).

The second is the kampung pattern. Physically, characteristic of kampung in several studies related to cemetery kampung in other areas in Indonesia (Farida, 2019; Islami, 2019; Pradana, 2019; Utami & Choiron, 2019) is also seen in the settlements of the Bukit Bergota.

Conversely, the context of cemetery attached to the kampung enriches the uniqueness of the area. This special feature can be seen from the composition of the houses which becomes denser and irregular as the settlement approaches the cemetery area. The further away from the cemetery area (approaching commercial area), the physical condition of the kampung is even more orderly, both in terms of the arrangement of the house and the existing circulation. This phenomenon quite different with previous study (Pradana, 2019) that was not specify the morphology of kampung space. Kampung especially in zone 3 has hilly and flat part. The hilly part is approaching the cemetery and flat part is approaching the commercial area. At the other hand, kampung in zone 2 has irregular pattern and scattered. The local people unoccupied cemetery land from generation to generation randomly. As the cemetery getting denser with graves, the houses that previously build seems to be surrounded by graves. It caused to physical characteristics in the form of irregular house plots, narrow circulation and unclear legality of ownership.

The third aspect is the spatial use of kampung. The kampung space is used by residents with the concept of sharing and consensus (Kristiani & Yuliastuti, 2013; Sudarwanto et al., 2019; Sukmawati & Yuliastuti, 2016). The limited space in the kampung creates liquid spaces. This study proposes liquid space in term of cemetery space that used for various community needs, such as parking spaces, drying clothes, storing goods, playground and even trading. Liquid space refers to space that can be used informally by residents for any purpose as long as the activity does not violate community regulations. This space occurs because of the limited space for interaction within the cemetery kampung so that the space between the graves is the only available space that can be utilized. This phenomenon also occurs in the public spaces of other cemetery kampung (Utami & Chiron, 2019) and in the children's playground (Hafidh, 2016; Rakhmanty, 2015). The cemetery has become part of the kampung space that has no boundary. There is no limit for the community to use this cemetery space as long as it does not physically damage the tomb. Because the cemetery is a passive space, the heirs of the tomb hand over the management and maintenance of the tomb to the cemetery caretaker. The caretaker is responsible for the condition of the tombs on the managed plot. The spatial use in the cemetery kampung has the characteristics of kampung in general (Setiawan, 2010; Damanik, Setiawan, Roychansyah, & Usman, 2016; Widjaja, 2013), but we also argue that sharing space is also occur at cemetery.

Fourth, the physical characteristics of the kampung apart from the aspect of space use are the circulation. The process of organic and unplanned growth is also reflected from kampung irregular circulation conditions (Setiawan, 2010; Widjaja, 2013; Damanik et al., 2016). The limited public space in kampung also makes the circulation path as a common space. It is possible because the traffic conditions in the circulation space are only limited to low movements for walking and motorbikes. In addition, the average width of the circulation road is 1.5-3 meters, allowing every citizen to interact incidentally when passing through kampung roads and greeting each other from their terrace. In addition, steps that become the main circulation on zone 1 brings up uniqueness in the area.

The fifth aspect is the economic center of the kampung. Besides the interaction with the cemetery area, the kampungs in Bukit Bergota also interact with activities in the Pandanaran business area, Randusari Market, Flower Market and the National Hospital Dr. Kariadi. The urban kampung in Bukit Bergota is the embryo of the city because this is where a

city begins and develops. The research shows that urban kampung will be surrounded by strategic urban economic sectors of trade and services (Dewi & Kurniawati, 2013; Laksono, 1994; Lindarni & Handayani, 2014). Kampung that have spatial interactions with cemeteries are also developed as tourist attractions by the local government because of local potential even though they are classified as slum (Islami, 2019; Riyulida & Sunarti, 2019). The same thing happened to the kampung in Bukit Bergota. Its location in the city center allows the dwellers to interact with the city's economic center and affects the economic character of the kampung. Cemeteries of national Islamic scholars such as Kyai Sholeh Darat and other scholars have become Semarang religious tourist spot. These economic centers will support the kampung residents who depend on them.

The sixth is economic activities. The proximity of kampung with the urban center creates variety of economic sector in the cemetery kampung. The closer to the cemetery, the more specific cemetery-based economics are found (cemetery caretakers, gravediggers, parking attendants and beggars). The closer to the trade and services area, the type of economics lead to services, employees and small traders. The such urban informal sector is the hallmark of the kampung community living in the cemetery and also the image of poverty that appears in the lives of its citizens (Winoto, 2018). This research finds that a place-based economic arise as the characteristics of cemetery kampung. This finding is conforming the basic sense of place-based economics from Hildreth & Bailey (2014) and Rodríguez-Pose & Wilkie (2017). Cemetery activities in Bukit Bergota leverage the local people with specific economic condition at the surrounding neighborhood. Cemetery becomes local industry where people depend their life on. In addition to the informal sector, the process of integration with urban development also gave rise to the formal sector and subsystems within the kampung (Widjaja, 2013). Cemeteries and markets tend to affect informal economy activities and subsystems while urban facilities such as schools, hospitals and commercial facilities tend to affect formal economic activities.

The seventh is social ties. Bukit Bergota kampungs have low residents' dynamics. This cemetery kampung is located on several land statuses, including state land, individual land and foundation land (Widjaja, 2013). The land status houses and strategic locations are the background of their behavior in maintaining their land assets. Residents tend to perpetuate their property assets by bequeathing them to their descendants either on legal or illegal land status. Dwellers on average are descendants of the original owner of the house such as direct relatives or descendants from marriage. Kampungs in zone 3 that are closer to commercial facilities have social closeness as neighbors, but kampung located in the cemetery area in zone 2 have social ties to kinship. A different view was conveyed by Marshall (Marshall et al., 2001) that residents of urban kampung tend to have non-kinship social ties and are more heterogeneous. These kampungs actually have low number of migrants. Most of the individuals of cemetery kampung in Bukit Bergota are natives or descendants of the homeowners. Property control is typically conducted by kampung locals and is rarely conducted by residents from outside the kampung. This is due to the location and history of property inheritance that must be passed on to the next generation. This gives rise to strong social ties within the kampung (Sumintarsih & Ambar, 2014; Widjaja, 2013).

Cemetery kampung basically still describes the image of kampungs. Factors that mostly represents cemetery kampung are kampung pattern, spatial use and economic activities. The concept of cemetery kampung characteristics that arises in the research are cemetery

as liquid space, cemetery as place identity and place-based economics of cemetery activities. Liquid space refers to the cyclic kampung activities occur at the cemetery area. This type of space usage allows the community to engage, live and earn income. Cemetery as place identity refers to the identity of a place rather than people's identity. Although the people in the cemetery kampung live on the theme of sadness, mourn, and other minor feelings, this mutually beneficial interaction is rising the particular character that is rooted in and forms a distinguished kampung identity. This identity of place makes Bukit Bergota generate local economics that support the life of the people there. The interwoven between space usage, the identity and livelihood of local people has survived the kampung from modernism that eradicated the kampung as urban fabric.

Exploration of Identity Amidst City Development

Interactions between urban and traditional environment could exist in different manner. Ujang & Aziz discovered that as modernity increasing, the social engagement is decreasing (Ujang & Aziz, 2016). Modernity also threatens the kampung for being slowly eradicated (Juwono et al., 2009) and the loss of distinctive urban identity in a smaller scale (Shao et al., 2017). Kampung in Bukit Bergota shows a different phenomenon. The ongoing development of the city does not dampen engagement within the kampung. They have their own patterns of life and are physically unaffected by changes outside the kampung. Cemetery kampung in Bukit Bergota Semarang and the surrounding activities that grow has become the destination for Semarang residents for death supplies and also souvenirs of Semarang.

The transformation process of kampung space in Bukit Bergota differs from what has been examined. Bukit Bergota's kampung is situated on a hill, creating natural barriers to spatial changes and urban activities outside the kampung. The barriers are a river on the west side of the kampung, and the BPC region, which gives the impression of Kampung as a haunted place. In empirical investigations, river and BPC have a role in preserving the kampung space. However, the kampung surrounding the business district faces the threat of change because the tendency to convert residential areas into trading spaces has already occurred. The function of the BPC in shaping the identity of cemeteries can be recognized through specific activities there. The outcomes of the interplay between the kampung and the BPC form kampung life. The activities that spill over outside of the kampung also help to improve the area's image.

Discussion of spatial characteristics shows that local identity supports the existence of kampung at urban scale. A crucial part in developing distinctiveness with each location is to create a greater feeling of identification and to aid in the understanding of such a place's identity. However, due to the urban growth process, such identity has been lost, and the loss of distinctiveness has become a prevalent challenge that swiftly changing environments are confronting (Shao et al., 2017). Selman and Swanwick emphasized the significance of achieving landscape distinctiveness in modern landscape development procedures in order to strengthen links between residents and the environment (Selman & Swanwick, 2010). The distinctiveness of the cemetery kampung has grown organically as a result of human interaction with the surrounding environment.

The historical aspect also contributes to the identity of Bukit Bergota area and cemetery kampung. History and traditional features that are mirrored in human existence are two factors that might contribute to place identity (Deffner & Metaxas, 2007; Thinh & Gao,

2021). The history of Bukit Bergota at the first section of this article has shown the background of the area that contribute to the formation of recent features. The culture of cemetery caretakers, which has evolved through generations, contributes to the identity of the cemetery kampung.

Demand for services offered at Bukit Bergota also binds the area with Semarang locals. BPC's role is not only as a public cemetery area; it has also become a pilgrimage site for religious scholars on a national scale. Cemetery caretakers also bind the successors of the tombs with the service they rendered. Those interrelated identities of cemetery kampung reinforce the function of kampung in urban Semarang. The identities cultivated from cemetery kampung are expressions of material (physical elements) and behavioral (activities and occurrences). This finding reflects the research of Evers (2011) in urban symbolism. The context of local identity (Shao et al., 2017) is evident in the presence of local features that entail interaction between the environment and its population.

Conclusion

Bukit Bergota has been known as a kampung since the ninth century when settlement of Hindu priests existed and now evolved into Javanese settlements and cemeteries. This study classified Bukit Bergota kampungs into three unique zones, each with its own specific characteristics: hilly kampung, the grave kampung, and the trade-and-service kampung. Based on the analysis, the cemetery kampung has several spatial characteristics similar with the urban kampung in general. Urban interaction between kampung and surrounding urban space creates seven spatial characters; topography, kampung pattern, spatial use, circulation, economic center, economic activities and social ties. The concept of cemetery kampung characteristics that arises in the research are cemetery as liquid space, cemetery as place identity and place-based economics of cemetery activities. The characteristics of cemetery kampung generate a particular identity, making it significant as an urban service. Distinctiveness is the key of place identity that strengthen the role of kampung. People of Semarang identify cemetery kampung from the distinctiveness of landscape, history, traditional features and demand for services. The spatial transformation investigation of cemetery kampung can be an interesting research topic to investigate in order to uncover patterns of spatial alterations that occur. The unique interactions of cemetery and kampungs can be used by practitioners, local governments and academics as the guideline to better understanding on local identity and provide a better life for the neighborhoods.

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