

**Urban Labour Inequality:
Segregation and Gentrification in the Jakarta Industrial Area**

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to understand the inequality of urban labourers who live in the surrounds of suburban industrial areas. The author argues that inequality of urban labourers is getting worse even though their wages are getting higher. They choose to adapt to the unequal conditions because they do not have enough social, political and economic capital to carry out a class struggle; especially if they are migrant working class. This inequality also has been left vague by a democratic system which lets the labourers hold demonstrations on May Day and gives them free speech on social media, but the results for their equality are still insignificant. The labourers are still marginalized by living in the surrounds industrial areas in suburban areas which have less development and facilities than the city centre. When labourers live in the surrounds of industrial areas, which have been placed in suburban areas, it seems natural, but this is the working of industrial capital which attracts the urban labourers to live in their surrounds without considering the risks and their standard of living. Unfortunately, this implies their equality rights. Gentrification and segregation have been carried out like what happened in the suburban industrial areas in Jakarta, Bekasi, and Tangerang. Through observations, ethnography by following and living with the labourers, and supported by spatial map data, it can be seen the population density around the industrial areas and facilities are different from the central area of the city and their consideration for living in the area. They also have less power to carry out class struggle to achieve decent living standards. Furthermore, some labourers are made into commodities for housing developers which provide houses in suburban areas with fewer facilities like transportation and alienate them to get a decent living. The urban labourers are becoming marginalized.

Keywords: Urban labour, inequality, pseudo-inequality, class struggle, capital, urban planning

INTRODUCTION

Every citizen, including urban labourers, has the same right to access urban space. The space access distribution in urban spatial planning should be shared equally. If the space distribution is not accessible to all citizens, inequalities will arise and obstruct the urban labourers in achieve a better life. I argue that the inequality of urban labour to access space is more intense even though their wage increases every year. They will accept and adapt to their inequality condition as long their wage increases every year, even though only a small amount. Some labourers will get pseudo-equality, they feel equal and deserve the results of their achievement even though their access to the urban space is unequal. Urban labourers will find it hard to carry out class struggle to achieve equality in urban space because they have limited capital, whether economic, social, cultural, or political capital. Inequality persists, and labourers will have limited access to the urban space to do production and reproduction activities.

Usually, labourers access urban space in the surrounds of industrial areas. They live in the densely populated settlements in near industrial areas. It seems natural because it is cheap, accessible, and near the industrial factories where they work. They choose to accept, adapt and congregate in the surrounds of industrial areas. Urban labourers have become segregated.

Segregation is a grouping of population and their residence based on socio-economic conditions. Classification in segregation is often identified based on ethno-religious factors. A study conducted by Bola (1969) and Darby (1996) shows the separation or grouping of spatial based on religion (in Brendan, 2002). Massey (2008) also explains the history of spatial segregation in housing as rooted in the history of racism, although in terms of other socioeconomic situations between housing groups it is also different. However, housing segregation based on socio-economic encompasses all kinds of social and economic identities, such as homeland area, social capital, economic capital, cultural capital, political capital and various other things that differ between individuals. As experienced by the urban labourers of manufacturing industry. They will tend to group to live in the industrial area where they work. Settlements around industrial areas tend to be densely populated.

Housing developers and the government offer new settlements that are considered to solve the housing and population density through gentrification. Lees (2014) reiterates his previous study on how the gentrification process can revive a dead city. Unfortunately, Wahyu (2019) explains that

gentrification causes its own problems for the urban social environment, such as inequality and deprivation of living space. Through Marxist thought, he argues that the right to occupancy as a social reproductive space will be taken away by gentrification.

The problem of segregation and gentrification, which have an impact on inequality, does not pay special attention to the urban movement and urban planning. This is considered a natural process, especially for labourers who have migrated to industrial areas in cities, as happened in the Jakarta industrial area and the surrounding areas, commonly referred to as Greater Jakarta or Jabodetabek which consists of Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Depok-Bekasi. In the Greater Jakarta area, there are 21 industrial estates. In Jakarta, there are two industrial estates, namely the Kawasan Industri Berikat (KBN) in North Jakarta and the Jakarta Industrial Estate Pulogadung in East Jakarta. So the main research questions in this article are: (1) How has Jakarta urban access distribution become segregated and gentrified for the Jakarta manufacture industry labour?; (2) What is the basic strategy to achieve equality?

To understand these problems, this article presents a study of the literature on the inequality of urban space issues for urban labour and their class struggle to achieve equality. Then, with observation participants, historical area analysis, and secondary data which related on urban space and inequality issues like, policy, media analysis, I identify the occurrence of segregation and gentrification in industrial areas in DKI (Special Capital Region) Jakarta. Then the authors analyse these to identify their pseudo-inequality. Next, at the end of section I formulate a basic mechanism for how urban labour can achieve equality by developing class struggle.

URBAN LABOUR: URBAN SPACE ACCESS DISTRIBUTION, INEQUALITY, AND CLASS STRUGGLE

Urban Labour

According to Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower, a labourer or worker is defined as any person who works for a wage or other forms of remuneration. The terms labourer and worker for some parties are defined as two different things. However, basically those two words have the same meaning. They are a group that exchanges their time and energy to be part of the production process in producing commodities in exchange for wages or other things.

One of the workplaces where labourer work are the manufacturing industry. The manufacturing industry can absorb many labourers. It is also has become important in urban areas. Hudalah et al (2013) explain that the existence of urban manufacturing industries in Global North regions such as Europe and North America tends to lead to post-industrial, but in the Asian region it still has an important role as part of the regional development strategy. Industry in urban areas is still supported, including the manufacturing industry, although its location will shift to the city outskirts or be in the surrounding supporting cities.

The existence of industry in urban areas will attract the attention of prospective workers from other regions. Chan et al (2011) examine the development of labourers in Vietnam. The industrial workforce would attract the growth of urbanization and industrialization in cities. The labourers became a new proletariat in the Doi Moi (renovation) era. Basically, urbanization is not only the movement of people from areas administratively considered rural areas to urban areas but also the urbanizing process of regions. This process will change labour distribution, structure and cultural working patterns. Le (2011) explains that there has been a radical change in the migration patterns of labour redistribution and the status of women, especially in the Red River Delta Region. Following changes in land use that began in the 1980s and peaked in the 1990s plus a change in the system carried out by the local government through the formulation of industrialization policies, agricultural activities began to be abandoned. Even the slogan *ly nong bat ly huong*, meaning “leaving the rice field, but not the countryside,” appeared.

These diverse urban industrial labourers try to obtain a decent livelihood as their right. They are also entitled to get equality like other groups in urban areas, including equality in accessing various urban spaces.

Physical and Digital Urban Space Access Distribution

The study of space initially was an empty area that has not been specifically explored. Space was divided between mental space which is philosophical and epistemological, and real space to study (Lefebvre, 1992). Then Lefebvre reviewed the concept of space and argued that space is a social product produced by three interconnected levels. First, space is produced by the spatial practices of production and reproduction. Second, the representation of space produced by government surveyors and planners like architects, scientists, which reflects the position of power. They also produce the standard to create maps and urban planning. Third, space is produced

through ways of life and experiences. Thus, space is produced through experience, daily practice, and what is imagined (Harding & Blokland, 2016).

Based on the above study, space is a combination of images, daily practices both in production and reproduction, and the creations of a group of people who have the power and authority to determine the basis or foothold of urban planning. Therefore, urban space will always be contested by those who have power and authority with those who use it daily. Spatial accessibility can only be obtained by groups that have gained legitimacy, both administratively in urban areas with all their authority, and culturally with their daily practices. All kinds of distribution will depend on it.

Nowadays, urban areas have become part of globalization and the development of digital information technology. Urban areas have been developed as smart cities to fulfil transparency and accelerate demand. Offenhuber (2019) explains that a smart city is a concept that is often attached to technology-based approaches to solve urban problems such as service availability, infrastructure management, and governance that are commonly used by developed countries. They have developed data platforms and sensor networks in mature institutions and well-developed infrastructure.

The existence of digital information technology is changing the concept of space. Besides the combination of physical and mental space for various types of activities, virtual space has also developed. Virtual space has become a part of urban life. These three spaces and their combination become an arena to achieve legitimation to be used both by those who have authority and those who have used it in daily practice.

Inequality and Pseudo-Equality Access Distribution of Urban Space

The existence of a combination of physical, mental, and virtual space cannot always be accessed easily by urban communities. The function of a smart city which is considered capable of answering the problems of transparency and acceleration is still being debated. Kong & Wood (2018) argue that the existence of smart city is a paradox, both in terms of ideology and praxis, efficiency and control, as well as access and choice. In terms of ideology and praxis, a smart city is used by industrial interests to gain maximum profit. Inequality and segregation can also be sharper due to efficiency and control issues on accessibility that only can be owned by certain groups. Only a few groups who have accessibility and choice. Thus, the implementation is even more inefficient

and more detrimental to groups with limited capital. In addition, public and private positions are also increasingly ambiguous.

The existence of a smart city can increase the inequality of integrated space access. The distribution of urban space access, which is a battle of legitimacy, both in terms of structural and cultural authority, will only be owned by the dominant groups. Therefore, groups will appear based on the condition of structural and cultural authority in the form of segregation and gentrification.

Groups with structural or cultural authority or power will produce urban plans according to their interests. Gaffikin & Morissey (2011) notes that based on history, there are six urban planning models: (1) top-down land-use planning (1945); (2) Advocacy planning (1960); (3) Equity planning (1970s); (4) participatory planning; (5) spatial planning; (6) knowledge co-production for participatory planning. In the historical development of the urban planning model, the upheaval that occurred was between the government, experts, activists, and affected citizens in planning an inclusive city. They stated that the knowledge co-production for participatory planning model is more collaborative, inclusive and 'unofficial' or not dependent or centralized from the government which can be integrated with conflict resolution while creating inter-community cohesion over differences in socio-economic and ethnic-religious conditions. This model is also able to create equal partnerships between experts and activists in the production of knowledge needed for the development of planning and its application.

Basically, inclusive collaboration requires an equal group position, including ownership in any type of capital. In the urban planning model developed by Gaffikin and Morissey (2011), a collaborative planning model integrated between communities is needed. Unfortunately, the power of the community can differ from one another, from urban planning knowledge, accessibility to present their values and interests, opportunities to join the collaboration. Thus, applying the model requires an initial basis that empowers each community in collaborating in urban planning.

The process of increasing power between communities will be a complex issue, from planning, implementation, to the maintenance and development stages. Levy (2011: 334-335) explains that one of the problems in urban planning is politics which affects the main aspects of urban areas, including transportation, water supply, sewerage, sewage treatment and solid waste disposal, air quality, parks, outdoor recreation, open space, economic development, and housing.

Communities with weak power, whether as political, cultural, economic, and social capital, will occupy spaces with low-quality major urban aspects. They tend to occupy supporting urban and

sub-urban areas that clearly have different quality urban functions that can only be accessed by the higher capital owner. In other words, they experience segregation.

Socio-economic segregated community space will cause problems. Low socio-economic classes with a lack of major development aspects will be considered bad spaces and need to be fixed, or even removed. Various methods are also carried out to improve or get rid of spaces owned by low-capital communities, like gentrification.

Gentrification, or renewal of the region, is often seen as a solution to the existence of settlement conditions that are considered disturbing, either by repairing areas that will be razed for rebuilding, or building new areas on the outskirts of urban areas that can be occupied by urban residents. Both approaches in gentrification have the same consequence of displacement, and the areas may not necessarily be accessible or re-accessed by groups that once occupied the place.

Labourers tend to adapt an urban renewal which is not fully accessible to workers and customization to be grouped based on socioeconomic conditions make them teach it. They tend to be grateful for what they already have, as is the case with the Red River Delta Region. Lee (2011) explains that in the Red River Delta Region, especially in Kim Thieu, casual female workers experience differences in wages. They also decided not to do the work rather than having to be exploited. Unfortunately, there are still many other workers who do not sense this inequality in remuneration. The reasons they put forward start from the assumption that this is still better than not working at all or the wages they get are still higher than when working in agriculture. In addition, the presence of industry owners who often accompany workers, even come to work, also makes workers not feel exploited. The vulnerability experienced by workers makes them receive all the treatment by industry owners.

Pseudo-equality can also occur with workers who have access to information technology such as social media accounts. The frenetic development of information technology and the freedom to express their value on social media have made urban working classes appear equal, but only on the surface. With this development of information technology, Indonesian labourers can be freer to express their value, carry out movements, join and/or form unions than they were in the authoritarian New Order regime. It is only a pseudo-equality, and one which does not guarantee substantial transformation. Pseudo-equality can obstruct urban labourers in their path to achieve equality.

Vulnerability and inequality, as well as apparent inequalities experienced by workers, can be exploited for certain political interests without solving substantial problems. Simone (2013)

states that collective solidarity is an important instrument in perseverance, focus, and stages to make concrete changes so that workers are not easily manipulated or used as political merchandise for other groups. Thus, collective solidarity can be one of the principles of the class struggle.

Class Struggle: Union and Movement in Urban Space

To achieve equality in accessing various urban spaces, labourers need collective solidarity because the struggle is an expression of class conflict. Alvares & Barbosa (2018: 6) state that the struggle in urban space is basically a battle between classes, starting from the owners of capital, labour, and the state who tend to systematically position themselves in the group of capital owners. There is no neutral position in class conflict, including in the struggle for urban space. Gaffikin & Morrissey (2011) argue that neutrality in urban conflicts is delusional. They also explain that urban planning can solve the urban conflict problem.

Abrahamson (2014) talks about how Henry Ford had taken the initiative to create housing for his labourers in the Amazon jungle. Ford believed that Fordlandia, the name of his residential area for labourers, would go well because the planning he had made was community-based. It was also carried out like his industry model. He imagined that housing would be arranged in an orderly manner, small, uniform, and built with scale and economic accuracy, as would the rubber production process. The cafeteria also provided a set menu in assembly-line fashion form. Unfortunately, it did not pan out well because the labourers, including expert groups, could not be controlled like assembly lines. He also did not pay attention to environmental problems, diseases, and so on.

This shows that what is best described for labourers or the working-class community is often dominated by capital owners. In fact, occupancy, which is an activity outside of production such as reproduction, is also regulated in such a way as to be efficient in production. Rubber labourers are placed in forest settlements without considering their impact or the mitigation of the problem. The gap in the power to determine the actual space for reproductive activities is also regulated by the class of capital owners. For this reason, workers need to carry out class struggle as a power struggle in the politics of the spatial organization.

Soja (1971) states three main functions in the political organization of space. First, distribution, allocation, and ownership of scarce resources control. Second, the maintenance of order and enforcement of authority. Third, legitimization of authority through societal integration.

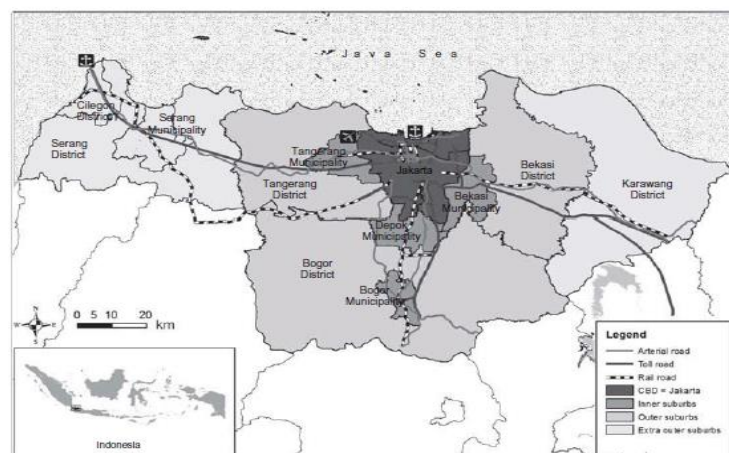
Labours can develop these function into class struggle organizations or movements. First, they need access to control scarce resources like land, money and power to make authoritative decisions. Second, the ability to provide conflict resolution, both inside and outside the organization, to maintain their class struggle. Third, integrate their class struggle as unions authorised by the urban labourers. Next, we need to identify urban labour inequality and their initial capital as basic resources to formulate movements and unions as class struggle.

RESEARCH METHODS

The characteristics of urban labourers in previous studies are also reflected in manufacturing industry labour in the Jakarta area. Jakarta, as the capital and economic centre, also has two industrial zones, Kawasan Industri Berikat (KBN/ Bonded Industrial Zone) and Jakarta Industrial Estate Pulogadung. The presence of industry in Jakarta is also supported by several other regions, such as Bogor, Tangerang, Depok and Bekasi. Those who work in industrial areas tend to choose homes around the area, but not a few also live in supporting areas and migrate temporarily to the supporting area and live in housing settlements which are usually also occupied by fellow workers. Thus, groupings arise according to socio-economic segregation and gentrification in the periphery and supporting areas in Jakarta.

Fig. 1. Map of greater Jakarta

Source: Hudalah, et. al. (2013)



To examine space inequality reflected as segregation and gentrification experienced by the working class in the industrial areas of DKI Jakarta, I use data from participative observations, analysis of both current and historical areas supported by the results of previous research interviews, analysis of media discourse both in reporting and advertising, and the policies of the DKI Jakarta Government and the Ministry of Industry in developing urban areas. The data will be analyzed and triangulated to identify inequality and a fundamental formula for the class struggle to achieve equality.

JAKARTA URBAN LABOUR INEQUALITY: SEGREGATION AND GENTRIFICATION IN JAKARTA URBAN INDUSTRIAL AREA AND ACCESS DISTRIBUTION

The beginning of the development of the manufacturing industry in Jakarta started in the 1960s through foreign investment. “During 1967 to 1971, Jakarta received 63 per cent of foreign investment projects in the form of manufacturing companies (which are very different from exploitation companies). This percentage represents about half of this type of investment in Indonesia” (Sethuraman in Blackburn, 2001). Hudalah, et. al. (2013) explains that the government supported the development of industrial zones in the northern or coastal zone in Jakarta. Pulogadung Industrial Park (currently the official name of Jakarta Industrial Estate Pulogadung) is an area that was built in 1970 with an area of 594 ha. Another industrial estate that was built was Kawasan Berikat Nusantara (KBN). KBN was built in 1980 with an area of 595 ha.

The manufacturing industry requires a lot of labour. Prospective workers also came from various regions. Their migration is part of urbanization. In the Jakarta Master Plan 1965-1985, the problem of urbanization had begun to be illustrated. In the Master Plan, it was revealed that if in the previous era urbanization was carried out due to unsafe conditions around their homeland due to the post-independence and other socio-political situations, in the 1960s urbanization was mostly based on economic and social considerations. This resulted in an increase in population which had implications for the construction of illegal houses and slum areas.

Labourers arriving from other regions tend to choose places to live around industrial areas. This has an impact on the density of the area around industrial areas because this type of industry absorbs a lot of labour. This has been tested by Hudalah et al (2013).

Fig. 2. Manufacturing employment-population ratio in Greater Jakarta 2010

Source: Hudalah et al, 2013

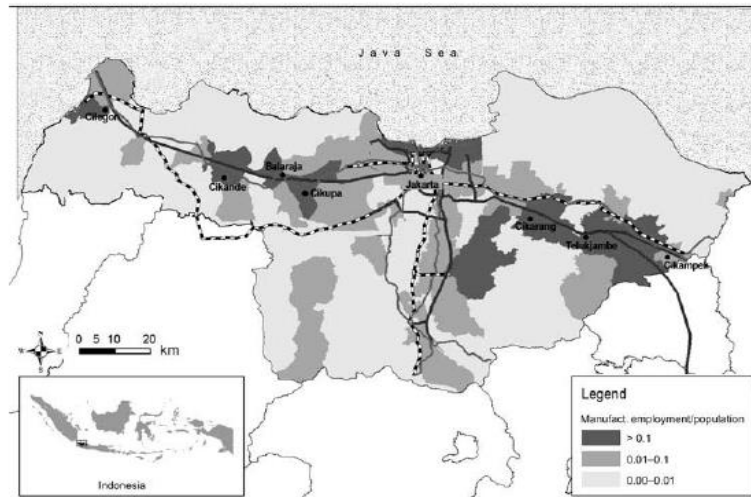


Fig. 7. Manufacturing employment-population ratio in Greater Jakarta 2010.

Based on a study conducted by Hudalah, et al (2013), the employment-population is centred on industrial areas along the Greater Jakarta area. These labourers cluster around the industrial zone in an unplanned fashion. This natural-looking grouping can be predicted from the beginning as the choice of migrant workers who move to cities to work in manufacturing areas. Moreover, the issue of urbanization had been discussed in the 1965-1985 Jakarta Master Plan as a social problem that could not be controlled.

In Minister of Industry Decree No. 29/M/SL/10/1989, several standards in the development of industrial estates were mentioned, such as land use composition, infrastructure that must be provided, and facilities provided. The composition of land use for industrial lots was to be a maximum of 70 per cent, with a minimum of 10 per cent for green open space, and the remaining land area used for infrastructure and facilities. The infrastructure that must be provided consists of environmental road network, rainwater drainage, clean water supply that is sourced from PAM or carried out independently, telecommunications network, industrial wastewater management installation, street lighting, office units, and firefighting units. The area manager can also provide infrastructure such as solid waste TPS and industrial area fences. Meanwhile, the required facilities

consist of canteens, polyclinics, places of worship, temporary lodging houses, fitness centres, bus stops, security posts, offices for banks, post offices and telephone shops (in Kwanda, 2000).

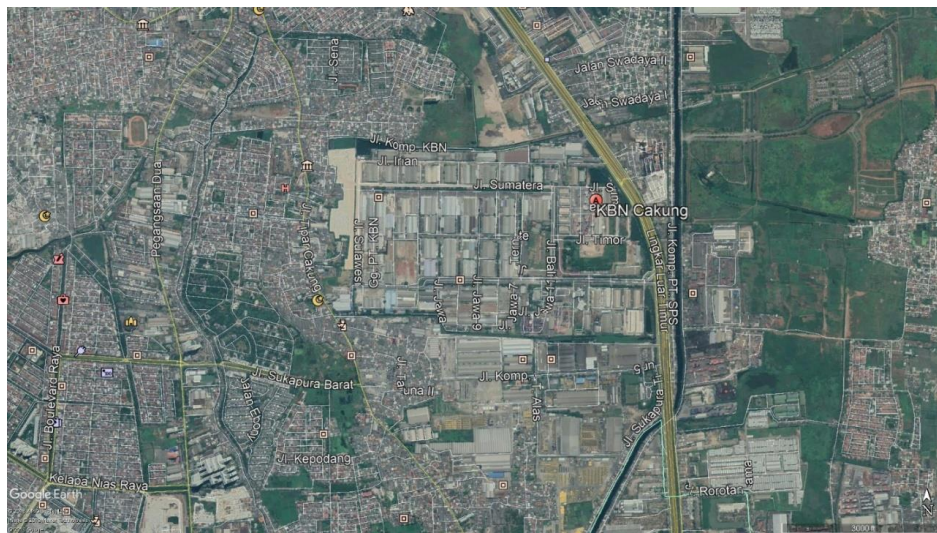
Unfortunately, densely populated settlements and urbanization as a matter of the actual impact of the manufacturing industry development had been predicted but not anticipated. The industrial estate development does not consider it to be its responsibility. The regional government also did not describe this issue in specific spatial planning. They only did the zoning system in general, and not everything is planned and applied properly. Dense population settlements are often seen as slums that need to be muzzled even though it helps the manufacturing labourers to survive.

Labourers' decisions to reside in the surrounds of the manufacturing industry are based on their rational choice to choose based on their capabilities and accessibilities to access. They use the spaces to facilitate productive and reproductive activities. In addition, they also produce new spaces from their experiences, activities of daily living, and their images of the ideal life in urban areas

Urban labourers are also segregated in the areas around manufacturing industry. Unfortunately, road and access facilities around manufacturing industrial areas are still unable to fulfil the rights of labourers as residents who occupy other spaces in the same urban area.

Fig. 3. Satellite photo of Kawasan Industri Berikat

Source: Google Earth



The photo shows the population density condition to the left of KBN. Their settlements are rented rooms or rented houses paid monthly or annually. These settlements are usually referred to as *kosan* and *kontrakan*. Based on the results of participant observations made by the author in 2016, they occupy *kosan* or *kontrakan* that can be paid monthly or annually. To access water, some areas need to draw from the reservoir where the pumped water comes from. They use shared bathrooms. In addition, existing road access in densely populated settlements is far different from existing road access on the distribution track side of the manufacturing industry. Public transportation available is also limited when compared to other areas in the city of Jakarta.

Labourers who live in rented rooms (*kosan*) or rented houses (*kontrakan*) that can be paid monthly or annually are often targeted to be moved to certain flats or housing. As is the case in Kawasan Berikat Nusantara (KBN) and some labourers in another industrial zone. In 2013, KBN planned to build eight towers with twenty floors in stages (Liputan6.com, 2013). In addition, there are also several manufacturing industries that cooperate with housing developer to provide housing for labourers.

If we identify labourers' economic conditions, they must fulfil their family needs, including their family in their hometown. As explained by informants who work in the local manufacturing industry, they must send around 30% -40% of their income to families in their hometown. They also have to pay rent for the room where they lived and pay for their daily needs. The displacement of labourers to a new location can certainly be a problem for them, as they must pay extra expenses to live. Any housing that is offered, besides access costs that may not be affordable, will incur additional transportation costs. Thus, gentrification is not a solution to the problem of population density because its accessibility is difficult to achieve by industrial labourers.

Segregation and gentrification area are reflecting inequality problems yet still being developed in the urban area. Blackburn (2011) recalled that during the leadership of Ali Sadikin (1966-1986), Sadikin had undertaken the construction of residential housing on the outskirts of Jakarta as an alternative solution for the urban poor. Unfortunately, only a small amount of poor people could access this housing estate. In addition, the location was far from their workplaces. One of these site is housing in Muara Angke for fishermen in 1975. After one year only 14 of the 360 houses were inhabited. Even these residents who can afford them are not fishermen, but boat owners who are richer than civil servants. The fishermen can only inhabit the surrounding area illegally.

Both the history of housing construction ready for habitation in the Ali Sadikin era and in the current era show that the development planning mechanism is top-down. Those who have power and authority will make the city plan according to their interests. In this case, the local government is one of the groups that determine urban planning. The government also provides various programs for industrial development. For example, based on history, the selection of the industrial area in the north area was based on industrial needs. The area was close to the port of Tanjung Priok which famous for trade. For Gaffikin & Morissey (2011), the top-down urban-planning model is not inclusive. Urban planning needs to be done in a participatory, collaborative style and not from a centralized government production of knowledge.

Unfortunately, if the knowledge co-production urban planning model is to be implemented in DKI Jakarta it will be very difficult. First, a model like this requires equal conditions among groups in terms of political, economic, social and cultural capital. Secondly, labour groups are often manipulated or dragged into the electoral political situation without the continuous handling or maintenance of power after the moment of electoral politics.

In addition, with the context of digital information technology development, Jakarta has developed to be a smart city. The smart city which was built since the era of Jokowi Ahok, Ahok-Djarot, and then Anies-Sandiaga should make it possible for every labourer to access digital spaces in voicing the urban problems they have faced. Offenhuber (2019) says that Jakarta has the characteristics of rapid urbanization, weak institutions, a lack of resources, and public service and its dynamics are heavily influenced by the informal economy and improvisation practices. This is different from the characteristics of the global north countries in the development of smart cities.

However, based on the experience of participant observation, there are still many labourers who use simple mobile phones that have limited facilities and difficulties in accessing digital space. Labourers do not participate much either in planning smart cities or utilizing various smart city accesses. This is in line with the argument of Kong & Wood (2018) which state that smart cities are paradoxes. Starting from ideology and praxis, efficiency and control, and access and choice, do not involve the ideology of the working class and do not involve workers to participate in the mechanism of efficiency and control. The access of workers to enter digital spaces in smart cities is also limited. These problems have increasingly created inequality for the working class in accessing various urban spaces. Therefore, they need new ways that can help them achieve equality.

ACHIEVING EQUALITY: CLASS STRUGGLE AND CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

The equality of space which wants to be achieved by the working class is the ability to use various spaces for production and reproduction activities and to produce new spaces from their various activities without class restrictions. Labourers are also entitled to get the main aspects of urban development in spatial planning and implementation, such as transportation, water supply, sewage treatment, solid waste disposal, air quality, parks, recreation, open places and spaces, security, health facilities, education, electric power, and services for emergencies such as natural disasters, fires, ambulances, both notice and treatment. Unfortunately, if you look at the condition of industrial estates in Jakarta, especially in dense settlements around industrial areas inhabited by labourers, they offer far from equal access distribution. For this reason, labourers need to carry out class struggle to achieve equality. Class struggle is carried out from the process of planning to the implementation, control, and evaluation of the implementation of the city plan.

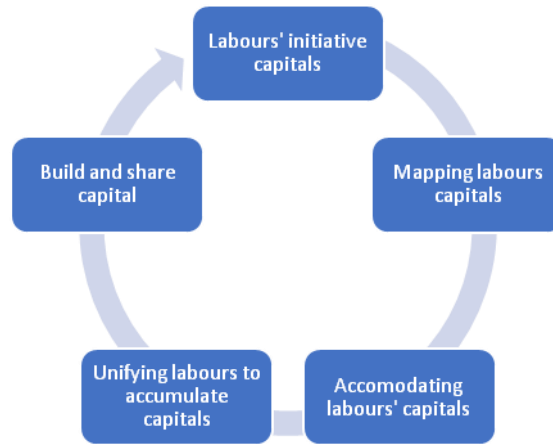
Starter Pack: Accumulating Capital to Develop Equal Urban Planning

The most basic thing in the realization of equality in Jakarta is that the labourers must be involved in the mechanism of city planning design and the control mechanism in the implementation of the related city planning design, both establishing regulations to implementation. To get this opportunity to get involved, the working class needs capital.

The capital needed by labourers is complex, starting from the economic, social, cultural, and political aspects. These capitals can be accumulated if the labourers coordinate with each other in collective solidarity, as Simone stated earlier, which shows that perseverance, power of focus and every stage towards concrete change requires collective solidarity. Collective solidarity is carried out not only within the internal union but every agency both in production and reproduction activities. Local villagers who do not work in the related manufacturing industry must also be involved. Workers who have certain expertise must share their knowledge to be reproduced. They must all be involved in activities and shared goals continuously: "When different actors, capacities, backgrounds and spaces come together, fixed equations concerning relative contributions and values, although present, usually have limited use in calibrating relationships among different aspirations, practices, and uses of local space. The key to making things work is for multiple activities and orientations to use each other." (Simone, 2013)

Fig.4. Accumulating Capital Process

Source: Author, 2019



The process of capital accumulation is carried out in several stages. First, identify the initial capital owned by the labourers. This initial capital is mapped based on the type of capital, such as economic, cultural, social, or political. This mapping aims to identify the strength and weakness of capital that can be used to develop labourers involved in the process of urban planning, implementation, control, and evaluation. All capital is integrated into a union. Within the union, the capital is distributed equally so that the initial capital of the labourers' increases. Basically, this is almost like the logic of capitalism in collecting capital and getting profits. However, what distinguishes it is the process of equitable distribution to increase the capacity of workers from various aspects to eliminate existing inequality.

In addition to the process of capital accumulation in the internal labourer group, movement integration also needs to be done with the other residents. The residents are another group affected by the gap in the distribution of urban space access. Although they do not work as labourers in the manufacturing industry, they also feel the gap in the development of public space and the main aspects of urban planning. This engagement process can be different, especially when they are not migrant workers or have been living there for a long time. The feeling of having a different class from the workers will hamper the process of integration. Conversely, the potential for trade union exclusivity allows the difficulty of integration with villagers. These barriers must be erased slowly

by sharing mutual activities in maintaining their shared space, giving rise to emotional closeness and showing that they have the same goal of getting equal access to production and reproduction.

The process of capital integration of labourer groups and residents can be done with a variety of political technologies that can be utilized by them. Both labourers and residents have biological clocks which tend to be different. Political technology can bridge this problem. Political technology is a variety of new findings that help the three main functions of the political organization of space developed by Soja. This technology helps the distribution, allocation, and ownership of limited resource access, maintenance of order and encouragement in achieving the political objectives of the integration of the two groups. Third, it helps in the process of integration and coordination of class struggle carried out by each group.

This integration can encourage groups to get involved in the city planning process. They can utilize existing channels such as expressing their aspirations through the city council and continuously controlling them. However, this is not optimal because the position of the city council in each region is not that strong. Thus, they must be able to find other gaps to provide enforcement to involve them in urban planning. The involvement was not only in the presence of invitations to entertain workers and residents but also had an impact on the formation of the city planning team and its implementation.

Producing Equality: Basic Strategies to Develop Urban Labours Equality

The process of capital accumulation towards labour equality is not linear and stops when labourers have been involved in urban planning. Capital accumulation will be carried out continuously until the workers and residents achieve equality and maintain it in a sustainable manner. For this reason, workers and residents must be aware of the urban planning mechanism adopted by Jakarta.

Jakarta uses a zoning system in urban spatial planning. According to Levy (2011: 127-149), zoning regulations are a form of control of land functions that are best known because zoning is considered to have the power to achieve community goals. However, the effectiveness of zoning is more dominant in urban areas that have not yet determined overall land-use patterns, while for older cities with long-followed urban patterns, the zoning system is considered ineffective. The zoning system is also limited to economic and legal forces.

Fig. 4. Map of Urgency Area Development

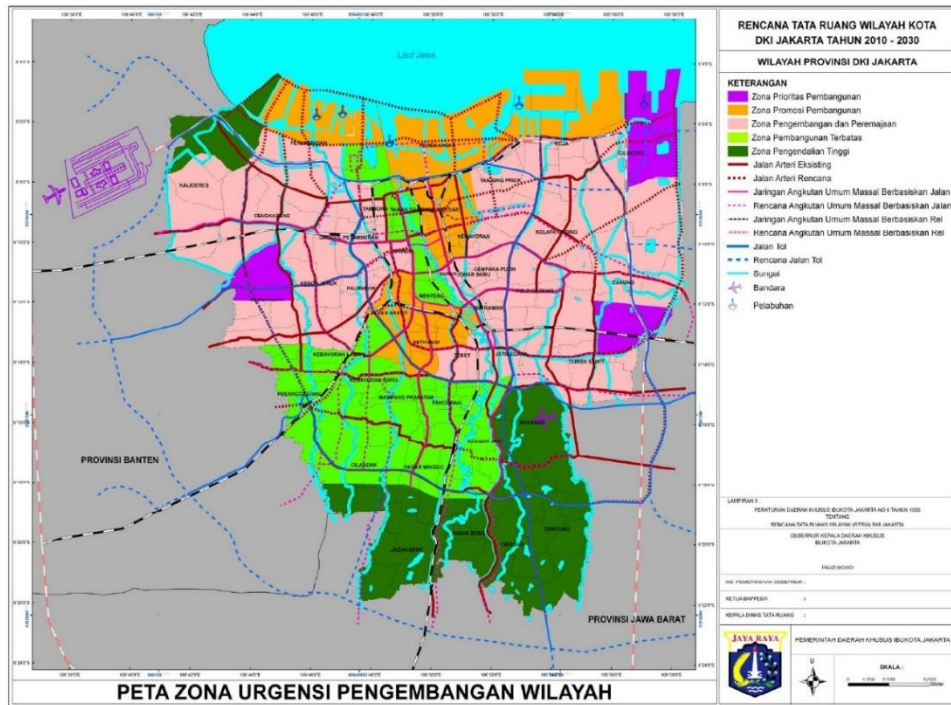
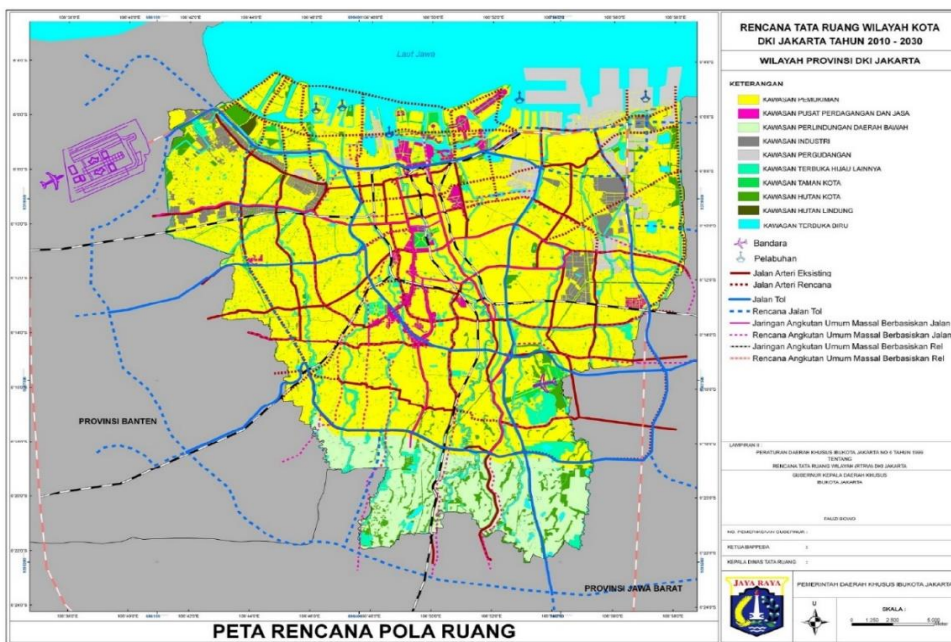


Fig. 5. Map of DKI Jakarta Space Planning



Basically, the determination of zoning focuses on facilitating the private sector. Hudalah et al (2013) state that the role of the government in the deconcentrating process tends to be simpler and more focused on facilitating the involvement of the private sector in investment and industrial development. Citizen involvement in determining zones, both in the type of area and urgency, is basically lacking. According to one urban *kampung* activist, they were involved even in the most recent governor, although this has not been significant. The process begins with a political contract just before the election of a new governor. The mechanism of invitation in this meeting is only part of the apparent equality. Likewise with the Labourer Group. They get access to convey their voices every May Day. However, their voices have not had a significant impact on the struggle for the distribution of urban space access. The process requires additional capital that can be obtained by the process of integration between manufacturing industry workers and other city residents. The activism activities of the townspeople with the trade unions can unite to get equal access to space distribution.

However, the process of engaging the integration of those groups does not stop with planning. Hudalah, et al (2013) explain that spatial planning is less significant in this deconcentrating process. However, the existence of spatial planning which is considered insignificant is often the basis for eviction or development of new areas in Jakarta. Thus, this has become important for city residents and labourers to be involved in. In addition, the integration of these two groups must continue to control every latest development. They can utilize their political technology to access development information in Jakarta.

CONCLUSION

DKI Jakarta workers experience inequality in accessing urban space both for use in production and reproduction activities, as well as producing new spaces that are derived from their lifestyle. The inequality space they have experienced is in the form of segregation and gentrification. The inequality is exacerbated by the context of the development of virtual spaces in the digital world which are increasingly strengthened by the development of smart cities. This problem can only be solved by the accumulation of labourer capital that is integrated with city residents who are also affected by this unequal distribution of access.

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