



Evelin Rizzo

“Resistilience”

Women’s Resistance and Resilience in Post Eviction in North Jakarta

EVELIN RIZZO

“RESISTILIENCE”: WOMEN’S RESISTANCE AND
RESILIENCE IN POST EVICTION IN NORTH JAKARTA

FOREWORD

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This publication includes the thesis *“Resistilience”: Women’s Resistance and Resilience in Post Eviction in North Jakarta*, written by Evelin Rizzo and supervised by Amalinda Savirani, Universitas Gadjah Mada (Indonesia).

BIOGRAPHY

After graduating from Maastricht University with a Bachelor’s Degree in European Studies, Evelin Rizzo undertook the Master of Arts in Human Rights and Democratization at Mahidol University and successfully graduated in July 2018. Her academic interests range from urban sustainability to housing rights and the promotion of women’s rights. Her experiences among urban marginalized communities in Indonesia inspired the following thesis.

ABSTRACT

The home is mainly a place of paid and unpaid care work for women in poor urban communities in North Jakarta. This thesis substantiates the claim that forced eviction constitutes not only a violation of human rights but of women’s rights in particular and will report the findings of a case study on the impact forced eviction has on women’s livelihood and their daily responses to such impact. The study focuses on the women of Kampung Aquarium, who were victims of forced eviction in April 2016. The data, retrieved from a focus group discussion and semi-structured interviews with six women, are analysed through the lens of James Scott’s theory of everyday resistance.

The findings demonstrate that women adopt everyday resistance and resilience to alleviate and absorb the economic, social and environmental impacts forced eviction has on their livelihood and on that of their family, which the current study acknowledges as *“Resistilience”*. Therefore, the study adds to the existing body of literature on everyday forms of resistance and ultimately suggests that forced eviction constitutes a gross violation of women’s rights.

Keywords: Forced Evictions, Resistance, Resilience, Women’s Rights, “Resistilience”, North Jakarta

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAL	Basic Agrarian Law
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of discrimination Against Women
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
COHRE	Center on Housing Rights and Evictions
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
JRMK	Jaringan Rakyat Miskin Kota (Poor People's City Network)
LBH	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (Legal Aid Institute)
OHCHR	Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner
PBN	Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Land Agency)
UPC	Urban Poor Consortium

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1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

We [women] have to be the witnesses of our men’s loss of job. Our children don’t have a home anymore, they lose their happiness. We don’t have any other choice than being strong.¹

The practice of forcibly evicting men, women and children from their homes and settlements is a growing global phenomenon which constitutes a “gross violation of human rights, in particular the right to adequate housing”.² It is defined by the United Nations International Committee on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights as:

the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection.³

People who have been victims of forced eviction, including in cases of project-induced displacement and resettlement, can be regarded as “internally displaced persons” (IDPs). IDPs are persons:

who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the

¹ Interview with Dharma, resident of Kampung Aquarium, (Aquarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

² Commission on UNCHR Res 77 (1993) UN Doc E/CN.4/RES/1993/77 . Available at: <<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/ForcedEvictions/Pages/Index.aspx>> [Accessed 28 May 2018].

³ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (adopted 16 December 1966, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 993, p. 3.

effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.⁴

While housing concerns men as much as it concerns women, in many cultures around the world women and girls are primarily responsible for maintaining and sustaining the house. Even today the house, or home, is a place of women's work and a site of significant contribution to our society.⁵ Many women, even when they are part of the so-called "productive" waged economy, meaning that they work outside the home and receive monetary compensation, still do most of the unpaid care work, which is carried out at home. It is estimated that women around the world spend two to ten times more hours on unpaid care work than men do.⁶ Taking care of the children and the elders, preparing food, washing and cleaning are all tasks that women and girls perform on a daily basis and that demand a safe, adequate house to be carried out.⁷ The special relationship that women have with the house suggests that the practice of forced eviction has a disproportionate, adverse impact on women, and, in the light of international human rights law, it constitutes not only a violation of human rights, but particularly of women's rights.⁸

However, housing has increasingly lost its social function. In the UN Human Rights Council Resolution A/HRC/37/L.12 adopted on 22 March 2018, the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, Leilani Farha addresses the consequences of a hyper-financialized housing market that pits speculation against human rights and pushes the cost of

⁴ United Nations, 1998. Human rights, mass exoduses, and displaced persons [Online]. Report of the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Francis M. Deng, submitted pursuant to Commission Resolution 1997/39. Addendum. Guiding principles on internal displacement. P. 5. UN doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 11 February 1998; [Accessed 31 May 2018]. Available at: <<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IDPersons/Pages/Standards.aspx>> [Accessed 20 April 2018].

⁵ UN Habitat, 2014. Women and Housing, Towards Inclusive Cities. UN Habitat Available at: <<https://unhabitat.org/books/women-and-housing-towards-inclusive-cities/>> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

⁶ Gaelle Ferrant, Lucia Maria Pesando, and Keiko Nowacka, 2014. Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes. *Issues Paper, OECD Development Centre*, www.oecd.org/dev/developmentgender/unpaid_care_work.pdf (accessed 12 October 2017).

⁷ COHRE, 2002. Violence. The impact of forced evictions on women in Palestine, India and Nigeria. [pdf] Available at: <https://issuu.com/cohre/docs/cohre_violence_impactofforcedevicti> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

⁸ UN Habitat, 2014. Women and Housing, Towards Inclusive Cities. UN Habitat Available at: <<https://unhabitat.org/books/women-and-housing-towards-inclusive-cities/>> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

housing out of reach of most households. She has recently highlighted the fact that housing has become “a financial commodity, robbed of its connection to community, dignity and the idea of home”.⁹ Housing is treated as a commodity rather than as a human right.

1.2 FORCED EVICTIONS IN JAKARTA

Indonesia is not free from the financialization of housing. In DKI Jakarta, financialized market forces have created an oversupply of luxury apartments, malls and infrastructures which remain unaffordable for most of the population. Moreover, the increasing population growth and the scarcity of affordable land and housing have put pressure on Jakarta’s poor residential neighbourhoods.¹⁰ Housing strategies seem to be driven by market forces rather than being embedded into a human rights framework that reflects the demands of women from Urban poor communities.

Poverty is one of the major problems in the capital. Estimates from March 2016 show that as many as 348,000 people were living in poverty, which corresponds to the 3.75 percent of the total population of the city. The majority of the unregistered population lives in the city, many of whom do so in poor conditions. Around 3 million people live in settlements in Greater Jakarta and lack basic services.¹¹ Housing for the poor has been a main issue of concern since the colonial era.¹² People migrating to the capital city created urban *kampungs*, which are informal, irregular, illegal, flexible settlements mostly located on vacant state land, under bridges, next to railways or rivers, characterized by the resilience of its residents.¹³

⁹ Leilani Farha, 2011. *Forced Evictions: Global Crisis, Global Solutions: A Review of the Status of Forced Evictions Globally through the Work of the Advisory Group on Forced Evictions, Un-Habitat and Other International Actors*. Un-Habitat.

¹⁰ Amalinda Savirani, and Ian Wilson, 2018. Distance Matters: the spatial politics of social housing (Rusunawa) in Jakarta. *Inside Indonesia*, [online] Available at: <<http://www.insideindonesia.org/distance-matters-social-housing-for-the-poor>> [Accessed 30 May 2018].

¹¹ Rita Padawang, Mike Douglass, 2015. Water, Water Everywhere: Toward Participatory Solutions to Chronic Urban Flooding in Jakarta. *Pacific Affairs*, 88 (3), pp. 517-550.

¹² Susan Abeyasekere 1989. *Jakarta: A History*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

¹³ Lea Jellinek, 1991. *The wheel of fortune, the history of a poor community in Jakarta*. North Sydney NSW: Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd.

The forced eviction of *kampungs* became a main issue of concern in 2015 and 2016. In 2014, the former Jakarta governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, known as Ahok, launched a large-scale project with the aim of improving the water flow along thirteen rivers in the capital, which were narrowed by illegal settlements. The project was financed with the support of the World Bank, which provided a total of USD 140 million toward the total cost of the project of USD 190 million. However, the consequences have been devastating for the residents. The Legal Aid Institute of Jakarta (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Jakarta, LBH) has recorded 306 cases of forced eviction, consisting of 13,871 families and 11,662 small enterprises.¹⁴ The target of the evictions were mainly poor residents who live in *kampungs* or low-income housing. According to the research conducted by LBH, most of the forced evictions did not take place in accordance with international human rights standards. Evictions were carried out without deliberation, using violence, and did not provide adequate alternatives for the victims.¹⁵ Despite Ahok's investment in the construction of vertical housing (*rusunawa*), the buildings were not equipped to host the 12,000 families that suffered eviction but could host only 1000 families.¹⁶ As a result, people were left homeless and forced to find an alternative housing solution by themselves.¹⁷

Ahok also promoted large-scale land reclamation projects. These led to the forced eviction of several *kampungs* located in the Jakarta bay such as Bukit Duri and Pulo. Such projects aimed at clearing the areas alongside the coast in Jakarta to create space for 17 artificial islands under the guidance of Indonesian property developers. Proposed in 1995, the plan took more than a decade and several legal challenges before

¹⁴ Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Jakarta (Legal Aid Institute), 2017, Report on Strategic Litigation Efforts Conducted by LBH Jakarta to Advocate the Fulfillment of the Right to Adequate Housing in Indonesia. Communication to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living, and on the Right to Non-Discrimination.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Wardhani, A. D., 2014. Governor Ahok Defends Eviction Policy. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/12/24/governor-ahok-defends- eviction-policy.html>> [Accessed 24 April 2018]

¹⁷ Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Jakarta (Legal Aid Institute), 2017, Report on Strategic Litigation Efforts Conducted by LBH Jakarta to Advocate the Fulfillment of the Right to Adequate Housing in Indonesia. Communication to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living, and on the Right to Non-Discrimination.

being approved by the Indonesian Supreme Court in 2011.¹⁸ Among the settlements threatened by the forced eviction, *Kampung Akuarium* has shown signs of resistance and resilience. Its residents were forcibly evicted on 11 April 2016 and still live in shelters on the remaining debris of *Akuarium*. Supported by the Urban Poor Consortium (UPC) and Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS), the residents of *Akuarium* and other thirty *kampungs* signed a political contract called “Perjanjian Tanah Penggarap” (which can be translated as “contract on the use of the land”) with the current Jakarta governor Anies Baswedan on April 2017. Such a contract lists the commitments that the candidate needs to undertake once he is elected and includes the provision of goods or services, housing in the current case.¹⁹

The dispute between the government of Jakarta and the residents of *kampungs* mainly revolves around the status of the land. Therefore, it is important for the sake of this study to better understand such a dispute from a legal perspective. A gap between current domestic laws and international human rights standards has been created by the existing Basic Agrarian Law (BAL), which legalizes forced evictions.²⁰ A difference exists between “registered” and “unregistered” land in Indonesia, which is respectively referred to as “formal” and “informal”. The BAL states that all land needs to be registered with the National Land Agency (Badan Pertanahan Nasional, BPN). In practice, 70 percent of land in Jakarta (last estimates in the mid-1990) is still unregistered with the National Land Agency. However, among these tracts of land, some are registered at local municipal administrative offices (*kelurahan*). These generally fail to communicate with the PBN. Therefore, the land remains illegal. An individuals’ claim on the land’s ownership is generally based on letters, receipts, and documents issued by the administrative local offices. This method of claiming land rights is legal, but it is not considered legitimate by the National Land Agency.

¹⁸ Maarten Bakker, Satoko Kishimoto, and Christa Nooy, 2017. Social justice at bay: The Dutch role in Jakarta’s coastal defence and land reclamation. *Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO), Both ENDS, The Transnational Institute (TNI)*. Available at: <https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/social_justice_at_bay_website.pdf> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

¹⁹ Amalinda Savirani, A., and Edward Aspinall, 2018. Adversarial Linkages: The Urban Poor and Electoral Politics in Jakarta. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 36 (3), pp. 3-34.

²⁰ Basic Agrarian Law, 1960, (Online). Available at: <<http://extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/pdf/ins3920.pdf>> [Accessed 16 December 2017].

The *kampungs* land remains mostly unregistered with the National Land Agency.

This dualism carries many challenges for the recognition of landownership, but it has proved beneficial for the government, particularly during the New Order era (1996-1998), when it utilized it as an opportunity to provide small subsidies only for formal housing.²¹ However, after the 1998 Reform, this system was highly criticized by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and they restructured the Indonesian economic policy following the Asian economic crisis in 1997. Subsequently, the informal market and the land policies were extensively reformed by means of a formalization policy through a certification program. Currently, President Joko Widodo supports this program focusing not only on urban areas, but also on rural areas and forests.²²

However, the government draws on the BAL to justify forced evictions. Furthermore, spatial planning law plays a part in limiting the potential residential use of the land. Over the course of the past 25 years the law has been reviewed several times. In 1992, it consisted of a strict zoning law which allowed for very few activities in each zoning area. A new law enacted in 2007 extended the number of activities for each zone, allowing zoning for residential, business and small industries to co-exist. However, urban poor neighbourhoods in Jakarta were not properly consulted before the release of the spatial zoning law of 2012 and the detailed plan of 2014. Several areas occupied by urban poor communities were labelled as “slums” or “green areas”, which resulted in several evictions between 2015 and 2016.²³ All in all, Indonesia is bound to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights in 2005. Therefore, it has committed to uphold the highest standards in the promotion and protection of economic, social, and cultural rights, thus, the protection of individuals from the practice of forced eviction, as well as the provision of adequate housing.²⁴

²¹ Abidin Kusno, 2012. Housing the Margin: Perumahan Rakyat and the future Urban Form of Jakarta. *Indonesia*, 94 (1), pp. 23-56. Southeast Asia Program Publications at Cornell University.

²² Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS), 2017. Report to UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing Context: Indonesia, Jakarta, Solo, Makassar, Surabaya, Yogyakarta. Available at: <<http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Housing/HousingStrategies/RujakCenterIndonesia.pdf>> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (adopted 16 December 1966, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 993).

In the light of this brief introduction, considering the important economic and social function of housing for women, this study substantiates the claim that forced eviction constitutes a violation of women’s rights by adopting a human rights-based approach to look at the impact of forced eviction on the livelihood of urban poor women in North Jakarta and women’s everyday responses to the impact of such an event.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The objectives of the study are:

1. To better understand the impact of forced eviction on the livelihood of women in poor urban communities.
2. To explore women’s everyday responses to the impact of forced eviction and their strategies.

The following research questions guide the study:

1. How does forced eviction impact the livelihood of women in North Jakarta?
2. How do women respond on a daily basis to the impact of forced eviction in North Jakarta?

The study benefits women living in poor urban communities by giving voice to their concerns and needs related to housing. It also draws policy makers’ attention to their obligation to refrain from the practice of forced eviction and the need to embed housing strategies into a human rights-based, gender sensitive framework. Moreover, this type of research and evidence is necessary to substantiate and contextualize the claim that forced eviction is a violation of human rights, and of women’s rights in particular. A comprehensive understanding of the impact of forced eviction on women’s livelihood and women’s everyday responses and strategies can assist policy-makers and human rights practitioners alike in the development of policies and strategies which prevent forced eviction and alleviate its impacts in a way that reflects and addresses women’s realities and needs.

2.

METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter provides an outline of the methodology used in the study. It is divided into three sections, which respectively address the case selection, the data collection procedure and the method of analysis of the findings.

2.2 CASE SELECTION

The study is based on a single case study: *Kampung* Akuarium. In the aftermath of the eviction, the *Kampung* became the most contentious of Jakarta's areas, since the residents returned to remake their lives directly on the debris of their homes and asked for compensation. The research participants were selected through purposive sampling. The unit of analysis of the study is the women of Akuarium. Indeed, they are the main caregivers of the family and those who spend most of their time at home. The house serves an economic and social function for them. Thus, they are the ones who can best inform the researcher about housing. A total of six women were selected to best inform the researcher.

All of them are residents of *Kampung* Akuarium and have been victims of forced eviction. Two of them were purposively selected as observations suggested that they were particularly knowledgeable about the situation. One, Dharma, is the current leader of the Urban Poor Network (JRMC), who advocates for the rights of urban poor communities, thus, she is considered a key informant. The other four women were selected during the last visit to the *Kampung* based on their age and background to ensure variation and identify common paths that

cut across such variations. Two of the interviewees, Sumi and Makini, rent an apartment in the Capuk and Marunda *rusunawa* respectively, provided by the government with a subsidy as an alternative housing solution. After spending a few months in the *rusunawa*, both women moved back to Akuarium and have been living in shelters since then.

2.3 DATA COLLECTION

A case study requires a wide array of information and contextual material to provide a detailed, in-depth picture of the case under scrutiny.²⁵ Therefore, the dataset of the study consists of primary and secondary data. Primary data includes field observations and notes, chit-chats, a focus group discussion (FGD), semi-structured interviews and speeches. Secondary data includes documentary data such as historical records of the site, official documents released by the government and reports from NGO’s such as RCUS and LBH. Qualitative methods are the most appropriate approach to this study as they are suited to the in-depth exploration of human phenomena and the best way to capture the world-views of those involved and the complexity of the women’s lived experiences.²⁶

The fieldwork took place from March to April 2018. Access to the field was facilitated by the Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS), which is a prominent “think-act” tank operating for over 30 years and currently dealing with the issue of forced evictions of urban poor communities in Jakarta. Data collection started on 30 March 2018, the day when the representatives of 16 *kampung*s met with UPC in *Kampung Rawa* to discuss their achievements and experiences with Community Action Plan (CAP). Subsequently, on 14 April 2018, the second anniversary of the eviction of *Kampung Akuarium*, observations and speeches from fishermen and the Jakarta governor Anies Baswedan were collected. Also, two women from the *kampung* were interviewed at that time while the other four women were interviewed on 20 April 2018.

All the interviews took place on the *Kampung Akuarium* research site to provide a comfortable environment for the participants, as well

²⁵ John W. Creswell, 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (ed.2) SAGE Publications.

²⁶ Ibid.

as to explore the village under the guidance of its residents. Individual semi-structured interviews were conducted to shed light on the impact of forced eviction on the women's livelihood as well as their everyday responses to such impact. This choice is due to two main reasons. First, this type of interview helps the researcher to collect a broad range of data covering several thematic areas as the interview takes place. Second, it allows for the interviewees to provide information using their own words, without adhering to a strict structure. This helps the researcher to investigate new thematic areas that are likely to emerge during the interview. Yet, the guidance of the questions formulated in advance ensures that the focus of the interview is maintained.²⁷

Furthermore, one focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted on April 19, 2018. The group was made up of four women. The results were treated as material for reflection and validation of the findings emerged during the in-depth interviews. The study explores the impact of forced eviction on women's livelihood and their everyday responses and strategies to such impact. Therefore, the themes which emerged from the literature reviews were used as interview prompts.

Data collection is guided by a code of ethics which ensures the safety of both the participants and the researcher. Informed consent was obtained before proceeding with the data collection. However, collecting data regarding the impact of eviction on women's livelihood proved challenging, as women were reluctant in recalling the traumatic experiences of the eviction. In fact, the participants were more prone to discuss the prospects and their vision of the future of the *Kampung*. In this scenario, the researcher finds herself torn between the obligation to cause no harm to the participants while asking questions that they did not feel comfortable answering, and the need to accomplish the research goals. However, the use of semi-structured interviews allowed the participants to freely express themselves and the researcher to maintain the focus of the conversation on the key points and to ensure that the research goals were met without causing distress to the participants.

The following table (*Table 1*) shows the list of participants from *Kampung Aquarium*.

²⁷ John W. Creswell, 2007, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (ed.2) SAGE Publications.

Table 2.1 List of Participants from Kampung Akuarium (30 March 2018-19 April 2018).

Number	Name	Age	Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	In-depth Semi-Structured Interviews
1	Dharma	41		1
2	Asmiati	34		1
3	Sumi	32	FGD	1
4	Makini	38	FGD	1
5	Musdalifan	30	FGD	1
6	Suheramtang	Around 68	FGD	1

2.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data consists in coding the interviews and using the emerging codes for categorical aggregation. This contributes to the development of relevant meanings.²⁸ Secondary data are also incorporated in the findings of the coded interviews. Regarding coding, it needs to be highlighted that, while some like Huberman and Miles suggest that it is important to count and report the number of times that the code appears in the data to provide an indication of frequency and relevance, the current study follows the method adopted by Asmussen and Creswell, who do not report such counts in their work. This is because the main aim of the study is not to produce a generalization of the findings, but rather to include all the experiences of the participants.²⁹ The approach of the study follows Abu-Lughod’s emphasis on the importance of considering the diversity of women’s specific experiences rather than their generalization, therefore, it includes the experiences of all the women who have participated to the study.³⁰

Another issue concerns the use of *a-priori*, pre-existing codes that provide guidance to the coding process. Using such codes may limit the

²⁸ John W. Creswell, 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (ed.2) SAGE Publications.

²⁹ Kelly Asmussen, John W. Creswell, 1995. Campus response to a student gunman. *Journal of higher education*, 66, pp. 575-591. Michael M. Huberman, Matthew B. Miles, 1994. Data management and analysis methods. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 428-444). Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

³⁰ Lila Abu-Lughod, 1990. Can there be a feminist ethnography?. *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory*, 5(1), pp. 7-27.

analysis to pre-figured codes and fail to generate new codes which may reflect the views of participants in a qualitative manner.³¹ Therefore, the present study mixes *a-priori* codes extracted from the literature review with additional codes emerging during the analysis. The codes are: economic impact, environmental impact, social impact, women's strategies.

Even though each case study is unique, it also serves as an example of a broader class of things.³² Therefore, in the present case study, features and patterns that can be compared with other cases, will be identified. These consist of data on significant features (physical location, historical location including, social class, age, sex, other background information about the participants, and the legal situation which includes policies, procedures, dynamic of evictions, etc.).

The present study looks at everyday forms of women's resistance. It is important to distinguish between what constitutes everyday forms of resistance and what does not fall into this category. The data are analysed through the lense of James Scott's theory of everyday forms of resistance, which regards everyday resistance as constituted by the silent, mundane and ordinary acts that are normalized and constitute a normal part of people's life, personality, culture and tradition. Everyday resistance is the combination of the subordinate's actions that might undermine power³³ - and actions that belong to the ordinary life as they are deeply integrated into a way of living. This study considers everyday forms of women's resistance to be: occupation of the land- as a subordinate action that might undermine power- and unpaid care work (cooking, washing, taking care of the elders and the children, housework in general) and paid work that is conducted at home or requires some preparation at home (cooking food to be sold, selling snacks and coffee, laundry, etc.) - as ordinary acts that women practice at home every day.

³¹ John W. Creswell, 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (ed.2) SAGE Publications.

³² Charles C. Ragin, Howard Saul Becker, 1992. *What Is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Enquiry*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Yin, R., 2009. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

³³ Lilja, Mona and Stellan Vinthagen (2009) *Motstånd*, Liber: Malmö.

3.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter clarifies the concept of forced eviction in relation to women, drawing from the existing body of literature, and sheds light on the conceptual framework of the study. Firstly, forced eviction in domestic and international human rights law is addressed, with a focus on women’s rights. An in-depth assessment of the legal framework is beyond the scope of this study. However, a brief explanation of how forced eviction relates to women from a legal perspective is at the basis of a human rights-based approach, thus, it helps to better understand the position of women in relation to forced eviction and housing. Secondly, existing studies about the impact of forced eviction on women and everyday resistance are assessed. Thirdly, James Scott’s theory of “everyday resistance” is explored. This serves to develop the conceptual framework of the study.

3.2 UNDERSTANDING FORCED EVICTION

The practice of forcibly evicting people from their homes and settlements constitutes a violation of the human right to adequate housing, as stated in several international legal instruments and as declared by the Commission on Human Rights in its resolutions 1993/77.³⁴ Article 11 (1) of the International Covenant on Economic,

³⁴ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (adopted 16 December 1966) United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 993.

Social and Cultural Rights which regulates the obligation of States to refrain from, and protect against, forced evictions from home(s) and land.³⁵ The General Comment N°7 on forced evictions clearly states that: (a) forced evictions must be carried out lawfully, (b) only in exceptional circumstances, and (c) in accordance with the provisions of international human rights and humanitarian law.³⁶ UN Habitat has identified five causes of forced evictions, namely urban development, large scale development projects, natural disasters and climate change, mega-events, and evictions that are economically related because of the global financial crisis.

Protection against forced eviction is a key component of the right to adequate housing. The right to adequate housing finds legal recognition under Article 28 h (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. It states: “Every person shall have the right to live in physical and spiritual prosperity, to have a home and to enjoy a good and healthy environment and shall have the right to obtain medical care”.³⁷ In International human rights law the right to adequate housing is recognized in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racism, the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. It contains freedoms and entitlements. Freedoms include: protection against forced evictions and the arbitrary destruction and demolition of one’s home; the right to be free from arbitrary interference with one’s home, privacy and family; and the right to choose one’s residence, to determine where to live and to freedom of movement. Entitlements include: security of tenure; housing, land and property restitution; equal and non-discriminatory access to adequate housing; participation in housing-related decision-making at the national and community levels.³⁸

³⁵ CESCR

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, 1945. Available at: <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_174556.pdf> [Accessed 15 March 2018].

³⁸ CESCR General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11 (1) of the Covenant) Adopted at the Sixth Session of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, on 13 December 1991

Women’s rights find legal recognition under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In CEDAW, Article 14 (2) states that: “States Parties shall undertake all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women ... and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right ... (h) to enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications”³⁹. In the provision of the right to alternative land or housing the following criteria for adequacy must be fulfilled: accessibility, affordability, habitability, security of tenure, cultural adequacy, suitability of location, and access to health and education.⁴⁰

Furthermore, the “Basic principles and guidelines on development-based evictions and displacement” presented at the Human Rights Council in 2007 provide indicators on the conduct of evictions resulting from development projects, in the respect of human rights. Looking at the indicators, three categories are identified: *structural indicators*, referring to the “ratification/adoption of legal instruments and the existence of basic institutional mechanisms deemed necessary for facilitating realization of the particular human right, *process indicators*, referring to “State policy instruments with milestones” and *outcome indicators*, referring to those that “capture attainments, individual and collective, that reflect the status of realization of a human right in a given context”.⁴¹ Among the basic human rights principles, the right to adequate housing is part of the right to an adequate standard of living. This includes the right to “protection against arbitrary or unlawful interference with the individual’s privacy, family, home, and their legal security of tenure.”⁴²

Among the obligations of the State, paragraph 21 states that the evictions shall occur only in exceptional circumstances and must be “(a) authorized by law; (b) carried out in accordance with international human rights law; (c) undertaken solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare; (d) reasonable and proportional; (e) regulated so as to ensure full and fair compensation and rehabilitation; and (f) carried out in accordance with the present guidelines”.⁴³ Furthermore, the protection

³⁹ UN Committee for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, UNTS 1979 p.5.

⁴⁰ United Nations, 2012. Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights Implementing the United Nations “Protect, Respect and Remedy” Framework. Geneva.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

measure mentioned must apply to “all vulnerable persons and affected groups, irrespective of whether they hold title to home and property under domestic law”.⁴⁴

Despite the social conflict often caused by forced evictions, and even though they are illegal according to international law, forced evictions are a global phenomenon that affect women worldwide.

3.2.1 The Impact of Forced Eviction on Women and Everyday Resistance

A great number of case studies on forced eviction emerged in the form of fact-finding reports between 1993 and 2008. The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) published more than twenty reports on violations of the right to housing in countries such as the Philippines, Latvia, Brazil, South Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Burma and China. These reports are mostly based on evidence retrieved during visits by a team of housing rights experts who described the background of the eviction, produced estimates of the numbers of people affected, described the eviction process and conducted an analysis of the international and national human rights violated. They produced descriptions of the impacts of forced evictions on the people affected but they rarely elaborated on the specifics in detailed research. Subsequently, research in the field of forced eviction has focused on specific themes or groups, such as women.⁴⁵

Studies show that the impact of forced eviction on the affected population extends to several aspects of life. Property is damaged, access to facilities and services is compromised, social networks are broken and psychological health is affected by the trauma of the violence at the time of the eviction. The picture of forced eviction is so frightening that communities tend to respond against eviction through protest and resistance both with and without external support. Case studies conducted in Cambodia on the effects of resettlement identified five areas in which the impact was mostly felt: income, education, healthcare, infrastructure, and land tenure.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ United Nations, 2012. Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights Implementing the United Nations “Protect, Respect and Remedy” Framework. Geneva.

⁴⁵ COHRE, 2002. Violence. The impact of forced evictions on women in Palestine, India and Nigeria. [pdf] Available at: <https://issuu.com/cohre/docs/cohre_violence_impactofforcedevicti> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

⁴⁶ Chi Mgbako, Rije Ernie Gao, Elizabeth Joynes and Anne Cave, 2010. Forced eviction and resettlement in Cambodia: case studies from Phnom Penh. *Wasb. U. Global Stud. L. Rev.*, 9, p.39. Available at: <<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/327e/d115bd9780050af28b911a77f07f0d0a9345.pdf>> [Accessed 28 May 2018].

It is widely recognized that, regardless of the formal reasoning for the forced eviction, discrimination is almost always an underlying element. Minority groups, women and indigenous peoples are more likely to be victims of forced eviction than other groups. These groups tend to live in precarious housing conditions, in vulnerable areas, without security of tenure and with low incomes. For these reasons, they are the targets of government authorities and private actors whose aim is the clearing of urban ‘slums’ to access land for private development, mega-projects or city beautification.⁴⁷

Extensive research has been conducted on the relationship between forced eviction and poverty. Evidence from studies carried out in Asia, Latin America and Africa on the anthropology of resettlement shows that displacement is not followed by income restoration but rather by further impoverishment.⁴⁸ Studies on the impact of forced eviction carried out in Bangladesh show that, although forced eviction arises from poverty, it is also a trigger of poverty and violations of human rights.⁴⁹

In “Violence: The Impact of Forced Evictions on Women in Palestine, India and Nigeria”, COHRE suggests that women are central to forced eviction, which makes forced eviction gender specific.⁵⁰ This centrality emerges from the relationship between women and the house. The latter tends to be considered an easy target because it is associated with women, who are generally at home when the eviction takes place. Therefore, the practice of forced eviction can be regarded as gender violence. Furthermore, the violence executed during the eviction can be gendered, as reports demonstrate that women are victims of sexual assault, harassment, and even rape, during the eviction process.⁵¹

Very little is known about the effects of eviction on health outcomes. Yet, research testifies to an association between foreclosure, housing

⁴⁷ UN Habitat, 2014. Women and Housing, Towards Inclusive Cities. UN Habitat Available at: <<https://unhabitat.org/books/women-and-housing-towards-inclusive-cities/>> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

⁴⁸ Michael Cernea. 2004. Impoverishment Risks, Risk Management, and Reconstruction: A Model of Population Displacement and Resettlement. Washington, DC [Online] Available at:<http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/energy/op/hydro_cernea_population_resettlement_backgroundpaper.pdf> [Accessed 28 May 2018].

⁴⁹ Rezaul Islam, M., and Ndungi wa Mungai, 2016. Forced eviction in Bangladesh: A human rights issue. *International Social Work* 2016, 59(4), pp. 494-507.

⁵⁰ COHRE, 2002. Violence. The impact of forced evictions on women in Palestine, India and Nigeria.

⁵¹ COHRE, 2002. Violence. The impact of forced evictions on women in Palestine, India and Nigeria. .

instability and health which is increasingly emerging.⁵² Studies have found that mothers who were evicted in the previous year experienced more material hardship and, tended to suffer more from depression compared to those who had not experienced eviction. They have also reported worse health for themselves and their children, and more parenting stress.⁵³ Eviction can protract families' residential instability, which, in turn, creates economic instability.⁵⁴ Studies show that high levels of housing mobility in North America are related to poorer psychological adjustment, less socially supportive peer relationships, and deficits in academic achievement.⁵⁵ Children whose families are evicted from their homes in a violent way are likely to experience trauma.⁵⁶

McGinn⁵⁷ employed the Stress and Coping Theory developed by Lazarus and Folkman⁵⁸ to examine the impact of forced evictions' on the psychosocial health of women in Cambodia. McGinn⁵⁹ discovered that the Stress and Coping Theory supports the current analysis of risk and resilience and is particularly suited to identifying strengths and protective factors that enable individuals to effectively cope with hardship. It is widely agreed that social support is a defining factor in stress responses. Vingerhoets⁶⁰ suggests that the availability of an adequate social network

⁵² Sarah A. Burgard, Kristin S. Seefeldt and Sarah Zelner, 2012. Housing instability and health: findings from the Michigan Recession and Recovery Study. *Social science & medicine*, 75(12), pp. 2215-2224. Janet Currie, and Erdal Tekin, 2011. Is There a Link between Foreclosure and Health? NBER Working Paper No. 17310. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economics.

⁵³ Matthew Desmond and Rachel Tolbert Kimbro, 2015. Eviction's fallout: housing, hardship, and health. *Social forces*, 94(1), pp. 295-324.

⁵⁴ Matthew Desmond, Carl Gershenson and Barbara Kiviat, 2015. Forced relocation and residential instability among urban renters. *Social Service Review*, 89(2), pp. 227-262.

⁵⁵ Emma K Adam, 2004. Beyond quality: parental and residential stability and children's adjustment. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 13(5), pp. 210-213; Tim Jolleyman and Nick Spencer, 2008. Residential mobility in childhood and health outcomes: A systematic review. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 62(7), pp. 584-592; Shigeiro Oishi, 2010. The psychology of residential mobility: Implications for self, social relationships, and wellbeing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(1), pp. 5-21.

⁵⁶ Dizon, A.M. and Quijano, S., 1997. Impact of eviction on children. *Report for Urban Poor Associates, Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) and United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN-ESCA)*.

⁵⁷ Colleen McGinn, 2013. Every Day is Difficult for My Body and My Heart. Forced Evictions in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Women's Narratives of Risk and Resilience', PhD Thesis, New York: Columbia University.

⁵⁸ Richard S. Lazarus, Folkman, S., 1984. *Stress, Appraisal, and Coping*. New York: Springer.

⁵⁹ Colleen McGinn, 2013. Every Day is Difficult for My Body and My Heart. Forced Evictions in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Women's Narratives of Risk and Resilience', PhD Thesis, New York: Columbia University.

⁶⁰ Vingerhoets, A., 2004. Stress. In A. A., Kaptein, J., Weinman, (eds) *Health Psychology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. pp. 113-40.

provides informational, instrumental and emotional support which serves as an important buffer against the exposure to stress.

There has been little research on poor urban women in Indonesia in recent years. The previous studies of community resistance to evictions rarely focused on gender differences and existing studies of women’s empowerment barely mention the experiences of women in urban poor communities. Several studies focus on informal settlement communities in Indonesia and elsewhere.⁶¹ One study about women in an informal settlement in Jakarta was published by Jellinek in 1991. A case study on *Kampung Rawa* was published by Eddyono, Wardhani and Warlif in 2017 with a focus on women’s empowerment. Other publications on women in Indonesia are mainly concerned with other struggles, such as how women respond to the issue of violence against women⁶² and how women-led organizations advocate at the national level.⁶³ Women’s political participation has been investigated in a limited number of writings,⁶⁴ as has women in democracy and Islam.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Irawaty, 2010; Jellinek, 1991, 2003; Mundayat, 2005; Ockey, 2004; Setiawan, 1998; Silas, 1989; Skuse and Cousins, 2007; Viratkapan and Perera, 2006; Wigle, 2010; Winayanti and Lang, 2004) Irawaty, D.T., 2018. *Jakarta’s Kampung: Their History and Contested Future* (Doctoral dissertation, UCLA). Jellinek, L., 2003. Collapsing under the weight of success: an NGO in Jakarta. *Environment and Urbanization*, 15(1), pp. 171-179. Mundayat, A. A., 2005. Ritual and Politic in New Order Indonesia: a study of discourse and counter-discourse in Indonesia. (Doctoral thesis), Swinburne University of Technology. James Ockey, 2004. *Making democracy, leadership, class, gender, and political participation in Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press. Bakti Setiawan, 1998. *Local dynamics in informal settlement development: A case study of Yogyakarta, Indonesia* (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia). Johan Silas, 1989. Marginal settlement in Surabaya, Indonesia; problem or potential?. *Environment and Urbanization*, 1(2), pp. 60-70. Andrew Skuse, Thomas Cousins, 2007. Spaces of resistance: informal settlement, communication and community organisation in a cape town township. *Urban Studies*, 44(5-6), pp. 979-995. Vichai Viratkapan and Ranjith Perera, 2006. Slum relocation projects in Bangkok: what has contributed to their success or failure?. *Habitat international*, 30(1), pp.157-174. Jill Wigle, 2010. Social relations, property and ‘peripheral’ informal settlement: the case of ampliacion San Marcos, Mexico City. *Urban Studies*, 47(2), pp. 411-436; Lana Winayanti and Heracles C. Lang, 2004. Provision of urban services in an informal settlement: a case study of Kampung Penas Tanggul, Jakarta. *Habitat International*, 28(1), pp.41-65.

⁶² Chandrakirana, K., Ratih, A., and Yentriani, A., 2009. *Taking a stand, four decades of violence against women in the journey of the Indonesian nation*. Jakarta: Komnas Perempuan.

⁶³ Smith Blackburn, 2004. *Women and the state in modern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Melani Budianta, 2006. Decentralizing engagements: women and the democratization process in Indonesia. *Signs*, 31(4), pp. 915-923.

⁶⁴ Sharon Bessell, 2010. Increasing the proportion of women in national parliament: opportunities, barriers and challenges. In Aspinall, E., Mietzner, M., (Eds.), *Problems of democratization in Indonesia: elections, institutions and society*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. pp. 219-242.

⁶⁵ Blackburn, S., Smith, B., Syamsiyatun, S., 2008. Introduction. In S., Blackburn, J. B., Smith S., Syamsiyatun (Eds.), *Indonesian Islam in a new era, how women negotiate their identities*. Clayton: Monash University Press; Kathryn Robinson, 2009. *Gender, Islam and democracy in Indonesia*. London and New York: Routledge; Saskia Wieringa, 2015. Gender, harmony and the happy family: Islam, gender and sexuality in post-reformasi Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 23(1), pp. 27-44.

The impact of forced eviction on urban poor women's livelihood, as well as daily responses to such impact and strategies, need to be further explored in North-Jakarta.

3.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: EVERYDAY FORMS OF WOMEN'S RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE

In "Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of resistance", James Scott⁶⁶ departs from the academic tradition which attempted to explain under what circumstances groups in conflict resort to one or another kind of open political action, particularly why some groups resort to violent actions involving rebellions, riots, revolutionary movements, whereas others resort to other peaceful or less violent forms involving petitions, rallies, peaceful marches, protest voting, strikes, and boycotts. He demonstrates that subordinate groups adopt what he calls "everyday forms of resistance". He considers these activities a political form of collective action and "the most vital means by which lower classes manifest their political interests".⁶⁷ They are techniques of "first resort" in cases when open defiance entails life-threatening consequences. An example is the peaceful process by which peasant squatters encroach on state forest lands or plantations; in contrast is the public invasion of property that allegedly challenges property relations. Both actions aim at gaining control over property; the former seeks tacit, *de facto* gains whereas the latter seeks formal, *de jure* recognition of those gains.⁶⁸

This suggests that those who employ everyday forms of resistance do not call attention to themselves. Their techniques are relatively safe, they often aim at ensuring material gains necessary for their daily life and require little or no formal coordination.⁶⁹ It is not far-fetched to suggest that the difference between everyday forms of resistance and forms of political conflict may be determined by tactical wisdom. For instance, peasants who believe they are entitled to the land that is claimed by the state, may decide to squat rather than to forcibly invade the land

⁶⁶ James C. Scott, 1985. *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

as they are aware of the fact that an invasion is more likely to result in bloodshed with the armed forces.⁷⁰ When the political climate creates the conditions for a relatively safe invasion of the land, this becomes plausible for the peasants. Scott demonstrates that everyday resistance cannot be sustained “without a fairly high level of tacit cooperation among the class of resisters” and that it involves class struggle at various degrees.⁷¹ Most forms of everyday resistance are adopted to prevent appropriation by superior classes or the state. If the resisters succeed in their goal, they gain material benefits. The underlying cause of any conflict between classes is undoubtedly the disposition of scarce resources. Thus, resisters’ actions represent a little moment for class conflict and when their activities generate a clear pattern of resistance, their relevance to class conflict becomes evident.⁷²

It has been postulated/suggested that the activities that constitute everyday resistance barely merit attention as they merely represent “trivial coping mechanisms that are either non-political forms of self-help or, at best, pre-political ... unorganized, unsystematic and individual; ... opportunistic and self-indulgent; ... they have no revolutionary consequences and/or ... imply in their intention or logic an accommodation with the structure of domination.”⁷³ Although everyday resistance is comprised of individual actions, it does not necessarily mean that such actions lack coordination. A concept of cooperative activity derived mainly from formal, bureaucratic settings is of little help in understanding actions in small communities with high informal social ties and networks and strong historical traditions of resistance to outside claims. Everyday forms of resistance are not a peasant phenomenon or a monopoly. Scott defines everyday resistance as: “a stratagem deployed by a weaker party in thwarting the claims of an institutional or a class opponent who dominates the public exercise of power”.⁷⁴ These techniques come in many varieties but acquire “a certain unity ... [through their] invariably quiet, disguised, anonymous, often undeclared forms”.⁷⁵ This is constituted by a:

⁷⁰ James C. Scott, 1985. *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

quite unremitting guerilla warfare ... day-in and day-out [that] rarely make headlines. But just as millions of anthozoan polyps create, willy-nilly, a coral reef, thousands upon thousands of petty acts of insubordination and evasion create a political and economic barrier reef of their own. And whenever ... the ship of state runs aground on such a reef; attention is typically directed to the shipwreck itself and not the vast aggregation of actions which make it possible.⁷⁶

A debate exists on the nature of the action carried out by social movement. Simi and Futrell (2009) claim that the study of activism is based on an implicit dichotomy of “normal activism” against “everyday resistance”: “Researchers have not usually considered everyday forms of resistance to be what participants in established social movements do as part of their activism”.⁷⁷ Moreover, social movements do not necessarily create formal kinds of politics. Autonomous anarchists create what Katsiaficas calls “anti-politics” of “the first person”, according to which individuals do not act on the basis of abstract principles, distant goals or on behalf of large-scale collectives, but are guided by their own desires and values in an attempt to bring change locally, informally and directly.⁷⁸ Accordingly, there is a need to eliminate such dichotomy and conceive everyday resistance as a different kind of resistance that relates to other forms of resistance. It is an initial, offstage, or later stage activity related to other more sustained, organized and conventional political forms of resistance. Therefore, everyday resistance happens between or alongside dramatic or subversive resistance events.

It is in the interest of this thesis to look at these “less obvious” kinds of resistance adopted by women, which are neither expressed in dramatic, confrontational ways and public events, nor with (collectively elected) leadership, or (explicit) political inspirations or sustained by formal organizations. It is important to clarify the concept of “the everyday” in everyday resistance, as it contrasts with “the extraordinary”. Everyday resistance is constituted by the silent, mundane and ordinary acts that are normalized. It is so normalized that those resisting themselves do not necessarily regard it as “resistance” at all but rather as a normal

⁷⁶ James C. Scott, 1985. *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

⁷⁷ Pete Simi and Robert Futrell, 2009. Negotiating white power activist stigma. *Social Problems*, 56(1), pp.89-110.

⁷⁸ George Katsiaficas, 1997. *The subversion of politics: European autonomous movements and the decolonization of everyday life*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.

part of their life, personality, culture and tradition. However, not everything within the everyday or a subaltern lifestyle can be regarded as resistance, since some things might be political or simple expressions of claims without being resistance. For this reason, it is necessary, on the one hand, to talk about actions as being resistance - in the sense of a subordinate’s actions that might undermine power⁷⁹ - and on the other hand, of actions that simply belong to ordinary everyday life- in the sense of being integrated into a way of living. When both aspects are combined, namely “the everyday” and the resistance, then there is everyday resistance. Therefore, everyday resistance can be conceptualized and analyzed by identifying something as being part of “the everyday”, and that part as being an expression of resistance to power.

This thesis looks at everyday resistance of urban poor women against the adverse impacts of forced eviction. Across the globe, women are those taking care of the home. This is also true for women living in urban poor communities in North Jakarta. Considering the importance that the house has for women, as a place, not only of unpaid care work but also of paid work, and the centre of the life of their children and relatives, they are at the frontline of actions of resistance. The daily activities carried out by women which are part of the everyday life, such as unpaid care work (cleaning, washing, taking care of the children and the elders), paid work conducted at home, become an expression of everyday resistance to power.

It is for this reason that gender plays a significant role in actions of resistance.

UN Habitat defines gender as “the socio-cultural interpretations and values assigned to being a woman or man” sustained by multiple structures like family, community, society, ethnicity, and the expression of these structures through culture, language, education, media and religion. These structures are constructed by power relations in societies.⁸⁰ Therefore, gender can be considered a concept that analyzes power and social relationships between women and men. It is socially constructed and specific to different cultures and time. Feminists have produced several frameworks for gender analysis. Gender relations cut

⁷⁹ Lilja, Mona and Stellan Vinthagen (2009) *Motstånd, Liber*: Malmö.

⁸⁰ UN Habitat, 2011. *Forced Evictions: Global Crisis, Global Solutions*. Nairobi.

across class, age, caste, race, ethnicity, aboriginality, disability and sexual and gender identity. Hence, it can be said that the subordination of women cuts across the social relations of class, age, caste, race, ethnicity, aboriginality, ability/disability, sexual and gender identity.⁸¹

Unequal power relations determine unequal access to resources, claims and responsibilities; resulting in poverty, marginalization and deprivation and influence the kinds of claims we can make; the shape of the rights we can enjoy; the shape of the control we have over our own lives and that which we have over the lives of others.⁸² These gender relations and social relations determine the relationship of women and men to housing processes and systems. It is important to note that while women as a group face discrimination and are disadvantaged in many aspects of life, they cannot be considered as a homogenous group. Diverse women experience comparative disadvantage and privilege, a fact that is critical to acknowledge when assessing women's experiences of inequality and oppression. Feminist scholars see gender as a basic element that shapes lives, "a lens that brings into focus particular questions".⁸³ In Lather's view, the aim of a feminist approach to research is to "correct both the invisibility and distortion of female experience in ways which are relevant to ending women's unequal position".⁸⁴

An analysis of power relations between men and women or of gender roles is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, this thesis assesses the experiences of women from urban poor communities on the premise that their experiences are undoubtedly different from those of women living in different environments, with different income, ethnicity, and so on.

Resistance goes hand in hand with resilience. This study utilizes the working definition of "resilience" of the UK Department for International Development (DfID): "disaster resilience is the ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses - such as earthquakes, drought or violent conflict-without compromising their

⁸¹ UN Habitat, 2011. *Forced Evictions: Global Crisis, Global Solutions*. Nairobi.

⁸² Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, Rosalind Eyben, Sohela Nazneen, Maheen Sultan, Agnes Apusigah, Dzodzi Tsikata, 2011. *Rights and Resources: The Effects of External Financing on Organising for Women's Rights*. Royal Tropical Institute and Brighton: Pathways of Women's Empowerment: Amsterdam.

⁸³ Evelyn Fox-Keller, 1985. *Reflections on gender and science*. New haven, CT: Yale University Press.

⁸⁴ Patti Lather, 1991. *Getting Smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.

long-term prospects.”⁸⁵ In the situation of forced eviction, resilience becomes the ability of women to manage adverse impacts, changes and effects brought about by forced eviction on their economy, social life and surrounding environment. Therefore, the present study looks at the strategies adopted by women to absorb the negative impacts of forced eviction and the strategies adopted to recover in the shortest time possible.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This study adds to the existing literature about the impact of forced eviction on the livelihood of urban poor women, everyday resistance to forced eviction and resilience. Scott’s theory of “everyday resistance” helps to shed light on how women daily respond to the impact of forced eviction as it explores how people act in their everyday lives in ways that might undermine the power exercised on them. Everyday resistance is not explicit and easy to recognize such as the public and collective resistance typical of rebellions or demonstrations, but it is hidden or disguised, individual and not politically articulated. This paper focuses on those actions and strategies individually adopted by women who have been victims of eviction to resist in their everyday life and be resilient.

⁸⁵ Department for International Development (DFID), 2011. Defining disaster resilience: A DFID approach paper. p.6

4.

THE RESEARCH SITE: *KAMPUNG* AKUARIUM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sheds light on the research site: *Kampung* Akuarium. A brief overview of its geographical features, history and shifting characteristics is provided, as well as clarification on the situation before and after eviction, the legal status of the land and spatial law, with the aim of providing the background of the study.

4.2 THE RESEARCH SITE: *KAMPUNG* AKUARIUM

The location of the case study is *Kampung* Akuarium, which is situated on the Northern Coast of Jakarta, Indonesia. The name “Akuarium” derives from the function of the land in the past, which hosted the LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia) research centre of oceanography, whereas *Kampung* derives from the Malay and refers to ‘group’ and ‘village’⁸⁶. It occupies an area of 10,130m² and it borders with *Kampung* Luar Batang and the sea. The following map (Figure 4.1) shows the geographical location of the *Kampung*. Akuarium which can be reached both by land and by sea. The main land access is through Jl. Fish Market which is also the official address of the *Kampung*. Another way to reach Akuarium is through *Kampung* Luar Batang and then traversing the small canal that separates the two using a canoe or boat owned by the residents. The third route is the usual sea route used by the residents of Akuarium who work as fishermen.

⁸⁶ Rujak Center for Urban Studies Report (RCUS), 2018. *Kampung* Akuarium. Jakarta: RCUS.

“RESISTILIENCE”: WOMEN’S RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE IN NORTH JAKARTA



Figure : 4.1 The Map of Kampung Aquarium⁸⁷

Approximately 70 percent of the residents work in the informal sector. Thus, they lack legal safety guarantees and a stable income. The men mostly work as fishermen, motorcycle taxi drivers or ‘becak’ drivers (typical cycle rickshaw), whereas the women work as massage therapists, street vendors, tailors or they own a grocery stall. Also, some used to be renters. The economic activities undertaken by the residents took place around the area of the Kampung. However, some of the men’s jobs required higher mobility. The following map (Figure 4.2) shows the routes.



Figure 4.2 The routes undertaken by the residents of Aquarium to reach their workplace⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS), 2018, Report: Kampung Aquarium

⁸⁸ Ibid.

Akuarium as a residential area offers several advantages thanks to its strategic location. Firstly, being near the harbour of Sunda Kelapa, it ensures easy access for the trade of fish and other goods. Secondly, being in the historical area of Jakarta and surrounded by cultural heritage sites, it attracts a great number of tourists, giving rise to a popular tourist trend. Fishermen usually look for fish in the waters off the Java Sea. Sometimes they carry tourists on their boats and bring them to the Thousand Islands. Thirdly, the large number of workers coming to Akuarium has contributed to the increasing need for houses to rent. This certainly represents an opportunity for its residents to earn higher incomes.⁸⁹

4.2.1 *Before the eviction*

Before the eviction took place on 11 April 2016, *Kampung* Akuarium was a densely populated village with strong social ties among its residents constituted by approximately 241 houses for a total of 710 residents, 55 percent of them women. The first people settling in the area arrived in the 1980s. They built houses made of wood, and, because of the increasing number of arrivals, the RT⁹⁰ developed into 2 RTs, namely RT 001 and RT 012. The first attempted eviction was carried out by the Jakarta government in 1996, but it was unsuccessful because of the residents' protests. In 2006 a devastating flood hit Jakarta, but did not affect Akuarium. In the same year, there was a fire in the village with one casualty. Therefore, the residents started building permanent homes made of bricks with plaster or ceramic floors and rooftiles or asbestos roofing. As many as 40 percent of the houses were equipped with wastewater treatment.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS), 2018, Report: Kampung Akuarium

⁹⁰ Literally translated as "Neighbourhood Associations", it is an organization designed to support administration at the grassroots-level of state structure. composed of 30 to 50 households as one unit (check <http://www.ier.hit-u.ac.jp/COE/Japanese/Newsletter/No.13.english/Kurasawa.html>).

⁹¹ Rujak Center for Urban Studies Report (RCUS), 2018. Kampung Akuarium. Jakarta: RCUS.

4.2.2 *After the eviction*

After the eviction, the residents looked for temporary shelters. Some rented an apartment but most of them decided to stay in the *bedeng* (a house of makeshift materials) and emergency tents located on the debris and ruins of the houses, in very alarming conditions. The lack of facilities and infrastructures such as clean water and electricity caused serious diseases and infections which has led to the death of 24 residents to date.⁹²

4.2.3 *The Status of the Land and Spatial Law*

The land occupied by the residents of Akuarium is “informal” or “unregistered” land and belongs to the State, with the right to be used and owned claimed by LIPI and the Fish Market. According to the law, citizens must utilize and control the land in a condition of good faith for a minimum of 20 years in order to own it. In fact, such a requirement is fulfilled by the citizens as demonstrated by: a) a letter that allows them to build a house or own a house in the Fish Market obtained in 1983; b) a statement of sale and purchase obtained by the residents in 2002; and c) Suharto’s Grant Statement Letter released in 2002.⁹³

Therefore, based on the evidence of citizens’ good faith in utilizing the land for more than 20 years, citizens are entitled to the land. However, based on the 1963 Civil Code, Article 24 paragraph (2) of the Government Regulation of Land Registration, Akuarium is included in Sub Region Government Zone P3g (preservation of cultural heritage area). This area is designated to local government activities and administration, facilities of the provincial government, City Administration, District Administration, District and Village, with a customized land area (Rujak Center for Urban Studies, 2018). The dualism between the status of the land and spatial law presents many challenges in the recognition of land ownership of the Akuarium residents.

⁹² Rujak Center for Urban Studies Report (RCUS), 2018. Kampung Akuarium. Jakarta: RCUS.

⁹³ Ibid.

5.

THE IMPACT OF FORCED EVICTION ON WOMEN'S
LIVELIHOOD AND WOMEN'S EVERYDAY STRATEGIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents, analyses and discusses the findings regarding the research questions that guided the study, which are: How does forced eviction impact the livelihood of women in North Jakarta? How do women daily respond to the impact of forced eviction in North Jakarta? The findings are reported in a systematic way, organized into three categories which reflect the three main areas of impact, these are economic, social and environmental. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main findings.

5.2 ECONOMIC IMPACT

The forced eviction of women from their settlements results not only in the loss of a place to live, but also in the loss of an economic system that supports disadvantaged women and their families. The women of *Kampung* Aquarium perform multiple roles. They are mothers, housewives and “bread winners”. For most women, such roles are all performed in one place, the home. This is in fact a very important place for women in informal settlements.⁹⁴ Eddyono, Wardhani and Warlif⁹⁵ observe that for women in Jakarta and Makassar, the house is not only a place to sleep but a place to earn money (preparing the food to be sold, washing, drying and ironing for laundry services). Women perform more

⁹⁴ Focus Group Discussion (Aquarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

⁹⁵ Eddyono, S., W., Wardhani, T., Y., M., Warlif, J., 2017. Urging Policy Alternative Against Eviction for Women's Empowerment. SCN Crest.

than one activity to increase their income. Consequently, poor urban women are frequently time-poor as well as financially deficient. For women living in informal settlements, eviction has the material impact of dispossession of property and home, which Porteous and Smith name ‘domicide’.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, as poor urban women often undertake remunerative enterprises in the home, eviction leads to the disruption of their economic activities and livelihood, and to restricted access to infrastructure and (affordable) services, such as water, sanitation and child-care.⁹⁷

In *Kampung Rawa*, women perform more than one paid activity, such as looking after their neighbours’ children and preparing food to sell. Members of cooking groups also work as domestic helpers or masseuses.⁹⁸ Also, Simone⁹⁹ finds that the urban poor in North Jakarta are aware that their income is uncertain, thus, they adopt different strategies to earn an income. Similarly, in *Kampung Aquarium*, women who consider themselves to be a housewife, also sell snacks and drinks in their shelters. Therefore, they perform both productive and reproductive roles. This creates a double-burden or, as Chant suggests, the “feminization of responsibility and/or obligation”.¹⁰⁰ This means that, in addition to reproductive tasks, urban poor women need to earn money through participation in the labour market often in informal, low-paid, unskilled work sectors, mostly undertaken at home. Before the eviction, the women of *Akuarium* could substantially contribute to the family’s budget with their job. However, post-eviction, as the demand decreased, so had their income dramatically decreased as well. Five interviewees reported a decline in their income following the forced eviction.¹⁰¹ As Sumi explained:

⁹⁶ Douglas Porteous and Sandra E. Smith, 2001. *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

⁹⁷ Lisa Tilley, Juanita Elias and Lena Rethel, 2017. Undoing ruination in Jakarta: the gendered remaking of life on a wasted landscape. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 19(4), pp.522-529.

⁹⁸ Eddyono, S., W., Wardhani, T., Y., M., Warlif, J., 2017. Urging Policy Alternative Against Eviction for Women’s Empowerment. SCN Crest.

⁹⁹ AbdouMaliq Simone, 2010. *City life from Jakarta to Dakar, movement at the crossroads*. New York: Routledge.

¹⁰⁰ Sylvia Chant, S., 2014. Exploring the “feminisation of poverty” in relation to women’s work and home-based enterprise in slums of the Global South. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 6 (3), pp. 296-316.

¹⁰¹ Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

The economy went down since the land reclamation. The hardest part is to get the business going. I used to sell drinks and snacks at home but now it is difficult, not only because since the eviction there is no place to set up the stalls, but also because 50 percent of the residents left.¹⁰²

It is evident that the eviction negatively affected women's economic life. Eviction strictly refers to the destruction of people's houses. These are the centres of women's economic activities, among other things. The loss of a house had different consequences on women's and men's livelihoods. Women have been the most affected. The men of *Akuarium* kept their jobs after the forced eviction, despite all the difficulties (everyday commuting took longer and was more expensive for the families who moved to the apartments provided by the government), whereas the women lost them, together with the demolition of their home. As Makini explained:

Men, well, they can still fish, they still have their job despite how much fish they can get ... But for me it is much more difficult because people were asking for my help and for my products, but now they are just gone.¹⁰³

Makini expresses all her disappointment and helplessness at how her job has been stolen from her, and how this puts her into a weaker position in respect to her husband. Now, she is not able to contribute to her family's welfare as she used to before the eviction. This exacerbates her sense of gender discrimination and injustice.

Women have different understandings and conceptions about their homes. For Sumi, the home represents years of savings and investment for her extended family, thus, it is a catastrophic financial crisis. Sumi owned one of the biggest houses of the *Kampung*. She had renovated it over a number of the years and, two months before the eviction took place, she built a second floor. Sumi's legal status is that of an illegal settler, thus, according to the government, she has no right to stay on *Akuarium's* land, nor the right to own a house on such land. However, this does not mean that she did not invest financially and physically in the construction of such a house. Sumi did not only experience a decline in her income after the eviction, but also saw her investments being wiped out.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Interview with Sumi, resident of *Kampung Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁰³ Interview with Makini, resident of *Kampung Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Sumi, resident of *Kampung Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

Interesting patterns of power hierarchies emerge in the women’s narrative, that divide the community between those who have “more to lose” and those who have “less to lose”, which respectively are, homeowners and renters.¹⁰⁵ Grandma Onchi has been a renter in Akuarium for 19 years. She comes from Kalimantan. She is a widow and has four children, one of whom is disabled. She explained:

I have always been a renter in Akuarium so I am not very devastated by the eviction because I didn’t own a house. To be honest, it is better right now because before the eviction I had to worry about finding the money to pay the rent, water, electricity. Maybe this can be a new start for me. I am on my own here, so I try to make it through the days to make a living to survive. I never think to something else than that.¹⁰⁶

Grandma Onchi is around 68 years old and has four male children. They are sailors and they live on their own. Only one child lives with her as he is disabled and cannot work independently. After the eviction, Grandma Onchi moved to Luarbatang for two months. Then, her son built a hut on the debris of Akuarium, so they could both move back and stay with the other residents. Grandma Onchi now lives in a shelter with her youngest son and the company of other women, who always prepare a warm meal for her and provide daily support and assistance. Grandma Onchi sees forced eviction as an opportunity to gain economic benefits, fewer monthly expenses and, possibly, the ownership of a house. Thus, the impact of forced eviction on women’s livelihoods depends on how wealthy the women were before the eviction and how much they had to lose.

Women adopted several strategies to resist and to absorb the adverse economic impact of the eviction on their livelihoods. After the eviction, Asmiati was the first resident to reoccupy the land of Akuarium and to settle on the debris. A few weeks after the eviction, some of the residents slowly moved to Akuarium and occupied the land living together with her. She built a hut with materials found on the ground belonging to the houses that had been destroyed: windows, doors, broken glass. Asmiati needed to earn money to support her family, thus, she built a small stall to sell drinks and snacks to the inhabitants of the neighbouring

¹⁰⁵ Focus Group Discussion (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Grandma Onchi, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

Kampung and to the other residents, who slowly abandoned their temporary accommodation to reoccupy Akuarium, driven by the love for their land and the memory of their vibrant community¹⁰⁷. As Asmiati explained, one of the factors that encouraged the residents to adopt such a strategy was the dramatic experience of the residents of *Kampung Kunir*. This served as a warning for the residents of Akuarium not to abandon their *Kampung*.

In *Kampung Kunir* only 10 people remained after the eviction. The rest all left and they did not have strong grounds to demand the right to build their *kampung* again. One day they brought to the government 30 identity cards to show that these families still lived there, and they should rebuild their *kampung*. When the government checked, there were only 10 families left. We don't want this to happen to our *kampung*.¹⁰⁸

She continued:

I am very optimistic that everyone who still wants to stay here should stay in the shelter for some time until we can build our *kampung* again because if you want to stay in the *rusunawa*, you might have a place for a while but you will never have the life you had here anymore.¹⁰⁹

In the light of James Scott's theory, the reoccupation of the land of Akuarium and the resumption of their economic activities constitute a form of everyday resistance.¹¹⁰

Me and other women of the *Kampung* had to keep the spirits up and provide guidance because we had to encourage the people and engage them not to give up on their *kampung*.¹¹¹

As Asmiati explained, the women of Akuarium have been, and still are, the main agents of resistance. Before the eviction took place, women adopted strategies to resist the threat of forced eviction. The forced

¹⁰⁷ Focus Group Discussion (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Asmiati, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Asmiati, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

¹¹⁰ James C. Scott, 1985. *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

¹¹¹ Interview with Asmiati, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

eviction notice was given 11 days before the actual eviction took place. Government officials went to the *Kampung* to hand the residents letters indicating the day and time of the eviction. At that time of the day, men were at work while women were at home. The women of *Akuarium* did not want to receive that notice, which they heard was going to be given to them a few days earlier. Therefore, they kept the doors of their houses closed, as Sumi explained they rejected the idea of receiving them in their hands.¹¹² However, the government officials managed to deliver the letters by putting them under the door. It has been observed that in societies with traditionally defined gender roles, such as that of *Kampung Akuarium*, where women take care of the children and the house, the eviction, or the process thereof, is often timed to take place when men are absent and women are alone, so that there will be less resistance.¹¹³

5.3 ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

The loss of the home may represent a catastrophe, even when women’s income remains largely intact. The interviewees were particularly attached to their homes and communities, and experienced intense psychological distress over its loss and their relocation. What remains of the *Kampung* after the forced eviction is a landscape of debris and desolation at the feet of a city which is growing higher. However, in the eyes of its residents, that restive land is rich in memories of an entire life, of family life and hopes, violently wiped out in a few hours. As Sumi explained, she liked her village more than the apartments where she was relocated after the eviction. The features of the *Kampung* suited her needs. Before the eviction, the women of *Akuarium* generally spent their day at home. Every day, women could work in their own houses, look after their children and carry out housework at the same time. The location of *Akuarium* was a playground for their kids, who used to swim and play near the sea. For their men, it was a profitable location to reach their workplace cheaply and quickly.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹¹³ UN Habitat, 2011. *Forced Evictions: Global Crisis, Global Solutions*. Nairobi.

¹¹⁴ Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

After the forced eviction, the women of Akuarium were forced to move to different places. Some of them went back to their place of origin. Some of them rented an apartment on their own. Some took advantage of the subsidies provided by the government to rent an apartment in Capuk or Marunda. Some went to live with their relatives in other areas of the city, waiting to find an adequate, and affordable, housing solution.¹¹⁵ Those provided by the government were not enough to accommodate all the victims of the eviction. Ahok provided only a 1000-room apartment, thus, a total of 12,000 families from various Jakarta's *kampung*s were left homeless.¹¹⁶ The lack of affordable housing was already one of the driving factors for occupying the area of the kampung for the first settlers in the 1980's. Today, housing is still unaffordable for most of the population in Jakarta. In fact, some of Akuarium's residents even moved to other kampung, such as Luarbatang, as it was the only solution they could afford. The women who moved to the apartments partially subsidised by the government did not find it adequate to their needs. As Sumi explained:

I just hated the Capuk apartments. I couldn't do anything ... I couldn't have my stalls to sell from. I wanted to set up my own shop there, but I wasn't allowed. Everyday life was not comfortable there, not even to wash clothes. I just hated the apartments because I didn't know anyone. We are people used to being in the open air.¹¹⁷

As it emerges from her narrative, the new environment was not comfortable for Sumi. She was not able to earn an income because she was not allowed to have stalls in her apartment, nor did she have any space to do so outside the apartment. She could not carry out simple tasks such as washing clothes. Makini further explained that the apartments were distributed in different buildings. Only some were subsidized and cost IDR 175,000 per month. Those that were not subsidized cost IDR 330,000 per month. In both cases, the higher the apartment was located, the cheaper the rent was. Most of the families in Akuarium used to own a house. Only a few rented accommodation. The new expense of the rent, coupled with the loss of the women's paid jobs, made it difficult for

¹¹⁵ Focus Group Discussion (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹¹⁶ Wardhani, A. D., 2014. Governor Ahok Defends Eviction Policy. The Jakarta Post, [online] Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/12/24/governor-ahok-defends- eviction-policy.html>> [Accessed 24 April 2018].

¹¹⁷ Interview with Sumi, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

the families, especially for big families such as Sumi’s with seven people. Moreover, as Sumi concluded, she was used to living in the open air, close to the sea, thus, she found the new location to be inappropriate to her traditional lifestyle.

The women who moved to the *rusunawa* lost their paid jobs. Their families struggled to meet monthly needs due to the cost of the rent. As addressed by previous studies, resettlement targeting urban poor neighbourhoods do not necessarily serve to address precarity and vulnerability since relocation reduces people’s income opportunities and generates new financial burdens such as paying rent or higher transportation costs.¹¹⁸

Existing studies show that alternative housing solutions provided by the government are often inadequate. The adjective “adequate” utilized here refers to the seven criteria of adequacy defined by the UN High Commission of Human Rights and it refers to the fact that “adequate housing must provide more than four walls and a roof”.¹¹⁹ These are the fundamental elements that housing must meet at a minimum to be considered ‘adequate’: security of tenure; availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure; affordability; habitability; accessibility; location; cultural adequacy.¹²⁰ An analysis of each of the criteria is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, in the light of the findings it can be briefly argued that the availability of services, materials and infrastructure, as well as location are not met by the alternative housing solutions. With specific regard to urban poor women’s needs, the housing does not provide any equipment like a washing machine to wash clothes, nor an alternative instrument in the house that allows them to carry out such tasks.¹²¹

At the time of writing, the women of Akuarium live in the shelters provided in March 2018 by the government in collaboration with Jaya Construction, a company constituted by engineers and consulting engineers leading the reconstruction operations. As Asmiati explained, the shelters were designed without consulting the residents. In fact, they

¹¹⁸ Miika Kunieda and Aimee Gauthier, 2007. Sustainable Transport: A Sourcebook for Policy-makers in Developing Cities. Module 7a: Gender and Urban Transport: Smart and Affordable.

¹¹⁹ UN Habitat, 2011. Forced Evictions: Global Crisis, Global Solutions. Nairobi.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Focus Group Discussion (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

do not meet all the needs of the families, especially of women.¹²² There are currently 90 units, constituted of two rooms each. Each unit is assigned to one family. In one of the rooms there is a mattress, located on the floor. The other room usually contains a small table where women cook and sell snacks and drinks to other villagers. There is no space for children to study, thus, they usually sit on the floor. Moreover, the toilets and sanitation facilities are grouped in three areas of the *Kampung*, including 16 toilets for each area for a total of 48 units. The residents need to walk over the debris of the village whenever they need to reach the facilities. Elders find such an arrangement very uncomfortable. However, women are generally satisfied with the shelters.¹²³ As Suheramtang exclaimed: “Of course we would like to have our *Kampung* back or design one that suits our needs, but at least we are not living in tents!”¹²⁴

The forced eviction has not only impacted women’s economic life but also women’s everyday environments in a way that has worsened their already disadvantaged position. The new features of the *Kampung* make women’s livelihoods extremely difficult and the lack of appropriate buildings such as a mosque, learning environments for children and stalls to sell products, contribute to making their everyday life burdensome and precarious.

Women have also attempted to ameliorate the negative environmental impacts of the eviction by carrying out activities related to the management of the shelters and the sanitary system. Therefore, they engaged in the organization and management not only of their home but also of the entire *Kampung*. The design of the shelters does not adequately meet the needs of its residents, particularly women and elders. However, the women of *Akuarium* have strategically developed a system that helps to maintain the toilets and the showers keeping them clean for everyone. Every family is assigned a toilet with keys. People will know who uses their toilet, so that, in order not to gain a bad reputation among the community members, people will keep it clean. For the elders, who need to walk over the debris and risk injury, they are assigned the toilets closer to their shelters.¹²⁵

¹²² Interview with Asmiati, resident of *Kampung Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

¹²³ Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹²⁴ Interview with Suheramtang, resident of *Kampung Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹²⁵ Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

As noted in Chapter 5, the relocation to the *rusunawa* affected women’s livelihoods significantly. Once families agreed on renting an apartment rather than receiving a shelter in the *Kampung*, they no longer had no a right to a shelter. Many women did not want to stay in the *rusunawa*, therefore, they adopted a strategy to leave the apartments. A family assigned to the Marunda apartments tried to leave the apartment to come back to Akuarium. However, this meant that they had to pay off the rent before leaving. They lacked the financial means to do so, thus, they communicated to the landlord their inability to pay the rent and their decision to go back to their place of provenience outside Jakarta. Accordingly, the landlord issued a letter prohibiting the family from renting an apartment at Marunda in the future. Instead of going back to their place of provenance, the family went back to Akuarium and showed the letter to the authorities, who ultimately agreed to grant them a shelter.¹²⁶ The women of Akuarium adopted several strategies to resist and to be resilient as they believe that it will help them to have, not only their house back, but the entire *Kampung*. As Asmiati stated:

[Women] still have the hope that the eviction is not going to be the end of *Kampung* Akuarium.¹²⁷

From the interviews, collectivity emerged as one of the main characteristics of *Kampung* Akuarium. In fact, women do not solely claim their house back, but the entire *Kampung*, as they feel part of a community with strong social bonds.

The environmental impact of the eviction on women’s livelihood is strictly related to the social impact, which is examined in the following section.

¹²⁶ Focus Group Discussion (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹²⁷ Interview with Asmiati, resident of *Kampung* Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

5.4 SOCIAL IMPACT

Following the forced eviction, the vibrant community life of *Kampung Akuarium* is only a distant memory for its residents. The interviewees were particularly attached to their home and to their community. Women's social life was characterized by cohesion, cooperation, solidarity and friendship. Everyday women met each other to cook and to exchange advice on how to educate their children. They supported each other when in need, during pregnancy, and assisted the elders. The eviction and the subsequent relocation led to the separation of families, relatives and friends. This has led to the loss of the solid community support typical of *Akuarium* and other *kampungs*.¹²⁸

As Makini explained:

We [women] stay at home and after the eviction everyone spread everywhere and so I lost that kind of community support in my life. My life is so different now. I just want my home back. I stayed in Luarbatang for three months. I brought all my stuff there. Then, when in *kampung Akuarium* they started building tents four months after the eviction, I came here [*Akuarium*] and slept in tents. I couldn't sleep there [in Luarbatang], I wanted to sleep here because I wanted to stay together with my friends and family. I stayed in the tents for two and a half months while my stuff was still at the apartments.¹²⁹

In some families, parents were forced to send their children to live with relatives in other parts of Indonesia or in other areas of the city to grant them the necessary stability to better perform at school.¹³⁰ These findings are supported by the evidence from previous studies. Evicted women face social isolation and loss of supportive community networks.¹³¹ This social isolation is often compounded by inadequate public transportation systems.¹³² In the case of the women of *Akuarium*, the location of the new houses or settlements negated not only job opportunities for women but also broke their social relations.

¹²⁸ Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹²⁹ Interview with Makin, resident of *Kampung Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹³⁰ Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹³¹ Michael Collyer, Kopalapillai Amirthalingam, Danesh Jayatilaka, 2017. *The Right to Adequate Housing Following Forced Evictions in Post-Conflict Colombo, Sri Lanka*. In: Brickell, K., Arrigoitia, M. F., Vasudevan, A., (eds.) *Geographies of Forced Eviction: Dispossession, Violence, Resistance*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹³² Caroline Moser, 1993. *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. New York: Routledge.

Such social relations were extremely beneficial for the women of *Akuarium*. Grandma Onchi for instance, was unable to work because of her age. Her son was disabled, and she could bring very little money home. Yet, she managed to survive without a job for 19 years, thanks to the care and affection of the other women, who, as she explained with heartfelt thoughts, always prepared a warm meal for her and had words of love when her husband died. Sumi could count on her friend Makini and other women during her pregnancy.¹³³

Kampung *Akuarium* is my home, my story, my family. After the eviction, I had very bad dreams and we [the residents of *Kampung* *Akuarium*] kept asking ourselves what we did wrong to deserve this treatment.¹³⁴

With these words, Dharma explains all the pain and suffering she went through at the time of the eviction. In fact, all the interviewees experienced feelings of distress and anxiety, especially a few days before the eviction, when the heads of the village were trying to negotiate with the authorities and the government officials to find an alternative solution to the eviction. Asmiati’s husband and other men tried to negotiate and were told by the government authorities that the eviction was not going to take place. After the meeting, a first eviction notice was given to the residents, 11 days before the eviction took place. The head of the district and sub district were not consistent in managing the issue. In fact, they told the residents that the eviction would have not taken place. However, soon after, *Akuarium*’s residents found out that the head of the sub-district had lied to keep the residents calm and quiet.¹³⁵ A similar trend has been identified also in previous studies. Cambodia has a long history of brutally forced evictions. The residents of the Dey Krahorm community have been betrayed by their community leaders, who had promised to advocate for an upgrading of the village rather than the forced eviction, but, in the end, they did not keep their promise and sold the land, without even being entitled by law to do so.¹³⁶ On 16 April 2016 at 9 in the morning, the electricity went off in the entire *Kampung* and the catastrophe took place. Two years after the eviction,

¹³³ Focus Group Discussion (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹³⁴ Interview with Dharma, resident of *Kampung* *Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

¹³⁵ Interview with Asmiati, resident of *Kampung* *Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

¹³⁶ Amnesty International, 2011. *Cambodia: Eviction and resistance in Cambodia: Five women tell their stories*. Available at: <<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/ASA23/006/2011/en/>> [Accessed 22 June 2018].

the women of Akuarium still remember that traumatic event due to the violent manner adopted by those carrying out the eviction. As many as 14 excavators invaded the area to efficiently demolish all the buildings on the land. After the eviction order and demolition, only a flat piece of land remained.¹³⁷

They arrived at 8 in the morning on 16 April 2016. We tried to lobby and convince them but it didn't work so they started demolishing the houses at 10. There were fourteen excavators, two of them arriving from the sea and the others from the land. First, the women of Satpol PP¹³⁸ and the policewomen took all the women and pushed them aside. The women handled the women, the men handled the men. They used shields to push us away from the area to be destroyed".¹³⁹

The findings confirm that "women are... more likely to be the first targets of police violence during an eviction drive".¹⁴⁰ Evictions are often programmed to be executed without notice when men are at work and absent from home. Women facing forced eviction are particularly vulnerable to, often state-supported, violence, intimidation and harassment.¹⁴¹ At the time of the eviction in Akuarium, only around 100 families were still living in the village.

On the day of the eviction, I stayed in my house. The women of Satpol PP came to my house. Only then was I forced to leave by my sisters who carried me out from the house. I didn't want to leave.¹⁴²

The women of Akuarium remember the eviction vividly. Sumi was nine months pregnant when she was forced to leave her home. She gave birth to two baby twins on her husband's boat, where she spent the two weeks following the eviction. She used to own the house before the eviction took place. It was new, only three months old, with two floors. She built it by herself to make space for her big family. The women of Akuarium all agree that the past cannot be erased, but they need to remain strong, for their men and especially their children. Studies show

¹³⁷ Interview with Makini, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹³⁸ Satpol PP: translated as "Public Order Enforcers", it is Jakarta's Police.

¹³⁹ Interview with Makini, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁴⁰ UN Habitat, 2011. *Forced Evictions: Global Crisis, Global Solutions*. Nairobi. p. 69.

¹⁴¹ Kefa M. Otiso, 2002. Forced evictions in Kenyan cities. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 23(3), pp.252-267.

¹⁴² Interview with Sumi, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

that stress can be overcome through the support of a community. As noted earlier in the section, women value community support very highly and they lamented the lack of it when they moved to the *rusunawa*¹⁴³. In this regard, Vingerhoets¹⁴⁴ suggests that the availability of an adequate social network provides informational, instrumental and emotional support or serves as an important buffer against the exposure to stress.

The findings show that eviction or the threat thereof, has a negative impact on the mental health of poor urban women.

I used to have a stable job in a western restaurant as a cook. However, right before the eviction we received a notice and I couldn’t stop thinking about it. Then because of the eviction I skipped work several times. My co-worker and my boss thought that I was not focusing on my job and I got fired. I was really sad.¹⁴⁵

The women of *Akuarium* suffered from anxiety when they knew that the eviction was going to take place. They could not stop thinking about it. They were afraid of the future for their children and their family.¹⁴⁶ These findings are confirmed by several studies. In their study on the impact of forced eviction on the mental health of women in Cambodia, Richardson et al.¹⁴⁷ established that women suffer considerable anxiety about the future. Such anxieties revolve around the economic threats to livelihoods in the informal economic sector as well as the apprehension for their children’s wellbeing. Indeed, a major aspect of women’s livelihood is represented by their role as mothers. Informal settlements accomplish several functions. Included among these, are places for mothers to educate their children, to let them play and grow together. The kids of *Akuarium* do not want to live far from the sea. They used to swim every afternoon. However, since the eviction, the waters have turned green and smell like mud. The kids feel their skin is itchy after swimming, therefore, their mothers prohibit them from swimming. The mothers of *Akuarium* are worried for the future of their children.

¹⁴³ Focus Group Discussion, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁴⁴ Vingerhoets, A., 2004. Stress. In A. A., Kaptein, J., Weinman, (eds) *Health Psychology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. pp. 113-40.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Suheramtang, resident of *Kampung Akuarium*, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁴⁶ Focus Group Discussion, (*Akuarium*, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁴⁷ Jayson W. Richardson, John B. Nash, Karen Tan and Morgan MacDonald, 2016. Mental health impacts of forced land evictions on women in Cambodia. *Journal of International Development*, 28(5), pp.749-770.

Some of them sent the children to live in other areas of the city with relatives or to other parts of Indonesia.¹⁴⁸ Dharma has four children. She explained:

I don't want this event [the eviction] to hold my children down from what will come in their future. They still have to go to school, to do more, and to make this event an opportunity that contributes to their better future.¹⁴⁹

At the time of the eviction, being mothers was extremely challenging for the women of Akuarium. Their children could not focus at school. They were sad and crying. Their performances and grades worsened. Makini explained:

Both of my kids are very smart, they were always in the top ten in class but since the eviction notice they couldn't stop thinking about it. It was the period when my daughter was in the third year of high school, so she had the national exam. She lost focus; her grades were going down to the point that she barely passed. She studied in the tents. My second child cried a lot during that time. He was coming back home with swollen eyes.¹⁵⁰

These findings confirm those of existing studies which demonstrate that mothers who were evicted in the previous year experienced more material hardship, and tended to suffer more from depression compared to those who have not experienced eviction. They have also more parenting stress.¹⁵¹ In children, eviction causes deficits in academic achievement.¹⁵² As demonstrated by previous studies, forced evictions are inherently violent, and in the context of gender inequality, this violence affects women more adversely than men.¹⁵³

The home for me is the place where my family can be safe and where I can educate my children. It is all my life.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Focus Group Discussion, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Dharma, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018)

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Makini, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁵¹ Matthew Desmond, Carl Gershenson and Barbara Kiviat, 2015. Forced relocation and residential instability among urban renters. *Social Service Review*, 89(2), pp. 227-262.

¹⁵² Emma K. Adam, 2004. Beyond quality: parental and residential stability and children's adjustment. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 13(5), pp. 210-213. Tim Jolleyman and Nick Spencer, 2008. Residential mobility in childhood and health outcomes: A systematic review. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 62(7), pp. 584-592. Shigeiro Oishi, 2010. The psychology of residential mobility: Implications for self, social relationships, and wellbeing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(1), pp. 5-21.

¹⁵³ COHRE, 2002. Violence. The impact of forced evictions on women in Palestine, India and Nigeria. [pdf] Available at: <https://issuu.com/cohre/docs/cohre_violence_impactofforcedevicti> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Asmiati, resident of Kampung Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018).

After the eviction, women’s daily activities became a tool of resistance to change and of resilience, as they adopted various strategies to absorb the impacts of the eviction and recover from the traumatic violation. After the eviction took place, the residents of Akuarium slowly came back to the village and occupied the land living in tents. Four months after the eviction, residents were offered the choice between a shelter in the *kampung* or an apartment in the *rusunawa*. Renouncing the shelter meant that they would no longer be allowed to come back to Akuarium. Despite the uncomfortable and hazardous situation in Akuarium, the residents decided to remain and to settle there, as they missed the community support they had prior to the eviction.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, the women of Akuarium tried to support their children in their school achievement. As Makini explained:

I went to the school to tell the teacher that I was sorry if my kid was not dressing well and if she is performing worse than usual, but we are going through very hard times.¹⁵⁶

It can reasonably be argued that the strategic occupation of land of the *Kampung* has proved beneficial for its residents. Almost two years after the re-occupation, shelters have been provided and the dialogue with the Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan seems to be fruitful and to be bringing about new possibilities for the future of the residents of *Kampung* Akuarium. In the speech held on 14 April 2018, the Governor expressed his deep solidarity with the residents of Akuarium and condemned the measures adopted by the previous governor towards them. He stated:

This place tells us how much the previous government is not on the people’s side. Somebody’s heart would have to be locked to do something like that [eviction] to this place. Something like this won’t take place again in the entire country. What happened should be a reminder for us not to repeat this again. The keyword to be a Jakarta Governor is social justice.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Focus Group Discussion (Akuarium, Jakarta, 19 April 2018)

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Makini, resident of Akuarium, (Akuarium, Jakarta 19 April, 2018)

¹⁵⁷ Anies Baswedan, Jakarta Governor, (Speech at the *Dari Shelter Menuju Harapan Kampung Yang Baru*, Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018).

Lastly, he invited the citizens of Akuarium to keep their physical and intellectual strengths, as well as to be patient, as all these virtues are crucial to keep working together for a new future for Akuarium. He also thanked Dharma for keeping him informed about the developments.¹⁵⁸ Dharma is indeed actively involved in the dialogue with the Governor and with organizations such as RCUS and UPC, which advocate for the right to adequate housing for urban poor communities. An analysis of the political participation of women in the claim for justice is beyond the scope of this thesis. The latter focuses on the small actions of resistance and resilience adopted by women every day. The findings show that, even though they are not the sole driver of change, such strategies have undoubtedly contributed to challenging the power of the government and have now led to the opening of new possibilities for the women of Akuarium and all the other residents. The study upholds the concept that everyday resistance can be viewed as an initial, offstage, or later stage activity related to other more sustained, organized and conventional political forms of resistance.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The features of *Kampung* Akuarium changed dramatically after the eviction. This has severely affected women's livelihoods in three main areas: social, environmental, economic. Alternative housing, whilst offering the promise of a safer, cleaner, modern life, carries significant social, economic and psychological costs. Women living in *rusunawa* reported the decline in their ability to generate income in the informal economic sector. Their income before the eviction was considerably higher running stalls in the kampung area. After the eviction, women who moved back to the debris of the Kampung found their income had declined, while those who moved to the *rusunawa* lost their jobs completely. The findings suggest that relocation does not ameliorate women's economic situation but rather worsens it. Moreover, the forced eviction has an adverse impact on women's social life. The women of Akuarium were very much dependent on each other. They used to spend

¹⁵⁸ Anies Baswedan, Jakarta Governor, (Speech at the *Dari Shelter Menuju Harapan Kampung Yang Baru*, Akuarium, Jakarta, 14 April 2018).

the entire day together, thus, when they separated after the eviction, they felt lonely. They lacked the social support that characterized their life. This is one of the reasons why a great number of them decided to go back to the *Kampung* and live together. The findings show that eviction or the threat thereof, has negative impacts on the mental health of poor urban women as they face maternal hardship due to the suffering of their children and their husbands. It can therefore reasonably be argued that forced eviction has a disproportionate negative impact on women’s livelihood.

The women of Akuarium responded to forced eviction adopting several strategies to be resilient and to absorb its adverse impacts on their livelihood. Women were, and still are, the main agents of resistance, as they spend most of the day at home, taking care of children and of the housework. Before the eviction they kept the doors of their houses closed, so that they did not receive the letters of eviction notice. After the eviction, they developed a system to keep the toilets and sanitation areas in the shelters clean and comfortable for the elders, to ameliorate their daily living conditions. Therefore, the women did not only act as the guardians of their own homes, but they collectively took care of the entire *Kampung*. Mothers visited their children’s school to explain the stressful situation their children were going through and got in touch with the government authorities to propose the postponement of the eviction to the end of the school year in an effort not to compromise the educational performance of their children.

CONCLUSION

This thesis attempted to answer the following research questions: a) How does forced eviction impact the livelihood of women in North Jakarta? b) How do women daily respond to the impact of forced eviction in North Jakarta? A qualitative case study on the women of *kampung* Aquarium, an informal settlement located in North Jakarta, has been conducted. The results of six in-depth interviews with women and a focus group discussion have been coded. The results were presented, analysed and discussed together with secondary data to best inform the researcher and answer the research questions.

The findings show that the loss of the home is a traumatic experience for everyone. However, women in their role as primary caregivers of the family face a greater adverse impact, particularly in three main areas: economic, social and environmental. The women of Aquarium experienced a decline in their income or the complete loss of their job. Regarding the social impact, the findings show that women suffered mainly for the loss of the community support they had in their everyday life prior to the eviction. The relocation to vertical housing had an adverse impact on both the economic and social spheres of their life, not only by separating families and friends, but also by making it particularly difficult for families to meet their monthly needs. Moreover, women experienced trauma and maternal hardship. The first due to the violent means adopted during the eviction by the government authorities, whereas the second was due to the hardship faced by their children which makes them worry for their educational performance and their futures.

In this scenario, the women of Aquarium adopted several strategies to resist the threat and the impacts of forced eviction and to be resilient. They adopted individual strategies and strategies requiring some

organization. Among the first are: re-occupying the land of Akuarium following the eviction and conducting their everyday activities as they had prior to the eviction which included unpaid care work, paid work and supporting their children in relation to school. The other strategies are related to the management of the Kampung, particularly to the sanitation system. By assigning a key to each family, they kept their toilets clean and facilitated the life of the elders. Women adopt such strategies as an expression of resistance to power. Their actions are silent, normalized and do not require the attention of the state. As demonstrated by Scott, everyday resistance requires a level of tacit cooperation among the resisters. Indeed, the everyday forms of resistance conducted by the women of Akuarium are characterized by collectivity. Women not only suffered every day because of the adverse impact of forced eviction in the different spheres of their livelihood, but they did it together. Therefore, this thesis contributes to James Scott’s body of literature by going beyond the theory of everyday resistance, as women’s strategies combine elements of resistance and resilience, which this study acknowledges as “Resistilience”. However, “Resistilience” may not apply to other *kampung*s because in the case of the women of Akuarium other factors that are typical of the *Kampung* also play a significant role. Among these, the support of civil society has contributed to increase women’s resistance and resilience by providing hope and concrete benefits to the residents through Community Action Plan (CAP) and other initiatives.

To conclude, it can reasonably be argued that forced eviction constitutes a violation not only of human rights but especially of women’s rights. According to the findings, forced eviction has a disproportionate impact on women. Thus, the study substantiates the claim that forced eviction constitutes not only a violation of human rights, but specifically of women’s rights. Forced eviction does not represent a solution to reduce poverty or to development, but it rather constitutes a brutal human rights violation. Governments should refrain from the practice of forced eviction and rather respect, protect and fulfil the right to adequate housing for women and for all. The study helped to better understand poor urban women’s realities and needs concerning housing and their livelihood and women’s everyday forms of resistance and resilience. Yet, an analysis of women’s political participation and their role in community mobilization in Jakarta’s *Kampung*s can be an interesting subject of further research.

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APPENDIX

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

- 1) Can you please tell me about yourself?
- 2) Can you describe how the eviction took place?
- 3) What did your typical day look like before the eviction? How about after it?
- 4) What is your source of income right now? How has your income changed since the eviction?
- 5) Have you been relocated? How is your life in the new apartments?
- 6) How did your children deal with the eviction?
- 7) What motivates you to stay in the shelters?
- 8) Did you participate in CAP? What challenges did you face?
- 9) Did you participate in other meetings?
- 10) What are your hopes for the future?

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