

AN ANALYSIS OF POST-RELOCATION ADAPTATION AMONG DISPLACED RESIDENTS FROM AN URBAN POLITICS PERSPECTIVE: A CASE STUDY OF THE RELOCATION OF TPU KEBON NANAS RESIDENTS TO PULO GEBANG RUSUNAWA

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Article history: received 19 May 2026; revised May 26, 2026; accepted 17 June 2026

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33751/jhss.v10i2.198>

Abstract. The issue of urban slums has prompted the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government to implement relocation policies, one of which targets residents living in the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery (TPU) area. A total of 103 households were relocated to the Pulo Gebang low-cost rental apartment complexes (Rusunawa). Pursuant to DKI Jakarta Provincial Secretary’s Instruction No. 89 of 2025 as part of efforts to restore the cemetery’s original function. This study aims to analyze the economic, social, and cultural adaptation of Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery residents following their relocation from the perspective of urban politics. The research employs a descriptive qualitative method, using data collection techniques including semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and documentation. The findings indicate that the relocation process was implemented through a top-down approach with limited opportunities for resident participation, triggering forms of resistance such as protests and walkouts. Following relocation, residents faced adaptation challenges, particularly the disruption of an economic ecosystem that had developed over many years. Socially and culturally, residents experienced changes in interaction patterns and social norms due to the transition from horizontal to vertical housing; nevertheless, social networks were maintained through various communal activities. This study employs the theoretical frameworks of David Harvey and Mike Davis on urban politics to analyze the structural conditions underlying residents’ adaptation experiences

Keywords: Urban Politics, Relocation, Adaptation, Low-cost rental apartment complexes (Rusunawa)

I. INTRODUCTION

Cities, as centers of human activity, are constantly changing. Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, serves as both the center of government and the country's largest economic hub. According to the Central Statistics Agency, DKI Jakarta has a population of approximately 10.68 million people distributed across various parts of the city [1]. The increasing rate of urbanization, coupled with population growth, may contribute to a rise in the number of urban poor, thereby generating various social and economic challenges in urban areas throughout Indonesia [2].

In line with ongoing population growth, the demand for residential land continues to increase, while the availability of land in urban areas remains limited. This situation has contributed to a significant increase in land prices [3]. The existence of urban poverty can be observed through the emergence of slum settlements, which are characterized by inadequate housing conditions. According to a UN-Habitat report, approximately 20.929 million Indonesians were living in urban slums in 2020. Furthermore, the Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta for Spatial Planning and

the Environment reported that the total area of slum settlements in DKI Jakarta reached 10,751 hectares in 2020, representing 16.4% of the city's total area [4].

NO	Wilayah	Jumlah Lokasi Rusunawa	Jumlah Unit
1.	Jakarta Barat	6 Lokasi	4.540 unit
2.	Jakarta Timur	20 Lokasi	14.458 unit
3.	Jakarta Pusat	2 Lokasi	601 unit
4.	Jakarta Selatan	2 Lokasi	912 unit
5.	Jakarta Utara	13 Lokasi	12.217 unit
Total DKI Jakarta		43 Lokasi	32.728 unit

Source: One Data Jakarta (2025), Data on Flats Managed by the Public Housing and Settlement Areas Service, **processed by the author.**

One of the government's responses to the problems of slum settlements and limited access to decent housing for the urban poor has been the provision of public low-cost rental apartment complexes (rusunawa) based on the concept of vertical housing model. According to Law No. 20 of 2011 concerning Apartment Buildings, an apartment building is defined as a multi-story building constructed within a single area and divided into functionally arranged units. Article 3(a)

states that the provision of apartment buildings aims to ensure the availability of livable and affordable housing in a healthy, safe, harmonious, and sustainable environment, while also promoting integrated settlements that strengthen economic, social, and cultural resilience.

According to data from the DKI Jakarta Provincial Public Housing and Settlement Agency, as of 2024, a total of 32,728 units of low-cost rental apartment complexes (rusunawa) had been constructed across the five administrative cities of Jakarta. The DKI Jakarta Provincial Government reported that the occupancy rate of these public rental housing units reached approximately 86.9 percent following the completion of several housing development projects in 2024 [5]. Of the total number of units, East Jakarta accounted for 14,458 units across 20 rusunawa locations, making it the administrative city with the largest number of public rental housing units in DKI Jakarta.

In the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, the occupancy mechanism for low-cost rental apartment complexes (Rusunawa) is regulated in greater detail under Jakarta Provincial Governor Regulation No. 111 of 2014, which also specifies the target groups eligible for Rusunawa residency. The Rusunawa provided by the Jakarta Provincial Government accommodates various groups of residents, including both program-targeted beneficiaries and members of the general public. Program-targeted residents refer to individuals or communities affected by government policies and programs, such as natural disasters, urban spatial planning and land-use control measures, as well as land acquisition and development activities undertaken for the public interest.

In the context of implementing the policy to relocate residents to public rental housing in DKI Jakarta, residents living in the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery (TPU Kebon Nanas) area were relocated to low-cost rental apartment complexes (Rusunawa) in East Jakarta, including the Pulo Gebang Rusunawa. This policy was implemented based on Instruction No. 89 of 2025 issued by the Regional Secretary of DKI Jakarta concerning the acceleration of the normalization of cemetery land occupied by local residents. The policy was introduced in response to the limited burial capacity of public cemeteries in Jakarta, where 69 out of 80 cemeteries were reported to be unable to accommodate additional burials as intended [6]. As a result, land occupied by 103 households within the cemetery area, covering approximately 3,754 square meters, was designated for repurposing to provide around 1,000 new burial plots [7].

The majority of residents had lived in the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery (TPU Kebon Nanas) area for more than 25 years and relied heavily on the economic activities that had developed around the cemetery. Most residents worked in the informal sector, including as scavengers, cemetery carpenters, nail collectors, and grave keepers, with daily incomes that were often uncertain. Residents utilized the surrounding cemetery environment as a source of livelihood; for example, cemetery carpenters carried out small-scale carpentry activities, such as repairing coffins, producing grave markers, and processing scrap wood for resale [8]. Meanwhile, scavengers collected recyclable materials from the cemetery area, including used plastic flower wrappers,

beverage bottles left by visitors, and scrap wood with economic value. The relocation to the Pulo Gebang low-cost rental apartment complex (Rusunawa), located approximately 15 kilometers from their previous residence, has created challenges for residents in maintaining their livelihoods.

The relocation policy to low-cost rental apartment complexes (Rusunawa) generated resistance among affected residents. On November 27, 2025, residents of Kebon Nanas held a protest in front of Jakarta City Hall, expressing their rejection of the relocation plan until the legal status of the land was clarified [9]. Subsequently, on December 1, 2025, residents attended an information session organized at the Jatinegara Subdistrict Office; however, the meeting ended with residents leaving the forum as they felt that their concerns had not been adequately addressed. Following this, another protest was held on December 8, 2025, in front of the Regional Representative Council (DPRD) building. During these protests, residents demanded transparency regarding the land's legal status, the cessation of unilateral relocation measures, and the protection of their social and economic conditions.

The protests carried out by residents can be understood as a form of urban political expression, reflecting the involvement of citizens in contesting and negotiating decisions that affect their lives. This perspective is consistent with Robert Dahl's argument that urban governance is shaped by competition and interaction among various interest groups involved in different policy areas [10]. Urban politics examines the relationships between government institutions, citizens, and other stakeholders in shaping the direction of urban development, including how policy decisions affect vulnerable groups within the city.

The series of resistance movements that emerged prior to the relocation can be understood through Harvey's concept of the right to the city, which refers to the ability of urban communities to participate in shaping and accessing urban spaces collectively [11]. For Harvey, the right to the city extends beyond the right to occupy physical spaces; it also includes the ability of communities to maintain access to livelihoods, social relations, and economic networks developed within the city. In this context, relocation policies that move residents away from their existing social and economic environments may create challenges for maintaining these aspects of urban life. Furthermore, Davis, through his concept of the "planet of slums," highlights that urban development policies in many developing countries often emphasize spatial regulation and administrative order while overlooking the everyday needs and survival strategies of low-income urban communities [12]. Davis argues that densely populated settlements are not merely products of poverty but also spaces where social networks and forms of mutual support are developed through physical proximity. Therefore, relocation policies may affect not only residents' place of residence but also the social and economic networks that support their daily lives. To analyze this phenomenon, this study employs an urban political theory framework based on the perspectives of David Harvey and Mike Davis. These approaches are used to examine how urban policies shape the conditions faced by relocated communities, particularly in

relation to changes in their social relations, access to livelihoods, and adaptation processes after relocation.

In addition to the urban policy framework, this study also incorporates Soekanto's concept of adaptation, which defines adaptation as the process through which individuals or groups adjust themselves to changes in their social environment [13]. This concept provides the basis for examining residents' adaptation after relocation through three interconnected dimensions: economic, social, and cultural aspects. The economic dimension focuses on residents' efforts to maintain or develop alternative sources of livelihood after relocation. The social dimension examines changes in patterns of interaction, social relationships, and community networks within the new residential environment. Meanwhile, the cultural dimension relates to the continuity and transformation of shared values, communal identity, and collective practices that have been developed over time.

Several previous studies have examined residential relocation and public housing policies from different perspectives. Study [14] highlights how the relocation conflict in Kampung Bayam reflects the power imbalance between the government and the urban poor. Meanwhile, study [15] found that former residents of Kampung Pulo experienced changes in their economic conditions after being relocated to low-cost rental housing, particularly due to the loss of home-based economic activities and social networks that had developed over several decades.

A number of previous studies have examined settlement relocation and public housing policies from various perspectives. However, an aspect that remains less explored is how the structural conditions of relocation policies influence residents' adaptation processes after displacement. Previous studies have largely focused on the negative impacts experienced by relocated communities, particularly in relation to changes in economic conditions, access to livelihoods, and social networks. Therefore, this study seeks to address this gap by analyzing the economic, social, and cultural adaptation of residents from the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery area following their relocation to the Pulo Gebang low-cost rental apartment complex (Rusunawa) through the perspective of urban politics. This analysis aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of residential relocation dynamics in Jakarta and contribute to discussions on relocation policies that are more participatory and responsive to residents' needs.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative descriptive research design. This design was selected because it enables the researcher to describe and analyze in greater depth the processes, experiences, and phenomena experienced by residents affected by relocation, particularly regarding their economic, social, and cultural adaptation following the implementation of the relocation policy to the Pulo Gebang low-cost rental apartment complex (Rusunawa). Qualitative research is used to understand social phenomena by exploring them in depth, allowing researchers to obtain a more

comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon being studied [16].

Data collection in this study was conducted using three methods. The first method was non-participant observation, in which the researcher observed activities occurring in the research setting without directly participating in them. The observation was conducted from May to June 2026. During the observation process, the researcher examined the physical conditions of the Pulo Gebang low-cost rental apartment complex (Rusunawa) and the social interactions among residents in shared spaces, such as block terraces. The observation focused on how residents utilized available spaces, established social interactions, and carried out their daily activities within a vertical living environment that differed from their previous residential setting.

Second, semi-structured individual interviews were conducted with residents affected by the relocation of TPU Kebon Nanas who had been residing in the Pulo Gebang low-cost rental apartment complex (Rusunawa). The selection of resident participants was conducted using snowball sampling techniques. The researcher initially identified one key informant, who then provided recommendations for other potential informants with characteristics relevant to the research objectives [17]. For institutional informants, the selection was based on the relevance of their positions and knowledge regarding the relocation policy. The research informants consisted of: (1) the Head of the Regulation and Community Participation Division of the Jakarta Public Housing and Settlement Area Agency (DPRKP); (2) the management of UPRS VIII Pulo Gebang Rusunawa; (3) the Director of Rujak Center for Urban Studies; (4) a non-governmental organization (NGO) assisting affected residents; and (5) six residents affected by the relocation of TPU Kebon Nanas. Third, documentation was collected in the form of photographs taken during the research process at the Pulo Gebang Rusunawa to support and complement the research data.

This study utilizes both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained directly from the main research sources through interviews and observations conducted with residents affected by the relocation of TPU Kebon Nanas and relevant institutional actors. Meanwhile, secondary data were used to support the analysis and were obtained from relevant sources, including government reports, scientific journals, books, and publicly available databases. Data analysis was conducted to systematically organize, interpret, and draw meaning from the collected data. This process enabled the researcher to identify patterns and understand the findings in relation to the research objectives. According to Miles and Huberman, qualitative data analysis consists of several interconnected stages: data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification [18].

The reduced data were then presented by organizing the findings according to the three dimensions of adaptation and supported by direct quotations from research participants to strengthen the analysis. At this stage, the empirical findings were interpreted using the theoretical perspectives of David Harvey and Mike Davis to examine the structural conditions underlying residents' adaptation experiences after relocation.

Finally, conclusions were drawn based on the patterns and themes identified throughout the analysis process. To ensure the validity of the findings, this study applied source triangulation by comparing information obtained from resident interviews, statements from Rusunawa management, reports from supporting NGOs, and results from field observations.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Overview of Pulo Gebang Low-Cost Rental Apartment Complex (Rusunawa).

The Pulo Gebang low-cost rental apartment complex (Rusunawa) is located in Pulo Gebang Village, Cakung Subdistrict, East Jakarta, and is managed under the responsibility of Public Housing Management Unit (UPRS) VIII. The construction of the complex began in 2000, and it was officially inaugurated in 2006. At the initial stage, the complex consisted of two blocks, namely Block A and Block B. Further development was carried out gradually, with Blocks C and D inaugurated in 2010, followed by Blocks E and F in 2014, and Blocks G and H in 2015. To accommodate residents' needs, the Pulo Gebang Rusunawa is equipped with various supporting facilities, including a community health center, cooperative, multipurpose hall, mosque, and parking area. In terms of accessibility, the complex is also supported by public transportation services through the Transjakarta system, which provides free access for residents with bus services operating at intervals of approximately 20–30 minutes. The availability of these facilities and transportation services supports residents' daily activities and access to various areas within the city. The Pulo Gebang Rusunawa serves as a residential location for several groups of relocated residents, including residents affected by the relocation of the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery (TPU Kebon Nanas), particularly those previously residing in East Jakarta. UPRS provides block-style units rather than high-rise towers as housing for residents affected by the relocation. This policy is based on the consideration that the rental capacity of affected residents tends to be lower than that of the general public. These residents are categorized as "targeted beneficiaries" under Governor's Regulation No. 111 of 2014. The Pulo Gebang public housing complex offers a rental subsidy system for these targeted beneficiaries, with monthly rents ranging from Rp219,000 to Rp338,000. In contrast, rents for tower-style public housing can exceed Rp550,000 per month.

B. Implementation of the Relocation Policy for Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery Residents to Pulo Gebang Rusunawa.

The Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery settlement formerly known as Kampung Ujung is a settlement located in Cipinang Besar Selatan Village, Jatinegara Subdistrict, East Jakarta, that has existed for decades. In this context, the Jakarta Provincial Government has developed a program to regulate cemetery land use and relocate the informal settlement located within the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery area. This policy is outlined in Instruction No. 89 of 2025 issued by the Regional Secretary of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government concerning the acceleration of the

normalization of cemetery land use occupied by the community. Of the 80 public cemeteries in Jakarta, 69 are reported to no longer have sufficient capacity to accommodate burials as intended. This situation has encouraged the government to take measures to regulate cemetery land use, including in the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery area, which is occupied by approximately 103 households within a 3,754-square-meter area.

Information regarding the relocation plan for the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery area was initially communicated to residents through a circular letter issued by the sub-district office on November 19, 2025. The letter served as an invitation for residents to attend an informational meeting regarding the planned relocation.

"At that time, we received an invitation from the sub-district office. They invited us. At first, they said we weren't going to be evicted—we were just supposed to show up. When we got there, it turned out that we were actually going to be evicted, and we were given only two weeks' notice" (Interview with an affected resident, May 15, 2026).

In the early stages of the relocation process, residents received invitations from the sub-district office to attend a meeting without receiving detailed information regarding the agenda to be discussed. It was only during the meeting that residents were informed about the planned eviction of the residential area within the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery. This situation indicates that the public outreach process functioned primarily as a form of one-way communication rather than as a space for dialogue and negotiation. Within Harvey's framework, the right to the city refers not only to the right to occupy urban spaces but also to the right of communities to participate in shaping and making decisions about the spaces they inhabit [11]. When residents are excluded from meaningful participation in decisions affecting their living spaces, resistance may emerge as a form of contestation over their right to the city.

The relocation plan triggered a protest organized by residents on November 27, 2025, which was held in front of Jakarta City Hall. During the protest, residents demanded transparency regarding the legal status of the land. Another official information meeting was held at the Jatinegara Subdistrict Office on December 1, 2025; however, the meeting ended with residents walking out. According to residents, this occurred because their concerns were not adequately addressed during the meeting. Following this event, residents organized another demonstration in front of the DKI Jakarta Regional Representative Council (DPRD) building on December 8, 2025. The government-led information session was also criticized by residents and supporting organizations for not providing sufficient space for meaningful participation and discussion. This was further supported by statements from an NGO assisting affected residents.

"The government holds meetings with residents, but instead of asking questions or providing opportunities for them to express their opinions, the focus is placed on promises

such as, 'You will get public housing,' 'You will get this,' 'You will get that,' 'You will get the keys,' and various other assurances. Therefore, the discussion is more focused on the benefits that will be provided rather than allowing residents the freedom to express their concerns or advocate for their interests." (NGO Interview, May 13, 2026).

This statement reflects Davis's argument that urban planning policies in developing countries often prioritize physical and administrative arrangements over addressing the actual needs of the urban poor [12]. In this case, the public outreach process, which should function as a space for participation and dialogue, tended to operate as a means of communicating predetermined policy decisions rather than facilitating meaningful involvement from affected residents.

The physical relocation was carried out in three phases. The first phase, on January 6, 2026, involved the relocation of 22 households with no school-age children. The second phase took place on January 12, 2026, during which 46 households, most of whom had school-age children were relocated to the public housing complex. The relocation process took place under less-than-ideal conditions. It proceeded despite unfavorable weather conditions, and residents were not given additional time to adequately prepare for the move. The third phase took place on January 27, 2026. Following the issuance of SP1, SP2, and SP3, the remaining nine households were forcibly evicted. Of the total 103 households, 44 were relocated to the Pulo Gebang public housing complex.

"But when it came time for the relocation, it was raining, and we weren't given any time. We asked for just one more day, but they wouldn't allow it, and they wouldn't even let us wait for the rain to stop. As a result, our mattresses got wet, our clothes and furniture became dirty, and the children became sick from being soaked and going hungry because they had been knocking on our doors since morning, telling us to hurry up." (Interview with an affected resident, May 25, 2026).

These conditions indicate that the relocation process is being carried out through a top-down approach, with limited opportunities for community participation. In line with Harvey's conceptualization of the "right to the city," this concept is not merely understood as the right to physically reside in an urban area; rather, it encompasses the community's collective right to participate in shaping, utilizing, and experiencing urban spaces. Residents of the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery have not only lost their physical homes but also their ability to participate in decision-making processes that shape their future.

C. Economic Adaptation Post-Relocation.

The economic adaptation of residents of the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery following their relocation to the Pulo Gebang Public Housing Complex has taken place under challenging conditions. Soekanto explains that economic adaptation refers to the ability of individuals or groups to maintain or rebuild their livelihoods in a new environment [13]. From the perspective of the Rujak Center for Urban

Studies, settlements such as TPU Kebon Nanas function as what is referred to as "anticipatory spaces"—organic and flexible environments that enable residents to gradually develop livelihood strategies suited to their needs by utilizing their proximity to the cemetery as a source of income.

"Residents' economic radius within a settlement generally does not exceed 1–2 kilometers from their former homes. This means that the entire informal economic ecosystem developed by residents must be sustained within that radius." (Rujak interview, June 2, 2026).

When residents were relocated to a site 15 kilometers away, their economic ecosystem did not move with them. This economic ecosystem extends beyond employment opportunities; it also includes customer networks, business locations, and access to income sources that have long sustained residents' livelihoods. This situation represents a concrete manifestation of what Harvey refers to as the "structural reduction of the right to the city" [11], whereby residents lose not only their homes but also access to their means of livelihood.

Most residents affected by the relocation work in the informal sector, including street vendors, window-frame makers, construction laborers, package couriers, and nail collectors. The relocation did not completely transform the occupations of affected residents, as some continue to work in the same locations, although they now face longer commuting distances. However, certain groups such as street vendors, window-frame makers, and nail collectors have experienced significant changes in their economic circumstances. Residents' adaptation strategies involve continuing their previous occupations or businesses in their new environment, albeit on a smaller scale.

The forms of adaptation vary. First, there are small shop owners, such as informant (M.I.) who previously ran a grocery and coffee shop with a steady customer base for 10 years. The coffee shop often served as a gathering place for residents and young people, especially in the afternoons or evenings after work. After being relocated, M.I. operated a small-scale business inside the public housing unit, relying on his immediate neighbors as customers. His income dropped drastically because the customer base he had built over the years was no longer the same as it had been before the relocation.

Second, a gas and water jug vendor (H.A.) was unable to continue his main business due to limited storage space and competition from long-established vendors who already had a steady customer base. He now serves only as a backup supplier, earning a very minimal profit of around Rp1,000 per cylinder. Third, a wooden window frame craftsman (M.E.) opened a new business location near his former site but experienced a 50% decline in income because some customers were unaware of the relocation of his business.

Fourth, residents who work as scavengers and nail collectors were forced to continue their activities in the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery area because there was insufficient space in the public housing complex to store their carts and

collected materials. This strategy of commuting between the public housing complex and their former location demonstrates residents' efforts to maintain access to their livelihoods, which remain dependent on the old location, while also benefiting from the more decent housing provided by the public housing complex.

Increased expenses also pose a challenge to economic adaptation. Residents who continue to work in their former neighborhood must spend approximately Rp50,000–Rp75,000 per week on transportation. Food prices around the public housing complex tend to be higher than those in the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery area. Once the rent subsidy period ends, residents will be required to pay monthly rent ranging from Rp209,000 to Rp338,000. Some residents have begun to express their concerns.

"Yeah, of course, I'm thinking about it. Right now, when I'm working, I'm thinking about paying for rent, electricity, and water. But hopefully, I'll be able to afford it." (Interview with an affected resident, May 15, 2026).

In line with Mike Davis's perspective, this situation reflects the consequences of urban planning policies that view slums solely as physical problems requiring regulation, without considering that behind these physically inadequate conditions lies an economic ecosystem that serves as a lifeline for the urban poor [12]. Meanwhile, Harvey emphasizes that the right to the city is not merely the right to physically occupy urban space but also includes the right to access livelihoods and establish economic networks within the city. When residents are relocated to areas far from their previous economic ecosystems without guarantees of equivalent livelihood opportunities, their right to the city is structurally diminished [11].

D. Social and Cultural Adaptation Post-Relocation.

In addition to economic changes, the relocation also brought about changes in the social and cultural lives of residents of the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery. Soerjono Soekanto explains that social and cultural adaptation encompasses two aspects: first, the ability of individuals or groups to adjust to the norms and patterns of interaction in a new environment; and second, their active efforts to shape the environment so that it remains aligned with their established collective needs and identities [13].

The relocation of residents from a previously horizontal residential area to vertical apartment buildings has transformed their social lives, particularly in terms of social interactions, daily activities, and customs that have long been part of their lives. Residents of the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery were not placed in the same block or on the same floor at the Pulo Gebang Public Housing Complex. According to UPRS officials, unit allocation was based on the availability of suitable units, resulting in residents being distributed across several blocks and floors. In addition to considering unit availability, this policy also aimed to encourage interaction between relocated residents and long-term residents. From an administrative perspective, this rationale is justifiable and carries positive value.

However, from the residents' perspective, this policy posed one of the challenges during the early stages of relocation. The distribution of housing units separated residents from their previously established communities, requiring them to rebuild social ties and adapt to a new environment.

"Ideally, I would like to be in the same block as my friends in Kebon Nanas. That way, we can restart our businesses, and it would be easier if we were living with neighbors we already know." (Interview with an affected resident, May 15, 2026).

Adapting to new daily routines also posed a significant challenge. For residents living on the fourth or fifth floors, entering and leaving their homes requires additional effort because they have to climb up and down the stairs. Daily routines have also changed. Whereas residents previously purchased groceries every day because they lived close to the market, they now have to plan their shopping for an entire week to avoid spending additional energy traveling to a market located relatively far from the public housing complex. Residents must also adjust to the stricter rules and regulations of the public housing complex compared to the relatively flexible communal lifestyle in their former neighborhood.

Despite facing these various pressures, residents have not entirely relinquished the social capital they have built. According to Soekanto's concept, this demonstrates that adaptation involves not merely adjusting to a new environment but also making active efforts to shape the environment according to their needs [13]. Residents of the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery consistently spend time together in the area beneath the building or on the block's terrace every day, sharing stories until late at night. They also regularly go shopping together. The religious study group, which had existed since their time at TPU Kebon Nanas, continues to meet at the public housing complex; although it primarily consists of Kebon Nanas residents, it remains open to other residents as well. Residents have developed alternative mechanisms to maintain social closeness. These subtle forms of social resistance reflect what Davis observed: communities in densely populated settlements are formed not merely because of poverty, but also because physical proximity fosters a shared safety net that cannot be easily severed by relocation policies [12].

In addition, one aspect of social adaptation that residents have felt quite strongly following the relocation is the change in access to education for their children. Some of the relocated residents have school-aged children; moving to the Pulo Gebang public housing complex presents new challenges regarding travel distance, access to transportation, and adjusting to the new school environment. They are faced with two choices: either transfer their children to a new school or keep them enrolled at their previous school, which is now farther away. Meanwhile, some residents choose to keep their children enrolled at the school in their previous neighborhood. This decision is generally based on the desire to ensure the continuity of their children's education and to avoid having to switch schools in the middle of the school year. As a result,

the children must travel a longer distance to and from school every day.

Some residents with school-aged children hope for the provision of Jaklinko services to make it easier for their children to travel to and from school. This assistance is expected to cover routes to their children's schools in West Cakung, particularly to support mobility during inclement weather conditions. These circumstances pose significant challenges for children who must walk relatively long distances to reach their schools. This finding aligns with Davis's argument regarding spatial marginalization a condition in which the relocation of residents to suburban areas, when not accompanied by adequate integration of public services, actually increases the physical and financial burdens experienced by urban poor families [12].

IV. CONCLUSION

The relocation of residents from the Kebon Nanas Public Cemetery to the Pulo Gebang Public Housing Complex highlights the complex dynamics of urban politics, where the interests of urban spatial planning come into direct conflict with the survival strategies of the urban poor. The policy implementation process took place with limited opportunities for resident participation, characterized by a top-down approach to public outreach, strict deadlines, and a physical relocation process that failed to adequately consider the circumstances and readiness of affected residents. From an economic adaptation perspective, the relocation disrupted residents' informal economic ecosystems, including the loss of customer networks, reduced access to livelihood sources, and increased daily expenses due to higher transportation costs and basic commodity prices. Most residents attempted to maintain their previous occupations despite having to travel longer distances, while others started businesses on a much smaller scale. From the perspective of social and cultural adaptation, the transition from horizontal to vertical housing has changed patterns of social interaction and norms of communal life. Nevertheless, residents are not passive actors; they actively maintain communal bonds through gatherings, collective shopping activities, and the continuation of regular religious study sessions as forms of subtle cultural resistance. Based on these findings, this study formulates several policy implications. First, relocation policies should be designed through participatory approaches by creating meaningful spaces for dialogue from the planning stage onward, rather than relying solely on one-sided outreach. Second, livelihood protection should become a key component of relocation policies, including the mapping of residents' economic ecosystems and the provision of alternative livelihood opportunities at the destination prior to relocation. Third, sustainable economic support programs, such as microenterprise development and market access facilitation, should be designed and implemented both before and after relocation. Fourth, a well-planned social integration strategy is necessary to ensure that affected residents do not lose the social capital they have developed, for example, by allocating housing units in ways that preserve the cohesion of their original communities. Relocation policies that focus solely on

providing a adequate physical housing are insufficient; instead, a holistic approach that prioritizes the livelihoods and social well-being of the urban poor is required.

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