

Role of Corridor in Territorial Meaning Formation in “Owned Low-Cost Apartments” (‘Rusunami’) Bidara Cina, Jakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract— Urbanization and urban land shortage are crucial issues that require different solutions in every country. Development of “vertical housing” (“owned and rental low-cost apartments”) is one of the alternatives to overcome the huge demand of urban housing, especially for low income group. The design of “low-cost apartments” (‘rusuna’) in Jakarta with a floor area of apartment units (‘sarusun’ units) 18-24 m² (private territory) inhabited by several family members, who can be seen putting their belongings on the corridor, “residual space”, and public space (public territory). These conditions finally establish patterns of behavior to adapt to the circumstances and environment that can lead to territorial issues, social conflict and “occupancy” of public space for private purposes. This research will study the sense of territoriality for residents and find the role of corridor in territorial meaning formation in ‘rusuna’ (‘rusunami’ and ‘rusunawa’), with a case study of the building block “A”, “owned low-cost apartments” (‘rusunami’) Bidara Cina in Jakarta, Indonesia. The research was conducted using qualitative methods through in depth interviews to understand the territorial meaning, field observation, activities mapping the corridor “occupancy” for private purposes, as well as reviewing the related theories from literature and journal reviews about characteristics of the territoriality in architecture. The results found that the role of corridor as manifestation of the physical needs: need of space, culture & habit, economic necessity, agreement; and psychological needs: tolerance, security & safety, perception, togetherness, social interaction; has a great influence on the formation of territorial meaning in block “A” building ‘rusunami’ Bidara Cina, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Keywords— corridor; territorial meaning; ‘rusunami’

I. INTRODUCTION

Urbanization and urban land shortage are crucial issues that require different solutions in every country. Development of “vertical housing” (“owned and rental low-cost apartments”) is one of the alternatives to overcome the huge demand for urban housing, especially for low income group. The residents of “owned and rental low-cost apartments” (‘rusunami’ and ‘rusunawa’) in Jakarta, Indonesia, generally are “victims of eviction” of the urban who occupy slum areas, such as riverbanks, suburban railways, under the bridges, etc. The design of “low-cost apartments” (‘rusuna’) in Jakarta with a floor area of apartment units (‘sarusun’ units) 18-24 m² (private territory) inhabited by several family members, who can be seen putting their belongings on the corridor, “residual space”, and public space or public territory (See Fig. 1). These

conditions will form a pattern of behaviour of the residents in adapting and understanding the meaning of territory (ownership boundaries) according to their perceptions, which can cause social conflicts and territory problems (“occupancy” of public space for private purposes). The understanding of territorial meaning and sense of territoriality to “share” corridor and public space, were very diverse, depending on the situation, circumstances, and environment, which is needed to resolve the phenomenon of territorial meaning. Territorial meaning is an important issue of space and place to maintain harmonious relations between people as a community (See Fig. 2).



Fig. 1 Research problems diagram

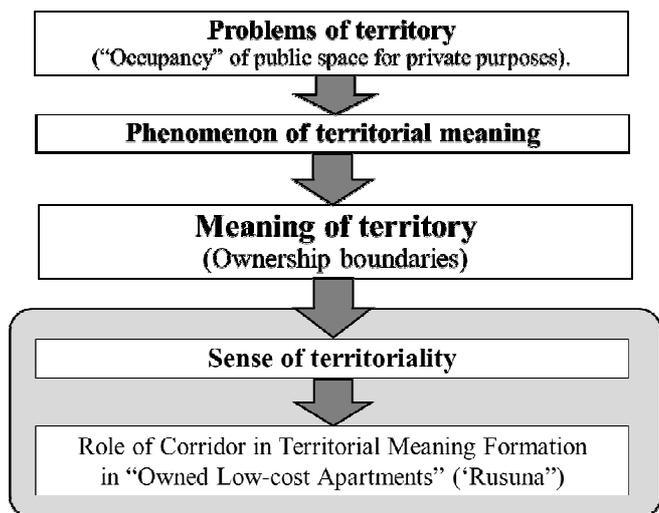


Fig. 2 Research purposes diagram

This research will study the sense of territoriality for residents and find the role of the corridor in territorial meaning formation in 'rusunami' to avoid misunderstandings of resident inter-relationships.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

A. Methods of Study

The research activities had been carried out for three months since Mei 2016 until July 2016. This research was conducted using qualitative methods [1] through in depth interviews [2], [3], field observation, mapping locus and type of activities, as well as reviewing the related theories. In depth interviews were conducted with local leaders of rusunami and residents who occupy their corridor for some activities like running vendor, putting the shoe rack, sofa for chatting or placing their plants or pets as well, to know how

they perceive their corridor (public territory) as their own territorial space (private territory).

The field observation aimed to get data of physical condition of corridors used by the residents as their personal space. The results from in depth interviews were analysed to obtain the conclusion of the study (See Fig. 3).

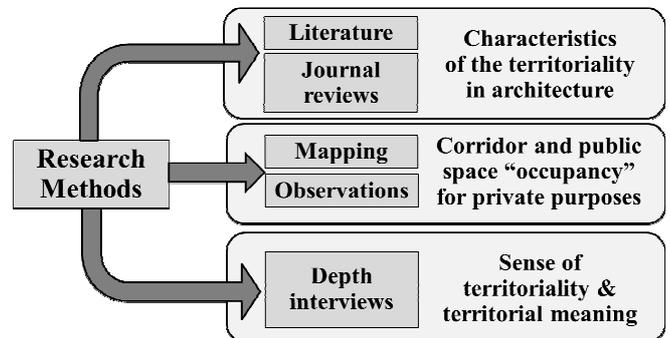


Fig. 3 Research methods diagram

The sampling method used in this research is purposive sampling (judgmental sampling), in which the sampling is based on the judgment of the researcher about which individuals are credible of being the sampling subjects. The sampling method is based on certain qualities, behaviors, and characteristics, which are the main features of the population. The subjects of sampling are the individuals with the most appointed features of the population.

The sampling subjects are the chief of a neighborhood ('RT'/'Rukun Tetangga'), young couples, the food and material vendors in the corridor and "residual space", the elderly people who often sit in the corridor, the owners of pets, and pot plants, the residences who put their belongings in the corridor, etc.

B. Case Study

The basic considerations of the case study are "walk-up-flat" as a 'rusunami' building with the small sarusun units in the high density of residents who has a tendency to use corridor and public space for private purposes as a permanent territorial "occupancy", due to 10 to 20 years of inhabitations.

'Rusunami' Bidara Cina is located on the roadside of M.T. Haryono, East Jakarta, Indonesia. The building was completed in 1996, on a land area of 13,849 m², 29,478 m² building area, which is divided into seven blocks buildings, five-storeys building, type-18 (18 m²), with 688 families, or over 2,752 people. Generally, the residents of 'rusunami' Bidara Cina are "victims of eviction" from Ciliwung riverbank dwellers (See Fig. 4).

The 'rusunami' building has a corridor system and void at the centre, and the 'sarusun' unit consists of one room, a toilet, a kitchen and a balcony. The block "A" building consists of one-storey facilities area on the 1st floor, four-storeys (2nd to 5th Floor) resident area and 26th 'sarusun' units on each floor (See Fig. 5). The first floor serves as commercial spaces such as shops for daily needs, food stalls, stationery and bookstores, game station, office management's, and much more. The 1st floor also is used for children's playground, and motorcycle parking.



Fig. 4 (1) Site plan of 'rusunami' bidara cina building; (2) Rear elevation of building; (3) Front elevation of the building. source: (1) Google map, downloaded on March 03, 2016; (2, 3) Private document, May 09, 2016

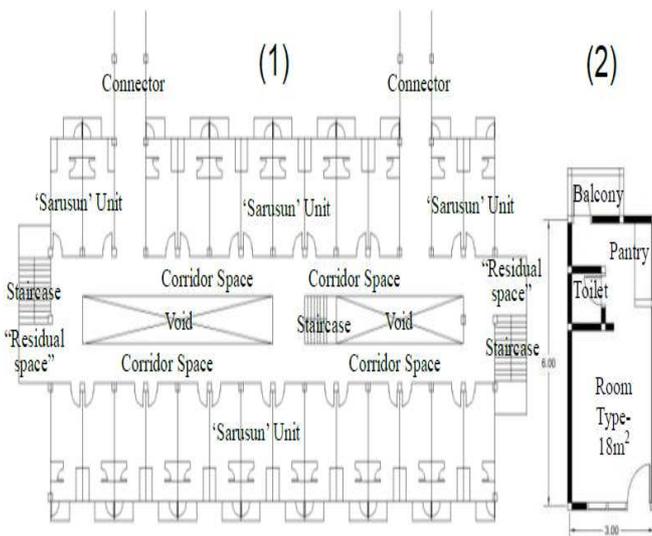


Fig. 5 (1) 2nd to 5th Floor plan block "A" building; (2) 'Sarusun' unit floor plan. Source: Private document, May 09, 2016

C. Territorial Framework

In everyday life, humans interact with their own environments that produce a typical harmonious residential neighbourhood. Humans need privacy [4] in a social connection with the community and the environment as one of the manifestation of territory [5], to interpret a space and place, to give a boundary in the area of ownership, as known as territory [6], [7], [8], [9]. One of the important feelings

about space is the feeling of territory to meet their basic needs for pleasure, safety, security and identity [10], [11].

Territory is related to a factor that is owned, occupied, protected, maintained, and controlled by individual or community, so it is not convenient if prohibited or taken over by others. Territory is areas or regions which are considered to be the rights and involving the control and exclusive control over a piece of land by individual or community [12].

Territory is considered as a pattern of behaviour of the people who occupy the space that involves a characteristic of ownership, and are defended from others' interference [13], [14]. Territorial concepts are related to human behaviour in a territorial setting with limited space in interaction as individual and community that are interspecific [11].

Territory is related to the use of an area by individual or community to demonstrate the power, defence, the exclusive use, proprietary, personalization, satisfaction, and identification of the characteristics of territoriality [15], [16]. Territory is related to the sense of place, identity, and symbols [17].

Territory is related to the social interaction and cultural context [18], [19]. Culture, according to anthropologist, means humanity, whereas according to Rapoport, the changing of life affected by the power of socio-cultural factor, familial inter-relationship to individual patterns, the ways of life and patterns of adaptation. Cultural factors are a typical way of life with a series of symbols and framework as well as how to adapt to the natural environment [18].

Territory not only serves as a privacy embodiment but also further as a social and communication function [14]. The culture of keeping animals and growing plants is the territorial manifestation that also functions as a territorial marker factor [20].

Human (user/content) and room (container), place and environment, determine the territorial characteristics of individuals and groups [21]. Factors which affect the territorial diversity are the personal characteristics of a person who encounter different situations, both physical and socio-cultural [22]. The characteristics of territoriality are needed to know the "occupancy" or rights of the area occupied, owned, and controlled by individual or community [18]. Understanding the characteristics and territorial marking, will reduce intervention and interference from outside parties, and rise to a sense of caring, and respect for the territory. Territory is characterized as affirming its presences, both real (tangible) and/or symbolic (intangible) that affect the territorial meaning.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of mapping, observation, and interviews with block "A" residents, in 'rusunami' Bidara Cina, are the following:

On the first floor, the residents have perceived the available area as a space for gathering, children's playground, and motorcycle parking area (Fig. 6). They feel comfort to play and park closely to their 'sarusun' unit for secure and safety reason to watch over their children and belongings (as a manifestation of security and safety -

psychological needs). This behaviour is in accordance with the theory of territorial meaning as a basic need for pleasure, safety, security and identity [10], [11].



Fig. 6 Parking area and children's playground function in the corridor on 1st-floor block "A" building. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016

On the second floor, residents put their belongings on 190 cm width of corridor, and "residual space" close to the staircase (public territory). In general, residents use the corridor to put chairs for hangout or guest-receiving, bicycle parking area, clothesline, and other items (See Fig. 7). The absence of space for receiving guest is one of the reasons to "occupy" corridors as a private space (private territory) for fulfilling the need of social interaction (as a manifestation of social interaction - psychological needs). This is in accordance with the theory of territorial meaning as the concepts related to human behaviour in a limited space in their interaction as individuals and a community that are interspecific [11].

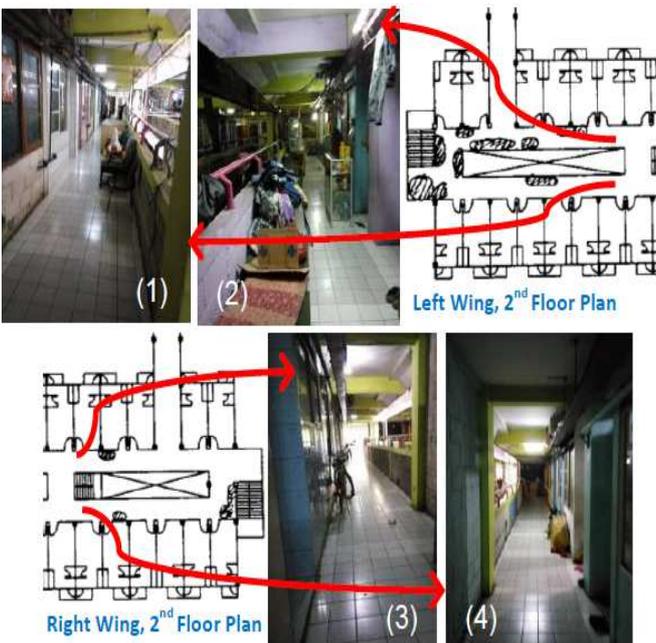


Fig. 7 Personal belongings placed in the corridor on the 2nd floor of block "A" building. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016

The third floor has a similar use: residents put chairs, tables, and cupboards in the corridor. The habit of sitting in front of 'sarusun' unit becomes very helpful for the elderly to spend their free time (See Fig. 8). However, the young couples don't put their belongings in the corridor, because

they don't have many belongings, and are busy to work day and night. Besides that, there are food stalls for residents to fulfill their needs for food, so they don't have to go down to the first floor to buy some food.

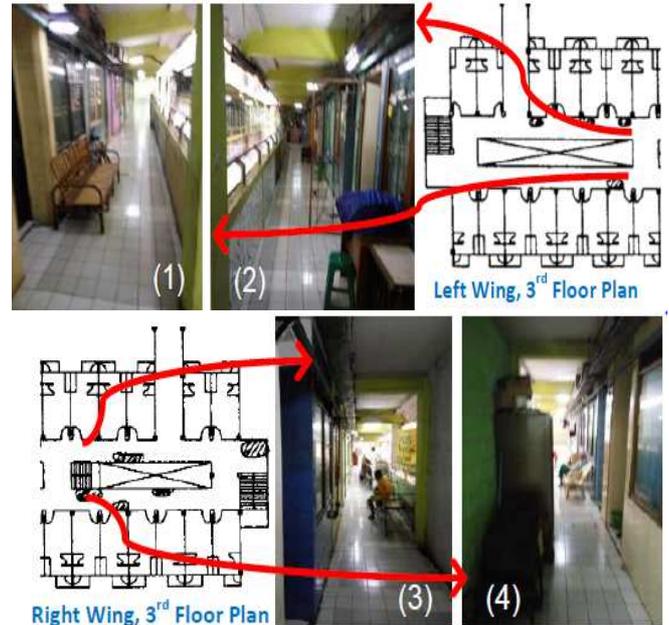


Fig. 8 Personal belongings placed in the corridor on the 3rd floor of block "A" building. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016

The condition on the fourth floor is not so different from the third floor, as though it's a typical of life in block "A" 'rusunami' Bidara Cina (See Fig. 9).

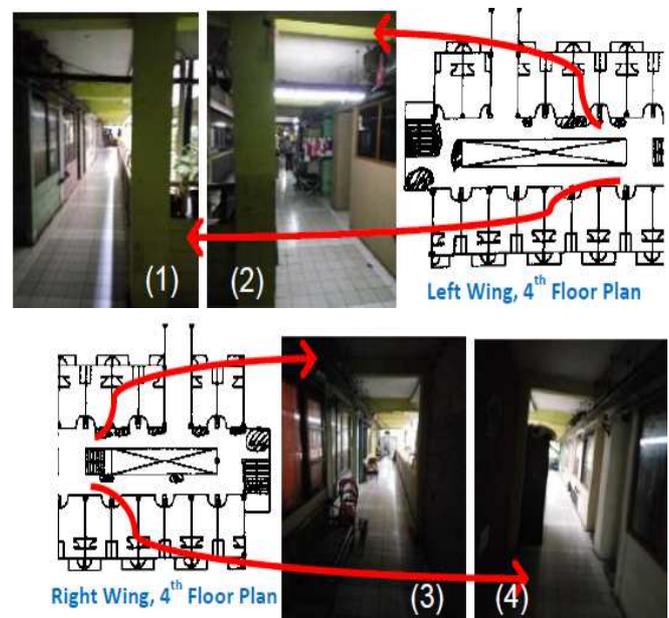


Fig. 9 Personal belongings placed in the corridor on the 4th floor of block "A" building. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016

On the fifth floor, there are potted plants, long chairs, merchandise, bicycles, shoe racks, and unused goods (See Fig. 10). There is also an old man who sleeps in the corridor in front of the 'sarusun' unit every night, because of a small room with four people inside and the hot temperature. Other

residents quite understand this situation (as a manifestation of the need for space and tolerance). The feature of tolerance (psychological needs) in territorial meaning perception is not available in the existing theories.

The activities of the residents last until midnight. They gather in the corridor connecting blocks to sit, play, chat, etc. There are also street vendors selling foods and wares (such as meatballs sellers, “beancurd” soup, ‘siomay’, vegetable sellers, rice sellers, etc.). They go up to the 5th floor, so the residents can easily shop without going down to the 1st floor, and they can feel as though they live in a ‘grounded house’.

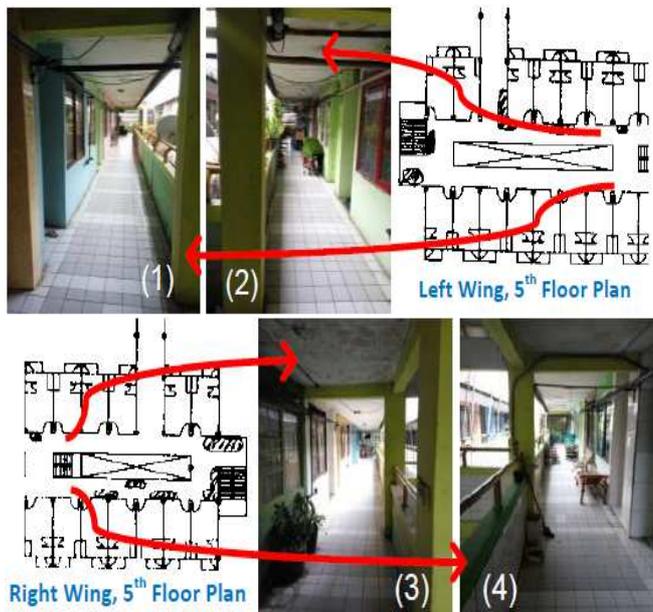


Fig. 10 Personal belongings placed in the corridor on the 5th floor of block “A” building. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016.

Many personal belongings are placed along the corridor and “residual space” that is “no man’s land”, such as chairs for hangout, shoe rack, bicycles, cupboards, cabinets, plant pots (See Fig. 7.3; 8.1,3,4; 9.3; 10.3), etc. There are also people selling foods for daily necessities, ironing clothes, drying clothes, and putting unused goods (See Fig. 11). This causes the width of the corridor to reduce and disrupt the flow of human circulation, as well as interfere with the view and comfort of other residents (as a manifestation of tolerance).

The ownership boundaries (territory) have important meaning for the residents as space “organizing” to provide clarity and comfort in using and “occupying” space as much as possible in order to fulfill their needs of rooms or spaces (physical needs) without disturbing others, and to maintain the harmonious relations among the residents as a community.

Based on the observations and in depth interviews, it is known that the residents have no objection to such conditions, as long as the belongings are not placed in front of their ‘sarusun’ units, not interfering the circulation, and does not cause waste problems (as a manifestation of togetherness). The feature of togetherness (psychological needs) in the perception of territorial meaning is not available in the existing theories and is a culture of the community living in block “A”, ‘rusunami’ Bidara Cina.

Generally, “residual space” in front of or beside the staircase is used by the residents who had ‘sarusun’ near the “residual space”, and already had got “recognition” from the other residents.

The corridor is a space for daily activities (as a manifestation of the need for space) such as: ironing clothes, gathering together, playing, drying clothes, guest receiving, and even used as a bedroom, etc.



Fig. 11 Corridor as a space for daily activities. Source: (1-4) Private documents, May 09, 2016; (5) Okezone, <https://id.images.search.yahoo.com/images>, downloaded on May 02, 2016

The perceptions of property boundary in accordance with an unwritten agreement (physical needs) among resident are: each resident has a portion of the corridor in front of ‘sarusun’ unit as part of a private room (See Fig. 12), as long as not interfering the circulation (perception of property boundary). But not all residents do that, because the level of needs for spaces is different, especially for young couples who have no children, and residents who work as employees, who go to work in the morning and come back late at night (See Fig. 13). This makes them have no objection to the conditions of the corridor, as long as it is not placed in front of their ‘sarusun’ units.



Fig. 12 Corridor as a space for personal belongings. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016



Fig. 13 Corridor is not a space for personal belongings. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016

The “residual space” or “no man’s land” like in front of and beside the staircase that is located at the corner of the building and “connector area” (See Fig. 14), are generally recognized, occupied, and controlled by residents who had ‘sarusun’ unit close to this space (as meaning manifestation of agreement).



Fig. 14 Personal belongings in “residual space” or “no man’s land”. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016

The habit of growing plants and keeping animals is very common to the residents of ‘rusunami’ (See Fig. 15.1,2), so they maintain the plants and animals (usually birds) in front of their ‘sarusun’ unit (as cultural and habit manifestation), and as a territorial marker factor. The habits of growing plants and keeping animals (physical needs) in Indonesian culture is still ingrained in the daily life of the residence in ‘rusunami’, which is in accordance with the existing theory in which the culture and habit of keeping animals and growing plants, is the territorial manifestation that also functions as a territorial marker factor [20].

Besides, to increase the income and spend the time (See Fig. 15.2,3,4,5,6), women take advantage of the corridor as a space to sell food and daily needs (as economic necessity manifestation). The economic needs (physical needs) and the standard of living of residents often are the key factors that influence their perceptions of territorial ownership (psychological needs), which causes the use of corridors and “residual space” for selling something to gain more income and other residents encourage this to get easier access in fulfilling their daily needs. This behavior is not available in the theory of territorial meaning.

The relationships between residents, who mostly come from the “victims of eviction” from Ciliwung riverbanks (history of “fate”), with a diversity of religions and races, interweave very well, headed by a chief of a neighborhood

(‘RT’) for every two floors of the building (56 families), who have responsibility for regulating the harmony of living in ‘rusunami’ (as the manifestation of togetherness), so that the boundaries of ownership (territory) and “occupancy” over the space can be compromised for the sake of comfort, and to maintain harmonious relations among the inhabitants as a community (as manifestation of tolerance).



Fig. 15 Keeping animals, growing plants, and sell food and daily needs in the corridor, “residual space” or “no man’s land” and “connector area”. Source: Private documents, May 09, 2016

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis above, it could be concluded that the roles of the corridor in territorial meaning formation in block “A” building, ‘rusunami’ Bidara Cina, Jakarta, Indonesia are: The corridor is a manifestation of the need for more space that is inadequate to putting personal belongings, accommodating for family members, socializing with other residents, guest receiving, and for hanging clothes. The use of part of the corridor in front of ‘sarusun’ unit is recognized by the other residents.

The corridor is a manifestation of security and safety (psychological needs) for a reason to watch over their children and belongings. The corridor is a manifestation of culture and habit of residents (physical needs) who like growing plants and keeping animals, while at the same time serves as a marking of the Territory.

The corridor is a manifestation of the meaning of caring and sharing (togetherness and social interaction - psychological needs), with no question of the territorial boundaries, which characterizes living in ‘rusunami’ Bidara Cina. “Occupancy” of space will depend on the manifestation of territorial perceptions (psychological needs), behavior and habit, socio-economic conditions (physical needs) of residents, modification of territorial boundaries, with their respective characteristics, situations, circumstances and different surroundings. The culture of “occupancy” over the corridor and the “residual space” or

“no man’s land” has been a cultural characteristic for residents in ‘rusunami’ Bidara Cina.

The boundary of “occupancy” of territory in the corridor are “symbolically respected” by other residents. It’s a realization of territorial meaning as an agreement in utilizing space (physical needs), as long as it’s unobtrusive and there are no complaints from other residents. The agreement gets approval or endorsement of the chief of a neighborhood (‘RT’), as the “custodian” of harmonious relations among the residents. Residents inter-relationships in ‘rusunami’ Bidara Cina are a very close-knit community, because they are connected with a history of “fate” as the “victims of eviction” of Ciliwung riverbanks, so it raises the sense of territoriality, sense of solidarity and high tolerance, is a major factor in the realization of the territorial meaning.

The physical needs: needs for space, culture & habit, economic necessity, agreement; and psychological needs: tolerance, security & safety, perceptions, togetherness, social interaction; greatly affect the utilization or “occupancy” of corridor for private purposes, as well as having an important sense of territoriality and the role of corridor in territorial meaning formation in ‘rusunami’ Bidara Cina (See Fig. 16).

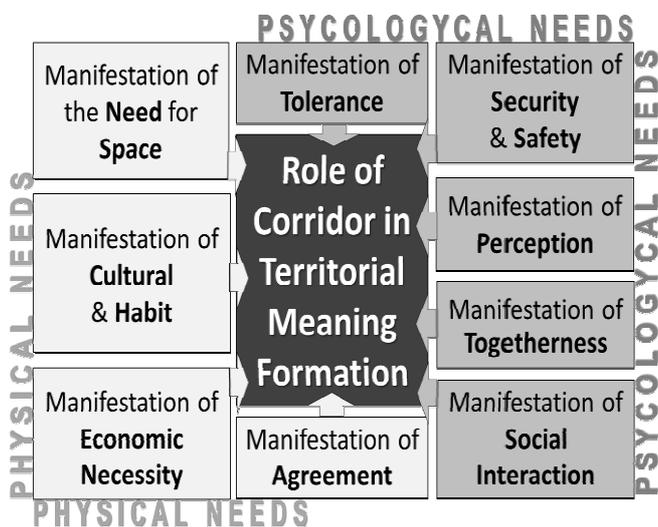


Fig. 16 Sense of territoriality and the role of corridor in territorial meaning formation

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