

FEELING OF BEING OUT OF PLACE: A CASE STUDY OF KAMPUNG IN BUMI SERPONG DAMAI, INDONESIA

DIAN ALIN MULYASARI & ANTONY SIHOMBING
Department of Architecture, Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the spatial experience of indigenous people in light of competing forces in the new urban growth area. It takes the case of urban growth in BSD City, Indonesia, which lies about 27km to the western part of Jakarta. Within this new urban area, the capital forces of giant government-backed developer provide heavy pressure to kampung – the indigenous settlement. Several kampungs were displaced, while others exist after a series of struggles. However, those kampungs are spatially marginalized: access is limited and bounded by fences and walls from its surrounding. This study focuses on how kampung dwellers are experiencing their marginalized lived space in the transforming environment. The combined, the separation and the antagonism of dominated and appropriated space are investigated from the lenses of local people using cognitive mapping procedures. In order to reveal dweller experience, 17 out of 128 household head of a small kampung were taken as respondent. This study shows that although the indigenous people succeed in shaping urban spaces, qualitatively they were alienated from their new surroundings. This new city does not belong to their life. The feeling of being out of place becomes real as it has been constructed by new city developers.

Keywords: out of place, spatial experience, kampung.

1 INTRODUCTION

Henri Lefebvre in his seminal work stated that capitalism and neo-capitalism had produced abstract space, within which the town has disintegrated. One diversified, it opposed, sometimes complemented and sometimes resembled one another. Lefebvre differentiates such space as dominated and appropriated space. The dominated space – space transformed and mediated by technology, by practice and invariably the realization of a master's project – is usually closed, sterilized, emptied out. While the opposite is the concept of appropriated space, a space that resembles a work of art. Both may in principle be combined and, ideally at least, they ought to be combined. However, history – which is to say the history of accumulation – is also the history of their separation and mutual antagonism. The winner of this contest has been domination [1].

Depart from Lefebvre conception; this paper tries to explore the spatial experience of *kampung* dwellers which lies in the vortex of urban growth. *Kampung*, in the Indonesian language, refers to an indigenous settlement where the residents still practiced traditional ways, in their everyday life, as in their village, even though they were in an urban area [2]. *Kampung* represents an appropriated space. It is a natural space modified to serve the needs possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group [1]. The case study was taken in *Kampung Nagrek* - BSD City, located 27km to the western part of Jakarta (Fig. 1.).

Kampung Nagrek was a squatter settlement in the rural area. It consisted of rubber plantations, rice fields, farmland, sand mining and squatter settlement. The construction of BSD City has changed the landscape of its surrounding tremendously. Some neighbouring settlements have disappeared, transformed into luxurious residential clusters along class facilities to support them. The majority of indigenous people have been marginalized to the villages farther away. Those who remain in their houses are now facing a separate fence,



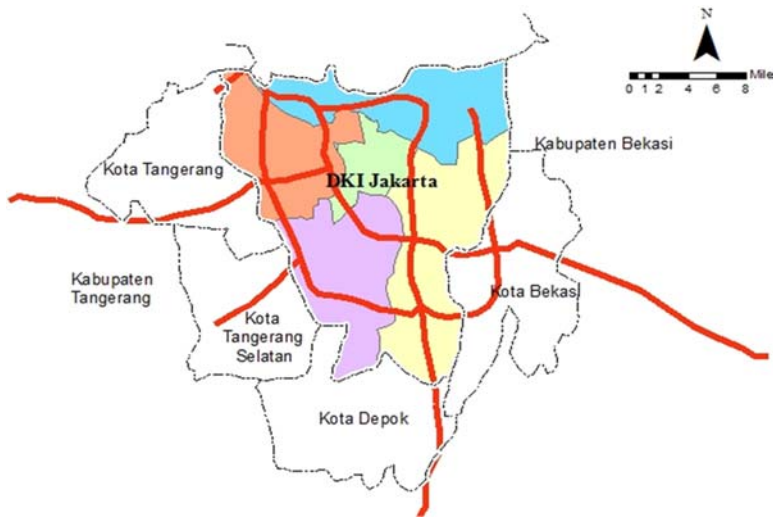


Figure 1: The study area.

wall, new housing, and roads [3]. *Kampung* Nagrek today is no longer a settlement regarding the rural area, rather it is a squatter settlement located in the new urban area.

Within this area, the contestation between dominated space of the new city and the appropriated space of *kampung* come into existence. The case of BSD City and *Kampung* Nagrek shows the combine, the separation and the antagonism of dominated space and appropriated space.

This study attempts to explore how the new changing urban space is experienced by the indigenous *kampung* dwellers within vast spatial and environmental transformation. It is become important to understand their spatial experience since the producing of urban space necessarily entails more than just planning the material space of the city. It involves all aspect of people's life [4]. It also includes a thought concept and feeling – an “experience” [5].

2 SPACE AND SPATIAL EXPERIENCE: A THEORETICAL APPROACH

“The present epoch will be above the epoch of space” [6]. What was predicted by Michel Foucault 50 years ago seems to be relevant today. Space is still a contentious concept. A different understanding of space underlies the separation of epistemology between a philosophical approach and spatial practice. Debates about the space can be traced back to Plato and Aristotle, Bergson and Einstein, Euclid and Carnap, Descartes, Leibniz and Kant, to Lefebvre, Foucault and others [5]. Plato is the first person to explicitly distinguish *chora* (space) and place [7]. According to Plato, space provides a container of everything. It is the womb, the nurse, the receptacle that provides the position of everything that will be. While the place is a comprehensible entity and can be perceived by the perceptual sense, “a sensible entity, it has come into existence, constantly in motion, apprehended by perception being” [8]. Subsequently, Aristotle reduced *Chora* to something immense (*megethos*) and named the place (*topos*) as the immobile content of the *chora*. Aristotelian *topos* concept is one part of the definition of the being of a physical thing [7].

After Plato and Aristotle, Descartes' thought became an important point in the discourse of the concept of space. In Cartesian logic, space has entered the absolute world, in line with the materialism nature of Cartes philosophy. Responding to the views of Descartes, then

Immanuel Kant provides a revision of the concept of space [1]. Kant states that space is not an empirical concept but a subjective condition of the mind. "Space is not something objective and real, nor a substance; Instead, it is subjective and ideal, and originates from the mind's nature in accord with a stable law as a scheme, as it was, for coordinating everything sensed externally" [9]. Kant asserts that space (and time) is not an objective and independent reality. Space is a subjective demand of our sensory ability to make sure everything is in harmony. Space and time serve as an indispensable tool that regulates images of objects imported by sensory organs. The raw data supplied by the eyes and ears will be useless if the mind has no space and time to understand it all [10]. For Kant, space is one of the conditions/conditions of experience. Space is not palpable, but it is a medium in which humans feel the experience of an object [11].

The emergence of phenomenology introduced by Edmund Husserl has shifted the focus from the world out there or what is in reality to how human beings perceive and experience their space [7]. Since human is essentially spatial [12], therefore spatial experience will underline the meaning of peoples' lives as it is [13]. From the lenses of this approach, human beings not only discern geometric patterns in nature and create abstract spaces in mind, but they also try to embody their feelings, images, and thoughts in tangible material [14]. Space is not a series of abstract relations in which the world of life is structured. In contrast, the lived experience is the primary relationship from which all the conceptions of space are built [15]. In other words, people do not perceive space as it exists, but space which is lived [12].

One of the seminal works in investigating lived experience was conducted by Edward Relph's work in 1976. His contribution to the understanding of spatial experience is the concept of insideness and outsideness. To be inside is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside the person feels, the stronger is this identity with the place [16]. If a person feels inside a place, he or she is here rather than there, safe rather than threatened, enclosed rather than exposed, at ease rather than stressed [17]. On the contrary, outsideness refers to a situation where a person is separated or alienated from their context. Here, people feel some sort of division between themselves and the world [17]. The similar concept of belongingness and identity were brought by Creswell. He introduced the terms 'in place' and 'out of place' to describe the situation when someone belongs to the particular place and not in another [18]. According to Creswell, it is possible for someone to be inside or outside a place. Outsiders are not to be trusted; insiders know the rules and obey them. Since the place has an objective and subjective aspect, then according to Creswell the insider and outsider do not simply refer to a location. Outsider is not just someone who is really from another location but someone who existentially does not know the rules [18].

This study attempts to expand the knowledge of urban lived experience when the dominated and appropriated space combine, separate and antagonize each other, by looking into the lives of the marginal element of the new city. In particular, this study investigates the spatial experience of *kampung* dweller through their perceptual and cognitive conception of their lived space.

3 METHOD

The study reported here is a part of broader research which investigates *kampung* dweller's spatial experience in the enormous urban growth. To understand the people's lived experience, we have to understand how the *kampung* dwellers' live, how do they connect with their world and how do they feel. This paper only focuses on the analysis of *kampung* dweller's perceptual and cognitive conception of their space. The cognitive conception of space understood through the map can help shape our perceptual knowledge, which in turn can characterize everyday spatial encounters as we move through the realm of the real world



[17]. Therefore, this paper employs cognitive maps to reveal how dwellers understand and give the meanings of their daily lived space.

A cognitive map is an individual mindset or individual concept. It identifies representations of objects in the physical environment, the concept of surroundings, living beings, behavior, culture, identity, structure and meaning [2]. We asked the participants to sketch a cognitive map and gave them the opportunity to draw their spatial surroundings through their interpretation of the phrase 'the place where I live.' We intend to know how their space features, and how the spaces of the participants were viewed and used. Through cognitive map, we expect that participants can show what is important, and also reveal what is less important in their daily spaces. The maps produced illustrated not only the physical layout but also psychosocial connections occurred [19].

The participants in this study were *Kampung Nagrek* dwellers. In total, there were 17 people involved consisting 13 males and 4 females, with their age ranging from 20–79 years (Table 1).

Table 1: Participants' characteristics.

Participants (not the real name)		Age	Sex	Occupation		Education
				Before city development	Current job	
1.	Mahfud	44	Male	Farmer	Security	High school
2.	Sofyan	30	Male	Small trader	Small trader	Elementary
3.	Jamal	33	Male	Small trader	Small trader	High school
4.	Munaf	50	Male	Farmer	Motorbike taxi driver	Elementary
5.	Solihin	50	Male	Farmer	Cleaning service	Elementary
6.	Sukarta	33	Male	Small trader	Unemployed	Elementary
7.	Sarifudin	59	Male	Land broker	Trader	
8.	Tasdik	79	Male	Farmer, trader	Trader	--
9.	Ma'sum	52	Male	Private driver	Private driver	Elementary
10.	Yunus	60	Male	Farmer	Unemployed	--
11.	Siman	60	Male	Farmer	Unemployed	--
12.	Anung	20	Male	Student	Small trader	High school
13.	Munar	23	Male	Student	Student	High school
14.	Ermy	40	Female	Housewife	Housewife	Elementary
15.	Sumarni	44	Female	Housewife	Housewife	Elementary
16.	Kokom	35	Female	Housewife	Housewife	Elementary
17.	Iyan	50	Female	Housewife	Housewife	--

4 RESULT

4.1 Participants' living environment

Kampung Nagrek is one of the organic settlements that still survive in the midst of the growth of the new city. The village has undergone enormous environmental changes over a period of 10 years. Formerly this *kampung* was a squatter settlement in the rural area but now turned into a squatter settlement in the urban area. Although *kampung* Nagrek is currently located in a new urban area, the rural characteristics of the village have not changed. Fig. 2 shows the location of *kampung* Nagrek in the formation of a new city space. Differences in landscape and space elements appear to the contrast between the two. The *kampung* is still had rural atmosphere, characterized by lush naturally grown trees, traditional house shapes, the use of conventional building materials, and more organic house arrangements. On the contrary, the landscape of the new city is modern, neat, organized and equipped with premium city-class support facilities. It also characterized by a neat arrangement of trees, modern housing layout and the use of more premium materials. The difference in the materiality of the space makes *Kampung* Nagrek impressed as area out of place, which differs from its surrounding environment.

4.2 Cognitive mapping of *Kampung* dwellers

To obtain a picture of lived space experience of participants, we asked them to sketch “the place where I live” through a cognitive map. The maps were drawn without time limitation to avoid feelings of distress on the participants. We intend to know how their space features, and how the spaces of the participants were viewed and used. Through cognitive map, we expect that participants can show what is important, and also reveal what is less important in their daily spaces. Fig. 3 shows examples of cognitive maps sketched by participants.

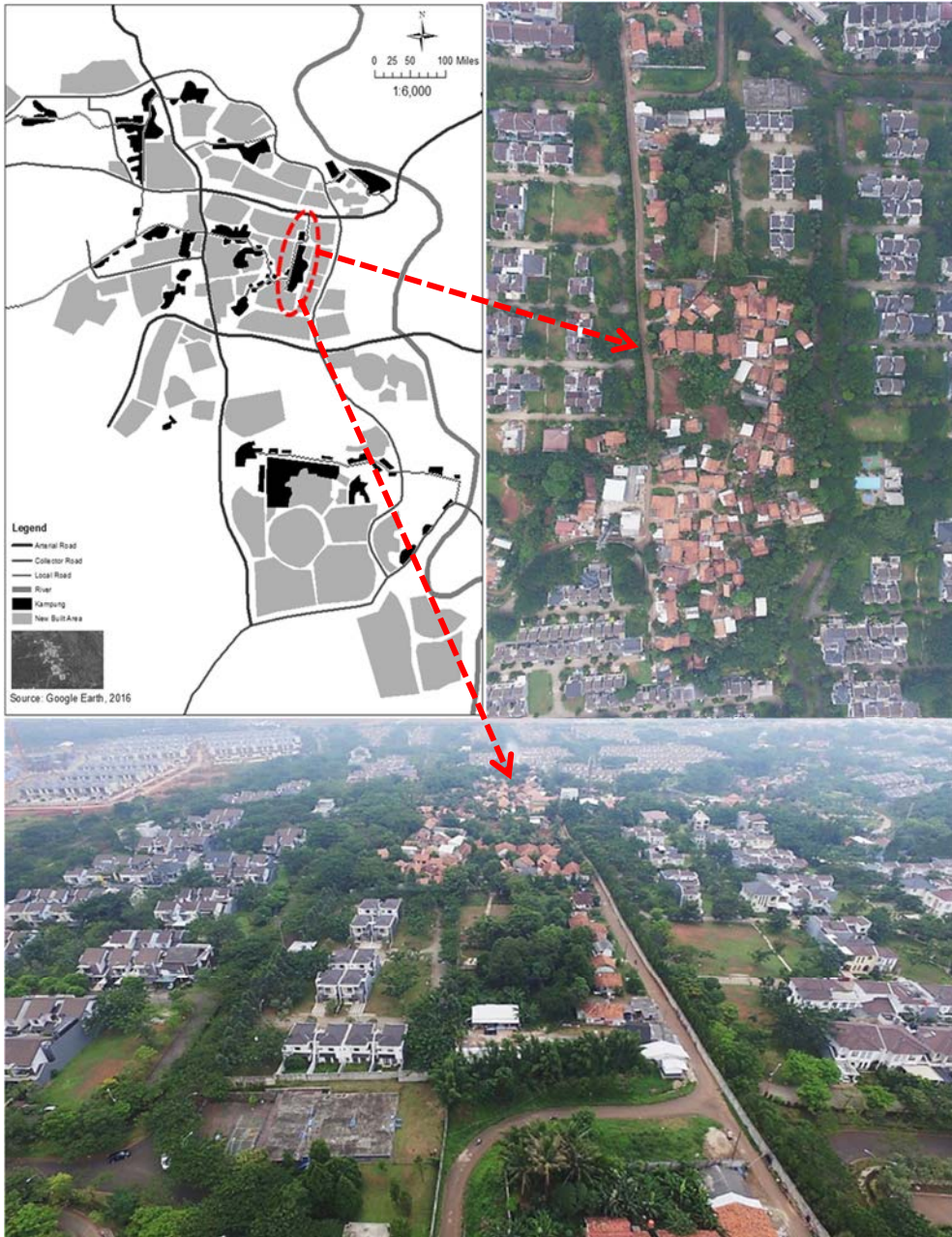
4.3 Seeing the city through the lenses of *kampung*s' dwellers

Based on participants' cognitive maps, some essential elements are identified by looking at its appearance in the map. The presence of these elements are shown in Table 2.

Figure 4 displays the most frequent elements drawn by *kampung* dwellers. They are *kampung*s' lane (17); participants' house (17); Streets (12 out of 17); relatives' house (12 out of 17); Foresta/new residential area of new city (11); Tunnel as entry point to *kampung* (9); Mosque (8); *Kampung* Tegal/the neighbouring *kampung* (7); Informal leader house (4), Traffic Light (4).

Mapping the respondents' identification of “where I live” reveals interesting findings. Based on the responses, dwellers' maps reflect the fragmented nature of the city. There are no participants that demonstrate an “insiderness” sense with the new city. From dwellers' maps, it can be seen that the most frequent elements occur is the elements of *kampung*, not the city. It informs us that *kampung* and its elements are the most important elements in their life. Moreover, none of the participants take the setting of a new city to describe their lived space. All of the participants only drew *kampung* Nagrek with its surrounding as their lived space. It means that *kampung* dwellers perceived their *kampung* and the city as different entities. The “outsiderness” feeling also can be traced when none of them drew the city facilities, such as hospitals, schools, shopping malls, sport club, etc. Participants only drew some elements of the new city which directly linked to their *kampung*, such as streets as a channel for their movement, tunnel as the entrance to their *kampung*, Foresta as a

residential area close to their *kampung* and traffic light near the entry of the *kampung*. Some participants even describe their lived space in the past area configuration setting, when the new city has not been built (Fig. 5).



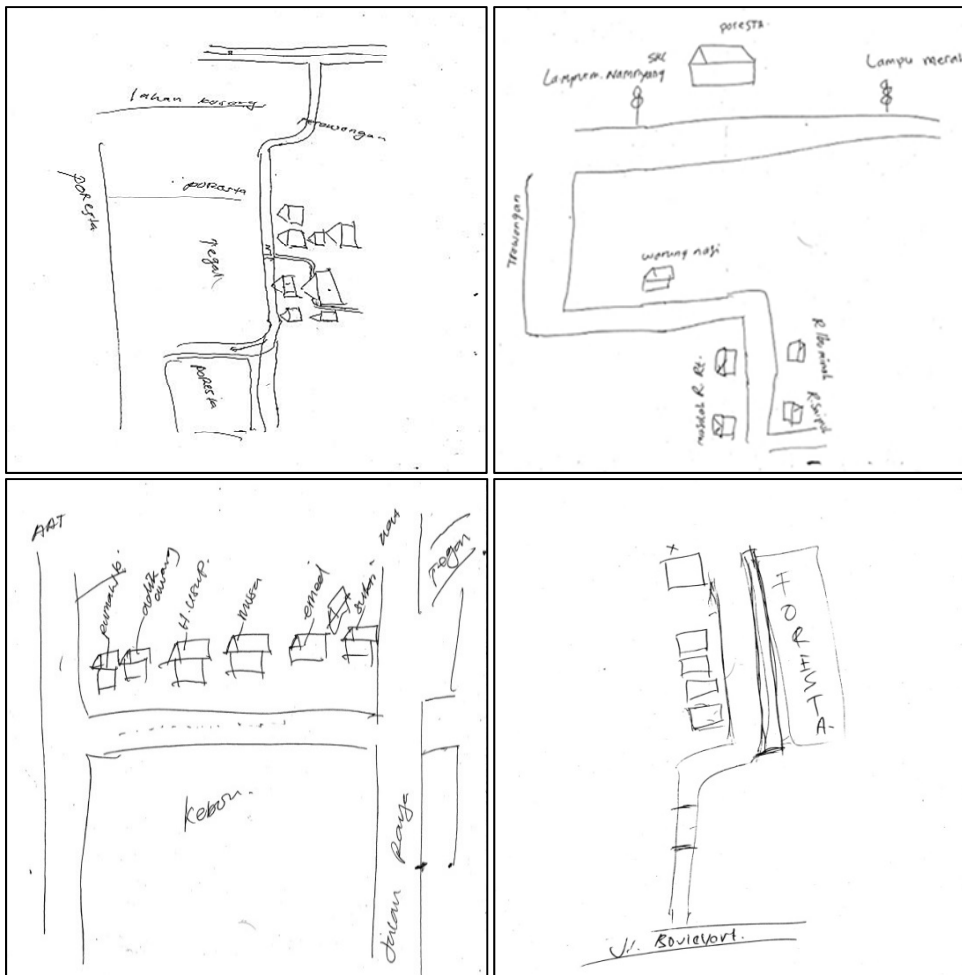


Figure 3: Cognitive maps of kampung dwellers.

Table 2: Elements of kampung dwellers' cognitive maps.

The elements of the New City

Participant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		
Streets																			12
Foresta																			11
BSD City																			1
Traffic Light																			4



Table 2: Continued.

The elements of *Kampung*

Participant Element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
<i>Kampung</i> 's lanes																		17
Participants' house																		17
Relatives' house																		12
Tunnel																		9
Mosque																		5
Musholla																		3
Informal leader house																		4
Madrasah																		1
Separating wall																		1
Cemetery																		2
Aas stall																		3
Food stall																		3
Garden																		2
Unused land																		1
Traditional sport field																		2
Trash dump																		1
Paddy fields																		1

The elements of surroundings.

Participant Element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
<i>Kampung</i> Tegal																		7
Sampora Village																		1
Cisauk District																		1
Police Office																		1
Pagedangan District																		1
Legok District																		1
Cicayur Village																		1
Junior High School																		1
Cisadane River																		1
Paddy fields																		1

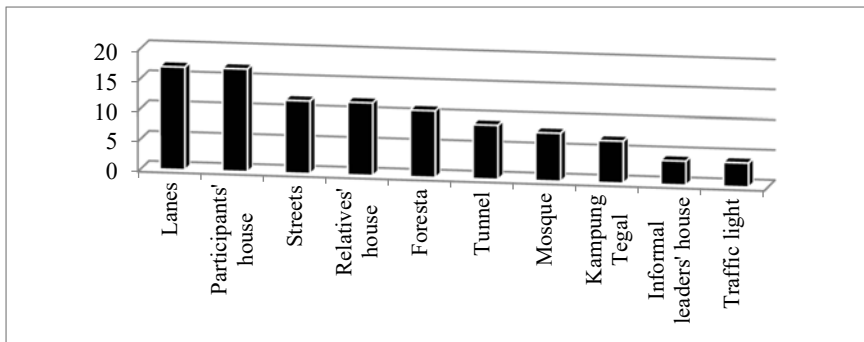


Figure 4: The most frequent elements in Dwellers' maps.

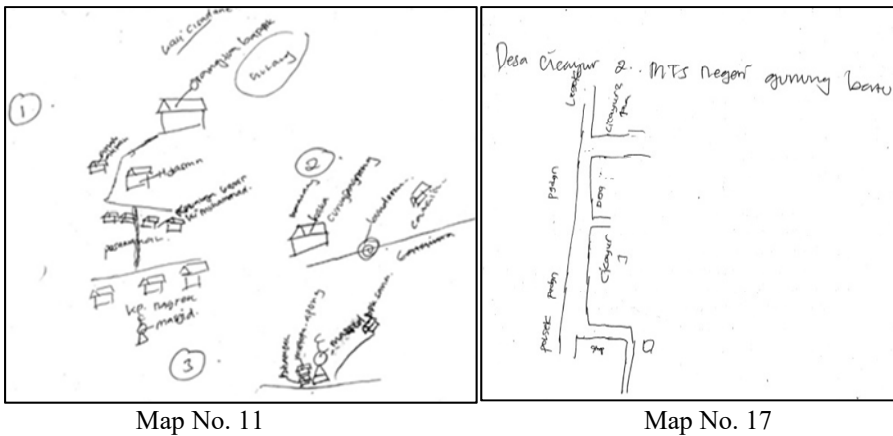


Figure 5: Cognitive maps using past area configuration setting.

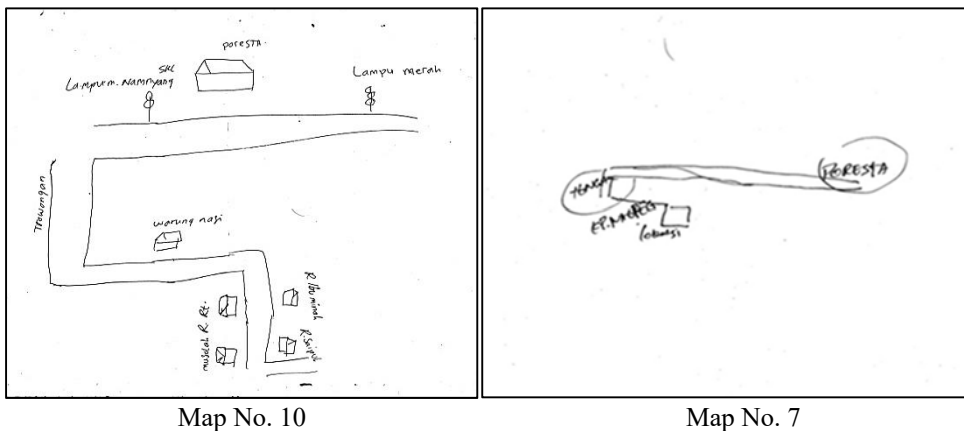


Figure 6: The Perceptual home zone of participants.

The results of mapping the respondents' indications of their home also reveal significant findings. Home is not just a house people happen to live in, it is not something that can be anywhere, that can be exchanged, but an irreplaceable center of significant [16]. In the case of *kampung* Nagrek dwellers, most participants did not realize that their home zone is in the middle of Foresta – one of a residential area in new city – as displayed in Fig. 6. From 17 participants, 11 participants drew Foresta as spatial elements of their daily spaces. While the rest do not consider that their homes are located near to Foresta. However, 8 out of 11 participants define their home in the sense of backwardness. Only 3 persons realize that Foresta surrounds their homes.

5 CONCLUSION

The findings generated from implementing cognitive mapping helped to contribute to understanding the *kampung* dwellers' spatial experience in the new city. The cognitive maps



produced by kampungs' dwellers reflect the segregated nature of the city. It can be seen from the facts that there are no participants who strongly demonstrate an 'insiderness' with the new city. Being inside is knowing where you are [16]. Therefore, if a person feels inside a place, he or she is here rather than there, safe rather than threatened, enclosed rather than exposed, at ease rather than stressed [17]. In this study, we found that participants do not recognize the position of their lived space in urban formation. It indicates that kampung dwellers perceived their kampung and the city as different entities. None of them took the new city in describing their lived space context. Rather, they perceived the lived space in the scope of kampung and its former rural area. They understand the position of their own houses, their relatives' house, and the boundary of their kampung, as they are significant in defining participants' lived space. This study also reveals that although physically participants dwell in urban space, mentally they do not belong in that space. The feeling of being out of place becomes real as new city developers have constructed it.

REFERENCE

- [1] Lefebvre, H., *The Production of Space*, Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford, pp. 53–166, 2001.
- [2] Sihombing, A., *Conflicting Images of Kampung and Kota in Jakarta: The Differences and Conflicts, and The Symbiotic Links between Kampung and Kota*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010.
- [3] Mulyasari, D.A., Sihombing, A. & Isnaeni, H., *Negotiating an Urban Form: The Struggle of A Concealed Kampung (Kampong) In A New City Development*, WIT Press, 2017.
- [4] Purcell, M., Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant, *GeoJournal*, **58**(2),(3), Social Transformation, Citizenship, and the Right to the City, p. 102, 2002.
- [5] Goonewardena, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life*, Routledge, New York and London, p. 41, 2008
- [6] Foucault, M., *The Espace Autres, The French journal Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité* October 1984, A lecture given by Michel Foucault in Mar 1967, 1984.
- [7] Perdikiogianni, I., *From Space To "Place": The Role of Space and Experience in The Construction Of "Place"*, University College London, London, p. 6, 2007.
- [8] Plato, *Timaeus & Critias*, Translated with an Introduction and an appendix on Atlantis by Desmon Lee, Penguin Books, p. 71, 1971.
- [9] Janiak, A., *Kant's Views on Space and Time*, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2016.
- [10] Ben-Zvi, P., *Kant on Space*, Philosophy Now, 2005.
- [11] Theodorou, M., *Space as Experience: Chore/Choros*, AA Files No. 34, Architectural Association School of Architecture, p. 47, 1997.
- [12] Heidegger, M., *Being and Time*, Blackwell, Oxford & Cambridge, pp. 143, 2001.
- [13] Gunawaradana, D., *Urban Space and Spatial Experience: An Exploratory Study*, University of Moratuwa, 1997.
- [14] Tuan, Y.F., *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2001.
- [15] Tilley, C., *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, Berg, Oxford, p. 14, 1994.
- [16] Relph, E., *Place and Placelessness*, Pion Limited, London, p. 49, 1976.
- [17] Seamon, D. & Sowers, J.D., *Place and Placelessness*, Edward Relph, *Key Texts in Human Geography*, P. Hubbard, R. Kitchen, & G. Vallentine, eds., Sage, London. p. 3, 2008.
- [18] Cresswell, T., *In place/out of place: Geography, ideology, and transgression*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1996.
- [19] Buzinde, C.N. & Navarrete, D.M., the social production of space in tourism enclaves: Mayan children's perceptions of tourism boundaries, *Annals of Tourism Research*, **43**, pp. 482–505, 2013.

