RUSUNAWA AS AN URBAN LIVING SPACE: SOCIOSPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: Rusunawa; Sociospatial; Non-Physical; Urban.

This research examines the factors influencing Low-Cost Rental Flats (Rusunawa) residents settling in Jakarta for extended periods. Previous studies have focused on the satisfaction levels of Rusunawa residents in remaining permanent tenants to sustain their livelihoods. Such an approach overlooks the issue that the development of Rusunawa has been merely targeted towards the quantity of Rusunawa and the physical completeness of the building, neglecting other non-physical factors that encourage Rusunawa residents to settle in these flats. We argue that the residents' comfort in residing in Rusunawa for prolonged durations is influenced by non-physical factors (social, cultural, economic, and political) that form a socio-spatial environment conducive for the flat residents. Gottdiener's (2015) socio-spatial approach supports the idea that signs and symbols of urban communities have become the identity for various urban issues arising from industrialization. This study was conducted in Rusunawa Sindang Koja, North Jakarta, and managed by Perum Perumnas. It employed a mixed-method research approach with data collection through questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The research findings indicate that non-physical factors such as social, economic, and cultural play a crucial role in an individual's decision to reside in Rusunawa, with the presence of family and social relationships being the primary determinants.

Introduction

Housing is one of the central issues in urban development in various countries, especially in densely populated urban contexts (Rozalinna & Anwar, 2021). One of the challenges faced by the government and related parties is meeting housing needs for people with low-income levels or who are affected by natural disasters, development, or other events. The percentage of urban slum households (40% and below) according to the Province, BPS noted that DKI Jakarta had the highest percentage of 42.73 percent in 2019. These slum households do not have access to adequate drinking water sources, proper sanitation, a floor area of ≥ 7.2 m² per capita, and proper roof, floor, and wall conditions (Djaduli, 2018). According to a report by the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) in June 2019, 118 out of 267 urban villages, or around 45 percent, still have slums in DKI Jakarta (DKI Jakarta DPRD, 2019).

The government has been striving to provide solutions through a program to build 1000 towers for low-income people in Indonesian cities since 2006 (Ritohardoyo, 2015). Until 2020, there were 28,766 runaway units spread across 27 locations in DKI Jakarta (statistik. Jakarta.go.id, 2021). This is done due to land scarcity and high land prices in...
urban areas, so the government, together with the National House Development Public Company (Perum Perumnas), the Provincial Government, the community, and the private sector, consider the concept of vertical housing as an effort for land efficiency which can also have an impact on reducing the cost of living of the community (Directorate of Housing Implementation Systems and Strategies of the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing, 2020).

Many countries, such as Rusunawa (Simple et al.), have launched temporary housing programs to address this problem. Rusunawa is a temporary residential facility for people who need a place to live for a certain period (Ogotan & Salangka, 2021). Perum Perumnas is one of the SOEs that assists the government in organizing the Rusunawa development program. Based on Article 12 PP No. 83 of 2015 concerning Perum Perumnas, one of Perumnas' business activities is managing Rusunawa (Nadhirrachman, 2022). Therefore, Perumnas, through the Property Management Business Unit, manages Rusunawa and buildings located in Perumnas' vertical house projects. Rusunawa managed by Perumnas consists of Rusunawa managed alone or in collaboration with other agencies. Until the end of 2021, Perumnas has managed Rusunawa in several locations, namely Rusunawa Perumnas Tanjung Piayu Batam, as many as 561 units, Rusunawa Perumnas DKI Sindang Koja North Jakarta, as many as 338 units, Rusunawa Perumnas PU Pasar Friday South Jakarta as many as 110 units, Rusunawa Perumnas Seruni Pulogebang East Jakarta as many as 220 units, runaway perumnas Dako Mayor central Jakarta as many as 685 units, and Rusunawa Perumnas Bumi Cengkareng Indah West Jakarta as many as 1,822 units.

Looking at public housing programs in Singapore, program policies are designed to promote integration, such as ethnic-based housing allocation systems that prevent ethnic segregation and ensure healthy social interaction. The sustainability aspect of community development is also essential. Singapore's public housing has become a sustainable community development model through efficient planning, eco-friendly technology, and the promotion of green lifestyles. In addition, social capital, as relationships, beliefs, and norms that influence interactions between community members, has a vital role in community development (Sukoco et al., 2020). It can affect social cohesion, social support, and quality of life. Changes in housing types and residential environments can also change patterns of social interaction and community structure.

(Utomo & Sudjiwanati, 2018), In her study in Rusunawa Sindang Koja, North Jakarta, she found that the North Sulawesi community supports individuals experiencing difficulties when they have just arrived in Jakarta and individuals who have not found work and are also sick. Three types of social support are provided: emotional, cognitive, and material (Saputro & Sugiarti, 2021). The North Sulawesi community has social capital, namely values, beliefs, and social networks, as well as bonding and bridging capital. This social capital is helpful for the development and survival of a community in a multicultural social life in the community (Herry-Priyono, 2016).

Article 5 of DKI Jakarta Provincial Governor Regulation Number 111 of 2015 states that the lease agreement period is 2 (two) years and can be extended. However, an
interesting phenomenon occurs where residents stay home in Rusunawa longer than specified. This raises the question of why rusunawa residents feel at home in rusunawa when it should only be a temporary residence (Histanto & Kusliansjah, 2018).

Conceptually, the condition of the flats themselves can be seen from Howard's Sociospatial Perspective (1898) in his book entitled "Garden Cities of Tomorrow" (Arifin, 2021), which is a city concept that exists as a park in the conditions of the industrial revolution in urban areas. Where Howard defines that the more exclusive society is, the more settlements are closed. Furthermore, this is caused by poor urban conditions, such as factory smoke and settlements in slum cities, thus worsening public health itself (Arifin, 2021).

On the other hand, Aspariyana, 2020) states that sociospatial is a breakthrough from the problems in the 1960s from urban conflict and industrialization in the global capitalist system. The socio-spatial perspective considers many factors that can explain how cities and regions develop, such as understanding the factors that drive people to move somewhere. (Sulaiman, 2021) states that urban space includes community interactions related to economic, political, social, and cultural aspects. In urban development, this perspective emphasizes individual and group activities, such as forming partnerships to influence the direction and impact of urban change. In addition, the role of property or real estate in urban development is seen as the interaction between agents (individuals or groups who make decisions) and structures (conditions or systems that already exist).

Furthermore, (Astuti, 2020) also believes that cities have symbols/signs that describe the state of society itself. He judges this spatial society to be something important in it. Cultural factors such as race, gender, and spatial symbolism are considered as important as economic and political aspects. This perspective attempts to understand how urban space's form and function can affect organized society's systems.

This problem is essential to investigate because residents living in Rusunawa have complex implications in social and urban contexts. First, the comfort of residents living in Rusunawa can affect the sustainability of the temporary housing program, where Rusunawa units that should be allocated to people in need are limited. Second, this phenomenon can affect social dynamics in the runaway environment, such as social interaction, community formation, and feelings of attachment to the residence.

**Research Methods**

The approach used in this study is the mixing method. The data collection techniques carried out in this study used questionnaires and in-depth interviews in 2023. The respondents involved in this study were 30 respondents. The primary critical informants in this study were runaway managers and representatives of runaway residents from each building. The observation unit in this study is the activities of the runaway resident community. The unit of analysis studied in this study is the factor of residents of Rusunawa who feel at home in Rusunawa. Researchers chose the unit of analysis to be studied because sociological aspects such as social, economic, cultural, and other aspects need to be seen to determine the choice of long-term residence of residents in Rusunawa. The
limitation that occurs from this study is the relatively short data collection time in return. The delimitation in this study is that the scope of Rusunawa focuses on Rusunawa Sindang Koja.

Results and Discussion
Overview of Rusunawa Sindang Koja

Based on interview sources together with residents of Rusunawa, it was found that Rusunawa Sindang Koja is one of the Rusunawa built and managed by Perum Perumnas on land owned by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government in RW 09, Koja Village, Koja District, North Jakarta Administration City. This runaway was built as a substitute for housing for fire victims in the slum area of Koja, North Jakarta. Jakarta Bay borders Koja Village itself to the north, Laksamana Yos Sudarso Toll Road to the west, Oil Port, Kali Baru, Kramat Jaya Street, and Cakung River to the east, and Batik River to the south. This area is considered strategic because it is near Tanjung Priok station, Sindang Market, and Koja Hospital.

Rusunawa Sindang Koja consists of 3 building towers with six blocks, namely Pari 1, Pari 2, Snapper 1, Snapper 2, Bawal 1, and Bawal 2, totaling 338 units. Units built have a variety of types and functions not only for residential purposes but also for business purposes, management offices, electrical panel rooms, and prayer rooms. Rental rates are also differentiated based on unit type, floor position, and occupant type (programmed fire or non-programmed cases).

The manager or the local government provides public and social facilities. Public facilities in Rusunawa Sindang Koja, such as stairs in each unit, roads in each unit, prayer rooms, and motorbike parking. For social facilities, there are RPTRA and others.

Preferences for Moving to Rusunawa

The selection and resilience of individuals in choosing a place to live, especially in Rusunawa, is not only based on the physical aspects of buildings or geographical location alone. Instead, non-physical factors such as social, cultural, economic, and political significantly shape a person's perception and comfort of a space.

The survey results found that the most chosen reason for moving to Rusunawa was the provision of programs or subsidies because of the fire incident in RW 09 Sindang Koja, North Jakarta, in 1996. This shows that political and economic factors influence it. Government policies on assisting can influence a person's decision to settle in Rusunawa.

Another reason that is most often chosen is related to the togetherness of family or relatives, which highlights social and cultural aspects. The settlement decision is driven by the desire to be close to family or the presence of strong social ties with the community in Rusunawa. It is also related to a sociospatial approach that emphasizes the importance of social interaction and cultural relations in determining one's experience of a space.

Other reasons, such as preferring to contract in Rusunawa, business or economic reasons, location, convenience, professional background, and education, appear less frequently but still provide insight into the considerations that influence the decision to move to Rusunawa.
The Resilience of Residents Living in Rusunawa

Based on the survey conducted, it was noted that 83% of Rusunawa residents have no desire to move shortly. This resilience can be interpreted as a living decision that is not only based on the physical condition of the dwelling but also influenced by various profound non-physical factors. One concrete proof of this resilience is the duration of the occupants' stay. The majority, 26.67%, has spent a quarter of 24 years in Rusunawa. This duration is not short and reflects the complex interaction between basic housing needs and other aspects of daily life.

Undeniably, economic factors are the dominant determinant in this decision. Data shows 43.3% of respondents feel they have no other option than Rusunawa as their place to live. Furthermore, 33.3% rated financial incapacity as a barrier to finding another place to live, while 6.7% felt that the cost of housing outside Rusunawa was too burdensome. This economic factor reflects the reality of many residents struggling financially.

However, the importance of social factors in influencing settlement decisions can be seen behind the dominance of economic factors. As many as 6.7% of respondents cited the presence of family or relatives near Rusunawa as the reason they survived. It shows how social bonds and the sustainability of family relationships influence deep and sustainable settlement decisions.

Other factors such as suitability to the region, time constraints, and location relevance also play a role, although the percentage is smaller. Given these data, we argue that although social factors may not be dominant in percentage, they profoundly influence
settlement decisions. In the sociospatial context of Gottdiener (2015), where space is a physical medium and a form of social, economic, and cultural relations, understanding the interaction between economic and social factors becomes increasingly crucial. This shows the need for support in creating sustainable housing with the complexity of sociospatial relations. Thus, the housing created meets the physical needs and the residents' expectations, needs, and social relations.

**Family as a Factor in Moving to Rusunawa**

Social involvement and attachment networks are essential in determining settlement decisions, especially in Rusunawa.

![Figure 3](image)

**Figure 3**

*Percentage of Residents with Acquaintances/Family/Relatives Living in Rusunawa Sindang Koja.*

As many as 70% of Rusunawa residents admit they have acquaintances, be it family, relatives, or relatives who also live in Rusunawa. This shows that Rusunawa functions not only as a place to live in a physical sense but also as a social space full of interaction and family relationships.

![Figure 4](image)

**Figure 4**

*Percentage of Acquaintances/Family/Relatives living in Rusunawa as a Reason for Residents to Move to Rusunawa Sindang Koja.*

Another exciting thing from those who have acquaintances in Rusunawa is that 90.5% stated that the existence of these acquaintances was the main reason they chose to move to Rusunawa. This shows how social factors, especially family relationships and
familiarity, significantly influence settlement decisions in Rusunawa, even more dominant than economic or facility considerations.

Referring to the sociospatial concept of Gottdiener, it can be understood how a space, in this context Rusunawa, functions not only as a physical dwelling but also as a field of social and familial interaction. Therefore, a person's decision to settle in a place is not only based on economic considerations or physical needs but also on the existence and quality of existing social relations. In urban planning and residential development, accommodating and understanding these social dynamics is essential to ensure the sustainability and comfort of settlements for their residents.

**Comfort Factor of Living in Rusunawa**

From the survey results, most residents of Rusunawa Sindang Koja, namely 93.3%, feel comfortable living there. The reason for this convenience is not without basis. Rusunawa Sindang Koja is not only seen as a residential building but has become a 'home' for its residents. Social activities closely related to life between residents, such as weekly recitation and routine activities from RT administrators, have formed strong social bonds between them.

![Figure 5](image)

**Figure 5**

**Percentage of Residents Feel Comfortable Living in Rusunawa Sindang Koja**

Social and community factors are the main milestones of this comfort. Many residents feel integrated with the community and neighbors around them, showing how meaningful social relationships create a sense of comfort in a residence. This is not only limited to acquaintances but has become part of their daily activities in worship, social activities, and daily work.

Other factors that support the comfort of staying in Rusunawa are strategic conditions and accessibility. Many residents benefit from Rusunawa's proximity to public facilities, workplaces, schools, and shopping centers. This is one of the reasons why many of them choose to stay here. Security is also a significant concern. Residents feel safe with the presence of security officers and existing security systems. This trust is reinforced by a sense of security even though the house is not locked. In addition, the facilities available at Rusunawa further add comfort points for residents. Everything supports their daily lives, from worship facilities to education, playgrounds, and health facilities.
Economic considerations are also one of the reasons for some residents. Rusunawa does offer economical residential solutions for some groups, but with adequate facilities. Other categories include more specific and unique reasons, such as the habit of living in Rusunawa for a long time or uncertainty about other housing options. The employment factor is also a strong reason for some residents to stay, ranging from traders, fishermen, workers on boats, online motorcycle taxi drivers, and office employees to art workers.

Figure 6
Percentage of Residents Feel Some Things Make it Uncomfortable to Live in Rusunawa Sindang Koja

However, although the comfort rate is relatively high, 40% of residents stated that some things make them uncomfortable. This is important to pay attention to because although the majority feel comfortable, certain aspects must be considered and improved to ensure that all residents feel entirely comfortable and meet their needs.

One of the dominant factors is related to Social and Community Factors. Some residents are disturbed by gossip, neighbor disputes, and business competition between stalls. This underlines the importance of harmonious social relations in creating a sense of comfort in a dwelling.

In addition, noise, mainly caused by teenagers staying up late, is of particular concern to some residents. This shows that there needs to be regulations or policies that limit activities at certain hours in order to maintain mutual comfort.

Cleanliness and Environmental Conditions are also important issues. There are complaints about the sale of animals in front of the house, especially during Eid al-Adha, as well as poorly maintained environmental conditions. This highlights the importance of good hygiene and environmental maintenance facilities. Regarding Safety, some residents feel worried about their children's activities, especially in high-altitude areas. In addition, the occurrence of theft and other security disturbances is an indication that security needs improvement. The availability of educational facilities, especially high schools, is a concern for some residents, considering the importance of close and easily accessible access to education.

Although some aspects require attention, the fact that most residents feel comfortable living in Rusunawa shows that Rusunawa offers many positive things as a
place to live. However, feedback from 40% of residents who feel uncomfortable needs attention and consideration in efforts to improve the future housing quality.

**Community in Rusunawa**

In the context of Rusunawa, the importance of existence and participation in the community is often considered as one of the factors that support the quality of life of its residents. The results showed that most respondents (63.3%) chose not to join any community, often due to a lack of available community or other priorities such as work. However, the spirit of togetherness remains, marked by social interactions such as cleaning the unit floor and chatting between neighbors and Rumpi at stalls.

The bond within the group seemed solid for the 36.7% of respondents who chose to join a community. One of the dominant communities is the "Pawarko" Community, which functions as a forum for friendship and has an important role when one of its members dies. Pawarko provides support facilities, ranging from funeral packages that include the preparation of shrouds and ambulances to the preparation of prayer rooms for religious processions. The existence of this kind of facility shows how the community can be a vital pillar of social support, especially in situations of emergency or grief.

**Figure 7**

Percentage of Residents Who Join the Community in Rusunawa Sindang Koja

Then, there are communities such as the "Kema" Association, which accommodates residents with backgrounds from Manado and North Sulawesi, providing a sense of closeness amid the diversity of Rusunawa. In addition, cooperatives such as the Mekar Cooperative and the Bererod Gratia Credit Union Cooperative highlighted how Rusunawa residents also seek economic support and social interaction. Moreover, religious communities such as Majelis Ta'lim Nurul Huda underscore the importance of spirituality amid daily life.

However, challenges to maintaining and developing engagement in the community remain. Even so, a deep understanding of residents' decisions will guide the development of more inclusive and impactful communities. Some residents who choose not to join often have other reasons, such as incompatibility with community nuances, involvement in activities outside Rusunawa, or even negative perspectives regarding community management.
In conclusion, although the community has the potential to optimize the quality of life in Rusunawa, obstacles must be overcome to increase residents' participation. Understanding the diverse reasons behind their decisions will be a strong foundation for encouraging broader and more effective participation. In urban studies, Gottdiener (2015) articulates that urban space is not merely a physical entity but a social arena formed from its actors' interaction and construction of meaning. Rusunawa, in this framework, is not just vertical housing but a social landscape defined by the dynamics of relations between its residents.

The participation of Rusunawa residents in the community indicates that social identity and interconnectedness are integral to the construction of the space. For example, the role of the Pawarko community in providing support during disasters, such as the death of a member, shows the significance of the community as a social infrastructure in Rusunawa. However, when most residents choose not to engage in formal communities, this shows the dynamics of space production and resistance to formal structures. These decisions may reflect individual agency in producing their own space and responding to the exclusivity of dominant communities.

Using the perspective of Gottdiener (2015), Rusunawa can be seen as a field where social relations and the meaning of space are constantly negotiated. This underscores the importance of an inclusive approach in building and maintaining communities in Rusunawa to ensure that every resident has equal opportunities for social participation.

**Rusunawa Manager**

When considering the residents' trust in the management of Rusunawa (Perumnas), we see an interesting picture. The majority of residents, 63.3%, showed a positive level of trust, indicating a good working relationship between the two parties. The proportion of residents who 'Believe' and 'Strongly Trust' may reflect concrete efforts by the management to improve the quality of life of residents. However, most amounted to 33.3%, indicating a lack of familiarity with the maintainers. This could reflect a lack of effective interaction or communication between residents and managers. This raises questions about how strategic communication and direct interaction can be improved to build closer relationships.

**Figure 8**

Percentage of Residents’ Trust Level in the Management of Rusunawa Sindang Koja
Furthermore, regarding the perception of the quality of Rusunawa, although most residents gave a 'Mediocre' rating, this does not necessarily indicate any significant dissatisfaction. However, it highlights the need for deep reflection by maintainers on what residents consider 'standard' and how to address those expectations. On the other hand, 30% of residents rate Rusunawa as having 'Good' quality. This indicates that certain aspects are appreciated by residents. Certain features, services, or interventions may have met or exceeded occupant expectations. However, criticism from the 3.3% of residents who felt the quality was 'Not Good' should be taken as a point of reflection for managers to analyze which areas needed more attention.

![Figure 9 Percentage of Residents' Trust Level in the Management of Rusunawa Sindang Koja](image)

With the data of this study, it becomes clear that although there are positive points in residents' perceptions, there is significant room for improvement, both in terms of communication and the quality of services and facilities. These two aspects are interrelated. Better communication can help you understand residents' expectations and needs, while improved quality will increase residents' trust and satisfaction with you.

**Conclusion**

This research involved various respondents and informants and deepening from previous studies. In a deeper context, the phenomenon in Rusunawa Sindang Koja can be explained through the sociospatial concept proposed by Mark Gottdiener (2015). The socio-spatial concept emphasizes how physical space and social structure influence each other. Rusunawa Sindang Koja, as a spatial entity, not only provides a physical place to live but becomes a place for intense and dynamic social interaction between its residents. The spaces in Rusunawa are not just walls and roofs but places full of social meaning, where interpersonal relationships are formed and strengthened. Gottdiener (2015) emphasizes that social structures, such as kinship, friendship, and community ties, tend to influence and shape space, just as that space influences and shapes social structures. Thus, the comfort felt by the residents of Rusunawa Sindang Koja is not the result of physical factors alone but dynamic interactions between space and social structures.
Bibliography


