

Meaning of Alley as Comunal Space in Kampung Kidul Dalem Malang

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ABSTRACT

The existence of communal space shows the 'life' of togetherness, the main social capital needed in creating sustainable space for better living. In urban-dense settlement (called *kampung*), togetherness is still alive. Space for accommodate it has been diminished by city's rapid and unbalancing development. Difficulties in managing limited spaces for comfortable private and public space in urban dense settlement require innovations and modifications in using available space. *Gang* (alley), as one of the spaces remained became the choice to serve as communal space, and incidentally as private space besides its basic character as public space. Kidul Dalem was one of urban dense settlement located in the heart of Malang City. The observation units were physical space-elements (i.e. space dimension, space border, ground-cover materials, colors, and boundaries) and non-physical elements (i.e. activities, users, time, social norms, written and unwritten rules, and customs). This research found that *gang* of Kampung Kidul Dalem, serve as communal space that could be private or public, depended on users, activities, and time. *Gotong-royong* (mutual aid) and mutual respect were basic principles in managing the usage of *gang*.

Keywords: *gang* (alley), communal space, public space, private space, urban dense settlement (*kampung*).

INTRODUCTION

Human character as social being shown by the availability of communal space in the settlement layout. This communal space used together by all member of community. 'The owner' is the community. Responsibility of its management is borne together according to the existing social organization. When the communal space used for individual need, there must be in accordance with the agreement permits of all people. Togetherness is the most valuable thing exists in communal space. That is the main social capital needed for achieving goals of sustainable development in order to create better space for living.

In this era, we need to revive the idea of communal space. Individualization as main idea of modernism has eliminated togetherness, and it implied in space practice. In urban area, many communal spaces change into public and private space. Communal space here, of course, has different meaning from public space. Its users and activities determine characteristics space that differentiates communal space from public space. If there are no communal activities, it is not communal space. The owner of communal space is 'we', the member of community. The main principle in using it, is mutual respect. While public space indicates place for public usage, not always contain togetherness and mutual respect in using it.

In some developing countries, communal space indicates reducing number. According to Pattinson [1], the reduction of communal space was a result of rapid intensification of urban centre. Communal space remained had to be able to used as multivalent space, i.e. multiple uses, multiple meanings, and multiple values. Community need communal space and communal space could only live if it is livened by community. By doing some activities communally, togetherness (include mutual aid and mutual respect) would be alive. That is the social capital needed for sustainable development.

Hope on community as the main factors in this ecological era is strategic. Community enables to gain local long-forgotten values that are supporting sustainability [2]. As manifestation of togetherness in a community, communal space could be read to understand changes, management, and other positive community's values that have many advantages in creating sustainable living space. According to Hui [3] and Eldemery [4], community is the main factor in creating sustainable development. Community is the main actor in the dynamic process of sustainable development that has to anticipate and accommodate the needs of current and future generations in ways that reproduce and balance local, social, economic, and ecological systems, and link local action to global concerns. This study aimed to identify communal space and its meaning in urban society.

Social characteristic of urban dense settlement society is transformation from rural-social-characteristics to urban-social characteristics. They still have sense of togetherness, but in some other cases they are individualistic. They also have to face the reality, that their environment did not provide enough space for their communal activities.

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Yet, Kampung Kidul Dalem had some open spaces, i.e. yard, field, mosque's yard etc. They did some communal activities there. Rapid changes and unbalancing development of Malang City that dominated by economic factor thus abandoned the development of urban settlement. It had made degradation of living-space quality and quantity. In other hands, houses did not have enough space for public and private need anymore. Gang was one of the space remained. The residents used *gang* for many function according to their need of communal space and others. This study tries to explore this phenomenon. The understanding of this matter is important for urban (settlement) spatial planning

MATERIALS AND METHODS

1.1. Communal Space and Public Space

In Nusantara traditional settlement layout, communal space occupies central position. Building for assemble and house of the leader placed around or near the communal open space. Central zone is also manifestation of empirical and meta-empirical (transendental) factor integration. There are symbols signifying those two factors. That large open space then become a place for both sacred and profane activities.

Traditional society differentiated public and private space by clear boundaries. The boundaries could be physical elements (vertical wall, columns, difference in floor height, difference floor materials, etc.) or non-physical elements (social norms, government policy, beliefs, custom norms, etc). Public space is identical with men-space, while private space is for women. The characteristics of public space are open and placed in the 'outside' or at the front, while private space are enclosed and placed in the 'inside' or behind. The clear marking of public-private territory is smoothed by transitional space that change the character and hierarchy from public to private zone gradually. So there is a certain range of distance and time that helped mark the boundaries.

In traditional society concept, *alun-alun* is a communal space. In typical Javanese cities, until in the colonial period, *alun-alun*, mosques, government offices, prisons, and Chinatown are located at the centre of the city [5]. *Alun-alun* owned by community, i.e. resident of the regent or country. Community's activities are the life of *alun-alun*. Dutch colonial period had deep impact in socio-cultural changes of traditional society. In architecture, there were adaptation, imitation, and transformation of Dutch colonial architectural concepts that made many changes in traditional architectural concepts. Colonial buildings had great influences on several buildings in Indonesia [5]. Spatial concept of city-structure was also changed. In Malang we could found two places of *alun-alun* that have different meaning and characteristic [6]. *Alun-alun Merdeka* (Merdeka Square) is the older *alun-alun* that has existed before *Alun-alun Tugu* (Tugu Square). It characterized traditional city concepts, while *alun-alun Tugu* characterized modern-Europe-city concept. *Alun-alun Merdeka* served as communal space better than *Alun-alun Tugu*. It was accordance to its original concept as traditional-city square.

Recent phenomenon shows the tendency that *alun-alun* is no longer serving as communal space. *Alun-alun Tugu* fenced around. The fence made 'ours' value of the square minimized, even disappear. 'Mine' value became more dominant. The question then: who is the 'I'? The decision to fence off the square showed that the square was not a communal space anymore. It buried 'the life' of *alun-alun*. People could not easily use *alun-alun* for their activities anymore, and it became just an urban garden. In many cases, government proved unable to revive public space as community does in communal space [2]. Person or company could own communal space, but the community's or users' sense of belonging differentiated it from public space.

Characteristics of public space are open and accessible for anyone. Besides *alun-alun* or urban park, which is often referred as public spaces, are street, mall, field, museum, bus stop, etc. Function of public space in urban planning, according to Darmawan [7] is a center of interaction and communication for its society (formal or informal). Examples of activities done in urban spaces are Eid prayers, ceremonies, music concerts, informal meeting place for community, student or other groups' demonstrations, and so on. We also called public space on an open space that accomodate the corridors, the road towards public open space, and the binder space of city structure and spaces for transit for the people who will move to other direction or other purposes. Public open space has socio-economic functions such as the street vendors hawking wares, and a place to sell services (monkey masks, magic, and so on). Public space can also be lungs of the city and be the evacuation space in case of natural disasters.

Communal space could be accessed by anyone as public space. But in certain time or certain condition, this space may be more restricted. For example, up to 22.00pm, some kampungs or housing areas close their access into their territory for security reason. At this time, the alley that is a communal space change its function from public into private space. This is also happen on the street in front of mosque when Friday prayer are held. The street become more private signed by traffic sign. The principle difference between communal space and public space is on its paradigm. In this paper I would like to use the term 'communal space' to show that the space is used together and owned by us; while 'public space' used to public activity but the 'owner' is not necessarily 'we/us' [8].

1.2. Communal and Personal Space in a Settlement

Space equilibrium is reached when the need for personal and public activities each accommodated by a decent spaces, where there are clear zoning and space-structure so that each activity can be accommodated in accordance with its character. On the formation of Nusantara architecture, there are transition spaces between public space and private space that form a hierarchy with a gradual change in space [9]. Private spaces are in the most protected and secure position, with more limited access; while public spaces are placed in spaces that are more open.

Problems occur when these needs are confronted with the reality that the settlement could not provide enough space for each people according to their activities. In many cases in urban settlements, the displacing of settlements by other function (i.e. mall, office, school, etc) has caused increasing the density of the settlement. Open spaces has changed into other functions, public space (open-space) has became more limited, whereas society still need place for communal activities. Furthermore, what happens is the use of existing spaces to accommodate those needs. Spaces that can be used for communal activities are: alley, street village, frontal area of houses, mosques, *balai RW*, and so on [8]; on vertically structured settlements, such as flats, communal spaces may include meeting rooms, laundry rooms, and kitchen [10].

Modifications are made to provide space for personal and communal activities involving elements in the settlement, stated by Rapoport [11], that is: home range, core area, territory, jurisdiction, and personal space. Those factors called forming settlements factors. Conflicts that could be occur always involves those five factors. Among the five factors, territory (territories) is the most important element. Associated to its function as a territorial marker (zoning) according to the activities and actors, then territoriality become central in the personalization process, aggression, domination, coordination and control.

Marking territory is carried out by giving the sign, the name, as a symbol of the authority of a territory by a particular group. This personalization is used to maintain the rights and the rule when dealing with the interests of other group. When the marker appears in the form of formal boundaries, Madanipour [12] call boundaries. Physical character boundaries determine differences in the nature of the separation space. Inside the boundaries, there are formal rules to regulate its use. Activities that take place in that limitation can be very specific depending on the actor.

Efforts to defend the territory will occur if there are others who commit an infringement on private or primary territory of a group. In the primary territory anyway, there was a prominent authority and control. In this case, we need space arrangement that is able to offer privacy through the control of territory. When individuals precepts a territory area as his territory, it means there is likely to prevent any inconvenience to the conditions of its territory. This 'aggression efforts, at the time of the ruling territory cannot defend his territory, will turn into adaptation efforts [13]. At a group that does not quite have power, this adaptation efforts cause the displacement of some needs, maybe even the most basic needs.

Personal (private) space is a space that is individual for its nature, not depend on geographical location, but it is on each individual [14]. This space can be a physical or non-physical. Personal space needed when someone wants to express his need as individual creature. In verticality concepts, private space is space used when man wants to express relationship between him and his God [9]. This concept is formed by sacred places. In mezzo-scale, physical sign and clear rules mark private space for a community.

In a dense privacy within, personal space is very susceptible to foreign intervention, considering that the transition space is very 'thin'. Thus, certain groups made a temporal setting to characterize the level of privacy in a space. The temporal setting is a strategy that is widely used to create privacy within certain territorial limits. Norms or regulation in society, written or unwritten may also be a tool for the creation of personal spaces in public area. To reinforce its territory usually added signs or special signs [8]

This study used descriptive method by observing activities in the alleys. The observation objects are: type of activities, users, dimension of the street, physical boundaries, materials, social-cultural-economic aspects of society, and other aspects that affect the use of alleys as communal space. Observation carried out at different time. The data is analysed by categorizing, grouping and synthesizing according to the sub-theme found in order to answer the stated problems.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kampung Kidul Dalem on Jl. KH. Zainul Arifin has 5 alleys, namely Gang Kabupaten, Gang IV (or Gang Patih), Gang VI, Gang Arema, and Gang VIII. The surrounding of Kidul Dalem has developed as central business district of Malang City. Many private houses in Kidul Dalem rented as rooming house. This kampong has become denser because of rapid development of its surrounding as CBD area. Many open space (fields, yards, etc) changed to be built area, especially for houses.

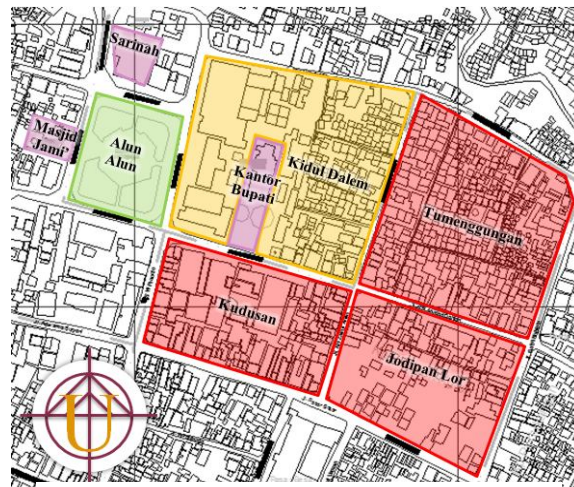


Figure 1 Kampung Kidul Dalem and its surrounding

Source: Map of Malang, PWK UB 2005

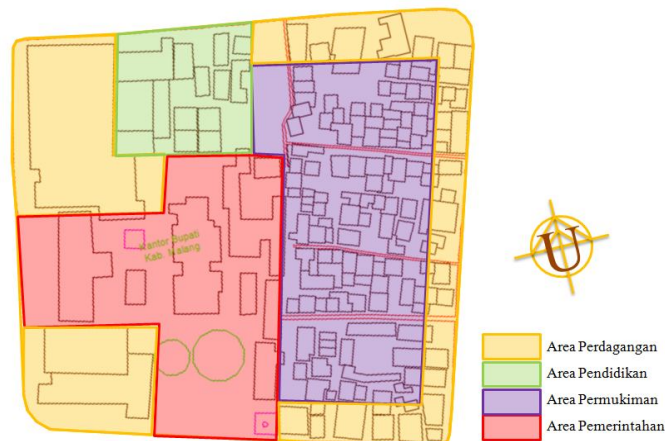


Figure 2 Dense settlement of Kampung Kidul Dalem [15]

According to the land-use, in Kelurahan Kidul Dalem, there are trade area (as a result of development of Malang), local government area, CBD (central business district) area (adjacent to regent office complex, banks, and other offices), education area, and dense settlement. The character of alleys in Kidul Dalem varies. Gang Kabupaten in the south is the widest (about 7-8 m). This alley is a dead-end alley and there are only about 20 homes with an average size is quite large. Social-economic background of the household is upper-middle class. In the north, there is Gang IV or Gang Kepatihan (Gang Patih). The name of alley took from *Patih* (vice-king) who had residential in this area. In front of Patih's residential, there is house of *Kiai* (religious leader) with a small mosque. The width of the alley is about 2.5m. Car cannot enter this alley. In the northern area, there are Gang IV, Gang VI, Gang Arema and Gang VIII. The width of the alley is equal to Gang Patih, except Gang VIII about 4 m wide. In Gang VIII, we can found RW meetinghouse. This is a multi-use building as a place for RW meeting, *Posyandu*, and *PAUD* (Early Childhood Education). There are narrow alleys (aisle) connected the larger alley one another. These alleys' wide are about 1-1.5m, formed by house's outer wall. Houses in these alleys were small in average and all of them have no yard. Bikes and motorbikes should not be driven if passes these alleys. Field and large open-space as communal space are not available here. Play areas for children are the alley or narrow terrace in front of the house.



Figure 3 Gang (alleys) in Kampung Kidul Dalem. a. Gang VI, b. gang IV, c. *gang tembusan*, d. gang VIII [14]

Most of people in Kampung Kidul Dalem are Moslem. Kidul Dalem community is active in conducting communal activities, some of them held regularly, such as: *pengajian* (recitation), *tahlil* (read certain pray of Al Quran), RW and RT meetings, and PKK meeting for women. Most residents followed these activities. Regular annual event organized together by the people, as celebration of Eid al-Qurban and Independence Day every 17th August.

Recitation, PKK meeting, and RT meeting held in people's houses in turn. For residents whose houses were small, they use the road in front of their house and their neighbour's to accommodate their guests. Formal recitation held regularly at the mosque in Gang Kepatihan. While the celebration of Indonesian Independence Day use resident's yard or space of the alleys to held many activities. When the Eid al Qurban day, the animal for *qurban* (sheep, goats, or cows) placed and tethered at the alley's space around Balai RW. Space of the alleys also used as sitting place for guest when one of the resident held a ceremony (wedding, circumcision, funeral, etc). The sitting area take place in front of the host' house and his neighbours. Drying clothes, birds, or other materials; as extension space of a small shop; and for putting stuffs that cannot be kept in the house also use space of alley. For all those needs, people mark and use their house' edge roof as the border.

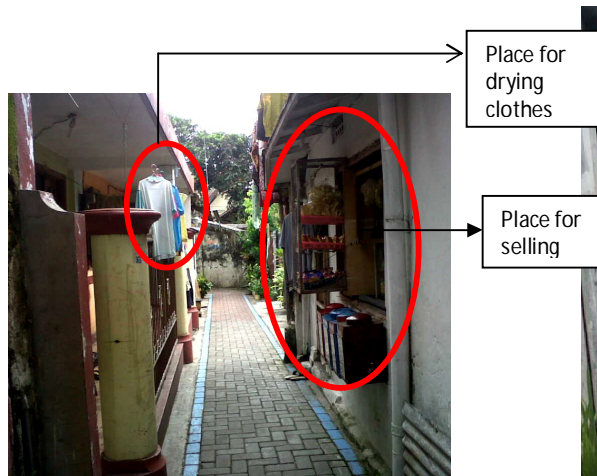


Fig. 4. Alley as place for drying clothes and selling [14]



Fig. 5. One of alley in Kidul Dalem, the board shown regulation to not ride when entering the alley

According to its users and the activities, alley (gang) in Kampung Kidul Dalem has carried out many function, i.e.

1. Circulation path
2. Place for drying clothes
3. Place for selling
4. Place for guests when there is a ceremony (wedding, circumcision, funeral, or other ceremony)
5. Place for pilgrims of *tahlilan*, or other religious activities
6. Place for tether the goats, sheeps or cows in Idul Adha day
7. Children playing area
8. Place for informal daily social interaction
- 9.

1. Circulation Path

As a circulation path, alley of Kampung Kidul Dalem has its own regulation. Car and motorbike can pass the alley which wide 3 meters, that is gang Kabupaten and Gang VIII. Gang IV and VI are too narrow for cars. While in alley which wide only 1-2 m, people do not allowed to ride vehicle. As circulation path, alley in Kampung Kidul Dalem is covered by paving stone to avoid muddy when it rain. Unless *gang tembusan*, there is ditch on the left and right side of the path to drain water. This circulation path is bordered by black and white or blue and white line. The border could also be plastered surfaces as the binder of paving stone structure. On some circulation paths, there was black or blue and white mark right on its axis. At the edges of Kampung Kidul Dalem, we could find gate. In *gang tembusan*, there was sign board that we could not entering the alley at 10.00pm to 05.00am. Vehicles does not allowed to ride while pass the alley. There were also unwritten rules according to the social norms, such as: do not make a noise in the alley, speak softly while entering the alley, greet people when meet, and behave politely.

2. Place for drying clothes, birds etc.

Part space of *gang* is also used for drying clothes. The users were people who didn't have space for drying in their small house. They hang their clothes or bird's cage on rope or clothes line in front of or beside their house, at the edges of the alley so it would not interfere with pedestrians. The clothes or bird's cage could also be hung on the edge of the house-roof, it's about one metre from the house' boundary. This activity took place at 07.00am to 03.00pm.

3. Place for selling

Residents, who have small shop in their house but don't have enough space for selling, usually open a part of their outer wall for a large window's shop. They also use the rest of the wall around the window to hang their goods, such as cracker, snacks, etc. (see fig. 4). But the goods never put or hang more than 1 meter from the wall or window. The buyer stands in front of the window, at the edge of the alley when they need something to buy at that shop. Of course, this activity would disturb the pedestrian way. However, it really did not matter at all and never became social conflict in using the space together. The owner of the shop knew how much space area that he could use. This activity carried out at about 06.00am to 10.00pm

4. Place for guests when there is a ceremony (wedding, circumcision, funeral, or other ceremony)

This activity happened especially in *gang tembusan* (aisle) that is narrow (about 1-2m wide). When one of the residents held a wedding ceremony, funeral ceremony, circumcision, *tahlilan* (recitation of Al Qur'an or other prayer need, together; usually Islamic religious leader or teacher/ustadz/kyai leads it) they need wide space to accommodate the pilgrims. Their house did not have enough space, so the residents make innovations by modification the space of the alley in front of their house. This was still not enough. They also use the space of the alley in front of their neighbors' house. And this didn't matter at all. The neighbors would give chance for the host to use the space sincerely. Disturbed? Of course! The alley could not be passed as circulation path, the neighbors and other pedestrians should walk around through the other way. In addition, cause the space in front of the house was used for certain 'private' function, the neighbors would feel uncomfortable to do some private activities in their house if their front door's opened. For wedding ceremony, the residents usually play music loudly or use loudspeaker for ceremonial activities. So the neighbors would feel annoyed for both audio-visual aspects and activities. Nevertheless, by respect to the host, they would not likely to object, even with the sincere help to celebrate the party or other ceremony.

5. Place for pilgrims of recitation

Langgar laki-laki (there are mosque for man called *langgar laki-laki* and mosque for woman called *langgar wanita*. But there is also mosque for both man and woman) in Gang Patih (Kepatihan) held recitation once a month. There were many pilgrims came from everywhere, not just the residents of Kidul Dalem. Unfortunately, Langgar laki-laki didn't have enough space to place the large amount pilgrims, so, woman and children were placed in the *ta'mir* house in front of the mosque while man pilgrims placed inside the mosque, at the small courtyard of mosque and at the alley. Some of them were also placed at the yard of *Kepatihan* (house of ex-Patih –vice regent; now inhabited by his descent). The space of alley used for recitation pilgrims not only in front of the mosque, but also in front of the mosque's neighbors.

6. Place for tether the goats, sheeps or cows in Idul Adha day

In Eid-al Adha ceremony, space in front of RW meeting hall in *Gang VIII* used to collect and slaughtering sacrificial animals. Commonly the slaughtering held in the yard of mosque. But because the mosque didn't have large courtyard, so people modification the space of the alley to replaced its function. This activity held by Muslim residents. Most of meat of sacrificial animals (goats, sheep or cows) was distributed in this area on the same day, but the rest of them were delivered to the house of people who deserve it.

7. Children playing area

Largely, houses in Kampung Kidul Dalem have no courtyard and we also could hardly find open space for children playing area. Children used alley as they play-ground for playing and making interaction with their friends. But along with that, number of children who play outside their house not as many as 10-20 years ago. Besides the lack of spaces, the decreasing numbers of children who playing outside were caused by their school activity, environment security, and the increasing numbers of individual indoor games such as *play station*, *online games*, etc. Children who used alley as their play-ground were in average of 3-8 years old. They play there in the morning and afternoon, or in a holiday.

8. Place for informal daily social interaction

Alley used as an informal interaction place especially in the afternoon after work or school and in weekend. But unlike other kampungs or other dense settlements, although many house-mothers in Kampung Kidul Dalem, not many of them go outside their house or even just sitting at their veranda (*terrace*) to make conversation with their neighbors. Most of housemothers in Kampung Kidul Dalem prefer stay and watching television in their house than chatting. By day, this kampung was almost quiet.

CONCLUSION

As communal space, Alley in Kampung Kidul dalem could function as public or private space. Alley would be private space for all the residents in the night, when the gate closed; or when the mosque held big recitation. Alley would also be private space for certain resident when celebrate a ceremony (wedding, circumcision, *tahlil*, or funeral). Private here refers to a certain resident / family; and also refers to all residents of Kampung Kidul Dalem as a whole. *Gang tembusan* (narrow alley) would be more private than the wider alley. The narrow space would easily penetrated both audio-visually so when we enter this alley we had to behave, sound, and keep our sight as the Kidul Dalem's decency norms. Alley also could be public when it's used as circulation path, children playing area, informal social interaction place, as place for Idul Adha ceremonial activities or other ceremonies (such as Indonesian Independence Day celebration).

Space of alley could mean private when a person or a group used it as place for selling, drying clothes, etc. People could do private activities in the alley along with public activities that also use space of alley. Signage and rules (either written or unwritten) made for regulate and minimize social conflict that could be happened. Mutual respect and mutual aid (*called gotong royong*) were social capital that still alive at Kampung Kidul Dalem social life. Sustainable development needed those social capitals. In creating urban planning and designing, planners and architects had to accommodate and maintain those social capitals in order to prevent the loss of those positive values. Community efforts to modify the alley as a communal space for public and private usage shows that although they still desperately need space that can accommodate their social activities, as well as shows that social values such as *gotong royong*, *tepa slira* (mutual respect), etc still alive and should be accommodated in a better place.

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