CONFLICTS AND SEGREGATION OF HOUSING CLUSTER COMMUNITIES AND ITS SURROUNDING

(KONFLIK DAN SEGREGASI KLUSTER PERUMAHAN DAN LINGKUNGAN SEKITARNYA)

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Abstrak

Sejak pertama kali diteliti oleh Leicsh (2002), fenomena kawasan perumahan di Indonesia telah berubah signifikan. Empat belas tahun telah mengubah segalanya, dan perubahan itu diakibatkan oleh perilaku pemerintah daerah. Kini, para pengembang cenderung lebih menyukai membangun perumahan klaster dan tragisnya mereka membangunnya di tengah lingkungan permukiman warga lokal. Dalam kasus ini, komunitas berpagar lebih nyata dibanding empat belas tahun yang lalu. Dengan Uji Mann Whitney, ditemukan adanya ketidakcocokan antara warga perumahan klaster dengan warga lokal dan dalam banyak hal menimbulkan konflik. Isu konflik meliputi konflik kepentingan dan akses terhadap jalan. Pada saat yang sama, baik warga di perumahan klaster maupun warga lokal sama-sama tersegregasi. Segregasi di Indonesia terjadi pada kedua kawasan dengan tekanan segregasi yang berbeda-beda. Karena itu, 'segregasi sukarela' dan 'segregasi tak-sukarela' tidak sepenuhnya dapat menjawab problem segregasi di kawasan suburban di Indonesia. Di sini, segregasi tercipta tidak hanya akibat dari preferensi warga pada kedua kawasan, tetapi terjadi karena sistem ekonomi dan kebijakan pembangunan. Dengan Analisis Wacana Kritis, artikel ini menyajikan kesimpulan munculnya pola baru segregasi, yaitu segregasi sistemik- spasial.

Kata Kunci: *Perumahan, Komunitas Berpagar, Perumahan Klaster, Segregasi, Segregasi Sistemik-Spasial*

Abstract

Since it was first studied by Leicsh (2002), the phenomenon of housing cluster in Indonesia has changed significantly. Fourteen years have changed everything, and these changes are caused by local governments. Now, developers are more inclined and prefer to build a housing cluster, and tragically it is located in the middle of local neighborhoods. In this case, gated communities are more apparent than fourteen years ago. Through the Mann Whitney U test, it turns out that there is dissimilarity among people in the housing cluster with people in the local neighborhood, and it has even shown a confrontational conflict. The issues of the conflict revolve around conflict of interest, access-to and use-off the road. At the same time, people in the housing cluster and local neighborhood are segregated. Segregation in Indonesia occurs in both areas with different tension. However, voluntary and involuntary segregation could not fully answer the case of residential segregation in the suburb of this country. Hence, segregation is created not because of the preferences of people in both areas, but y and for an economic and social system of development policy. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, this paper demonstrates the emergence of new patterns of residential segregation, namely systemic spatial segregation.

Keywords: Housing, Gated Communities, Housing Cluster, Segregation, Systemic Spatial Segregation

INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of Leisch (2002), the issue of gated communities in Indonesia has continued to get the attention of many researchers. The issue is not just about the gated community's an sich, but became more widespread that covers a wide range of disciplines, including social, marketing, economics and even architecture. Their research areas are then extended to various regions in Indonesia, among others are: Bandung (Aris, 2003; Rudiawan, 2008; Hapsariniaty, 2013), Pekanbaru City (Febby, 2010); Bandar Lampung (Ehwan, 2004), Depok (Kusumawardhani, 2004; Hand, 2009); Yogyakarta (Widhyharto, 2009; Handoko, 2011); Kota Malang (Kerr, 2008), Denpasar-Bali (Sueca and Fitriany, 2012), Semarang (Nurhadi, 2004) and the Sengkang City, South Sulawesi (Ahmadi, 2005).

The area of Leisch's (2002) at that time is two biggest residential area in Indonesia, namely Lippo Karawaci and Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD). Now, BSD changed its name to BSD City. The term "city" means that as if the area is a residential town complete with facilities and infrastructures that supports the emergence of a city.

In the past, Lippo Karawaci was located in Tangerang Regency, and most of the land was part of the administrative region of Tangerang Municipality, while the entire BSD land existed in Tangerang Regency. However, in 2008, Tangerang divided into two regions, which then led to a new administrative region, namely South Tangerang Municipality. Automatically, BSD now is in the part of the administrative region of South Tangerang Municipality. Geographically, South Tangerang Municipality is one of the municipality in Banten Province. The region is located in the eastern of Banten Province and administratively consists of 7 districts and 54 sub-districts with an area of 147.19 km2. The region also acts as an area that connects the Banten and Jakarta Province. It is clear enough that the region is a buffer of Jakarta (Figure 1).

Along with that, now the Indonesian political system has changed, from centralization to decentralization. It is characterized by the Act. No. 32/2004 (revision of the Act. No. 22/1999) on Local Government and Act. No. 33/2004 (revision of the Act. No. 25/1999) on Fiscal Balance between Central and Local Government. This regulation resulted in a number of areas underwent decentralization (Santoso, 2007; Prasojo & Holidin, 2012; and Sjahrir et al, 2013). The impact is clear that the decentralized region has the authority to administer their own territory, especially the authority to give permission for investment. The authority also includes the granting of investment to housing developers.

Now days, developers are more inclined and prefer to build a residential in a small area of land, which in Indonesia is known as housing cluster (Hapsariniaty, 2013) and/or "housing complex" (Kerr, 2008) (Table 1). For the sake of terms uniformity, this paper will refer to such residential areas as "housing cluster", unless indicated. What happens in South Tangerang Municipality is exactly similar to Hapsariniaty study (2013) in Metropolitan Bandung, which stated that the housing clusters are built on a small plots and land relatively smaller than 2 hectares. Moreover, especially in South Tangerang Municipality and apparently common in all suburb in this country, housing clusters are built in the middle of the local neighborhood.

Aris (2003) stated, this phenomenon occurs because investors involved in this project have a small capital. However, not infrequently the developers who have a medium-large capital also become "players" in this business, for example is Bintaro Jaya Residential. They learn from the experience; vast residential areas often suffer from over-supply (Lesich, 2002). For them, this option is more profitable than buying a vast land, apart from the issues that building large residential areas requiring them to build social and public facilities.

Table 1. List of Housing Area by Size 0.1-2 hectares in South Tangerang Municipality

Name of Residential	Developer	Location (District/Sub-district)	Facility	Area (Hectar)	Planned Developed (Unit)	Built (Unit)
Abiyasa Residence	Individual	Pondok Benda, Pamulang	Garden, *One Gate*	0,3	29	11
Bamboo Residence	Individual	Jurang Mangu Timur, Pondok Aren	Garden	1	47	19
Beranda Pondok Cabe	PT. Hana Kreasi Persada	Pondok Cabe Ilir	-	1	50	11
Beranda Rempoa	PT. Hana Kreasi Persada	Rempoa, Ciputat Timur	Swimming Pool	1	30	17
Bintan Residence	PT. Prodekon Mitratama	Rengas, Ciputat Timur	Garden	0,6	31	20
Citra Kedaung Asri	Individual	Kedaung, Pamulang	Garden, *One gate*	0,5	14	4

Cluster Hakiki Pamulang	Individual	Serua, Ciputat	Garden	1	64	20
Damai Indah Pamulang	Individual	Ciater, Serpong	Garden	2	120	1
Graha Hijau Riviera	PT. Puri Agung Sarana Jaya	Kp.Sawah, Ciputat	Children's Playground, Jogging track	2	69	11
Grand Cireundeu	PT. Giradi mega Utama	Pisangan, Ciputat Timur	Swimming Pool	1	45	18
Griya Aviva 2	Individual	Cempaka Putih, Ciputat Timur	Garden	1	48	35
Griya Galeri Bintaro	Individual	Sawah Lama, Ciputat	*System Cluster*	0,3	9	3
Griya Laksana Pinasti	Individual	Pondok Benda, Pamulang	Garden	1	38	14
Griya Pesona Prima	PT. Griya Pesona Indah	Pisangan, Ciputat Timur	Garden	1	57	57
Griya Serua Permai	PT. Bina tama Adhikarya	Serua, Ciputat	Sports, Children's Playground	1	156	136
Mega Persada Residence	PT. Bumi Selaras Rezeki	Jurang Mangu, Pondok Aren	Play ground	2	58	20
Pesona Cinere	PT. Framayasa Mitrasarana Abadi	Pondok Cabe Udik, Pamulang	Jogging Track	1,3	53	31
Pondok Benda Residence	Individual	Pondok Benda, Pamulang	Garden, Worship Facilities	1,7	110	90
Pondok Indah Puri Bintaro	PT. Tritunggal Artamas Sentosa	Bintaro	Sport Club	0,8	39	16
Puri Mas Town House	PT. Tunggal Putra Pratama	Cinangka, Ciputat	Garden	1	100	-
Purnawarman Residence	Cipta Properti	Pisangan, Ciputat Timur	24 ours Security	0,5	31	31
Sing Asri	Best House	Kp. Sawah, Ciputat	Modern Stores, Garden	1,2	45	--
Smal Vile	Individual	Sawah Lama, Ciputat	Garden	1,2	8	8
Villa Selecta	Barco Group	Ciater, Serpong	Minimarket	1	72	20

Source: Banten Province, 2012

Housing and Inequality

The problem is that housing cluster development become the main cause of income inequality, especially among residents in housing cluster with local residents (Wheeler & Jeunesse, 2007; Yandri, 2014). Wheeler and Jeunesse (2007) said that principal cause of the inequality is income heterogeneity. While Yandri (2014) said that determinant factors of inequalities are: firstly, people who live in housing cluster is the commuters that the location of their offices located in urban areas (Jakarta). Secondly, the main characteristic of urban areas is high variation in type of work. The implication of it, there is highly differentiation of work on people in the housing cluster. Work differentiation led to variations in the level of wages. And thus, variation in the level of wages that is the only reason why resident's income in housing cluster is not evenly distributed equally than income in local residents. Thirdly, the opposite happens is that people in local neighborhood is origin community which relatively have homogeneous type of work. And in many aspects, inequality in different areas is closely related to the conflict (Pratiwi & Elgifienda, 2008; Gunawan, 2011; and Rahman, 2013), especially residents of housing in different regions (Smigiel, 2013).

By photo documentation, this paper elaborated in detail how conflicts arise among residents in the housing cluster with residents in local neighborhoods. The conflicts, according to Leisch's study (2001), has not come to the surface. He only mentioned the possibility of social disharmony among citizens. It seems, 14 years has changed the phenomenon of gated communities in the suburb of Indonesia significantly, and these changes are caused by—either intentionally or not—many local governments.

In that context, the role of local government has often become the primary cause of gated communities in residential areas. This issue has been noted by Widhyharto (2009), who said that this could happen because of lack of control by the local government in anticipation of housing spatial fragmentation. Therefore, in fact, the emergence of the massive gated communities in suburbs, as stated Güzey (2014), cannot be separated from the collaboration between the interests of the state/central government, local governments, developers, media (supply side) and the consumer as well (the demand side).

Studies in many regions of Indonesia explained that, as mentioned earlier, consumer preferences towards

housing cluster are highly varied, either because of lifestyle, prestige and security. However, whatever their preferences are, their choices result in segregation, more specifically residential segregation. Residential segregation is defined by Massey and Denton (1988) in Huie and Frisbie (2000) as "the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of urban environment".

Following Vinkovic (2009) and Crooks (2010) in Quadros (n.d), segregation in urban areas can be divided

and occurs in two categories, namely the voluntary segregation and involuntary segregation. Voluntary segregation refers to what the individual or the social class of the individual seeks, by own initiative, to be located close to other people of the same social class. However, what happened in the suburb of Indonesia apparently cannot be categorized into both segregations. Precisely because of this, this paper would also demonstrate why both types of segregation are not fully able to answer the pattern of residential segregation in Indonesia.

Figure 1. South Tangerang Municipality Map

This paper used a mix-combination of approaches: quantitative and qualitative. By questionnaire quantitative approach was used to examine the conflict between both areas. Tests performed using the Mann Whitney U test (equation 1-3). The tests were used to compare the independent populations which were divided into people in the housing cluster and local neighborhood. In-depth interviews was also used to strengthened the issue.

$$U_1 = n_1.n_2 + \frac{n_2(n_2+1)}{2} - \sum R_2 \qquad (1)$$

$$U_2 = n_1.n_2 + \frac{n_1(n_1+1)}{2} - \sum R_1 \qquad (2)$$

Annotation:
U_1 : test statistic U_1
U_2 : test statistic U_2
R_1 : total rank of local neighborhood

R_2 : total rank of housing cluster
n_1 : sample in local neighborhood
n_2 : sample in housing cluster
Using purposive sampling, this study observed 88 household respondents. Sample selection criteria based on spatial location of the households in the housing cluster and the outside of housing clusters (local

neighborhood). Central Limit Theorem stated that if X_1, X_2, ... X_n is a random variable of the population (in this case, the probability distribution) by any mean μ_x and variance σ^2_x, then the mean of the sample tends to be normally distributed with mean μ_x and variance $\frac{\sigma x^2}{n}$ when the sample size is increased to infinity. If X_i is assumed comes from a normal population, the sample mean will follow a normal distribution regardless of the sample size. Respondents spread into both areas, people in housing clusters and people in local communities. The theory states that if the number of samples in each category are over 20, it can use the test statistic Z as follows.

$$Z = \frac{U - {n_1.n_2}/{2}}{\sqrt{{n_1.n_2(n_1+n_2+1)}/{12}}} \qquad (3)$$

A qualitative approach was used to test the validity of the theory of Massey and Denton (1988) on residential segregation. Specifically, the approach was done through critical discourse analysis (CDA). Rodak and Meyer (2009) said, CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way power abuse, dominance, and equalities are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social

and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysis takes explicit position, and thus wants to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequalities. Therefore, CDA is politically committed to social change (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

The main principle in the use of this model is that the text can only be understood in relation to other texts in a social context linkages. That is, the text can never be understood separately (Eriyanto, 2001). The analysis technique consists of three dimensions, namely

1. The text, which is the analysis of the linguistic characteristics of the text, descriptive explanation of the text. For example, vocabulary, language and grammar

2. Discourse practice. The dimension of the processes associated with the production and consumption of the texts. The analysis focused on how the writer relies on existing discourse in the process of making the text, and then how to apply text recipients, consume and interpret it.

3. Social practices. This dimension describes the relationship between text with sociocultural practices in the society.

The Character of Housing Cluster

The survey was conducted in four residential cluster areas, which located in three districts and five sub-districts. Those districts were Ciputat, Serpong and Pamulang, while the sub-districts were Serua, Ciater, Benda Baru, Bakti Jaya and Pondok Ranji. The first observed cluster of residential areas was Villa Dago Tol Residential. This residential was developed by PT. Grup Duta Putra with total area up to 32 hectares, consists of 1,500 housing units. Construction started in 1999 and began to be marketed in 2001. This residential is equipped with sports arenas, such as swimming pools, tennis and basketball courts.

Figure 2. Satellite Map of *Villa Dago Tol* Residential

The second residential was Villa Dago Pamulang Residential. This residential is located in Pamulang District. It was built around 1995 by PT. Grup Duta Putra with total area to 100 hectares. Inside the residential, there are a variety of business facilities including a minimarket and a number of other intermediate enterprises. In addition, it is also supported by sports facilities, such as tennis, basketball and badminton courts and also swimming pool.

Figure 3. Satellite Map of *Villa Dago Pamulang* Residential

The third location was Permata Pamulang Residential. Permata Pamulang Residential is located in the Bakti Jaya Sub-district. Unfortunately, there is no accurate information about the residential area, such as when it was built, area width and the number of housing units.

Figure 4. Satellite Map of *Permata Pamulang* Residential

The fourth location was Menjangan Residence Residential. This is the real exclusive cluster residential. This residential is located in the Pondok Ranji Sub-district. The name "Menjangan" is used because this cluster is located at Jl. Menjangan.

Figure 5. Satellite Map of *Menjangan Residence* Residential

Confrontational Conflict

There were 8 questions which then grouped into two major aspects. The first aspect was related to social

interaction in the form of conversation between both areas. The interaction was one form of social cohesion and openness (inclusion) from one region to another region. Forms of openness was for one and another. The survey showed that there were differences in perception between both regions. Residents in the housing cluster stated "often" (42.1%) talked with residents in local neighborhood, but the residents in local neighborhood stated "never" (26.3%) talked with people in the housing cluster (Figure 6).

Differences in perception of social interaction were likely attributable to differences between them. The majority of residents in the housing cluster, for example, answered "somewhat close" (36.8%) while the majority of residents in local neighborhood replied "not far and not close". The second highest frequency distribution thereafter was "somewhat far". Despite having a different frequency distribution, namely 31.6% in the housing cluster and 26.3% in local neighborhood, both regions felt and described togetherness or closeness as "somewhat far" (Figure 7).
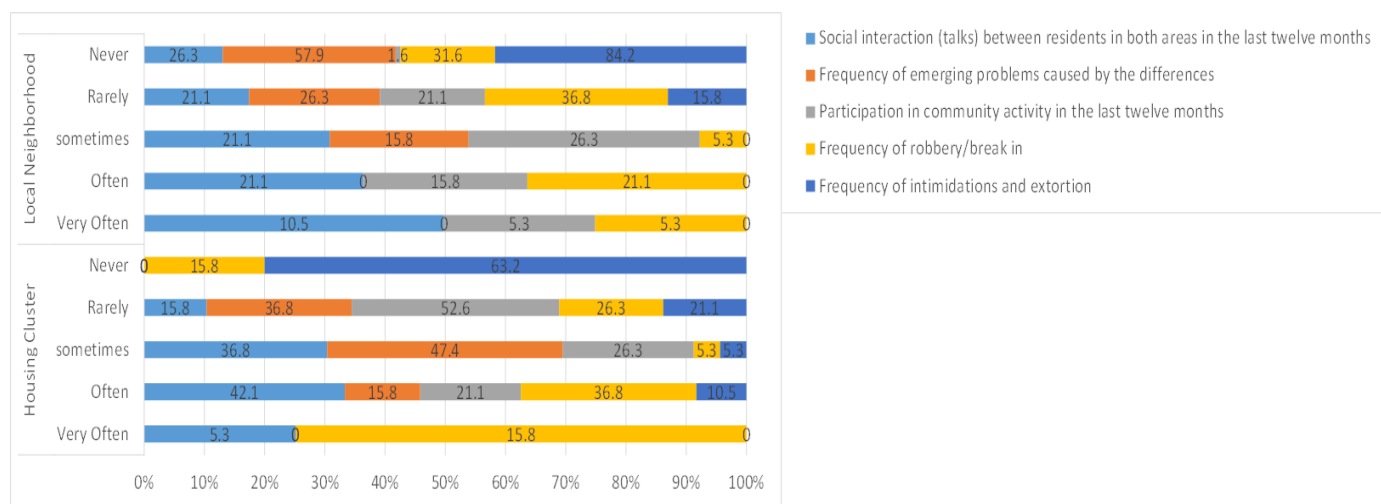

Figure 6. Frequency of Social Interaction, Emerging Problems, Participation in Community and Intimidation Incident

At Villa Dago Pamulang for example, social interaction was more artificial than conducted in sustainable patterns. The forms of interaction are usually done at Eid al-Adha where residents in the housing cluster distribute sacrificial coupon (Qurban). Mr. Subki (39 years of age) stated, one of the causes of the difficulty in interacting with residents in housing cluster is that they are not in the same neighborhood (RT). Neighborhood is divided by blocks in the housing cluster and apart from the area outside in the local neighborhood.

Parallel with it, when I asked about the differences in characteristics, the majority of residents in both areas answered "not big and not small", although the frequency distribution was different, namely 47.4% in housing cluster and 36.8% in local neighborhood. However, the magnitude of the difference was equally recognized by the residents in both areas, with the frequency distribution of each was 31.6% in housing cluster and 36.8% in local neighborhood. A striking differences was the difference in social status (22%), the difference in education (17%), the difference between the old and new residents (17%) and differences in land ownership (11%) (Figure 7).
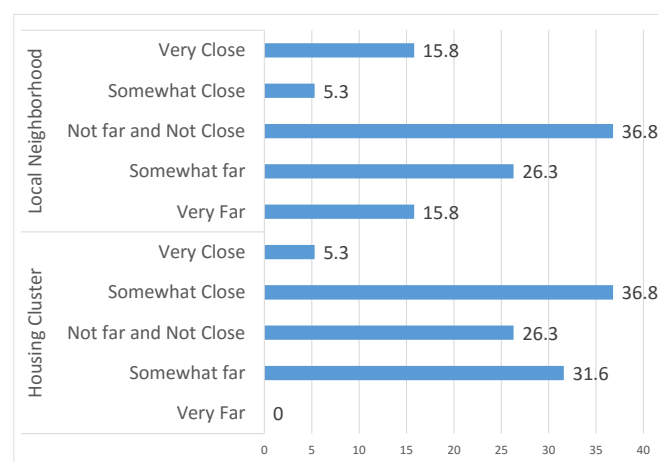
Residents in housing cluster recognized that the differences "sometimes" create problems. The distribution frequency reached 47.4%. In contrast, residents in the local neighborhood considered that the differences "never" create some problems with the distribution frequency of 57.9%. Therefore, it could be presumed that there was an uncomfortable feeling that arose from the residents in housing cluster, whereas the residents in local neighborhood assumed that the differences were not a problem that must be contested (Figure 8).
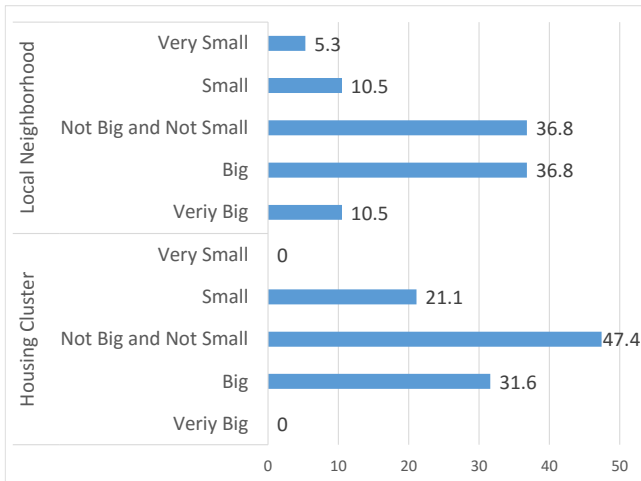

Figure 7: Sense of Collectiveness

Figure 8: Characteristic differences between Both Areas

The residents in both areas are relatively "rarely" and even "never" participated in the community activities. Residents in the housing cluster, as many as 52.6% of respondents answered "rarely" as much as 31.6% of the local neighborhood replied "never". These empirical facts showed that residents in the housing cluster was more active in their village communities than residents in the local neighborhood. Community activities most widely followed by both areas were the mutual assistance in cleaning the environment (31%), monthly/weekly recitation (23%), community patrolling (13%), regular social gathering (10%), the PKK (8%) and community organizations (2%) (Figure 6).

Although all respondents in both areas answered their environment was "very peaceful", but there were high differences in the frequency distribution, namely 31.6% in housing cluster and 84.2% in local neighborhood. The differences in the frequency distribution showed that there were differences in sense of security and peace in the areas. Of the frequency distribution, it could be stated that the sense of security and peace felt by the residents in local residents was greater than resident's feeling in housing cluster. On the other hand, it could be stated that the residents in housing cluster were more insecure to their community (Figure 9).

Therefore, in the housing cluster, the frequency of robbery and break events were said to be very "often" occurred with a frequency distributionreached 36.8% of the total respondents, while in the local neighborhood, respondents answered "rarely" (36.8%) and even "never" (31.6%). This was an indication which strengthen the empirical facts about the feeling of security and peace of residents in housing cluster that was lower than a feeling of security of residents in local neighborhood (Figure 6). According to respondents,

frequency of robbery in last year reached 2-3 times. The type of goods that were often robbed were motor cycles (49%), mobile phones (12%), cars (9%), money (6%), bicycles (3%) and laptops (3%). The frequency of robbery was higher in housing cluster rather than local neighborhood, so the actual incidence of loss of motor cycle and various other items were more common for people living in the housing cluster.
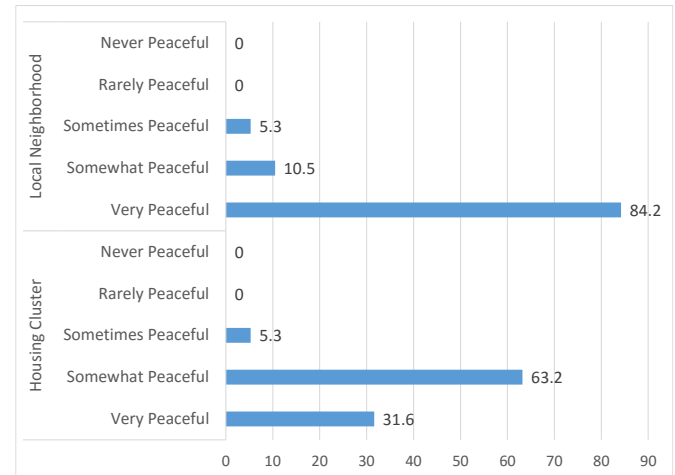

Figure 9: Neighborhood Security

In general, the majority of respondents believed that the incidents of assault, extortion or intimidation was "never" happened in both areas. As many as 63.2% of residents in housing cluster answered "never". The same thing was felt by residents in local neighborhood, i.e 84.2% of them said "never" felt assaulted, extorted or intimidated. However, as many as 10.5% of respondents in housing cluster "often" attacked, extorted or intimidated. None of the respondents in local neighborhood answered about this. This supported previous empirical fact that the conditions of security and peace in housing cluster were even lower than in local neighborhood.

Descriptive explanation above was confirmed by Mann Whitney Test that residents in both areas were not identical/dissimilar (Table 2). The table shows the value of significance (P-value) test result was worth 0.0074 (P-value < α). The identicalness/dissimilarity was the one that will give rise to potential conflicts between them. In an interview with Mr. Subki (35 years of age) and Mrs. Yoyoh (47 years of age) in the Villa Dago Residential and Mrs. Cucum (28 years of age) in the Villa Dago Tol Residential, information was gathered, which in essence is:

> "There is a huge difference on the characters between the residents in housing cluster with local neighborhood. However, those differences do not cause any

problems that can lead to a split between us. Residents in local neighborhood usually are not confident to interact with the residents in housing cluster because there are differences in many factors, including social status and income level".

Table 2. Mann Whitney Test

	N	Median
Housing Cluster	44	22.00
Local Neighborhood	44	3.50

Point estimate for ETA1-ETA2 is 18.50

95.3 Percent CI for ETA1-ETA2 is (0.24,22.50)
W = 462.5
Test of ETA1 = ETA2 vs ETA1 not = ETA2 is significant at 0.0076
███████████████████████ (adjusted for ties)

Source: Data proceeded

Therefore, not long after Yandri's study (2014) in South Tangerang Municipality, there was a social movement which was done by a group of residents in local neighborhood. Figure 10 below was an empirical illustration taken in the September 2014.

1a   1b   1c
Source: Author (2014)

Figure 10.
Empirical Illustration of Confrontation Conflict Inter Housing Areas

In Figure 10.1a and 1c, a group of people showed dissatisfaction by sticking a banner on one of the walls of the house which divided a small street that connects housing cluster area with local neighborhood. The sentence listed on the banner was "closing the road means beating the drums of war with the local residents" (10.1a), while banners in Figure 1c said "we are local residents will be ready for war if the road is closed". What was even more appalling is when a group of local residents deconstructed road. The road was one of the shortest and fastest way for housing cluster residents to get to the main road and to the central city (10.1b).

Therefore, conflicts in natural resources, including land, was characterized by two major types of conflict, namely conflict of access-to and use-off. The pictures above showed that there has been a conflict caused by the lack of local residents' access to the access of road. Eminently, an important message behind the demonstrations were local residents wanted the territory for which they occupy is not closed by the name of any interests of a particular community.

In addition, in many theoretical and empirical research, conflicts can arise because there are goals that are inconsistent or not equal (Fisher *et al*., 2001). In an economic perspective, the causes of conflict include imbalanced development and inequality economic distribution, position or title imbalance (Hendrajaya et al, 2010). Fisher *et al*., (2001) said, the conflict consists of five stages, namely: (1) pre-conflict; (2) confrontation; (3) crisis; (4) impact; and (5) post-conflict.

Table 3. Conflict Analysis

Identification	Conflict Analysis
Stage of conflict	Confrontation
Type of conflict	Open
Criteria for conflict	• Interest conflict • Conflict of access-to • Conflict of use-off
Involved of stakeholder	Residents
Conflict solution	not yet identified

Based on those stages, residential conflict in South Tangerang Municipality has indeed entered a stage of confrontation. Anwar (2002) argued, it is necessary to identify: (1) type of conflict; (2) criteria for conflict; (3) stakeholders related to the conflict; (4) mapping of the conflict; (5) an alternative solution to the conflict. Table 3 is a summary analysis of the conflict based Hendrajaya *et al*, (2010) and Anwar (2002).

Systemic Segregation

Another problem is the massive development of small residential area, which ranges from 1-2.5 acres of land area. Those area could only support 10-15 housing units. For example is a residential area in Menjangan Residence in Pondok Ranji District (Figure 11). This housing cluster is ironically built in the middle of local neighborhood. In a spatial perspective, this housing cluster has been isolated by the surrounding local neighborhood. This picture clearly shows why people in housing cluster and local neighborhood often get disharmonized. These findings confirmed and, at the same time, clarified the concept of Leisch's gated community (2002) who explains that the gated community has a security feature of the environment in physical form, such as the use of portals, fences, security guards and CCTV cameras.

Widhyharto (2009), through his studies in Yogyakarta, explained the specific reasons why a gated community can be formed. First, the title of being "exclusive" is often attached to the occupants of a gated community. This exclusive impression appeared because of the dwellers themselves who often feel no need to interact since they are able to accomodate their needs. Second, the need for security and conformability. The residents require high privacy and absence from social activities that deemed unnecessary and take a lot of effort and time. They replaced it by providing funds in a certain amount. Third, the growing solidarity of the residents in the new environment usually also want to create new 'feel' as well. The solidarity model, which they don't like, will be left in the old neighborhood and they will develop new models of solidarity based on their own preferences.

Thus, this paper clarifies lies in differences of the social, economic and political conditions in Indonesia when Leisch (2002) conducted his study. Now, Indonesia has changed where each region can their own administrative proliferation and guaranteed by a number of regulations on decentralization (Act. No. 32/2004, PP. 25/2000, and PP. 38/2007). Moreover, the central government has also issued a number of regulations and changed the paradigm of civil servant

(PNS) service and investment in local permitting process (Act. No. 25/2007, PP. No. 97/2014, Minister of Home Affair No. 26/2006, etc.).

Figure 11. Mejangan Residence and Its Segregation

In the context of of local government role, now South Tangerang Municipality accelerates their economic growth by opening themselves to investors.. Those economic dynamics can be seen from the deregulation process of investment, which the authority has been widely opened. On behalf of the regulation, it is guaranteed by the Local Act. No. 11/2012 on Implementation of Investment. The regulation is certainly driven by the spirit of intensification of own-source revenue (PAD), which aims to increase the portion of local financing. In that context, in my opinion, it indirectly contributes to the creation of gated community in the present form: housing cluster. These findings are parallel with Smigiel (2013) through his research in Sofia by stating that "gated communities in Sofia have been constructed by a powerfull group or private stakeholders, they were able produce these segregated landscapes only because of a neo-liberal policy setting whose main policy pillars are deregulation, decentralization, privatization and commodification".

With a small area of housing and located in the middle of local neighborhood, this phenomenon is referred to as spatial and residential segregation (Massey and Denton, 1988 in Huie and Frisbie, 2000). Residential segregation is a measure of social clumping in urban environtment. It has different meanings depending on the specific form and structure of the city, and its categories include income, class and race. The effects of segregation on cities are overwhelmingly negative. In particular, socioeconomic segregation limit acces of disenfranchised population groups to infrastructure and job opportunities, while reinforcing rasial and social prejudice.

In Quadros's (n.d) perspective, the pattern of spatial segregation is "natural area, defined by Zorbaugh as a geographical area characterized by physical and cultural individuality, resulting from the impersonal process of competition that would generate spaces of domination from different social group, replicating to the city-level the process which occur in the vegetable world".

The findings of this research were also confirmed and parallel with Feitosa et al. in Quadros (n.d). Although they are "close", but in fact they are "far away". It was proved from the sense of collectiveness between them. This is caused by the absence of a social mechanism participation that can enable them to have opportunity to interact in a social activity. This 'naked' phenomenon occurred in the Menjangan Residence (Figure 11), with the exclusive housing as it almost had no sustained social interaction. The social interaction between them was nothing more than when the occupants purchased a number of retail products in the grocery stores which were located in front of the gate. The case was referred to by Massey and Denton (1988) as the isolation, concentration, centralization and clustering/spatial proximity.

In the Villa Dago Tol Residential for example, there were no occupants in local neighborhood involved in the activities of residents in housing cluster. Mrs. Cucum (28 years of age) informed, in housing cluster there is regular calisthenics every Saturday and Sunday morning, but the activity is not followed by occupants in local neighborhood. In addition, in the housing cluster there is also a women routine activities, such as Quran recitation. That was the only activity that, according to Mrs. Cucum, the occupants in local neighborhood participate in.

Figure 12 shows that local neighborhood was increasingly isolated or segregated as oppressed by the housing cluster. Local neighborhood was among the housing cluster area. At the time of observation (2013), a bridge between the local neighborhood and Villa Dago Tol Residential was only connected by a wood and bamboo bridge. According to Mrs. Cucum, no occupants in Villa Dago Tol Residential contributed to the construction of the bridge, as well as money, materials, and/or involved when it constructed first, although the bridge was often bypassed by the residents of Villa Dago Toll Residential.

Now, the question is why could spatial and residential segregation occur? Housing cluster were formed driven by high demand housing as a result of migration and urbanization and/or suburbanization.

As a result, they moved and bought a house in the suburbs, and the type of house they purchased was a housing cluster. At the end, they were then segregated. This segregation cases generally occurred in large clusters of housing area, ranging from 0.1 to 2.5 acres.

Figure 12. Local Neighborhood Segregation

Meanwhile, involuntary segregation occurred not because of their own will, but due to lack of choice. This form of segregation was what seems to happen to residents in local neighborhood. They were segregated because there was no other choice for them but to stay with their families for generations in the neighborhood adjacent to the different social classes. It is disimillarity of the dimensions of residential segregation called by Massey and Denton (1988).
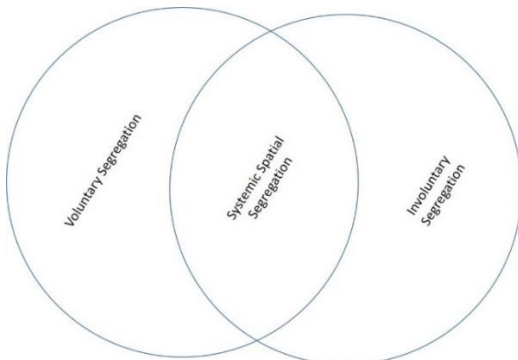

Figure 13. Systemic Spatial Segregation

In the context of Indonesia suburb, it seemed rather difficult for us to classify each housing area into both types of segregation. This is due to the implied meaning that segregation in this country was not only happened in the residents in local neighborhood, but also the residents in the housing cluster. Residential segregation in Indonesia occured in both areas, but the intension levels of segregation was different. The above explanation, the segregation was actually created not because of the wish of residents—both traditional housing and modern housing residents—but created by and for an economic and social system development policy. In that context, the authors assumed that there seems to be a type of segregation that was in between both types of residential segregation. That is because the type of residential segregation in the suburb of Indonesia cannot be entirely categorized into both pattern of segregation as mentioed by Massey and Denton (1988); the authors proposed a form of segregation that was referred to as systemic segregation. Of course, the validity of this new concept of residential segregation needed to be tested further in a variety of empirical research in other countries.

CONCLUSION

The important findings of this paper is that there is dissimilarity between people in the housing cluster with people in the local neighborhood, and it has even shown a confrontational conflict. The conflict showed by the banner which content a protest to people of housing cluster. The issues of conflict revolve around conflict of interest, access-to and use-off to the road. At the same time, people in both regions are segregated. Segregation in Indonesia occurred in both areas with different tension. However, voluntary and involuntary segregation could not fully answer the case of residential segregation in the suburb of this country. Here, segregation is created not because of the preferences of people in both areas, but it was created by and for an economic and social system of development policy. Therefore, the pattern of segregation is more accurately described as systemic spatial segregation.

But one thing is clear, that we need to create a social mechanism which can integrate both areas. The social mechanism can be designed with simple activities such as monthly recitation engagement between residents in both areas, social gatherings and meetings between residents and other activities. This activity can be initiated by the local government at the grassroots level as Chairman of Neighborhood (RT or RW). In addition, the need to change the policy of modern housing development patterns in the South Tangerang Municipality and thus at the national level. Especially in South Tangerang Municipality, the policy changes can be initiated from the reformulation of local act deregulation. At the national level, it needs to reform a number of regulations in order to create social harmony between both areas.

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