Reframing Proxemics in the Perspective of Collectivistic Societies (Study of Residents of Riverbank Relocation at the Vertical Settlements in Jakarta)

by Melati Mediana Tobing

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(Study of Residents of Riverbank Relocation in Vertical Settlements in Jakarta)

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Abstract

Most of Asian use mutual cooperation to run their life in the challenging environment. On the riverbanks of Ciliwung in Jakarta, the Kampung Pulo's people work together facing of the floods that inundated their roof for days, and feel comfortable living in this area until the rest of their lives. However, this area may cause some disasters for the city and should be revitalised. While developing a metropolitan city, the city planner use vertical occupancy as a solution to relocate residents from slums. This action may change people perception in understanding the meaning of space and distance, also the relations between citizens in this settlement. The elevator, closing doors, the lack of bench and terrace to sit in front of their house, are destructives this collectivistic people in interacting and sharing information. Suddnely, the citizens must be adapt this newly-modern residential boxes, which are assumed as the more efficient and economical and common use for the individualistic society. This paper are based on a research about how this local residents in Jakarta use space and distance for communicating in their new vertical space, through the method of interviewing and observing. This research applies an observation methodology while using an interviewing technique to collect data. The informant was born in Kampung Pulo and living in a rental housing belongs to the city government in Jatinegara Barat, East of Jakarta. The findings of this research is the distinctive values that significantly differ from the individualistic cultures which are known as the basic research of the proxemic theory, that could considered in the construction of vertical housing for collectivist communities.

Keywords: proxemic, collectivistic, vertical settlements, riverbanks relocation, mutual cooperation, cohesiveness.

1. Introduction

Generally, individual displacement from one place to another may cause a gap. The different perception in understanding the meaning of the new space is the common reason. Process of adaptation in a new spaces is easily overcome if the residents are ready to stay in the new residence or houses. Similarly, individuals displacement from one residential complex to a new one will be easier if the citizens themselves are willing to be moved. But what if the citizens did not want to be moved?

Residential relocation is actually common in big cities. When a residential complex is considered as a non-conducive houses in supporting the growth of the city, it will be diagnosed as a source of social problems in the city. In addition, the relocation of urban slum residents is common when the functions of city are changing such as the aesthetic aspect like beautifies the city layout. Usually, people are moved to a new residential complex which are located in a suburb or juts stay in the same location but with a new vertical houses. These happen because the land in the city centre is very limited and expensive.

Residential relocation also happens in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, Southeast Asia. In 2016, after the normalization program of the Ciliwung river, there was 1,021 households of Kampung Pulo which are moved to *Rusunawa*, a new rental flats in Jatinegara Barat-East Jakarta. 50% of the households were finally agreed to live in that flats, while 40% of the households were resettled in Kampung Pulo. Only about 10% households decided to move out from the area. There are some reasons why the people in that area have no interest to move into the new flats. One main reason is that they did not get compensation. Another reason is that they have closely related with others citizens on Kampung Pulo society. Even in the second year of their displacement to *Rusunawa*, the poor residents still felt uncomfortable. Many of these residents keep visiting their old families or relatives left in Kampung Pulo, which is just two kilometres away from the new vertical residential complex.

The Kampung Pulo was known as a flood prone area. After the Independence Day in 1945, this area was getting denser because the location is exactly in the opposite of the Jatinegara market. This area was designated as a green area in the 1980s. However, many new comers then occupied the land. Ciliwung River is an extreme environment with 3-5 meters of flood inundation for several weeks in December to February every year. Amazingly, these extreme conditions successfully bonded their residents. If the flood comes, people rise to the roof and distribute their food. They will work together to clean their houses when the troubles gone. In fact, the relations between citizens are increasingly attached and continue to be guarded from one generation to another in the urban village.

Space is known as a container of people's activities. The meaning of space is actually formed through the process of interaction and communication of individuals and groups, from time to time and from generation to generation (Samovar, 2013). Changes in space physically, will certainly change the form of interaction and communication between citizens that usually occur inside. It also changes the meaning of space non-physically. These changes are more pronounced when there is a shift from horizontal space to vertical space. Until now, only a few perception of space of the vertical housing that interest the experts, especially the perception from the relocated residents of "urban villages" and the impact of it in communicating process.

This paper reveals the context of space in intercultural communication in Jakarta, which has two main problems. First, the residents of Kampung Pulo relocation consisted of individuals with collectivistic community characteristics. Individuals in collectivistic societies have different perspectives on space than individuals in individualistic societies (Hall, 1966). These individual groups form the shared meanings of space, which are integrated into their daily habits. The space is interpreted differently by relocation residents. They have collectivistic characteristics related to the background of experience and habits as reinforcement of cognition when interpreting space. It is important to know how the individuals with collectivistic characteristics has interpreted their own space in

the new space. Second, relocation residents are individuals who are accustomed to living in a horizontal residential environment on a riverbank collectively. The displacement of space, from horizontal to vertical, for individuals who are separated from their groups gives a new perspectives. How do the relocating residents of the vertical residential complex see the new space in interacting with the reference group?

The mushrooming villages along the Ciliwung riverbank are just one portrait. The developing Asia region has many cases of relocation of residents, especially in riverbank areas in the middle of the city. The important thing in conducting relocation is understanding the individual perspective of residential users. For residents of relocation who have collectivistic characteristics, the house is not only a room for its core family but also its neighbours and surrounding environment. Therefore, understanding proxemics from the perspective of collectivistic society is important, with the aim that vertical housing development for relocation residents can further consider the needs of interaction and communication of its inhabitants.

Although the development of proxemic research in Asia after the Second World War era is still dominated by the interests of allies of the United States, some American allies in Japan, Arabia and Africa then develop this proxemic research in the viewpoint of their own culture (Kitao & Kitao, 1987). The academic world increasingly sees that culture plays important rules about how spatial distance is maintained during communication (Hall, 1966). Its function is no longer to improve relations between the west and east, but the purposes that are more practical (Marquardt, 2011); (Marquardt & Greenberg, 2012); (Manenti, Manzoni, Vizzari, Ohtsuka, & Shimura, 2012).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Space in Intercultural Communication.

Space is often ignored in communication between humans. Though human communication is always related to the context of space, communication between one person to another has a distance, which is called as space. The space can be seen in plain view, but space in communication cannot always be seen physically. Space is understood through a number of information whose meaning is in the minds of individuals. Because each individual has different background experiences and habits, the understanding of the space can also be vary. Samovar (1990) explains that space in communication is formed by the culture of each individual who is different. The space and distance messages are related to nonverbal communication in individuals of different cultures.

Hall also explained the matter of space in the study of intercultural communication as a proxemic, namely different human perceptions of space related to the cultural background. That is, even though the shape and size of a space are the same, but it can be understood differently by each person. The background of experience and cultural characteristics are two factors that shape an individual's perception of space when communicating. When space becomes a place where a communication event continues, space has formed its own meaning for every communicant and communicator. The space where the interaction process takes place also sets symbols with certain meanings for them, namely through various permanent elements as the unity of the meaning of the space. Changes to space physically, will change the perception of communicants to the meaning of space and their interactions. Changes in space can occur drastically or by removing some elements in the space.

Hall explained that human communication related to the context of space can be examined in three levels, namely: macro level, mezzo level, and micro level. According

to Hall, proxemic research at the macro level and the mezzo level is difficult because it is related to human growth factors from birth that cannot be observed carefully. Proxemic research that is possible to study is at the micro level. Proxemic at the micro cultural level of individual interactions can be done in three parts of space, namely: fixed-feature space, semi-fixed-feature space, and person-to-person space.

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Fixed-feature space is a communication space that occurs at a permanent distance. This permanent space is sedentary and is not easy to change. This permanent space exists both on a macro scale to a micro scale. Macro permanent space is buildings that are around the individual when communicating, and on a micro scale are the permanent spaces where the communication process takes place. Semi fixed-feature space is a communication space that occurs at a semi-permanent distance. It is referred to as semi-permanent space because this space is formed because of the objects that allow it to be moved. On a macro scale, semi-permanent spaces are road signs, garden decorations, including chairs along the sidewalk. Semi-permanent space on a micro scale is generally found in homes or buildings, such as furniture and accessories that adorn the room.

Person-to-person space is the communication space that often raised in proxemic research. In Indonesia, this informal communication space is even considered proxemic research. This could be due to the view that communication can only occur in the space formed between communicants and communicators in the process of communication. The

space formed when communication between individuals takes place is actually not only the distance between interactions with interpreters, but there are other settings that shape space and have an impact on the communication process. Permanent and semi-permanent space participate as part of the continuity of the communication. The three spaces on the micro level have nonverbal messages that influence the process of human communication that has different experiences and cultural backgrounds.

The difference meaning of space through the cultural codes of a cultural group is a matter of lengthy discussion and attracts the interest of many academics in intercultural communication (Gudykunst, 1984; Martin & Nakayama, 2010; Samovar, 2013; Neuliep, 2006, 2015). This breakdown of speech and nonverbal codes is related to the transmission process and contextual meaning. Therefore, the discussion about the meaning of space can have many different points of view even though they come from the same cultural group. The concept of space in a society is very diverse, related to the social and cultural context of each communicator as well as the perspective of science used.

2.2. Collective Cohesiveness in Space

Communities in collectivistic characteristics have the habit of living in tight spaces together with the neighbors, or other people outside their core families without feeling threatened. In everyday life, space is used together with other family members, so that a socio-petal space is created which increasingly holds family members together. In their daily lives, community members are accustomed to completing work together. If they live in extreme natural conditions, each group member will try to protect each other and discuss their resolution in their communal spaces.

The bond to members of this collective cultural group is cohesive in ways that work like "social glue" that attract each other. Emile Durkheim (1859-1917) explained that this sticky power eventually formed group solidarity. Community group solidarity is in two parts, namely: mechanical solidarity groups and organic solidarity groups. Collectivistic society is a simple community group that has the value of mechanical solidarity, which is built between human beings based on the roots of humanism, as well as responsibility in the lives of others, which are old and not temporary. In contrast to organic solidarity which usually exists in independent individualist societies, which are built between human beings based on a causal relationship and not because of awareness of human values. Space in mechanical solidarity groups is usually unstructured with several functions in one space. While space in the organic solidarity group is more organized and structured, with a fixed function space.

Although generalizations cannot be made, collectivistic values are more often applied in Asian groups. This is because they prioritize group interests and good names rather than personal interests. Irving Janis (1972) explained that groupthink is a condition in which groups that are very compact (cohesive) try to achieve unanimity in decision making at the expense of alternative solutions, even though alternative solutions are sufficient. This condition can lead to setbacks because the results of the decision-making process are very limited. According to Janis, the groupthink hypothesis is closely related to how group members communicate with each other.

Communication has several basic characteristics, namely group cohesiveness, structural faults, and provocative situational context. Group cohesiveness refers to situations of mutual liking among group members, situations of being friendly to each other and trying to maintain a positive relationship through the presence of "esprit de corps" feelings. Structural faults refer to situations, such as the isolation of a group from advice and information from external sources, lack of established traditions of partial

leadership, lack of norms for decision making procedures, and homogeneity of group members related to social background and member ideology group. Provocative situational context refers to the application of a high level of pressure to group members. This pressure level can be caused by a record of previous or recent failures, perceptions of tasks that are too difficult and the belief that there are no morally correct alternatives (Salazar, 2009, pp. 460-461).

Collectivistic and individualistic are no longer black and white as intercultural communication research in the early twentieth century. Hofstede's findings on 50 countries in the world towards these two cultures are also less relevant in the current context of society. According to Hofstede's table of findings, it is explained that countries in the United States and Europe have cultural characteristics of collectivistic societies that are stronger than those in Asia, including Indonesia (47), Thailand (46). The study of contemporary intercultural communication emphasizes that the differentiation of cultural society in collectivistic and individualistic characters can no longer be linked to the context of the place. This means that an American citizen cannot be said to be an individualistic person just because he lives there, or an Indonesian as a collectivist because he lives in the city of Jakarta.

Nowadays, collectivistic and individualistic cultural characteristics are closely related to the daily habits of each individual, which is not related to the context of citizenship or residence. Even someone who lives in a developed country can have collectivistic characteristics when in daily life, he has a reference group where he depends his life. Likewise the residents of Kampung Pulo in the big city of Jakarta. They live in an Indonesian country which according to Hofstede (2010) belongs to collectivistic characteristics, whereas the city of Jakarta which has urban characteristics has a metropolitan city characteristic and forms individualistic citizens. However, residents of Kampung Pulo who have inhabited the Ciliwung coastal area around the Jatinegara Barat market have the characteristics of a strong collectivistic society. With these collectivistic characteristics, the residents of Kampung Pulo are representative enough to represent the character of the collectivistic community in the city of Jakarta.

2.3. Emic Perspective on Proxemic Research

As with other intercultural communication research, proxemic research was initially carried out only from an ethical perspective. Proxemic researchers who are academics from various universities in the United States conduct studies on the space and distance of communication in the viewpoint of American culture. This is related to the political and foreign interests of the United States after the second world war at that time. For example, Hall (1959) conducted intercultural research on Anglo-Saxon communities in North America. Researchers also help understand the culture of other communities in their allied countries, such as Mexico and Japan.

An understanding of proxemics often overlaps with proximity. Both talk about "closeness" and come from the same word from Latin Proximus "nearest or near". The documentation of this proxemic only came into existence in 1963, while proximity (n.) Has existed since the 15th century AD. Proximity comes from French *proximité* "nearness", which originated from the Latin proximate system "nearness, vicinity" or *proximus* "nearest, next; most direct; adjoining", superlative from of "near"; namely closeness in the sense of space or distance (www.etymonline.com).

Based on the etymology, proxemic comes from proximity and emic words. Proximity means communication distance; emic means the point of view of the culture of the individual. Therefore, better proxemic research is done directly by the owner of the

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culture itself, or said from an emic perspective. Further proxemic research is indeed carried out by a number of scientists from countries outside the Anglo-Saxon community. In Asia, in the 1980s, proxemic research was conducted on people in Japan, which then continued twenty years later in Saudi Arabia. Proxemic research in Southeast Asian society has been carried out by Munandar in the field of archaeology (Munandar, 2011). (Fig.1)

Studies of space and distance in communication have many functions for human life. The study of proxemics is more often used as a knife of analysis in practical research, rather than special research in certain scientific fields. Nicolai Marquardt (2011) applies proxemic theory analysis to human behaviour to design spaces that can be controlled through computer systems (Marquardt, 2011).

2.4. Proxemic Manifestations

Hall's proxemic manifestations can be considered in two levels, namely infra-cultural and precultural. Infra-cultural refers to behavior at the lowest level of the organization in explaining culture. This is part of the proxemic classification system and implies a certain set of levels of relations with other parts of the system. Infra-cultural behavior is rooted in one's biological past (Hall E. T., 1966, p. 101). Precultural, precultural is the second proxemic level, which is related to the physiological functions of the human senses and occurs today. All beings have senses and psychological grounds, where culture provides structure and meaning. This basic sense of pra-culture must be ascertained by the researcher in comparing the proxemic patterns of Culture A with Culture B (Hall E. T., 1966, p. 101). It should be remembered that, before humans learn anything from culture, there are many things that are known through the physiological functions of the senses. When human culture comes, it then functions to organize previous sensory work.

The two levels of proxemic above are difficult to observe, because long and consistent periods of time are needed. In addition, the coverage is very macro so that the level of complexity is high. Therefore, Hall spawns the third level, as the only one that is most likely to make proxemic observations, namely micro-cultural. The micro-cultural or micro-cultural level is the most likely to conduct applied research on proxemics **(Figure 1).**

According to Hall, proxemic as a micro-cultural manifestation has three aspects of space, namely: a) fixed-feature space; b) semi-feature space; and, c) informal space (Hall E. T., 1966, p. 103). Fixed-feature space. Inter-building space is a space that is recognized as one of the basic support for individual and group activities. This type is in the form of "material" or in the form of "immaterial". Material space is a real space that is visible and hidden and has a fixed nature. Nonmaterial space is a space that has been designed and internalized by culture. To find out the behavior settings in the inter-building space can be observed every day, for example: in buildings, house or city layout, or internal spatial organization of houses (Hall E. T., 1966, pp. 103-107).

Semifixed-feature space. Interstellar space functions as an explanation or concept of socio-fugal space and socio-petal space. Socio-fugal spaces are spaces that tend to separate people, such as: carriages on trains, or chairs in the waiting room. Socio-petal space is a space that tends to unite a number of people together, such as: a cafe table in a shop, or restaurant on a side street. Arrangement on interstellar space can have a profound effect on the behavior of a person or group of people to "unite" or "separate" (isolated). There is an intercultural conceptual difference to space between buildings and space, as well as between socio-fugal and socio-petal spaces (Hall E. T., 1966, p. 108).

Informal-feature space. Interpersonal space is a type of informal space that explains physical distance between people; between one's body and other people, which is different from social space between humans. This space between people explains the distance between individuals both in physical form and in non-physical forms. Physically, Hall (1969) distinguishes four distances between people in a social situation; starting from the closest distance to the farthest distance, namely: intimate distance, personal distance, social distance, and distance of the community (Hall E. T., 1966, p. 111). Non-physically, this space between people has not been much researched. However, as a nonmaterial form in interstellar space, this non-physical space in the space between people is also considered internalized by culture.

Translation from one level to another is very complex, because it requires the attention of scientists to research from time to time in one perspective. Without a comprehensive system of thought that binds all levels, humans will develop a database of schizophrenia (schizoid detachment) and isolation that is very dangerous. This is explained in an example of cold-blooded killer James Island, known as the Black Death, which killed two-thirds of Europe's population in the mid-14th century. The greatest way to kill humans of this century is more directly from bacterial germs, because the effect is exacerbated by the low resistance of people's living conditions in a stressful crowd in the middle of the city (Hall E. T., 1966, p. 102)

2.5. "Bubble" and "Gum" Analogy of Space

The distance of communication in individual perceptions of collectivistic groups is different from individuals in community groups with dominant individual characteristics. This is triggered by interacting habits and a high need to know more about other individuals in the collectivistic group. The concept of "bubble" which is introduced as a bubble that covers the individual's body becomes an important thing that must be maintained in communicating with other individuals. Violations of individual "bubble" areas by other individuals in individualistic societies can cause feelings of discomfort, even feeling threatened.

Conversely, individuals in collectivistic groups have a desire to unite and group. Even in unfamiliar situations, this individual is willing to "bubble" from himself for other individuals to enter. The presence of strangers around the "bubble" is not considered a threat. Collectivistic individuals have openness and tolerance that allows them to hold themselves back when their personal territory is entered by others. Although feeling disturbed, collectivistic individuals are accustomed to respecting their interlocutors and consider it necessary to maintain the feelings of others so that they feel comfortable and the interactions run smoothly.

Cultural differences from each communicant, give different meanings in understanding space and distance when communicating. This meaning is often not realized, because it is far below human consciousness, but gives a significant influence in their communication process. The space and distance context in intercultural communication can be categorized as nonverbal communication. Regarding nonverbal communication, Mehrabian (1972) once explained that nonverbal communication has an influence up to 79% in influencing communicant feelings, far greater than verbal communication.

The message of space in nonverbal communication in the study of intercultural communication is much discussed in western society, especially in the period 1960-1980s. After the discovery of television and internet-based media, the talk of space and distance in intercultural communication was far hidden. The prospect of re-planning this

proxemic study is brighter as humans are increasingly connected by communication and transportation, precisely through communication technology that unites the world. The more connected humans make individuals seek their own identity which is different from the people who are connected to it.

2.6. Collectivistic Proxemics

Collectivistic proxemic comes from "proxemic" and "collectivistic". As explained earlier, the proxemic comes from "proximity" and "etic" which refers to phonemic. Proximity refers to the closeness of "nearness", which is explained by the distance between one person and another, both singular and plural. This means that the range of distances can vary between individuals and other individuals singly, as well as plural with individual and public groups. The distance in the proxy comes from the noun (noun), so that it can be interpreted as physically distance in argonometry. But in the context of ethics (phonemic), distance can be interpreted non-physical, which is related to the cultural perception of each individual **(Figure 2).**

Based on the description above, it can be concluded etymologically that proxemic is the distance created when there is interaction between people of different cultures. In this case it can be said that physical distance in the context of architecture is the main requirement in forming space, so often the distance in the proxemic is also called space. Based on this understanding, we can understand what Hall (1963) explained that proxemics is the perception of space in individuals who have different cultural backgrounds when communicating.

The word "culture" is defined by most dictionaries as habits, beliefs and ways of life of society, place or time (www.english-ingles.com). It involves everything from religion and language to cuisine and music. Culture comes from Latin "root"; means caring for, or processing. Culture at first is a noun from a process intended to describe the growth of something, especially plants or animals. During the 16th century in England, cultural ideas were applied to human development, especially the mind or intelligence of individuals, which was analogous to the process of education. In the 19th century this idea of culture expanded to include the whole community, as well as individuals.

In particular, culture is seen as something that is not owned by every person or every society, and thus various societies and nations in the world can be classified according to how cultured they are. British society is seen as the most cultured society in the world; to be cultured, one must have knowledge of the arts, letters, and knowledge of the "Western" world. The 20th century, most people no longer see the world as having only one culture, which individuals and groups have in varying amounts, but contain many cultures, where each group has its own culture or "way of life", which includes many subcultures.

The culture in the study of intercultural communication was initially discussed by comparing Western culture and Eastern culture. Hall (1963) explained culture as high-context and low context, which he developed back in 1966, then applied by Ting-Toomey (1985). Hofstede and Bond (1984) developed this high-low context communication system with individualistic-collectivistic characteristics. Kim (2005) characterizes individualistic collectivists as the top theory that oversees inter-cultural research in communication, psychology, and anthropology.

In the development of the study of inter-cultural communication, culture is not solely separated between Western and Eastern cultures, or between the culture of society in developed countries and the culture of people in developing countries. Likewise, its development after globalization increasingly clarifies, that individualistic culture and collectivistic culture are increasingly no longer geographically connected, but based on

the characteristics of each culture that attaches to individuals and groups of people. However, through this study of intercultural communication during the 1980s to 2018, we can know the characteristics of collectivistic-individualistic cultures, through their territorial understanding. This is relevant as the basis of human life, because territory is a home space that is developed virtually by every living thing (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009: 807; Hall E. T., 1966: 7).

3. Methodology

The methodology for translating proxemics from one level to another is difficult, because of the cultural uncertainty of each individual, both observing (observing) and observed. Cultural uncertainty is a function of the various levels at which cultural events occur and the fact that it is virtually impossible to make simultaneous observations in the same degree of precision (Hall E. T., 1966, p. 102). To avoid these uncertainties, this research uses in-depth interview methods that are carried out continuously through several stages. The triangulation process was also carried out through observation methods and other secondary data, although the low literature and proxemic publications in Asia and Indonesia also contributed to difficulties in collecting secondary data.

The most probable thing in conducting proxemic studies is at the level of culture (Hall, 1966), which mainly focuses on space between people. Residents of Kampung Pulo have distinctive characteristics as collectivistic communities, with intimate communication spaces between people and "tend to be no-distance". Uniquely, their residential location is in the centre of Jakarta, which tends to have typical individualistic characteristics of residents in big cities. For more than three generations they lived in the middle of the metropolitan city of Jakarta, maintaining the values of togetherness and mutual cooperation. In fact, after two years living in a Jatinegara Barat rental flats, they still considered Kampung Pulo as their home.

For research purposes, the resource persons are determined based on three things, namely: 1) born in Kampung Pulo, 2) house-owner in Kampung Pulo, and 3) currently occupying units in Jatinegara Barat rental apartments. With these three criteria, four main speakers were obtained who were the heads of the family, while the rest of the family members such as wives, children and grandchildren are used as additional sources in this study. The selection of informants was purposively accidentally in March-June 2018 in Jatinegara Barat Flats. Interviews and observations were carried out directly by researchers at the informant's house, conducted in natural settings and repeated two to three times during the period 2018 to 2019.

Validated interviews were analysed through verbatim and coding. Inductive processes occur by revealing the interview data with secondary data as a support and supporting theory. The validation process is carried out until the analysis is complete, both through direct correspondence and logical implications for proxemic theory at the microbial level. To finalize the analysis, this research has passed the results seminar conducted among colleagues and examiners from inside and outside the university.

4. Collectivism Proxemics
4.1. Findings

Physical changes in space provide several obstacles in the interaction of the relocation residents of Kampung Pulo. These changes can be divided into two parts, namely horizontal and vertical spaces. Changes in horizontal space cause changes in the form of interaction and human communication in three parts of space, namely: 1) space between

people, 2) space between rooms, and 3) space between units. Whereas changes in vertical space cause changes in the form of human interaction and communication in: 1) inter-floor space, 2) inter-power space, and 3) inter-building space.

Horizontally, the change in inter-unit space in the Jatinegara Barat apartment flats is not available for semi-public spaces. Semi-public space is a place where collectivistic people gather to share information and spend the afternoon in the evening. Inter-unit space in the form of a terrace as a zone between private and public spaces is not on the front of the apartment unit. Even the manager forbade the existence of chairs along the aisle for security reasons during a fire. In addition, communication between citizens is hampered because the doors of housing units are more often closed, so there is a difficulty to interact as in Kampung Pulo. Residents closed their doors for security reasons and were too tired to interact. Informal communication between citizens which is usually done on the road or on the edge of the Ciliwung river can no longer be done. The apartment window also does not provide view access between residents in the hallway and those inside the apartment unit **(Figure 3).**

In the inter-room space, the most basic problem is the absence of intimate space. One apartment unit that can be filled by two to three families no longer leaves the rest of the space, besides space to be used together. They can sleep with the closest family members, both in the bedroom and sitting room. Separation of rooms will be carried out on young families who are newly married, or in children who have been ill-equipped. Interaction with family members most often occurs in the living room as well as the living and dining room. In that space all family members take turns in activities such as eating, watching television, studying, or chatting with other family members, sitting on the floor or lying on thin mattresses. In families with better socio-economic levels, portable chairs are used when guests arrive. In the third year, some speakers often received guests outside their homes by sitting on the floor carpeted.

The most significant thing in individual communication in collectivistic society is their mind set who always wants to be close and physically close. The distance of communication created in social relations is almost in the intimate and personal space. The resource person wanted a very close distance when communicating and still interacting with a loud voice and the touch of the hand that passed through the bubble of other residents. When researchers come as strangers, citizens do not feel social distance, even when conducting interviews received in private space and considered as family. When conducting interviews, researchers are often provided with a variety of food and drink treats. This is considered as part of the Islamic religious values that 95% of the population adheres to. On the other hand, intimate relations between husband and wife are not even shown to the community even though the nuclear family **(Figure 4).**

Vertically there are also significant interactions and communication changes. Vertically separated spaces increase the communication distance. Communication distance in vertical space is caused by a number of factors, namely: 1) farther access, 2) use of stairs that are considered tiring, 3) relatively long waiting times for elevators, 4) limited lift capacity, and 5) obstructed view orientation floor.

Interactions that occur in residents who live on the same floor are more common than those who live on several floors above or below them. The difference between one floor above or below is still often exceeded by using emergency stairs. Emergency stairs in each hallway are used by men, while children and women use elevators more often. However, the distance between the housing units on a nearby floor does not always indicate that the occupants of the house often interact. Some residents prefer to close the

doors and windows of their homes to limit interaction with their neighbours. About 10% of the residents in the rental apartment are relocation residents from Anwar village, which is located next to Kampung Pulo. The people of Kampung Pulo assume that the residents of Anwar Village are not their group, so they separated themselves psychologically from several neighbours who came from Kampung Pulo.

The apartment consists of two tower buildings which are put together by the main lobby on the ground floor. The spacious ground floor lobby is connected with an elevator and an emergency staircase, a management room, a community meeting room, a toddler's room and a nursing mother, an early childhood education room. The ground floor lobby has no doors, opens facing the main gate and rear garden, and is vertically bordered by a second floor ceiling. On the second floor there are supporting facilities in the form of multipurpose function rooms and stalls, with access that can be reached using a special staircase from the ground floor. The apartment complex has adequate motorbike parking lots and several car parking lots for guests and managers. Residents who are not allowed to carry cars park outside the complex at night. The distance between the main lobby and the gate is quite strategic, and can directly reach the city's general transportation. On the right side of the complex is a mosque that can be accessed directly from the main lobby. Next to the mosque is a red canteen, as a sidewalk business place where some residents relocate. This canteen is very crowded at meal times by office employees around the complex. At night, the canteen is crowded by teenagers who play online games. The internet signal is difficult to penetrate the walls of the apartment floor, so the children buy an internet package of five thousand rupiah for three hours of usage.

Physically, the distance between Kampung Pulo and the rental apartment in Jatinegara Barat is about two kilometre. The distance is far enough to be reached on foot. However, personal and psychological closeness removes the distance. Every day, many relocation residents spend their time in Kampung Pulo, both fathers, mothers, and children. Usually they use special vehicles in the form of *odong-odong* that appear after relocation, with routes starting from the front gate of the apartment, along the Ciliwung river, circling Kampung Pulo until returning to the main gate. One round each person only needs to pay two thousand rupiah.

4.2. Recommendations

Space in individual communication with different cultures can be a barrier when the meaning of space is not in accordance with the behaviour habits of its users. These blockages are often not realized, but actually have caused discomfort in individual interactions with different cultures. This blockage can occur in a number of communication spaces, namely: interpersonal space, interstellar space, and inter-building space ((Hall, 1966) (Munandar, 2011) (Samovar, 2013)). However, the displacement of occupancy from horizontal to vertical also contributed to the blockage in the intensity of collectivistic community communication. Changes in vertical space are not favoured by residents of the village of Pulo due to the existence of more distant distances that make it difficult to interact in an unstructured manner indirectly, which is a habit of villagers with fun collectivistic characteristics.

The obstacles that often hinder the interaction of the residents of Kampung Pulo in Rusunawa are: 1) There is a boundary between private space and public space, namely with closed doors and windows without a hallway that allows interaction between residents passing through the aisle with residents inside the house; 2) The loss of a semi-public room in the form of a porch or chairs on the courtyard of the house which is a gathering place for residents; 3) Vertical access through stairs or elevators that require a

long time so as to slow down the circulation of information that is important to maintain the stability of life between citizens.

This article provides three recommendations as follows. First, academically the proxemic theory at the micro level in the culture of collectivistic society in Kampung Pulo explains that the interpersonal space that occurs in communication between citizens shows a strong social relation. This emphasizes that collectivistic characters want the interaction of communication that continues to occur in groups, even in personal interactions. Intimate distance is not shown in public and social relations, and is only done in intimate spaces in their private rooms. Therefore, the first recommendation is the need to continue to provide sleeping space, which amounts to the needs of each family member who is relocated.

Second, socially this study found that the loss of terraces and chairs as semi-public zones caused a loss of interest in interacting among citizens. Therefore, to increase the enthusiasm of communication between citizens who have a collectivistic culture, houses need to be equipped with spaces that can be used together in a zone between public space and private space. This of course will be applied in the planning of the next apartment by the government.

Third, closed doors as a form of protection from the environment is a natural thing that is done by residents of rental apartments. However, opaque doors and shutters prevent obstruction of view and prevent the process of interaction between residents in the house and their neighbours. The third recommendation is to make repairs to the doors and windows of the Jatinegara Barat apartment rental. The addition of one door leaf on the inside that can remain locked but can be translucent is the solution for the residents of Kampung Pulo who used to interact while passing through the aisles of other residents' houses. In addition, the translucent and porous doors can reduce hot air in the room due to smoother air circulation
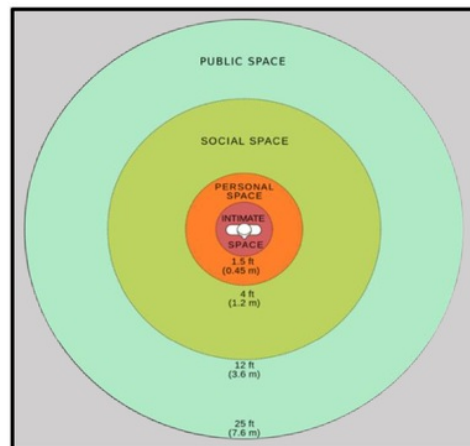
4.3. Figures

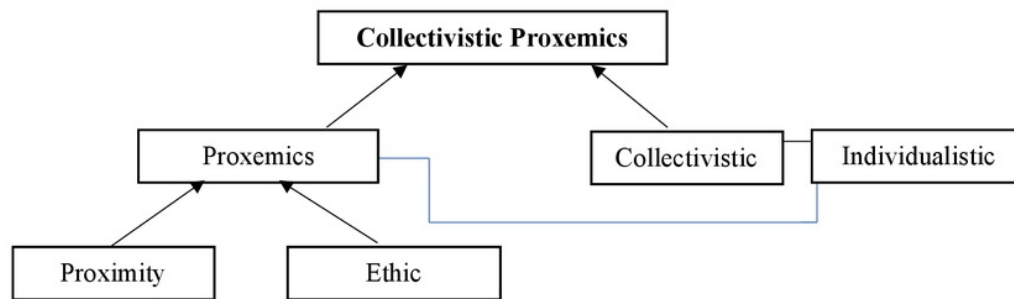**Figure 1. Microcultural Proxemics on Individualism Interaction (Hall, 1966)**

Figure 2. The Etimology of Collectivistic Proxemics (Tobing, 2018)

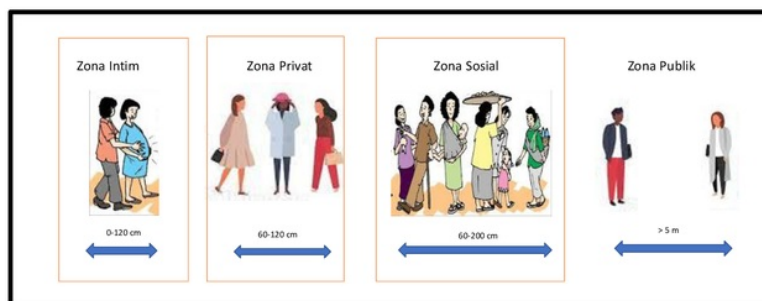**Figure 3. Social Interaction on Inter-unit Space.**

Figure 4. Microcultural Proxemics on Collectivism Interaction (Tobing, 2019)

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