

Chapter 1

Where Shall We Make Our Home? Motivations and Orientations for Slum Residents to Move to Public Housing in Tangerang City, Greater Jakarta

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1. Introduction

(1) Research Background

The emergence of slum settlements is one of the common negative impacts of rapid urbanization. The local governments are trying to alleviate slums to improve the city and also to provide a better life or better housing for the slum residents. Based on the studies by Huang et al. (2020), the best practice of slum alleviation is to upgrade the original location rather than relocating the residents to completely new locations or housing types.

However, if the upgrade option is not feasible, it is necessary to use the second option, which is housing relocation. Currently, most studies on housing relocation focus on involuntary relocation, rather than trying to explore the motivations of the residents themselves. They try to measure the negative impacts on people who are involuntarily forced to relocate from slums to public housing.

Currently, in pure studies of housing, two aspects are frequently addressed: residential mobility and housing relocation. The difference is that in residential mobility, individuals usually move because they

are motivated by individual preferences. For example, they are getting married, they need a bigger house, or they need more rooms because they have children and so on, so all the motivation comes from individual preferences.

However, housing relocation refers to situations when the motivation to move is influenced by external factors. For example, in this particular case, they are influenced by the government's agenda, which is slum alleviation.

Based on the International Finance Corporation (IFC 2006), relocation can be considered involuntary if the occupants are forced to accept the land acquisition that results in relocation. This kind of forced relocation has several negative impacts such as the severance of social networks, loss of place attachment and job loss. However, not all housing relocations can be considered involuntary, because the United Nations (1997) describes that relocation can be considered as voluntary if there is a choice as to whether the individuals can choose to move or to stay. Also, when some compensation for the land acquisition is involved, relocation can also be considered as voluntary.

The most interesting study that the author found recently is by Kearns and Mason (2013), who said that the nature of relocation, whether it is forced or voluntary, is purely dependent on the resident's motive and perspective. For example, maybe on the surface, some people view this kind of relocation as forced by the government, but when we approached the residents, they said that they actually already have a motivation to move. So, in this way, we could not say this relocation had been forced by the government. In other words, it may appear to be forced, but if we delve deeper, we find that the residents already wanted to move. They also state that the housing locations will actually have positive impacts on the relocated residents.

(2) Research Objectives

My first objective here is driven by the fact that commonly, studies regarding voluntary relocation or residents' mobility were done outside the setting of slum alleviation. For example, they were studying the motivation to move but outside of the slum alleviation settings.

The second objective is that most studies on slum alleviation are usually related to involuntary relocations that try to measure the impacts of the government and study the policy of involuntary relocations. Therefore, there are only a limited number of studies about the motivation to move from the perspective of the residents of the slum alleviation area. In addition, Kearns and Mason (2013) already found that relocations are generally beneficial to the residents both physically and socially. However, they do not explain in their study why, even though forced relocations are imposed on the surface, the residents do not feel forced to relocate because they already wanted to do so. Moreover, in their study, they do not explain why the residents had an intention to move beforehand.

On the other hand, Clark et al. (2015) have already done a study to measure the motivations to stay or to move using place attachment. However, their study was not done in the setting of slum alleviation.

Consequently, in this study, I wanted to bridge both studies by adopting the models of Clark et al. using place attachment to measure the motivations of residents of slum alleviation to explore the factors that have not been explained by Kearns and Mason.

Therefore, my objective for this research is to understand the motivations and also the orientations of slum residents to move voluntarily to public housing.

(3) Theoretical Perspectives

Usually, an individual's reasons to move are influenced by their

housing satisfaction and place attachment. That is why I want to use the variables from housing satisfaction and place attachment to measure the motivation to move.

1) Place Attachment

Place attachment is the affective link that people establish with place settings, where they tend to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001).

Also, place attachment is an important factor to be considered to understand people's decision to move (Low and Altman 1992). Generally, place attachment is divided into two main attributes. The first is Physical, such as accessibility to other locations, the availability of open spaces, security, facilities, building conditions and so on. The second is Social, such as the length of stay, number of friendships, home ownership or tenure, social interactions, and so on.

2) Housing Satisfaction

Galster (1985) was the first to conceptualize the actual-expectation gap theory. His idea is that housing satisfaction (HS) is represented by a number or level of how close or how far it is for each individual to reach their ideal housing. So, he said that the lower the housing satisfaction, the more individuals will consider moving to new housing in the case that those individuals could not improve their dwelling, for example, through physical renovation.

The attributes of housing satisfaction are similar to place attachment. Again, the first is Physical, for example, the floor area per person, and the second is also Social, like tenure and social interaction, and then neighborhood features like access to public transport and distance to facilities.

2. Research Methodology

I wanted to know the general reason or motivation for moving to public housing, so I interviewed prospective residents. The questions were: “Do you agree or are you willing to move to public housing?” Whatever their answer was, the next step was to ask them their motivations or the reasons. The interviews were focused on prospective residents who were presently residents of the slums. It was expected that they would be willing to move to public housing built by the government, and they were not being forced to move.

Next, I analyzed the results by using descriptive statistics, followed by statistical analysis using a simple Multi-Linear Regression. Then, to further test my findings, I interviewed residents who had already moved and had been living for several years in public housing, who were previously also slum residents, to find out their motivation to move and finally live in public housing.

Simply put, I wanted to know the slum residents’ reasons and then study them from the descriptive statistics and test the variables using a statistical analysis to see their motivations. Then, I wanted to compare these results with the motivations of those who had already moved to public housing.

3. Locus of Research

My research survey was done in Tangerang city, which is one of the peripheral cities of Greater Jakarta. For this study, the questionnaire survey was done in three different Kampongs or neighborhoods, the smallest administrative units in Indonesia. These were classified as slum settlements with a total of 92 respondents that I had already surveyed. The orientation for these slum residents was that they were expected to

relocate to Rusunawa (public housing) by the local government.

Most of the slum settlements in Tangerang city do not have proper planning and are too dense with dwellings too close to each other. In addition, most of the homes in these settlements tend to be smaller than eight meters square and are poorly constructed of inadequate housing material. From the perspective of infrastructure, some of them have poor road connectivity, which makes them isolated from the city. Most of the settlements also have an inadequate system of drainage as well as poor access to clean water. Due to lack of sanitation, health has become one of the major concerns in these settlements. Based on some features (physical, social, and economic), the local government classifies slums into three different categories: “Low,” Medium,” and “High.”



Figure 1. Low Level Slums. Source: Author

In the case of Tangerang city, most of the slum settlements are categorized as medium-level. The first option for this kind of slum settlement is, of course, to upgrade it by improving the physical conditions and the infrastructure. The second option is to provide affordable accommodation in the form of subsidized public housing, so

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that the residents can improve their lives by moving there. I do not know the reason, but the government tends to use the second option and expects the residents to simply move from slum settlements to public housing. Figure 2 shows medium and high levels. The housing conditions are not as good as in a low-level slum. Most of the houses are built using non-permanent materials such as wood and bamboo and have inadequate roofing. Some do not have their own toilets or access to clean water and even have no flooring. These are the biggest differences between the medium-high and the low-level slums.

Based on the report by the Regional Planning Agency (RPA), many housing units need to be provided. In order to achieve this, the RPA has developed a type of public housing which in local terms is called Rusunawa.



Figure 2. Medium and High-level Slums. Source: Author

The government has already performed a basic survey of the low-income sector and also of the slum residents. From the questionnaire, the government determined that 68% were willing to move into public housing, but they did not ask them what their motivation was.

Figure 3 shows a blueprint of a typical Rusunawa. This housing unit is

24 meters square and is designed to be occupied by a household with four members. There are 24 units per floor and a total of 4 floors in one block.

Unit size	= 24 m ²
Number of unit per floor	= 24 unit
4-stories x 24 units	= 96 unit

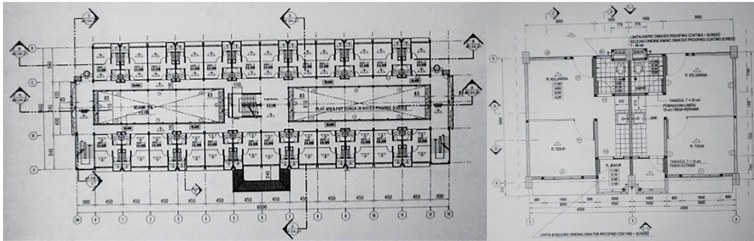


Figure 3. Floorplan of a Typical Rusunawa. Source: Author

Currently, there are a total of three Rusunawas or public housing blocks in Tangerang city. Most of this kind of public housing has five floors.



Figure 4. A Typical Rusunawa. Source: Author

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Figure 5. Rusunawa in Tangerang City. Source: Author

4. Findings and Discussion

The first findings are concerned with the basic reasons or motivations to move to public housing. Of the residents I surveyed, 43% were willing to move to public housing. They listed their motivations as looking for a more comfortable and better location and more appropriate accommodation. As most of them did not have their own toilets or easy access to clean water, they wanted to improve the quality of their housing by moving to public housing. However, 30% did not want to move because they already felt at home, and some of them also disliked the apartment, while the rest were still not sure and wanted to see and listen to the opinions of the other residents in the public housing first, and then decide whether to move or not.

To summarize, most of the residents were willing to move to Rusunawa because they wanted better housing, while those who disagreed stated that they already felt at home or were not sure. Interestingly, some residents agreed to move if their neighbors did so. Thus, we can

conclude that there are some social factors that could also influence their motivations to move, and this was confirmed by the next findings.

For the descriptive statistics and the statistical analysis, I used the variables in Table 1, starting from the basic household characteristics, like income, number of children, and so on. Then, I used the variables of place attachments. First are the physical variables, like the conditions of their housing structures, and then the subjective perception of the residents regarding their access to public transport, and so on. For example, I asked them to rate from 1(lowest) to 5(highest), “How do you rate the access to public transport from where you are living? Is it good or not?” I asked the same for the nearest hospital. Then, I asked for their subjective perceptions of their housing to find out whether they were aware or concerned about their living.

Table 1. List of Physical and Social Variables

Household Characteristics	Place Attachment (Physical-Objective)	Place Attachment (Physical-Subjective)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Income • Number of children • Household size • Education level • Occupation • Sex 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Condition of their housing structure • <i>(Permanent or non-permanent)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to public transport • Housing location • Subjective perception of housing condition
Place Attachment (Social-Objective)	Place Attachment (Social-Subjective)	Others
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Length of stay • Homeownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of friends • Frequency of social interaction • Number of participation in community events • Security • Relationship with neighbors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing satisfaction

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Next, I asked about the social attributes such as their length of stay and their tenure, and whether they owned their house or were just renting it. Subsequently, I asked about the number of friends, as well as the frequency of their social interactions and participation in community events and so on. Lastly, I also asked them about their housing satisfaction. I asked them, “From 1 to 5, how do you feel?” “Are you already satisfied living in this kind of neighborhood?” (See Table 2)

Table 2. Social Interactions

	Low (n=30)		Medium (n=42)		High (n=20)	
	Means	St.dev	Means	St.dev	Means	St.dev
Social predictors						
Length of Stay	34.1	18.4	20.9	14.5	25.6	14.5
I feel secure living here	3.9	0.5	3.8	0.4	3.9	0.3
I have lots of friends here	3.9	1.2	3.7	1.2	2.6	0.5
I frequently interact with my neighbors	4.8	0.4	4.5	1.0	3.7	1.7
I frequently join community event	3.8	1.1	3.6	1.2	2.3	1.5
I have a good relationship with my neighbors	4.3	0.4	3.9	0.3	4.0	0.5
Homeownership						
Owners	80.0%		64.3%		60.0%	
Renters	20.0%		35.7%		40.0%	
Others						
Housing Satisfaction	4.3	0.7	4.4	0.9	4.6	0.8

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics by Slum Levels

	Low (n=30)		Medium (n=42)		High (n=20)	
	Means	St.dev	Means	St.dev	Means	St.dev
Housing Structure						
Permanent	80.0%		69.1%		55.0%	
Semi-permanent	20.0%		30.9%		45.0%	
Public transportation is pretty much accessible	4.5	0.7	3.7	0.8	4.0	0.0
The location of this neighborhood is strategic	4.2	0.5	3.8	0.4	3.5	1.1
I feel satisfied and comfortable with my housing condition	3.3	0.9	3.3	0.9	3.1	1.1
Agree to move to PH						
Yes	13.3%		52.4%		70.0%	
No	46.7%		23.8%		30.0%	
Maybe	40.0%		23.8%		0.0%	

You can see from these simple descriptive statistics by slum levels in Table 3 that the first column is the low-level slums, the middle one is the medium, and the right side is the highest. As can be seen, most respondents in the lower-level slums have higher lengths of stay compared to the other kampongs or villages. Under “homeownership,” most respondents in the low-level slums own their house, or they think that they own it, because sometimes in Indonesia, or among slum residents in general, people think they own their house, but actually, the land ownership is still in dispute, or it is really owned by another party who lives somewhere else. So, among low-level slums, 80% think they are owners compared to the other villagers.

As can be seen in Figure 1, most houses in the low level of slums, around 80%, have permanent structures. Regarding their willingness to move to the public housing, only 13% of respondents in the low-level slums agreed, so 80% were still considering or did not want to move to public housing compared to the higher-level slums, where 70% of them were very happy to be able to move to public housing.

We can summarise these findings as:

- Most residents in the lowest slum level owned their house and have overall better housing conditions.
- At the same time, they mostly do not want to move to the public housing.
- Regarding social interaction, the lower the slum level, the higher the quality of social interaction among the residents.

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Table 4. Descriptive Statistics by Willingness to Move

	Yes	No	Maybe
Age (in years)	36.1	48.7	41.2
Income (in millions IDR)	3.2	2.6	2.7
Number of children	1.7	2.6	1.5
Male	54.8%	21.0%	24.2%
Female	20.0%	56.7%	23.3%
Elementary	33.3%	42.9%	23.8%
Junior High	53.3%	20.0%	26.7%
Senior High	50.0%	30.0%	20.0%
Formal	33.3%	46.7%	20.0%
Non-formal	61.8%	23.5%	40.0%
Housewives	37.5%	25.0%	37.5%
Semi-permanent	75.0%	14.3%	10.7%
Permanent	29.7%	40.6%	29.7%
Public transportation is accessible	4.0	4.1	4.1
This location is strategic	3.7	3.8	4.0
My house is in a satisfying condition	3.2	3.2	3.4
Owner	30.2%	41.3%	28.6%
Renter	72.4%	13.8%	13.8%
Length of stay (in years)	18.7	35.0	28.1
I feel secure living here	3.8	3.9	3.9
I have lots of friends here	3.0	3.8	4.2
I often interact with my neighbors	3.9	4.9	4.9
I frequently join community events	2.9	3.4	4.3
I have a good relationship with neighbors	4.0	4.1	4.0
Housing Satisfaction	4.2	4.7	4.4

As we can see in Table 4, men were more likely to agree to move than women. More than half of the male respondents were willing to move to public housings. From the perspective of occupations, respondents who worked in non-formal jobs were more likely to agree

to move to public housing than other occupations. Also, respondents who were living in semi-permanent housing were more likely to agree to move to public housing, and those who were tenants were more likely to agree to move than owners.

We can also see that people who have been staying longer do not want to move because they have become attached to their homes. Several types felt like this. For example, owners do not want to move even though the condition of their housing is not as good as the others, and because they think that they own their house they do not want to let it go and move to public housing.

We can summarize the findings as follows:

- Men are more likely to agree to move to public housing.
- Most residents with non-formal occupations are willing to move.
- Renters were more likely to agree to move to public housing.
- Some variables from the social attributes could also predict the residents' willingness to move.
 - The longer they stay, the higher their housing satisfaction.
 - Meanwhile, most residents who are willing to move have lower housing satisfaction.

From here, we can see that general reasons like their housing and social conditions could influence their motivation. And from the descriptive statistics, we can see that better housing and social aspects and other variables such as occupation, ownership, and others can influence their willingness to move.

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Table 5. Statistical Analysis

Variables	Parameter estimates
Homeownership	-1.991***
Housing satisfaction	-0.786***
Housing structure	-1.479***
Floor area per person	0.134
Location	0.121
Feeling of safety	-0.890
Social Interaction	-1.209*

Table 5 is the author's model of binominal regressions. The dependent variable here is "can not decide whether to move" = zero or "willing to move" = one. From all the variables, this model yielded the best results or better R-square.

There are seven variables, homeownership, housing satisfaction, and so on, including social interactions. Three asterisks mean it is significant at 99%, which is the strongest significance. One asterisk depicts the lower significance because it is only significant at 90%. The significant variables are home ownership, housing satisfaction, and house structure. Social interaction is also significant, but the significance is only 90%. From here, it can be seen that the strongest motivation to move is home ownership. Owners will be less motivated to move compared to renters, and the significance is the strongest at 99%, followed by housing satisfaction and then the housing structure. This means that the higher the housing satisfaction they felt, the less likely they were to want to move to public housing. Also, people who live in permanent structures will be less motivated to move compared to those who are living in semi-permanent structures.

For my last analysis, I wanted to know the reasons why people had moved, so I interviewed residents who had already been living in public housing for at least five years. Previously, they were also slum dwellers, and they had voluntarily moved to public housing. These are the reasons why they moved:

Table 6. Reasons for Moving to Public Housing

Reasons	Count	%
Economy (cheaper rent cost)	35	22.01%
Location (closer to work)	34	21.38%
Better housing/utilities	33	20.75%
Personal	27	16.98%
Better structure	15	9.43%
Evicted	14	8.81%
Feeling of safety	1	0.63%

I asked 159 respondents from public housing why they had moved. In Table 6, we can see that economy was the main reason. Most of the residents in public housing were previously renters in the slum settlements. They moved to public housing because the monthly rent was cheaper than their old rental houses. The second reason for moving was related to physical attributes, such as wanting to live in a better location, have better housing or utilities, and live in a better structure. Interestingly, only one respondent moved to public housing for socially related reasons, because they felt their old social environment was not safe enough.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, I used several factors I received from different types of analyses, and I compared them with the motivations of those who had already moved.

We can say that better housing or attributes related to the physical aspects could be the best motivators for the residents to move to public housing, as the slum residents wanted to move because they wanted better housing, and the residents who had already moved to public housing had done so because they also wanted better housing.



Figure 6. Motivation to Move. Source: Author

On the other hand, the higher the frequency of social interactions, the less likely the residents were to move. In this case, those who did agree to move were willing to do so only if their neighbors also moved as well.

Therefore, my conclusion here is that physical attributes could be the main motivators for the residents to move. However, social attributes may, at certain points, also influence that motive.

This study tries to improve on the study by Kearns and Mason (2013) by showing what factors motivated the residents to voluntarily move to public housing. In their study, they found that most of the residents received positive impacts, especially better building conditions. This study found the same reasons why people are motivated to move to

public housing in the first place. This study also tries to improve on the study of Clark et al. (2015) by applying their study or their models in the settings of slum alleviation. Aligned with their findings, satisfaction and place attachments were also significant motivations to move.

However, their study did not include housing structure, as explained by Kamalipour et al. (2012) in their model, and my study found that the pursuit of better housing, which is a physical attribute, is the strongest motivator for moving.

In the next stage of my study, I want to investigate whether moving to public housing does actually have positive impacts on the residents, as found by Kearns and Mason (2013).

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2. Malik, A. 2021. Willingness to Move to and from Rusunawa: Looking from the Perspective of both Prospective and Existing Residents of Rusunawa in Tangerang City, Greater Jakarta. *Asia-Japan Research Academic Bulletin*, 2, 1–16.
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