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Title: The Effect of Involuntary Resettlement to Place Attachment of
the Resettled Community towards the New Settlement in Rent-Flat
Housing in Jakarta

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The effect of involuntary resettlement to place attachment of the resettled community towards the new settlement in rent-flat housing in Jakarta

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Summary

Cities are growing and rapid urbanisation increase multiple challenges, especially for developing countries. In Jakarta, Indonesia, informal settlement also grows as an impact of rapid urbanisation and lack of sufficient housing. Some of the informal settlements are located in the riverbank. However, there was a regulation that was established in 2011 about the riverbanks that should be free from any kind of buildings. This condition constitutes resettlement of the people who initially resides on the riverbank in Jakarta. The urgency for the resettlement was also driven by the threat of flooding in Jakarta. The government then planned to hold a program that can turn the function of the river in Jakarta back to normal. However, the impacted community who are displaced from their previous location usually experience drastic changes in their new settlement, which in this case, the resettlement site is in a form of rent-flat housing. Place attachment is one of many theories worth to explore to improve the resettlement process that occurs, because place attachment involves in many important processes that can make adaptation phase smoother.

The main objective of this research is to explain the effect of involuntary resettlement to place attachment of the residents in rent-flat housing in Jakarta. This research will also explain the intermediate variables that influence the effect of involuntary resettlement to place attachment, namely perceived consent, predictability of the new environment, control of the impacted community in the new settlement and familiarity of the new settlement. By focusing on Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing as the study case about rent-flat housing in Jakarta, the research could answer the research question in the context of resettlement in Jakarta based on the respondents' experiences.

The aim of this research is to understand how something happen, so the methodology used is a qualitative study, using case study as the research strategy. Case study is a strategy that examines one or several situations in real-life setting. The data collection methods used were in-depth interview, observation, mental map drawing, and secondary data, such as maps, and planning document.

During the empirical study period, interviews were conducted with different respondents from both rent-flat housing, in Jatinegara Barat and in Rawa Bebek. From the interviews, it was understood that perceived consent in the resettlement process different in each individual. Control in new settlement and familiarity of the new settlement also play important role in building the place attachment in the new settlement. However, the role of predictability was not really seen for the specific cases used in this research. Besides the variables that is mentioned in the literature review, the empirical study showed findings that was not covered in the literature, which are status of ownership and the people's feeling after the relocation. Some people feel perforce, some people feel thrown away, and their status changes from owner of a house to renting a residential unit.

Based on the empirical study conducted in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, it showed that involuntary resettlement gave negative impact to place attachment of the residents in their new settlement. Overall, the effect of involuntary resettlement to place attachment occurs differently for each individual, and it is what makes it interesting and important to explore more, in order to accommodate the future resettled community in adapting to their new environment. Therefore, further studies about involuntary resettlement and place attachment are encouraged, especially using different approach and different method to enrich the findings and conclusion. For practical purpose, it is

recommended to give thorough and deep socialization to the accurate impacted community that can really represent the community. It is also important to give informed consent and actually reach agreement that show the willingness of the impacted people to be relocated. In addition, conducting study about the life of the impacted community to be adopted to the resettlement planning is recommended to help the impacted community build the place attachment to the new settlement.

Keywords

involuntary resettlement; place attachment; rent-flat housing; displacement; relocation

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Abbreviations

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is a dense city with total population of 10 million inhabitants with an average of 15.000 inhabitants per km² (Bappeda Jakarta, 2015). Based on official government data, there were 160.114 people migrating from outside of Jakarta in 2015 to Jakarta (DKI Jakarta Province, 2015). As the center of the country, Jakarta attracts people from rural areas to migrate and reside in the city to gain access to greater economic opportunities. However, rural migrants are not able to afford high rental rates in the city (Hulchanski, 1995). Rapid urbanization in this city has caused housing or land scarcity. In order to fulfil the need for shelter, the rural migrants are pushed by the condition to build their own informal settlements, many of which are located around riverbanks, railways, waste disposal sites, and small areas of private undeveloped land (Winayanti and Lang, 2004). These areas are not equipped with basic facilities as they are prone to danger such as flooding, exposed to noise of cars and trains, and has a low hygiene from land filling, etc. The target study group of this research is people who are now become the inhabitants of resettlement sites after being relocated from their previous settlement in Ciliwung riverbank.

The inhabitants of Ciliwung riverbank did not have legal documentation of their ownership of the house, setting them in an informal position. It makes their legal position vulnerable if anytime a development proposed in their area. The people who reside in the riverbank are even in a greater disposition as the national law in Indonesia claims all riverbanks to be clear of any buildings up to 50 m or 100 m from the coastline of the river depending on the width and depth of the river (Presidential Decree number 38, 2011). However, some of these urban riverways already claimed to have informal settlements there claimed to be exist even before the law was applied (Bentley, 2016).

The risk of flooding in Jakarta is high because it is located below sea level. The current governor is trying to solve the flood problem by cleaning the Ciliwung river's area and restore its purpose to make it functional. The program to clean the river's area and restore its purpose is also called Ciliwung river normalization program. If the rivers in Jakarta function well, it can help to prevent flooding and landslide. The government's effort in order to normalize the river is by dredging the river area that becomes shallow, cleaning the river from garbage, and regulating the building located around the river. Regulating land sites that is filled with informal settlements, means relocating the people who live in the riverbank to another location. To achieve the riverbank clean-up, the government sends notification to the affected households about the relocation. However, there are reports where the officials gave short notice to the people, allowing them only one week to prepare for the relocation into a flat-rent housing (Pratiwi, 2017). Residing in the riverbanks for a long time, the people have their own attachment to the area. In Jakarta, involuntary resettlement is seen as an act of pulling the affected people from their root (Taylor, 2016).

The flat-rent housing or known as *rusunawa* is solution from government to offer proper housing with low-cost rent. This type of housing is also function as resettlement facility for relocated people from riverbanks or from improper housing on the land that belongs to the country (Wahyuni, 2015). In one building of rent-flat housing, sometimes not all of them come from the same neighbourhood (Jamil, 2016). This is not the first resettlement project in Jakarta. The government has been conducting resettlement initiatives, however further studies is still needed to investigate which aspects that can be improved in order to make the process of resettlement smoother and more convenient for the relocated people (Mathur, 2006).

The people who live in the slum areas in the riverbank usually are economically marginalized, trying their best to survive their financial crisis. Given the fact to their economic disadvantage, these settlements in the riverbank are very dense and usually without proper sanitation. Therefore, the inhabitants of these settlements are forced to make use of the river for sanitary needs and washing. As Wirth (1938) described that the urban way of life is related with the physical structure, the social organization and the people's behavior, the behavior of people living in Ciliwung riverbank can be potentially influenced by the physical condition of their settlement, their economic stability and the social structure. The people who live near the river have their attachment to the river as they use it for their daily activities. While in the new settlements that are provided by the government, the dwelling stacked on top of each other vertically offering different kind of facilities. Given the condition that now they are resettled to a new location, the continuity of their life is worth to study more. If they were willing to stay for such a long time in a poor condition to fulfill their needs before, it is interesting then to investigate whether in the current settlement they can grow attachment that can help their adaptation phase smoother.

1.2 Problem Statement

Sometimes displacements are unavoidable in some contexts, especially in developing countries (Cernea, 1997). In this case, displacement took place to give some room for development and flood risk prevention of the city. The decision made to displace the people was because of the urgency to prevent seasonal flood that will happen in Jakarta (Laksana, 2017). Even though at the same time the government is preparing the resettlement site for the people affected by the relocation, the affected people are not involved in the planning or decision making process. In that case, the planners are not prepared to project other aspects that can be potentially disrupted by the relocation. (Wekesa et al, 2011). The resettlement preparation becomes important and different than usual mobility that urban population can also have, because the scale of the mobility is in big population and the people don't have options, besides to move. Cernea (1997) said that sometimes the distribution of the pain and the gain caused by the resettlement is not equitable.

Resettling people means moving people's entire life. The resettled community will experience drastic changes in their living environment, moreover if it is not the place of their preference. Resettlement can have further psychological effects because resettled communities have to adjust their behavior to adapt to their new living environment (Febrian, 2015). This study acknowledges that there are other major issues in terms of resettlement effect, such as economy and social. However, there is a case of resettlement like in Chile that describe that improvement in material condition is important, but if it doesn't contemplate the immaterial aspects, the improvement will be temporary and create greater vulnerability and social exclusion (Gonzales-Parra and Simon, 2007). It becomes important to understand other aspects of resettlement effects in Jakarta, such as place attachment, living environment, behavior, habit, and the social structures of the relocated people, and see which domain among those that can also be added in consideration for improvement of the resettlement planning. Place attachment is worth to study to see the condition of the people after being resettled, because attachment the current place can help the adaptation smoother (Fullilove, 1996).

Emerging place attachment in a new settlement is complicated. It involves different factors that are holistically influence someone's attachment to a place. To restore or grow attachment to a place of relocated people cannot be done by giving certain programs or training, while place attachment has relevance to many important processes. Example of studies about

people and place bond has delineate distress and grief expressed by relocated people, and it is worth to explore more about this study (Fried, 1966; Fullilove, 1996).

1.3 Research Objectives

The research objective is to explain the effect of involuntary resettlement towards place attachment of the inhabitants in their current settlement.

1.4 Research Question

How does involuntary resettlement affect the place attachment of the resettled community towards the new settlement in rent-flat housing in Jakarta?

In order to answer this question, I will investigate:

- How does the perceived consent in resettlement affect place attachment (physical, social, and psychological dimensions) to the new settlement?
- How does the predictability of the new settlement affect place attachment (physical, social, and psychological dimensions) of the resettled community?
- How does control of the resettled community in the new settlement affect place attachment (physical, social, and psychological dimensions)?
- How does familiarity of the new place affect place attachment (physical, social, and psychological dimensions) of the resettled community towards the new settlement?

1.5 Significance of the Study

By conducting a study about involuntary resettlement and place attachment, the aim is to understand how the relation between both variables work. Besides, this study also aim to understand the influence of other factors in the relation of the involuntary resettlement and place attachment. It is relevant to do this study because if resettlement should take place due to further city development, by understanding the relation and the influence, it can give recommendation or consideration to prepare a proper resettlement planning according to the relocated people and make the adaptation phase smoother. On the other hand, place attachment involves in important process in people's life, but the study is still limited, especially related to relocation, therefore study about place attachment is still worth exploring. In addition to that, study about relocation is still looking for ways to understand how to make adaptation phase after relocation smoother, and study about relocation in different aspects is worth to enrich those studies.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This study will assess inhabitants of the resettlement sites who were displaced from their previous informal settlement in Ciliwung riverbank in Jakarta. The target group of the study is resettled community as the impact of river normalization project during the period of 2012-2017. The topic discusses in-depth about the involuntary resettlement that they experience and the place attachment to the current settlement. Furthermore, the dimension of place attachment that will be focused are physical, social and psychological dimension. The assessment will be done in 1 month during the fieldwork by doing interview and secondary data collection from community organizations that have been working on this resettlement project.

The study is about place attachment of the residents who were relocated to rent-flat housing. Among 18 rent-flat housings in Jakarta (DKI Jakarta, 2015), the study was only conducted in two rent-flat housing in Jakarta, which are rent-flat housing particularly for resettlement site. There were conditions where the permission process that had to take place before interviewing the people took longer time than expected, leaving two weeks left for interviewing the residents of both rent-flat housing. On the other hand, the two rent-flat housings of the study area were strict with security and regulation; it limits the freedom of the activity. Every guest has to report; the fieldwork was escorted, even though during the interviews the security officer gave some space and tried to be out of range by the residents; and after each interview, the security guard must take pictures of the activity and report to their superordinate. In general, the strict security and control from the management unit of the rent-flat housing might influence the answer of the residents or might not. In fact, respondents still express their grief and disappointment of the relocation during the interviews for things that they found not satisfying and express positive attitude for things that they found fair.

Chapter 2: Literature Review / Theory

2.1 Introduction

This section presents the overview of literature about involuntary resettlement and place attachment. These concepts are touching other subjects such as displacement as the part of resettlement process, living environment as the object of place attachment and behavior. With these literature review, the relation between the concepts is aimed to be understood to be able to answer the research question after comparing it with the empirical studies in the field.

2.2 Involuntary Resettlement

Involuntary resettlement consists of two processes that are distinct but not separated. The first is displacement, which involves dismantling people from their economic and social organization. The second one is relocation, which involves resettling people to different location (Mathur, 2006). Some authors use the word resettlement (Cernea, 1997; Mathur, 2006; Wekesa et.al., 2011), but some authors use the word relocation (Kleinhans, 2003; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Baker, 2008) to describe the process or act of moving from one location and being settled in another location. For the purpose of this thesis, the word relocation is used as part of involuntary resettlement, which is the second process after displacement. Displacement is a process where urban inhabitant should move from their resident area. Among process of displacement, it can be distinguished into three types. First, displacement caused by natural causes or known as disaster-induced displacement, such as earthquake, floods, etc. Second, displacement caused by political events or known as conflict-induced displacement, such as wars, revolutions, etc. Third, displacement caused by planned development programs or known as development-induced displacement (Cernea, 1993). Categories of development-induced displacement are water supply, urban infrastructure, transportation, energy, agricultural expansion, parks and forest reserves, and population distribution schemes (Robinson, 2003). Displacement and relocation usually happen in developing countries. With a massive urbanization that happens and development projects that are being implemented, it is difficult to undertake any infrastructure project without displacing people, especially when the project occurs in area with high population density. The issue is how the displacement and relocation process has less disruption towards the affected people, and the benefits of the project can also be shared with them. Even though in the case of development-induced displacement there is a problematic issue about the necessity of displacement, the problem is not about the projects should not be undertaken. The problem is how the displacement process is conducted involuntarily (Mathur, 2006).

A resettlement is considered involuntary when it occurs without informed consent or choice to the affected people or when the choice is exercised without reasonable alternative (Mathur, 2006). Morris-Jung and Roth (2010, p.13), in a voluntary resettlement approach for a case in Vietnam, however, discuss about the clarity of informed consent rose and an interesting question, which was “Did communities truly agree to relocate?” It shows that informed consent have its own perception to the impacted community, and in the study case that they wrote, the impacted community indicated various answer, ranging from open rejection to various degrees of willingness. The perception of the impacted community was positive under the condition that their new condition would be better than their situation prior to the relocation. However, based on that, the perceived consent could occur differently to different people.

The intervention in peoples' lives caused by involuntary resettlement is particularly intense: An example of involuntary resettlement that affected indigenous groups in Uganda

causing them struggling with adapting with new livelihood strategies within the rapid changes in their environment. In the case of indigenous people, involuntary resettlement also disrupts the cultural aspect of their life, especially if the cultural aspect has relation with the place itself (Himmelfarb, 2006). The difference between involuntary resettlement and voluntary resettlement lies on the opportunity to have options after being relocated. In a case of Cat Tien National Park in Vietnam, voluntary resettlement leaving options for the people to be relocated from the area, so long as the people can be brought to "agree" (Morris-Jung and Roth, 2010). In this case, it can be presumed that without the people being agreed, the people wouldn't be relocated yet. Another example, Goetz (2002) describe that the voluntary resettlement allows some families to apply to move out from their concentrated area to a non-concentrated area. In a study about voluntary resettlement and involuntary resettlement explains that involuntary resettlement impact wider range of family compared to the voluntary resettlement. The impact also includes families who refuse to be relocated to different neighbourhood. In the case of involuntary resettlement, even though the people refuse to be relocated, most of the times they still have to leave the previous location. The overall conclusion of the comparison is problematic to be generalized because there are a lot of other factors involved. However, from the study conducted, the involuntary resettled families are reported to get fewer benefits from their move. This statement emerged from the items related to the social interaction and neighbourhood satisfaction (Goetz, 2002).

The effect of involuntary resettlement can be explained with landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity, and community disarticulation (Cerneia, 1997). First, landlessness can be understood by decreasing number of land ownership caused by the involuntary resettlement. Second, joblessness can apply in a situation where the previous settlement that they had was also their working place, for example occupants who had small shop at their place. The joblessness not only occur to the shop owner, but also other people who usually are from the neighbourhood and worked there. That is one of the factors why scholars also argued that involuntary resettlement is having a high risk on impoverishment (Partridge, 1989). Third, homelessness comes with the feeling of losing not only the physical house, but also all relations within it. Homelessness is usually long term and leads to alienation in the society for not owning attachment to a place anymore. Fourth, marginalization happens to middle-income group. They experience degradation from what they owned and earned before. It can cause a drop in social status and in a long term can cause psychological problem related to self-confidence. Fifth, increase morbidity and mortality are attacking the most vulnerable group, which are infants, children and the elderly. The involuntary resettlement causes trauma and psychological problem, but diseases are also caused by the non-existence of proper basic services. Sixth, food insecurity is caused by sudden drop in food availability during the resettlement process. Seventh, loss access to common property usually are not compensated by the government. For example, water bodies, common garden, burial ground, etc. Eight, social disarticulation means that the existing social fabric and the strong kinship are tearing apart (Cerneia, 1997). This thesis will focus on effect of involuntary resettlement that is related to feeling of homelessness and how the attachment to the new place is influenced by the involuntary resettlement. The resettled people who lost their house are not only losing the building, but also the interpersonal relationship between individuals and their settlement (Fried, 1966).

Involuntary resettlement is not only affecting the resettled community, but also the environment where they are being resettled and the existing population there. Involuntary resettlement often means moving densely settled population to a location with less source for the number of the new population. Different than urban migration that happens gradually,

involuntary resettlement happens rapidly. With the risks mentioned above, a well-prepared planning for the displacement and relocation is needed. The planning can include the physical, social and economic aspects. Poor displacement and relocation planning can lead to failure that makes the resettled difficult to adjust to their new settlement (Partridge, 1989). The effect of involuntary resettlement is more adversely experienced by vulnerable groups of people among the resettles. The vulnerable group can be defined based on age, gender, ethnicity, physical or mental disability, and social economic status. These group of people need special attention in the planning and implementation of involuntary resettlement (Mathur, 2006).

The process of relocation needs a good management. For people to live in the new place, basic services need to be in place. Sooner the amenities should also be available, such as medical facilities, education facilities, religious facilities, public building, etc. However, often relocation sites are located in remote place and give the planning a difficult exercise. People miss their social networks and for people who had a traditional place of worship loss their connection to that place. In fact, not all kind of loss from the involuntary resettlement are quantifiable, making it more difficult to assess social impact of the involuntary resettlement. Planner can be provided with the people's knowledge, belief and expectation by involving the people in the process (Mathur, 2006). Often the new settlement where the resettles are relocated, the architecture, the physical characteristics and construction is strongly influenced by the developer involved in the project. In that case, mismatch often occur between the physical structure of the settlement and the resettled community (Wekesa et al, 2011). By involving the affected people, planner will understand deeper about the people they are designing for and can provide the correct facilities needed by the people to reconstruct their lives. A poor preparation can lead to failure of resettlement that can cause increased cost, delay, and the avoided one is human cost (Mathur, 2006).

Involuntary resettlement that happened in Chile in 2000 shows that the relocation process improved the people's material condition, such as new house, water and sewage system. The improvement of material condition is important to the people's quality of life. However, without further assistance and support of the immaterial condition, the improvement will be temporary. An example of the immaterial aspect is a program that increase people's opportunity and control of their lives. In their new settlement, they felt more exposed and they found few strangers came to their door. They felt unsafe and vulnerable, especially the women. The women group felt vulnerable because they lost their support networks that they had before and have not created a new one (Gonzales-Parra and Simon, 2008). After being resettled, people will lose their house, but as a place where human relationship happened, indirectly they also lose their sense of home (Fried, 1966).

Involuntary resettlement is not always seen as a threatening event, but also a development opportunities. Resettlement with development is a process to treat it as an opportunity for development to improve the livelihood of the affected people after relocation. Resettlement usually is an impact of a development project, but if resettlement is treated as a development project itself, the reconstruction of the livelihood of the resettles can firstly be restored, and lastly be improved, and benefiting them at last. Resettlement with development is already applied in China while the concept is not widely accepted in other countries (McDonald et al., 2008).

2.3 Place Attachment

Place attachment is often confused by different names, associated often with place identity, sense of belonging, sense of community, place dependence, etc. In general, place

attachment can be defined as affective bond between people and specific place. However, this definition can still be used for other close-related concept with place attachment, for example resident satisfaction. It creates ambiguity and still not clearing up the confusion of what define place attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). Satisfaction is distinct than attachment. A person can be satisfied with the condition of a place, but not necessarily be attached (Stedman, 2003).

Fullilove (1996) said that attachment to place, same as attachment to people, can be seen as a series of emotions and behaviors that has maintained contact with the object of attachment. Summarizing some authors that discuss about place attachment, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) conceptualized place attachment as a positive bond between individual and a specific place, with the individual's tendency to stay close to the place as the main characteristic. Place attachment emerges from place meaning that is created by the occurrence of important personal experience, such as milestones (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). The bond between a person and a place is also created by cognitive element, which includes memories, belief, knowledge and meaning that individuals associate with the core of their life setting (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). For example, Fullilove (1996) see familiarity of a place as a cognitive component of place attachment. She views that to be attached is to know and organize the details of the environment. Even though it is a cognitive component of place attachment, but this component involves the physical dimension of a place, for example physical features and structures.

Place attachment is multidimensional and different authors have different views of the dimensions. Gathering the categorization of different authors about the dimensions of place attachment, it could be described that the dimension of place attachment consists of place dimension, social dimension and psychological dimension. The categorization based on reviewed literature can be seen on Table 1.

Table 1. Dimensions of Place Attachment

Dimensions used in the thesis	Concepts based on literature	Brief Definition
Physical Dimension	Place dependence (Williams and Vaske, 2003)	Attachment to the function of the place to facilitate activities that helps to achieve goals or desire.
	Physical attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001)	Attachment to the physical feature of a place, for example, shape, height, spacious, etc
	Place dimension (Scannell and Gifford, 2011)	Spatial level, specific features of the place, social and physical feature.*
	Rootedness (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981)	Attachment to a place in terms of physical.
Social Dimension	Social attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001)	Attachment to social feature of a place, for example, the neighbours.

	Place dimension (Scannell and Gifford, 2011)	Spatial level, specific features of the place, social and physical feature.*
	Bonding (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981)	Attachment to social community in a place.
Psychological Dimension	Psychological process: affective, cognitive and behavior (Scannell and Gifford, 2010)	People who have place attachment will have emotion to the place as love or pride and incorporate that into self-schemas, and expressing it through behaviors that keep them close to the place.
	Place identity (Williams and Vaske, 2003)	Emotional relation with a place that reflect the symbolic importance of the place and give meaning to life.

* Because physical aspect and social aspect in a place is strongly related, place dimension is categorized in both physical and social dimension of place attachment

Place attachment can range from very personal attachment to group attachment that is collectively shared. At the group level is related to the process of social identity development, as Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) also views that place attachment is a component of place identity. Social identity forms when a group finds similarity in a group and distinction from other groups. In that sense, a place can give information about similarity and distinction based on the physical or social features that can generate sense of belonging to a place or to the neighbourhood. The example of similarity and distinction in the neighbourhood is the type of house or physical appearance of one house compare to other houses in the same proximity area (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

Home is the most important physical setting to most people and people usually have their own attachment to their own home. Living environmental transition causing by moving from one settlement to another can be a stressful process to some people, depending on their preferences, expectation and their past attachment to the previous settlement (Gifford et al, 2011). In the same means to attachment to a place, Fried (1966) explain how familiarity to the local context in the physical living environment can build the residences' commitment. Beside the familiarity, personal contact that is influenced by the spatial patterns also has a significant influence in making the commitment to the larger local area and improve its relationship to be called "home".

2.3.1 Physical Dimension

People need a place to live in order to support their live. Fullilove (1996) mentioned that place has multiple meaning. She gathered the definition and categorized it into three. First, place is a location where events occur. The geographic location and its relation to accessibility to food, water, safety and other needs influence to degree of good location to support life. Second, place is a location where human interaction take place. It represents that physical aspect and social aspect in a place is related. The element of physical dimension, such as space may act as source of knowledge, security, and to some extent identity within community

(Rogers and Wang, 2006). In summary, a place is collection of resources to support human's life and human relationship in a given location.

Physical dimension as a component of place attachment can varies from scale, spatial level, specificity, and physical features. Spatial level can be divided into three; home, neighbourhood, and city. Spatial level is important, because even though it is difficult to measure the degree of place attachment, studies show that place attachment for the home and the city is greater than place attachment for the neighbourhood (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Physical feature can support specific goals and desired activities that Williams and Vaske (2003) mention as place dependence. Place dependence is attachment towards the function of the place that is embodied in its physical features, for example accessible rock climbing routes, or collectable forest products. If the proximity of the place that provide such function is close enough and allow frequent visitation, this attachment may increase (Williams and vaske, 2003).

2.3.2 Social Dimension

Scientists think that place attachment is necessarily social. It is also viewed by the scientists that if the attachment is directed towards the people who live in the same place rather than the place itself in terms of physical, it is considered as social bond, which is equivalent to social attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Social bonding can be divided into two construct, which is family bonding and friend bonding (Raymond et al., 2010). In the context of losing home because of involuntary resettlement, Fried (1966) said when people are losing a house, they are not only losing the physical building, but also the relations and interactions happening in that house. Attachment to the person who live sometimes can be separated from attachment to the place. To see the difference, for example examination can be done by asking whether the person feel sad if the neighbour move out without them or the person feel sad when they move together out of the place Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001).

Goetz (2002) shows from the result of their study that involuntary resettled group have more social problem, especially related to neighbourhood interaction, for example make friends or greetings in the neighbourhood. This study also touched trust between the neighbours, because in the data collection process, the people in the neighbourhood are asked about asking for help to the neighbour, or even borrowing stuff from the neighbour. In most of the subject asked, the result of involuntarily resettled community is lower than voluntary resettled community. This social problem examined in this specific study is acknowledging different ethnic background that could influence the social interaction between neighbours. On the other hand, in terms of stress, social support through bond within community can help to reduce consequences of emotional stress and prevent stress from happening (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981). Therefore, in the case of involuntary resettlement, it is important to bring the existing social bonding or social attachment to the resettlement area.

Another case of involuntary resettlement in Chile was facing problem in the implementation program to strengthen the community organization. This problem occurred because the relocation process includes two different communities with strong identities. There is also weaker community participation in development activities, programs, plans, or projects that they have implemented. It shows that the community has less self-determination towards the neighbourhood and they become dependent to the assistance to provide basic needs (Gonzales-Parra and Simon, 2007). In other words, the community is still in their survival mode and not in the stage where they think about a long term permanent process yet. In that sense, the community does not have attachment to the neighbourhood that makes them want to participate and contribute to improve the neighbourhood project. These cases of involuntary

resettlement show that physical planning without including social aspect could also induce social planning problem (Fried, 1966).

2.3.3 Psychological Dimension

Psychological dimension of place attachment includes affective, cognitive and behavior (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Affective in place attachment includes emotional feeling towards a meaningful place. The evidence of emotional manifestation of place attachment can be seen in a study of relocation by Fried (1966). In his study, Fried explain that the people who are relocated express their emotion with grief, sorrow and mourn. In this study, he concluded that grief is not limited to the death of the loved one, but can also be applied to the loss of a meaningful place. Cognitive in place attachment is related to memories, belief and meaning that becomes the center of one's life. Familiarity is seen as cognitive component of place attachment (Fullilove, 1966). Behavior is manifestation of place attachment in psychological dimension expressed into action, for example maintaining proximity and want to be close with the place (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Manzo and Perkins (2006) also view that place attachment reveals that identity and the power relation manifests through the everyday use and meaning of the place. Such attachment would influence one's action, especially to stay in, to protect, to maintain or to improve the place that is meaningful to them.

One point mentioned in parameter of successful resettlement by Fullilove (1996) is people contribute to take care of their living environment. She also mentioned that adaptation and adjustment of the resettled people can be easier if place attachment grow towards the current settlement. Manzo and Perkins (2006) also mention in their study that positive bond between person and their environment can motivate people to stay in, maintain and protect their meaningful place. These forms of behavior are manifestation of place attachment in psychological dimension. However, once the place attachment is disrupted, it is difficult to restore it back. Manzo and Perkins (2006) mentioned that it needs proper recognition of the people's feeling of loss causing by the disruption to mobilize the people to participate in rebuilding their community. With participation of the people who have attachment to the place, any design proposal that can threat their social fabric can be perceived earlier and can be evaluated. Unfortunately, such a case seldom happens in involuntary resettlement (Goetz, 2002; Gonzalez-Parra and Simon, 2008).

2.4 Effect of Involuntary Resettlement to Place Attachment

Residential relocation, as the second step of involuntary resettlement after displacement, has a complex environmental transition and it applies not only to the location and the nature of housing, but also other non-residential activities, such as employment and social relations. It is particularly a complex transition in the case of involuntary resettlement, because the relocated people don't have options of their new residential location. In general, studies view that involuntary resettlement brings destructive effect to the well-being of a person or the family. However, there are variables in psychology that can mediate the destructive effect of relocation, which in this study is part of involuntary resettlement, namely predictability and control of the new environment (Stokols and Shumaker, 1982). Predictability can involve prior introduction to the resettlement site and proper information of the new life condition, while control of the new environment, while control of the new environment is the residents' ability and possibility to manage their new environment. Besides those mediating variable, Stokols and Shumaker also said that people's adjustment to their relocation depends on how they are attached to the current residential situation.

In the context of relocation, some people try to stay physically close to the area of their previous settlement in order to feel the familiarity of the place (Fried, 1966). In his classical study about neighbourhood attachment, he said that even expected street or physical feature like window and door, or familiar people walking by and personal greetings will create a sense of belonging. This action to stay physically close can be done if the people still have option or affordability to stay close to the area of their previous settlement. Usually it will be different in the case of involuntary resettlement, because the resettled community do not have alternative (Mathur, 2006). Fullilove (1996) also support the statement of Fried (1966) by saying that intimate knowledge of the new area is necessary for survival when relocating. She also stated that attachment to a place is distinct with attachment to a person, and involuntary resettlement disrupt both attachment that she said would cause physical and mental health disruption to the resettles. In some cases, the new settlement can fulfill the needs for activities but there is still no attachment to the new settlement. Moreover, if many of the settlement's features are out of the occupant's personal control, the occupants can feel resettlement stress (Stokols and Shumaker, 1982).

Another example of how the people seek for familiarities in the new town that was reconstructed after the war took place in Xenia, Ohio. The town was reconstructed after a disaster happened, giving the urban planners an opportunity to solve the planning problem that already existed prior to the disaster. However, the local residents and business owners who were involved in the reconstruction of the city created the new Xenia looked like the town before the disaster. This action shows that a strong attachment towards the place before the war makes the people re-create the town based on their knowledge and memory of the town. The actions taken by the local residents and the business owners are acknowledged as their behavioral expression of their place attachment (Scanell and Gifford, 2010). It shows that place attachment is not only grounded in emotions (Fried, 1966), but also can be expressed into actions and behavior. This statement actually comprehends the psychological dimension of place attachment that is not only consist of affective and cognitive, but also behavior. Place attachment varies among different individuals, depends on age and sex. Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) in their study conclude that place attachment increase with age and women have more attachment to a place than men.

The relocation sites are usually chosen by another party, in most cases are the government, and the resettled are not able to choose where they are going to be resettled to. In that case, the reconstruction of their life in the new settlement depends on how the sense of belonging to the new place is built. Place attachment and sense of belonging are related and sometimes used interchangeably. As it is mentioned before that place attachment is confused by different names, in this thesis writing, the term place attachment and sense of belonging is distinct but related. Sense of belonging to a place has three operational processes according to Fullilove (1996): familiarity, attachment and identity. With resettlement, those three processes are disrupted. She mentioned that the parameters of successful resettlement process that build the sense of belonging are:

1. A good enough place to live
2. People feel settled in home, neighbourhood and region
3. People contribute in taking care of their living environment
4. People know their neighbour and interact with them.

If the successful of relocation is measured by the points above, in most cases of relocation, the successful part stops at point one. Based on previous discussion about place attachment, the indicator of place attachment on Fullilove's resettlement successful parameters

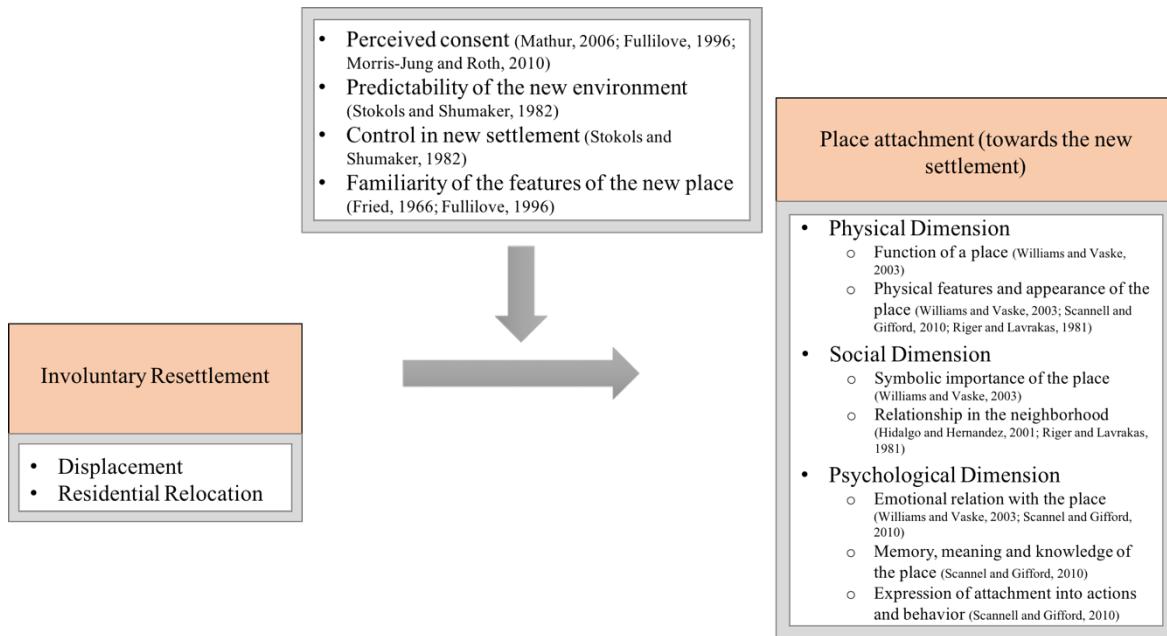
can be seen from point two and point three. The difference is, point two refers to place attachment that is grounded in emotion and point three shows expression of place attachment through behavior. Point four where interaction with neighbour is indicated as one of the successful parameters, it is difficult to say if it is included as social bonding that is a component of place attachment. However, from four parameters of successful resettlement that Fullilove describe, place attachment is included in the major parts. it is making it relevant to study and explore more about place attachment in new settlement of the relocated people.

In some relocation case, material conditions are improving. The people who are relocated get a better house with basic services (Gonzalez_Parra and Simon, 2008). However, the resettled community only think of short term survival rather than permanent stay. They do need more money, because they have to purchase more and losing their self-sufficiency (Gonzalez_Parra and Simon, 2008). Case of involuntary resettlements are contextual, there are relocation sites that are located far from the city center, but there are relocation sites that are provided with better access, opportunities for better education and job opportunities. However, there are people in the better condition who still prefer to go back to their informal settlement because there is no sense of "home" to them (Agnes et al., 2009). In his study, Fried (1966) describe about how familiarity of the environment and the people create attachment to the place. In the case of involuntary resettlement, familiarity of the current settlement can be examined to see how it build the resident's place attachment.

In terms of physical dimension, comparing to the condition of their previous settlement, which is with the absence of basic service and infrastructure, the new settlement is considered as good enough place to live. However, there are other factors that also affect the continuity of one's life and further studies should occur in order to conclude the feel of home until resettled community's contribution to their new settlement (Wekesa et al, 2011). Some relocation sites are remote and relocation only leaving them with better house condition but disconnected from their lives. Not only they become far away from their employment, but also from their social and in some cases, even traditional live. In fact, not all kind of loss from the involuntary resettlement are quantifiable, making it more difficult to assess social impact of the involuntary resettlement. Involving the resettled community in the planning process can provide planners with access of the kind of knowledge and social life of the people they are planning for. Thus, error design can be prevented (Mathur, 2006).

2.5 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



The conceptual framework tries to show how the involuntary resettlement is influencing the inhabitant's place attachment towards the new settlement. Involuntary resettlement, according to the definition on literature review is resettlement without informed consent or choice for the people that involves displacement and residential relocation. Involuntary resettlement is the Independent variable, and place attachment is the dependent variable. In studying about the influence of resettlement to place attachment, there are some intermediate variables that are mentioned in the literatures, such as perceived consent, predictability, control in new settlement and familiarity if the structure in the new settlement (Mathur, 2006; Fullilove, 1996; Morris-Jung and Roth, 2010). Those variables appear as part of how the displacement and relocation process is done. Perceived consent in this conceptual framework means how people accept and perception towards the agreement to be relocated. Predictability explains the condition where the people are prepared to get to know the new environment prior to the movement to the new settlement. Control in the new settlement shows the possibility of the people to have control or manage the new environment. Familiarity of the features of the new place explains about the features of the place or the people in the new settlement that they already had memory about before.

Place attachment is multidimensional that can be categorized into three parts; physical, social, and psychological. From the literature, it is described that the effect of resettlement is not only locational change, but also social life and sometimes even effecting physical and mental health. Based on those knowledge, this study wants to see the influence of involuntary resettlement towards the three dimensions of place attachment in the new resettlement. The study of place attachment is worthy because place attachment is relevant to many important processes. For example, Fullilove (1996) said that place attachment to the current settlement could enable the relocated people to adjust themselves more.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

This chapter describes the research design of this study in order to be able to answer the research question. This chapter also describe the operationalization of the study as a bridge between the theoretical study and the empirical study. Data collection method, sampling, and validity and reliability of the methodology is also explained in this chapter.

3.1 Research Questions

- **Main Research Question**

How does involuntary resettlement affect the place attachment of the resettled community towards the new settlement in rent-flat housing?

- **Sub Research Question**

1. How does the perceived consent in resettlement affect place attachment to the new settlement?
2. How does the predictability of the new settlement affect place attachment of the resettled community?
3. How does control of the resettled community in the new settlement affect place attachment?
4. How does familiarity of the new place affect place attachment of the resettled community towards the new settlement?

3.2 Operationalization

Table 2: Operationalization

Concept	Define	Variable	Indicators	Measurement
Resettlement	The process of residential movement of urban inhabitant by leaving one location and be settled in another location (Cerneia, 1997)	Displacement	The impacted community being removed from old house	-
			The impacted community being removed from old neighbourhood	-
			The old neighbourhood being scattered	The neighbourhood is scattered if the people from previous location didn't move to the same place or the neighbours composition is randomized.
	Residential Relocation	The impacted community was given new housing	The people have new address	-
			The people have new neighbors	The people have new neighbors if in the new settlement they have different neighbors than in the previous settlement

			The people experience new environment	In general, with different place and location, the people will experience new environment. However, the difference becomes even more drastic if the type of settlement is totally different.
Involuntary Resettlement	Resettlement process against the will of the impacted people (Mathur, 2006)	Consent	Socialization the people about the resettlement	To see if there was first information about the resettlement program by inviting the impacted people in a discussion meeting.
			Letter of agreement	If there is letter of agreement about the resettlement that was agreed by both side, the government and the impacted people.
		Option or alternative given to the people	Negotiation meeting with the people	Bargaining with the impacted people and listening to their aspiration.
		Notification	Form of notification	The form of notification is including letter (information letter, warning letter, command letter, etc), verbal announcement, word of mouth etc.
			Information adequacy	People's perception if the information was enough for them with adequate time span before the resettlement.
-	-	Perceived Consent	Open rejection	People reject to be relocated, despite of the reasons.
			Willingness to move	People agree to move under a certain condition
-	-	Predictability of the new environment	On-site visit to the future settlement	Observing the place as part of introduction to the new settlement before the resettlement program is proceeded.
			Information about available activities	Information about available activities can help the people to predict what they can do when they live there. Some activities might be the same, but some might be different.
			Community support sessions prior to moving	Preparation before relocation psychologically.
-	-	Control in the new environment	Control of specific environmental condition	Specific condition that changes and different than the previous location, for example elevator in rent flat housing. The aim is to see if

				people can control the changes.
			Personal comparative appraisal with the previous settlement situation	People have tendency to compare the condition of the new settlement and the previous settlement, in this case, people compare that now they are renting, but before they lived in their own house.
			Regulation in the new settlement	In the new settlement, especially rent-flat housing provided by the government, there are regulations that the residents have to obey. Sometimes the regulations are competing with the residents' habit in previous location or needs. It means that the residents have less control in the new settlement.
-	-	Familiarity of the new settlement	Physical feature in the new settlement that is associated with the people's memory in the previous location	If there are physical feature or appearance of the new settlement that could remind them of their previous settlement
			People in the neighbourhood that is associated with the previous neighbourhood	If there are people in the new settlement that the relocated people already knew since they lived in the previous settlement.
Place Attachment	Place attachment is bonding between a person and a place that can happen in physical level, social level, and psychological level (Williams and Vaske, 2003; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001)	Physical dimension	Attachment to physical features of the place	If people don't want to leave the place or prefer to stay close to the place because of physical features that makes them attached.
			Attachment to the function in a place that facilitate activities to achieve goals or desire	If people don't want to leave the place or prefer to stay close to the place because of the condition of the place that allows activity that can help them achieve their desire.
			Similarity of physical features within the neighbourhood	Similarity of physical features with other houses in the neighbourhood creating identity that make them feel that they are from the same realm and distinct from other neighbourhood because people in different neighbourhood have different features.

	<p>Social Dimension</p> <p>Psychological Dimension (affective, cognitive and behavioral)</p>	<p>Relationship in the neighbourhood</p>	<p>Strong relationship with the neighbours, involving trust and mutual help shows the existence of social attachment</p>
		<p>Attachment to the sense of community</p>	<p>Connection with the neighbourhood life and the atmosphere.</p>
		<p>Feeling connected, love and pride towards the place</p>	<p>Positive emotional feeling towards the place show place attachment.</p>
		<p>Knowledge and memory about the place</p>	<p>Part of the cognitive when the people have knowledge and memory of the place because it's already part of their daily activity.</p>
		<p>Decision to stay</p>	<p>When the people express their place attachment into action, such as don't want to leave the place and prefer to stay.</p>
		<p>Proximity maintaining behavior</p>	<p>Another form of expression of place attachment if it is not residential location but still want to be close or keep coming back to the place.</p>
		<p>Action to maintain and protect</p>	<p>Behavior or action to maintain and protect is manifestation of place attachment.</p>
		<p>Effort to improve the condition of the place</p>	<p>When someone have place attachment, and feel that the place is special to them, people will want to do some effort in improving the condition of the place. It is also part of behavioral psychological dimension of place attachment.</p>

3.3 Research strategy

In order to answer the research question, the research strategy that was used was qualitative case study. A case study research is examining one or several situations in a real-life setting (Van Thiel, 2014). The study is about understanding how involuntary resettlement affect the residents' place attachment, in the new settlement, with influence of some intermediate variables. Therefore, a strategy that is comprehensive and thorough like study case is most suitable to lead to findings that can answer the research question. The nature of the study is an in-depth investigation to understand a process or the way something happens in a specific context. By using study case, different aspects of how involuntary resettlement affect place attachment can be evaluated.

The case that was taken for the study was using heterogeneous multiple study case. For the purpose of this study, 2 rent-flat housings are taken as the study object, namely Jatinegara

Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing. These two rent-flat housing was chosen as the study object because they fit the requirement of the study that was covered in the background, which is settlement site for impacted people in the resettlement program for the normalization of Ciliwung river in Jakarta, Indonesia. From these two study cases, there are differences that make this case is heterogeneous, because the different aspects would enrich the findings and it enables to learn more from this study. The major differences from these two cases are the distance between previous settlement to the rent-flat housing and the neighbourhood composition. Firstly, one rent-flat housing is near the previous settlement and another one is far from the previous settlement. Fried (1966) said that in the context of resettlement, people tend to stay close to the previous settlement or around the previous settlement to keep being familiar with the environment. With the difference in distance between previous location and rent-flat housing in these two cases, the comparison of having rent-flat housing near the previous location and rent flat housing far from the previous location can be learned. Secondly, the residents of one rent-flat housing came from the same previous settlement and they moved there because of the same resettlement program. While the residents in another rent-flat housing came from different previous location. Place attachment in social dimension is strongly related with the neighbourhood relation (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981), from the difference of the neighbourhood composition, the comparison can be learned if it influences the social attachment.

The fieldwork period to gather data was 4 weeks. Before any study can be conducted in the rent-flat housing, the rent-flat management unit required permit letter that came from municipal level, continued to urban village level and then to the rent-flat management housing. However, there was a practical obstacle about request for permits and it was a challenge. The request for permits was a long process that took a long time. While waiting for the permit letter to be granted, the first 2 weeks was used to interview with Head Sub-Division of Department of Housing in Jakarta, Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta. After the permit letter was granted, the study was conducted in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing for a week, and in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing for 5 days. The distance between Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing is around 15km, and with the transportation and traffic condition, going to Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing cost more than expected. Because there was restriction in budget, the study in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing was conducted shorter than in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. The last few days of the fieldwork, interview with an expert in resettlement program, who is also an independent negotiator who approach the impacted people to go along with the resettlement program, was conducted.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods is the approach of gathering information and data according to variable and indicators to answer the research questions. There are two kinds of data collection methods, which are qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative is descriptive, related to context and concepts and/or opinions; while quantitative data is numeric. The main research question is “How does involuntary resettlement affect the place attachment of the resettled community towards the new settlement in rent-flat housing?”. This study tends to describe how involuntary resettlement influence place attachment and explanation using qualitative data is the way to answer this type of question.

To collect the qualitative data from the inhabitants, the type of data collection is primary data collection. For this study, the primary qualitative data collection method is conducted through in-depth interview and on-site observation. The format of the interview was semi-

structured interview. Semi-structured interview is guided by knowledge gained from the literature and theory, but still leaving open direction for new findings from the respondents. The semi-structured interview was conducted on one on one interview and all the questions are read verbally. In interviewing inhabitants of the resettlement site, terms and scientific language is avoided, instead simple language that is easy to understand is used. The language is important not only to avoid confusion, but also to encourage the respondents to give as much information as possible. Using difficult language could discourage respondent to participate because they found limitation in answering the questions. Different kind of terms can be used when interviewing different actors, such as planning division and academic experts who studied the case before. However, when conducting interview for this research, the residents didn't respond to open ended question with elaborated answers. Therefore, some follow up question that was more detailed were asked after the question was opened with open ended question.

In the real-life setting interview, researcher could not predict what the answer will be and it is important to create trust and nice feeling, so that respondent will give information. However, even though the interview questions were guided by some knowledge from the theory and secondary data, leading questions should be avoided. Questions in the interview were asked in a neutral way. The respondents were approached in their unit of residence and in the communal area. Due to the security standard, the fieldwork in the rent-flat housing was guided by the security officer, because there will be interaction with the residents. The security officer also took pictures of the interviews to report to their superordinate. However, during the interview, the security officers was away and not interfering the interviews. On the other hand, the observation was conducted mainly during the day, without guidance by the security officer, to see the physical condition of the resettlement, inhabitants' productivity with activities inside and outside the resettlement, and social interaction during those activities.

Besides interview, observation, documentation with photos, and mental map drawing by the respondents were also done in data collection. Photos are used to show the condition of the rent-flat housing and give readers visual image about the study object. Mental maps were drawn by the respondents to show their memory and knowledge that could show their place attachment in cognitive level, because in the literature review, place attachment in psychological dimension involves memory and knowledge about the place (Scanell and Gifford, 2010)

To complement the primary qualitative data, secondary qualitative and quantitative data were used for the analysis, such as planning document, demographic data, and map. Planning document or the siteplan of the rent-flat housing was used to understand the flow of activity of the residents in the rent-flat housing in general. The demographic data was got from the rent-flat housing management unit, because they have the list of all the residents, and it is used to understand the context and type of urban inhabitant of the community that was studied. Map was used to show the movement and distance between previous location and the rent-flat housing.

3.5 Sample Size and Selection

Primary qualitative data through interview is the major source in this study. Quota sampling and purposive sampling are the type of sampling that was used in gathering the data for this study. Quota sampling was used to find the sampling of the residents in the rent-flat housing with categories based on gender and age range to see the effect of involuntary resettlement towards the vulnerable groups and to see how place attachment different in each individual. Considering the time limitation to conduct the study in two rent-flat housings, 10

respondents of each rent-flat housing was targeted. However, because of time limitation, the final number of the respondents are 9 respondents from Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and 10 respondents from Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing. On the other hand, there were also interviews with experts and actors who were involved or have knowledge about the resettlement program who were interviewed, namely, Head Sub-Division of Department of Housing in Jakarta, Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta, and independent negotiator who was involved in some resettlement projects in Jakarta. For these actors, the sampling method was purposive sampling, because the target respondent was already known specifically.

The context of the study is for inhabitants who experienced involuntary resettlement in the past 5 years causing by the government's project to clean the river and return its function, and was called river normalization program. Regarding to that, interview with the residents of rent-flat housing as the impacted community and the ones who experience the place attachment is important. Besides, interview with the Department of Housing in Jakarta aimed to understand the planning process, background and purpose of the resettlement site, which is rent-flat housing. The interview with the respondent from Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta was important to get the understanding of the resettlement process and cross check information with the information from the residents of rent-flat housing about the resettlement process. Interview with the independent negotiator whose role was an expert in resettlement program in Jakarta was important to see the perspective of an actor who was actively engage and communicate with the resettlement impacted people.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Some challenges in this research regarding the validity and the reliability of the data collected is the data bias and invalid recalling data from interviewing the inhabitants. To avoid that, sufficient size of sampling and triangulation data is important. Triangulation can be done by cross-checking with secondary data and interview with academic experts that helped or observed during the process. For the reliability of the secondary data source, such as planning document and news from newspaper, researcher looked at the credibility of the source to avoid data error.

The challenge of this study is the attribution problem. To some people, the displacement was still fresh in their mind and people tend to exaggerate the event that happen. It is easy to have a certain bias in researching this kind of study, because people are already fed with outside information. On the other hand, it is also difficult to see the context of the study, especially if not using the inhabitant's "glasses" in studying about their place attachment. To overcome the challenge, in-depth interview that is done with the inhabitants conducted neutrally. The interview is also going to be done in different time with various groups of people from the inhabitant. Besides, intense observation that will be conducted at the resettlement site can also help as an affirmation (or opposition) to the respondent's input during the interview. Another way of avoiding sample error is by conducting structured interview beside semi-structured interview. Structured interview is functioned as cross-checking information with a larger size of sample.

3.7 Data Analysis

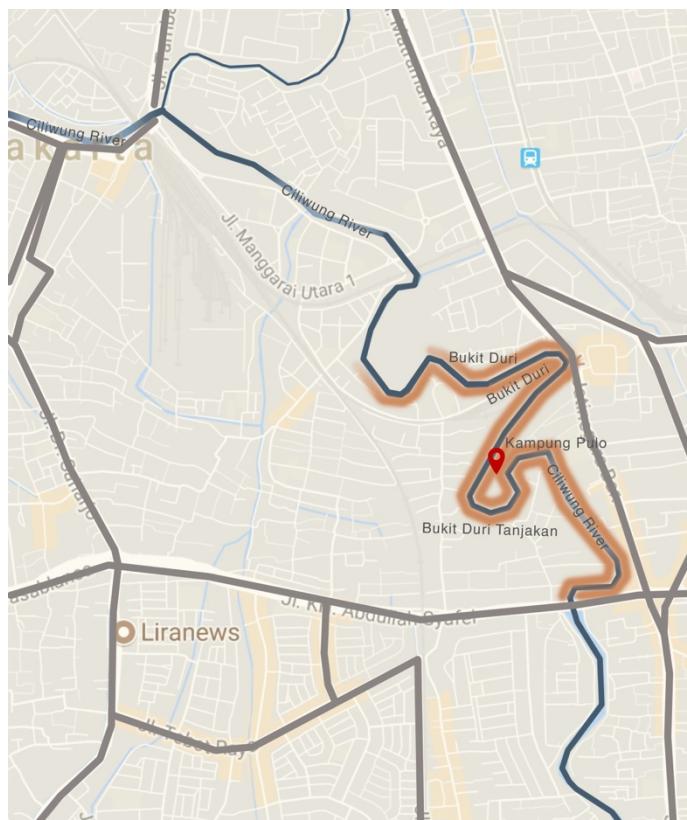
In this research, primary qualitative data that is already gathered through interview will be put into transcribes and will be managed using Atlas Ti. Atlas Ti is a software to analyze data for qualitative research study. The analysis will be conducted using coding based on the interview transcribes. Further data will be combined for further analysis and interpretation. After going to empirical study and collect data in the real-life setting, researcher also go back and look at the theory again to check with the theory.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

4.1 Research Area Description

This study is using two study cases of resettlement in Jakarta. The two cases are resettlement program induced by the Ciliwung river normalization program along the Ciliwung riverbank shown in Picture 1. In Picture 1, shown the previous settlement location of the resettled community. The first one is Kampung Pulo, which is one urban village in the “bowl” area of Ciliwung river in Jakarta. The second one is Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil, which are more spread out and sprawled. The first case is relocation from Kampung Pulo to Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. Picture 2 shows the movement of the previous settlement in Kampung Pulo to Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing that is 1km away. The second case is relocation from Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil to Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing. Picture 3 shows the movement of people from their previous location in Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil area to Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, which is 15km away. Kampung Pulo, Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil are located in the same sub-district, which is Kampung Melayu.

Picture 1: Area of river normalization program



Source: Author, 2017 (based on google maps)

4.2 Kampung Pulo to Jatinegara Barat Rent-Flat Housing Relocation

Picture 2: Kampung Pulo



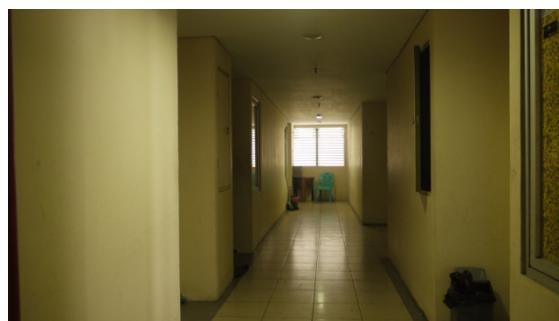
Source: Pransiska, L. (2015)

Kampung Pulo is informal resettlement area in Ciliwung Riverbank in Jakarta, Indonesia. This is a flood prone area, but housing in this area grew organically. Kampung Pulo is divided into Kampung Pulo Dalam, Kampung Pulo Tengah, Kampung Pulo Luar and Gang Anwar. People claimed to have lived there for over 20 years. Based on interview with respondents, they lived there for generations, but according to they do not have legal certificate to show that they own the land. Now they have been relocated to Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing for around 2 years. Not all of Kampung Pulo is being demolished, but only around the riverbank according to Government law no. 38.

Picture 3: Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing



Picture 4: Corridor in Residential Units



Source: Author, 2017

Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing is located around 1km away from Kampung Pulo and near Kampung Melayu bus station. That is the result of negotiation with the needs of the people to still be near Kampung Pulo or Jatinegara because of their work. In Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, the residents are all from Kampung Pulo. The location of the rent-flat housing is using the government's piece of land because there is no land available near Kampung Pulo, and according to the interview with the respondent from Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta, the government will not displace the people if there is no new place to relocate them.

“Socialization actually already since quite a long time ago. It’s impossible if we suddenly we relocate people, in DKI [Jakarta, MS], it is impossible that we evict people if there is no replacement, which is rent-flat housing.”

(DY, Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta)

This rent-flat housing consists of two towers (Tower A and Tower B) of 16 floors. Inside the rent-flat housing area, there is a mosque provided for the residents' religious activities. The first 2 floors do not function as residential, but as public facility, such as kindergarten, hall, clinic, and management office. The 3rd floor until 16th floor functions as residential with 19 units provided on each floor. Because the first two floors do not function as residential units, units starting from 3rd floor are prioritized for the elderly. Inside the unit there are 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom, and kitchen. This rent-flat housing is equipped with elevator to reach each floor. In this rent-flat housing, there is also cleaning service from Monday to Friday and security officers for 24 hours.

Picture 5: Siteplan Jatinegara Barat Rent-Flat Housing



Source: Management Unit of Jatinegara Barat Rent-Flat Housing

According to Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing residents' profile given by the management unit, population of Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing is around 2.100 people with age range of the residents is from 1 year old to 81 years old. The 2.100 people are the total number from different families who live in around 532 units that are provided in the rent-flat housing. The residents' profile also give information about background education and occupation of the residents. Their education profile is ranging from have never attended school to have accomplished undergraduate degree (Table 2). However, the number of people who have accomplished undergraduate is less than majority who have accomplished senior high school and junior high school. The level of education does not represent the age composition of the population. Their occupation also ranging from student, unemployed, laborer, driver, teacher, seller, entrepreneur, employee, civil servant and housewives, but majority were housewives and informal jobs.

Table 3: List of level of education of Jatinegara Barat residents

Level of Education	Percentage
Haven't/not yet been to school	+/- 15%
Haven't/didn't finished elementary school	+/- 12%
Finished elementary school	+/- 15%
In junior high school	+/- 14.5%
Haven't/didn't finished junior high school	+/- 0.57%
In/completed Senior high school	+/- 34%
Undergraduate	+/- 1.6%
Diploma	+/- 1%
Not Listed	+/- 4.3%

Source: Jatinegara Barat residents profile from the management unit, 2017

The relocated people from Kampung Pulo who are being relocated to Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing are required to pay the rent, water service and electricity service. To help the resident to pay their housing, for the first few months of their stay, the government gave subsidized their rent price. Inside the area of the rent-flat housing, there are also areas provided for the residents to sell merchandise, so that they can earn money to pay the rent. The area for sellers are divided into area with charge and without charge. It is not allowed to sell in their residential unit in the upper floors, however there are people who open a small kiosk and sell goods in their unit. It is then compromised by the management based on the neighborhood leader's explanation that it can help them to earn money to pay the rent.

Picture 6: Selling area in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing



Source: Author, 2017

In Jatinegara rent-flat housing, the neighborhood organizations are already established. In Indonesia, there is neighbourhood committee (in Indonesian called RT), which consists of around 10-50 households, and hamlet (in Indonesian called RW), which consists of around 3-10 neighbourhoods committee as parts of the neighbourhood council. Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing already have neighbourhood council and the organization is separated from the rent-flat housing management. The leader of the organization was chosen by the people, and they have their own program and initiatives apart from the programs by the rent-flat housing management. Beside the neighbourhood council, in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing there is also organization for the youth, called Karang Taruna and for the woman, called PKK. There are also religious activities held by the mosque that is also separated from the organizations mentioned.

Interviews and or documentations show, that the existence of management unit in that rent-flat housing is to manage and control the residents. There are inspections for residents who break the regulations. However, there are also programs and trainings given to the residents as an effort to upgrade the residents, for example sewing, culinary, hydroponic plants and doing sport together. Once or twice a week the management unit also hold community service and invite all the residents to work together to clean the area. The management unit also supports programs and activities initiated by the neighborhood organizations.

4.2.1 Description of the Respondents in Jatinegara Barat

The respondents reached from Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing were 9 residents and rent-flat housing management unit. For other perspectives, interviews were also conducted with Head Sub-Division of Department of Housing in Jakarta, Official of Housing Settlement, Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta, a volunteer independent negotiator for relocation program in Jakarta. The residents' age range were from 17 – 55 years old of male and female. Their occupation are student, laborer, seller, online motorbike-taxi, entrepreneur, and housewives. The residents in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing moved in in average at the same period as they all answered that they moved in 2 years ago. They were relocated from the same previous location, which was Kampung Pulo. However, because Kampung Pulo was also divided into different parts, people from different area in Kampung Pulo did not really know each other. Meanwhile, in the rent-flat housing, the composition or arrangement of the neighbors are randomly picked by using drawing method.

4.2.2 The Involuntary Resettlement in Jatinegara Barat

In order to be able to proceed the Ciliwung river normalization program, according to interview with a respondent from Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta, the people who lived in the riverbank should be resettled. initially the government wanted to buy the land from the inhabitant in Kampung Pulo. However, the inhabitant in Kampung Pulo didn't have any proof of legal ownership of the land. Without a valid proof of ownership, the government couldn't spend money to buy the land from the people in Kampung Pulo, and in other words the people in Kampung Pulo are not eligible to get compensation in the form of money after relocation. There is a clause for that, and if the government violate the regulations, they would be punished, and even be prisoned. On the other hand, according to the interview with the respondent from Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta, the status of the land that the Kampung Melayu people occupied is free state land. The acquisition process of a free state land is by claiming and the one who claim is the regulation, which in this case is in Presidential Decree no. 38, Year 2011, that says that riverbank should be free from any kind of building. According to the same interview, no building in the riverbank in kampong Melayu have building permit, so legally if the government take action to resettle the people, it was right administratively.

"The point is so that the land on the riverbank that doesn't have permit, are going to be regulated. No building here that have permit. So, legally, even if we take action, administratively we are right."

(DY, Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta)

The interview with the respondent from Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta stated that before the resettlement process, socialization to the impacted people were conducted quite a long time prior to the resettlement. Besides, the government also gave option for the people in Kampung Pulo to be relocated to existing rent-flat housing in Jakarta. However, the location is nowhere near Kampung Pulo and the people in Kampung Pulo refused those options. The reason was because they have lived in Kampung Pulo since they were born and they have always lived there. After that, according to the interview, the government tried to find location around Kampung Pulo that could be built with a rent-flat housing. Not able to find available land, the government used the land where the previous office building of Public Works stood, demolished it and built with Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing.

The people who are in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing now experienced two conditions, which are displacement and relocation. First the people were displaced from their previous settlement in Kampung Pulo, and then they are being relocated to the rent-flat housing in Jatinegara Barat. The people who are eligible to get a unit in the rent-flat housing are those who has a house in their previous location. People who were just renting in the impacted area and had to be displaced did not get a unit at the rent flat housing. In terms of freedom of choice, the people felt that they stay in the rent-flat housing because they did not have any other option. Their previous houses were already demolished and they could not afford to move to different area. This condition makes them feel that they live in the rent-flat housing by perforce.

"I'm confused about where to move. [Kampung] Pulo is already demolished and gone. I don't have a house anymore, so, I live here with perforce feeling."

(Respondent 2, M, 31 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

People who get a unit should pay for the rent every month, which means their status changed from owner of a house to tenant of a unit. The respondents expressed that it affects their sense of ownership to the rent-flat housing by keep saying that it's the government's house and not theirs.

"There [in Kampung Pulo] maybe I had to pay, but there was my house. Here I have to pay, but it's the government's house."

(Respondent 5, M, 24 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

"To be honest until this time I still don't feel happy because I don't feel that I own the place. If I feel that I own the place, I will paint the wall, I will clean it. So, sometimes the revenge is like that, it's broken or whatever, I don't care! I would say "It's not even my house."

(Respondent 6, M, 54 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

According to the conceptualization and literature review, place attachment can be manifested in action. Someone who has an attachment to the place will show action of protecting or improving the place. The statement above showed that this resident does not have place attachment towards the rent-flat housing because he neglects the condition of the place intentionally.

Among the residents in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, there are also people who experience improvement in their life after being relocated. According to this respondent, he got a job in the rent-flat housing as a security, he became the vice president of Karang Taruna in Jatinegara Barat, and became part of political party after being relocated. He considered that as his achievement since he moved to the rent-flat housing. He was still disappointed with the relocation, but he chose to stay in the rent-flat housing even though he has a house in another location.

"Well, how do I say this, I live here and I'm proud. Right? I'm here..no..I'm not bragging about myself. Well, by living here, I can be..I can be a security leader. That something that I am proud of. It means that I have subordinates, right? When I lived in Kampung Pulo before, I didn't have. But here I have, it's like that. Right? I became the leader in division of a political party, it's something that I'm proud of. I became and elder member. In Kampung Pulo before, my position was only one. Elder member of Jakmania, right? But since I live here, I got 4 positions. Well, with that, I am proud."

(Respondent 5, M, 24 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

From this, it can be learned that by achieving something in the new settlements, residents can grow emotional feeling to the place, in this case feeling proud, that is also part of place attachment in psychological dimension. It is also learned that by having the attachment, the respondent can accept the relocation easier than those who did not.

4.2.3 The Perceived Consent in Relocation Process to Jatinegara Barat

Resettlement from Kampung Pulo to Jatinegara Barat was with resistance because the people did not want to be resettled at the first place. According to the respondents, they did not

have any agreement or consensus prior to the resettlement. They only got invitation to discuss in the sub-district level, and then they got warning letter to leave the area. There were 3 warning letters that they got before the government officers came to demolish the area. Some of the residents think that the information was enough, some of them think that it was not enough. To some residents, the information was not clear and only through word of mouth. To other residents, the form of information given was right administratively, but not enough for the people. If this information is related to the information from the respondent from Official of Housing Settlement and Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta, even if the government was right in taking action, there is a dilemma with the communication between the government and the relocated people in Jatinegara Barat to make the people understand the procedure. According to the relocated people, the government did not try to reach out the lower level of the society and only ask the leaders, such as sub-district and neighborhood leaders, to talk.

“Well, about the information from the government is not enough. There was no socialization [...] The socialization was only, well, the government only gave warning letter, that’s it, no more socialization. I mean, they didn’t want to go down to the citizen [...] they tend to either just inviting the people from the hamlet (RW) [...]”

(Respondent 4, M, 26 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

When speaking of consent or agreement before resettlement, the respondents usually relate that with the promise that they got before. They were promised to get compensation if they are relocated. The governor came to Kampung Pulo and spoke to the people that they would get compensation. However, the promise was unfulfilled because, according to the regulation, evidently the people were not eligible to get compensation if they don’t have valid proof of land ownership. Even though the promise was not in a form of legal agreement, the people still remember and think that it was unfairness done by the government.

“Nothing, we were displaced, unfortunately there was no..what is it..compensation, right. It’s unfortunate. It’s nice, but it’s nicer to live in [Kampung] Pulo. Our house is gone.. before there was supposed to be compensation, but now there is no, they just displaced us. That is something that we are being disappointed about.”

(Respondent 3, F, 30 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

“[...] Well, the citizen only got warning letter, warning letter, warning letter, like that. That’s what raised the people’s anger. Not to mention there was no compensation at all. Before, we were promised that there would be compensation, after that there was no compensation anymore.”

(Respondent 4, M, 26 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

The absence of consent made the people difficult to accept the new circumstances and it was expressed on the interviews. People still said that they were disappointed with the different circumstances than what was promised. Taken into account that after further review of their legal document, the people were not eligible to get the compensation according to the respondent from Official of Housing Settlement, Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta.

4.2.4 The Predictability in Relocation Process to Jatinegara Barat

After the displacement, the people were expected to be relocated to the rent-flat housing. The people already know about the rent-flat housing before, they just did not know that they would have to be relocated there. However, not all of the impacted people were immediately moved to Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. There was one respondent who said that he rented a place, but not in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, first for a month before finally moved in to the rent-flat housing. For some people, they visited the rent-flat housing to see the condition before they were being relocated.

“[...] after we were displaced, we still held on. [...] not immediately. After around a month, then we moved here. Observed first the atmosphere here. Not at the same day we were displaced, that same day we moved in here, no.”

(Respondent 2, M, 31 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

For other people, they could not think of anything after the displacement and just follow the relocation process because they also did not have options after that. Those who did not visit, they just wanted shelter for their family. In relation to place attachment, people who did visitation before did not have more attachment to the place than those who did not, because eventually they would move to the rent flat housing and they did not have other alternatives, but they were informed that the location will be closed to Kampung Pulo.

“The first time I moved here, my mind was empty and blank. I didn’t think that I would live here, even dreaming, I don’t’ want to live in a place like this. Even dreaming, I never want it [...]Actually yes, after the displacement we didn’t really have any consideration, no matter the rent-flat housing is like, no! I didn’t think about that, the most important thing was father, child, grandchild, they have place to live. Like that.”

(Respondent 8-Jatinegara Barat)

“No, before me moved here, we couldn’t just enter here. There was no observation or whatever, no.”

(Respondent 6, M, 54 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

Based on interview, most people already got the warning letter about the resettlement for 3 times from the government, which was administratively correct. However, there was no preliminary introduction before the moving in for some of the residents, and based on the interview, the people from Kampung Pulo were resistant at first before the relocation.

4.2.5 The Control of Residents in Jatinegara Barat

In Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, there is management office, security service for 24 hours and cleaning service. The people who work at the management office work for the city government, however for some position, there are people from the residents of Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing themselves, for example security officer.

In terms of control in new settlement, the unit that they are living in was not chosen by the relocated people, but by the management. The technical system was raffle, where the people pick a random number that shows their unit number. According to that, the neighbourhood

composition was randomized comparing to the neighbours who lived near them in Kampung Pulo. Interview with the residents stated that the randomized neighbourhood makes their relationship different. One of the respondents even said that it affect them psychologically.

“Yess.. Maybe if we can choose to live near the neighbors in previous location, it’s gonna be nice. Now we are different. We, from the [Kampung] Pulo Dalem and [Kampung] Pulo Luar are not too..you know..”

(Respondent 2, M, 30 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

“That’s the problem. That’s the reason why in the beginning we were changed in terms of sociology, culture, economy, because of that. In [Kampung, MS] Pulo we were.. yes in Pulo we.. here the system was randomized. Like when we took the unit, the system was raffle. So, when we live here, many of us didn’t know each other. Yes. Only few who were neighbours when in Kampung Pulo.”

(Respondent 8, M, 26 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

Based on interview with the residents, there are some regulations that are also applied to the residents, such as not allowed to change anything in their residential unit without permission, not allowed to hang their clothes to dry in certain places, not allowed to have pets, and not allowed to rent the unit. The regulations are made for the good, but some of the residents feel like they are living in a cage, especially because they have to use elevator to reach their units in the upper floor. According to the respondents, once they are in their unit, it is difficult for them to go out or go downstairs.

“I think that I live here like a bird in a cage. It is difficult to go anywhere. If I’m already inside the unit, it is difficult, if I want to eat at night, I have to go downstairs. So, it’s nothing. If it’s at time like this, well, I still can go downstairs and there are sellers. If it’s already night, well before in the previous place at 10pm there are still sellers around the house. It’s better like that.”

(Respondent 4, M, 26 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

Living in rent flat housing is different than in their previous settlement. There are sets of regulations that make them less free compared to their previous settlement. One example that has impact towards the social interaction is the residential unit allocation that was not controlled by them. The other thing is the strict regulation that makes them restricted and not feel like home.

4.2.6 The Familiarity of Jatinegara Barat for the Residents

In terms of building condition and physical aspect, there is nothing familiar to them. When they first moved in, it was foreign to them and they had to adjust with the condition in rent-flat housing, for example, the use of elevator in Jatinegara Barat. Because they were not used to use elevator before, there were a couple times where people was trapped inside the elevator. Unconsciously, for some people it is the elevator and the vertical arrangement of the housing becomes the boundary between them and their neighbours in different floors.

“... It’s good, the building is clean. The room is also good, there is place to hang the clothes to dry. But, it’s in 16th floor. The obstacle is just elevator, if elevator and we’re in a hurry waiting for the elevator that’s often crowded. Just that.”

(Respondent 3, F, 30 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

“I feel sorry for the elder people that cannot take elevator. They are confused. They are often trapped inside the elevator. Some of them wanted to go down but they went up. The older women were confused, they don’t know, they don’t understand. The grandmas as well.”

(Respondent 9, M, 17 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

Picture 7: Elevator Lobby on Residential Floors



Picture 8: Ventilation on Residential Floors



Source: Author, 2017

Beside elevator as a part of the building feature that is not familiar to them, some respondents also said about the ambience that is different than what they used to. They said that compared to the open air in their previous settlement, staying in the rent-flat housing, especially in the residential floors is stifled. The residential floors are closed with ventilation as the opening for air circulation.

“So how, it’s already like that, the room is closed. There [Kampung Pulo] we still can get fresh air. Well, if it’s raining, there’s leaking on the roof, no problem.”

(Respondent 6, M, 54 years old– Jatinegara Barat)

The residents in Jatinegara Barat are all from the same previous location, which is Kampung Pulo. However, Kampung Pulo was also big and divided into 3 parts. Unit organization that is based on drawing made their neighbourhood mixed and they live near to the neighbours that they were not close before. However, after living for 2 years, they now become close with the neighbours who live near them and in the same floor. Unfortunately, the closeness now is divided by the floors.

“We are like family, we are like family, we are like family. But still, what’s it, like family only in one unit, oh no, one floor. For people from different floors is just like say hello and know. But for those who really are like family are on one floor. That’s my experience.”

(Respondent 4, M, 26 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

Most of the respondents agree that the condition of the rent-flat housing is nice and proper to live in. However, the environment that is different requires them to adapt to the condition technically and socially. From this, it can be learned that the randomization of unit allocation complicates their attachment to the place, because they no longer lived side by side with the people in the neighbourhood whom they were attached to.

4.3 Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil to Rawa Bebek Rent-Flat Housing Recolation

Picture 9: Bukit Duri

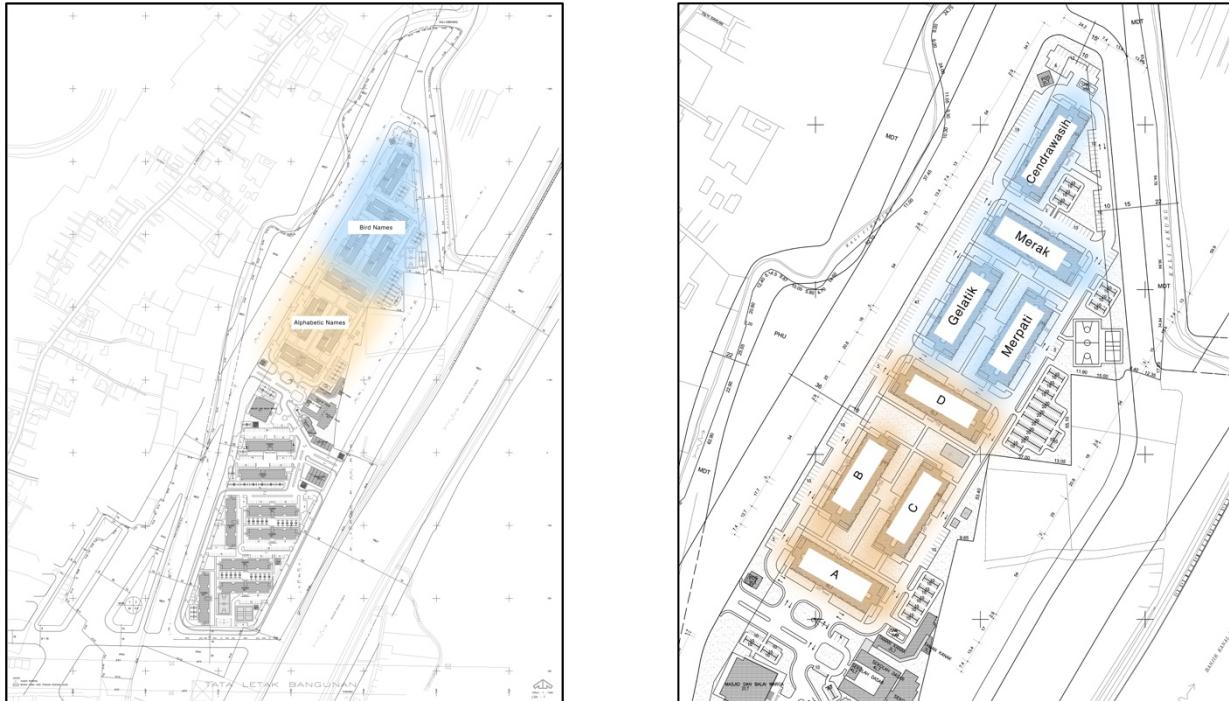


Source: Aziza, K. S. (2016)

Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil are also flood prone area in Jakarta that is also in Ciliwung riverbank. According to the interview, when the flood came, the people who live in riverbank area suffer a lot, but, they last there, they already lived there for generations, and they said that it was hard to leave their previous location. Now they have been relocated to Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing. The relocation went gradually and not all of them move altogether at the same period. Even though almost all of them move to the same place, there are also people from other neighbourhood in Jakarta who reside in Rawa Bebek rent-flat

housing, which is from Pasar Ikan neighbourhood. Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing until this time (August 2017) is still under construction for some towers. There is cluster for bachelor and cluster for relocated people. The cluster for relocated people that is already built and already occupied are 8 blocks so far. The old buildings were named of bird species, which are Merpati, Merak, Gelatik and Cendrawasih, and the new buildings were named based on alphabet, which are A, B, C, and D. Each building consists of 6 floors and is equipped with stairs. There is no elevator provided for this rent-flat housing.

Picture 10: Siteplan of Rawa Bebek Rent-Flat Housing



Source: Department of Housing DKI Jakarta, 2017

Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing is located near the east canal flood in Jakarta, near the periphery of Jakarta. It is located around 15km away the previous location of the residents from Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil. It was relatively hard to get to this place, especially if it is measured from Bukit Duri and surrounding as their previous location, because some of their activities are still located there. The public transportation to Rawa Bebek rent flat housing from Bukit Duri area is TransJakarta (Jakarta's integrated bus with separated way from normal traffic, such as cars, motorbikes, different kind of buses), but for the people who live in this rent-flat housing, there are special TransJakarta buses provided for them to get to the city or where they work in previous location. The people also commented that their new place is far from everywhere.

“Before this I want, this is actually a bit far. It’s the same like we are between location A and location B, the distance is so far. How many km from Bukit Duri to Kapuk? How many km is this? Like that. It’s further. If it’s like that, it’s supposed to be near around there [Bukit Duri]. Now, we are thrown away. You know it, it’s far from market, far from everything.”

(Respondent 7-Rawa Bebek)

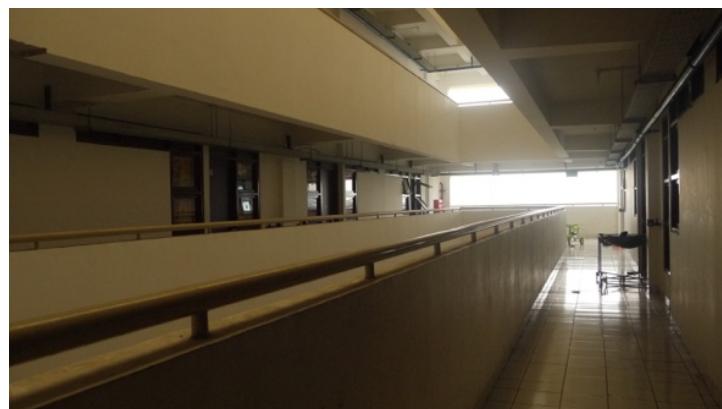
The composition of the population in this rent-flat housing is not only from Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil, but also from Pasar Ikan from different relocation program, which is in North of Jakarta. Based on interview with the people, there is division for the floors. From

1st floor until 3rd floor is for people from Pasar Ikan, and for 4th and 5th floor is for people from Bukit Duri. The ground floor is not for residential, because it is provided as the spots where the people can continue their small shop and sell stuff to gain income. The people moved-in in different period, and their length of stay in this rent-flat housing are also different. In this rent-flat housing, they also have cleaning service, gardener, and 24-hours security officers.

Picture 11: Rawa Bebek Rent-Flat Housing



Picture 12: Corridor in Residential Unit Area



Source: Author, 2017

In Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, there are no neighborhood organization yet. There were already RT and RW, but they said that there will be reelection because there are some new people moving in from Bukit Duri. With less established neighborhood organization, there are less program initiated and held by the people except for the collective money for helping the residents in case of death or sickness. When asked about the program that they have in the rent-flat housing, they answered mostly with programs provided by the management, such as, making batik (Indonesian clothing), baking and sewing.

4.3.1 Description of the Respondents in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing

During the 4 week of fieldwork period, the respondents reached were 10 residents of Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, rent-flat housing management unit of both rent-flat housing, Head Sub-Division of Department of Housing in Jakarta, Official of Housing Settlement, Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta, a volunteer independent negotiator for

relocation program in Jakarta. These different actors involved were interviewed to see different perspectives about the relocation process and provision in the rent-flat housing, but the main respondent about the place attachment and their experiences are from the residents themselves.

The respondents age range from 19 to 75 years old of male and female. The respondents' occupations are around seller, motorbike-taxi, laborer, or housewife. The ground floor is not for residential units, but as seller booth, management office, and public facility. However, there are some blocks with residential units on the ground floor. One of the respondents live on the ground floor. Some respondent of Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing said that they have stayed there for 3 months, some responded with 1 year, and some responded with 2 years. The residents from Rawa bebek are from different location, which are Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil. There are even people from Pasar Ikan, which is people who were relocated from different relocation program.

4.3.2 The Involuntary Resettlement in Rawa Bebek

When they were asked about the condition of the settlement after relocation, most of them answered that it was a good location with comfort, clean, and safe. However, they also immediately relate the answer with other point, which is it is not their choice to stay there and they stay there because they didn't have a house anymore. The respondents' answer indicated that there were two condition that they experienced, first, they moved out of the previous settlement because they didn't have any choice, and second, they moved in to the rent-flat housing because they didn't have any choice. The people in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing just followed the instruction to move and be resettled because they felt that they were in the weak position compared to the government.

“Like or dislike we have to lift our feet [leave the place, MS]. Well, the big cars came immediately. After the second warning letter, they came immediately.”

(Respondent 2, F, 35 years old-Rawa Bebek)

“If I say personally in my heart, it is something that is like or dislike. It is like or dislike, why? Because the government suggested and required us to move to the rent-flat housing. Compare to, because if we are moving or not moving, the houses are still going to be demolished. Like that.”

(Respondent 8, M, 30 years old-Rawa Bebek)

In terms of alternative that was offered to the impacted people prior to the resettlement, the people said that there were not many options. Even though the government provided rent-flat housing for them after they were relocated, it was more like the only option for the people. According to the interview with the people, if the people didn't accept the rent-flat housing, then they wouldn't get anything.

“We tried to hang on, but, still. How can citizen fight against the government, we would still lose. [...] Oh no, the discussion was more like ‘if you want to take the rent-flat housing, welcome, or there is no replacement at all’[...]”

(Respondent 9, M, 35 years old-Rawa Bebek)

From this, it can be learned that the resettlement from Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil to Rawa Bebek is including as involuntary resettlement because there were no options given to the impacted people, but they just followed. The situation where “agreement” didn’t meet between both sides made them feel obligated to move in to Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing.

4.3.3 The Perceived Consent of Relocation Process to Rawa Bebek

The perceived consent from the people is talking about how the people accept and treat the involuntary resettlement in Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil. The resettlement was conducted without agreement, but the respondent from Bukit Duri followed without resistance, as one of the respondent said during the interview. Some of the respondents said that the information was enough and it was what supposed to be based on the regulation. The people were informed through meetings in Sub-district level about the resettlement. After the meetings, warning letters were given to the people to demolish their houses by themselves. The people got 3 times warning letters to move before the government came and demolish the building. According to the respondent from Rawa Bebek, the meetings were enough for them to decide and the warning letters were enough for them to prepare.

“We had meetings for 2 times. Before the relocation, we had meeting for two times. Ehm, after that all of the people just agreed.”

(Respondent 3, F, 33 years old – Rawa Bebek)

“It’s enough, actually, because it is already the regulation from there, so, for me it’s enough because we can ehm.. clean up first, we can..what is it.. the house that is not this anymore, we could sell the beams, or anything. Yeah, it is enough for me.”

(Respondent 6, F, 29 years old – Rawa Bebek)

For the respondents from Rawa Bebek, the meetings and warning letter given were enough for them to feel agreed to be relocated and just follow the instruction to be relocated. Some respondents even used the time to prepare before the relocation and utilize what was left from their house, for example selling some parts of the previous house, like the beams.

4.3.4 The Predictability of Relocation Process to Rawa Bebek

For the residents in Rawa Bebek, because the readiness to be relocated existed without resistance, they organized some time to visit the rent-flat housing and see the location. By visiting the place, they can be prepared more with moving in. This visitation was also initiated and guided by the neighborhood leader. In that visit, they were explained about the rent-flat housing and had their introduction to the rent-flat housing.

“The first time there was meeting in sub-district level with all the impacted people. We asked them to explain what will happen. This place already built before the warning letters, before we got the warning letters we also already know and invited to come here to see the sample of the house. So, there was information before and not demolished just like that.”

(Respondent 6, F, 29 years old – Rawa Bebek)

Introduction to the new settlement was also seen as something important by an independent negotiator who were involved in relocation program and often communicate with the people. She suggested that rent-flat housing should have been operated before the people moved in. An in-depth introduction was also suggested to make the people get used to the life in rent-flat housing by holding programs at the rent-flat housing related to their daily activities, such as dental check-up, people's market, or sport event.

"I suggested, like in Province Government, before the relocation, the new rent-flat housing should already be operated. For example, the midwife is already open. For example, the rent-flat housing is still empty, but the facilities should be operated already. There is dentist, then the people starts to be invited to check-up with pick-up service [...]"

(PB, Respondent Independent Negotiator)

Based on the interviews, the residents in Rawa Bebek already had their preliminary introduction to the new settlement before the relocation. However, the independent negotiator who was experienced in resettlement program said that the introduction should be deeper. She said that to get to know how is living in rent-flat housing is important for the people to adjust themselves.

4.3.5 The Control of Residents in Rawa Bebek

In rent-flat housing, there is management office and security service for 24 hours. Some respondents appreciate the increase safety, but other respondent commented that it is not working as there were still moments where the security officers failed to keep the area safe. There was also comment about the security officers who are hired and not from the people themselves. Besides, in their old neighbourhood they already had security system initiated by the people and they already know the people in the neighbourhood.

"For me personally [...] why if they want to make security system with security officer, why not from the people? Because we are the ones who already know our people. Why not from us? [...] Why not from us who really don't have a job?"

(Respondent 8, M, 30 years old – Rawa Bebek)

There are also regulations that they have to obey if they live in rent-flat housing, such as not having pet, not hanging clothes or carpet in visible area, and asking permission for every change that they want to apply on the unit. According to the respondent whose hobby, habit and occupation was restricted by the regulations, it makes them feel "not free". Regulations that change their previous habit makes them keep comparing and referring to their way of life before where they had the control of the way the neighbourhood worked. Moreover if the regulations limit how they can earn for a living.

"Here we are not allowed to bring four-wheeled vehicles for the residents. While there, we didn't have regulations like that [...] We finally have to park far. If we park inside, well, there were moments where the tires were flattened [...] with nails, etc. [...] It's more difficult. There we park in our own house. Here there are a lot of parking space, but we are not allowed. The reason is because it is the regulation from..from..the government. [...] My business is buying and selling cars. That's why here I'm a bit

difficult. [...] my hobby is car modification since in kampong Melayu Kecil, but here I can't fulfill it. Let alone modifying, we are not even allowed to park!"

(Respondent 9, M, 35 years old – Rawa Bebek)

Regarding the regulation, the management also conducts unannounced inspections to see if the residents have done something against the regulation, for example, if the person who is staying there is different than the contract. According to the respondent, the unannounced inspections makes them not comfortable and feel controlled by somebody else.

"Not comfortable, actually. Not comfortable, we already paid here. We are not comfortable..we are not allowed to hang our carpet there. So, we feel like something.. It's not comfortable when there is unannounced inspection. Every house is controlled. That's it. Every resident here when there is unannounced inspection feel not comfortable."

(Respondent 3, F, 33 years old – Rawa Bebek)

The presence of security officers in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing has different opinions from the respondents. Some commented that they felt uncomfortable, the other commented that it would be better if the patrol is thorough for every floor. However, the interesting point about it is when the respondent commented that they already had security system among the neighbours before but the management hired people from outside to be the security officers. To see it from how the people lose their system and be excluded from the system shows that they do not have control in the new place.

4.3.6 The Familiarity of Rawa Bebek for the Residents

For residents in Rawa Bebek, the environment of the rent-flat housing is not familiar for them. It is far from their previous location and it is difficult for them to re-visit the previous area, even though there are some people who do that when they have time. In terms of environment and the building, everything is different and they have to adapt living there. The familiar thing that they have in the rent-flat housing area is their neighbor. However, their neighbourhood is randomized between the same previous location and in the same area with people from different previous location. According to the respondent, that makes them feel like a stranger at first because they don't know their neighbours, but not very foreign because even though the arrangement was randomized, they came from the same previous location. But, after living there, they build strong social attachment and group themselves and narrowed the building where they live as their environment.

"The first time was really like stranger because we met the new neighbours, even though well, half of them I know, half of them I don't know, but yeah, I just feel foreign. But not very foreign [...] if they were from Bukit Duri, must not be foreign."

(Respondent 7, M, 43 years old – Rawa Bebek)

“Everybody there is nothing new. Everybody was from Bukit Duri. From Bukit Duri, from Kampung Melayu. Well, half of them are not new. Well, I don’t know about the outside, but for Merpati [building], what I know is they all know each other. From Bukit Duri. There is no new people from other places, no.”

(Respondent 7, M, 43 years old – Rawa Bebek)

For some respondent, having neighbours that they didn’t know before and came from different location makes them be more careful and cautious. Moreover, there were some cases where stuff were stolen. The respondent didn’t explicitly say that it affect their trust among the people, but they said that they became more careful.

“What’s it, ehm, it’s already different, different tribe, here and there the people are different. It was safe before, but now it’s different.[...] It seems like..well, if it’s already evening, I closed everything [doors and windows].”

(Respondent 6, F, 29 years old – Rawa Bebek)

According to the respondents, something familiar about Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing is only the neighbours. However, among the familiar faces of the neighbours, to some people, neighbours from different previous location are strangers. It causes them to be cautious and stick to their own group only.

4.4 Findings on Place Attachment

This section will explain about findings related to place attachment that was not covered in the previous sections in this chapter. The explanation will be divided into 2 parts according to the rent-flat housing.

4.4.1 Findings on Place Attachment in Jatinegara Barat Rent-Flat Housing

This section will explain about place attachment in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. The explanation will be divided into three interrelated parts, which are physical dimension, social dimension, and psychological dimension, according to the conceptual framework.

4.4.1.1 Physical Dimension of Place Attachment in Jatinegara Barat Rent-Flat Housing

Based on the function of the place, the rent-flat housing can provide essential needs for the people to stay there. However, place dependence as part of place attachment according to Williams and Vaske (2003) did not mean basic needs function, but functions that can help the people to fulfill their goals or desire. According to the interview, some respondents in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing said that in this rent-flat housing they couldn’t do their hobby or activity that they desire, for example outdoor sport like football. However, according to the other respondents, there are respondent who would prefer to stay because they achieve something that they desire when they live in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. There are two example that can be taken from the residents of Jatinegara Barat, the first one is a resident who can earn money for a living by selling goods in the rent-flat housing.

[...] I want to see the environment first [...] if the place and the environment is better, but I can't be like this, it's better to stay here [in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, MS] [...] like this, selling."

(Respondent 7, F, 28 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

The second one is a resident who got a job as a security officer in the rent-flat housing and got some positions in the neighbourhood organization. This respondent stated that those achievements that he got was because of the resettlement but without abolishing his disappointment with the resettlement itself. This indicates, his place-attachment is higher than other respondents.

"Because, with the resettlement to here [Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, MS], I, as a resident, can also work here, that's one point. I can get to know people that I didn't know before to know each other."

(Respondent 5, M, 24 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

From this, it can be learned that involuntary resettlement could give positive improvement for the residents, as long as the new settlement was provided to meet their desire or goals. It can also show that the people who experience place dependence, which is part of place attachment, to the new settlement, have more acceptance to the new condition after resettlement than other respondents.

Physical features and appearance of the place as mentioned by William and Vaske (2003) and Scannel and Gifford (2010) can also be some factor that makes people feel attached to. For this relocation cases, the familiarity of the place that involve physical features and appearance of the place can influence the people's place attachment. However, according to the interview with the residents, the physical features of the rent-flat housing was foreign to the residents. The interview expressed that the residents feel not "at home" with the new environment that feels foreign to them.

"Not yet.. Not really familiar. Well, it's less, deficient.. Everything is not sufficient. Not like in [Kampung, MS] Pulo, like in my own village. It's far different."

(Respondent 2, M, 30 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

From this information, it can be learned that the unfamiliarity of the environment that can be seen from the physical features makes the people compare the new settlement with their previous location, where they already have place attachment.

4.4.1.2 Social Dimension of Place Attachment in Jatinegara Barat Rent-Flat Housing

Relationship in the neighbourhood in their previous location were strong and was brought to the life in rent-flat housing. Social attachment in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, where the residents are all from the previous location can be seen from the respondent's statement that they stay in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing because of the people in the neighbourhood, that can be divided into family and friends.

“Until this time I feel comfortable staying here [Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, MS], because of the neighbours next to me.. the neighbours in my house, we already feel like family. If we move out without the family here, we won’t feel at home [...] For me, if I have to leave without my neighbours, I don’t want.”

(Respondent 5, M, 24 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

In place attachment, physical, social and psychological dimension are related, but there is also case where the social attachment is strong, but physical attachment is not. Interview with one of the respondents in Jatinegara Barat shows that he wants to stay close to the people that he cared about, but if there is a place outside of the rent-flat housing that is still close to his family, he would prefer to stay outside. The reason was because of the building like rent-flat housing, which is vertical housing, is not permanent for him. According to him, there will be period where the building can stay, and after that the period is over.

“I prefer to see the other places first, where is the location, is it close to..because my brothers are with my parents work in this area. If the place is near here, within reach, I mean the transportation is reachable, possibly I will take a place outside [...] here it’s like, what’s is it, building like this is prone. And, building can only stay for dozens of years. Every building can stay for maximum 25 years and have to be renovated again [...] well, it means that we are here for maximum 25 years.”

(Respondent 4, M, 26 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

From this information, it can be learned that social attachment can make some people stay in one place together. However, there is also condition where someone prefer to stay outside within reach, but not together in the same place because of the physical factor of the place.

4.4.1.3 Psychological Dimension of Place Attachment in Jatinegara Barat Rent-Flat Housing

In psychological dimension of place attachment, place attachment can be expressed into affection, cognitive and behavior or action (Scanell and Gifford, 2010). Concerning affection to a place as part of place attachment in this settlement, the people’s feeling towards the settlement is also influenced by their sense of ownership, which is strongly related to their status of ownership. The people in Jatinegara Barat used to own a house before and now their status changed to stay in a rent. This condition disturbs the place attachment process in two ways. First, they have to pay rent and other cost that they didn’t have to do before. According to the interview, this point is burdening them and some of them even have to be in arrears because they don’t have enough money to pay. Second, they conclude that it is not their house, but “the government’s house”. From this, it can be concluded that sense of ownership and place attachment is difficult to grow if they feel that it belongs to other party.

“Maybe there I have to pay, but that house belongs to me. Here, I have to pay, but the government’s house.”

(Respondent 5, M, 24 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

Psychological dimension can be seen from emotional relation, memory, knowledge of the place, and actions. Emotional relation towards the rent-flat housing was still difficult to be found, because the people still have a strong emotional relation to their previous location. For people in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing that is located only 1km away from their previous housing, Kampung Pulo can be seen from their window in the upper floors of rent-flat housing. The people also still have activities at Kampung Pulo area that is not demolished, for example visiting relatives, drinking coffee, and let the kids play there. It awakens their memory, but they also prefer to be closer to their previous location than to be relocated to a place far from there. It shows the people's place attachment to their previous place in Kampung Pulo. However, a sign of emotional relation to the new settlement in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing was also shown by one of the residents of Jatinegara Barat who could achieve job and positions in several organizations. He then developed proud feeling towards the rent-flat housing and actively involved in neighbourhood activities that can improve the neighbourhood and the rent-flat housing.

“Well, how do I say this, I live here and I feel proud. I am here already, not that I..not that I am bragging about myself. Well, with living here, I can be one of the security commandor, It's something that I'm proud of. It means that I have subordinates, right? Before, when I was in Kampung Pulo, I didn't have, now I have subordinates. [...]”

(Respondent 5, M, 24 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

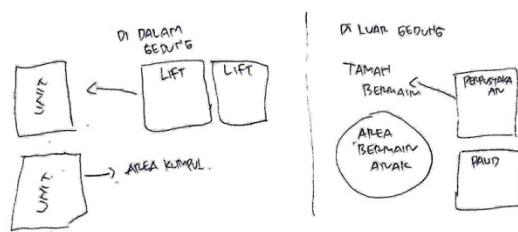
In Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, there is cleaning service whose duty is to clean the area and keep it clean. However, on Saturday and Sunday, the service is not available. Those days are the chance if the people want to do cleaning together like they usually do in their previous settlement. This opportunity is also used by the management unit to hold a cleaning together program and gather the residents of Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing to work together. According to the interview, most of the residents participated when the management unit of the rent-flat housing held a program to clean the environment of the rent-flat housing together. However, there is also another of the respondents where they think that there is nothing to clean when there are already people whose job is to clean that. The interview quotation about that respond is as follow:

“Well, let's say, there is a program to clean together, actually to be honest, in rent-flat housing, if you want to have a cleaning together program, what cleaning? Meanwhile, the cleaning service here maybe around 30 people already. Unless in the previous location. When there was flood, gutter, drain, whatever, we cleaned it together.”

(Respondent 6, M, 54 years old-Jatinegara Barat)

Another aspect of place attachment in psychological dimension is cognitive which can be identified with memory and knowledge of the place. As the residents of Jatinegara Barat do their daily activity in the rent-flat housing, cognitive map could show their knowledge of the place and place attachment in psychological level.

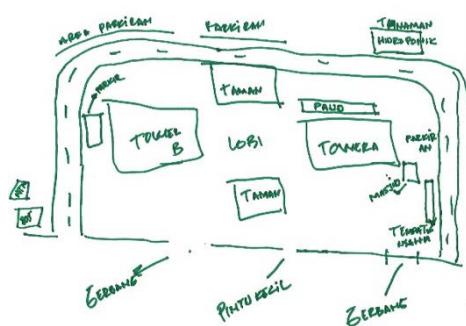
Picture 13: Mental Map Resident Jatinegara Barat-1



This mental map was a map by a female resident of Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. She is in her early 30s and has two children. Her daily activities are taking the children to school, taking care of the house and work on her T-shirt printing in front of her unit on 13th floor Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. The map is showing her residential unit and elevator for the setting inside the building, and kindergarten and park for the setting outside of the building. From the map, it can be seen that her focus was the unit and area for the children's activity. The mental map shows the memory and knowledge of this respondents towards the rent-flat housing where she lives.

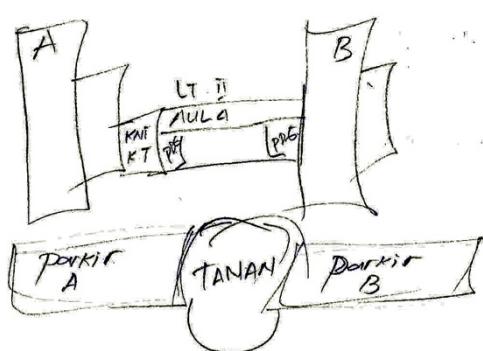
According to Scanell and Gifford (2010) where psychological dimension of place attachment includes cognitive memory, this map shows that among other areas of the rent-flat housing, this respondent attached more to the housing unit and children area. It also shows that this respondent was not very familiar to the environment of the rent-flat housing, because Fullilove (1996) also said that familiarity is part of cognitive.

Picture 14: Mental Map Resident Jatinegara Barat-2



This mental map was drawn by a male resident of Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. His age is 24 years old and he works as a security officer, but also come from the relocated people from Kampung Pulo. As a security officer, he knows the area better because he always control the area by doing patrol around. When asked to draw the area, he also look at the area as a whole and not focus on the unit. Since this respondent can capture the whole area of the rent-flat housing, from his memory and knowledge, it can be said that his place attachment is towards the rent-flat housing as a whole.

Picture 15: Mental Map Resident Jatinegara Barat-3



This map was drawn based on a resident's memory and knowledge. He is a 26 years old male who work as an entrepreneur and have flexible daily activity for each day. He is also the leader of Karang Taruna (youth neighbourhood organization) in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. According to the interview, he was one of the first people who wanted to initiate the youth organization. From that information, it can be seen that his concern towards the rent-flat housing and the residents of this rent-flat housing is higher than the other residents. His drawing is comprehensive, but not as detail as the second

mental map. The difference between this map and the second map is on the parking area and position of tower A and tower B. The comprehensive drawing shows the respondent's

involvement in the rent flat housing and show that his attachment to the rent-flat housing is not to the unit, but as one neighbourhood.

4.4.2 Findings on place attachment in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing

This section will explain about place attachment in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing. The explanation will be divided into three interrelated parts, which are physical dimension, social dimension, and psychological dimension, according to the conceptual framework.

4.4.2.1 Physical Dimension of Place Attachment in Rawa Bebek Rent-Flat Housing

Physical features, such as spacious and form, can be a factor of place attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). According to interview with one of the residents, she feel improvement since moving in to Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing. Several conditions why she considered it as improvement was, free from flood, more privacy and better building material condition.

“It’s different. Maybe there [Bukit Duri, MS], we lived above the river, we only used board if there was flood. Even if there was light rain, I already couldn’t sleep. I was afraid of leaking, or flooding, or something else. Maybe here is nice, if it’s raining, we can’t hear it, in other words, there is no leaking. As a place to live, it’s suitable, for a small family with 1 child, it’s enough. Compared to there [Bukit Duri, MS], if there’s leaking, we were already busy. Many rats and other stuff, compared to here, it is nice here [...]”

(Respondent 6, F, 29 years old-Rawa Bebek)

From the interview, it can be learned that when the residents experience improvement in their settlement, it is easier to feel attached to the new settlement. It was also stated by her that she didn’t think of finding another place to stay, except for having her own house someday.

In terms of familiarity of the new settlement to the residents in Rawa Bebek, according to the interview, they felt foreign in the beginning. The unfamiliarity of the new environment required them to adapt again. Some of the respondent would compare with their previous settlement in Bukit Duri, because they have place attachment to the previous location where they have stayed there since they were born.

“Of course. Of course it’s so foreign. It’s foreign like common people. We call it like being a guest in a new place. Even though later on we will stay at that place to live, it’s still going to be foreign. We need more adaptation [...]”

(Respondent 8, M, 30 years old-Rawa Bebek)

From these interviews, it can be learned that improvement in physical condition of the settlement compared to their previous settlement could help the place attachment evolve better than other residents who don’t experience the same. However, there is still another factor, which is familiarity, that make the residents keep comparing the new settlement with their previous home. According to the interview, it also made them felt foreign when they just moved in, because they didn’t feel familiar with the environment.

4.4.2.2 Social Dimension of Place Attachment in Rawa Bebek Rent-Flat Housing

Neighbourhood composition of Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing is different than the previous location of the impacted people, because in Rawa Bebek, the residents came from different previous location. The residents in Rawa Bebek came from Bukit Duri, Kampung Melayu Kecil, and Pasar Ikan. Being mixed with residents from different location created a separated feeling. According to the respondents, they will react or do their activities on their own, as long as they don't disturb each other. Trust between neighbours from different previous location who now live in the same rent-flat housing was is also decreasing. Residents in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing tend to be more aware and cautious towards their neighbours.

“We have to be more cautious towards the neighbours, well, what can I say, I don’t want to think negative, but it’s like we are different and mixed with people from different places, we don’t know, not like before. [...]”

(Respondent 6, F, 29 years old-Rawa Bebek)

Based on the information above, social attachment among the neighbours in resettlement site can also be related to the familiarity of the neighbours. With neighbours from different places, residents from the same previous location are more attached to each other, but residents from different previous location still don't feel unite as one neighbourhood under Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing.

4.4.2.3 Psychological Dimension of Place Attachment in Rawa Bebek Rent-Flat Housing

In psychological dimension of place attachment, place attachment can be expressed into affection, cognitive and behavior or action (Scanell and Gifford, 2010). Concerning affection to a place as part of place attachment in this two resettlement cases, sense of ownership came up frequently that also affect their viewpoint of their settlement now. On the other hand, based on the interview with the residents, their sense of ownership related to their status of ownership. Their condition before who had their own house changed to be renting a place. The fact that they're renting disturb the evolvement of place attachment in them, which are payment and temporary stay. First, they have to pay the rent per month and some other additional cost which they found as a burden that they didn't have before. Second, the rental system is rent with contract and even though the government said that it can be extended, they still feel the uncertainty of the status of ownership later.

“For me, if it’s the regulation, just obey it. Let’s say, we live here still as someone who lives in someone else’s place. And here, there is no certainty yet if it will be right of ownership or whatever, we don’t know.”

(Respondent 6, F, 28 years old-Rawa Bebek)

Place attachment can also be expressed with maintaining environment behavior. According to the respondent, in their community where they lived previously, cleaning together was part of their neighbourhood activity. However, in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, there are cleaning service whose duty is to keep the area clean. This part of the rent-flat housing organization structure makes the residents are not encouraged to express their place attachment

by maintaining the environment. However, based on interview with the residents in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, they usually help the cleaning service to clean the area by sweeping and mopping the floor.

“Before there was cleaning together, yeah? Now, there is not. Now, there is not, only cleaning service who clean it. Well, what we can do is only cleaning area in front of our unit. Sweeping or mopping the floor. That’s it.”

(Respondent 4, F, 58 years old-Rawa Bebek)

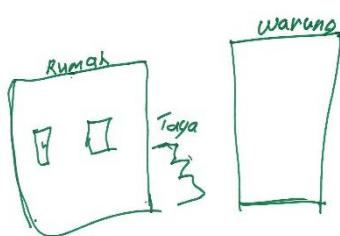
There is also another resident who think that there is nothing to clean together, because there is no yard or garden and the cleaning service already took care of the area.

“Well, for cleaning together, here there are cleaning service on duty. And, even if we want to do cleaning together, what are we going to clean? We don’t have any yard. Let’s say in front of our house we only have tile and wall [...] if we want to have cleaning activity together, there are already cleaning service, yeah.”

(Respondent 8, M, 30 years old-Rawa Bebek)

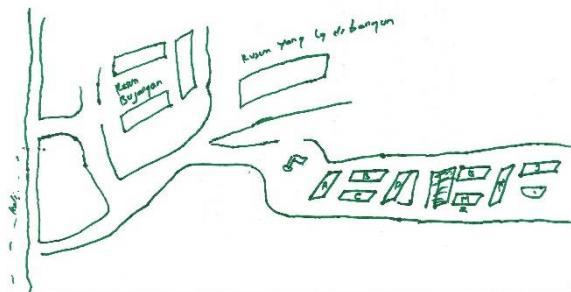
Another part of psychological dimension in place attachment is cognitive, or also understood as memory and knowledge of the place. Based on a request to draw the map of Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, the residents drew the map based on their memory and knowledge.

Picture 16: Mental Map Resident Rawa Bebek-1



This map is drawn by a female resident of Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing who is around 30 years old. She is a housewife, but when there is capital for her to sell goods, she will also become a seller. She lives in the 1st floor, and below is the ground floor where the kiosks are. Based on her drawing, the part of the rent-flat housing that she care about and feel attached to is the unit and the kiosk or selling area. The map that she drew is not detail and thorough, but showing the area where they usually have activities. Besides, it can also be concluded that this respondent was not familiar with the environment outside of her residential unit, because Fullilove (1996) said that familiarity is a cognitive component

Picture 17: Mental Map Resident Rawa Bebek-2



This mental map is drawn by a male resident who is 30 years old and work as an entrepreneur. He lives in 5th floor. His drawing is very thorough, even including the area for the bachelor that is not for relocation program. In his drawing, there is also rent-flat blocks that are still under construction. He works everyday from afternoon until night. According to him, he seldom have opportunity to gather with the

neighbours because of his work. However, the map that shows every arrangement of the building from the entrance show that he has good knowledge about the area he lives in.

From these maps drawn by the residents, maps that are drawn by the female is more focused on the smaller unit, however the drawing of the unit also not detail. From this, it is shown that her memory and knowledge shows that her attachment is inclining towards her residential unit. On the other hand, maps that are drawn by males are more thorough. Besides the gender category, their kind of activities also shown why their attachment and their knowledge is different. The male residents who participate in the mental map drawing have activity outside of the rent-flat housing, which is work, while the female residents stay at home as housewife or entrepreneur.

4.5 Comparison

In terms of involuntary resettlement, based on the interviews from both rent-flat housing, both resettlement case has the same procedure. First, there was no consent before the resettlement, but more of a command from the government. Second, there was no alternative given to the impacted people, but to be relocated to the rent-flat housing. Before the resettlement, the impacted people were invited for meeting and got warning letters for 3 times. However, the responds from both groups were different. The impacted community from Kampung Pulo were more resistant and the second group from Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil were less resistant and followed the instruction. The people from Kampung Pulo's reaction could be explained with the promise that they got about compensation, but in the end, they didn't get any compensation. Even though the location of the rent-flat housing in Jatinegara Barat seemed to be compromised by the government side to meet the people's concern to be near the previous location, the people from Kampung Pulo still hold grief and disappointment of not getting the compensation that was promised. While based on the government side, the reason that the compensation couldn't be given laid on the regulation, the missing link is between the government procedure and the impacted people's understanding about their right and the regulation.

In terms of perceived consent, the people in Jatinegara Barat showed a strong disagreement with the resettlement. They showed their grief and disappointment because their concern was not fulfilled, especially their concern was promised to be given before, and in the end, they didn't get it. They felt the unfairness of the government and demanded a fair replacement. On the other hand, the respondents in Rawa Bebek showed a calmer and submission manner towards the resettlement. Even though they also have disappointment, but they handle the condition with more acceptance and understanding that it's based on the regulation and what happened with the resettlement was what it's supposed to be. In relation to place attachment, residents in Jatinegara Barat have lower place attachment than residents in Rawa Bebek.

In terms of prediction of the new environment prior to the resettlement, the impacted people from Kampung Pulo didn't have introduction to the new settlement before the relocation, which means they didn't have any imagination of the new environment would be. Conclusion from the interviews could be formulated that the impacted people from Kampung Pulo didn't think of how the new settlement would be, as long as they had a place to live, because they were in grief of losing their home. On the other hand, impacted people from Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu Kecil had introduction to the new settlement before they moved in. They were introduced with the building and the facility in the rent-flat housing. However, the people in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing were still facing challenge in adjusting themselves

to the difference of living in their previous settlement and in rent-flat housing, especially the conditions and regulations. Therefore, the degree of the introduction should be evaluated in order to make prediction of the new environment to the relocated people. Suggestion from the expert should be considered, which is for the rent-flat housing to start operating before the people moved in and invite the people to experience the life there before the actual moving in. It's too early to conclude how the prediction of the new settlement affect the people's place attachment, because this factor seems weaker than other factors. Besides, even though there is suggestion from the expert that says deeper introduction will make the adjustment and adaptation phase smoother, it cannot be described yet through this study case, because the introduction with the new settlement was still basic.

In terms of control in new settlement, both rent-flat housing have management unit who are part of the city council and housing department. There are regulations that restrict the people, but a resident who work in Jatinegara Barat shows that if the residents are involved in keeping the regulation or control, they will have more attachment to the rent-flat housing. It was shown with the interview that the people who were involved understand the regulations that exist and can follow the regulation more than other residents. With that understanding, the people won't feel like they are under the management unit's control and won't feel limited in their own place. On the other hand, in Rawa Bebek the impact was deeper because it restricts the respondent's goal and desire that is also his business. The regulations blocked his place dependence, which is part of place attachment, because he couldn't achieve his goal and desire there. In Rawa Bebek, there were also frequent unannounced inspection that made the residents not comfortable. In terms of control in new settlement, residents in Rawa Bebek have lower place attachment than residents in Jatinegara Barat. However, it should be noted that it occurs differently to different subject, even though they are in the same rent-flat housing.

In terms of familiarity, residents of both rent-flat housing felt foreign with the physical aspect of the rent-flat housing. When asked if there is something in the new settlement that brought their memory about their previous location, they said there was nothing at all. They even mentioned that they had to start adaptation from the beginning, just like foreigner who came to a new place. However, they felt strong familiarity with the people who live there, because they came from the same previous location. Residents in Jatinegara Barat are all from Kampung Pulo. The only dilemma was the unit allocation was randomized. Besides, since the rent-flat housing is vertical building, being in different floor already seemed far for them, and change the interaction with the previous neighbours who lived close to them in previous location. On the other hand, residents in Rawa Bebek didn't come from only one location. Besides being randomized for the unit allocation, they are also mixed with people from different location, even though it should be noted that residents from the same location are grouped together near each other. The neighbourhood composition like in Rawa Bebek is related to the social attachment in that rent-flat housing, where attachment to the people from the same previous location is getting stronger, but at the same time they are being aware and cautious towards the neighbours from different previous location. From those comparison, place attachment in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing is lower than in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing.

Place attachment is multidimensional and influenced by many factors. From the interview with the residents, it was found that there were also some other factors that influenced place attachment, namely status of ownership. The changes that they experienced from owning a house to renting a unit makes them difficult to feel attached to the new settlement. The people kept referring to the new settlement as the government's house, while in this case, their perception towards the government as the unfair side complicates the attachment towards the new settlement.

Finally, involuntary resettlement gives negative impact to place attachment of the residents in rent-flat housing. The displacement from their home and relocation to the place that was not of their choice made the people hard to feel attached to the new settlement. The factors influence place attachment differently; some are stronger than the others and some are not. However, place attachment varied in each individual even though the people shared the same attachment towards the same place. Thus, the influencing factors occur differently towards different people.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the conclusion of the research based on the problem statement and research question formulated for the study. The purpose of the study is to answer the main research question that is divided into four sub-research questions. The findings of the research are explained and reflected to the theory and literature that are reviewed during the study. The four sub-questions will answer the main research question of the study.

The main objective of the research is to understand the process and the extent of influence of involuntary relocation to place attachment of the resident that moved to rent-flat housing. To understand that this process is also influenced by several variables, enhancing or determining the level of place attachment of the residents to their new settlement in the rent-flat housing is also the objective of the study.

5.2 Answering the Research Question

The main research question of this study is: “How does involuntary resettlement affect the place attachment of the resettled community towards the new settlement in rent-flat housing?” This study investigated the process prior to the relocation based on the people’s experience, until they became the residents of the rent-flat housing to identify the part that influence the place attachment of the people.

The study is taking two heterogeneous cases in Jakarta as the case study, which are in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing. The two cases were meant to be compared to learn from the differences and its effect to the place attachment of the people. The information was mainly gathered from interview with the residents of both rent-flat housing, but interview with different actors, such as the management unit of the rent flat housing and the national housing department were also conducted.

5.2.1 The Effect of Perceived Consent on the Relocation Process to the Place Attachment

According to Mahtur (2006), resettlement is considered involuntary without informed consent. Without consent to be relocated, the decision is not from two sides, which in this case the government and the impacted community, but only from one side. The respondents of the resettlement case in Kampung Pulo, Bukit Duri and Kampung Melayu stated that it was not their will to be relocated, but it was the government’s will. The lack of willingness or the involuntariness influence how the respondents perceive the government and also the rent-flat housing as the facility given by the government for the relocated people. The respondents said that the rent-flat housing is the government’s house and not their house, affecting their place attachment because they don’t feel “at home” in the rent-flat housing.

There was no consent for both relocation case to Jatinegara Barat and Rawa Bebek, but there was a promise given to people who was in Kampung Pulo and now relocated to Jatinegara Barat that gave different reaction. The promise was compensation will be given if the people comply to be relocated, however, they didn’t not get any compensation after relocation. That resulted with people in Jatinegara Barat hold more grief if talking about the promise about compensation. As Fried (1966) said that losing home can also expressed with emotion like grief, the respondents in Jatinegara Barat were emotional when talking about the promise that is unfulfilled by the government. Meanwhile, the government couldn’t give them compensation

because they were not eligible by not having legal document for their land. However, the explanation didn't reach the people in Jatinegara Barat well and they still hold their emotion after 2 years staying in the rent-flat housing. According to Scannell and Gifford (2010), place attachment has psychological process that include emotions. Usually people with place attachment show their emotion with love and pride. These emotions of place attachment were absent in people in Jatinegara Barat or Rawa Bebek, because they still have emotion from the relocation.

In terms of perceived consent, the respondents from Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing showed different attitude in responding the government's instruction to leave their previous settlement and be relocated to the rent-flat housing. The respondents from Jatinegara Barat showed more grief and disappointment, especially because they felt that the government didn't fulfill their promised. Meanwhile, taking into consideration of what the respondent from Official of Housing Settlement, Spatial Planning and Land Affairs DKI Jakarta said in the interview, the location of Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing was compromising what was said as the impacted people's concern not to be far away from their previous location. However, the respondents from Jatinegara still showed their disagreement between the government's act. According to the respondents, they lived in perforce in the new settlement in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing. On the other hand, the respondents in Rawa Bebek said that they follow the government's instruction as it is supposed to be and without resistance. The respondents in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing still feel disappointed, but compared to the respondents from Jatinegara Barat, the perceived consent of the respondents in Rawa Bebek is higher than the respondents in Jatinegara Barat.

In conclusion, perceived consent influence the respondents' acceptance in the resettlement process and the more the respondents have positive perception of the consent, the more they have place attachment to the place.

5.2.2 The Effect of Predictability of the New Settlement to Place Attachment

Stokols and Shumaker (1982) said that predictability of the new environment can mediate the destructive effect of relocation. In this case, the study aims to understand if the effect of relocation is mediated, people can also have higher place attachment to the new settlement. In terms of introduction to new settlement, people in Jatinegara Barat said that they didn't have observation before moving to the rent-flat housing. Some said that their mind was empty during the relocation and they didn't think of what the new settlement would be like as long as their family had a place to stay. While for people in Rawa Bebek, they already got the first introduction before and observed the place. They said that after that they moved their stuff little by little, some even said that they could sell some parts of the house and got some money from the selling. In general, the respondents in Bukit Duri were calmer and more acceptance with their condition now than the people in Jatinegara Barat, except the elderly. The elderly who were interviewed in Rawa Bebek still showed grief. Even though the respondents in Rawa Bebek are more acceptance, it is still too early to conclude that the introduction to their new settlement created prediction of the new settlement, because the introduction was basic and not profound, and the place was still not on their choice, so the people still didn't have prediction on how they would live there.

In conclusion, predictability of the new environment in this study doesn't show the influence to place attachment. Based on the interview from respondent in Jatinegara Barat, they didn't care about the new settlement and didn't bother to find out to have prediction because they didn't want to be relocated at the first place. Therefore, from this case, it can be concluded

that predictability of the new environment was influenced by the perceived consent of the respondents.

5.2.3 The Effect of Control of the Residents in New Settlement

Control in new settlement was said that can also mediate the destructive effect of relocation (Stokols and Shumaker, 1982). In both rent-flat housing in Jatinegara Barat and in Rawa Bebek, control position is in the management unit. They have all the list of the resident who stay there including their education background and occupation. They also set the rent-flat housing regulation and expect the relocated people to understand that live in rent-flat housing is different than live in the riverbank. In both rent-flat housing, they conducted inspection to detect those who break the regulation. The inspections make them feel not comfortable and don't feel like they are in their own place even though they pay to stay there.

The further impact of the regulation to the people is when the regulation is blocking their possibilities in reaching their goal or desire. It happened with a respondent in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing whose hobby and business is related to cars and automotive, but in the rent-flat housing it is not allowed to park their cars near the building. This case relates to place attachment in physical dimension, which is place dependent, where the people feel attached because the function of the place provide them to reach their goals and desire (Williams and Vaske, 2003), which the respondent in rent-flat housing don't get. Different case happened in Jatinegara Barat, when one of the respondents got a job as one of the security officers in the rent-flat housing. Instead of being completely under control, he becomes the part of the authorized party that help to control the rent-flat housing and make sure that the residents follow the regulation. With a bit of position and control, he could then state that he felt proud with the condition of moving to Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing, which is showing psychological dimension of place attachment by having such emotion (Scanell and Gifford, 2011).

In conclusion, control in new settlement of the respondents influence their place attachment. The respondents who got more control have more place attachment and the respondents who felt under control by another party, in this case the management unit, have lower place attachment.

5.2.4 The Effect of Familiarity of the Residents in the New Settlement

Fried (1966) said that familiarity is of the environment and the people create attachment to the place. In Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, in terms of physical features of the environment, the people in both rent-flat housing acknowledge that they don't feel familiar with the place, rather foreign. On the other hand, they feel familiar with the people because they came from the same previous location. The difference was they don't live with the same neighbors in the new settlement, because the unit allocation was randomized. It applies for both rent-flat housing, besides there are people from different previous location in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing, and in Jatinegara Barat only from one previous location.

The familiarity with the people who used to live in the same area before creates social attachment. Even though they said that at first they had to start knowing people because they have different neighbours, gradually the social attachment becomes stronger and most of them don't want to move to different place if it's not with the same neighbours (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). However, the social attachment in Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing is different, since the composition of the residents are also different. In general, taken from the interviews with the respondents, the social attachment in

Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing is separated per floors, however for neighbourhood activity in rent-flat housing scale, social attachment in Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing indirectly divided depends on the previous location.

In conclusion, based on the interview with the respondents, familiarity influence place attachment, especially familiarity with the people influence the social dimension of place attachment. The more familiar the people, the stronger the social attachment, and supporting what Fried (1966) said, familiarity could help the adaptation phase after the relocation.

5.2.5 The Effect of Status of Ownership to Place Attachment

Status of ownership was not mentioned in the reviewed literature, however, the residents of both Jatinegara Barat rent-flat housing and Rawa Bebek rent-flat housing mentioned about status of ownership in different expression. The residents in Jatinegara Barat kept saying that they changed from someone who had a house to someone who was just renting, while the respondents in Rawa Bebek were more into hoping that someday they can have their own house, or there would be change of ownership status of the rent-flat housing into their ownership. This status of ownership makes the residents of rent-flat housing don't feel attached, because they take and treat the rent-flat housing as the government's house. This variable didn't come up on the literature review, but came up on findings, and it is one of the strong influence to place attachment, according to the respondents.

5.3 Conclusion

Finally, the effect of involuntary resettlement to place attachment of the residents in rent-flat housing have negative effect. According to the interviews, the residents of rent-flat housing didn't have place attachment and stating that staying in the rent-flat housing was a matter of having no choice. Even though there are sign of place attachment that grows according to different treatment and different initial position prior to the relocation, for example people whose house were smaller before thought that the relocation was improvement and they tend to have more place attachment, but people whose house were bigger before thought that the relocation was a loss. Similar to people who got control or achievement after relocation thought that the relocation was improvement and they tend to have more place attachment, but people who couldn't do what they desire because of regulations thought that relocation was a loss. However, the case where people feel that the involuntary resettlement give negative effect to place attachment is more than the case where people feel that the involuntary resettlement give positive impact to place attachment.

Overall, in this study, perceived consent influence place attachment by touching the place dimension, because the rent-flat housing as a physical building was not the people's choice. On the other hand, predictability of the new environment doesn't show influence towards the place attachment in this study. Meanwhile, control of the respondents in new settlement influence the place attachment in different dimensions depends on the different experience of the individual. Familiarity, especially familiar people in the new settlement, as Fried (1966) said was important for relocated people, influence place attachment in social dimension strongly. In additional, status of ownership, which was not covered in the literature review but came up as strong influence of the place attachment according to the interviews, has influence in psychological level. In conclusion, those variables influence place attachment from different aspects and dimension, and they occur differently on different individual. However, the influence of predictability of the new settlement to place attachment was not shown in this

study, but it still need further research to conclude the relation between predictability and place attachment.

5.3 Limitation of the Research

First, this study might not answer all of the research question respectfully, because place attachment is multidimensional and varies in each individual, even though there is group sharing attachment towards one place. Thus, it is acknowledged that there will be other influencing factors that can also occur differently towards different people. For example, place identity as a component of place attachment is also influenced by identity background, such as ethnicity (Goetz, 2002). Besides, the study literature in this thesis might not cover all of place attachment theory, therefore this research also doesn't cover empirical study outside of the study case used in this research.

In addition, resettlement case creates complex environment, where some unexplored issues might be the limitation of the research. Understanding that place attachment varies in each individual, this research cannot cover different experience of majority of the rent-flat housing residents. Thus, the number of respondents and the selection of the respondents can be the limitation and the influencing factor of the logic of the answers in this research.

Due to the limitations mentioned, it is difficult to generalize the result of this research. As discussed, place attachment and the influencing factors can occur differently to each individual. Therefore, the study about involuntary resettlement and place attachment is worth to explore more. However, a quantitative research to gather average perception of place attachment is suggested to confirm the qualitative findings of this research.

5.4 Contribution to Theory

This research about the effect of involuntary resettlement to place attachment confirmed some of the theory in the literature review. As Fried (1966) said that familiarity is important for relocated people, the empirical study showed that familiarity have strong influence in place attachment, especially in this study case, the familiarity of the people influence the social attachment. This research also confirms Stokols and Shumaker (1982) about control of the resettled people in the new settlement. As discussed in chapter 4, control in new settlement show the influence to place attachment, even though it occurs differently to different individual. It is then worth to explore more the other possible case that could be influenced by control in new settlement as well.

On the other hand, there were also some findings that were not covered in the literature review, and worth to be explored more. The first is the people's projection of the resettlement program that can occur differently in each individual but in some people, build a perforce feeling. Second, as discussed in chapter 4, status of ownership also influence the respondent's place of attachment, especially in resettlement case. Change of status of ownership and new environment work together in influencing the respondent's place attachment.

5.5 Further Research Recommendations

This study opens possibility for further research about resettlement and place attachment. There can be possibilities to include different variable that can influence place

attachment, or conduct a different method to confirm the variables mentioned in this research. Besides, it is also recommended to go deeper into issues mentioned in this research.

In addition, quantitative research is recommended to support and confirm the result of this research. A different methodology to reach bigger number of respondents is suggested, to see different approach of this study and enrich the findings. Moreover, it is important to keep studying about the case to see the development of place attachment in a later stage.

5.6 Policy Recommendations

There is some room for improvement for resettlement process in Jakarta. As discussed in chapter 4, communication between government and impacted people should be improved, in order to increase people of Jakarta's understanding behind the government's decision. In that sense, socialization for every program, in this case resettlement program, is important to be thorough and touch the impacted people until agreement is reached.

On the other hand, if resettlement program is already decided, it is recommended to conduct a further study of the impacted people who are going to be relocated, to see their attachment, behavior and what their concerns are, in order to make the adaptation phase of the relocated people smoother. Learning from the findings from the respondents, if the people get involved, they feel more appreciated and willing to cooperate.

Finally, in terms of place attachment, the physical condition of the new settlement should have minimum basic study of the people who are going to stay there, the social environment in the new settlement is also important to be conditioned based on the people who are going to live there. In conclusion, in order to make the adaptation phase smoother, some parts of the resettlement planning should be adopted from the impacted people's life and not expecting the people to adapt to total changes in a rapid process.

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Annex 1: Research Instruments and Time schedule

Interview Guideline

Semi-structured Interview

Indicators Checklist	Questions	
<input type="checkbox"/> Notification prior to the displacement	Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greetings • Introduction • Purpose of study • Confidentiality • Duration • Permission to record
<input type="checkbox"/> Form of consent (if any)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Form of alternative offered prior to the displacement (if any)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Information about the new settlement before the relocation (predictability)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Control in the new settlement	Open question	General information about the respondent (age, occupation, duration of stay, previous location)
<input type="checkbox"/> Change of location		Could you tell me about what you think of your new/current settlement? (while walking)
<input type="checkbox"/> Attachment to the house	Start with simple questions	Could you tell me about the facilities that is provided in this rent-flat housing?
<input type="checkbox"/> Attachment to the environment around the house		What are your hobbies or goals? Do you think that the new settlement can accommodate it?
<input type="checkbox"/> Function of the place		Could you tell me how you feel when you have to be away from this place for a while?
<input type="checkbox"/> Availability and access to resources		Could you tell me how you would feel if you have to move out from here not together with the people who live here?
<input type="checkbox"/> Place that facilitate activities to achieve goals or desire		Could you tell me in what occasion you usually interact with the neighbour next to your house?
<input type="checkbox"/> Similarity of the physical features within the neighbourhood		Could you tell me the location where you usually gather with your neighbours?
<input type="checkbox"/> Familiarity of the physical features to the inhabitants		
<input type="checkbox"/> Similarity of character within the same group		
<input type="checkbox"/> Distinction of character with other groups		
<input type="checkbox"/> Frequency of interaction with neighbour		What was your expectation and prediction of the new settlement before you were being relocated?

<input type="checkbox"/> Quality of interaction with neighbour <input type="checkbox"/> Trust between neighbours <input type="checkbox"/> Feeling connected, love and pride towards the place <input type="checkbox"/> Knowledge and memory about the place <input type="checkbox"/> Decision to stay <input type="checkbox"/> Proximity maintaining behaviour <input type="checkbox"/> Action to maintain and protect <input type="checkbox"/> Effort to improve the condition of the place	<p>How well do you know and remember the organization of the space here? (Could also ask them to draw mental map instead of interview)</p> <p>Before you were resettled here, could you tell me about the notification prior to the relocation? Did you get enough information before? When was it and how was the form of the notification?</p> <p>Could you tell me about how often you talk to your neighbours, or even asking for a help when it is needed?</p> <p>Could you tell me whom you ask for help first among your neighbour when you need it? And could you explain how and why?</p> <p>Can you tell me about what you feel about your neighbours? How many people that you have known before you are relocated here? And how many people that you start to get to know since you move here?</p> <p>Could you tell me about how you would feel if people from your neighbourhood move out?</p> <p>Could you tell me how you maintain and protect the neighbourhood? Do you clean it regularly? Do you see people littering?</p> <p>Could you tell me if in your new house you can make changes and how far are you allowed to do that?</p> <p>Could you tell me how you participate in improving the neighbourhood?</p> <p>Could you tell me if you feel familiar with the physical setting of the neighbourhood when you move here?</p> <p>Could you tell me if you are given another option of place to stay, would you stay here or move to another place?</p> <p>Could you tell me what you would feel if someone ask about where you live</p>

		and from which neighbourhood you are?
		Could you tell me about what make you feel similar or different than the people who live here?

Observation Guideline

Points of observations:

- Interaction between neighbours
- Maintenance of the environment by the inhabitants
- Group characteristic
- Communal space to see if people gather and interact

Indicators Checklist	Location of Observation:
<input type="checkbox"/> Notification prior to the displacement	Date and Time of Observation:
<input type="checkbox"/> Form of consent (if any)	Type of interaction between neighbours:
<input type="checkbox"/> Form of alternative offered prior to the displacement (if any)	Number of people involved:
<input type="checkbox"/> Information about the new settlement before the relocation (predictability)	Duration of interaction:
<input type="checkbox"/> Control in the new settlement	Location of Observation:
<input type="checkbox"/> Change of location	Date and time of Observation:
<input type="checkbox"/> Attachment to the house	Number of trash bin provided:
<input type="checkbox"/> Attachment to the environment around the house	Describe cleanliness of the area:
<input type="checkbox"/> Function of the place	Location of Observation:
<input type="checkbox"/> Availability and access to resources	Date and Time of Observation:
<input type="checkbox"/> Place that facilitate activities to achieve goals or desire	Type of communal space: e.g. park, courtyard, etc
<input type="checkbox"/> Similarity of the physical features within the neighbourhood	Size/scale of the communal space:
	Use of the communal space:

<input type="checkbox"/> Familiarity of the physical features to the inhabitants <input type="checkbox"/> Similarity of character within the same group <input type="checkbox"/> Distinction of character with other groups <input type="checkbox"/> Frequency of interaction with neighbour <input type="checkbox"/> Quality of interaction with neighbour <input type="checkbox"/> Trust between neighbours <input type="checkbox"/> Feeling connected, love and pride towards the place <input type="checkbox"/> Knowledge and memory about the place <input type="checkbox"/> Decision to stay <input type="checkbox"/> Proximity maintaining behaviour <input type="checkbox"/> Action to maintain and protect <input type="checkbox"/> Effort to improve the condition of the place	Location of Observation:	
	Date and Time of Observation:	
	Describe similarity or difference of each house from the outside:	
	Items that is added by the house owners:	e.g. plants, re-painting, etc.