The adolescents gathering space at *kampung* in the Periphery of Tangerang Selatan City

Fahmi Arifin¹ and Evawani Ellisa²

¹Department of Architecture, University of Indonesia, Jl. Margonda Raya, Depok 16424, Indonesia
²Corresponding Author, Department of Architecture, University of Indonesia, Jl. Margonda Raya, Depok 16424, Indonesia

Email: fahmi.arifin@ui.ac.id, ellisa@eng.ui.ac.id

Abstract. In the western part of the greater Jakarta of South Tangerang or Tangsel, the original inhabitants live in the previously rural part called Kampung Cilenggang. While the nearby area of Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD) demonstrates the spectacle of development and modernization, the inhabitants felt behind as the spectators. Yet the identity of Kampung Cilenggang as the village gradually disappeared and in return, produced the confusion of the space, especially for the adolescents. This group who now in the age of 16-19 were still kids before Tangsel becomes the independent city. Now, growing to be the adolescents, they still regard Kampung Cilenggang as their play area. This paper aims to investigate the space for marginal adolescents, focusing on how they use their space and time outside the school hours. In conducting this research, we studied a group of adolescents in a high school located in Kampung Cilenggang. Our methods were mapping of their play space, observing their behavior, and conducting interviews. This paper reveals that the rapid development of Tangsel shrunk Kampung Cilenggang and forced the adolescents to anticipate the loss of the play space by claiming some small eatery places (*warung*) as their gathering places.

1. Introduction

Located in the western part of Jakarta in the province of Banten, Tangerang was administratively part of greater Jakarta or Jabodetabek (Jakarta Bogor Depok Tangerang Bekasi). In 2009, South Tangerang was administratively seceded from the regency of Tangerang and declared as the city of Tangerang Selatan (Tangsel). This status encouraged many large developers to see promising opportunities. Using the concept of "Commuter Town," big developers such as Alam Sutera Group, Sinarmas Group, Jaya Real Property see the declaration status of Tangsel as the chance to create the nuclear city for Jakarta commuters. They are the inhabitants who demand houses at lower prices but still offer the possibility to commute to Jakarta. The existing transportation network supports this opportunity, both the train commuter lines (KRL) and toll roads of South Tangerang to Jakarta. Years after becoming a satellite city of Jakarta, the City of South Tangerang enjoys herself as an independent city.

It is prevalent that the rapidly urbanizing greater Jakarta is simultaneously generating either new opportunities or problems. The increasing vulnerability and negative consequences for the marginalized communities indicate this latter. Fiona Marshall & Jonathan Dolley [1] in their study on the transformative innovation in peri-urban in China in India founded that peri-urbanization often characterized by the neoliberal reordering of space and co-option of environmental agendas by
powerful urban elites. The changing land-use, resource extraction, pollution, and livelihood transitions drive rapid changes in interactions between socio-technical and social-ecological systems and produce complex feedbacks across the rural-urban continuum. Kampung Cilenggang was an example of this phenomenon. Just like a pocket, this village remained un-touch by the modernization of Tangerang Selatan, although the land around Kampung Cilenggang developed rapidly with the presence of modern buildings such as apartments and shopping centers. The business center has been grown fast, and there were quite a lot of them located in Kampung Cilenggang surrounding. This situation encourages the change of lifestyle and behavior among the community of Kampung Cilenggang, especially among adolescents.

Certainly, ambiguity exists in the definition of adolescence as no concrete biological, sociological, or psychological delineation exists (see Sibley [2]). Aries. P. in his book entitled “Centuries of Childhood” [3] described adolescence as the period of “quarantine” for the adult experience, while a further study of adolescents by Hebdige [4] lead to the new term of the teenager which started to emerge in the 1950s. This research focused on groups of teenagers who are still in high school. Our preferences in high school based on their age range. Throwing back to their previous age, they once experienced living in the village in a different situation, precisely at the age of 6-8 years; the time before Tangsel City declared as a city. At present, the previously elementary school students are becoming high school students and remain living at Kampung Cilenggang.

There used to be 2 (two) high schools in Cilenggang, but now only one remained. It is the public senior high school called SMA 12. This school is relatively new in Kampung Cilenggang as it just opened in 2011. Located approximately 200 meters away from the main highway of South Tangerang city, we chose this school surrounding as the locus research. We investigated how the influence of modernization and surrounding development affect the way the local teenagers spend their free time after school time.

There is a debate about how to define free-time or leisure time. However, there is a consensus that there are three primary ways in which to consider leisure: leisure as time, leisure as an activity, and leisure as a state of mind [5]. Based on definitions compiled from some dictionaries, spare time is “a general term embracing all free time from work and other obligations.” Some scholars argue it is the constructive use of free time. While some argue free time as extra times, many may view free time as all nonworking hours, although only a small amount of time spent away from work is free from other obligations that are necessary such as sleeping and eating. In the context of urban teenagers, their free time is after school hour because, during school hour, they have to carry out their obligations at school. Dusek, Kremis, and Monge [6] mentioned that for teenagers, the time spent participating in leisure activities is often social time spent with friends. In the case of the students of SMA 12, soon after school time is over, they promptly interact with their friends in the gathering place.

There are many references to such types of activities in the adolescent leisure literature, based on the geographical and cultural context. For example, in Canada, adolescents have been shown to have more time for leisure activities than any other demographic group in the country [7]. The time for gathering is usually carried out until evening, although they only interact with each other. Robert J. Kelly [8] said that adolescents need a place to relax from their daily routines, and they want to express themselves before parents and teachers.

Adolescents in Cilenggang Village need a place for gathering; hence, with the rapid development of Tangsel, there is hardly any choice for the gathering places. While gathering places in their surrounding neighborhood such as open public places at Kampung Cilenggang are getting fewer and fewer; they cannot afford to utilize new gathering place formally established by the developers such as malls, coffee shops, and restaurants. Neither recreational amenity nor organized leisure activity provided for the adolescents in Kampung Cilenggang. While time and space may exist in abundance, this does not represent the freedom desired by adolescents [3]. In the case of a rural environment, they do not have any choice except to remain in their local environment. The lack of recreational amenities forced adolescents to look for additional stimuli [3]. In this case, social interaction with adolescents of similar ages and condition can provide a significant part of that required stimulus.
2. Method
There some studies discussed the correlation between gender and adolescent spaces. Research conducted by Noora Pyry [9] founded that in the era of ‘security,’ many teenage girls spend their limited free time in consumption spaces that are, considered safe by their parents, controlled and schedules such as schools, playgrounds, and malls. Our preliminary observation in Kampung Cilenggang founded that it was difficult to find out whereabouts the girls spend their afterschool time. It is highly probable that many girls of Kampung Cilenggang are either at home or hang out in places that are quite far from schools. On the other hand, teenage boys at Kampung Cilenggang have several gathering places, both during school hours and outside school hours. Therefore, this study focused only on them.

We conducted observation on the surrounding SMA 12 at Kampung Cilenggang between March-June 2019. SMA 12 located close to the new town dominantly designed for the middle-upper class called BSD (Bumi Serpong Damai). To determine the unstructured leisure activities at Kampung Cilenggang, first, we mapped the existing context, including the function of the buildings around the high school to produce the necessary maps. Mapping helped our understanding of the daily activities of the adolescents of SMA 12 and surrounding area. Second, we conducted detail observation on the spots which were considered as the gathering places for the adolescents. Third, we represented the collected data into illustrations that depicted their activity in the meeting place. To complete the data and describe the meanings and values of their behavior in gathering places, we interviewed the users about the reason why do they meet in that meeting space.

3. Results and Discussions

3.1. Warung and Parking as the gathering place
Since there is no any public transport to go to school, out of 4 (four) from 5 (five) gathering places for adolescents at Kampung Cilenggang, provide parking for motorcycle since SMA 12 does not have a parking lot. There is no solution except the tendency to park their motorbike in the place where they used to gather. This motorbike parking place is one of the attractions as well as the reasons for gathering place. The students who come to the school using their vehicle need to park their motorcycle in another place. Some of the students choose their parking lot as their meeting place. This situation naturally occurred because when the students park their vehicle in the parking lot, they will have the opportunity to meet their colleagues face to face. Although the parking lot is arid because it is square, for the teenagers it is a kind of oasis of freshness.

Another factor that attracted our intention is how male adolescents mainly gather in a warung. In Indonesia, warung is a typical informal home-based small shop run by the family that found in every corner of the living places. Usually, the owner of this small shop is the resident who lives in the same area. Most of the warung owners are people who do not engage in formal work. They set up a small shop to help the family economy. Warung sells groceries and other things. In the case of Kampung Cilenggang, these warungs do not only provide daily items for residents living around warung but also become the eatery place for the students of SMA 12. Eventually, a prolonged mutual relationship existed between students and warung owner; the students need goods such as food, drinks, or cigarettes, the warung owners need buyers. As time goes by, many male students did not merely utilize warung to buy things, but extendedly use warung as the gathering place in and after-school time. Referring to the definition of “hanging out” by Leslie [10] warung is the best choice to describe the place for “hanging out” of Kampung Cilenggang adolescents where they mostly spent their times with friends doing various activities - any activities that they want.

There are 5 (five) places we had been identified mostly used by the adolescents with the nicknamed popularly put in each among the students of SMA 12: they are “Warung Budhe,” ”Warung Usdar,” "Warung Partak," "Warung Basir," and “Warung Gunting 4”. Each gathering place has its group of males that generated at school. They recognized themselves as a group based on the name of “warung”
where they claimed as their gathering place. Here is the place where teenagers appear to do activities, of which at first glance seem to gather in unstructured encounters meeting such huddle, chatter, and prank one another.

**Figure 1. The Map of Gathering Places in Surrounding SMA 12**

The male students of SMA 12 found themselves feel comfort to meet and gather in these places, and they marked and identified warungs as their place. One of our informants of SMA 12 student called Zidan mentioned that his selection of the meeting place follows to his friend’s intention to go. This situation in accordance to Kingsley [3] that time spent with peers is essential for many reasons, of which the most important is that adolescents feel a sense of security and belonging and can be together among themselves without condemnation. Adolescents need a place that accepted them and not judging them. Indeed, the judgemental and accepting environment is not always available in the home where they live with parents. As a result, adolescents tend to visit gathering places directly after school time. They found that the only adult they met was the warung owner so that times spent at warung is relatively free from adult intervention, interruption, and presence.
Based on the interview, all users in all the gathering places mentioned that they chose to gather with certain colleagues because they seemed to tie as “friends of the same group.” Friendship initially begins at school, and a similar school makes them familiar. Therefore, all members of the gathering place are coming from the same school; that is SMA 12. Leslie [10] mentioned that if you are on the lookout for teens in the wild, it is not too hard to find them because they will be where there are other teens. Following the establishment of the friendship group at school, they need a place to accommodate the gathering activities. They considered warung as a meaningful place.

They named after the gathering place as an identity of their group. Godkin’s [11] mentioned that despite the dynamic nature of a place, these meanings still be used to create identification, either personal or communal identity. According to Erikson [12], the closeness of their friendship in forming and having their gathering place made them very close and even closer in comparison to their own
families. This ensured by Aji who mentioned that he prefers to hang-out in the gathering places rather than with parents and families at his own home.

All respondents said that they strongly feel bound with friends of the same group. This situation keeps them to continue to come to the gathering place during the days and nights. Referring with the theory of Sense of Place according to Yi Fu Tuan [13] who mentioned that when a group was always making memories in particular place, then it becomes special and a sense of place created.

3.2 Hidden place for gathering space
The way teenagers use open spaces contradicts the value conceptions of adults who often seen negatively [14]. Adults insisted that young people should integrate themselves quickly into the world of the adults, yet they are ignoring the vital chance to provide the social distance for adolescents. The gathering places of Warung Budhe, Warung Basir, and Warung Gunting can show this situation. Their positions are quite hidden. Warung Budhe and Warung Basir covered by some houses. However, to reach Warung Budhe, the teenagers must pass through a small street next to the school that it is quite visible from the school’s window. For that reason, students must be careful when walking this street to avoid being seen by the teacher. In Warung Gunting, the wall becomes the barrier to cover and hide the gathering place from the outside. Different situations appear both in Warung Usdar and Warung Partak. They are quite open. The location of Warung Usdar is next to the school, merely bordered by a wall with the front left open. Bimo, our informant considers this situation as a problem since the teacher can found this place easily; even more the location of this gathering place is easily seen from the window of the school. Warung Partak is located on the side of the main road and is also very
visible. As a result, many outsiders, including adults they should avoid, have the opportunity to control and monitor their activities. Adults tend to supervise and control teenagers when doing deviant acts [10]. According to our respondent named Rama, the possibility to be encountered by the teacher at Warung Partak is quite high. The teenagers should be highly alert when they hang-out at Warung Partak, especially during school hours. They also have been frequently warned by the local adults not to be too noisy when they are hanging around during the night, while during the days there are not so many locals passing the road. Warung Basir is the best place for teenagers as this is the most hidden place that teachers rarely discover or warned by residents.

The role of teachers in the utilization of this gathering place is quite essential since warung often become the place for the students to skip the class. When the teacher found teenagers hanging around in any warung during the class hours, the teacher will punish them. As the students use this gathering place not only during a break but also during school hours, the teachers found the need to supervise warung, especially because many students go to a warung for smoking.

3.3 The consumption of cigarettes and alcohol
As mentioned in the early part, all the gathering places used by students of SMA 12 are the places to buy food, drinks, and cigarettes. According to Varda Eipstein [15], teens are always hungry, always looking for food and drink. After they make all the power, they are happy to spend it in such away. Lisa A. Flam [16] mentioned that food is an attraction for teenagers because it is a source of energy for their activities. In the case of adolescents in SMA 12, they use this gathering place as the place to relieve after carrying out tiring activities both physically and mentally at school. In an informal and relaxed ambience, students buy food, drink water or packaging beverages, and smoke cigarettes while lively interact with each other. Warungs are the places full of the vibrancy and noise that aroused by the energy and the activity of teenagers.

Other than the food, warung provides cigarette for students. Warung is the place of the "newcomers" to learn to smoke from those who already addictive cigarettes. They burn at warung since smoking forbidden during the class hour (and probably at home as well), yet they want to fight the regulation applied by the school and parents. Everyone knows that teens are thrill seekers by nature. According to Jerusha Clark, co-author of “Your Teenager is Not Crazy: Understanding Your Teen’s Brain Can Make You a Better Parent” published in 2016, the teen brain is programmed to want more. Furthermore, Clack said that basic teen chemistry is that teens are looking for dopamine that makes them “high” and “naturally drawn to situations and places where their dopamine will be raising” [10].

The same situation also happens, especially in the activity of drinking alcohol and the possibility to consume drugs. The frequency of drinking alcohol in this gathering place is arbitrary; as explained by Aji and Danu. Drinking alcohol is very much depend on the level of supervision of the residents. In the case of Warung Budhe, the distance between warung and the nearby residents' houses are close enough. Surveillance in this gathering place is higher compared to other warungs so that the intensity to drink alcohol is quite low. In the case of Warung Gunting 4, since it located at the home of kampung resident and has the parking lot visible from the public, the adolescents are less hesitant to drink alcohol because they feel wrong about the owner of the warung and the residents.

3.4 Gathering Place’s distance from School
The range of the gathering place from the school is varied. The closest gathering place is Warung Usdar, which is only five meters away from the school. The farthest place is Warung Basir, which is 500 meters away from the school. The distance between schools and warungs is an essential factor for adolescents. According to our respondents, Zidan and Bimo, the close range of the gathering place help to accelerate their colleagues to meet and created friendship. Throughout the school day, scheduling of adolescents is purposeful and concrete; however, at the end of the day the agenda is open, and adolescents are free to use the space as they see fit [3]. Therefore, to make it easier for them to get there, teenagers tend to choose a place that is close enough from school.
4. Conclusions
Based on observations made in Kampung Cilenggang, several criteria for the gathering space for the adolescents of SMA 12 are: 1) the availability of parking spaces for motorcycle; 2) the existence of small shops that meet the adolescents needs such as cigarettes, snacks, and drinks; 3) adults can’t supervise the place. The adolescent’s place for hang-out plays a vital role in defining their identities in forming friendship groups. The compatibility between gathering places and teenagers is so important that it is a precondition aspect for building the cohesiveness and character among the adolescent’s groups.

The urban development in Tangsel encouraged the government to build infrastructure, including the new road, but unfortunately, public transportation is not following. SMA 12 located at the place that is not easily accessible. The lack of public transport encouraged the students whose homes are far away from school to use a motorcycle to commute to school. Hence, as there is no parking space at school, the students have to find parking spaces in other places. As a result, the students prefer to choose to gather in existing warungs, considering these are the places that provided the parking space for their motorcycles. In warungs, the adolescents remain close to their transportation while at the same time, enable the students to buy and consume snacks, drinks, and cigarettes. In this warungs, having “ownership” in a non-designated place fulfills the adolescent’s desire.

The finding of our study calls the need for the empowerment of the adult group of residents who live around the location to control warungs as the gathering place. Their role in supervising the activities of the adolescent also will help to increase the overall surveillance of Kampung Cilenggang. The problem is that many studies on adolescents reveal that they tend to hide their activities. They need privacy from adult groups. Our research was confirming the theory that the adolescents choose the location of the gathering space that prerequisite to be hidden from the supervision of the adult group. The concealment of this gathering place is also accompanied by other provisions, that the gathering place for adolescents must also enable them to be able to monitor the surrounding environment. Unfortunately, in Kampung Cilenggang, the adolescents experience the freedom and desire for privacy with their friends with less potential of being watched by adults in unproductive places like warungs.

Acknowledgments
This research funded by Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Ristekdikti) under the scheme of University Basic Research Excellent 2019 (Penelitian Dasar Unggulan Perguruan Tinggi).

References
[1] Fiona Marshall and Jonathan Dolley 2018 Transformative Innovation in Peri-urban Asia. United Kingdom: University of Sussex, 2-3
[2] Sibley 1995b Geographies of Exclusion: Society and the Difference in the (Vest. New York: Routledge.
[3] Kingsley G. Hurlington 1999 The Space and Place of Unstructured Leisure in Rural Adolescents of Southern Ontario: Where Small-Town Ontario Teens Hangout and Why. Canada: University of Waterloo, 20-21.
[4] Dick Hebdige. 1979 Subculture: The Meaning of Style. London: Methuen, 81-82
[5] John Kelly 1996. Leisure, 3rd edition. Boston and London: Allyn and Bacon. Pp. 17–27.
[6] Dusek, J. B., Kremis, M. D. and Monge, R. H. (1979) The Hierarchy of Adolescent Interests: A social-cognitive. Approach. Genetic Psychology Monographs 100,41-72.
[7] Devereaux 1993 Time Use of Canadians in 1992. Canadian Social Trends Autumn 1993,13-16
[8] Robert J. Kelly 1974 Teenagers and Their Hangouts. North Carolina: University of North Carolina. 57,165-171.
[9] Noora Pyry 2014 Participation by Being: Teenage girls Hanging Out at The Shopping Mall as ‘dwelling with’ [The World]. Finland: University of Helsinki. 18, 2-3.

[10] Leslie Crawford 2018 Where Teens Hangout in https://www.greatschools.org/gk/articles/where-teens-hang-out/ accessed in 3rd March 2019

[11] Godkin, M. A. 1980 Identity and Place: Clinical Applications Based on Notions of Rootedness and Uprootedness. In The Human Experience of Space and Place (Eds.) Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D. New York: St Martin’s Press, 73-85.

[12] Erik Erikson 1959 Identity and the Life Cycle. New York: International Universities Press, Inc.

[13] Yi-Fu Tuan 2001 Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience Univ Of Minnesota Press; Reprint edition, 171-172

[14] Karin Stadler 2014 Open Spaces for Young People-Teens Open Spaces, 1, 1-2

[15] Varda Epstein 2016 10 Ways to Make Your Home the Local teen Hangout Space accessed in 31 March 2019

[16] Lisa A. Flam 2014. Hangout House: Why Some Houses Become Teen Central in https://www.lehighvalleylive.com/entertainment-general/2014/09/hangout_house_why_some_houses.html?outputType=amp accesaed in 14th March 2019