Residential Area Syndrome
Reasons for Non-Compliance in Motorcycling

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Abstract.

The motorcycle is the most used vehicle of transportation in developing countries. Driving a motorcycle has a very high risk of having an accident. One of the main causes of the accident is human behavior that violates the driving regulations. The interactions in the public space are close to nonverbal communication. Very little is understood about the rationale of driving behavior of motorcycle users, especially on the non-compliance behavior. The research objectives are to know what forms of non-compliance behaviors the motorcyclist has committed and to know how motorcyclists interpret non-compliance with motorbike riding. This is a phenomenological study, by observation, interviews, and secondary data collection. The total informants are 16 people between 12-60 years. The results show that the types of violations that riders have committed almost similar to the previous researches. The difference is about the driving against the traffic flow/incoming traffic that mentioned in almost all informants’ statements and none of the informants studied stated that they were driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Motorcyclists interpret a motorbike as running water. The main finding of this research shows that Residential area syndrome that refers to the concept of proxemics is the reason for non-compliance behavior due to lack of knowledge and lack of supervision. A better understanding of the proxemics can create a better approach for communication to increase the compliance behavior in motorcycling to reduce the traffic accidents caused by human error.

Keywords: residential area syndrome, non-compliance behavior, proxemics, motorcycle

I. INTRODUCTION

There is a relationship between the use of motorbikes and the development of a country\(^1\)-\(^3\). In developing countries or countries with lower-middle-income levels, people use motorbikes as the main choice of urban transportation, especially because the mass transportation system has not been able to meet the mobility needs of all citizens. The number of motorized vehicles is estimated to have been more than three hundred million with the largest concentration in Asia, which is 77% of all users\(^4\); in Hanoi, 85.8% of motorbikes are used on the streets\(^5\). In Indonesia, the development of motorbike use is very high. BPS (Biro Pusat Statistik) data records, in 1949, the number of motorized vehicles was 4,584, while in 2018, motorcycles in Indonesia totaled 120,101,047\(^6\). In Depok, West Java, Indonesia, the number of motorcycles in 2018 was 948,652\(^7\) with a population of 2,330,333\(^8\). The increase of motorcycles in Depok is nine percent. This data about the number of motorcycles is very likely higher considering that some motorcycle owners did not register their vehicles.

Driving a motorcycle has a very high risk. As the most used vehicle, motorbikes are usually driven by people aged 15-34 years. Motorcycle serves as a means of transportation, a source of income, and also pleasure. However, a report from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration-US Department of Transportation\(^9\) concluded that bikers are 26 times more likely to die from road accidents than motorists. Globally, the total number of traffic deaths continues to increase along with the growth of motorized vehicles in low- and middle-income countries\(^3\). What is interesting from the WHO report\(^10\), traffic accidents involving two wheels can often be predicted and prevented and should not be considered inevitable. Motorcycle accidents are very dangerous for drivers in various parts of the world, especially in Asia\(^11\). In Indonesia, research in 33 provinces, concluded that the causes of injuries due to traffic accidents were dominated by motorbikes\(^12\). Indonesian National Police’s data shows the number of accidents continues to increase. Traffic

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accidents in 2018 totaled 103,672 cases, and in 2019 increased to 107,500 cases. The highest offenders on vehicles are motorbike riders. Accidents tend to occur due to behavior that does not comply with the driving rules. WHO noted that the violations include not wearing a helmet, ignoring traffic regulations, transporting goods without prescribed procedures, speeding, fighting over the streets, driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs, underage drivers, hit and run. Many studies confirm that the dominant cause of traffic accidents is driving behavior or human error. Thus, humans have the opportunity to sort and choose to obey or disobey the regulations.

Activities and interactions on the highway as a public space are closely related to nonverbal communication, including the arrangement of symbols in the form of traffic signs. One of the regulating aspects of distance-related nonverbal communication is proxemics. Proxemics is a scientific study that examines the position or distance of the body when a person communicates with other people, as well as how someone uses space and the influence of space. Edward T. Hall, one of the pioneers who developed the proxemics concept, stated that when a person communicates, there is an arrangement, utilization, and interpretation of distance and space. The interpretations are grouped into four proxemics zones, namely the intimate zone (0-18 inches) for personal relationships; private zone (18 inches-4 feet) for conversations with friends, extended family, coworkers; social zone (4-10 feet) for meeting new people; and public zones (10 feet or more) for a wide audience of foreigners, etc. Proxemics is the result of cultural formation, not carried with the birth or biologically inherited. Research in 42 countries with 8943 participants suggested that individual characteristics such as age and gender also affect proxemics.

Concerning motorized vehicles, the proxemics is closely related. Cross-device studies also often refer to a proxemics theory in designing interactions based on the detection of spatial relations such as distance and orientation between people and devices. The institution is authorized to make a rule book that contains a set of driving guides, including proxemics and other symbols. The guidelines are violated, it is beyond the expectations agreed upon in the communication between riders. Further from the proxemics concept, Judee K. Burgoon developed the theory of hopelessness, which states that unexpected changes in a nonverbal context that occur when a person communicates can cause feelings of discomfort, anger, or ambiguity. Territorial violations cause a person to react spontaneously. Motorcyclists have a natural tendency to spontaneously adjust their safety distances when faced with potentially hazardous situations. Such spontaneous nonverbal behavior may violate the expectations of other drivers and even allow accidents to occur.

Violations in the use of motorbikes as the largest mode of transportation in Indonesia are the highest causes of traffic accidents that have not been explored from the point of view of the meaning of violations for motorist. This is related to intrapersonal communication or communicating with oneself include knowledge, cognitive behavior, mental entities. Violations of driving regulations are mainly due to human behavior. Understanding how drivers rationalize their driving behavior is very interesting to research. Research related to the meaning of driving has indeed been carried out, but by comparing the two-cultural perspectives of senior American and Korean drivers, this research is different from the studies conducted in this study, including the place where the research was carried out, namely in Jabodetabek, the acronym for Jakarta-Bogor-Depok-Tangerang-Bekasi, which is a metropolitan area of Jakarta and its surroundings. For this reason, this research has two objectives. First, to find out what forms of non-compliance behaviors the motorcyclist has committed. The second objective was to find out how motorcyclists interpret non-compliance with motorbike riding. The result of the research may help to create behavioral changes using the communication approach.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This qualitative research is a phenomenological study, which is a study that seeks to explore and discover the life experiences of motorcyclists. In this context, humans are seen as beings who have consciousness and can reflect on the consequences of communication between other humans which are
intersubjective. This awareness guides individuals in realizing their behavior and actions that create order in responding to their world\textsuperscript{24}. Researchers explore how informants construct meanings that come from experiences of non-compliance with driving that are expressed in everyday language. This research was conducted within three months (December 2019-March 2020). The object of the research is motorcyclists in Depok, West Java, Indonesia.

In conducting this research, in-depth interviews and observations were used as the main method. Besides that, secondary data collection was also carried out. Through interviews, the phenomenon of the experience of driving non-compliance can be told from the direct point of view of the informants. To be able to explore the informants' experiences, the researcher built a relationship (build rapport) that was close to the informant, namely motorbike riders. Informants are divided into two, main informants and supporting informants. The main informants are informants where the researcher interacts quite intensely. The number of main informants is 4 people. Supporting informants are informants whose duration of interaction with them is not as intense as the main informant, but they have a significant share because they explain or can act as comparisons from the data the researcher gets from the main informant. The number of supporting informants is 12 people. Thus, the total informants numbered 16 people. In general, researchers interacted with all informants in a comfortable conversational atmosphere. Researchers also conducted interviews while in a vehicle with informants. The number of meeting times for interviews with each informant varied from 1-10 meetings. For the main informant between 6-10 times each. Supporting informants, 1-7 times. The professions of informants vary, ranging from elementary school teachers, employees, businessmen, housewives, domestic helpers, police, college students, and students. Their ages are between 12-60 years.

Research interviews were conducted directly on both the main and supporting informants. During interviews and observations, very rich information was collected, namely pictures, videos, and words. Some of the informants were obtained from secondary data such as newspapers, the internet, including photos to help describe the phenomenon.

The data obtained were classified into certain codes, then an abstraction was carried out. In the process, the findings of previous researches are also considered, or take inspiration from existing theories. Then all the data were analyzed and written in-depth (thick description).

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Kinds of Violations that Motorcyclists Have Committed.

The informants in this study convey there are some non-compliance behaviors that they often do when driving:

- Driving against the traffic flow/incoming traffic
- Passing red light
- Breaking road markings
- Run the vehicle at a speed exceeding the rules/Speeding
- Driving a motorbike under age
- Turn immediately without ensuring the safety of the surroundings
- Excess passengers, not according to driving rules
- Do not have a driving license or vehicle registration certificate
- Using a motorbike with non-standard accessories such as lights, exhaust, other modifications
- Not using the turn signal appropriately

These non-compliance behaviors are not much different from the global common conditions, what is different is the statement about driving against the flow of traffic that appears in almost all informants' statements. Meanwhile, none of the informants studied stated that they were driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

The second research objective was to find out how motorcyclists interpret the experience of non-compliance motorbikers.
A Motor Like Flowing or Running Water

Motorcyclists interpret motorbike driving activities with the analogy of “Like flowing or running water. If there is an object in front of him getting in his way, he turns, seeps in, flows flexibly, and keeps going”. Another opinion from the informants is, "motorbikes are like mosquitoes because they are ubiquitous and annoying".

The logic of the motor analogy "like running water" that is in the mind of the driver reflects that the motor can continue, entering the gap as if the motor can adapt to any situation. Even motorbikes can pass through small alleys that might become a playground for children because the driver feels the motorbike is as wide as a human, small so that it can pass through the gap. The motorbike can also go in the opposite direction when it encounters obstacles on the path that it is traveling on. The 'motor is like running water' logic can lead to dangerous non-compliance behavior. This potential becomes more flexible for surrounding housing residential areas because the streets in the residential areas also have many small children doing activities.

There are not many studies that reveal the statements of drivers who view motorbikes as flowing water. This perspective influences how a person drives. Research conducted by the California Office of Traffic Safety Affairs, USA (2012) states that motorbikes are considered to have properties like water currents. They are always looking for loopholes so they can escape obstacles. Not infrequently motorbikes impose a narrow space between the crush of cars. This behavior is dangerous because when you get out of the car's gap to enter another lane, it is often the point of an accident.

'Reidential Area Syndrome’

Explanations from almost all informants confirm that geographical proximity reduces individual compliance with driving rules. Riders tend to be more permissive of violating in their residential neighborhood or what I name it as ‘residential area syndrome’. According to Merriam Webster dictionary, a syndrome is a group of signs and symptoms that occur together and characterize a particular abnormality or condition. This set of concurrent things usually form an identifiable pattern. What is meant by "my residential area syndrome" in this study is the area or territory where someone claims ownership of the area. ‘Residential area’ is in the area around someone's house. ‘Residential area syndrome' does not have to be in the form of a residential cluster area, but an area around the house that is very subjective in distance. It could be that ‘residential area syndrome' is interpreted as being around an area in a neighborhood, residents, sub-district, or even wider. How much the distance is tolerated by individuals as a distance which is called ‘residential area syndrome’, has no definite rules, and is subjective, depending on the values of family culture, education, and personality of the person. However, there is one limitation that informants tend to agree on as an area that is no longer ‘residential area syndrome' is a highway with police officers.

As outlined in the conceptual framework, a fairly close analogy to the concept of ‘residential area syndrome' can be seen in the (proxemics) use of space discovered by Edward T. Hall17. Proxemics learn about the informal space around a place that is used at a time. A person usually becomes uncomfortable when an "outsider" breaks the distance according to the unwritten rules of the game.

The 'residential area syndrome' view deals with the claims of a particular space or area that we wish to preserve or protect. A person's ownership of this area or object is related to a concept discussed by two different scientists, Altman and Lyman & Scott. According to them, there are three types of regions: primary, secondary, and public. Primary territories are exclusive territories such as workspaces or computers. Secondary territories indicate a person's relationship with objects or areas. Public territories do not involve a personal affiliation and include areas open to everyone, including public transportation21.

In the context of "residential area syndrome", someone who argues that an area that is considered his territory is violated by others, will feel uncomfortable. "residential area syndrome" territory contains a dimension of power where a person feels comfortable doing something of his choice in the territory, or even giving rewards or punishments for the behavior of other people in the territory. There are times when a person is not aware of the ways he is demanding, organizing, or undergoing his behavior in the area.
An example of the concept of "residential area syndrome" on non-compliant driving is as conveyed by an informant that one day, an city transport driver who was driving on his path, felt disturbed because the lane was filled with motorbikes traveling from the opposite lane. Because of that, public transportation drivers honk repeatedly. The reaction of the motorcyclist who broke into the lane (city transport) even shouted at the driver of the public transportation "Be patient, here is normal like this ...". The bikers who show emotions to the city transport riders are the people in 'residential area syndrome'. A city transport driver doesn't happen to drive a city transport on these routes.

"Geez, just this close, this is my residential area," is a phrase that is often conveyed as the legitimacy of non-compliance with traffic rules. There are no traffic police in 'the residential area' either. The ratio of members of the police to the total population in the jurisdiction of Regional Police Metro Jaya is around 1:1000 or one police officer supervises 1000 people. The number of 1:1000 is referring to the standards of the United Nations (UN), about 1:350 or one member of the police to supervise 350 people. Information from comparative informants currently available is 1:1500 people. According to an informant who is also a police officer, traffic matters in the residential area are handled by a non-uniformed policeman. As a result, no discipline is structured according to a clear law. The social rules made by the community through the neighborhood or residential activities are usually limited to oral delivery or, if written, do not cause physical punishment, but rather social punishment in the form of ridicule or reprimand. For a person who does not have good environmental awareness, the pressure is not very important.

**The Rationale for Non-Compliance**

Why does someone disobey the rules of driving in "residential area syndrome" or on the road in general? Some of the reasons mentioned are as follows:

| No | Reasons             | Rational for Non-Compliance                                                                 |
|----|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Psychological       | The motorcyclist feels of having time pressure, 'must hurry up', long distances of using a | The motorcyclist feels of having time pressure, ‘must hurry up’, long distances of using a motorcycle arre boring so that they will do anything to reduce the boredom. When it is daytime, the weather is hot, congested, frenzied horns, or even heavy luggage, it can be emotional. The rider usually imitates other rider’s violation behavior. Instead of receiving social sanctions, the violation often receives social support. The obedience act from a motorcyclist, (for example, put the motorcycle right behind the road markings during red light), often get the horn from another motorcyclist as a request to put the motorcycle beyond the road marking even though it violates the rules. As a result, obeying the rules becomes frustrated. |
| 2  | Physiological       | The motorcyclist feels like losing concentration due to feeling hungry or tired.             |
An outfit such as a jacket has its ambiguity. If a motorcyclist does not wear it, he or she will have skin problems due to having direct sunlight. If he or she wears the jacket, it is hotter. To reduce the feeling of heat, tighten the speed of the motorbike to get the wind is one of the drivers' options, as a result, they tend to speed up. The same goes for the helmet. The reason for getting to the destination quickly makes the motorcyclist disobey the rules.

3. Educational Reasons

There is no formal training for motorbike driving. The skill and knowledge for driving the motorbike are obtained from their family or friends. For a cyclist, learning to ride a motorcycle is not too difficult. Unfortunately, the absence of formal training, make the complete component in education such as cognitive (the component is based on information or knowledge), and affective (component is based on the feeling) are not fully fulfilled. The learner understands how to use a motorcycle as a behavioral component. Some kindergartens or elementary schools give the knowledge of traffic signs during their trip activity to park. Sometimes the knowledge of a sign is obtained after getting a fine.

4. Practical Reasons

For practical reasons, parents allow their underage children to ride a motorcycle, especially over short distances. This may not bother the parents to deliver their children to their place of activity, such as school. The other example of practicality is driving more than the number of passengers (up to five people in a motorcycle).

5. Economic Reasons

For economic reasons, for example, the cost of public transportation a day is USD 2, the money may be used to buy gasoline for a week in an estimated 5 km in activities distance. Besides, the shuttle car or motorcycle is more expensive.

6. Geographical Reasons

These geographical reasons, often become the legalization of violations. This is what I mention in this study as 'residential area syndrome'. This is a very important reason that influences much more disobedience to the traffic rule. I will elaborate on it deeper.

7. Physical reasons for the motorcycle.

Most of the informants said that due to the physical form of the motorcycle - that is small in shape, agile speed, wide visual distance without obstacles so that they feel to be able to control the situation- they (mostly male informant) feel convenient to disobey the rules, especially during the street congestion.

8. Reasons because ‘There is a chance’.

The visual orientation of motorcyclists tends to be wider than in the eye of a car driver. Car drivers tend to take farther, more tenuous distances. Because of this, when there is a chance, motorcyclists can sneak between cars without hitting other vehicles.

9. Adrenaline Reasons

Especially for man, to boost adrenaline, he runs the motorcycle high on speed. Like an addiction, the more difficult the challenge, the more fun. “Living with challenges, especially those related to pumping adrenaline is exciting,” said an informant.

10. Reasons for Social Jealousy

According to the informant, “Cars take up space! The space used by the car can be filled by five motors. The car driver does not get caught in the rain nor scorching hot in the middle of a traffic jam. They are in an air-conditioned room. They can drive while enjoying food and listening to the radio/tape”. The contestation in the use of public spaces on the street is always won by motorbikes. According to motorcyclists, cars should give
way because motorcyclists are at greater risk. Car drivers who are worried about nudging and being knocked over due to the agile motion of the motorbike, turning suddenly, braking without signs and anywhere, therefore think, "Ah, never mind, just give the way". What is more interesting is that the motorcyclist chooses to always overtake by taking advantage of the logic that he will not be hit by a car driver, "ah, of course, there is a driver, he/she will not be possibly hit me". We also found that when there is an accident caused by a motorcyclist, due to the assumption that the car is more expensive than the motorcycle, and even there is a police, the pressure to pay the compensation or for repairment goes to the car driver.

Combinations of more than one reason mentioned above can increase the possibilities of non-compliance behavior by the motorcyclist.

**Non-compliance is Supported by Family and Community**

Excess passengers and child motorcyclists area multitude of phenomena in the residential areas in Depok. People are used to doing and seeing the non-compliance behavior in driving a motorcycle. Although some people feel worried watching underage children drive a motorcycle, sometimes they do not do anything because their parents do not mind.

There is no motorcycle riding course before getting a license. The motorcyclist learns to ride a motorcycle from their family or friends. Mimicking or modeling, the learning process in the field through observation. Learning by doing. In Edward T. Hall's study, drivers learned when to use cues by explaining that sight is used to synthesize the experience, "Man learns by seeing and what he learns influences what he sees" - on the road, through a visual process. There is no formal transmission process for the rider to study most of the signals used.

**Peer Pressure**

Friends especially teenagers sometimes influence non-compliance behavior in the residential area. One young informant said, "Young people, usually feel strange when using a helmet. Sometimes my friend scoffs ‘C’mon guys...it’s just nearby, no need to you helmet”. Individuals who dare to challenge danger such as driving at a high speed are considered positive, especially informants who are still below the maximum 30 years. This habit gradually became the norm. Even without a conversation, symbolic interactions in the form of violations that are considered beneficial, gradually become strong modeling. The offender becomes an example for other offenders.

**No Police Oversight**

In the residential area, accident data are rarely detected. Around the residential area, there are also no traffic police on guard, only the possibility of being reprimanded by the residents, neighborhoods. Small and medium accidents tend to be resolved by kinship. In fatal accidents, cases are sometimes left to the authorities, although the first choice tends to be a family approach. On sizable highways or main roads, police can be found guarding the traffic. The offender becomes aware that a sign means certain regulations after being punished. The rules become understood after being ticketed by the police or reprimanded by the residents in the neighborhoods.

In the context of territory, referring to Altman's view which divides territoriality into three, namely: primary territory, secondary territory, and general territory, then ‘residential area’ can be categorized as secondary territory. The legal sanction for the offender is looser in this area. Law, as a model of community ideality, does not run optimally considering the absence of adequate learning facilities and adequate supervision. Lack of a stimulus that benefits actors when obeying the rules; practical and economic
risk of non-compliance, give rise to inadequate functioning of laws or regulations. Therefore, the situation is right as in the phrase from Emile Durkheim, French sociologist, the law is not a social moral but a social reality. Social solidarity that is built collectively within the ‘residential area’ sphere, despite causing disobedience, is always transferred from generation to generation. Feelings of power in the territory they have, lead to tolerance for wrongdoing, for example by resolving disputes in a personal approach instead of a legal approach.

Non-compliance in driving is optional. These choices are formed as a result of skills becoming unconscious practical actions. This process is a combination of experience and knowledge that occurs in the process of everyday life. Referring to the view of Bourdieu, the producer of life practices that are in line with the social structure that forms it is called habitus. Learning from the environment, both family and friends, mostly does not require adherence to driving rules. "A motorbike is like a bicycle, but you don't need to ride it" is the analogy, very simple, can pass anywhere, small, compact, traveling like water, against the current it's okay, while on the phone, without wearing a helmet is also fine. Even as a means of recreation, motorbikes can be a refreshing medium even with toddlers. All experiences and knowledge are internalized within the individual.

IV. CONCLUSION
A better understanding of the proxemics provides a better room for understanding social phenomena. Territorial characteristics are learned through culture. 'Residential area syndrome' is a territory where a person thinks that an area belongs to him or her. "Residential area syndrome" in the context of motorcyclists contains a dimension of power where the rider feels comfortable doing something of his or her choice in the territory.

Given the lack of knowledge about driving rules and lack of supervision from the authorities (traffic police) in the “residential area” environment, this has led to individuals making their own rules. The way that individuals create driving rules in the 'residential area' is influenced by subjective appropriateness and the modeling of models that do not follow driving rules. The rules that individuals create are not following the Republic of Indonesia Law No. 22 of 2009. Because it is very dangerous and this explains the reasons for traffic accidents in Indonesia which are mainly caused by human error.

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