The Meaning of Vertical Housing for Balinese People, the Debate between Cultural Demands and the Need for Urban Housing in Bali, Indonesia

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Abstract--In the midst of fears of an increase in the conversion of agricultural land into residential areas, the implementation of housing needs program for urban communities in the region of Bali, with one solution to build a vertical housing, apparently has not been able to attract the interest of Balinese Hindus to choose residential in vertical housing. Faced with a dilemma, the economic needs and demands of indigenous culture and traditions that are believed, with the implementation of the Panca Yadnya (five ritual ceremonies), in their daily lives, is a unique local wisdom, which requires facilities even in the vertical housing. The purpose of this research is to find out what exactly is the meaning of vertical housing for Balinese who are Hindu? Because until now the Balinese have not made vertical housing as an option for their residence. With a qualitative method, through tracing Balinese perceptions and the processes of cognition, affection and cognition, from residents of vertical housing and people who need housing, it is hoped that from this research it will be known what exactly the meaning of vertical housing is for Balinese.

Key words--the meaning of vertical housing, cultural demands, housing needs.

I. INTRODUCTION

Vertical housing, is recommended as an alternative solution to address the problem of housing needs, and the Balinese do not really understand about what and how vertical housing. What they know through a number of existing and occupied vertical housing such as flats is understood as small, crowded housing and by sharing shared public spaces and on the other hand they recognize apartments as hotel accommodations (Seek 1983, Setiawan 2010, Nurjana 2020).

Balinese people whose lives are based on the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, strongly believe that the way to achieve a harmonious relationship with God, humans, and the natural environment, is realized through *bakti* (devotion) way through the implementation of traditional traditions of *Panca Yadnya* culture. So to make it happen every Balinese family needs a holy place or *merajan* with the concept of *Tri Lingga* (Dwijendra 2003, 2008, 2009).

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In the midst of the pros and cons of the presence of vertical housing in Bali as an alternative, research was carried out by distributing questionnaires to residents of vertical housing in Bali, and interviewing religious, political and authority figures, residents, people who need housing, and observing occupancy behavior. in vertical housing, as well as through talk shows in electronic and print media, with this method it is hoped that this study will be able to discover what and how vertical housing really means to Balinese.

The home for Balinese Hindus is in addition to functioning as a general home (Despress 1991), but has a function of carrying out Hindu religious ritual activities (Bagus 1980, Dwijendra 2010, Nutrisia 2008, Dharmayanty 2019, Nurjani 2019). As part of community members, the house is also a *pawongan* part of a village with its traditional structure (Rapoport 19769, Parimin 1996, Pitana 1994, Peters 2014, Pambudi 2020) (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Traditional Balinese House Architecture

Source: https://www.senibudayaku.com, 2019.

The house for Balinese is a place where family members interact with their ancestors, which in every family is manifested in the *Hyang Pertiwi/rong* three building in the *sanggah/merajan* (shrine) with a minimum of *Pelinggih Tri Lingga* (Ngoerah 1981, Dept. Culture 1993, Dwijendra 2008, 2014, 2014, 2019, Winanti 2009). For Balinese, this attachment to ancestors has led to an unlimited connection with the past from generation to generation, only manifested in the structure of the level of worship, starting to *merajan* (shrine), then in a larger context there is *Merajan Agung* (big shrine), then even greater there are Mother Temple such as *Pura Ibu, Pura Panti* and so on (Shils 1971, Kagami 1983, Kaler 1983, Wiana 1994, Ngakan 2017).



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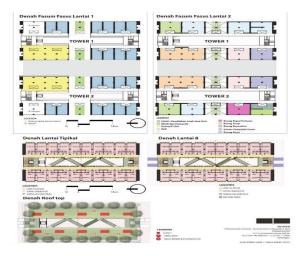


Figure 2. Typical Design of Vertical Housing in Indonesia

Source: https://www.housing-estate.com, 2019.

The vertical housing referred to in this study is a group of houses inhabited by individuals and/or nuclear families, in housing units arranged horizontally and vertically, which are equipped with housing facilities and infrastructure in a neighborhood/plot of ownership and are well managed (Seek 1983, Dwijendra 2020).

Vertical housing is a group of houses built as a multi-story building in an environment that is functionally arranged horizontally and vertically, which is equipped with shared parts, shared land and shared objects (Figure 2). Meanwhile, in the Urban area, housing needs for urbanites continue to increase (Ziegert 1988), based on data year 2015 the Bali Provincial Housing Office, urban areas especially Badung and Denpasar lack 7500 and 8000 units (BPS Bali 2019, BPS Badung 2019).

In expressing the meaning of an object, often through images, signs and symbols. Image is a psychological perception of the similarity of an object, a sign that can give meaning to an object, while a symbol is something that replaces something else as a result of an association, convention or even a certain event. (Gibson, 1966, Yogantari 2020).

The meaning in architecture according to Marcella (2004) is said to have two categories of meaning namely representational meaning and responsive meanings. The meaning of repetition if associated with the process of perception is the process of cognition a person receives information with the five senses and experience, until it can be understood. Responsive meaning can be interpreted as a response/acceptance of a person/hopes/desires of an object that is in the cognition and the process of perception is in the stages of one's affection on an object (Rapoport 1977, 1985, 2003, Proshansky 1983).

In this research object representational meanings can be debated into presentation meanings which pay more attention to the appearance/shape of an object and referential meanings which are more observing the usefulness/value of an object (Daglin 1975, Altman 1985, Wood 1993). This research emphasizes the significance of the function of vertical housing compared to the original home in Bali. This referential meaning process is passed

through the process of perception of vertical housing residents who are already inhabited/known by the Balinese people.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses qualitative research methods, with data collection techniques through questionnaires to residents and people who need housing, with the distribution in residential areas with many boarding houses (Cresell 1977, Brubaker 2000). Interviews were also conducted with residents, policy makers, community leaders, traditional leaders and political figures in the region (Siregar 2005, Widiastuti 2017, Adhika 2020). Using conventional perception theory will further explore the referential meaning of vertical housing in Balinese perception.

III. RESULTS

Balinese people who are very attached to their traditional lives, as individuals and social groups, prioritize the use of vertical housing, and the values contained therein. The attachment to the *Panca Yadnya* tradition of a person/family involving their social group (*dadia* or *banjar*) is continuously hereditary until now is still very strong (Koentjaraningrat 1985, Dwijendra 2008).

In fact, in the community, from 2011 the government program by building a million households through alternative vertical housing for the public has not been successful. This can be seen from the vertical housing that was built by the Provincial Government, according to the management data, from the capacity of 280, there were only 71 people (25.3%) and almost all were not yet married. Although this facility is given free of charge. From the interview results in 2019, this is due to several factors, namely the physical shape of the house is the same as the shape built by the Vertical Institution (POLDA, Immigration, TNI) but structurally, civil servants have the freedom to choose their housing because the service is direct to the community, another factor is because it contains the element " forced "because of the attachment of the command line that demands acceleration towards the institution in unexpected situations.

In the case of the vertical housing case it can be said to have failed to attract the interest of employees with families to inhabit it. In the end 75% was occupied by contract employees who were still single. This means that Balinese do not feel comfortable to expect vertical housing as their preferred residence.

According to Rapoport (1969), it is said that the house is a cultural phenomenon and its management is strongly influenced by the environmental culture and environmental quality where housing is located. This is proven by the results of a survey of the distribution of questionnaires to people who are in need of houses and who have occupied vertical housing, apparently according to them vertical housing has not been able to provide facilities for Balinese cultural activities in general, and according to them that vertical housing is only temporary housing, and not a hope as the preferred home of the Balinese Hindu community going forward.

"Home is the palace where one lives, especially, with one family in the district or country where one was born or where one has lived for a long time or to which one feels" (Barnet, 1984: p.3). According to Barnet (1984), in general vertical housing can be interpreted as a house because a person can be born and live for a long time of at least 30 years with a family with memories from birth.

But for the Balinese, from the results of interviews with spiritual figures, the house is not only a place to live, but also as a place to carry out ritual rituals that function to keep ancestral spirits in order to keep their relationship with ancestral spirits (bounding to anchor). This ritual activity called *Dewa Pitara Prastita* is not possible in a vertical housing, because it is personal privacy, and cannot be carried out together with different families of people. Thus, vertical housing is meant only as a temporary house, and not a permanent residence forever and cannot be used as a place/status for the Spirit of Ancestors (see Figure 3 and Table 1).



Figure 3. Vertical Housing Problems in Bali, Indonesia

Source: https://www.tribunnews.com, 2019.

No	Perception	Cognition	Affection	Cognition	Remarks
	Process	/Understanding	(Response	(Actions	
	Activity	through Five Senses	Made)	Taken)	
1	Domestic	• A small house (2	• Learn by	• Adjust the	• "Forced"
	Activities:	bed rooms 3x3 and	adapting to the	size and	and
	• Sleep	2.5x3) meter, and	unit received.	amount of	obliged to
	• Eat Drink	multifunctional	• There is no	furniture	adjust
	(kitchen)	facilities.	choice	so it is not	activities
	• Family room	• Exposed sunroom	"forced".	tight.	to the
	• Dry and	looks dirty.		• Set the	facilities
	laundry	Circulation		time of	available.
	rooms	facilities in units		certain	
	• Living room	must share.		space	
		• Demand very high		utilization.	
		tolerance in			
		utilizing shared			
		space.			
2	Social activity:	• Sports and service	• Part of	• Make use	• There is a
	 Socializing 	activities.	manager's	of the	compulsi

Table 1. Activities of Balinese in Vertical Housing through the Perception Process

No	Perception	Cognition	Affection	Cognition	Remarks
	Process	/Understanding	(Response	(Actions	
	Activity	through Five Senses	Made)	Taken)	
	 with people in the area. General social activities. Customary and traditional group activities (<i>banjar</i>). 	 Joining the funeral activities is not available. 	 settings. Administrative activities. Heterogeneous hosts. 	space available by the manager only (6x4) meter. • Forms a joyous <i>banjar</i> and goes home.	on to accept what we are and go home (kampong).
3.	Customary and Cultural Activities: • <i>Ritual Dewa</i> Yadnya. • <i>Ritual</i> Manusa Yadnya • <i>Pitra</i> Yadnya (Ngaben, Memukur) • Dewa Pitara Prastita	 Can be carried out outside the dwelling but within the area if <i>Padmasana</i> and <i>Bale</i> facilities are provided. Can be carried out in public facilities (local crematorium/<i>setra</i> Can be held mass and outside the Home. Must be implemented at home. 	 Only carry out daily rituals. Rarely and never before have bodies departed from vertical housing. A choice waiting for the right time in the village. 	 Implement at home because it requires a large family in the process. Return to the village in an <i>adat</i> social group. Return to the village. Must be carried out in the village. 	 Cannot be implemen ted in vertical housing, because it requires an adat social organizati on. It cannot be implemen ted in vertical housing, because there is no way to have Tri Lingga in the unit

No	Perception	Cognition	Affection	Cognition	Remarks
	Process	/Understanding	(Response	(Actions	
	Activity	through Five Senses	Made)	Taken)	
					that only
					has 2
					bedrooms
					and not
					the
					original
					house.

Source: Questionnaire and Interview Survey, 2019.

Thus the vertical housing gives a referential meaning only to temporarily shelter from natural and other security disturbances, and not a house that is expected to last forever. Vertical housing is not possible to provide *Pelinggih Kemulan* from all the various family hurdles, except *Padmasana* which is universal. Thus the relationship with *Leluhur* (Bounding to Ancestor) is very unlikely to be carried out in vertical housing because it is very personal.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that vertical housing for Balinese is a temporary residence during productive periods and/or investment that cannot be functioned as a place for carrying out nonpersonal religious rituals and is related to each family's bounding to ancestor process. It is clearly concluded that meaning home for the Balinese is a place that is able to attract family members, and return to remember their ancestors. The house is a place where one's soul/spirit is regained. Bounding to the processor cannot be forgotten though, being born or residing outside of Bali, at the time of the *Ngelinggihang Pitara* ritual, is the belief to return to its origin.

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