

Forming Communal Spaces in Vernacular Settlements: The *Bawo* Phenomenon at the *Lamin* House, Kalimantan, Indonesia

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Abstract

The phenomenon of *Bawo* as a communal space in a traditional Dayak house called *Lamin* is fascinating to research. The space is located at the front of the *Lamin*, with various functions, and is used to carry out multiple activities. Economic, social, and cultural activities occur in *Bawo* to form communal territories. This study aims to identify the territories formed in *Bawo* and the behavior patterns in the *Lamin* house.

The research uses a qualitative approach based on phenomenology and environment behavior research. It employs a purposive sampling technique to pre-determine the sources of data. Further, observations and interviews were conducted with the families in a *Lamin*. Activity records were obtained.

The analysis found that in *Bawo*, a communal territory was formed with a strong control even though the space was a public space, marked by patterns of behavior, attributes, and elements of space. This research concludes that *Bawo*, with its meaning as a communal space, is a place for social, cultural, economic, and other activities that form a communal territory. It is a territory where wisdom of the *Bawo* values, can become knowledge in providing a communal space in a public area.

Keywords: *Bawo*, Communal, *Lamin*, Territory, Phenomenology.

Introduction

It is well known that ownership of space develops into a statement of territory where the users make boundaries as their territory and right, so that they become signs of the territory to ensure that the other parties may not attempt to use it. Hall (1982) points out that there is an invisible boundary of territorial spaces that demarcates an area the others cannot enter. Everyone has privacy limits, whether they are visible or not. Burhanuddin (2010) adds that territory and privacy are related to individual behavior different from one another; in some cases, territory and privacy are formed not only by personal behavior but also by group or family behavior. This is what happens in *Lamin*: a unique communal space in the traditional Dayak house in Indonesia. In fact, the values and norms of the family has major implications in forming this space.

According to Skinner, behavior is a person's response or reaction to external stimuli. Notoatmodjo (2014) points out that behavior is always an activity of an organism (living thing). In this study, behavior outcomes from environmental stimuli, which are then responded to by

various kinds of activities that occur in a room are examined. Here, in the *Lamin*, the activities become very broad, such as walking, playing, working, joking, studying, sitting, and so on, so that the behavior of all human activities in a space can be observed directly or indirectly and become the basis for revealing territory.

According to Fatimah (2011), human territoriality functions not only to realize privacy but also to realize social and communication functions. He further states that one of the things that becomes a territorial barrier is gender which is directly related to the social and cultural context. This research does not examine gender but looks at the role of each family member in forming their territory within the *Lamin*.

Said (2017) has found nine territorial patterns in flats that are created due to the territorial patterns of their inhabitants in public spaces, which can potentially reduce the physical quality of space and the quality of life of its inhabitants. This research has a different object from other housing types: the territory of traditional housing is its main topic. The research focuses more on the territorial pattern inside the *Lamin* house.

The concept of behavior settings originated with the psychologist Roger Barker in 1950; Roger Barker defined behavior settings as a stable combination of activity and place in a specific time. According to Haryadi and Setiawan (2010), Roger Barker's behavior setting theory is a concept in studying environmental and behavioral architecture. Behavior settings contain elements of a group of people who carry out an activity or behavior of the group of people, the place where the activity is carried out, and the specific time when the activity is carried out.

This research focuses on the formation of territorial behavior within a community that inhabits space, where the discussion of territory is also part of the science of architecture because it is related to the function of a space as a manifestation of the behavior of users to gain a sense of privacy. Territoriality is synonymous with a sense of ownership, control, and a defensive mechanism for a space or place. Several experts have proposed many theories about territoriality, such as Porteous (1977), Pastalan (1970), Lotman (1985), Raffestin (2012), Hall (1969), Lauren (2005), Altman (1975). According to Altman (1975), a territory is divided into three categories; privacy, affiliation and possibility of achievement. These are: primary territory (private), secondary territory (semi-private), and public territory (public). In behavioral terminology, territorial division is closely related to what is known as human privacy.

Public dwellings in communal houses tend to pay less attention to the nature of the communal itself, where there are differences between public spaces and the communal. However, control of space in communal spaces is stronger than in public spaces (Faizal, 2022). This condition is what this paper intends to explore in order to develop new insights. One of the communal dwellings is the *Lamin* (Anastasha (2017). which is the focus of this research.

Lamin has three functions. First is as a terrace area called *Pasah*; a link between the outer and inner spaces. The second is the common room or communal spaces that has the vastest space called the *Bawo*. The third is the function of the bedroom or *Bilikn* as a space of ownership for the occupants, in which there is an additional cooking area, all of which are also called communal houses (Fig. 1). Furthermore, the *Lamin* houses throughout the West Kutai Regency area have the characteristics of a communal house and the *Bawo* room has a communal nature.

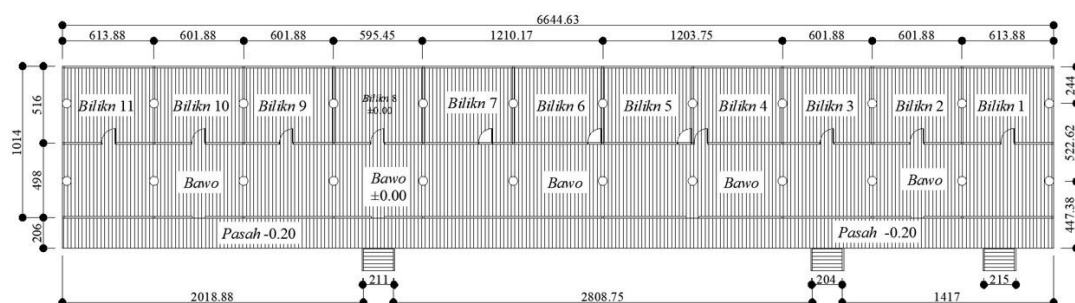


Fig. 1: *Lamin* House

Source: Author

Bawo room is the primary and most spacious room among the other spaces. This space has many functions such as receiving guests, working, selling, interacting with fellow residents, playing and so on. The atmosphere of the *Bawo* room can be seen in the Fig. 2.



Fig. 2: *Bawo* or communal space in a *Lamin* House

Source: Author

The phenomenon that occurs in the *Bawo* space is related to the local wisdom of the traditional Dayak houses. In fact, many things can be understood by exploring what occurs in this communal space (Anastasha, 2017). This research aims to unearth the phenomenon of shared ownership and the use of the *Bawo* space or the communal space in the *Lamin* dwellings, where diverse activities take place. The purpose of the research is to look at the principles of cultural values that occur there while maintaining family and territorial privacy even though it is a communal space. The objective is to disclose the inner workings of it so that it can provide a culturally rich understanding for the design of public spaces with communal characteristics as evidence of the wisdom of the *Lamin* house architecture.

Literature Review

Previous research into the formation of communal spaces in traditional dwelling have been first explored by Rudofsky (1964) who introduced the term vernacular, which comes from the word 'Verna' which means domestic, indigenous, native slave, or home-born slave. Furthermore, according to Rudofsky (1964), vernacular is a classification of local architecture generally in the form of housing and is found in various parts of the world. Meanwhile, according to Oliver (1998), vernacular architecture is people's homes and other buildings related to their environmental context and available resources owned or built. They use traditional technologies. Rudofsky (1964), Rapoport (1966), and Papanek (1995) define vernacular and say that "vernacular architecture underlines architecture with the character of anonymity; self-build; sustainable sources and pragmatic of encountering environment".

The *Lamin* house is the residence of the Dayak people in the province of East Kalimantan, Indonesia. It has the character of a communal house and has been built based on local knowledge and community traditions. All the materials used also come from the surroundings. Furthermore, as a communal dwelling, it is in the category of social association, where activities of a group of people form social activities. This activity occurs in one of the rooms called the *Bawo* or the communal space.

According to Purwanto (2007), a communal space is a setting influenced by three elements besides the physical elements. They are: people as actors, their activities, and their thoughts. Furthermore, according to Wellman and Leighton (1979), a communal space is a need for space that functions as a social space, one of the basic needs of settlers is to develop social life. The term communal space also has something in common with public space. The notion of public space is inclined more to the ownership of space. In other words, it is a space owned by the community. Barliana and Nugradi (2002), also mentions communal space as a translation of the term public space. Altman in Fisher (1984) defines it as a public territorial space that

allows everyone to be there. According to Lang (1987), communal spaces provide opportunities for people to meet, but to do so requires several catalysts. Catalysts may be individuals who bring people together in discussions or other activities. Communal space is related to a specific area marked by the ownership and use of it jointly by certain groups. The word communal itself has something to do with the term community, it means a group of people who gather or live together. In *Lamin* houses, many families live together. Thus, it can be concluded that the notion of communal space refers to a space where people carry out their activities in a specific space with various characters.

According to Anastasha (2017), the function of a communal house is primarily as a residence. However, it can also be used for traditional ceremonies. Likewise, the *Lamin* house has several space functions, including a shared room or *Bawo*, bedroom or *bilkn*, and terrace or *Pasah*. The *Bawo* room has diverse functions although there is primarily a communal character. Besides, the role of communal space has the same characteristics as public space, although there are some differences. A communal space in a dwelling can be further studied based on the theory of the role of public (Carmona et al., 2008). They are:

a. Economy:

- Giving a positive value on the value of the property
- Encouraging regional economic performance
- Can be a good business

b. Health:

- Encouraging people to engage in physical movement actively
- Provide information and formal space for sports activities
- Reducing stress

c. Social:

- Provide space for social interaction and learning at all ages
- Reducing the risk of crime and anti-social attitudes
- Encouraging and enhancing community life
- Encouraging intercultural interaction

This illustrates that in a communal spaces, there are economic and social activities. The activities that take place in that room can be in the form of business transactions which serve as a source of economic income for the occupants as well as social activities such as educational interactions, cultural interactions and increasing the safety values of the members.

As Barliana (2008) says, a public room helps accommodate community social activities with the criteria described in Sunaryo et al. (2010) as follows:

1. Where people interact, carry out various activities sharing and together, including social, economic, and cultural interactions, with the main emphasis on social activities. This is a place for communal activities of community interaction where various activities occur. They comprise spaces where people share space and time to the activity.
2. Held, managed, and controlled jointly, both by public and private agencies. They are dedicated to the needs of the public. Thus, a communal space is public.
3. Room is open and accessible visually and physically for all without exception. As explained above, a communal space is an open room with easy accessibility and can be controlled easily by all the parties. The role of accessibility, easily visible and controllable, is important in forming the character of communal spaces. This idea is reinforced by Scrupton in Beng-Huat (1992), that communal spaces has three criteria:
 - a. Accessible to anyone.
 - b. Less suitable when used individually.
 - c. Synonymous with community activities. This activity is dominant. However, using it individually and in the community around the communal space is still possible.
 - d. Local social norms bind user behavior.

Research methodology

There are many users in a shared dwelling. This research employs a phenomenological approach to data gathering. Phenomenological methods depart from the facts in the field without being influenced by external theories. It is qualitative and examines the phenomenon in its natural condition in the *Bawo* space (read communal area). The *Bawo*, a shared space with many functions has broad meanings based on kinship. Employing phenomenological methods means that the researchers do not intervene or do not manipulate any conditions in it (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). Instead, it describes the views of each informant in the existing conditions, especially those that occur in that space.

This research also uses behavior setting theory to collect data on what the informants do in their daily activities. The idea of behavior settings examines the relationship between behavior and the spatial settings. Data collection employs behavioral mapping. Behavioral mapping includes observing and sketching where the *Lamin* occupants carry out their activities. The behavioral mapping used is place-centered. This technique is used to find out how groups of people use, misuse, or perform their behavior in a situation of time and place.

A Grand Tour is undertaken to obtain data from *Lamins* in several sub-districts in West Kutai Regency, East Kalimantan in Indonesia, where nine *Lamin* houses over 50 years old exist. The *Lamins* are scattered in several sub-districts, including the most numerous around the capital city of West Kutai, namely Barong Tongkok District. Fig. 3 shows the locations of the *Lamin* Houses in the West Kutai Regency.

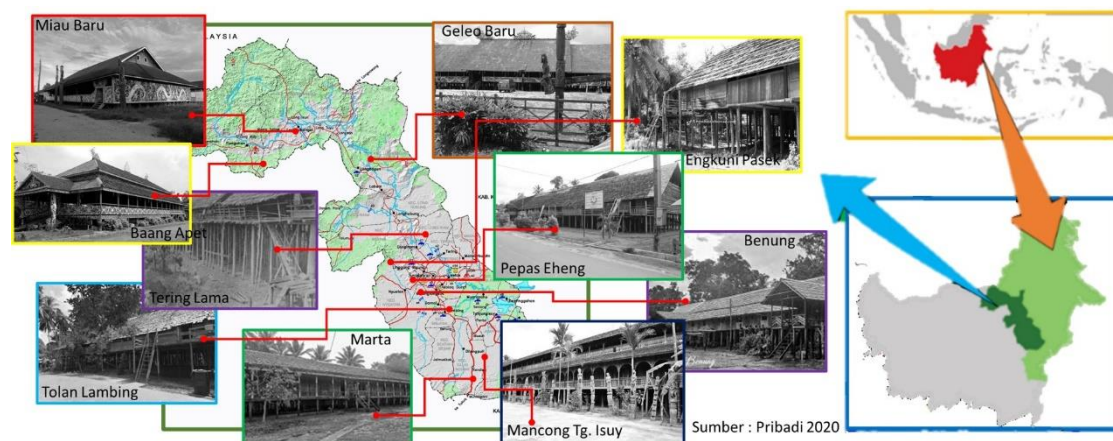


Fig. 3: Locations of *Lamin* houses in the West Kutai Regency
Source: Author

Fig. 4 shows the route of the grand tour of the nine *Lamin* houses with two Dayak sub-tribe owners living in nine *Lamin* houses. Six of the nine were occupied by Dayak Benuaq and three by Dayak Tunjung. Out of the nine *Lamin* houses still occupied, three of Dayak Benuaq are *Lamin* Benung, *Lamin* Pepes Eheng in Barong Tongkok District, and *Lamin* Marta in Jempang District. *Lamin* Marta was only temporarily occupied as a residence due to a fire in the house.

In addition, field observations were also carried out regarding the presence of *Lamin*, then observing functional aspects that required patterns of activity in the *Bawo* space, which would later be able to show social, economic, and other activities. The use of the Time Budget technique was used to observe activities at certain times. This information includes things at the specified time and activities that took place at that time. To make it easier at the time of observation, categorization is carried out follows:

- 1) The observation time is divided into 3 parts:
 - a) Period 1: 08.00–11.00 (Morning)
 - b) Period 2: 11.01-16.00 (Afternoon/Evening)
 - c) Period 3: 19.00-22.00 (Evening)

- 2) The day of observation is divided into 3 parts:
 - a) Monday-Saturday (working days)
 - b) Sunday-Holidays (holidays)

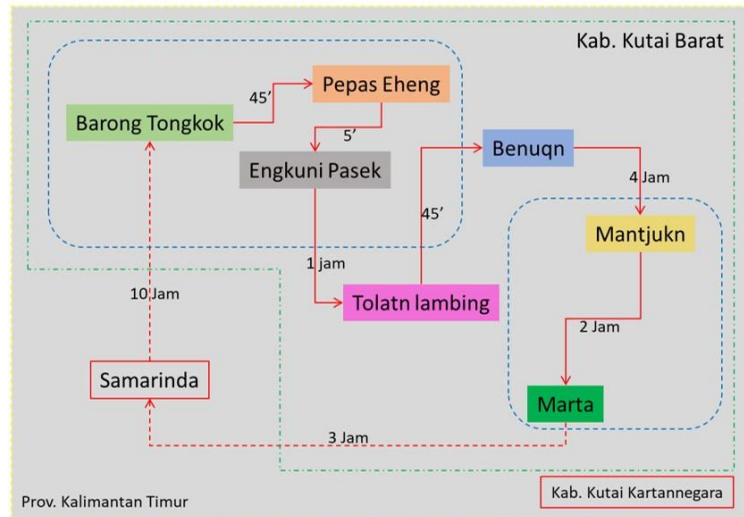


Fig. 4: Grand Tour Routes in West Kutai Regency

Source: Author

Thus, spatial information and individual behavior are also recorded and documented for a predetermined period until saturated data is found. Non-physical information is obtained by interviewing families who know the *Lamin* house. Observations also use the place-centered maps, used to see how the occupants organize themselves in the *Bawo* space (Sommer et al., 1980). This survey technique also aims to find out how the individuals or groups of individuals accommodate their behavior in a situation of time and space. Furthermore, the analysis of the in-depth interviews looked at the keywords from the responses given by each interviewee. The informants' responses were long descriptions of the atmosphere and events that occurred—responses from the member or resource persons, which then became the data. Processing the data from the responses of the informants used categorization to find the similarities and differences of each respondent and was compared with the patterns of behavior in the *Bawo* space. This method was used in an effort to reveal the territorial actions of each space user. The phenomenological approach uncovers the natural explanation regarding the actions of the occupants' territory in activities in *Bawo* at the *Lamin* house.

Observation time, included as explained earlier, namely morning, afternoon/evening, and evening on weekdays, holidays, and Sundays, and days when cultural events are held in other places. The observation time was carried out by looking at the intensity of using the *bawo* room in the *lamin* house as activities during the observation. When the survey lasted for two survey stages, the first stage of observation was carried out for ten days, and the second observation for seven days.

Data processing is carried out systematically with a reduction process to see the process in a system where data is obtained through interviews, observations and documentation. Data was obtained naturally without intervention, with respondents' support, including fathers, mothers, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and other families. Sources of data obtained can be seen in the Table 1 below.

Table 1: Types of Data (Data Focus) and Sources of Data Acquisition
Source: Author

Data Type	Interview	Observation	Document
SubFocus	Question Type	Type of activity	Document type
Lamin	History of lamins	measurement	Photo
	tectonics	Interior conditions	Internet site
	space functions	Furniture observation	Journal
	building materials	Observation of objects in space	History Books/ Libraries
Daily activities	Morning activity	Observation of morning - evening activities	Culture literature
	Afternoon activity		
	Activities at night		
	Other activities/no routine		
Culture and Tradition	The tradition of building lamins	during the pandemic	Culture literature
	Healing traditions	limited cultural	Internet site
	Yearly event	activities (none)	Journal

Findings

The results of interviews and surveys did not find any traditional or cultural activities taking place at the *Lamin* house; many traditional events were held outside the *Lamin* house due to certain conditions. The *Lamin* consists of 11 rooms, each with his own family, but were still related (Sungan, Interview, October 21, 2021). For approximately two weeks, repetitive activities have been found, and the interviews are considered to be saturated, or repetition occurs due to reasons listed below, among others:

1. Majority of the activities consist only of 1 large family occupying 1 room.
2. The condition of the house needs improvement, so there are not too many activities.
3. The *Lamin* house, which has become a cultural heritage building also hinders activities
4. The pandemic condition allows them to stay at home more.

Data processing and analysis were done using the place centered method 're-map', with some description of the activities in the *Bawo* room. It involved observations during the survey, through grand-tours, and using a time budget. 15 activities often occur and are repeated, as presented in the Fig. 5 below.

OBSERVATION OF BEHAVIOR PATTERNS – LAMIN		OBSERVATION OF BEHAVIOR PATTERNS – LAMIN	
Place - Centre Maps		Place - Centre Maps	
Day	Thursday	Day	Friday - Tuesday
Date	Oct 15, 2020	Date	October 29 – November 3, 2021
Time	Morning, Noon/Evening, Evening	Time	Morning, Noon/Evening, Evening
Observer/ Surveyor	Eddy Purwanto (satunusantaraneWS.co.id)	Observer/ Surveyor	Faizal, Arta & Safii
Lamin Space Plan		Lamin Space Plan	
Information		Information	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Communal Space Bawo B. Room/Bilikn C. Terrace/Pasah D. Ladder 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Communal Space/ Bawo B. Room/Bilikn C. Terrace/Pasah D. Ladder 	
Activities	Photo / Activity Image	Activities	Photo / Activity Image
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Walks 2. Children's Run 3. Sit Back and Relax 4. Work/Craft 5. Eat and Drink 6. Hosting 7. Parenting 8. Telling Each Other Stories 9. Information to travelers 10. Chtravelerslay 11. Children Learning 12. Looking for head lice/Mengkutui 13. Sleep/Lay Down 14. Traditional Activities 15. Pet Activities 		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Walks 2. Children's Run 3. Sit Back and Relax 4. Work/Craft 5. Eat and Drink 6. Hosting 7. Parenting 8. Telling Each Other Stories 9. Information to travelers 10. Children's Play 11. travelers Learning 12. Looking for head lice/Mengkutui 13. Sleep/Lay Down 14. Traditional Activities 15. Pet Activities 	

Fig. 5: Activities that occurred in the *Bawo* Room during the survey
Source: author

Activities in the *Bawo* room, especially the area in front of the *Bilikn* number 8, 9, and 11 on Monday-Friday 09.00 - 11.00, are classified as moderate because some family members have many activities outside the *Lamin* such as going to school, going to the city to buy something at the market or going to the garden. However, during the pandemic, many activities outside the *Lamin* were reduced. As previously explained, daily activities involved going to places of worship on Saturday and Sunday.

Observations in the *Bawo* room also mapped objects and tools, such as work tools, production materials, and so on, as shown in the Fig. 6.

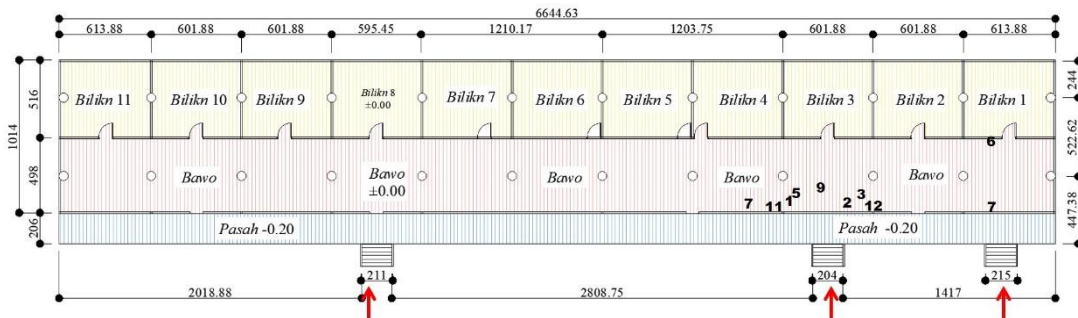



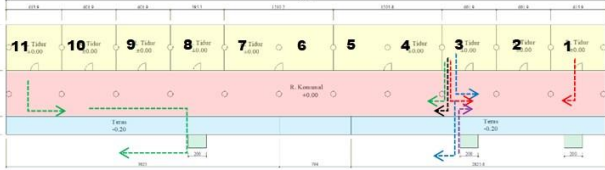


Fig. 6: Distribution of the objects and tools in the *Bawo* Room
Source: Author

Thing Name & Tools	Photo / Activity Image
1. Fabric Swing	
2. Work Tools	
3. Materials / Craft Materials	
4. Woven mats	
5. Plastic Mats/Mats	
6. Chair	
7. Rope Clothesline	
8. Shirt/Pants	
9. Anjat/ Woven Bag	
10. Machete/Mandau	
11. Sewing machine	
12. Rice Sacks	

The most used room is the *Bawo* room, or communal space that can be used together; this room also served previously as a resting room for men, but developments towards privacy have allowed everyone to rest in their every chamber. Specifically how the activity pattern of utilizing the *Bawo* is shown in table 2.

Table 2: Elements and Attributes of communal space
Source: Author

OBSERVATION OF TERRITORY SETTING – LAMIN		
Place - Centre Maps		
Number of families/ <i>Bilikn</i>	3 <i>Bilikn</i> (5 Family) <i>Bilikn</i> No. 3 = 3 Family	
Communal space setting	On the inhabitants of rooms/ <i>bilikn</i> 1, 3 & 11	
Observation time	Pagi Siang-Sore Malam	
Observation Unit: Actors, Activities, Place, and Time		
		
actors	Activities and Time	
Observation Unit in the Communal Space/Bawo Alur Bapak ----> Alur Ibu ----> Alur Anak ----> Alur Cucu ----> Alur Cicit ----> Alur Tamu ---->	Bapak After the activity in the room/ <i>bilikn</i> , go directly to the communal room/ <i>bawo</i> to continue working. Sitting on mats is equipped with work equipment. The position faces the entrance; sometimes, the father sits under the tree while smoking. Work time is from 10 am to evening. Ibu 1 Mother 1 is of advanced age, just sitting and looking at the room. Ibu 3 Similarly, mother 3 does the same activities as the father, only the type of craft—position facing the door and close to the large pole. Anak Girls' activities sometimes also help to make crafts. The position is near the mother while telling stories. Cucu 3 Granddaughter 3 (female) activities while caring for children, sometimes also helping to make crafts. The position is near the swing. C.icit Their Great-grandson is still a toddler, close to his mother, sometimes swinging. Tamu Guests come to visit to see the lamin by sitting in front of the mother and father.	
	Unit of Analysis: Setting communal space as a form of territory	
	For three consecutive days, the pattern is saturated because the space function has already changed from the initial function. All residents use the front area of the room as a common family room. The space has an economic function as a place to carry out business activities, a place of tourist attraction, and a fusion of the family. The function of culture or tradition is still maintained, such as one of which is <i>bellatn</i> activities. Activities are carried out for the seven days, only what distinguishes the intensity of guests who come more during holidays. Activities occur in the communal space from 10 am – 4 pm between noon and afternoon. There are no more activities at night unless guests are visiting. It can be said that activities in the communal space are semi-public—public or, more accurately, communal. There is a fixed pattern of behavior and <i>circumjacent milieu</i> . Personal space that occurs can be said to be intimate distance—personal distance.	
	Space element – Intensional	Behavior attributes – J.Weisman (1981)
	1. Floor mat/mat; the mat serves as a base for where this area people gather 2. Working material; always exists in the communal space as elements in day-to-day activity 3. Craft Products; always there to show off and for sale if there are tourists 4. Clothesline; always there so as not to get caught in the rain 5. Swing; always there if grandchildren & great-grandchildren are in lamin, and the night is brought into the cubicle/room	1. Comfort ; atmosphere gives an appropriate sensory taste and is accompanied by the position of elements 2. Sociality ; the position of individuals who can interact well 3. Visibility ; visually unobstructed by other objects 4. Control ; materialized personality creates a territory 6. Activity ; the intensity of interaction that can occur continuously

The use of spatial elements, in the form of objects or equipment in the communal space were observed during the survey. These elements are used and become the territorial elements of each occupant. 12 objects were observed during the survey.

1. Cloth swing: functions to swing the grandchildren while working; the position is in the *Bawo* room during the day and moved to the cubicle at night.
2. Working Tools: these were used to make *anjat* crafts or machete sheaths, which are stored in the *Bawo* room.
3. Handicraft raw materials: These were always available in the *Bawo* room, and were used anytime for work and as additional income.
4. Woven mats: These are products for sale.
5. Mat / Plastic mats: These were used as a seating mats.
6. Plastic/Wood Chairs furniture: These are rarely used because they prefer to sit on the mats. The mat on the floor is more comfortable; intimacy is more intertwined.
7. Clothesline is outside the terrace: It is also inside the *Bawo* room if it rains or dry.
8. Shirt/Pants: An outer garment that covers the waist to the ankles, sometimes only to the knees, that covers the legs separately
9. Woven or *Anjat* bags: These are round bags made of rattan, resulting from traditional woven handicrafts.
10. *Mandau* or *Parang*: This is a traditional weapon that is also a product for sale.
11. Sewing Machine: mechanical equipment for sewing clothes
12. Sack of Rice: a large bag containing rice.

The use of spatial elements forms the basis for developing family territories in the *Bawo* space, where the father, mother and daughter, with their working tools around them dwell. These define the boundary for the work area and the production area. The granddaughter, with swings and mats define the boundary for the childcare area (great-grandchildren) and families who come as guests join in these production activities. In contrast, visiting guests do not have territorial boundaries. Even though the leading actor in the *Bawo* space has territorial boundaries based on the existence of objects, control over the entire area is still robust, as evidenced by the control over the grandchildren and great-grandchildren who play in an ample space they can still be controlled even with sound. Control from the *Bawo* room can be done indoors and can still be reached from outside. The role of the mother in the *Lamin* house can also determine the direction of her household's journey; Mrs. Sangun also has an important role, one of which is that she is a direct descendant of the owner of the *Lamin* and this situation also occurs in other *Lamins*. In this situation, the role of women in the *Lamin* house is very influential. It also has a role because the *Lamin* chamber belongs to the mother's parents.

From the explanation that the behavioral setting is a stable combination of activity, place, and criteria with elaboration, the family setting pattern in the *Bawo* space forms a communal territory with firm control marked by ample space. There are no visual barriers hindering the views in all directions. Moreover, robust control over the surrounding environment with the existence of cultural values is still robust in the *Lamin* house, especially the use of the *Bawo* room as a communal space.

During the observation, there were 2 patterns that had changed because of the change in several room functions. First, apart from being a place to live, it is also a place to carry out business activities and a showroom for handcrafting. Second, the reduced socio-cultural function or tradition in the *Bawo* room is no longer a place for men to rest at night because all the family members rest in their chambers, especially at night. All the occupants use the area in front of the room/bill as a shared family room or a communal space (*Bawo*). Most activities occur in the communal space from 10 am to 4 pm. At night, more activities are carried out in each room unless guests visit. In the *Bawo* space, standing patterns of behavior and circumjacent milieu occur where spatial elements and behavioral attributes influence. The territory in the *Bawo* area is an intimate distance to a personal distance where the nature of personal control is still strong as a public space. Indirectly, territorial elements are stronger than personal space, that of *Bawo* space.

Discussion

Lamin residents provide only an overview of the high intensity of activity in the area in front of their chambers, even though they can also use the surrounding area. This illustrates that the dominant occupant's territory is in the front area of each chamber, as illustrated in the Fig. 7:

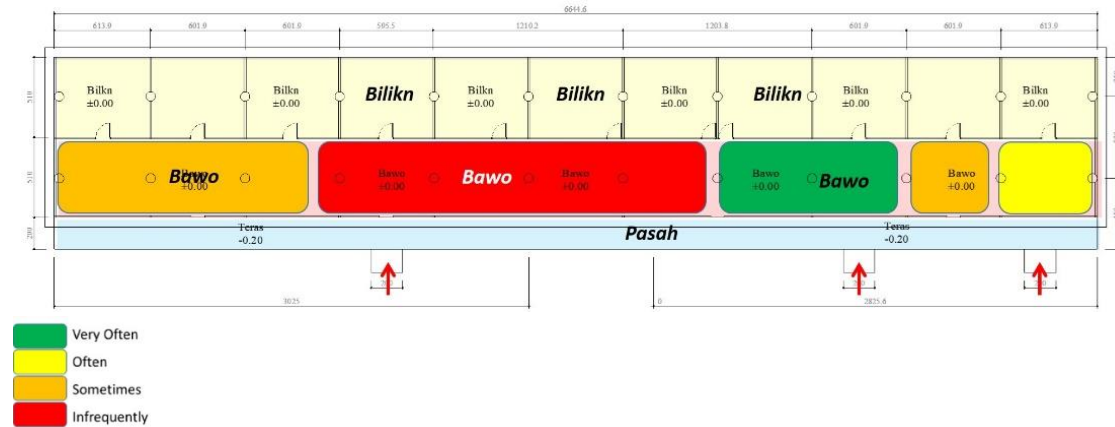


Fig. 7: Intensity of use of *Bawo* space
Source: Author

1. Public Territory

Altman (1975) and Hall (1969) articulate on public territory and say that the aspects of ownership are not owned by the individuals or a community, where the sense of ownership of public territories is low and difficult to control. Public territories used by many community members are subject to change. They point out that each member has the same rights in places such as living rooms, souvenir centers, park areas, shopping centers, and workplaces. From this explanation, it is clear that a real public territory is different from the territorial demarcations that occur in *Bawo* spaces. In them, besides control, which is still strong in a relatively large space, there is also a high sense of ownership from the users of the room, especially the owner of the cubicle. In *Bawos*, every community with a booth has the same rights to use it, although some differences are still determined by age and kinship.

This illustrates that the *Bawo* territory does not fall into the category presented by Altman and Hall (1969): primary territory (private), secondary territory (semi-private), and public territory (public). More precisely, the *Bawo* territory is between the public and secondary territories.

2. Community Territory

More specifically related to community territory, Brower (1976) shows that groups can control community territory with members who can change. Still, these members undergo a selection process and sometimes a ceremony is held to accept these members, like members of a congregation in a place of worship, professional community, hobby community, and others. In the use of space (e.g., cafes, hotel lobbies, malls, and libraries.), other people are not considered a disturbance as long as ethics of the space are maintained, where the spatial control is weak. For the *Bawo* area, where the members tend to remain, such as the owner of the chamber and its members who have kinship relations, the use of the space may change due to traditional activities such as healing ceremonies or *beliatn* (a traditional activity to heal the sick person and other traditional ceremonies). Control in the *Bawo* area is strong even though the space is quite broad. Moreover, control over the outer space is also a part of the *Bawo* area. Thus, it can be said that the territory in *Bawo* is different from the community territory presented by Brower (1976).

From the explanation above, it is clear that the territory in the *Bawo* or communal space on the *Lamin* has different characteristics from the public territory or the community territory. However, some parts have similarities with Brower's (1976) explanation of community

territory. The territory formed due to activities, elements of the *Bawo* space and the influence of the physical form of space and functions make the boundary virtual. In fact, there is an absence of a space divider in the *Bawo* room, which makes it 'viewable' to monitor all directions of the space. The territorial elements in *Bawo* form a communal territory where this territory has a strong influence on the power of spatial control. Most member groups that use the *Bawo* space are still the same, even though some members have changed, they still have attachments. These reasons can be shown in the table 3 below.

Table 3: Elements of communal territory

Source: author

Territory Type	Elements of Territories						
	Proprietary	Control	boundaries	Behaviour	Privacy	Time	occupants
Communal	co-owned by relationship	Strong	Medium	Strong Rules	moderate	limited	relationship
Brower (1976)							
Community	group	keep	Spacious	rules	moderate	limited	change
society	society	weak	Unlimited	regulation	low	free	free
Altman (1975)							
Public	group	weak	Spacious	no rules	low	free	many
Secondary	small groups	keep	Medium	rules	moderate	limited	limited

In several studies related to residential territory, it has been pointed out that children, as part of a family, are at the center of attention of the father and mother. They have considerable influence in determining the territorial spaces created in a dwelling. In contrast, in the *Lamin* house, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren do not have clear territorial boundaries because children's activities are not limited by objects but by the edges of the *Bawo* space itself. However, visitors from the outside who do not have kinship or regional relations but have related interests are limited to stay around either the objects belonging to the visitors themselves or goods produced by the residents of the *Lamin*.

The placement of objects or household equipment in the *Bawo* room does not necessarily make the occupants the sole rulers of the room because several things are shared ownership. This happens because the room is a shared space used jointly by all the booth owners with emotional ties. In fact, the ownership of objects or tools is indicated by where the thing is located around the cubicle.

From all the explanations above, it can be argued that there is a 'communal territory' within the *Bawo*. The territorial elements in the form of objects exist in the *Bawo* as objects that can be used together and remain under the control of an owner. From the nature of the territorial elements, there are leading and complementary elements, where particular objects are the main elements of personal territory, although there are also semi-personal ones. Still, these objects are not strong enough to express one's territoriality because they are not firmly attached to that space.

Conclusions

Lamin, as a traditional house of the Dayak tribe is also called a communal house which has three rooms, namely the *Pasah* room or terrace, the communal spaces or *Bawo*, and the rest room or cubicle of the three rooms. *Bawo* is the main object in this study because it is unique as a dwelling, used together as well as with a joint ownership. It has many functions, such as a guest reception, family interaction room, work/production space, display/showroom for traditional production results, and other domestic activities.

The findings of the recording that took place in the *Bawo* room as the unit of observation, the activity of the perpetrators, the time of activity, and the presence of objects show that there were six perpetrators of activities. They are, the father, the mother, the children, grandchildren and in-laws and great-grandchildren and sometimes guests: all those who have kinship and attachments. Most activities of the residents are permanent for a certain period,

especially in the form of economic activities, where the processing of handicraft products takes place. These handicrafts are also displayed there. The existence of objects in the Bawo space also influences the spatial setting, which eventually forms a communal territory. It is undeniable that all of the above contribute significantly to form a communal territory.

From the previous explanations, descriptions and the discussion, and in the light of the principle of communal territory, it can be concluded that Bawo is indeed a unique phenomenon in architecture. There is a communal character in Bawo. Residents tend to remain and change over a long period because of kinship attachments and other forms of affection, such as enthusiasts of traditional houses and handicrafts. *Bawo's* robust spatial control makes this house relatively safe for the occupants, both in control of the indoor and outdoor spaces, where daily activities and actors greatly influence the functions of the space in the same area.

It can be concluded that communal territory is related to space and a sign of shared ownership of members who have ties where space control is robust with time restrictions. The communal territory elements consist of the primary elements and the complementary elements. The main elements of the communal territory are the *Bawo* forms, spatial functions, mats, craft tools, craft materials, craft products, swings, shopping activities, making crafts, receiving guests, joking, the presence of the tourists, and learning. As for the complementary elements of the communal territory, there are chairs, sewing machines, sacks of rice, clotheslines, piles of clothes and pets. The activities include rocking children, lying down, eating and drinking, cursing, and playing.

This paper can become the concept of spatial zoning, which so far has only been known as private, semi-public, and public zones. Communal territories provide insight into the communal character of space. The communal space is rectangular in shape and spacious. However, space control is still felt strong. The users' social, cultural, and economic activities in the *Bawo* space produce patterns of behavior around each occupant's cubicle. There is still an opportunity to develop this research, namely the form of the elements of the communal space, the meaning of the *Bawo* space in terms of culture, the tectonic process of the *Lamin* house, and how to apply the *Bawo* communal principles to modern architecture.

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