Spatial Segregation: Examining Socio-Spatial Segregation of Housingcomplex Development in Taeng

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Abstract: This study aims to examine how the spatial segregationencourages the occurrence of socio-spatial segregation in Taeng village, in Indonesia. Qualitative method was used to examine and analyse socio-spatial segregation phenomena of the housing complexes construction in Taeng Village, Pallangga District, Gowa Regency in Indonesia. Observation and deep interview were used in collecting data. The research informant consisted of: (1) the government of Taeng village in this case the village head and several village staffs, (2) the hamlet head and several village community leaders, (3) the developers in this case they were categorized into subsidized developers and commercial housing developers, (4) the villagers of Taeng who live inside the housing complex and the indigenous people who live outside the housing complex or in the village, (5) villagers who use the land for economic activities. Data collection techniques in this study were through observation, indepth interviews and documentation. The data analysis was reviewing all data that has been obtained by reading, studying and understanding it; reducing data by abstraction, which is analysing data and summarizing the essence of the data; compiling the data in the classification unit; the unit was then categorized by coding; and then checking the validity of the data. The findings show the development of socio-spatial segregation in Taeng village because of Taeng's attractiveness itself. It is the main reason so that the developers developed housing complexes. There are three attractiveness of Taeng, they are (1) availability of land and relatively cheap land prices (2) close to the provincial capital in this case Makassar city; and (3) Discourse on the construction of the Mamminasata ring road. These three main reasons are expressed by various groups, both from the village government, developers, residents who live in settlements and residents of the housing complex as reasons that are interrelated. The reason for the availability of land is the most widely stated reason for explaining Taeng village as a target for developers to build housing complexes. It can be concluded that the spatial segregation that takes place cannot released from the state of the territory and the social dynamics of Taeng village.

Keywords: housing complex, socio segregation, socio-spatial segregation, attractiveness

Date of Submission: 26-01-2019 Date of acceptance: 09-02-2019

I. INTRODUCTION

The study of social segregation in relation to housing complex development has been carried out by sociologists and scientists in the field of urban studies. The concept of social segregation has a long history in social science research since the end of the 20th century through the thought of Ebenezer Howard in 1898 in his book, "Garden Cities of Tomorrow" which became the spatial basic pattern of urban park settlements in various cities in the world. A city park concept is open to overcome the problems caused by the industrial revolution. There are many problems that arise like thick smoke from factories and the density of settlements will eventually worsen public health. In line with the development of time and with the behaviour of a group of people who are increasingly exclusive, its shape changes into a closed settlement pattern.

The reason for the security of the population living in the housing complex described in the form of settlements surrounded by fence walls, the always-maintained entrance and security of the area carried out by the management is one of the elements of the settlement design concept called Gate Door Community, (Low, 2004; Blakely and Snyder, 1997, Sueca and Fitriani, 2011). This community was then adopted by major cities in Indonesia and began to develop around the 1990s. Spatial patterns and physical forms develop competitively in both central and suburban areas.

The housing complex is designed with a minimalist and modern concept to accommodate the desires of the upper middle-class population in order to exclude themselves. It is stated by Diningrat (2015)that intentionally designing segregated spaces in order to accommodate the desire of the population to exclude themselves, on the other hand can give a negative impact in the form of increasingly tenuous kinship relations

between residents. This is because physical barriers seem to give an impression of which space boundaries need to be identified and also which do not need to be identified.

The housing complex which is inhabited infiltratively and expansively by people who come from various cultural backgrounds, socio-economic status, and work background add to the diversity of the population as a complex reality. On the other hand this reality creates a dichotomy with local residents or those living outside the housing complex. Like Taeng Village, which continues to develop with various driving factors, making the order of the village community try to adapt to everything. Agricultural land or vacant land converted into housing complexes is a new face in rural space in accelerating urban development. The mushrooming of the housing complex was felt in the community of Taeng Village, KecamatanPallangga, Gowa Regency, resulting in spatial segregation. The housing complex. The village with an area of 336.3 km2 consists of two environments, namely: environment I Taeng and environment II Gantarang in the last five years has developed into a village with very heterogeneous conditions. Heterogeneity of the population is caused by the housing complex being targeted by people who come from various regions to find homes.

Exploring socio-spatial segregation development is interesting issue to be examined in some countries. Sykora (1999) concerned with the mechnism of socio-spatial differentiation, attention is focused on the role of social mobility, migration, housing renovation and new housing construction; and Watkins (2005) focused on organizational space and revealed some of the possibilities inherent in Lefebvre's theories by providing an analysis of a specific organizational event from Lefebvrian perspective and exploring some of the implication of this type of approach for organisational analysis. However, socio-spatial development of housing in Taeng village is explored in this study.

Based on observations in the field, 23 housing complexes in the village were recorded on average inhabited by people from various regions in South Sulawesi, even outside South Sulawesi. The housing complexes include: Citra PermataTaeng Housing, Kaledusaha Housing, GowaPelita Mas, Delta I, II and II, Al Hibsi Housing, GriyaPermataPallangga, Resident Taeng, Green Safaras Housing, Green Cakra Housing, Gusung I District and District Gusung II, and others.

Each housing complex has an average of 15 to 75 housing units with a minimalist form and types of varying sizes. According to population data in 2014 there were + 9.044 inhabitants out of 3.207 heads of households and that number continued to increase from year to year. This phenomenon interests the researcher to examine more deeply the spatial socio segregation development of Taeng Village Housing Complex at PallanggaSubdistrictin Indonesia. In short, by examining the development of housing complex it can be known that the occurred spatial segregation could encourage the socio-spatial segregation in Taeng Village.

II. SPATIAL SEGREGATION

Spatial segregation is essentially the formation of space barriers that emanate from the manifestation of the diversity of the current socio-economic conditions of the population and the mechanisms that influence change (Greenstein et al., 2010). Spatial segregation that occurs in the development of new citiestriggers the isolation between residents based on socio-economic conditions as result it produced gated communities (Leaf, 1994). This matter is also presented physically through the following statement:

"Number of the new towns basically designed as exclusive residential are as surrounded by wall, containing rows and clusters of houses along standardized automobile thoroughfares, resulting in a kind of gated communities..." (Leaf, 1994:34)

Furthermore, Greenstein, et al. (2000) also revealed spatial segregation that occurs in large-scale housing development as a result of market dynamics in the form of demand and supply. In this concept the developer holds the supply side that captures the demand of the population about the luxurious, modern and exclusive residential environment. Spatial segregation can also be caused by a lack of empathy from new urban dwellers towards the surrounding environment (Goldsmith, 1997). This makes their desire for housing needs to shift in a residential environment that has a high level of security so that it is free from anyone's interference. On the other hand, housing developers capture this as a business opportunity and reflect on the construction of cluster housing which risks spatial segregation.

1. Space Production

Lefebvre (1971) is a French Marxist sociologist, advocates that there is really no space that is entirely "ideal" because space itself is spatially in modern capitalist society a battle arena that will never be contested. All interested parties will continue to seek ways to dominate the use or use of a space and reproduce all knowledge to maintain their hegemony over the use of space. In other words, common space will always adjust capital interests in order to guarantee capitalistic relations and production and reproduction relationships. In this

sense also spatial production of space will affect the mentality of its inhabitants so as to create what Henri Lefebvre calls the production of social space, namely the relations of production between spatial spaces with society.

In relation to space, Soja (2010) states that space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic. It space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seems to be "purely" formal, the epitome of rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has been occupied and used, and has already been the focus of past processes whose traces are not always evident on the landscape. In short space has been shaped and molded from historical and natural elements, but this has been a political process. space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies.

On the other hand, social space is shaped by social action, both individually and collectively. Societal actions that give "meaning" to how a spatial space is conceptualized by those who fill and turn on the space. The production of social space is concerned with how spatial practices are realized through perceptions of networks that link social activities such as work, private life, and leisure. Lefebvre describes it as a dialectical relationship between space (spatial and social) that lives, perceived space, and conceptual space, or what is called the "three conceptual series of spaces" (a conceptual triad of social space production).

Space is an area and tool that serves to preserve the political-economic order. The space has interactive characteristics from investors / capitalists (entrepreneurs), the state (government), and society (including non-governmental organizations that have a concern in the field of ecology). Therefore, conflicts and contestation between actors in spatial practices cannot be avoided. Space as a social product results in spatial practices that are never free from the alignment of actors who make spatial regulation. This is in line with the idea of Lefebvre (1974, 1991) who said that space is a political product and an instrument for socio-economic change so that space is not neutral and passive.

The practice of spatial planning encompasses the activities of production and reproduction of space in which there is a struggle of the classes to gain and master that space (Lefebvre 1974, 1991). Lefebvre asserted that various differences in phenomena of class struggle over a space are related to a region, region, region, site, land, etc., and this must be understood as part of the same spatialalization process.

Spatial problems can be explained by using Lefebvre's socio-spatial approach. His approach offers a critical analysis of the operation of modern capitalism which was later developed by David Harvey. According to Harvey (1985), there is a complex process of modern urban spatial planning activities in which capitalists will not stop in producing profits over the space they have and their success in building spaces that can be consumed by individuals or because capitalists are able to make buildings, such as houses, apartments, hotels with rental or buy systems.

2. Concept of Socio-Spatial Segregation

Beginning the discussion of socio-spatial segregation first, it is necessary to understand the term socio that comes from socios or social English, which means association or society while spatial, or spatial means things that are related to space or place (Echols &Shadily, 1992). So the socio-spatial understanding is something that is related to the activities of the community in the utilization of space for personal and social interests. According to Chapin, in Rolobessy (1999) in the use of a land is determined by the values that affect human behavior in space or land. The values are: 1) Values relating to the value of market-oriented land prices to gain profit (oriented profit making). 2) Values relating to the conditions of human life oriented to the public interest. 3) Values relating to progress, beliefs, habits and traditions that are oriented to the social roots of the community (social rooted). In some housing, restrictions on entry access also do not fully occur. The housing guards sometimes allow the local residents or food, vegetable sellers, newspaper delivery agents to enter gated communities without permission and this is considered normal. Exclusiveity has faded. And this shows the tendency of urban mixing that can eliminate social and spatial inequalities.

In addition, Lungo and Sonia (2001) define socio-spatial segregation is a clear example of an issue whose features and determining features differs between developed and developing countries.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study used qualitative methods that examined and analyzed the phenomena of socio-spatial segregation with a case study approach to the construction of housing complexes in Taeng Village, Pallangga District, Gowa Regency in Indonesia. This study conducted for four months.

Research Informant

The research informant consisted of: (1) the government of Taeng village in this case the village head and several village staffs, (2) the hamlet head and several village community leaders, (3) the developers in this case they were categorized into subsidized developers and commercial housing developers, (4) the villagers of

Taeng who live inside the housing complex and the indigenous people who live outside the housing complex or in the village, (5) villagers who use the land for economic activities.

Research Instrument

Data collection techniques in this study were through observation, in-depth interviews and documentation. The data analysis was reviewing all data that has been obtained by reading, studying and understanding it; reducing data by abstraction, which is analyzing data and summarizing the essence of the data; compiling the data in the classification unit; the unit was then categorized by coding; and then checking the validity of the data.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Attractiveness of Taeng Village

Based on the findings in the field, the researchers found Taeng village's attractiveness so that developers developed housing complexes, while the attraction included (1) availability of land and relatively cheap land prices (2) close to the provincial capital in this case Makassar city ; (3) Discourse on the construction of the Mamminasata ring road. These three main reasons are expressed by various groups, both from the village government, developers, residents who live in settlements and residents of the housing complex as reasons that are interrelated. The reason for the availability of land is the most widely stated reason for explaining Taeng village as a target for developers to build housing complexes. As revealed by one informant in the interview that:

"... close to the city and there is still a lot of vacant land..." (Megawati)

Taeng Village, which is located on the river side, is very close to the city of Makassar. This has become a promotional capital for developers to the people who need a place to live. Residents who inhabit the average housing complex of those who come from various regions even from outside South Sulawesi.

In a different place the same thing was revealed by other informants, in the interview explained that: "... before that (referring to a few years ago) the swamps were wider (vacant land) than the houses of the population empty land sold by the owner at a cheap price..." (Muhammad Kasim)

Based on the information from the informants above, it is very clear that before developers build housing complexes, they have first knowledge about the condition of Taeng village which has the potential to build housing complexes. This is what is believed by the developer as a business opportunity that is realized through the provision of housing complexes. Empty land in the form of rice fields, gardens and swamps is converted into residential areas in the form of housing complexes which are new faces in rural areas. Various ways and efforts made by the developer to get the land to be built by the housing complex have caused this village to experience quite rapid changes. As stated by lafebvre, 1974, 1991, in fact there is no space that is entirely "ideal" because space itself is spatially in modern capitalist society an arena of battle that will never be contested. All interested parties will continue to seek ways to dominate the use or use of a space and reproduce all knowledge to maintain their hegemony over the use of space.

Land tenure that is continuously carried out by developers is something that cannot be avoided by the residents of Taeng village. The mushrooming of the housing complex as a commercial space is a representation of the existence of capitalist forces. The naming of buildings based on their control and ownership shows that the capitalist group has succeeded in constructing the rural space according to its wishes.

Mastery of land by developers to build complexes that are influenced among others: developers are oriented towards maximizing profits, so that anything will be pursued as long as they are able to bring large financial benefits, this condition is also triggered by the practice of licensing expenditures which can be said to be very easy so that the concept of village spatial planning is limited to the concept in the studio, because both the government and the developer do not adjust to the direction of village development. Construction of housing complexes has now shifted from the private domain to the public domain due to excessive economic domination (Silas, 2002).

The projection of the city of Makassar towards the world city replicates in the surrounding areas as well as Gowa Regency. One of the directions for this development is the Mamminasata ring road as a development priority program towards Makassar as a world city. The Mamminasata ring road connects the four regions of Makassar, Maros, Sungguminasa and Takalar. From the concept of development, a discourse developed that Taeng village became the Mamminasata route. This discourse is greatly benefited by the developer (developer) because it is a big enough capital as a place for promotion for those who are looking for a home. Every brochure made by a developer always includes a discourse that Taeng village is a Mamminasata

route. The development of the discourse on the Mamminasata route is very influential because it is one of the considerations for anyone looking for a home. In accordance with the results of interviews with informants in the research location stated that:

"...there is a discourse that this village is the Mamminasata ring road, which is captured by ordinary developers fighting over vacant land to be used as housing complexes, plus that which is used as a developer as a promotion to people who want to buy a house"..

The Mamminasata ring road, which is built along 83 kilometers, is the foundation to unravel the congestion of vehicles in the area, in addition to the construction of the Mamminasata area and its direction for the economic development of Sul-Sel. From the main objective of the construction of the Mamminasata ring road, it has begun to be seen in economic terms and commodified by investors in this case the developer. It is expected that this development will then be able to develop the economy of the main community around the ring road. Mamminasata which covers Makassar, Maros, Sungguminasa and Takalar is a new metropolitan prepared as a pilot area for integrated spatial development. The design of this city was built based on Presidential Regulation No. 56 of 2011 concerning Spatial Planning for Urban Areas of Makassar, Maros, Sungguminasa and Takalar which are expected to be the center of economic growth in eastern Indonesia.

2. Spatial Segregation of Housing Complexes with Surroundings

a) Housing Complex

The housing complex as a designed space (dominated space) is formed based on the relationship between the developer (developer), the government and the community as land owners. Existing housing complexes in Taeng village can be divided into two categories, namely non-susbidiary or commercial categories and subsidized categories. Non-subsidized or commercial housing is a house that is organized with the intent and purpose of obtaining benefits according to the needs of the community. While the subsidized house is a relatively very simple type of housing that is intended for people who are in a middle-to-low economic condition. The following is the difference between non-subsidized housing (Commercial) and subsidized housing:

No.	Non-Subsidized Housing (Commercial)	Subsidized Housing
1	Selling prices vary according to specifications and location of housing	The selling price has been set by the government and no more
2	Mortgage rates follow the direction of the market. Installments can choose flat (Islamic banks) or effective / non-flat (conventional banks)	Government mortgages subsidize mortgage rates at banks. Current interest rate is 5% flat (2015).
3	Remote specifications are above subsidized housing. Every housing developer will offer different specifications, usually based on the price of the housing itself.	Minimum specifications must follow government standards for livable homes. Among them are brick blocks, wooden roof frames, without ceilings, cement floors, squat toilets, ground carport, plywood double doors, cheap wooden door frames and windows and paint only in the front of the house. This is the minimum standard of the government and every housing developer certainly provides an increase in house specifications on different parts.
4	Housing roads are generally between cast, asphalt and conblock. If it is still hardening / dirt road, the mortgage will not run out.	Roads for housing are minimal and generally found are hardening / dirt roads.
5	The minimum type of building is type 36.	The maximum type of building is type 36.
6	The location is located in locations that are easily accessible and not as far as subsidized housing.	The location is almost impossible in the middle of the city. Usually on the outskirts or areas that have not / are developing, the price of land is still cheap.
7	Renovations and resale prices. Renovations can be done as you wish and the selling price usually varies. Generally the price increase is faster than the subsidized house.	Renovations and resale prices may not be renovated for the first 2 years. The selling price if the credit has not been paid / wants to pass the credit must follow the house price of the subsidy that is being applied in the area.

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b) Surrounding Areas or Population Villages as Non-Designed Space (appropriated space)

Residential areas that are outside or around a residential complex are inhabited settlements categorized as non-designed spaces (appropriated space). This village already existed long before this housing complex was built. Those who inhabit are indigenous people namely Makassar tribe. Geneally, this village is occupied by a number of residents where the people have ancestral ties or still have blood relations. The descendants of the Taeng villagers are patrilineal, matrilineal, and mixed.

The road to the PelitaTaeng axis as the main road of the village has become a reference since the beginning the villagers built settlements. There are also roads that connect between other areas around the village, on the right and left of the road there are also houses. The right and left sides of each road are also filled with villagers' houses. The size of each house varies depending on the area of land owned. Neither is the house model varied. There are some houses that are still semi-permanent and even some are still in the form of house calls. Social conditions and economic levels of each resident or homeowner can be different.

Like the case with other settlements that determine the physical form of a house, among others; climate, building material technology, location, defense, economy and trust. Population settlements as non-designed spaces (appropriated space) are divided into three types of buildings, namely: permanent houses, semi-permanent houses and non-permanent houses.

1) Permanent house

In the building of a permanent house in question is a house that is made of mountain or river stone, red stone or brick, iron, wood and so on. Models and sizes built by the owner vary depending on the taste of the homeowner. In this type of permanent house, many have followed the model with modern concepts,

2) Semi Permanent House

A semi-permanent house is a resident house that is built with a building structure or house whose foundation is made of rock-based mountain or river stone, the floor is made of a mixture of sand and cement, the walls of the house are made of wood or boards while the roof is made of zinc or the like. Home is not permanent.

3) Non-permanent

The houses are residents' houses that are built with all the basic materials from wood or commonly known as wooden houses or stilt houses. This wooden house or house on stilts, the design emphasizes more traditional forms or traditional houses typical of South Sulawesi. This type of house has a column that is used by its inhabitants for various purposes.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of research in the field of spatial segregation related to housing development in Taeng Village, Pallangga District Regency of Gowa, the conclusion of this study is referring to the source data obtained in the field that the spatial segregation that takes place cannot released from the state of the territory and the social dynamics of Taeng village. Based on the results the findings in the field of researchers found there are three reasons: (1) Availability of land and relatively cheap land prices (2) Close to the provincial capital in this case the city of Makassar; (3) Discourse construction of the Mamminasata ring road. The third attraction is a trigger the occurrence of spatial segregation in the Taeng village of Pallangga District, Gowa Regency Spatial segregation that occurs in the village is 1) spatial segregation

between a housing complex and the surrounding area. a) Housing complex as a dominated space formed on the relationship between developers (developer), government and community as land owners. b) settlement the population is categorized as appropriated space. 2) Spatial segregation between blocks in a housing complex indicates presence blocking the space between blocks within the housing complex. Insulation of spaces This housing happens based on differences in the type and price of the house, in the sense there are large types and there are small types.

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JamaluddinArifin. "Spatial Segregation: Examining Socio-Spatial Segregation of Housingcomplex Development in Taeng." IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS). vol. 24 no. 02, 2019, pp. 29-35.
