

ANALYZING THE SMOOTH AND STRIATED SPACE IN PASAR CIPUTAT TANGERANG SELATAN

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ABSTRACT

Deleuze (1987) introduced the term striated and smooth space in several metaphoric ways. Striated is seen as a fixed space and carries a sense of border. On the other hand, smooth space is seen as continuous and open interval. However, both terms are always intermingling, at one point smooth can be striated and vice versa. A city can be seen as a striated (border) and as smooth space (urban sprawl).

Looking at a strip near Pasar Ciputat, Tangerang Selatan, this paper investigates how space changes function and identity overtime. The strip becomes a good example of analyzing the smooth and striated space practiced in everyday life. This strip is heavily populated by street vendors who has 'occupying schedule' and continuously changes the patterns of occupation. They prefer to sell goods on the road instead of in the provided building. By midnight, the road is not accessible as the vendors closed off and sell their goods on the road. In the morning and afternoon, some vendors disappear and their former space has been used by other vendors to sell different goods. Through observation, urban morphological mapping and photographic analysis, this paper uncovers the fluid uses and meaning of the space.

Keywords: Fluid space, the image of the city, smooth and striated space.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/tataloka.20.3.335-348>

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1. INTRODUCTION

A city constitutes layers of history as it houses human events, buildings and stories. Perception is associated through the uses and symbolism of the space. Rossi sees the city as an archaeological artifact and an autonomous structure (Rossi, 1986). The city is influenced by the way architecture works as remnant of history and thus influences back the users. Rossi argues that a city should not be seen as functional only as it collects memory, attachment and history which connect the users and the place. A city is place where people congregate together, making layers of meanings and history by the way they inhabit the city. The city is a *locus* where possibilities of events can be accommodated and constituted.

The image of the city depends on the perception of individuals through their interaction and association within the city. However, this individual image is often being imposed by the public image associated with it. As city image is constituted through paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks, this research looks at specifically to path, edge and landmarks as they influence the imageability of the city. Path is easily recognized as people observe the city while they are moving through it (Lynch, 1959). An edge is seen as boundaries which assign breaks in continuity (Lynch, 1959). Edge can be barriers with more or less penetrable. On the other hand, Landmark is something which people can easily associate the image of a city with. Through the experience people have gone through, they associate a certain sign, prominent building or activities as the landmark for the site. Some of the landmarks are innumerable and are associated once the traveler are becoming more familiar with the sign. Some of these elements may occasionally shift from one to another. For driver, a road is a path which enable them to move swiftly from one place to another. However, for a sidewalker, a road is the edge for them not to cross. The differentiation, the classification is somehow blur at some point. What if a path is no longer seen as an edge for the sidewalker but merely an extension of its walkway? What if a path is becoming an edge for the driver when they cannot get through the road? What if the path has become an edge with less penetrable for people to go through? These ambiguities and shifting roles between a path and an edge which in turns resulting in shifting the landmark for the city. The “continues assigned break” is relevant to Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of smooth and striated space.

Smooth and striated spaces are twofold binary concepts where the definition of one is so dynamic and intermingling. Smooth space is seen as continues, travels though times, infinite and unlimited in every direction (Deleuze, 1987: 476). Striated space assigns breaks, closed at least on one side, limited and fixed. However, as these two terms are twofold binary concepts, smooth space is constantly reversed into a striated space and vice versa (Deleuze, 1987). The story of quilt made out of a stitched patchwork might be useful in understanding the smooth and striated space. The patchwork (either made out of embroidery or leftover fabric) are stitched together shaped as a continues form (the quilt). The patch can be seen as striated while the process of stitching it together and shaping a continues fabric can be seen as smooth. In this case, smooth sprang from a striated space. However, the smooth space as much as it looks continues, it is limited in size. The smooth has become a striated space again and vice versa. The space becomes very fluid in terms of it uses, meaning and trajectory. However, the aim is not to erase one side of the concepts, but rather to see which concept that appears first and how it was folded (Dovey, 2010). As in Deleuze’s term, “the two spaces in fact only exist in mixture” (Deleuze, 1987:474). This fluidity concept occurs where the twofold coexist together and change the use and meaning of space The looseness occurs when the different uses and meaning of space coexist with negotiable government rule (Dovey, K; King, R, 2011). Dovey and King have outlined the way in which forms of informality take place on settlements on certain areas (Dovey, K; King, R, 2011). They furtherly discuss eight ‘types’ of informal settlements through urban mapping. While the paper looked at the pattern on how settlements emerged and the practices of everyday life, I am interested to see the practice of

everyday life in the so called 'traditional market' taking place on the main road. Therefore, this concept of smooth and striated space is used as framework to analyze the use and meaning of urban space in Pasar Ciputat, Tangerang Selatan. The fluidity can be traced down through series of mapping how these sellers dwell on these place through series of patterns.

Perusahaan Daerah Pasar Niaga Kerta Raharja famously known as Pasar Ciputat is one of the markets built by the Provincial Government of Tangerang Regency in 1992. Located in between South of Tangerang and South of Jakarta, Pasar Ciputat became a strategic place for people to gather and do business. The building is 3 storey in height where each floor was to house certain activities. The ground floor caters commodities such as rice, flour, meat, fish and vegetables. The first and second floor house clothing, shoes, bags and accessories (Tangsel, July 2010). Like many other market building built and managed by the government, Pasar Ciputat Building were mismanaged and poorly maintained. From its early development, the first and second floor were empty from customers. The sellers start to sell their stuff on the ground floor hoping they could attract customers to the first and second floor. The more they go down, the more customers never reach the first and second floor.

In late 1992, the Provincial Government of Tangerang District made a deal with a private company PT Betania Multi Sarana to integrate the market and terminal in order to invite more visitor and generate more income (Tangsel, Perjanjian Kerjasama Bersyarat No. 551.22/1755-Um/1992). As the terminal and the market collide, the traffic and the sellers start occupying the street and cause traffic jams. In 2004, there was a change in the regulation where the market can open during the day and the night (District, 2004). Here, the number of sellers increase by the numbers of hours the market can operate. If previously they could only sell stuff during the day, with this new regulation, they can do business 24 hours.

The biggest shift occurred in 2008 when the area in Regency of Tangerang was divided. The Ciputat area including pasar Ciputat became under the Municipality of South Tangerang (Mendagri, 2009). The problem arises when the regency of Tangerang delaying to hand over the land to the municipality. Furthermore, the deal with PT Betania Multi Sarana also faced another obstacle. The Regency required certain amount of money to be paid as part of the retribution from parking and lease from sellers inside the market. These conditions made the ambiguity as to who is in charge managing the pasar Ciputat. Through its heyday, the management of Pasar Ciputat is now under the Tangerang Selatan municipality. Hence, the mismanagement has made the number of unregistered sellers rise. Most of sellers have left the market building and prefer to sell their goods on H. Usman road leading to the market building. This informality has its own structures. Although the sellers are not formally registered they have patterns in selling stuffs, schedule as when to sell, and location as where to display their goods. The roads is no longer accessible for cars and pedestrian. In certain times the road may be totally closed down due to the market activity, while some other times the road may still be penetrable.

Due to the high level activity on this road, poor sanitation and management, Pasar Ciputat is notorious for being dirty, filthy and unhygienic. Since the activity are mostly carried out outside of the building, the image of the market shifted from being in the building into being on the road. The H Usman road has become a fluid space where striated and smooth spaces are performed. Looking at a strip near Pasar Ciputat, Tangerang Selatan, this research investigates how the space changes function and identity overtime.

2. METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the variety of uses and fluid meaning of space, we use qualitative research methodology with data gathering methods as followed:

- a. Observation
Observation was used to determine the use of places in everyday life. This method was aimed to understand the meaning and use of the case study by observing the way in which people appropriated the spaces. Observation was carried out on Haji Usman road using photographic survey techniques. These techniques were conducted unobtrusively within the bounds of normal procedures for observation in public spaces (Nachimias, 1976). The sellers are classified based on the items that they sell and pattern of occupying the space. The observation is conducted within two different time frames during the weekend and weekday: during the day and during the night. This approach is aimed to capture the different uses and spatial practices within the space.
- b. Morphological Mapping and analysis
Morphological mapping and analysis included decoding the various uses on, within, and around the Haji Usman road. This method includes tracing the movement of sellers activities; and highlighting certain sellers which play a role in understanding the fluidity uses and spatial practices.
- c. Traces analysis
Traces analysis gathers evidences which relate to the traces use of the four case study sites. I particularly looked at the remnants that were left by sellers as clues of understanding how space was used, appropriated and anticipated.
- d. Photographic analysis
Photographing survey analysis was conducted to record both the behavioural observation and traces analysis. To record possible variety of uses, photographic survey was carried out on two different period of times during the weekday and weekend (during the day and during the night). Photographic survey analysis became primary means of generating detailed database for morphological analysis, the transformation of the use of the space, verbal presentation, and particularly evidences to support argument.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Pasar Ciputat Building is located in the corner of Aria Putra road and H Usman road. The position is prominent as it is accessible from Aria Putra, Haji Usman and Dewi Sartika roads. As the policy in 2010 changed, the intended planning to integrate the market and the terminal was uncertain. Yet the area in front of market on Aria Putra road has been used informally for terminal. Interestingly, although the market is located in Aria Putra road, the market never really take place in the building. The building is always empty and abandoned. The provided stalls are left behind and no longer in use. The market informally takes place along Haji Usman road instead. The constant use of this road for informal market is interesting where the sellers may change, the stall may disappear adjusting the needs of sellers. The smooth and striated spaces are performed within this road [Figure 1], [Figure 2] and [Figure 3].



Figure 1: Location of Pasar Ciputat and Haji Usman road

Source: google map modified by the Author, 2017



Figure 2: Empty formal stall inside of Pasar Ciputat Building

Source: Author, 2017



Figure 3: Sellers take place on the road and outside of the intended building

Source: Author, 2017

Although Haji Usman road is notorious for its traffic due to the informal market activities, the road is the only access which links Ki Hajar Dewantara road to Aria Putra road. The road is consistently being used as 'road Ciputat market' and displaces the function of the intended market located in the corner of Haji Usman and Aria Putra road. Regardless its bad traffic due to the road market activities, Haji Usman road is always full of vehicles trying to go through, passerby, visitors and sellers. In fact, due to its very bad traffic, the google street view currently cannot access Haji Usman road fully. The road intended to be on one way direction has been used in two ways. The road is crammed with stalls taking place on the road, by shoppers parking their motorbikes in front of the stalls whenever they need to buy anything, and by the large vehicles trying to get through. Haji Usman road functions as a market, a parking space, a path, and at the same time as a node where people meet. Regardless the chaotic scene, the crammed road does not prevent the cars and passerby to go through [Figure 4].



Figure 4: stalls and visitors' vehicles are taking place on the road.

Source: Author, 2017

In order to access this Haji Usman road, visitor can enter from Aria Putra road or from Ki Hajar Dewantara road. On this road, lay some public buildings such as Office of Religious Affair (KUA), post office, mosque and military office (Koramil). Although it seems that the entire road has become more like a market, but as a matter of fact, some public buildings are still in operation. To access these buildings, most visitors came from Ki Hajar Dewantara road, slowly entering the road in competition with parked vehicles as well as the food stalls and visitors. To allow access, the gate of these buildings are kept clear while other area are mostly covered by sellers and shoppers [Figure 5].



Figure 5: Public building surrounding Haji Usman road

source: Author, 2017

The analysis of smooth and striated space on Haji Usman road will be presented within two frameworks:

1. Analysis based on the observation during the weekday and weekend within three different time frame (morning, afternoon, night)
2. Analysis based on the observation on three spots that indicate the practices of smooth and striated space.

These two frameworks will reveal the fluid meaning and use of the activities on Haji Usman road

3.1. Analysis within three different times during weekend and weekday.

In order to understand the fluid use and meaning of the space, the observation was carried out within three different times (morning, afternoon and night) during the weekend and the weekday. The observation, urban morphological mapping and photographic analysis starts from the corner of Ki Hajar Dewantara road to Haji Usman road and ends on Aria Putra road.

The analysis will be presented in the following morphological mappings:

The first mapping is conducted early in the morning to capture the users, stalls and kind of product being sold. Based on this mapping, majority vendors sell fruits, vegetables and fish. Their stalls occupy most of the road with little access for the vehicles to get through. The pattern of occupying space is also different during the day. If in the morning people tend to occupy more of the roadside, in the afternoon the occupation shifts little bit backwards. The permanent stall stay while the temporary tents seems to disappear [Figure 6].

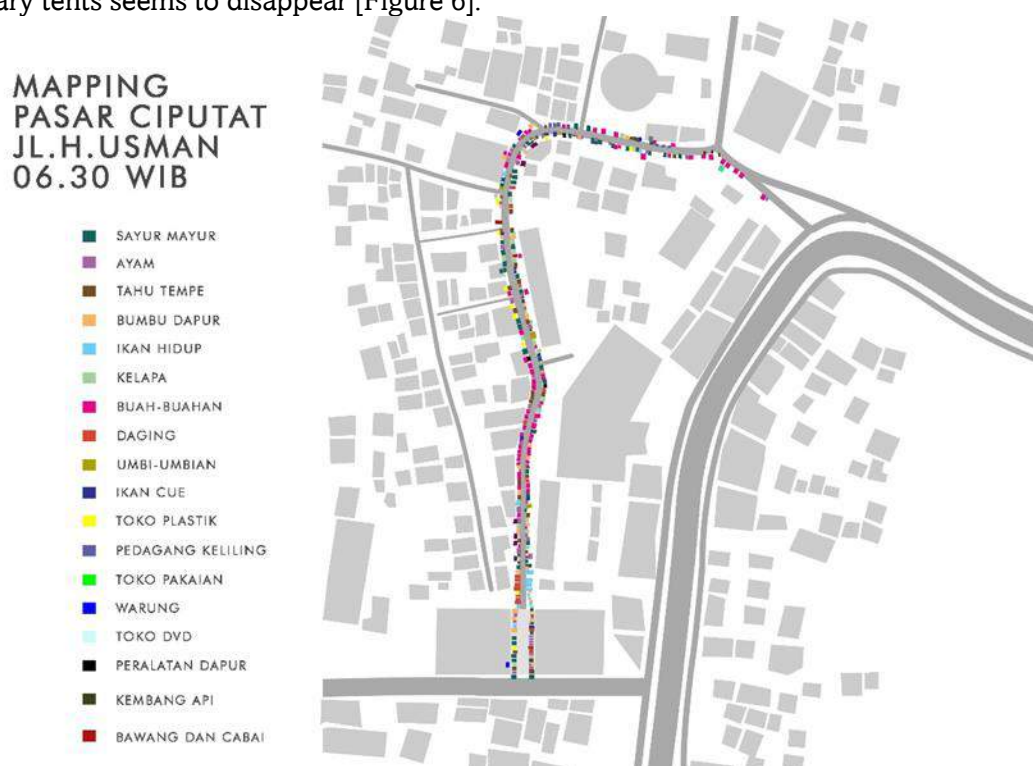


Figure 6: Mapping the pattern of road occupation in the morning.

Source: Author, 2017

Type of sellers varies from vegetables, fruits, fish, clothing and poultry. However, in the morning, fruits sellers dominate the road. The chaotic road is worsened by visitors on their motorbikes who just stop whenever they need to buy stuffs. Some stalls and shops are fixed while temporary shops

and stalls are fluid. Pedestrians squeeze through in between motorbikes, cars and stalls. The road is packed by sellers and visitors parking their motorbikes. Although it seems impossible for car to go through, somehow they can manage and penetrate the road. The motorbikes, cars, sellers, stalls and pedestrians collide together making the smooth space, while permanent stalls, buildings and the road are in forms of striated space [Figure 7].

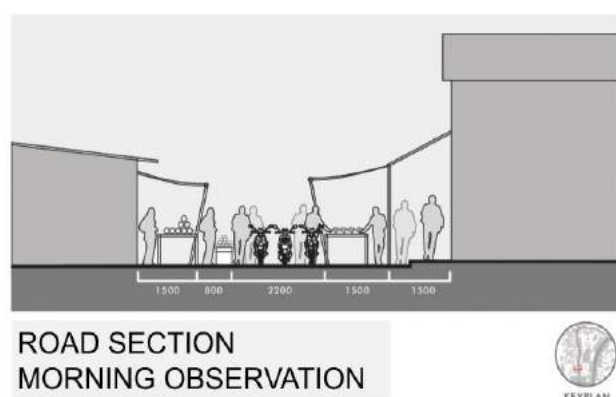


Figure 7: Pattern of road occupation in the morning

Source: Author, 2017

In addition, there is no clear demarcation on the classification of the commodities. Anyone can sell any kind of goods next to each other. For instance, cassava is displayed next to under wear, and tempeh. In other spot, fruits are displayed next to the DVD shop. Neither the sellers nor the visitors have any problem in making transaction in this condition. Although there is no hierarchical order, the pattern and the time of occupation are the same. By the afternoon, other sellers will replace the sellers in the morning session. The goods displayed may also change depending on the sellers in the session. The smooth and striated spaces appear at the same time [Figure 8].



Figure 8: No clear demarcation on the commodities

Source: Author, 2017

The second mapping, conducted in the afternoon, is aimed to capture the different pattern of road occupation. The types of goods vary from vegetables, fruits, meat, and fish to plastic bags. The majority of sellers are fruits and vegetables but their numbers are decreasing by afternoon. As shown in the mapping, the road is now at ease, allowing passerby, motorbikes and cars to go through. By afternoon, some stalls are closed, while others set back their position, allowing passerby and cars to go through. By noon, the morning sellers were completely replaced and types of buyers also change. If in the morning most of the buyers are dominated by individuals as well as fruits and vegetable resellers, in the afternoon are dominated by regular resellers who visited particular shops which are open during the day [Figure 9] and [Figure 10].

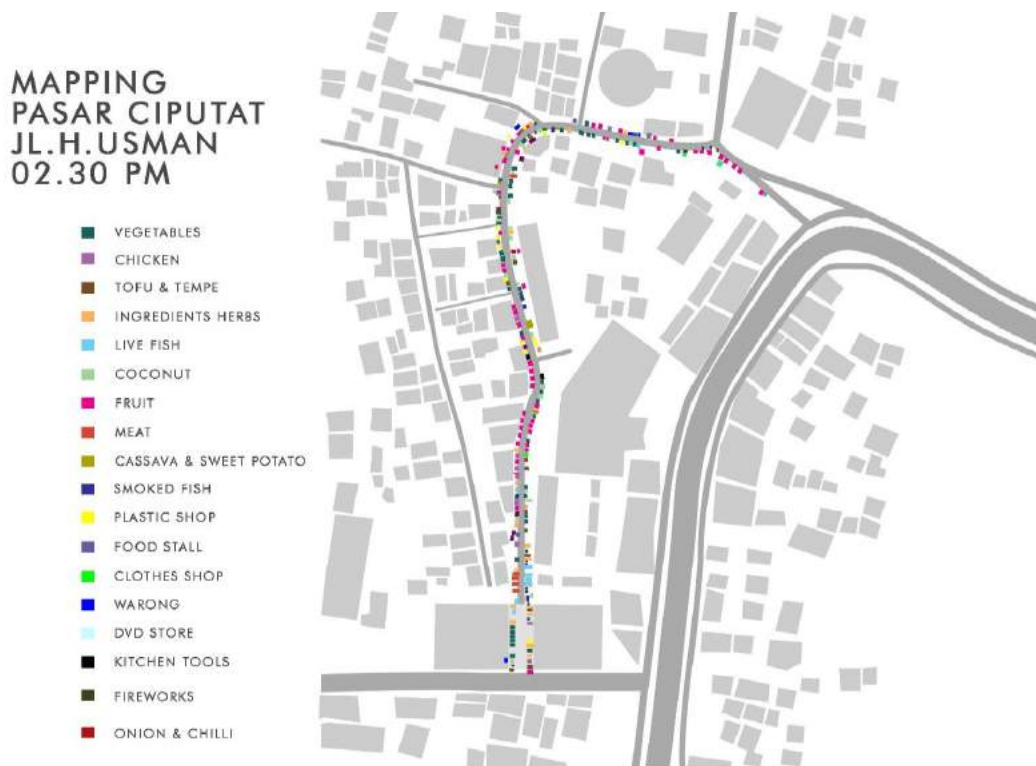


Figure 9: Mapping the pattern of road occupation in the afternoon

Source: Author, 2017

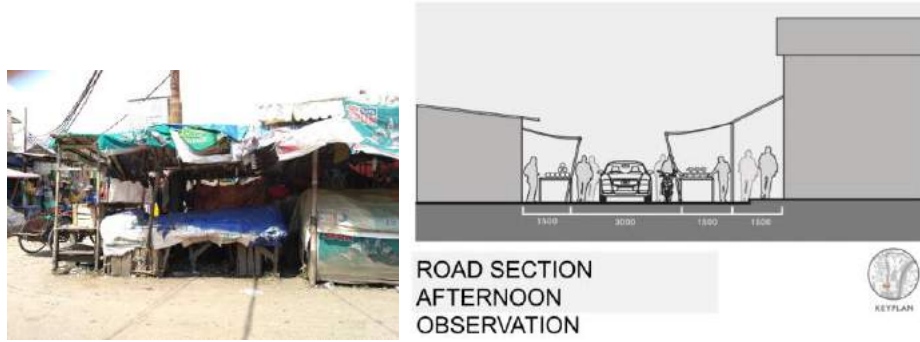


Figure 10: Closing stalls in the afternoon, allowing passerby and cars to go through

Source: Author, 2017

Different setting occurs in the evening where sellers occupy nearly the entire road. The pattern of occupation changes drastically. At night, sellers tend to occupy the road more freely since the numbers of vehicles that pass through this road are low. Sellers vary from fruit sellers to vegetables and chicken with their goods covering the road [Figure 11].

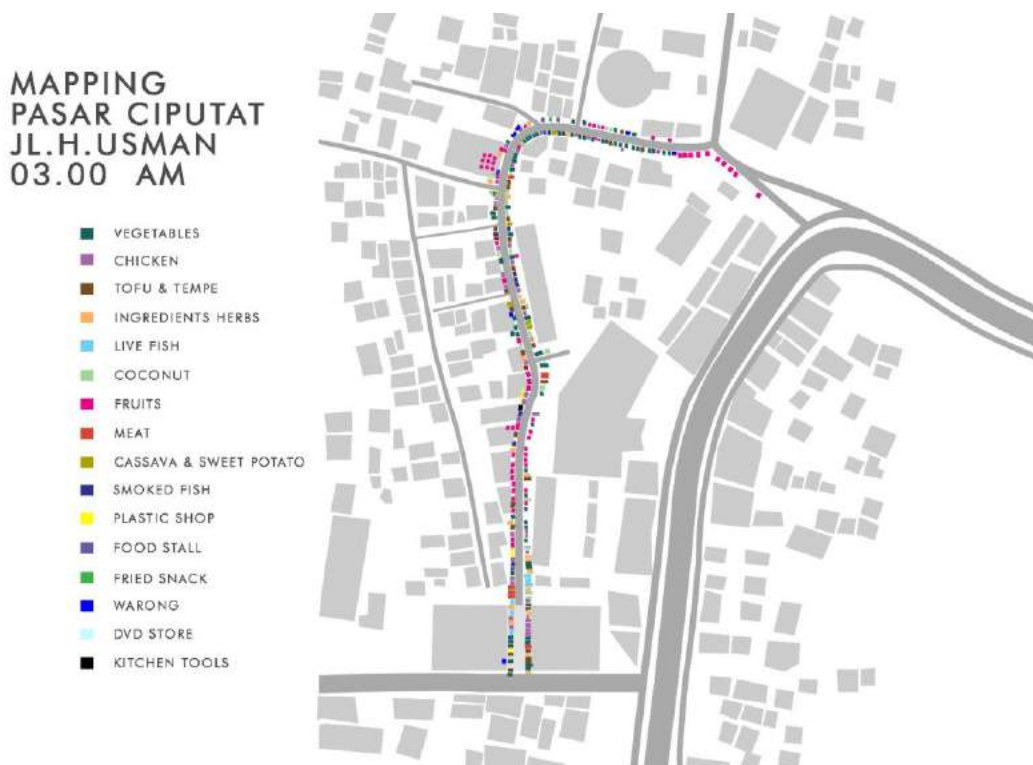


Figure 11: Morphological mapping in the evening

Source: Author, 2017

Smooth and striated spaces are displayed on this Haji Usman road. The sellers constantly change and occupy the space in certain time. There is no hierarchy and clear boundary as which section sells particular items. Vegetable sellers can be next to the meat, fish or other products. The pattern of occupation varies according to the shift. For instance, in the morning certain sellers take position on certain spot. In the afternoon, the earlier spot may have been taken over by other sellers. In other occasion, the spot is left empty by the sellers, but in some cases the stall and the spot remain but the sellers are not in duty. Constant changes in occupying the space has created layers of space patterns. The pattern in the evening would be different from the day pattern.

3.2. Analysis on three spots

Apart from different patterns of occupying space during the day and the night, the fluid use and meaning is also demonstrated through the morphological mapping and traces analysis on certain spots on this Haji Usman road. The first spot is an area where sellers of mix vegetable, water spinach, live fish, chicken and banana can be found in the morning. By afternoon the urban players change. The live fish, water spinach and chicken disappear, leaving the space only for the mix vegetable and banana. Even though the seller of live fish is not working, yet his stall is still there. The stalls for chicken and water spinach are gone. The space is little bit empty compare to the morning scene. In fact, the space which previously used as a stall for chicken and water spinach has been transformed as a parking space for motorbikes. By evening, the urban players change again where sellers of mixed vegetables, water spinach, banana and live fish exist. From this analysis, fixed sellers are banana and mixed vegetable sellers, whereas fluid sellers are chicken, water spinach and live fish sellers [Figure 12].

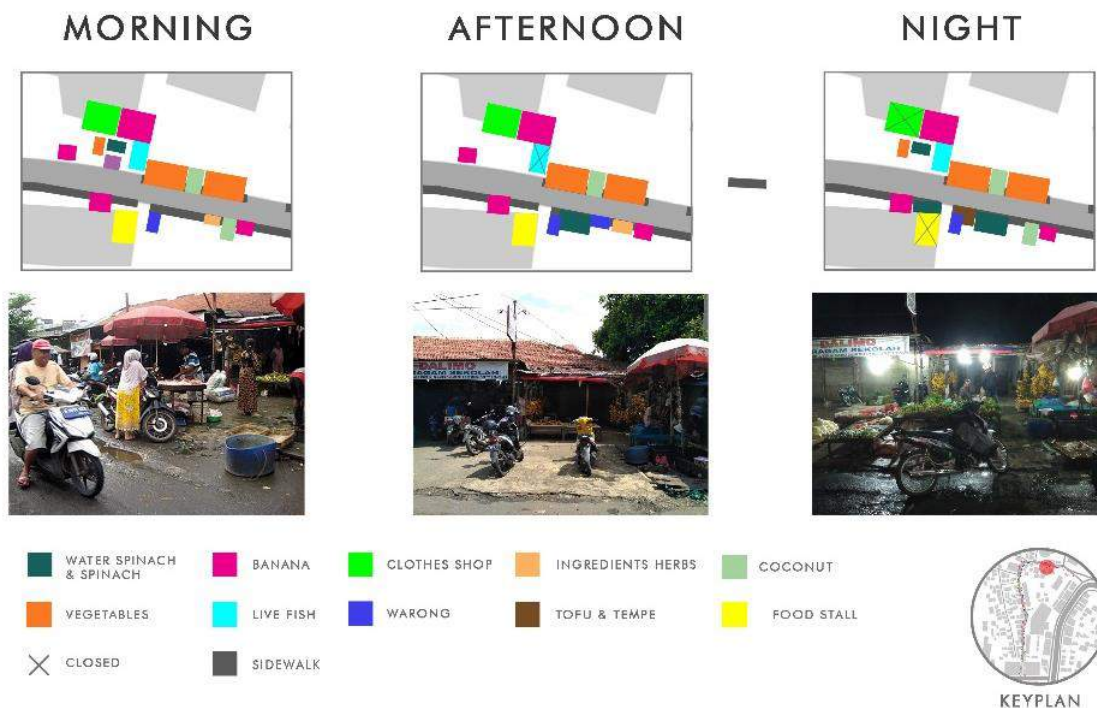


Figure 12: Striated and smooth space on spot 1

Source: Author, 2017

The fluid use and meaning of Ciputat market can also be seen from the second case study. Located right in the middle of the road, the area is filled with stall for selling smoke fish. Although the stall and the stock remain the same, the person selling the smoke fish changes in the morning, afternoon and evening. Yet, these three different people are not sharing one source of income. They simply informally rent the same stall selling the same product. The ‘fixed’ is represented through the stall and the selling product, whereas the ‘fluid’ is represented by the different sellers. The smooth and striated spaces are performed continuously. The use and meaning of the space is forever challenged [Figure 13].

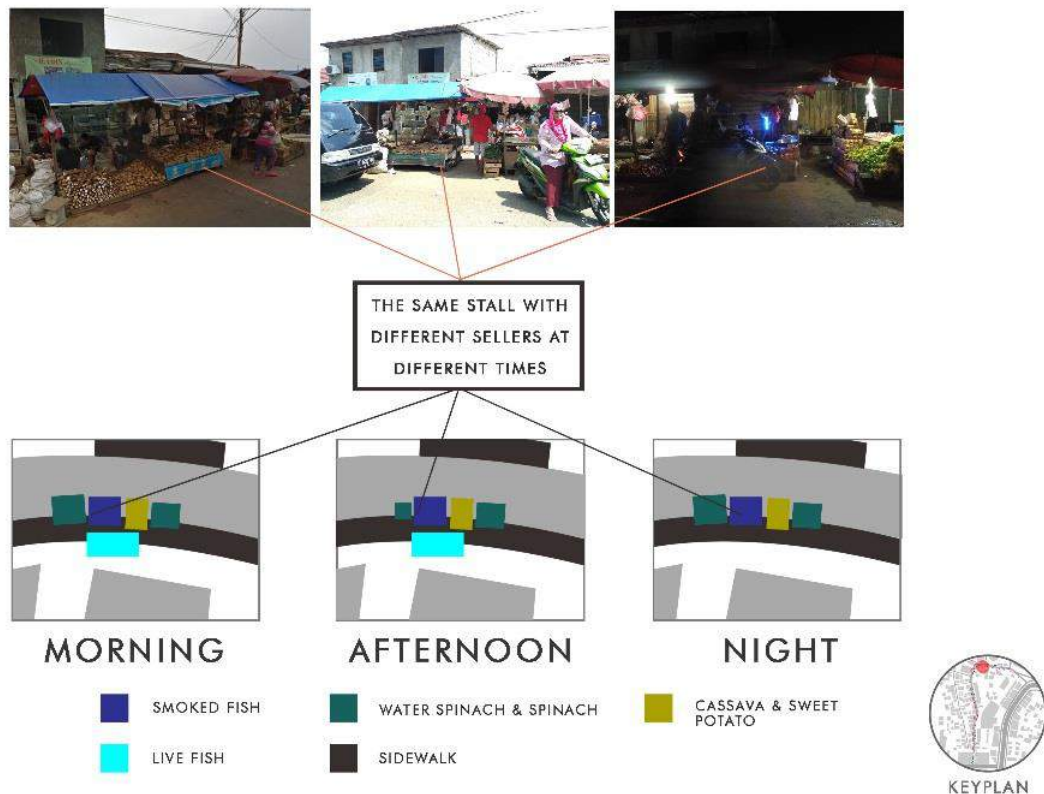


Figure 13: Smooth and Striated space on the spot 2

Source: Author, 2017

The constant use of Haji Usman road as an informal market has created an urban collective memory. The road which was supposed to be a path has changed its meaning to become a node and at the same time a landmark. Never does occur for resident or visitor that Ciputat market should be in the building located at the corner of haji Usman and Aria Putra roads. Public image of Ciputat market is on haji Usman road.

The fluidity also not only from the everyday uses of space, but also from the blur and inconsistent system which somehow finds its own models. These sellers pay certain amount of money periodically to the ‘fee collector’. Although the amount is only around US 50 cent per collection, yet the sellers have to pay it several times to different fee collector at different times. No one knows exactly where the money goes and ends up. Yet, since the sellers pay the fee, they have ‘informal right’ to be on the road selling their product without fear being evicted. Should there be formal eviction from the local authority, they are already well informed way before the eviction day. This informality which infiltrates the formal system is rhizomatic, well structured without formal structure; just like the body without organ (Deleuze, 1987). The forms of informality varies and has layers of adaptability (Kamalipour, 2016). Just like other informal settlements, the pattern of street

occupation by these vendors shows that they have high social capital as they do collective practice to avoid eviction (Martin, R & Mathema, A, 2006). The analysis of smooth and striated space has shown a new perspective of understanding informal dwellings. Through the analysis of fluid market settlements on Jalan Haji Usman road, the image of the city may shift from once to be known as a regular road, and now it has become a market. The way people understand and remember this place is through the trajectory of continuing interplay uses and meaning. This market has become a new identity for this area as well as economic linkage (Rukayah & Supriadi, 2017).

4. CONCLUSION

The uses, meaning and trajectory of the space has become very fluid. The smooth and striated space coexist together as one unfolds the other. The stalls are striated patch, yet the whole patch of stalls are smooth space. The road may seem impermeable, but somehow people and vehicles can constantly go through it. There seems to be no clear system, but amid the informal system the market continues to exist and be alive. The informal economy co-exists with the informal ways of [im]possibility of dwelling. The looseness (smooth) and the fixation (striated) occur when the different uses and meaning of space juxtapose with negotiable government rules as well as informality. Haji Usman road has become an arena where the binary oppositions is being displayed, played and contested which in turns changes people's perception about the market, the road and the city landmark.

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