

# In Between Death and Life: The Role of TPU Tanah Kusir as Public Space

Feby Hendola<sup>1\*</sup>, Muhammad Mashudi<sup>1</sup>, Michelle Margaretha<sup>1</sup>, Viola Calista  
 Amabella<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Universitas Pembangunan Jaya, Jalan Cendrawasih Raya Blok B7/P, Sawah Baru, Kecamatan Ciputat, Kota Tangerang Selatan, Banten 15413*

<sup>\*</sup>*Corresponding author. Email: feby.kaluara@upj.ac.id*

## ABSTRACT

As most cities are rapidly expanding, space of death, such as a cemetery, is in demand. In a metropolitan like Jakarta where the population grows rapidly, land for the dead competes with the urgent needs of urban development. It is often used not only for death purposes but also for everyday needs. A cemetery is a place where sacredness and banality occur. At Taman Pemakaman Umum (TPU or Public Cemetery in English) Tanah Kusir, a well-known cemetery in South Jakarta, people do not only bury, do a pilgrimage, or perform religious rituals about death. They also use it for commerce, a shortcut, a place for animal care, and other activities. This paper shows our preliminary study on how TPU Tanah Kusir as a public space provides space of death while accommodating inevitable banal activities. We analyzed its physical feature and people's thought about it. We then defined the circumstances that make it both private and public in order to comprehend its role as a public space. The overlapping sacred value and its daily uses have made TPU Tanah Kusir become a heterotopic space. Our study shows that grave ownership and its accessibility determined the cemetery's spatial characteristics.

**Keywords:** *Cemetery, Heterotopia, Space of Death, Public Space, Urbanism*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

As one of rapidly growing cities, Jakarta has 15,000 people/km<sup>2</sup>. A comparison between the birth rate and mortality is inversely proportional to the need for sufficient cemeteries land. In 2017, only 38.3 hectares were ready to use. Nirwono, an urban planning analyst from Trisakti University, stated in a news article that around 20 hectares of cemeteries functioned annually [1]. It shows that the number of lands needed is 1.5 times higher than the acquired land provided. Meanwhile, Jakarta's citizens from the high-income class see cemeteries as a place for burial and to increase their social strata. It is also a reason that creates a niche to build private cemeteries with high prices, such as San Diego Hill or Al-Azhar Memorial Garden [2]. Unlike public cemeteries, they provide discretion for people to choose the location of the burial ground and the needed area.

The meaning of life after death may be interpreted differently by people based on religion, culture, or belief and will influence the use of spaces inside the cemeteries [2]. Even so, the nuance of life after death is still the same: sacred. We can see it in the form of prayers or rituals that pilgrims do while visiting the cemetery. It happens in open space with no barriers that come from beliefs and cultures. One of infamous public cemetery in Jakarta is *Taman Pemakaman Umum* (Public Cemetery)/TPU Tanah Kusir. It is a resting place for people who have passed that also

incorporated with other public spaces such as roads, parks, and commercial areas that are banal. From a more profound point of view, this sacred space can create space for living and give living for the living. The commercial areas can provide what the pilgrims need to commemorate death, such as flowers and tombs.

Located at Bintaro District, TPU Tanah Kusir is a public cemetery owned by government of Jakarta province. This public cemetery is one of the largest cemeteries in Jakarta. It becomes an integral part of the city planning discourse because it is located in the middle of a densely populated neighborhood and near the main road that connects two provinces, Special Capital Region of Jakarta and Banten. It is known for its cleanliness, comfort, and tidy management and facilities. Some notable figures, such as the first Vice President of Indonesia, Mohammad Hatta, also buried there. The area is bypassed by the commuter train for Serpong Line that becomes sightseeing for people. Some food vendors inside the site sell local cuisines, such as Soto Mie and Sate Padang. The street inside the cemetery is also often used by people as a shortcut to avoid traffic. The road by the riverside is used by people to exercise.

A cemetery is also an open space, which something Jakarta is still lack of. People like to go to places where they can enjoy the weather, communicate, play, or be outside with

nature. A cemetery is a place that people usually avoid because of its sacredness and privacy, as well as the scary image of death. TPU Tanah Kusir is one of few cemeteries that is available for both the dead and the living. It comes to the point where people visit it not only the as a place for the dead but also a place for living. Nevertheless, the cemetery's sacredness is still there, yet it also provides a place people need.

This paradoxical sides of TPU Tanah kusir lead authors to study its role in urban context that rapidly grows and changes. It is also related to what De Sousa wrote in *The Guardian* [3] that urban economics mostly thrived from the living while the dead was not decreasing. There was a prediction that many cities in Europe would not have land for burials in 20-30 years. Some innovative solutions were made, such as creating virtual cemetery, high rise burials, and recyclable coffin. Most of them tried to use the land as efficient as possible without neglecting the cultural, religious, and historical values. That is to say, understanding the role of cemeteries and its characteristics is important for future urban planning. Every urban context has its uniqueness in responding death. Nonetheless, as urban landscape develops various functions and variety of social interactions, space of death is still not considerably as prior as housings or commercial place. This conflicting priority shows the way urban planning detach space of death from daily activities even though it is crucial for urban lives and practically overlapping.

How, then, TPU Tanah Kusir as a public space provides space of death and responds inevitable banal activities? How does it maintain its sacredness while profane activities also occur? These questions would be answered by examining some relevant theories and literatures, comparing them with existing data in TPU Tanah Kusir and questionnaires, and analyzing them in order to get its main line.

## **2. A CEMETERY: IN BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC; SACRED AND PROFANE**

In this section, authors tried to elaborate the role of cemeteries for urban life and how overlapping functions could happen on it. Authors found that comparing 'cemetery' with another similar term, such as 'churchyard' and 'burials' made it clearly defined. In general, a cemetery plays similar role with burials or churchyard. However, a cemetery contains different physical and non-physical feature. Both also create such enclosure with blurry boundaries—sometimes they enhance sacredness while profane matters are taking place. This complex characteristic makes a cemetery distinct but attached from daily urban space.

### **2.1. The role of a Cemetery in Urban Context**

A cemetery is not a "mere" burial. It has a "priority formulated resolution" with rituals appropriately carried out in order to respect the dead [4]. It seems there is a common understanding that a cemetery gives sense of connection to the past in a place where modernity and new development rapidly grows. Nonetheless, unlike heritage or historical buildings, a cemetery does not have to be physically permanent.

Rugg defined a cemetery was different from a churchyard. A churchyard cannot be separated from the church itself [4]. This is why maintaining a churchyard is as crucial as conserving a historical church. It gives historical insight about the ancestors and proofs about them, especially if they were considered as important figures. On contrary, a cemetery is more inclusive. It "generally serves a complete community with the catchment are being an entire district or town". Since communities are usually diverse, a cemetery is also more secular than a churchyard. This flexibility makes a cemetery less permanent or changeable. At the same time, a cemetery contains burials which each of them has its own uniqueness and specific treatment. Unlike a "mere" burial where the dead was buried without a certain identity, a cemetery enhances its ownership with a specific design that represents the dead's identity, such as tomb shapes, symbols or icons, flower holders, fonts, *et cetera*. It "carries the purpose of enshrining the identity of the deceased as an individual". Since it is more secular, there is not any unify ritual in a cemetery. Every pilgrim or the deceased's relative can also do their own ritual that they believed in. Thus, a cemetery is not only a place for the deceased being decomposed but also a place where every individual could freely give meaning to life and death.

A cemetery's flexibility also creates more diverse interpretations. For example, in 1800s when epidemics occurred in London and other European cities, various "garden cemeteries" were created on rural area since churchyards in urban center had no longer able to accommodate the dead and considered as the source of miasma [5]. Some urban planners and architects designed garden cemeteries with romantic landscape and symbols. Unlike churchyards, they created cemeteries with variegated values and meanings, tried to enhancing the experience of reminiscing and commemoration for every individual. Going to a cemetery became similar with having a pleasure in a garden. Tranquil natural elements were laid out to emphasize its sacredness and intensify experience of pilgrimage. At that time, a cemetery was considered both as a place for the dead and for having a different nuance in having pleasure. One thing that authors could learn from this phenomenon, despite the fact it was a privilege to be buried in a grandeur cemetery, was green area like a cemetery can hold different functions for social and cultural needs.

Furthermore, Rugg explained that a cemetery usually had physical features that signify its presence [4]. First is a boundary. A cemetery usually has walls, fences, or other similar physical feature that separates it from other part of the city. Unlike mass burial that might be found without Other physical features that make a cemetery a cemetery is its purpose and ownership. As authors have mentioned before, a cemetery is an inclusive space of death while every individual can have their own interpretation on the death itself. It serves "...a complete community, with the catchment area being an entire district or town." Its purpose is not only as a place to bury the dead but also to give as many people as possible chances to have proper funeral ceremonies; to give empathy for each other; and to feel safe on mourning, reminiscing, and commemorating. It is an accessible place that respect privacy and exclusivity of a certain ritual.

From explanations above, authors consider a cemetery is an inclusive open green space where every individual is able to personally experience loss and universally has empathy about it. Its roles in urban context is to create connections to history and traditions; to represent some communities' identity without neglecting its diversity; and as a place where people could enjoy its ownership in a public green area.

## ***2.2. Heterotopia of a Cemetery: A Space that Always Transforms***

Public realm in urban context, according to Carmona, is necessary for social interaction, intermingling, communication, learning, personal development, and information exchange [7]. A cemetery in a way has this public realm to enhance empathy through social interaction without neglecting the need of personal flourishing, especially in preparation of the end of life. Nonetheless, a cemetery is a paradoxical place. Although it is an inclusive place, a cemetery is also where exclusivity is demanded to maintain its sacredness.

In general, 'sacred' means something that is dedicated to worship deity or something divine. It is related to religious or spirituality and enhances deferential gesture. Harvey (2010) once wrote, "Cemeteries have historically been seen primarily as sacred spaces, and that aspect should not be forgotten; people are, after all, laid to rest in them" [6]. Rugg also mentioned that cemeteries are mostly considered sacred only in so far as the site is regarded with respect. Regarding both opinions, authors thought sacredness in cemeteries might be indicated from the activities.

In urban context, where most space is contested and needs to be regulated, a cemetery is a space that gives a sense of relief. It has a nuance that makes people feel able to pause and rest for a while. Since it is accessible for everyone, it is also potential to be a place to have social encounters, recreational, and other activities that considered profane or non-sacred. In some cases, such as in *Taman Pemakaman Umum*—public cemetery of—Jeruk Purut in Jakarta, people jog, bike, and even sell some food and beverage. Regardless it is a space for the death, a cemetery is a potential space for

particular boundary, a cemetery needs this separation as a way to emphasize its existence. It needs to be known so that people can put respect on it, enhancing its sacredness—similar with churchyards.

thriving something that can make people at least feeling fine—alive.

On 1967, Foucault wrote about heterotopia—an extraordinary space; a space that is other [8]. He elaborated a space that is not only physically defined but also socially, culturally, and economically constructed. And it is its nature to be complex, connected each other, yet creating two extreme poles at the same time. There are six principles that define heterotopia. One of them is it is always transforming. "...a society can make a heterotopia that exists, and has not ceased to exist, function in a very different way", wrote Foucault. He even took a cemetery as an example of a heterotopia. According to him a cemetery is a cultural space that actually connects to all the emplacements of the city. Unlike museum or other cultural space, a cemetery is a space that must be related to each individual. He, then, explained how a cemetery than transformed, especially in 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In previous century, the deceased had been buried in churchyard with particular hierarchy and rules. After a few of outbreaks, the churchyards were no longer able to accommodate. Some new cemetery town then was made outskirts. Each individual eventually had a right to own their burial with its unique identity. "The cemeteries then no longer constitute the sacred and immortal belly of the city [like churchyards], but the 'other city, where each family possesses its dark dwelling.'" This transformation has not stopped because a cemetery also responds urban needs. Interpreting Foucault's essay, Shane specifically explained about how heterotopia being implemented in urban design [9]. According to him, urban development had transformed into something more complex or less rigid than conventional urban planning. Urban context was not only containing static enclave with several amateurs connecting it. People live in more complex context. This is why the notion of heterotopia needs to be considered in urban design. To understand further urban development is to accept the fact that there are and will be ambiguous, mixes spaces. Shane also explained that a heterotopia is needed to maintain stability of urban life. "A heterotopia is a place that mixes the stasis of the enclave with the flow of an armature, and in which the balance between these two systems is constantly changing". Reflecting this statement into the case of a cemetery that authors previously explained, it exists not only to be functional and socially interpreted. It exists to create possibilities for people on reinterpreting something that out of their daily routine: their undeniably need for deathscape. In order to do it without constraint, a cemetery does not only need to be accessible but also to be distinct. A cemetery is not only a sacred space that normatively planned but also an ambiguous space where public and private balance up so that people feel belong without being interrupted.

### 2.3. Hypothesis

There are at least three points that authors need to emphasize from previous elaborations:

1. A cemetery is a sacred space that is inclusive, so that each individual can personally experience something universal: loss and mourn.
2. While it is giving connections to history and tradition and representing diverse communities, the functionality and interpretation of a cemetery always transform.
3. A cemetery is a complex enclave. It has a boundary to be distinct but it also needs to be opened so that people can access it. It is where private-public, sacred-profane, past-present blend in. Nonetheless, a city needs this kind of ambiguous space to balance its urban life.

Hypothetically, a cemetery's role in urban context is to maintain stability of urban growth by giving a space of rest that is accessible to everyone without neglecting their privacy. A cemetery is where ownerships in a public space physically signified. To examine these hypotheses, authors needed to understand sacredness and banality that occur in TPU Tanah Kusir. Authors also need to examine its physical boundary and connections to understand how enclave and amateurs in TPU Tanah Kusir connected each other.

## 3. DELVE INTO TAMAN PEMAKAMAN UMUM (TPU) TANAH

*Taman Pemakaman Umum* (TPU) Tanah Kusir is a public cemetery that provides free funeral service for people who are registered as Jakarta citizens. It is located at Kebayoran Lama, South Jakarta and crossed by Bintaro Raya street and railroads. It has been operating since 1965. Its area is around 55 hectares and accommodates various religions. There are four land blocks namely AA1, AA2, A1, and A2. Each block is divided based on religion, making it easier for the funeral procession. In Islamic block the graves' orientation leads to the Qibla while for the Christian, Hindu and Buddhist blocks they were made parallel between the top (head) with the top of other bodies.

Authors collected TPU Tanah Kusir's physical feature from top-down and tried to understand people's perspective via questionnaires. From this preliminary observation, author found some intriguing points regarding the cemetery's sacredness, banality, and how both connect each other.

### 3.1. Sacredness in TPU Tanah Kusir

Most cemeteries have characters of a quiet and calm place. This nuance derives from and affects activities that occur upon it. Some rituals, such as funeral ceremonies and pilgrimage, give impression of sacredness. Therefore the cemeteries need to emphasize it with a certain landscape that is distinct from regular places.

A sacred place is a place that is believed for spirits, gods, and supernatural power [10] (Rosmana, 2009). This is the



**Figure 1.** Top view of TPU Tanah kusir

center of religious activities, including death rituals. Thus, the sacredness of a cemetery is affected by this belief. Many communities believe that a cemetery is a gathering place for spirits of the ancestors. Therefore activities that are undertaken at cemeteries are naturally religious, increasing the sanctity of it.

TPU Tanah Kusir also has this certain sacredness. It is the last destination—a final resting place—for residents in South Jakarta. People usually come here not only for funeral ceremonies, but also for pilgrimage, especially during holy days. Since both are special occasions with particular gestures to do it, the way TPU Tanah Kusir accommodate them matter. In this part, authors would try to explain how rituals toward death and the dead usually happen at TPU Tanah Kusir and how people recognize its landscape in enhancing sacredness.

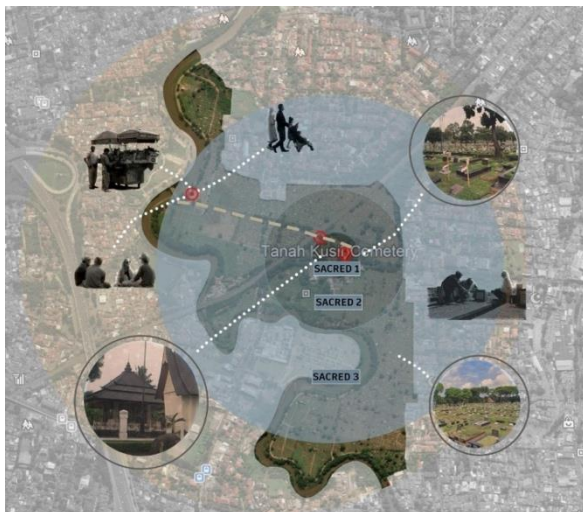
#### 3.1.1. Rituals toward death and the dead

Most death rituals contain cultural and religious values with particular provisions. Beliefs and culture affect ways of carrying out death rituals. Thus, death rituals are also diverse. Nonetheless, a cemetery accommodates these various rituals with common or generic tendency: as a burial place that respects the dead. A cemetery is a place that is considered have connection in between life and death. People come here to memorize, commemorate, and pray for the dead so that they can feel connected to the ancestors. It makes a cemetery recognized by common people as a sacred place where they can get values about life and death.

TPU Tanah Kusir also surely accommodated these rituals. Surrounded by residential areas, TPU Tanah Kusir had surrounding fences and vegetations for access control. Its main entrance only connected the main street, Jalan Bintaro Raya, to inside area. Meanwhile the other access was smaller and only accessible for pedestrians and (motor)bikes. At the main gate, the tomb of Mohammad

Hatta—a former vice president of Indonesia—were the main focus. It enhanced TPU Tanah Kusir’s significance.

One of rituals that usually happened at TPU Tanah Kusir was a funeral ceremony. It was usually conducted at a new burial unit or old burial that was reopened by the deceased’s family. TPU Tanah Kusir accommodated the rituals by preparing the burial unit and lending the tent. A temporary wood tomb marked the new burial and would be soon replaced by personal designed tomb. The relatives usually paid cleaning service to take care the burial afterward. It was also common to see pilgrims visited TPU Tanah Kusir during holy days. For example, when Ramadhan (month of fasting in Islam) or Eid-Al Fitr, many Muslims visited TPU Tanah Kusir to pray for their ancestors. The provision was simple and common: they wore clothing that cover their legs and foot, brought some flowers and scented water, and prayed for a while around the tombs. During these days, TPU Tanah Kusir was comparatively crowded.



**Figure 2.** Sacred Activities’ Spots at TPU Tanah Kusir

*3.1.2. People’s Cognition on TPU Tanah Kusir*

TPU Tanah Kusir was an open space that can be visited by everyone without any particular limitation. Thus, activities carried out within it were also diverse. In other words, sacredness was possibly blurry or distracted by other activities. To get a glimpse about it, authors gave questionnaires about people’s cognition on TPU Tanah Kusir to random 42 respondents who lived nearby.

There were also pathways to ease funeral processions from the main gate to the burial.

Majority of respondents said their aim to TPU Tanah Kusir were for pilgrimage and to attend funeral ceremonies (figure 3). While others answered that they came to sell something and mingling with friends. The numbers show that sacred activities are still inherent and dominant in TPU Tanah Kusir. Nonetheless, the banal or profane activities played important role too. As social interaction was crucial for both trading and mingling, TPU Tanah Kusir was also potential to “serve” the living to have a good leisure time and social relationship.

The questionnaires also showed respondents’ thought about TPU Tanah Kusir’s nuance (figure 4). Most of them answered TPU Tanah Kusir was crowded, especially in the afternoon or during holy days. Authors thought it was because of its strategic location. TPU Tanah Kusir was accessible for public. It made a nice place to mingle, especially when the sun is almost set. On contrary, calming and peaceful nuance usually occurred in regular days, especially at spots that was not close to the main gate and main entrance. At a certain point, this nuance helped increasing sacredness of TPU Tanah Kusir. A quiet void in the middle of urban hustle and bustle seemed enhance visitors’ devoutness.

Authors also asked about what features that reminded respondents about TPU Tanah Kusir. It seemed functions and physical features that related to death were still significant in TPU Tanah Kusir. Nonetheless, other answers were also interesting to be noted. Its strategic point can be both beneficial and adverse for TPU Tanah Kusir’s sacredness. Some respondents saw crowds and traffic jam as something that signified the public cemetery. They obviously are disadvantages for TPU Tanah Kusir in regard to maintain its sacredness. At the same time, spacious area, tidy layout, and cleanliness were positive points that authors noted for enhancing TPU Tanah Kusir’s significant feature, especially in emphasizing its sacredness.

Authors also thought elements of visual, acoustic, and activities were important to create a sense of sacredness. Even though TPU Tanah Kusir was crowded, it was still felt sacred because the activities that occurred mostly for pilgrimages or death rituals—activities that still respect the dead and the death. Meanwhile, external noise was not a big issue at the cemetery since the vegetations that surrounded the cemetery blocked traffic noise. Neither was internal noise. The crowd mostly did activities that did not need loud voice or sound. Moreover, rows of burials with various tombs on a great green open space gave a hiatus that emphasized the existence of death.

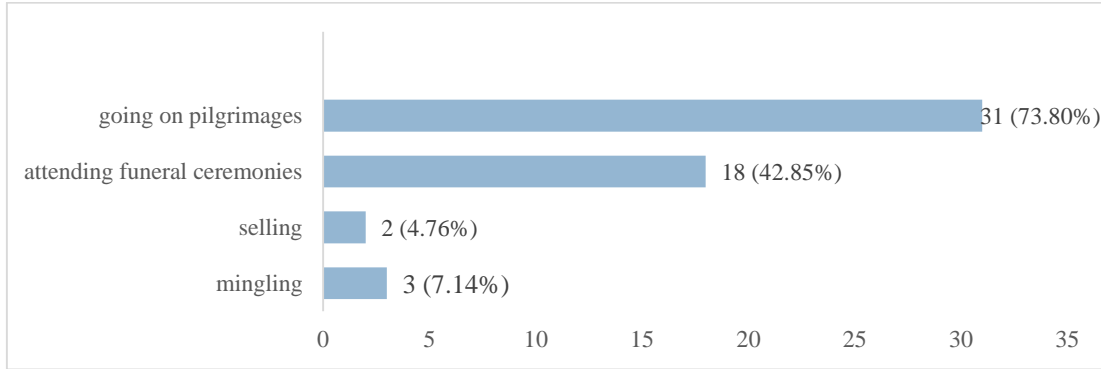


Figure 3. Respondents' Activities at TPU Tanah Kusir

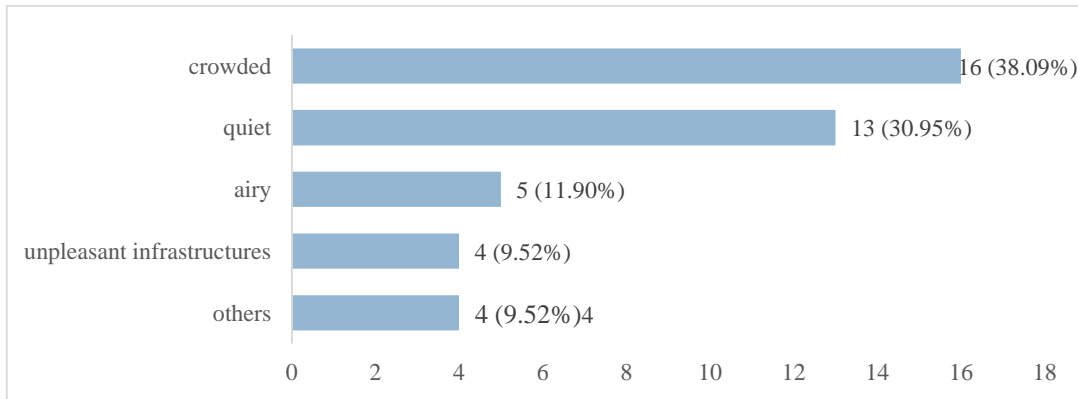


Figure 4. Nuances that Respondents Experienced at TPU Tanah Kusir

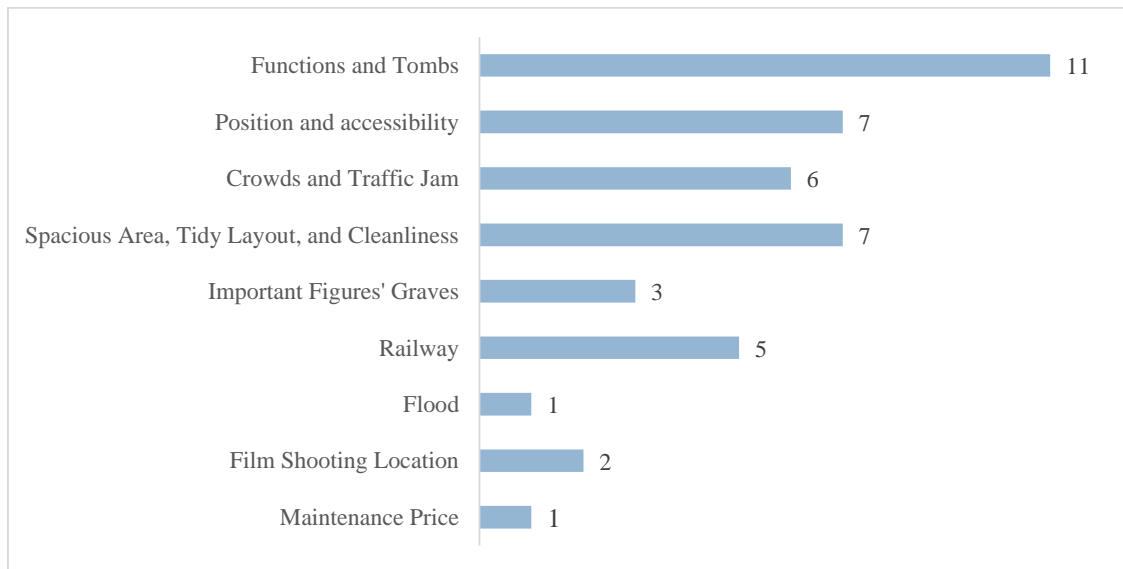


Figure 5. Significant Features of TPU Tanah Kusir, According to Respondents

### 3.2. Banality in TPU Tanah Kusir

TPU Tanah Kusir was located in the middle of other land functions. It was surrounded by settlements with various densities. With this surrounding environment, TPU Tanah Kusir was actually accessible not only from its main access but also from other smaller roads. Its accessibility made people easily use TPU Tanah Kusir for profane activities. It was a leak that created possibilities for banality.

#### 3.2.1. Activities in TPU Tanah Kusir and its

##### *Surrounding*

A cemetery becomes an important element in a city. It is a place that shows a different side of a hectic city activities. A cemetery has a lot of meaning and history of a city. Woodthorpe [11] mentioned that a funeral is a place where our inheritance is stored; where nature, art and learning can flourish; where visitors can meet each other either for grieving or having recreation. Furthermore, he explained that a cemetery is an open-air museum, a memory bank, and spiritual places. However, as a city also continuously grows and develops, overlapping needs occur. Land for burials rarely become a priority. Meanwhile the existing ones are also being used for other activities

TPU Tanah Kusir's main entrance was accessible for everyone and it directed every visitor to a parking lot with flower traders lining near its inner fences. Near the parking lot, there were Mohammad Hatta's grave with a distinct tomb and roof and an instant noodle stall. Both gave a paradoxical visual about values of a cemetery.

Connecting the parking lot to the burials area, some narrow roads—approximately 1 to 1.2 meters—crossed from one side to the others, divided TPU Tanah Kusir into several units. There was also a wider road—approximately 5 meters—cutting the area (figure 7). It was a road that connected TPU Tanah Kusir to Jalan Ulujami and settlements that surrounded the cemetery. This road was also accessible for bikes and pedestrians.

To illustrate TPU Tanah Kusir's position to its surrounding and its existing condition, authors made some section drawings. In section A illustration (figure 8), TPU Tanah Kusir was illustrated surrounded by bustling settlements. It shows its position near Jakarta Outer Ring Road—a

highway that connects South Jakarta to Depok, South Tangerang, and Tangerang City. This section drawing also illustrates the position of Kali Pesanggrahan—a river that separated TPU Tanah Kusir to other settlement.

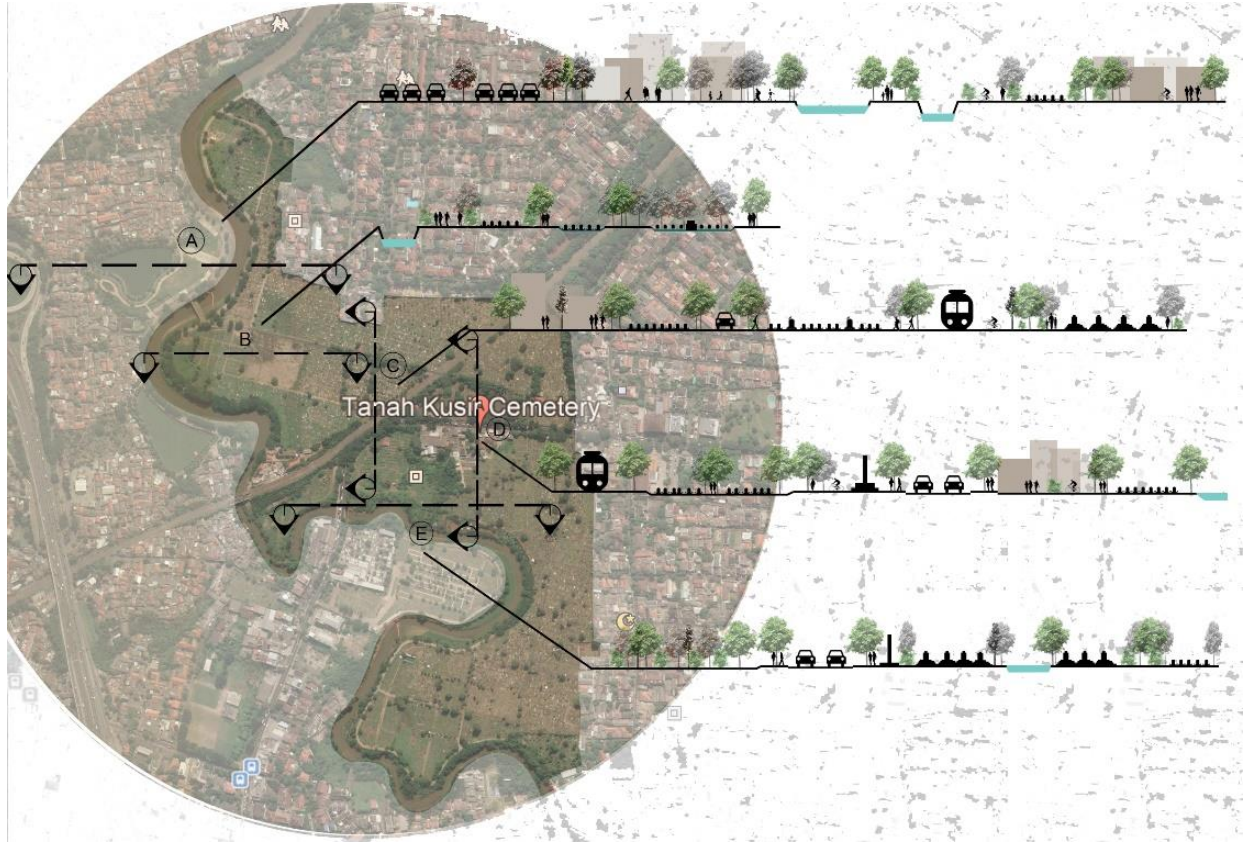
Section B illustration shows TPU Tanah Kusir's less prime access that was open for people, especially who lived nearby. Looking more specific on this area, the illustration also shows how shady TPU Tanah Kusir was due to trees and vegetations there. It gave visitors comfort. Even though it supported rituals and other sacred activities at TPU Tanah Kusir, its physical condition was still misused for profane activities. The cemetery had different contour heights. Some lower spots became a pool during rainy season. People nearby used it as fishing grounds, denying the fact that it was close by a resting place of the dead.



**Figure 6.** Left: Informal Vendor at TPU Tanah Kusir, Right: Fences as TPU Tanah Kusir's Boundary



**Figure 7.** Access to Jalan Ulujami



**Figure 8.** Section Drawings of TPU Tanah Kusir



**Figure 9.** Nearby Residents Fishing at Burial Area of TPU Tanah Kusir

One of the trickiest spots of TPU Tanah Kusir was shown in Section C illustration. It shows the road that divides the cemetery into north and south part. It also crossed the railway and was often used as a shortcut by people nearby

in order to avoid traffic jam close highway. Due to its “strategic” position, the road was often used as a place for profane activities. Some informal vendors use it for selling food and beverage. Other residents nearby even use it as a path to shepherd some cattle. Regarding this, authors also asked respondents via questionnaire. 55% of respondents agreed that the activities were not sacred but necessary for people’s needs. Informal vendors were considered important to serve the visitors when they needed food and beverage while doing pilgrimage. Meanwhile, cattle shepherd and fishing were considered beneficial for people nearby. Other 45% of respondents did not agree with the activities because it did not show respect toward the dead. Moreover, the crowd were considered as something that would be interrupt the rituals and the cemetery’s sacredness.

Regardless the controversial phenomenon that was shown in Section C illustration, TPU Tanah Kusir in general had neat layouts with clearly defined burial areas. The clear and well-ordered path enhanced comfort for visitors. Comparing to the road on Section C illustration, in this part the roads were narrower and only connected the burial areas.





Figure 10. Informal Vendors and Cattle at TPU Tanah Kusir



Figure 11. Burial Layout of TPU Tanah Kusir

#### 4. TPU TANAH KUSIR AS A HETEROTOPIA

From the examination of TPU Tanah Kusir that has been previously explained, authors found some significant findings:

1. Sacredness of TPU Tanah Kusir materialized with its neat tomb layout and spacious area. As it has previously mentioned, people recognized its openness and layout. Authors thought both are crucial in order to emphasize sacred experience.
2. Private realm occurred in each burial ground where people can do ritual with their own beliefs and interpretation. Meanwhile public realm occurred close by main entrance or road that was often used for alternative access.
3. As an enclave, TPU Tanah Kusir had particular boundaries: fences and natural elements. At the same time, each burial ground also emphasized its ownership. Not only the tombs were personally designed, visitors' behavior, gesture, and clothing also showed the burials' importance for each relative.
4. TPU Tanah Kusir also contained amateurs that connected it to its surrounding. It was problematic because many profane activities occurred on one of the access. Authors assumed that easy access enhanced the banality or possibility of diverse profane activities—whether it is respectful to the dead or not. It is also possible that the design of gate plays important role to control certain activities. Nonetheless the profane activities also revealed what visitors and people needed: an open public space for social and economic interactions. though TPU Tanah Kusir's boundary was designed to control the access, its accessibility
5. Combinations of enclave and amateurs in TPU Tanah Kusir somehow created paradox. Even

intensified its openness. It also created chances of functional and spatial transformations, following what people need and desire.

These five findings reflect what Foucault had conceptualized. TPU Tanah Kusir is a heterotopia where private-public realm mixture emerged. It was distinguished by its boundary and void but also containing possibilities to transform. As a heterotopia, TPU Tanah Kusir existed in a way to balance its surrounding densities; to give a more livable nuance in a hustle and bustle of South Jakarta.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Burial is a dynamic space filled with conflicting assumptions, activities, and perspectives [11]. The cemetery at present has a broad function, not only as a mourning room but also the existence of a funeral can also be an activity room that is adjacent to daily life. TPU Tanah Kusir's heterotopic site reflected Hockey's statement. It was not static and easily transformed as urban context also changes.

Answering this research questions, authors found that ownership matters to define the boundary. Although TPU Tanah Kusir in general is a public space, sacredness occur in more private space: in the tomb that looks properly cared, showing that someone owning that. In other words, TPU Tanah Kusir maintains its sacredness by emphasizing ownership towards neat layout and possibility to personalize the burial grounds. At the same time TPU Tanah Kusir's accessibility intensify social interactions. It responds inevitable banal activities by letting nearby people or residents using the access and its surrounding area. In conclusion, TPU Tanah Kusir, in between life and death, is an open space that responds nearby people or community needs. Although authors personally thought that What authors have found are still preliminary. In order to respond the urgency of burial grounds or cemeteries planning, further research, especially about regulations, actor's relation and behavior, is crucial.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Authors wishing to acknowledge Minister of Education and Culture (Minister of Research and Higher Education) for the financial support of this research. Authors would also express special

thanks to colleagues in Architecture Department of Universitas Pembangunan Jaya for the encouragements and to organizing committee of iDwell 2020 for the supports and facilities.

## REFERENCES

- [1] Sari N 2018 *Jakarta Terancam Krisis Lahan Makam 1.5 Tahun Lagi* Retrieved from <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2018/07/10/11054081/jakarta-terancam-krisis-lahan-makam-15-tahun-lagi?page=2>
- [2] Salmon C 2016 From Cemeteries to Luxurious Memorial Parks With Special Reference to Malaysia and Indonesia *Archipel* **92** pp 177-212
- [3] De Sousa A 2015 *Death in the City: What Happens When All Our Cemeteries are Full* Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/jan/21/death-in-the-city-what-happens-cemeteries-full-cost-dying>
- [4] Rugg J 2010 *Mortality: Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying* (London: Routledge) p 259-275
- [5] Ashton J 2019 *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine Vol. 112* (7) p 313-315
- [6] Harvey T 2006 *The Geographical Review* **96** (2) p 295-312
- [7] Carmona M Heath T Oc T Tiesdell S 2003 *Public Places, Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design* **106**
- [8] Foucault M 1984 *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité* ("Des Escape Autres" translated from the French by Jay Miskowiec)
- [9] Shane D G 2005 *Recombinant Urbanism: Conceptual Modeling in Architecture, Urban Design and City Theory* **231-2**
- [10] Rosmana T 2009 *Persepsi Peziarah pada Makam Keramat Leluhur Sumedang* **243**
- [11] Hockey J Komaromy C Woodthorpe K 2010 *The Matter of Death: Space, Place and Materiality* **117**