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The housing mobility, preferences and satisfaction of low-income renters in Kampung Cikini, Jakarta

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Abstract
This study aims to understand the reasons for housing mobility, preferences, satisfaction and the pivotal determinants for the housing choices of renters in slum settlements. The lack of affordable housing brings rental housing in slum settlements as the second dominant type of homeownership in Jakarta, despite its poor physical condition. This study is located in Kampung Cikini, a high-density Kampung settlement in the municipality with significant decreasing population growth. It employs a case study research method. The renters in Kampung settlement must not be stereotyped as low-income who fail to obtain homeownership, as some of them are homeowners who rent for several reasons. The reasons for housing mobility are determined by their life-course event, while selecting the location and quality of rental rooms designated to increase the savings/remittance by compromising physical and psychological comfort. This study demonstrates that housing satisfaction is achieved by changing the idealised to realistic housing preferences by selecting the prioritised and compromised cultural norms.

Keywords
Housing mobility, Jakarta, Kampung settlement, Preferences, Satisfaction.

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1. Introduction

Massive urbanisation, poor governance and lack of affordable housing are the perfect combination for accelerating the housing backlog in Indonesia at an alarming pace (World Bank, 2016). As the affordable housing provision is helplessly outpaced by the surmounting housing needs, the Indonesia Habitat Team (2016) appeals to the government for support to enhance the special role of the Kampung settlements, the dominant affordable housing provision, while still delivering the limited amount of social housing and lenient housing credit to the low-income population.

Consequently, rental housing emerges as the plausible option for the low-income in the proliferating Kampung settlements in Indonesian metropolitan cities, especially Jakarta as the capital city. The rental rooms in the slum settlements offer affordable accommodations for the low-income, who work in the formal sector (Naik, 2015). The practice of rental housing provision in the substandard settlements has been scrutinised globally, from the room provision system (UN-Habitat, 2011) and the relationship of tenants-landlords (Kumar, 1996, 2001; Sinha, 2014).

A worldwide study by UN-Habitat (2011) shows that rental housing proliferates more in metropolitan cities than in smaller cities. A classic study by Hoffman et al. (1991) shows the rental housing is an essential part of housing in Indonesian cities, especially for the low-income. It also reveals the resiliency of Kampung residents to cope with the adversity in their everyday life (Renschler et al., 2010 in Shirleyana et al., 2018). According to the mapping by SAPOLA (2010), rental housing is the second major homeownership in the slum settlements of Jakarta province, as shown in Table-1. Therefore, it holds a prominent role for the low-income segment in metropolitan cities, including the Indonesian capital.

In Global North, studies on rental housing centre on the supply and management side (Crook & Kemp, 2014; Peppercorn & Triffin, 2013; Haffner & Boumeester, 2014; Tually et al., 2015). For the low-income segment, social housing is a type of rental housing managed by the government or private sectors (Oxley et al., 2011). In Global South, private rental housing by petty landlords plays a pivotal role in affordable housing for the low-income (Gilbert et al., 1997; Parnell, 1991) segment and provides additional income to petty landlords (UN-Habitat, 2011).

According to Ballesteros (2004), renting rooms provides a supplemental income for the owners, who oversee the housing quality for the renters. Although the rental rooms are occasionally in a poor condition, a study by Mahadevia and Gogoi (2011) demonstrates that renters opt to rent a room or a house according to their level of income, which implicitly describes their endurance to cope with the depleted housing situations.

Selected rental housing, for most low-income renters in the degraded neighbourhood, do not depend on the quality of physical feature, but the social networks and migration strategies, according to Naik (2015). UN-Habitat (2011) explains several reasons for living in the rent rooms, such as mobility to move to better employment, freedom to manage their household but lack of financial resources for homeownership and remittance. Therefore, low-income renters in slum settlements manage to cope with housing dissatisfaction, which in several prior global studies leads to housing mobility.

Table 1. *Amount of rental housing in slum settlements in Jakarta Province (Source: Sapola, 2010).*

Housing Ownership	Slum typology according to the location				Total (%)
	Riverbank (%)	Railway (%)	Coastal (%)	Other (%)	
Privately owned	38.10	42.70	47.40	22.90	38.50
Family owned	26.60	20.50	26.30	34.30	26.10
Rental	31.10	31.60	13.20	42.90	30.90
Not paying rent	3.80	5.10	10.50	-	4.10
Others	.40	-	2.60	-	.40

Unfortunately, global studies on the private rented sectors concentrate on the numbers of renter populations (Hulse & Yates, 2017), the policy of rental housing (Power, 2017) and the perceptions of landlords toward tenants (Cheshire et al., 2010). The reasons for remaining in the disadvantaged neighbourhood despite housing satisfaction are also less investigated (Posthumus et al., 2013).

Sinai (2001) notes the limited number of studies on low-income housing mobility for the low-income in the Global South, especially among low-income renters. Most studies in Indonesia focus on problem identification such as arrears (Ramadhani et al., 2014) and building management (Nurdini & Harun, 2011) in low-income social housing, the spatial transformation of the house that provides room for rent (Wulandari & Mori, 2014), or its management (Nelson, 1989). Only limited studies have been done on the housing satisfaction of the low-income, who tend to live in social housing (Setiadi, 2014), or the Kampung settlements (Manaf et al., 2018). The first identifies the housing dissatisfaction caused by poor building management, while the second exposes the social neighbourhood as the major determinant of housing satisfaction. However, both studies limit their investigation on the identification of housing satisfaction and lack critical inquiry on the relationships between the socio-demographic conditions of the tenants with their housing preferences. This partiality fails to provide a comprehensive understanding of the reasons for rent, housing preferences and satisfaction of the low-incomes towards their rental rooms.

This study aims to understand the reasons for housing mobility, preferences, satisfaction and the pivotal determinants for housing choice of the renters in slum settlements, which have not been examined thoroughly especially in Indonesia. Housing and built environment are vital to enhancing physical, mental and social well-being (Petticrew et al., 2009; WHO, 2008). The surmounting density, insecure housing structure and crime implicate the psychological issues of low-income individuals and households (Johnson et al., 2009; Easthope & Judd, 2010). Involuntary housing mobility also poses the psychological stress of living in an unfamiliar neighbourhood with dismantled social networks (Cao et al., 2012; Keene & Ruel, 2012). Therefore, providing suitable rental housing options to renters is important to improve their well-being.

This study consists of two parts. The first part is the investigation into the reasons for housing mobility and preferences of the renters to select Kampung Cikini as the select neighbourhood. It connects the renters' socio-demographic characteristics to their reasons for housing mobility and preferences towards the depleted housing situations of the select rent rooms. The second part analyses the relationship between housing satisfaction, according to cultural norms, with the socio-demographic conditions of the renters. It complements the explanations of housing mobility and renter preferences to select rental rooms in slum settlements. The result contributes to the improvement of the social housing provision system in Indonesia in accommodating the housing preferences and satisfaction of the renters in Indonesia.

2. Literature review

2.1. Housing preferences, satisfaction and mobility

Housing preferences are defined as actual transformations of general goals in a certain period of the individuals' or households' lives (Özüekren & van Kempen, 2003). On the other hand, Jansen et al. (2011) redefine it as the individual's or household's expression of attractiveness to housing that guides for housing choice. However, they notify that housing preferences do not necessarily represent the housing choice, because the first is relatively unconstrained, while the second depends on the market conditions, the availability of housing, regulations and several other determinants. Nevertheless, the study of housing preferences aims to know and understand the preferred housing attributes of the individuals or households, which are useful to reduce the mismatch between the provided

housing with future residents.

In the last millennium, studies of housing preferences and choices concentrated on family characteristics and structure (Kain & Quigley, 1974). Studies on housing preferences and satisfaction initially concentrated on the quality of physical features to purchase a house, such as number of bedrooms, size, kitchen location (Raja et al., 2010), type of structure (Parkes et al., 2002), comfort, quality of the building, housing plan and size of the house (Türkoğlu, 1997).

However, many studies encourage calculating the impact of user socio-demographics rather than the physical features of housing and neighbourhood (Clark & Lisowski, 2017; Druta & Ronald, 2017; Koppe, 2017; Smetcoren et al., 2017; Tomaszewski et al., 2017). Several studies indicate that marital status, monthly income and parental support are significant factors in determining housing preferences (Wang & Otsuki, 2015; Tian et al., 2017; Wyatt, 2018; Zhou & Musterd, 2018). Housing preferences become the source of an individual's or household's assessment of their housing satisfaction.

Housing satisfaction corresponds to the individual's appraisal of the current housing conditions according to their needs and preferences (Tan et al., 2016). If they accommodate them, then housing satisfaction is achieved (Mohit & Raja, 2014). However, the residents remain satisfied with the unmet needs and aspirations, through several strategies, such as housing mobility, housing adjustment and individual adjustment, according to Permentier et al. (2011). They admit the first and second strategies demand sufficient financial resources, which leaves the third option, most of the time, for the low-income. In reality, most of the residents reduce their idealised to realistic aspirations to overcome the housing dissatisfaction (Jansen, 2013).

However, housing satisfaction does not depend on the existing quality of the physical features and neighbourhood but also on socio-demographic conditions, such as level of education (Ibem & Aduwo, 2013), age (Chapman & Lombard, 2006), monthly income (Mohit & Raja, 2014), size of household (Mohit & Azim, 2012), types of employment (Ibem & Aduwo, 2013) and the potential to form productive and positive social networks (Mohit & Raja, 2014). If individuals or households fail to achieve housing satisfaction, they start to think of housing mobility.

Morris and Winter (1975) argued that individuals or households assess their housing attributes on the basis of cultural norms. Housing satisfaction is achieved when the first meets the second, whereas the contrary happens when both fail to meet. When the second occurs, Morris et al. (1976) predict the individuals and households start to think of housing mobility. Therefore, housing mobility occurs when housing preferences fail to be accommodated by housing attributes.

Studies on housing mobility are rooted in the classic work of Rossi (1955), who explains why a family moves from one home to another. They conducted various studies concern on the compatibility of housing attributes to household life-course events (Mulder & Lauster, 2010; De Groot et al., 2011; Clark, 2013). Many studies listed several life-course events ranging from entering employment, marriage, parenthood, better employment opportunities, divorce, domestic violence, eviction, or entering unemployment (Scanlon & Devine, 2001; DiPrete, 2002). According to Mulder (1996), housing attributes are a sheaf comprising the house size, type, price, location and tenure, which influence housing preferences and choice of the individuals or households.

Morris et al. (1976) define housing mobility as occurred move of individuals or households from one house to another due to the changing needs, employment, education or family structure. The availability and accessibility of neighbourhood amenities, education facilities, employment opportunities and sufficient house size contribute to the change in housing needs (McAuley & Nutty, 1982). Crowder (2001) identifies that the changing of family members may be a factor, but the decision to move ultimately depends on the relationship among the family members. It may also change the need to access the surrounding neighbourhood or public

amenities to meet the needs of all the family members (Fincher & Iveson, 2008). Therefore, the occurrence of housing mobility depends on the desire to move, reasons for housing mobility and support among household members (Scanlon & Devine, 2001). Housing mobility, then, is redefined as a process of adjustment by household to improve their housing situation.

One of the central concepts in housing mobility is housing career. Kendig (1984) developed the concept of housing career centres on the linear life-course transitions. These include entering employment, marriage, divorce and parenthood, which relates to the improvement of housing tenure and size. Pickles and Davies (1991) define it as the sequence of occupied dwellings by an individual or household during its history. It closely relates to housing preferences and decision-making that relate to life-course events with home-ownership is the ultimate goal (Beer et al., 2006). It depends on the financial capacity of individuals or households to obtain homeownership after entering marriage by paying a mortgage from stable employment. From stable employment, individuals have improved housing options (Lu, 2002), financial capacity (Krieg, 1997) and subjective well-being (Melzer, 2011).

However, this concept harvests critique. Several authors identify unfortunate reasons for housing mobility. Coulton et al. (2009) argue housing mobility also represents instability and insecurity of the individuals or households because of the problem with the prior landlords, failure to pay mortgages or current housing situations. Atkinson et al. (2011) assess housing mobility can be employed by the voluntary or forced move, which is pivotal to understand it is for improvement or aggravation of the individuals' or households' well-being. Clark (2013) questions the concept because many households fail to sustain employment and financial stability because of the ever-changing life-course events. Therefore, housing mobility does not necessarily represent the well-being improvement of the individuals or households, but also their adversities.

Clapham (2002, 2005) introduces the concept of housing pathways, defined as the patterns of interaction between the individual or households with the inhabited house over time and space. This concept does not associate the housing mobility with the improvement or the aggravation of the individuals or households to cope with the current and obtain better or worse housing attributes, according to their life-course events and socio-demographic conditions.

This review of the literature indicates that housing preferences, satisfaction and reasons for mobility vary in different cities, types of buildings and users depend on the socio-demographic conditions of tenants in their life-course events, which are examined in this study.

2.2. Types of renter

Bentzinger & Cook (2012) coined four housing tenure trajectories. They include continuous renter, owner to the renter, renter to the owner and continuous owner. These denominations show the volatility of housing tenure, especially among the low-income. This volatility is also determined by socio-demographic conditions, such as age (Haurin et al., 2007), types of employment (Gottlieb & Joseph, 2006), sufficient income (Galster & Turner, 2017), marital status (Cortes et al., 2007) and the number of children (Carasso et al., 2005). These are the identified socio-demographic factors for housing mobility.

However, several authors introduce different types of renter-owners, referring to the homeowners of affordable housing in the suburbs and opt to rent in the inner-city to accommodate their lifestyle. Burke et al. (2014) identify the purchased housing in the suburbs is designated as an investment for this type of homeowner. Nonetheless, other motives are identified, such as accommodating the separate lives of intimate couples because of the different locations of the workplace (Reimondos et al., 2011), minimising the commute time and costs from and to the workplace (Stone et al., 2013) and earning dual-income from the invested housing (Lennartz et al., 2016). Several global studies identify similar indications,

such as South Korea (Kim & Jeon, 2012) and the U.S. (Seay et al., 2013). This symptom explicitly explains that low-income renters do not necessarily lack homeownership but are probably homeowners with several reasons for renting in the inner-city.

3. Methodology

3.1. Study location

According to Wilhelm (2011), around 60–70% of Jakarta residents live in a Kampung settlement. While Table-1 signifies Kampung (or slum) settlements are the fertile ground for rental houses, as a housing solution for the low-income migrants, which is rarely studied in Indonesia for their housing mobility and preferences.

In their thorough investigation of several Kampungs in Surabaya (East Java), Funo et al. (2002) explain the distinctive character of Kampung with slum settlement, despite their interchangeable use in many studies. According to them, the term Kampung derives from 'compound' in English, which corresponds to the autonomous ethnic-based settlement. Several studies illustrate Kampung settlement as the housing for natives during the Dutch Colonial era. Relations deteriorated later due to massive urbanisation to reach the similar quality of slum settlement, such as lack of tenure security, irregular pattern of housing and neighbourhood, also poor housing and infrastructure quality (Tunas & Peresthu, 2010; Widjaja, 2013). Although it has been demonized as the pool of poverty, Kampung settlement is a living space heterogeneous social classes in reality (Obermayr, 2017) with strong social ties among the residents (Rolalisasi et al., 2013).

Kampung Cikini (Central Jakarta) was selected as the study location. Its steady population growth is contradictory to the declining population growth over a decade in Menteng district and Central Jakarta municipality, where it is located (Adianto, 2017). Several studies in Kampung Cikini (Adianto & Gabe, 2019; Devina et al., 2019) show it is a fertile ground for home-based enterprises, including rental rooms, due to its strategic location surrounded by commercial activities, public amenities, a general hospital, universities and public transportation facilities.

3.2. Research method

The goal of our case study research is to understand the reasons for housing mobility, preferences and satisfaction, as an issue in real-life settings (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 2014). This type of research allows the employment of both quantitative and qualitative methods to provide a comprehensive understanding of the observed phenomena, as mentioned by Merriam (2009).

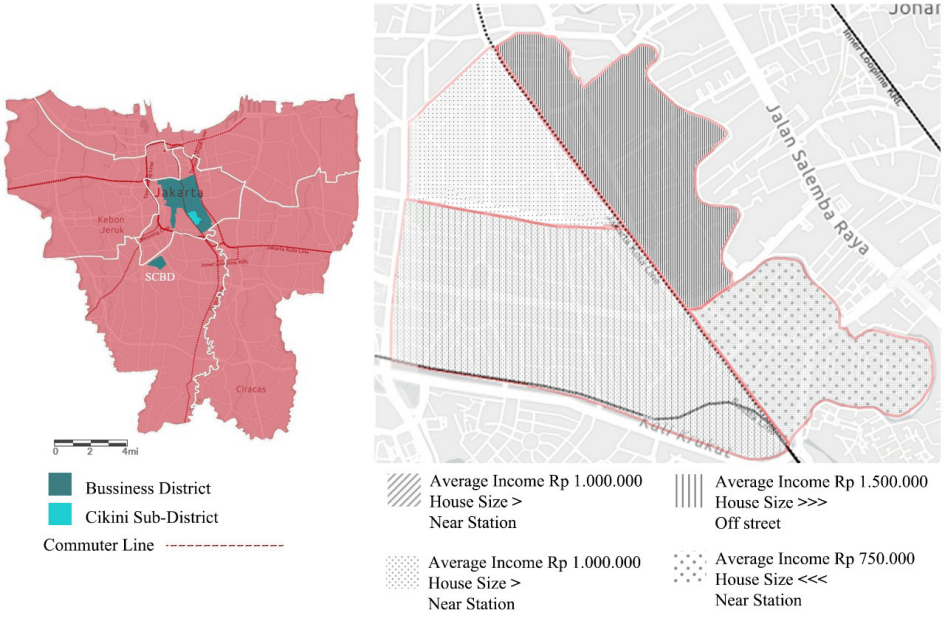

Figure 1. *Map of Jakarta (left) and the research location (right).*

The number of renters in this settlement is unclear because the rent due date depends on the tenants' agreement with the owners (daily, monthly, yearly). Most of the time, they hold their activities outside the rental rooms at uncertain times, which implicates the duration of primary data collection. Therefore, identifying the houses with rent rooms and the number of rent rooms in each house are performed to obtain the total number of rent rooms in the study locations. According to observations, there are 469 rent rooms in 143 houses, occupied by 399 renters. All the owners help to make an appointment with the renters and deliver their agreement to participate in this study, which results in 202 respondents participated in this study, which surpasses the minimum requirement according to the Slovin formula for obtaining a 95% confidential ratio (> 196 minimum respondents).

This study starts with data collection of the socio-demographic conditions of respondents, comprising age, sex, types of employment, monthly income, location of the prior home, homeownership in the prior location, marital status, living costs, savings/remittance and monthly rental fee. The physical measurement of housing and visual documentation is collected to obtain house and room size, the availability of utilities, such as air conditioner, individual bathroom, washing machine and the internet, attributes that influence housing satisfaction. However, due to respondents' requests, no visual documentation will be displayed in this publication for privacy reasons.

The investigation into the reasons for housing mobility and the selection of rental rooms is delivered by qualitative content analysis, with open-ended questions as in a questionnaire, observations and visual documentation (Krippendorff, 2004). Codification, categorisation and tabularisation are delivered to combine the quantification with a qualitative approach (Berg, 2001; Krippendorff, 2004).

The examination of housing satisfaction uses the quantitative method. Morris & Winter (1975, 1978) introduce the cultural housing norms which influence housing satisfaction, such as tenure, type of structure, space, location, expenditure and neighbourhood norms. The tenure and type of structure norms are excluded from this study, as all the respondents are renting in detached housing. Data collection is conducted by questionnaire with the 5-point Likert scale, in which several studies have higher reliability (Nadler et al., 2015) and are easier for the respondents to answer than other scales (Melanie et al., 2014). Linear regression is used to identify the prominent factors of housing satisfaction, according to the socio-demographic conditions and cultural norms of the respondents.

4. Findings

4.1. Reasons for housing mobility of the renters in Kampung Cikini

Most of the respondents rent a room for the first time to find employment (51.98%). Its strategic location in the centre of the capital is close to a public transportation facility, amenities and provide suitable access to various kinds of employment. Some respondents decide to move out from their existing neighbourhoods to live in a better neighbourhood (39.11%). Frequent hazards, such as floods or high crime rate ignite housing mobility in search of a safer and more secure environment. Fleeing from home (4.95%) becomes another reason to move, because of the marriage separation or escape from problems in the home. Starting a new life, marriage, or entering adulthood (3.96%) are more reasons for moving out from their houses, as it offers various challenges for adapting to the respondents' new chapter of life. These results shows that the life-course pathway is the major reason for housing mobility, as mentioned by Clapham (2005). These include finding employment opportunities, a seeking a secure and safe neighbourhood, also changing marital status.

Table-2 displays the proximity to workplace or employment opportunities (42.57%). This is often the main consideration for selecting Kampung Cikini as the destination. It relates to the prior finding, that most of the respondents perform housing mobility to find employment, and Kampung Cikini offers various opportunities with

its location in the centre of the capital. However, close to kin (36.63%) is a pivotal consideration to select Kampung Cikini as their housing mobility's destination, which is higher than proximity to the public amenities (20.79%). Living close to kin provides a sense of physical, psychological and financial security for renters during their adaptation to living in the new neighbourhood, especially for first-time migrants. Kin also becomes the source of information regarding employment opportunities and frequently the employment provider, for those who work in the informal sector as the home-based enterprise operators, or daily labourers. This finding solidifies the reason for housing mobility and selecting the rental rooms. Renters seek a better life through better employment and understand that physical, psychological and financial security may results through the enduring process of adaptation to living in a new neighbourhood. Living in proximity to the public amenities provides access for meeting their basic needs, such as market, station, school, among others, to minimise the time consumption and expenditures.

Regarding gender, male respondents (58.42%) participated more than their female counterparts (41.58%). In this category, most male (55.93%) and female (46.43%) respondents move from their prior home to find employment. Most respondents in both categories, male (43.22%) and female (41.67%), select Kampung Cikini for its strategic location to the various employment opportunities. Both male (39.83%) and female (38.10%) respondents consider a better neighbourhood to provide their physical and psychological security as the second major reason for moving out from the prior home. For those who flee from home, the numbers for male (3.39%) are lower than those for female (7.14%). As far as starting a new life as the reason for housing mobility, the female numbers (8.33%) are higher than the males (0.85%). It shows the rate of female respondents for housing mobility as renters because of personal issues, entering adulthood or marriage, is relatively higher than their male counterparts.

Living close to kin also becomes the preferable option for some male (35.59%) and female respondents (38.10%) for finding rental rooms in Kampung Cikini. Living in proximity to public amenities is the lowest reason for males (21.19%) and female (20.24%) respondents to select Kampung Cikini. It also supports the aforementioned finding that the available support for physical, psychological and financial aid from kin for adapting to the new life in the new neighbourhood is more significant for renters than the access to the public amenities.

Most of the participants (90.10%) are categorised as young adult (21–45 years old), followed by adult (9.90%) of the age 46–65 years old. The finding in this category shows a similar characteristic as far as gender is concerned. Finding employment is the dominant reason for housing mobility, both in the 21–45 years old age group (51.65%) and in the 46–65 year old age group (55.00%). A better neighbourhood quality, such as low hazard risks or crime rate, is preferable for those whose 21–45 years old (40.11%) and 46–65 years old (30.00%). Flee from home, as the reason for housing mobility, is experienced by the respondents with the age of 21–45 years old (3.85%) and 46–65 years old (15.00%). While starting a new life is only reasoned by the respondents at the age of 21–45 years old (4.40%).

Most respondents in the age category select Kampung Cikini because of its proximity to the employment opportunities (42.57%), followed by close to kin (36.63%) and public amenities (20.79%). This composition of reasons is shared by respondents 21–45 years old, but is different from those whose age is 46–65 years old. Proximity to the workplace/employment opportunities remain the dominant reason (50.00%), followed by proximity to public amenities (30.00%) and close to kin (20.00%). It seems the maturity and independence to cope with the adapting to living in the new neighbourhood grows with the age.

This assumption is supported by the finding in the marital status category. Most of the participated respondents are married (64.36%), followed by a single (26.73%) and divorced (8.91%). This demographic category poses a different finding from others, as finding employ-

Table 2. *Reasons for housing mobility and selecting Kampung Cikini according to socio-demographic categories.*

Demographic categories		Reasons for housing mobility	Reasons for selecting Cikini			Total	
			Close to workplace	Close to amenities	Close to kin	(n)	(%)
Sex	Female	Better neighborhood	1	12	19	***32***	***38.10***
		Finding employment	26	-	13	***39***	***46.43***
		Flee from home	4	2	-	***6***	***7.14***
		Start a new life	4	3	-	***7***	***8.33***
		(n)	***35***	***17***	***32***	***84***	***41.58***
		(%)	***41.67***	***20.24***	***38.10***		
	Male	Better neighborhood	3	23	21	***47***	***39.83***
		Finding employment	45	-	21	***66***	***55.93***
		Flee from home	2	2	-	***4***	***3.39***
		Start a new life	1	-	-	***1***	***0.85***
		(n)	***51***	***25***	***42***	***118***	***58.42***
		(%)	***43.22***	***21.19***	***35.59***		
	Total	***(n)***	***86***	***42***	***74***	***202***	
		(%)	***42.57***	***20.79***	***36.63***		
Marital status	Single	Better neighborhood	4	12	12	***28***	***51.85***
		Finding employment	16	-	10	***26***	***48.15***
		(n)	***20***	***12***	***22***	***54***	***26.73***
		(%)	***37.04***	***22.22***	***40.74***		
	Married	Better neighborhood	-	23	28	***51***	***39.23***
		Finding employment	55	-	24	***79***	***60.77***
		(n)	***55***	***23***	***52***	***130***	***64.36***
		(%)	***42.31***	***17.69***	***40.00***		
	Divorced	Flee from home	6	4	-	***10***	***55.56***
		Start a new life	5	3	-	***8***	***44.44***
		(n)	***11***	***7***	***-***	***18***	***8.91***
		(%)	***61.11***	***38.89***	***0.00***		
	Total	***(n)***	***86***	***42***	***74***	***202***	
		(%)	***42.57***	***20.79***	***36.63***		
Age (yrs.)	21-45	Better neighborhood	4	30	39	***73***	***40.11***
		Finding employment	63	-	31	***94***	***51.65***
		Flee from home	4	3	-	***7***	***3.85***
		Start a new life	5	3	-	***8***	***4.40***
		(n)	***76***	***36***	***70***	***182***	***90.10***
		(%)	***41.76***	***19.78***	***38.46***		
	46-65	Better neighborhood	-	5	1	***6***	***30.00***
		Finding employment	8	-	3	***11***	***55.00***
		Flee from home	2	1	-	***3***	***15.00***
		(n)	***10***	***6***	***4***	***20***	***9.90***
		(%)	***50.00***	***30.00***	***20.00***		
	Total	***(n)***	***86***	***42***	***74***	***202***	
		(%)	***42.57***	***20.79***	***36.63***		
Reasons to move		Better neighborhood	4	35	40	***79***	***39.11***
		Finding employment	71	-	34	***105***	***51.98***
		Flee from home	6	4	-	***10***	***4.95***
		Start a new life	5	3	-	***8***	***3.96***

ment and better neighbourhood are the only reasons for housing mobility in the single and married categories. Fleeing from home to start a new life are the dominant reasons for housing mobility by the divorced category. It shows that divorced respondents experience personal issues after separation and housing mobility is the effort of detachment from their previous life.

For married respondents, securing employment (60.77%) is a more popular reason for housing mobility than better neighbourhoods (39.23%). With a family to feed, securing employment with sufficient income is understandable as the major consideration. However, the search for employment in a single category is contradictory, as finding a better neighbourhood (51.85%) is more dominant than employment (48.15%). It is understandable because single respondents do not have an obligation as the breadwinners of their families and

prioritise their individual, physical and psychological security alone.

This finding is supported by their reasons for selecting Kampung Cikini. Generally, proximity to the workplace (42.57%) is a major consideration, followed by close to kin (36.63%) and public amenities (20.79%). However, for the single respondents, living close to kin (40.74%) is the dominant reason, followed by the proximity to workplace/employment opportunities (37.04%) and public amenities (22.22%). It demonstrates the single respondents prioritisation of the fulfilment of physical, psychological and potentially financial security from their kin, then finding employment.

This condition is contradictory with the married respondents, who prioritise the proximity to the workplace (42.31%) then close to kin (40.00%) or public amenities (17.69%). While none of the divorced respondents select Kampung Cikini to live close to their kin. Most of them select this Kampung settlement for its proximity to their workplace or new employment opportunities (61.11%) and public amenities (38.89%). It supports the aforementioned assumption that housing mobility by divorced respondents is designated to detach from their previous life, and start a new life elsewhere.

This finding depicts that life-course event implicates housing mobility and choice for the renters, and it designates to provide a physical, psychological and financial improvement. However, it contradicts the argument of several authors (Lu, 2002; Krieg, 1997; Melzer, 2011), who believe housing mobility occurs because of livelihood improvements, such as better employment or monthly income. Simultaneously, it confirms the argument of several authors (Coulton et al., 2009; Atkinson et al., 2011; Clark, 2013) who pose housing mobility also represent the aggravations of the individuals or households well-being, such as fleeing the prior home because of separation of marriage. Therefore, there are various driving factors of the housing mobility, which depend on the experienced life-course events of the specific context of the socio-demographic caharcteristics of the population in the particular location.

Most respondents are homeowners elsewhere (73.27%), which indicates the most renters are not those who fail to obtain homeownership, like in many studies (UN-Habitat, 2011; Naik, 2015). Most renters come from different provinces (40.10%), a municipality (35.64%), a district (18.81%) and even a subdistrict (5.45%). Most respondents work as private employees (%), followed by self-employed (35.64%), civil servants (11.88%) and daily labourers (11.88%). Most respondents still earn a monthly income less than the minimum wage standard (54.46%), followed by IDR 4.5–7 million (36.14%) and more than IDR 7 million (9.41%).

Most respondents who originate from a different province participate in the formal sector, such as private employees (45.68%) and civil servants (12.35%), while some respondents participate in the informal sector, such as self-employed (34.57%) and daily labourers (7.41%). Surprisingly, most respondents who work as daily labourers (50.00%), manage to earn higher than IDR 7 million. Most respondents working as civil servants (70.00%) earn slightly higher than the minimum wage, while most respondents who work as private employees (64.86%) and are self-employed (57.14%) earn lower than IDR 4.5 million. A similar composition is obtained by those who originate from different districts and municipalities. Those who originate from different subdistricts also display a similar finding, as the average monthly income of daily labourers is more than most respondents who work as private employees and are self-employed.

This finding shows that the further the original home of the renters, who work as civil servants and daily labours, they will earn higher monthly income than private employees and self-employed. The employment structure may play a pivotal role in the composition of monthly income. Civil servants are always in the official placement rotation in their career ladders and selecting to rent in Kampung Cikini minimises the commuting time and costs to the workplace. Daily labourers, such as construction workers, are hired to work in a construction project with the consented contract with the employer. The distance

Table 3. *Homeownership in previous location according to the location of the previous home, type of employment and monthly income.*

Location of prior home	Types of employment	Monthly income (IDR million)	Homeownership		Total	
			Yes	No	(n)	(%)
Different subdistrict	Private employee	< 4.5	5	2	***7***	***87.50***
		> 7	1	-	***1***	***12.50***
		(n)	***6***	***2***	***8***	***72.73***
		(%)	***75.00***	***25.00***		
	Self-employed	< 4.5	2	-	***2***	***100.00***
		(n)	***2***	***-***	***2***	***18.18***
		(%)	***100.00***	***0.00***		
	Daily labor	4.5-7	1	-	***1***	***100.00***
		(n)	***1***	***-***	***1***	***9.09***
		(%)	***100.00***	***0.00***		
	Total	***(n)***	***9***	***2***	***11***	***5.45***
		(%)	***81.82***	***18.18***		
Different district	Civil servant	< 4.5	1	-	***1***	***33.33***
		4.5-7	2	-	***2***	***66.67***
		(n)	***3***	***-***	***3***	***7.89***
		(%)	***100.00***	***0.00***		
	Private employee	< 4.5	4	5	***9***	***75.00***
		4.5-7	3	-	***3***	***25.00***
		(n)	***7***	***5***	***12***	***31.58***
		(%)	***58.33***	***41.67***		
	Self-employed	< 4.5	9	2	***11***	***73.33***
		4.5-7	3	-	***3***	***20.00***
		> 7	1	-	***1***	***6.67***
		(n)	***13***	***2***	***15***	***39.47***
		(%)	***86.67***	***13.33***		
	Daily labor	< 4.5	1	1	***2***	***25.00***
		4.5-7	4	-	***4***	***50.00***
		> 7	2	-	***2***	***25.00***
		(n)	***7***	***1***	***8***	***21.05***
		(%)	***87.50***	***12.50***		
	Total	***(n)***	***30***	***8***	***38***	***18.81***
		(%)	***78.95***	***21.05***		
Different municipality	Civil servant	< 4.5	-	2	***2***	***18.18***
		4.5-7	7	2	***9***	***81.82***
		(n)	***7***	***4***	***11***	***15.28***
		(%)	***63.64***	***36.36***		
	Private employee	< 4.5	7	8	***15***	***60.00***
		4.5-7	7	1	***8***	***32.00***
		> 7	2	-	***2***	***8.00***
		(n)	***16***	***9***	***25***	***34.72***
		(%)	***64.00***	***36.00***		
	Self-employed	< 4.5	13	2	***15***	***55.56***
		4.5-7	8	2	***10***	***37.04***
		> 7	1	1	***2***	***7.41***
		(n)	***22***	***5***	***27***	***37.50***
		(%)	***81.48***	***18.52***		
	Daily labor	< 4.5	1	1	***2***	***22.22***
		4.5-7	3	-	***3***	***33.33***
		> 7	4	-	***4***	***44.44***
		(n)	***8***	***1***	***9***	***12.50***
		(%)	***88.89***	***11.11***		
	Total	***(n)***	***53***	***19***	***72***	***35.64***
		(%)	***73.61***	***26.39***		
Different province	Civil servant	< 4.5	1	2	***3***	***30.00***
		4.5-7	6	1	***7***	***70.00***
		(n)	***7***	***3***	***10***	***12.35***
		(%)	***70.00***	***30.00***		
	Private employee	< 4.5	16	8	***24***	***64.86***
		4.5-7	7	4	***11***	***29.73***
		> 7	2	-	***2***	***5.41***
		(n)	***25***	***12***	***37***	***45.68***
		(%)	***67.57***	***32.43***		
	Self-employed	< 4.5	9	7	***16***	***57.14***
		4.5-7	7	3	***10***	***35.71***
		> 7	2		***2***	***7.14***
		(n)	***18***	***10***	***28***	***34.57***
		(%)	***64.29***	***35.71***		
	Daily labor	< 4.5	1	-	***1***	***16.67***
		4.5-7	2	-	***2***	***33.33***
		> 7	3	-	***3***	***50.00***
		(n)	***6***		***6***	***7.41***
		(%)	***100.00***	***0.00***		
	Total	***(n)***	***56***	***25***	***81***	***40.10***
		(%)	***69.14***	***30.86***		
Total		***(n)***	***148***	***54***	***202***	
		(%)	***73.27***	***26.73***		
Monthly income (IDR/million)		< 4.5	70	40	***110***	***54.46***
		4.5-7	60	13	***73***	***36.14***
		> 7	18	1	***19***	***9.41***
Types of employment		Civil servant	17	7	***24***	***11.88***
		Private employee	54	28	***82***	***40.59***
		Self-employed	55	17	***72***	***35.64***
		Daily labor	22	2	***24***	***11.88***

of the project from home is correlated positively with the amount of monthly income, according to the respondents. While the private employees, who start to enter employment or move from the prior companies with different fields, must start from their low career ladders. A similar experience for self-employed workers who must start their businesses in the new environment and struggle to build trust with the customers.

This employment structure and the amount of monthly income implicate their rental housing preferences in terms of monthly rental fee. Generally, most respondents select a room that costs them 10.01–20% of their monthly income (59.90%), followed by 20.01–30% (26.73%), more than 30% (7.43%) and less than 10% (5.94%). The preferences are designated to increase the amount of savings or remittance to their original home, mostly ranging from 20.01–30% (50.50%), followed by 30.01–40% (27.72%), more than 40% (10.40%), 10.01–20% (7.43%) and less than 10% (3.96%).

A similar composition of spending on monthly rent fee ratio and saving/remittance ratio is mostly noted in the respondent groups according to the monthly income, occupation, age and marital status with several variants. It denotes that most renters tend to live in cheap accommodations to increase their savings or remittance to their original homes rather than spend more money on expensive and comfortable accommodations.

The average size of a rented room is 8.30 m2 and the average monthly fee is IDR 800,000 (US$ 53). The rent price/room, according to Table-5, is determined by room size (P-value = .0005 < .05) and equipped utilities (P-value = .0003 < .05) such as individual bathrooms, air conditioners, washing machines and the Internet. Therefore, the higher the rent, the larger is the room size with more utilities to accommodate the physical and psychological comfort of renters.

However, corresponds to the prior assumption that the preference to select cheaper accommodation for increasing

the amount of savings/remittances, the renters prefer to live in a small size of rent room without or with less equipped utilities, such as an individual bathroom, air conditioner, washing machine or internet. Understandably, a rental room is a temporary living space for the renters, who prefer to compromise their physical and psychological comfort for collecting the planned amount of savings/remittance.

This argument is supported by the result of linear regression in Table-6. The decision for selecting room size, which is positively and significantly correlated with its monthly rental fee, is determined by marital status (P-value = .0192 < .05), monthly income (P-value = .0032 < .05), living cost (P-value = .0085 < .05) and savings/remittance (P-value = .0066 < .05). The last three determinants show the economic calculation of renters to accumulate savings/remittance according to monthly income and living expenses. The first determinant shows that the selected rental room size adjusts to the numbers of family members of renters to provide physical and psychological comfort.

The equipped utilities are determined by age (P-value = .0118 < .05), monthly income (P-value = .0307 < .05), living cost (P-value = .0188 < .05) and savings/remittance (P-value = .0090 < .05). The last three determinants share a similar prior explanation. Age also determines equipped utilities because it is implicated by body strength and duration of stay in the room for rent. According to the interview with respondents, young renters can better cope with uncomfortable room conditions such as high temperature and humidity, queuing for and washing their clothes in the communal bathroom compared with older renters. Furthermore, young renters relatively spend more time outdoors working and socialising than older counterparts, as they tend to spend more time in the rented rooms to rest after working.

This series of findings illustrates that renters cope with the sub-standard quality of rented rooms with low rent to accumulate savings or remittance. It contradicts with various worldwide studies that denote the importance of physical features to provide physical and psychological comfort for meeting their housing requirements (Raja et al., 2010; Parkes et al., 2002; Türkoğlu, 1997).

Table 4. *Percentage of saving/remittance according to monthly*

Criteria		Rent fee/monthly income (%)	Saving or remittance/ monthly income (%)					Total	
			< 10	10.01-20	20.01-30	30.01-40	> 40	(n)	(%)
Monthly income (IDR)	< 4.5 million	10.01-20	-	2	33	17	-	52	47.27
		20.01-30	-	9	29	5	-	43	39.09
		> 30	8	4	3	-	-	15	13.64
		(n)	8	15	65	22	-	110	54.46
		(%)	7.27	13.64	59.09	20.00	0.00		
	4.5-7 million	< 10	-	-	-	-	2	2	2.74
		10.01-20	-	-	27	33	-	60	82.19
		20.01-30	-	-	10	1	-	11	15.07
		(n)	-	-	37	34	2	73	36.14
		(%)	0.00	0.00	50.68	46.58	2.74		
	> 7 million	< 10	-	-	-	-	10	10	52.63
		10.01-20	-	-	-	-	9	9	47.37
		(n)	-	-	-	-	19	19	9.41
		(%)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00		
	Total	(n)	8	15	102	56	21	202	
		(%)	3.96	7.43	50.50	27.72	10.40		
Types of employment	Civil servant	10.01-20	-	2	8	10	-	20	83.33
		20.01-30	-	-	4	-	-	4	16.67
		(n)		2	12	10	-	24	11.88
		(%)	0.00	8.33	50.00	41.67	0.00		
	Private employee	< 10	-	-	-	-	1	1	1.22
		10.01-20	-	-	27	12	4	43	52.44
		20.01-30	-	3	21	4	-	28	34.15
		> 30	5	4	1	-	-	10	12.20
		(n)	5	7	49	16	5	82	40.59
		(%)	6.10	8.54	59.76	19.51	6.10		
	Self-employed	< 10	-	-	-	-	4	4	5.56
		10.01-20	-	-	21	20	2	43	59.72
		20.01-30	-	6	13	2	-	21	29.17
		> 30	2	-	2	-	-	4	5.56
		(n)	2	6	36	22	6	72	35.64
		(%)	2.78	8.33	50.00	30.56	8.33		
	Daily labor	< 10	-	-	-	-	7	7	29.17
		10.01-20	-	-	4	8	3	15	62.50
		20.01-30	-	-	1	-	-	1	4.17
		> 30	1	-	-	-	-	1	4.17
		(n)	1	-	5	8	10	24	11.88
		(%)	4.17	0.00	20.83	33.33	41.67		
	Total	(n)	8	15	102	56	21	202	
		(%)	3.96	7.43	50.50	27.72	10.40		
Age (yrs.)	21-45	< 10	-	-	-	-	4	4	2.20
		10.01-20	-	2	60	44	3	109	59.89
		20.01-30	-	9	39	6	-	54	29.67
		> 30	8	4	3	-	-	15	8.24
		(n)	8	15	102	50	7	182	90.10
		(%)	4.40	8.24	56.04	27.47	3.85		
	46-65	< 10	-	-	-	-	8	8	40.00
		10.01-20	-	-	-	6	6	12	60.00
		(n)	-	-	-	6	14	20	9.90
		(%)	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	70.00		
	Total	(n)	8	15	102	56	21	202	
		(%)	3.96	7.43	50.50	27.72	10.40		
Marital status	Single	< 10	-	-	-	-	1	1	1.85
		10.01-20	-	1	12	6	-	19	35.19
		20.01-30	-	8	15	1	-	24	44.44
		> 30	6	4	-	-	-	10	18.52
		(n)	6	13	27	7	1	54	26.73
		(%)	11.11	24.07	50.00	12.96	1.85		
	Married	< 10	-	-	-	-	10	10	7.69
		10.01-20	-	1	41	39	9	90	69.23
		20.01-30	-	1	20	4	-	25	19.23
		> 30	2	-	3	-	-	5	3.85
		(n)	2	2	64	43	19	130	64.36
		(%)	1.54	1.54	49.23	33.08	14.62		
	Divorced	< 10	-	-	-	-	1	1	5.56
		10.01-20	-	-	7	5	-	12	66.67
		20.01-30	-	-	4	1	-	5	27.78
		(n)	-	-	11	6	1	18	8.91
		(%)	0.00	0.00	61.11	33.33	5.56		
	Total	(n)	8	15	102	56	21	202	
		(%)	3.96	7.43	50.50	27.72	10.40		
Rent fee/ Monthly income (%)		< 10	-	-	-	-	12	12	5.94
		10.01-20	-	2	60	50	9	121	59.90
		20.01-30	-	9	39	6	-	54	26.73
		> 30	8	4	3	-	-	15	7.43

4.2. Housing satisfaction of the renters in Kampung Cikini

Generally, the average housing satisfaction of the renters in Kampung

Table 5. *Factors of rent price/room.*

Regression Statistics				
Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adjusted R Square**	**Standard Error**	**Observations**
.9032	.8158	.8139	82.3679	202
ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
Regression	2.00	5,979,443.38	2,989,721.69	.0000
Residual	199.00	1,350,111.08	6,784.48	
Total	201.00	7,329,554.46		
	Coefficients	**Standard Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
Intercept	415.9715	23.4207	17.7608	.0011
Room size	42.1068	3.0481	13.8143	.0005
Utilities	187.2482	20.5480	9.1127	.0003

Table 6. *Factors concerning selection of rooms for rent according to socio-demographic conditions.*

	Regression Statistics				
	Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adj. R Square**	**Std.Error**	**Observations**
	.8709	.7584	.7497	1.3345	202
	ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
	Regression	7	1,084.7016	154.9574	.0000
	Residual	194	345.4766	1.7808	
	Total	201	1,430.1782		
		Coefficients	**Std.Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
Room size (m^2)	Intercept	-1.1240	.7672	-1.4651	.1445
	Sex	-.0326	.2238	-.1454	.8845
	Age	.0482	.0245	1.9621	.0512
	Types of employment	.0381	.0986	.3861	.6998
	Marital status	-.4676	.1226	-3.8145	.0192
	Monthly income	.0000	.0000	22.2227	.0032
	Living cost	.0000	.0000	-21.4795	.0085
	Saving/remittance	.0000	.0000	-22.3596	.0066
	Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adj. R Square**	**Std.Error**	**Observations**
	.8399	.7054	.6947	.2186	202
	ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
	Regression	7	22.1983	3.1712	.0000
	Residual	194	9.2720	.0478	
	Total	201	31.4703		
		Coefficients	**Std.Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
Utilities	Intercept	-.6293	.1257	-5.0073	.0000
	Sex	-.0128	.0367	-.3478	.7284
	Age	-.0102	.0040	-2.5430	.0118
	Types of employment	-.0504	.0161	-3.1224	.0621
	Marital status	-.0224	.0201	-1.1130	.2671
	Monthly income	.0000	.0000	20.2622	.0307
	Living cost	.0000	.0000	-19.1447	.0188
	Saving/remittance	.0000	.0000	-20.4509	.0090

Cikini is 3.87 (from a 5-point Likert scale), which indicates satisfaction. According to the housing norms, the highest level of satisfaction of for renters is the location (4.06), economy (3.65), neighbourhood (3.57) and space (2.94).

Table-7 shows the importance of location (P-value=.0351<.05), neighbourhood (P-value=.0188<.05) and economic norms (P-value=.0074<.05) to determine the housing satisfaction of the low-income renters in Kampung Cikini, but not space norms (P-value=.2286>.05). This finding meets the main reasons for housing mobility, finding employment and better neighbourhood with low hazard risks or crime rates. It also fits with the reasons for selecting Kampung Cikini for the rental rooms, which are close to workplace/employment opportunities, kin and public amenities.

There is no pivotal factor in determining the satisfaction of space norms according to the demographic condition. It indicates that satisfaction with the space norms for the rental rooms is not determined by sex (P-value=.2912>.05), age (P-value=.8253>.05), types of em-

ployment (P-value=.3690>.05), marital status (P-value=.0726>.05), or monthly income (P-value=.1159>.05). The level of satisfaction of location norms is influenced by sex (P-value=.0222<.05), age (P-value=.0174<.05) and types of employment (P-value=.0445<.05). For the neighbourhood norms, types of employment (P-value=.0355<.05) and marital status (P-value=.0366<.05) are the pivotal factors. While for the economic norms, age (P-value=.0495<.05), marital status (P-value=.0183<.05) and monthly income (P-value=.0178<.05) play an essential role in determining its level of satisfaction.

The location, neighbourhood and economy are the pivotal norms for determining the level of housing satisfaction, for various combinations of socio-demographic determinants. Therefore, there is no pivotal determinant for each cultural norm, which confirms housing preferences and satisfaction are varied in different neighbourhoods for various socio-demographic conditions of individuals or household. However, the results highlight the space norm as the compromised cultural norm to prioritise others, such as location, neighbourhood and economy. Furthermore, renters are willing to perform an individual adjustment to cope with the poor physical features of rent rooms, as mentioned by Permentier et al (2011) and reduce their idealised to realistic housing preferences to deal with housing dissatisfaction, as suggested by Jansen (2013), for increasing savings/remittance.

5. Conclusion and recommendations

The rental room plays a pivotal role in affordable housing provision for migrants in metropolitan cities like Jakarta. The private rental sector becomes a prominent solution for overcoming the shortage of this housing needs.

Employment is the most important reason for housing mobility, whether it is the official assignment from the existing employment or finding a better one. Especially for the married and single renters, it is necessary to provide a livelihood, and livelihoods are most easily found in urban centres. The degrading neighbourhood of prior housing is a noteworthy consideration for housing mobility. It includes frequent hazards, crime rate and obstacles to providing physical and psychological security. Fleeing from home to start a new life, especially for the divorced, becomes a reason for housing mobility. The result of this study demonstrates that life-course events of an individual or household trigger housing mobility. Additionally, it confirms housing mobility represents the improvement of livelihood or adversity in the lives of the renters.

Proximity to workplace or employment opportunities is the dominant reason for selecting Kampung Cikini as the location of their rental rooms. Its strategic location in the centre of the capital city minimises their commute time and costs, which contributes to the increasing amount of savings/remittance. Living close to kin, who already live in the Kampung settlement or its surroundings, is one of the notable considerations for selecting the location of rental accommodation. Arriving in a new neighbourhood demands an adaptation that requires physical, psychological and financial support from their

Table 7. *Factors concerning housing satisfaction according to cultural norms.*

Regression Statistics				
Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adjusted R Square**	**Standard Error**	**Observations**
.9084	.8253	.8217	.2897	202
ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
Regression	4	78.1145	19.5286	.0000
Residual	197	16.5390	.0840	
Total	201	94.6535		
	Coefficients	**Standard Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
Intercept	.2948	.1377	2.1400	.0336
Space	.4490	.0735	6.1050	.2286
Location	.2357	.0606	3.8926	.0351
Neighborhood	.0729	.0603	1.2078	.0188
Economy	.2854	.0669	4.2688	.0074

Table 8. *Factors concerning cultural norms according to socio-demographic conditions.*

Norms	Regression Statistics				
	Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adj. R Square**	**Std Error**	**Observations**
	.9150	.8080	.8004	.0967	202
	ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
	Regression	6	2.7427	.4571	.2663
	Residual	195	69.4207	.3560	
	Total	201	72.1634		
Space		**Coefficients**	**Std Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
	Intercept	2.3674	.4226	5.6020	.0000
	Sex	.1018	.0962	1.0584	.2912
	Age	-.0023	.0106	-.2210	.8253
	Types of employment	-.0363	.0403	-.9004	.3690
	Marital status	.1190	.0659	1.8051	.0726
	Monthly income	.0000	.0000	1.5793	.1159
	Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adj. R Square**	**Std Error**	**Observations**
	.8101	.7324	.7027	.2089	202
	ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
	Regression	6	3.2839	.5473	.3703
	Residual	195	98.0032	.5026	
	Total	201	101.2871		
Location		**Coefficients**	**Std Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
	Intercept	3.3262	.5021	6.6242	.0000
	Sex	.1135	.1143	.9925	.0222
	Age	.0032	.0126	.2571	.0174
	Types of employment	-.0144	.0479	-.3000	.0445
	Marital status	.1337	.0784	1.7063	.0895
	Monthly income	.0000	.0000	1.2846	.2005
	Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adj. R Square**	**Std Error**	**Observations**
	.9250	.8671	.8384	.0933	202
	ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
	Regression	6	8.8233	1.4706	.0334
	Residual	195	122.7064	0.6293	
	Total	201	131.5297		
Neighbor hood		**Coefficients**	**Std Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
	Intercept	3.1451	.5619	5.5978	.0000
	Sex	.0456	.1279	.3566	.7218
	Age	-.0132	.0141	-.9384	.3492
	Types of employment	-.1135	.0536	-2.1176	.0355
	Marital status	.1846	.0877	2.1051	.0366
	Monthly income	.0000	.0000	1.7923	.0746
	Multiple R	**R Square**	**Adj. R Square**	**Std Error**	**Observations**
	.8686	.7422	.7036	.1071	202
	ANOVA	**df**	**SS**	**MS**	**Significance F**
	Regression	6	5.7763	.9627	.0223
	Residual	195	74.2682	.3809	
	Total	201	80.0446		
Economy		**Coefficients**	**Std Error**	**t Stat**	**P-value**
	Intercept	2.8501	.4371	6.5203	.0000
	Sex	.1667	.0995	1.6750	.0955
	Age	-.0050	.0109	-.4551	.0495
	Types of employment	-.0563	.0417	-1.3497	.1787
	Marital status	.1624	.0682	2.3802	.0183
	Monthly income	.0000	.0000	1.6154	.0178

kin, especially for single respondents. While proximity to public amenities also becomes a determinant to select a rental room, it provides easy access to meet critical every day needs to support their lives. These reasons demonstrate the economic behaviour of the renters for selecting the rental accommodations.

Despite poor physical conditions, such as lack of space, overcrowding, lack of utilities, which compromise physical comfort, most renters select the rental rooms to provide sufficient savings/

remittance. The lower the rent price, the poorer the rental room quality, in terms of size and utilities, the higher the earned savings/remittance. It illustrates the economic choices renters make when they select rental rooms.

The space norm, as one of the essential cultural norms to assess housing preferences and satisfaction, is compromised to prioritise other norms, such as economic, neighbourhood and location. The owned house in the originated location depicts that renters in the Kampung settlement do not necessarily belong to the category of the non-homeowners low-incomes, but some of them are the renter-owner categories. It explains why they tend to increase the savings/remittance for returning home in the future.

This study recommends a massive social housing development to accommodate the needs of migrants in the capital city. The strategic location is necessary for minimising the commute time and costs while providing proximity to employment opportunities and public amenities. Due to the scarcity of affordable land, the provincial government must utilise its land assets for affordable social housing.

Although space norm is the compromised cultural norms to prioritise others, sufficient room size and utilities are important to provide physical and psychological security and comfort. All are essential to ensuring the health and livelihood that are essential elements of human dignity. Therefore, a reasonable room size still should be taken into consideration.

Nonetheless, rent price is the pivotal factor for renters to amass savings/remittance, which demands an affordable housing price. Therefore, subsidies should be provided to help renters meet the building's operational and maintenance costs.

Multi-disciplinary studies are encouraged to further explore the economic behaviour of renters, especially in metropolitan cities' and Kampung settlements. These studies should include cost-benefit analysis, ability-to-pay and willingness-to-pay of the renters. Studies on the macro scale, such as the distribution of the rental rooms in the city-scale and their relationships with the rent price, distance to the employment opportunities and public amenities will contribute to the citywide planning of the social housing. An optimum housing size, structure and utility system with affordable construction costs is necessary. Furthermore, the socio-demographic and psychological issues of the renters are worth study, as they provides comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the housing pathways as society evolves with time.

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