

INSULAR DIVERSITY

Architecture · Culture · Identity
in Indonesia

Erich Lehner · Irene Doubrawa · Ikaputra (eds.)



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Front: ceremony at Sayan Hindu temple, Bali (photo: E. Lehner)
Rear: view from Bawömataluo to Lagundri Bay, Nias (photo: U. Herbig)

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACE IN YOGYAKARTA

A Search for Specific Identity & Character

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Introduction

A city is a collection of buildings and people (Kostof 1992). Nas (1986, in Zaidulfar 2002) lists five major aspects to a city: a man-made material environment, a production centre, social communities, cultural communities, and a controlled society. Hence, it can be deduced that the city is shaped by physical aspects of space and by the community. Furthermore, according to Widodo (2004), architecture (and thus the urban space) can also be observed through different time frames or historical periods within the process of transformation. Within this transformation, certain elements of permanence can be identified which preserve the memory of the identity of places and events. At each level, there are compelling monuments among the ordinary fabric and the quality of permanence determines the features of transformation.

The modern concept of a city asserts that urban spaces consist of public and private spatial organizations where people have equal conceptions of urbanity and share the same goal, of living together (Santoso 2006). According to Madanipour (1996), we can translate and interpret social organization, politics and space within a city through the distinction between public and private. The organization of public and private urban spaces is a manifestation of the system of values adopted by the society. In this context the process of learning to be a citizen begins when the people in the city concur to regulate the use of communal space. Through public space we can observe the character of the city's citizens and the expression of urban identity.

From the perspective of urban design, the process of the formation of a city can be observed by focusing on public space. Public space is now understood to feature the following characteristics (Ikaputra 2004; Lang 2005; Purwanto 2004; Danisworo 2004; Gaventa 2006; Carr et al. 1992):

1. Space in which people interact and conduct various activities in a shared and common environment, including social interaction as well as political, economical and cultural activities.

2. Space that is owned, managed and controlled collectively – both by public and private institutions – and is dedicated to the interests and needs of the public.

3. Space that is open and is visually and physically accessible to all without exception.

4. Space where the community has a free choice of activities.

In the meantime, city aspects of character and identity have become a powerful issue in an international context. The idealization of globalization around the world has prompted changes in economic systems, the flow of information and numerous other areas. Global economic systems for example encourage the uniformity of commodities and of identity. Thus it has become common to find similar cities throughout the world.

The city of Yogyakarta, located in the heartland of the Indonesian island of Java, has the unique ability to maintain a distinctive identity and atmosphere. Yogyakarta features a number of characteristics, such as being the last kingdom of Mataram, the city of revolution, a city of education, a cultural city and a city of tourism. These attributes indicate the number of potential aspects that drive the changes in the city, not only physically but also concerning its identity and character.

This article will attempt to explore the identity and the character of the city of Yogyakarta through its public space. On the one hand, its historical roots will be examined, and on the other hand, contemporary issues that are expressed in the public space of the city will be examined to obtain the latest facts on the status of the city's public space. By tracking the history of the formation of urban public space and through observing contemporary case studies in urban public space, the formation of the city's identity and character and the influence of its citizens on transformations that occur will be examined.



Urban Morphology

According to Rossi (1982), a city is a “collective urban artefact”, a collective work of art that is constructed through time and is rooted in a dwelling and building culture, and a manifestation of social life. The city expresses the link between the individual builder or dweller and the community. The city grows over time in the course of its realization. Some original themes persist or are modified. Durable material keeps the traces of previous conditions and changes. The city is a rich archive of complex settlement history. To understand the processes that shape a city, it is crucial to understand the city’s history of formation. This history can be traced through historical elements within a city. The most comprehensive approach to this study is to understand the morphology of a city. This morphology of the city cannot be separated from the city’s physical appearance, which is mainly formed by the physical conditions and by the interaction with a dynamic economic society. The morphology can be understood by studying the development of physical form in urban areas, which is not only associated with the building and the architecture, but also with the circulatory system, open space and urban infrastructure – especially roads – as a major shaper of spatial structures. The physical appearance of a city is a visual manifestation that partially results from the interaction and mutual influence of the critical components mentioned above (Allain 2004, in Widodo 2004).

In every historical period, architecture can be perceived as a totality of at least three main layers on every scale: a morphological layer (physical, formal), a sociological layer (activity, functional, anthropometrical), and a philosophical layer (meaning, symbolical, mythological). Morphological articulation is directly related to the inhabitants’ sociological activities and to the ascription of meaning. The architecture of a city deals with this multi-dimensional matrix. The physical and spatial form of the city is the product of its inhabitants and the manifestation of their culture over time. To get a holistic understanding of the history and morphology of a city, it should be studied in terms of its synchronic (across different layers) and diachronic (across historical periods) aspects. A hermeneutic approach should be employed, incorporating multidisciplinary analysis such as anthropology, archaeology, sociology, economy, geography, history, etc. Therefore a collaborative and interdisciplinary approach is essential.

In terms of the major events that affected the political, economic, cultural, social and ideological developments, the history of the formation of Javanese cities

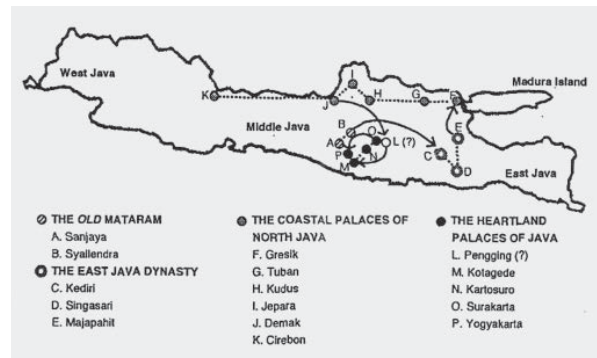


Fig. 1: Sequential history of Javanese palace cities. (Source: Ika-putra 1995)

can be divided into five periods: the Period of Hindu Mataram (7th-10th centuries), the Period of the Eastern Agricultural Kingdom (10th-15th centuries), the Period of the Coastal Empires (15th-16th centuries), the Period of Islamic Mataram and Colonization (16th-20th centuries) and the Period of the Republic (20th century to the present). The discussion in this paper will be based on these periods. Present-day Yogyakarta was founded only about two and a half centuries ago, with the establishment of the Kingdom of Ngayogyakarta in the year 1756, during the period of Islamic Mataram and colonization. However, brief reviews of the three previous periods will be given, so as to provide an overall picture of the historical background of the formation of urban space in Java (Fig. 1).

The Period of Hindu Mataram

The historical sources that could tell us about urban living and the settlement in the Period of Hindu Mataram are limited, especially those that examine the existence of urban public space and community activities in it. Concepts of urban living and settlements in this period can only be based on the interpretation by historians of limited physical artefacts. Wiryomartono (1995) states that Hindu and Buddhist ideologies had the biggest influences on the culture of this period. The terms for city and state, *kuta* and *nagara*, were derived from Sanskrit. *Kuta* literally means “residential area that is protected by a round-shaped wall” (Wiryomartono 1995). Through Santoso’s (2008) study about the temples of Borobudur, Prambanan and the palace Ratu Boko we can infer some key concepts of this period: this already quite complex society interacted with other cultures at a regional level (Southeast Asia), technology and advanced construction management were used and the cult focused on mountains/plateaus as sacred places (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Borobudur, built in the 8th century at the top of an artificial hill. (Source: Santoso 2008)

The Period of the Eastern Agricultural Kingdom

During the Period of the Eastern Agricultural Kingdom, the civilization was dominated by the influence of the Majapahit kingdom, whose capital was located in Trowulan (near today's Mojokerto). Efforts to reconstruct a map of the capital of Majapahit were based on the interpretation of the book "Negarakertagama", written during that era, and on archaeological finds in Mojokerto. The work of Pont (1923) and Pigeaud (1962) provide examples of such reconstructions (Santoso 2008).

The reconstruction by Pont in 1923 (Fig. 3) shows the central core of the Majapahit kingdom: the *Kraton* (palace) and the *Kadharmadhyaksa* (palace for the head of religious affairs). The *Alun-alun* (town square) with its side length of 900m (which according to Pont served as a parade ground), was on the north side of the centre and was surrounded by the most important buildings in the city. North of the *Alun-alun* was another major square, Bubat Square, with an area of approximately 1 km². A 40m-wide road passed through the market located opposite Bubat Square, connecting the centre of the kingdom with the main port of Canggu. The *Wanguntur*, which was where the King received his subjects, was situated on the south side of the *Alun-alun*. In addition to the public places, Pont's reconstruction also shows a courtyard inside the main palace complex, which he describes as "general" and "open". The character of openness can also be seen in the absence of a fortress or walls around the city (Fig. 3).

Pigeaud's clearer interpretation from 1962 (Santoso 2008) states that the complex of Majapahit consisted of a number of large and small residential units separated by open areas and wide boulevards. These areas were used for public purposes: they were markets, meeting

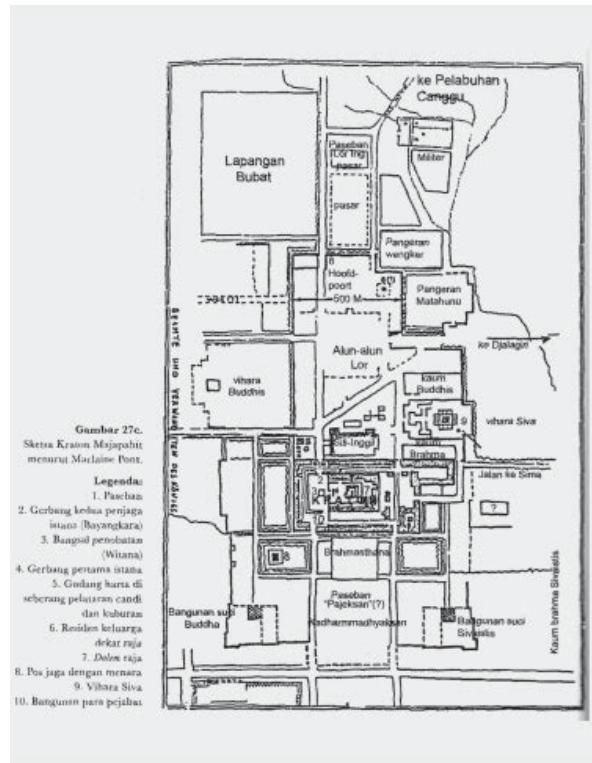


Fig. 3: The reconstruction of Majapahit according to Maclaine Pont 1923. (Source: Santoso 2008)

halls, cockfighting arenas, *viharas* (Buddhist monasteries) and used for religious ceremonies and celebrations. Bubat Square, located in the northern, mainly residential, area of the town, was the venue for a yearly celebration by the common people, which the king also attended during the last few days. Wanguntur Square, in the area of the king's palace, had a more sacred atmosphere and was used for coronation ceremonies or state receptions. Pigeaud's reconstruction reveals to us that there was a separation between royal rituals and the rituals of the common people.

Through several reconstructions, Santoso (2008) concluded that the basic principle underlying the concept of a city during the Majapahit era was the principle of microcosmic dualities, which tended to accommodate all the stakeholders in the city. The spatial concepts were derived from the previous Period of Hindu Mataram. Whereas at the Buddhist temple of Borobudur, only the upper social class was entitled to enter the top level, in the city of Majapahit, everyone was entitled to enter the centre of the town. This democratic concept is also reflected by the absence of a wall encircling Majapahit, which marks the close relationship between the city and the surrounding region.



The Period of the Coastal Empires

Although the Period of the Coastal Empires was brief, it had a major impact on Java through the advent and massive growth of Islam. After the fall of Majapahit, the centres of power shifted to the north coast of Java. Some of the cities, such as Demak, Jepara, Gresik and Surabaya became international trading ports or their ports served as strategic links to the cities of other islands. Ikaputra (1995) states that different nationalities in the cities established residential settlements in the form of *kampungs* (villages). The *kampungs* were exclusive and defensive in character and the mastery of the harbour was a constant source of conflict between them. The buildings of worship from this period, the great mosques, have remained as building artifacts to this day (Fig. 4).

Some elements of urban space from the Period of the Coastal Empires, such as the *Kraton* (Royal Palace), the *Alun-alun* (town square), the Great Mosques, and the markets are still recognizable today. For example, the *Kraton* remains the centre and the most sacred area in the cities to this day, just as the *Alun-alun* remains the venue for royal and religious rituals and celebrations of the people. Ikaputra (1995) notes that at least three major events took place in the *Alun-alun* squares: *Pepe* (the petition of individual voices to be heard by the king), *Watangan* (tournament) and *Garebeg* (offering festival). It is worth noting that there is a banyan tree on the palace squares as a landscape element and a symbol of the sanctity of the squares. Lombard (1996) notes that the ritual transfer of the centre of a palace or a palace itself was always accompanied by the removal and planting of a banyan tree on the palace square. The Great Mosques are always set near the palace square, and the *Kauman* village can be found in the vicinity of the mosque. The *Kauman* villages are settlement areas with an Islamic religious atmosphere, where the houses of the *Kaum*, religious leaders who preserve and protect the rituals of the Great Mosque, are situated. During the time of the Coastal Empires, the markets became the centres of transactions between merchants. Widodo (2004) states that the existence of the markets in downtown is always related to the *Pecinan* (Chinatown). The concept of urban living in Java began to approach the present concept during the period of the Coastal Empires. Downtown spaces, such as the city market, could be accessed freely by the public. The mosques became public spaces in the Muslim cities. The *Alun-alun*, within certain limits, became public places, especially during rituals. Even the *Kraton* could be accessed by commoners through the *Pepe* ritual.

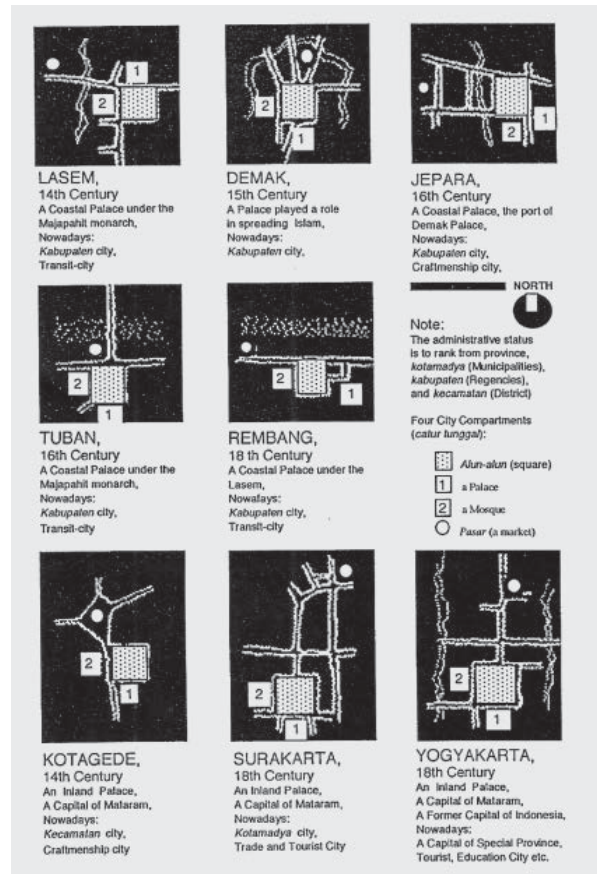


Fig. 4: Javanese basic urban patterns. (Source: Ikaputra 1995)

The Period of Islamic Mataram and Colonization

The Period of Islamic Mataram and Colonization was characterized by the return of the hegemony of an agrarian empire in the heartland of Java, the Kingdom of Mataram. The political scene of this period was also affected by the intervention and the influence of the new colonial rulers, the Dutch. During this period, Pajang (1568), Kotagede (1586), Plered (1625-1677), Surakarta (1743) and Yogyakarta (1756) became sultanates. The last two sultanates, with their distinct cultures, still exist today. In the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, the authorities play a significant role in the political system to this day. Therefore, the discussion about the development of urban structures in Java will now be focused on the establishment of the city of Yogyakarta.

The city of Yogyakarta was founded by Mangkubumi, who resented the close connection of his brother Paku Buwana II, the first ruler of Surakarta, with the Dutch.

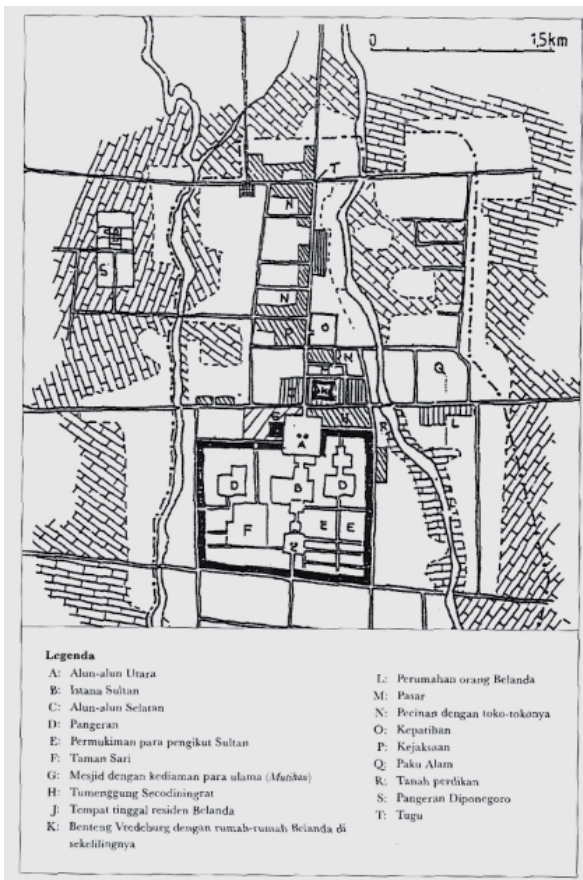


Fig. 5: Yogyakarta, 1756. (Source: Santoso 2008)

Thus, in 1755, the Kingdom of Mataram was divided into the two kingdoms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta through the Gianti Testament. In contrast to Surakarta, the *Kraton* (royal palace) of Yogyakarta also includes the living quarters for courtiers and princes. Overall the area covers 23 ha of land, enclosed by a large wall of 1300 x 1800 metres in length. Five gates serve as entrances to the complex: two in the north, and one each in the east, west, and south.

In Yogyakarta the smaller *Alun-alun Kidul* (southern town square) is located within the walls of the fort, while the *Alun-alun Lor* (Fig. 5, A) represents the interface between the court and the city. The main axis of the city is a wide road that extends from the north side of the *Alun-alun Lor* to the north, where it ends at the Tugu Monument (Fig. 5, T). Along this road are a number of important structures, such as the *pasar* (market) (Fig. 5, M); the *kepatihan* (Fig. 5, O), which served as the administrative centre of the kingdom; the *kejaksaan* (court building) (Fig. 5, P) and shops owned by Chinese mer-

chants and others (Fig. 5, N). On the western side of the road, right in front of the Dutch fort Vredenburg (Fig. 5, K) was the residence of the Dutch Resident (Fig. 5, J). According to Santoso (2008), only a few buildings were originally constructed along the North-South axis by the kings, but over time, the buildings gradually extended further to the east and to the west (Fig. 5).

In 1813, a treaty was signed between Prince Natakusuma (who later took on the title of Paku Alam I) and Mangkubumi (Sultan Hamengku Buwana I) which was similar in content to the agreements between Paku Buwana and Mangkunegaran in Surakarta. The *Paku Alam* (Fig. 5, Q) in Yogyakarta was defined as a residential area with a certain number of *cacah* (inhabitants) on the territory of the *Negaragung* (capital) and was granted *lunggahan* (land property rights).

The oldest settlements in Yogyakarta were the quarters allocated to the servants, the palace guards, the builders, the blacksmiths, the musicians, the dancers, the government officials, the princes and their followers. An exceptional regional autonomy was granted to the areas of *Paku Alaman* and *Secodiningratan* (Fig. 5, H) (Santoso 2008), the latter being founded by Jing Sing, a leader of the Chinese people who is commonly known as Captain China. The Dutch settlements were also autonomous regions. Originally, the Dutch settlements were concentrated on the eastern side of the Vredenburg fort. In 1830, once Dutch rule had become more stable, new settlements were established in the northeastern part of the city of Yogyakarta in an area which is today known as *Kotabaru*.

Meaning and Function of the *Alun-alun*

The *Alun-alun Lor* in Yogyakarta is a rectangular open space surrounded by banyan trees. A total of 64 banyan trees were planted, their locations corresponding to the buildings surrounding the square. The *Alun-alun Lor* measures approximately 300 x 265 metres and is covered with fine sand. At the centre of the open space there are two banyan trees known as "*Waringin-brackets*", each enclosed by a quadrangular wooden fence. Both banyan trees symbolize the unity and harmony between humans and the universe. This harmony is called the concept of *kawula-gusti* (Kota Yogyakarta 200 Tahun 1956, in Santoso 2008).

Everyone in the kingdom had the right to meet directly with the king to ask for his judgment in case of a dispute. People wanting to meet the king were called *pepe*. The *pepe* had to wear white clothing and head coverings and had to sit waiting between the two banyan trees to be allowed to see the king. There, they had the



opportunity to present their cases to the king, who was accompanied by his advisors. The king's decision on the settlement of disputes was considered to be absolute and could not be contested (Pigeaud 1940, in Santoso 2008).

In the *Alun-alun Lor*, regular fights called *rampogan* were held between a bull and a tiger: these were always won by the bull. According to Santoso (2008), this activity symbolized the victory of the cosmic forces over chaos, since in Java the bull (*maesa*) symbolizes the cosmic forces, while the tiger (*sima*) is the symbol of chaos. During Dutch colonization, these fights took on a new meaning: the bull became the symbol of the Javanese people, who won against the Netherlands, symbolized by the tiger (Fig. 6).

In front of the mosque courtyard are a pair of pavilions that hold two sets of *gamelan* (traditional musical instruments) called *Kyai Sekati* and *Nyai Sekati*. Both sets of *gamelan* are played alternately, at the three religious ceremonies of *Grebeg Maulud*, *Syawal* and *Gede* (Kota Yogyakarta 200 Tahun 1956, in Santoso 2008). The *Gede*, like most religious ceremonies in Java, originated in the pre-Islamic era. After the advent of Islam, the ceremony was adapted to take place on the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, one of the key holy days in Islam.

The ceremonies mentioned above have been taking place in the *Alun-alun* since the founding of the settlement. The old Javanese beliefs were also incorporated into the design of the mosque, for example, in the form of the terraced pyramid roof, the division of space in the foyer and the space for worship, the plants in the courtyard, as well as in its close ties with the cemetery (Pigeaud 1940, in Santoso 2008). In accordance with Islamic beliefs, all ornaments depicting images of humans and animals have been removed.

Opposite the mosque, a building called a *Pamonggangan* is used as a place for storing further *gamelan* instruments that are called *monggang*. This *gamelan* is said to be from the Majapahit era. In earlier times, the *gamelan* was played for an hour every Saturday before sunset. In addition, the *monggang* were played during a horse parade that was held on a regular basis until the British Colonial government restricted the *keraton's* military power (Pigeaud 1940; Kota Yogyakarta 200 Tahun 1956, in Santoso 2008). In former times, the *Pamonggangan* was also where tigers and other wild animals were kept in cages. Santoso (2008) suggests that the *monggang gamelan* was also played to accompany the *rampogan* fights.

Along the sides of the square were the *pekapalan*, which served as lodging houses for high officials who

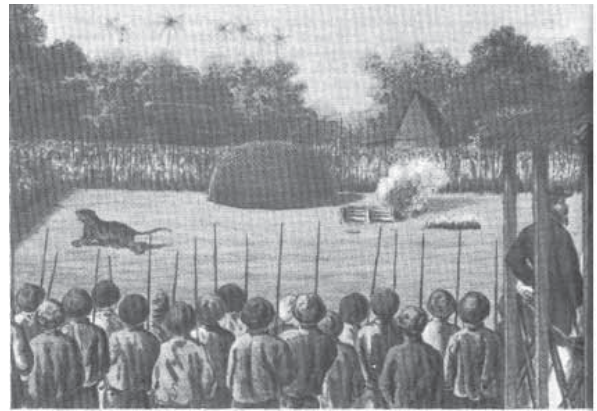


Fig. 6: *Rampogan* at the *Alun-alun* of Surakarta around 1885, by Jhr J.C. Rappard. (Source: Lombard 1996)

came from out of town to attend important celebrations. According to Pigeaud, the word *pekapalan* is derived from the word *kempal*, which means "to gather". Other authors have argued that the word is derived from the word *kapal* meaning "horse boat", which was used by officials to come to the capital and to get around Yogyakarta (Pigeaud 1940, p. 181).

Santoso (2008) concluded that the meaning and function of the square can be divided into three categories:

1. The *Alun-alun* symbolizes the enforcement of a basic system of rules concerning a particular territory, but it also describes the enforcement of a system of power to create harmony between the real world (microcosm) and the universe (the macrocosm).
2. The *Alun-alun* serves as a place for the celebration of all important rituals or religious ceremonies. All celebrations and ceremonies are associated with the implementation of the laws of the universe in everyday life.
3. The *Alun-alun* serves as a place to demonstrate military power, which has a profane character, and as a place to practice the sacred power of the ruler.

The relationship between these three functions can be seen from the layout of each element of the buildings and the vegetation. No other city facility represents in its shape and meaning the views, religious life and philosophy of the Javanese people as clearly as the square. Santoso (2008) emphasizes that in Java, the art of building is an instrument used to establish harmonious relationships between the cities and the universe, based on harmony between the earth and the sky. Alignment is manifested through the arrangement of opposite pairs,

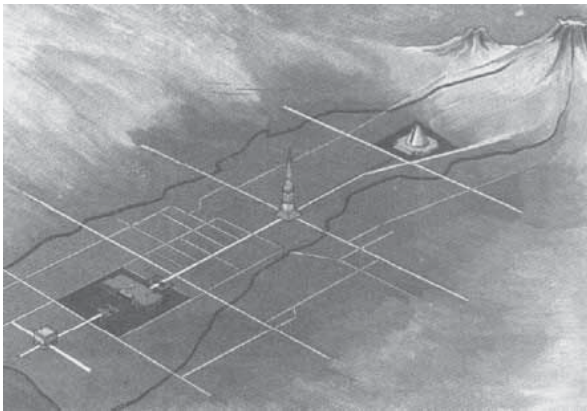


Fig. 7: Cosmological axis connecting mount Merapi, the Tugu monument, the *Kraton* (palace), the *Stage Krapyak* (a building used by the king during hunting) and the ocean south of Yogyakarta. (Source: Amin 1991, in Wibisono 2001).

such as fire and water, earth and sun, sea and mountains, sacred and profane. Unity is a prerequisite for the achievement of the salvation of human beings who live in a society. The way Mangkubumi, the founder of Yogyakarta, put the main elements of an imaginary kingdom in a single axis that connects Mount Merapi to the north of Yogyakarta with the sea to the south of Yogyakarta can be seen as a clear manifestation of an effort to form an alignment (Fig. 7).

The characteristics mentioned above for Yogyakarta differ from the characteristics of towns on the north coast of Java, where the layout of the city tends to be dominated by secular powers. This means that these cities are not striving for a balance of power, but are looking for the peak of power by seeking freedom of trade and aiming to increase wealth in the city. According to Santoso (2008), this ideological factor is what makes the character of the coastal cities much more similar to European cities than Yogyakarta is.

The development of urban public space in this period cannot be separated from the Dutch colonial influence. Adishakti (1997) mentions that the Dutch effort to retain power in Java manifested itself in the establishment of the Vredenburg fort on the north side of the *Alun-alun* in 1790. Later, a residence of the Dutch authorities was established on the west side of the fort as a support. British influence also shaped the structure of urban space. During the British reign of Stamford Raffles (1812), prince Notokusumo was rewarded with the position of ruler of the new hereditary principality Pakualaman and received the title Sri Pakualaman I, after he had helped to calm the conflict between the British and Sultan Hamengku Buwono (HB) III and after the coronation of the Sultan. A royal complex was built on the east

side of the River Code, which merged with the colonial settlement on the southern shore of the river.

From the beginning of the 19th century, the Europeans became increasingly influential in government and economic issues. In 1822, the *Societeit der Vereeniging* (Community Leisure Centre) was established in the residence of the Dutch Resident. After the end of the Diponegoro War (1825-1830), the palaces of Yogyakarta and Pakualaman had a mainly decorative function, while political and bureaucratic power were in fact held by the Dutch Resident. Although their formal status was that of an independent state, the principles of state regulation of both Yogyakarta and Surakarta were under the control of the Dutch authorities. During this period, the number of colonial buildings, facilities and the population of Europeans increased. Artha (2000) describes a large area called *Loji Kebon* on the west side of the Vredenburg fort, which comprised a church, a school, a courthouse, and the *Societeit der Vereeniging*. The *Societeit der Vereeniging* was used for recreation by the European society in Yogyakarta, especially the Dutch. It featured facilities such as a ballroom, a music room, and areas for bowling, roulette, horseracing and betting.

In 1887, Yogyakarta had two railway stations, founded by two different companies. Lempuyangan station served the major line from Yogyakarta to Semarang (constructed by the NIS Mij S/V in 1872) and Tugu Railway Station served the major cities to the south and the west of Yogyakarta (constructed by the SS Spoor in 1887). The establishment of these stations generated the development of public facilities in the surrounding area in the form of commercial facilities, restaurants and lodgings, such as the Hotel Tugu, which was founded in 1911 (Adishakti 1997). Other monumental buildings that were constructed during this period were the Java Bank (1914) on the north side of the *Alun-alun Lor*, and the Mataram Bank. The Dutch also built sports facilities such as a racetrack that was constructed on the main route from Yogyakarta to Surakarta around 1903. (Fig. 8)

In 1909, primary and secondary schools, hospital facilities and sports facilities were established, as a part of a new Dutch settlement known as *Kotabaru* (New City). *Kotabaru* covered an area of 100 hectares and was restricted to European settlers. In addition to its prominent physical appearance that distinguished it from the surrounding villages, its founding also included the displacement of indigenous villages (Darmosugito 1956 in Wibisono 2001) This process shows that in terms of land ownership, the interests of the indigenous villages were of only minor interest to the Europeans at the time (Houben 1994 in Setiawan 2005).

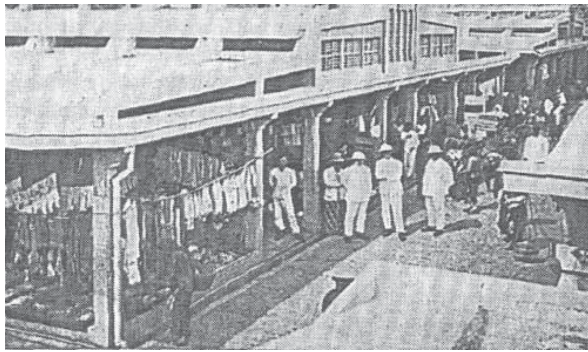


Fig. 8: Beringharjo Market after its renovation in 1925. (Source: Sonobudoyo Museum Collection)

The Period of the Republic

The role of the palace cannot be separated from the history of the Indonesian revolution and the power struggle against the colonial rulers. By 1945 the palace had become the secret headquarters for the Indonesian freedom fighters. During this period, the palace became a place to which people were evacuated and sheltered from the attacks of the Dutch.

In the early days of independence, the functions of some elements in the city were redefined. When Yogyakarta became the capital of Indonesia from 1946 to 1949, the former residence of the Dutch Resident was turned into the Great House, the residence of the president of the Republic of Indonesia. Political and economic conditions at the time did not allow the municipality to initiate big changes or development plans. Even though the city went from covering an area of 1480 acres in 1942 to covering 3250 acres only five years later, no infrastructure changes were implemented. Although the city experienced a deterioration of quality during this time, this period also marked the beginning of the formation of Yogyakarta as the national city of education.¹ Institutions of higher education were established, such as the Islamic University of Indonesia (UII) in 1947 and the Gadjah Mada University (UGM) in 1949, and the number of institutions of higher education grew significantly² (Fig. 9).

With the New Order government under Suharto in 1966, a new ideology of development affected the lives of the people and the development of the city. One important aspect of this ideology was the idea to beautify the city through improvements to roads and the modernization of the physical appearance of urban space. With funding from the central government, the city officials launched several city rejuvenation projects. The first project concerned the renovation of the district around

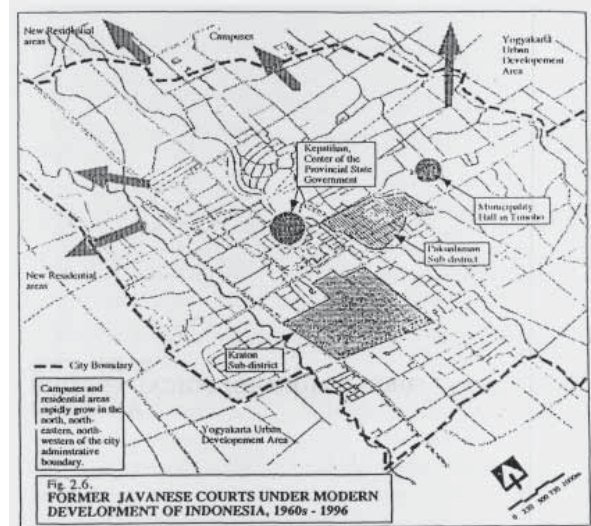
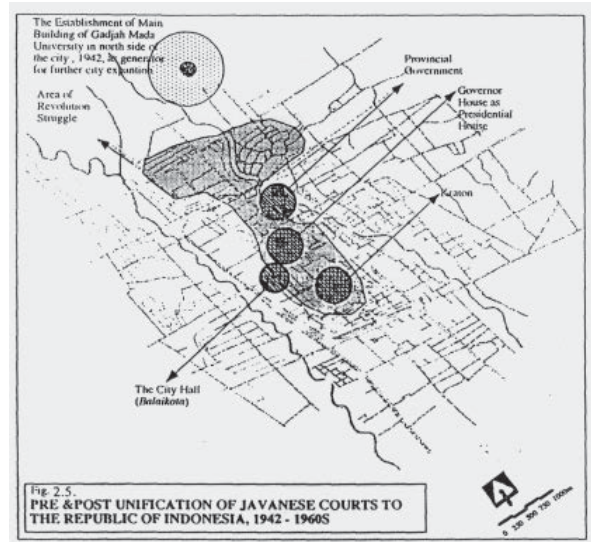


Fig. 9: The structure of Yogyakarta from 1942-1960 (above) and the structure of Yogyakarta from 1960-1996 (below). (Source: Adishakti 1997)

the Malioboro Street in the late 1970s and it can be said to have been successful. Nowadays the Malioboro Corridor is known as a tourist destination and as one of the areas in Yogyakarta with intense public activity (Fig. 10).

Contemporary Issues

The current spatial arrangement of Yogyakarta is based on the evolution of the structure of the city since its establishment. The city has experienced many periods of formation with a variety of factors that have created its current form. The process of the evolution of Yogyakarta is of course continuing. Some of the contemporary

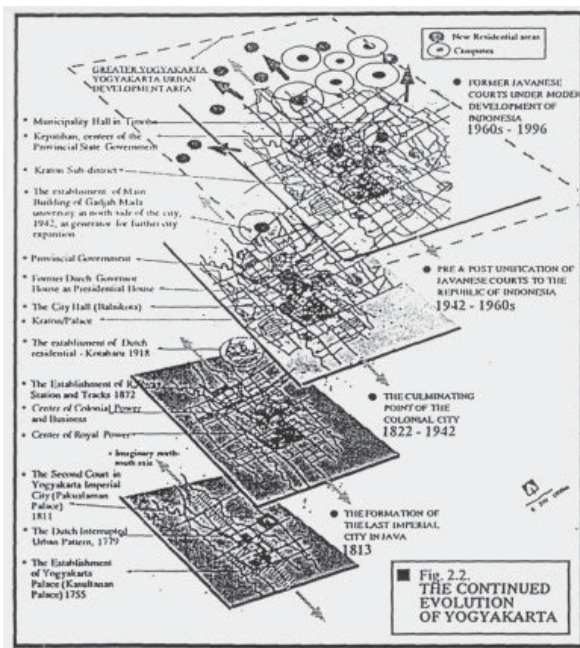


Fig. 10: The evolution of the structure of Yogyakarta. (Source: Adishakti 1997)

issues and phenomena that seem to affect the spatial arrangement of Yogyakarta will be discussed below.

Transportation

In his article "The Disappearing City" Frank Lloyd Wright (1932) discussed the decentralization of the city through the presence of motor vehicles. We can see evidence of this theory in today's cities, including Yogyakarta, where the number of vehicles has steadily been increasing and additional housing developments outside the city have resulted in an increasing movement between different parts of the city. The urban transport network has become increasingly crowded and it has become necessary to separate the transport system within the city from long-range transport. At the end of the 1990s a ring road project was completed in Yogyakarta, which aimed to reduce traffic density within the city.

The ring road that was constructed some 2-5 kilometres outside of the administrative boundary of Yogyakarta City actually turned out to trigger the decentralization of the town centre. The centres of activities, such as campuses, residential areas, shopping malls and entertainment centres can today be found in a radius of about 10 kilometres from the traditional downtown area. The larger distances between the centres of activity no longer allow for traditional transportation modes such as horse-drawn carriages or bicycles. Instead, motorcycles and cars are used in the urban spaces.

The problem of transportation is a common issue in the public space of modern cities. Urban spaces are exploited for the sake of circulation and the parking of vehicles, which is a manifestation of personal space. In response to this problem, the awareness of city authorities and community alike has increased in the past decade to encourage public transport modes such as city buses and more environmentally-friendly transportation such as bicycles.

Shopping Malls

Kostof (1992) recorded the typology of the mall as a modern form of urban public space. Unlike the traditional urban public spaces like the city square, the mall has a roof and is air-conditioned, which means that activities can be taking place all day long, all year round. The establishment of malls in Yogyakarta began with the establishment of the Malioboro Mall and the Galeria Mall in the 1990s, followed by Plaza Ambarrukmo and Saphir Square in 2005. The malls feature recreational facilities and shows that attract the public are organized on a regular basis. The existence of malls has changed the public idea of recreational activities and the clean and comfortable malls are now preferred to former public recreation centres such as the Gembira Loka (zoo), the Sekaten Night Market or the Yogyakarta Art Festival.

Markets

The market is an urban public space that has always existed in the cities. It is a space of economic interaction in the city. Economic globalization has produced international concepts of markets. In Indonesia today, traditional markets compete with large supermarkets such as Carrefour or Makro. The products sold in these supermarkets are commodities from the global marketplace, while local and regional products are sold in traditional markets. However, the global concept has also influenced markets on a medium- and small-scale level. Supermarkets such as Superindo, Alfa, Hero or Giant can be found in shopping centres and new districts, while the mini-markets, such as Indomaret, Alfamart or Circle K, target the residential areas.

The municipal authorities consider this situation to be unbalanced and unprofitable with regards to local products. As a consequence, many traditional markets are being revitalized, including the Kuncen Klihtikan Market, a second-hand market, or the Dongkelan Market, where animals and plants are sold. The measures undertaken were considered sufficient to successfully defend the existence of traditional markets and even enhance their appeal, but in the long term a synergy



between global and local forces needs to be considered or a unique and irreplaceable identity needs to be built up. One example of a successful synergy is the traditional Chinatown shopping area in the Malioboro corridor, where street vendors sell local products in front of shops offering more global commodities (Fig. 11).

Settlement

Since they were first established, the residential districts of Yogyakarta have consisted of village-like settlements known as *kampung*. In the early stages of formation, the village concept was an integral part of the palace and the town and each *kampung* was associated with a specific community group. With the development of the city, where the palace no longer has full authority over the city and its inhabitants, the concept of the *kampung* has changed. During the 1970s, many new *kampung* were formed in Yogyakarta, as the city grew. Setiawan (2005) categorized the existing villages in the urban area of Yogyakarta as follows:

1. Traditional *kampung*: The *kampung* was founded in an early period of formation of the city and is an area for a specific community. These *kampung* are located close to the palace and their names point to the general character of the village.
2. Riverside *kampung*: These *kampung* are located on the banks of three rivers that cross the city. Many villages of this category face formal issues, such as illegal occupancy.
3. Urban Fringe *kampung*: These rural settlements were transformed into settlements with a more urban character.
4. Illegal *kampung*: These settlements were illegally built on vacant land, such as Chinese cemeteries or river- and railway banks.

The categorization above gives an idea of the diversity of the *kampung* in the city of Yogyakarta. In the early 20th century, modern typologies of settlements were established by the Dutch in the region of what is now the *Kotabaru* district, but these settlements were reserved for Europeans. During the 1970s modern housing appeared as a new typology of settlements in Yogyakarta. Government programs for public housing encouraged developers to meet modern standards for large-scale housing.³ These new residential areas featured planned road structures, sanitation and public facilities.⁴ The new settlements that were constructed from the 1970s to the 1990s conveyed new values that distinguished them from the *kampung* settlements. As a consequence, the terms *orang kampung* (village people) and *orang perumahan* (housing estate people) appeared. Despite



Fig. 11: Leather puppet show at the mall, which serves as a new form of public space. (Source: Kompas, 16 August 2008)



Fig. 12: The Code kampung, a riverbank kampung that was initiated by Romo Mangun between 1983 and 1987. (Source: <http://www.mangunwijaya.org>, 2001)



Fig. 13: Gated community design as a general trend in residential concepts in Yogyakarta today. (Source: Survey, 2007)

the different values, during this period, planners made efforts to merge the new residential areas with the existing structures, creating open housing estate patterns with high accessibility from all directions⁵ (Fig. 12).

In the 1990s, with the proliferation of private investors in the Yogyakarta real estate sector, this concept started to change⁶. A high level of privacy and security was the priority of the new concept, with exclusivity being an additional selling point. This concept has been adopted by virtually all sectors of real estate developers in Yogyakarta today and is combined with the principles of the original housing areas, such as the regularity of lots, street patterns, sanitation and the availability of public facilities. However, the previous access roads that were open in all directions have today been replaced by cul-de-sac layout, single-gate entrances and fences, which limit both visual and physical access. The direct impact of this new spatial pattern is the formation of community residences based on re-segregation, which might be considered to be remotely similar to the principle of the *kampung* in the early stages of the formation of the city of Yogyakarta (Fig. 13).

The transformation of settlements from the initial *kampung* typology to the national housing system and modern housing estates did not have a large impact on the formation and the character of public space. However, nowadays, access to public spaces within modern settlements, such as roads, courtyards or gardens, is limited, and restrictions are often enforced by private security companies. The Kotabaru housing facilities that were originally reserved for Europeans are an exception to this development. All facilities, including hospitals, parks, educational and sports facilities are now public facilities and the gardens in the area and the Kotabaru Kridosono sports complex in particular are popular public spaces in the city of Yogyakarta.

Tourism

The development of public functions cannot be separated from the influence of the tourism sector. Aware of its potential, the slogan 'Yogyakarta - Never Ending Asia' was developed to promote the city to international visitors. Although still limited to some extent, Yogyakarta's Adisucipto Airport caters to international flights from Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. The promotion of the tourism sector has influenced the growth of lodging facilities and trade, and today hotels and restaurants make up the second biggest economic sector in Indonesia behind the agricultural sector (DIY BPS-data 2007). The tourism sector has also provided employment for the informal sector, such as souvenir vendors, food, transportation and tour guide services. The Malioboro Street – with its batik and souvenir traders and food stalls – is a good example of how the informal tourist sector influences the spatial arrangement of the city.

Campus

The education sector also is a major driver of the city's economy. The higher education sector, in particular, promotes economic growth and spatial change and attracts new residents. In Yogyakarta, the universities are located on the edge of the city. In 2004, Bank Indonesia recorded that the average student spent around Rp1.000.000 per month, excluding tuition fees. Thus, the total amount of money spent by students in Yogyakarta is estimated to amount to 2.8 trillion per year.⁷ Furthermore, most of the expenditure was invested in the service sector provided by the local communities, including lodgings, food stalls, photocopy and internet cafes (Fig. 14).

Figure 14 shows how a college campus can be a dominant generator of economic growth and of spatial changes in the city. Additionally, in the context of current global economic trends that impact consumption patterns and result in rapid change, students are members of the community that are rapidly absorbing those changes. One example of this can be observed in the Seturan area around the complex campuses of the UAJY, STIE YKPN, UPN Veteran and UII universities, where the past 10 years have changed the face of the region to adjust it to the demands of student consumption patterns. The original facilities such as lodging houses, food stalls and coffee shops have been enhanced by additional facilities such as laundry services, shops for printing digital photos, internet cafes, vehicle-washing services and garages, second-hand mobile-phone and netbook stores, cafes with Wi-Fi networks, and a sports stadium. A new typology of urban public space is emerging around the campus (Fig. 15).

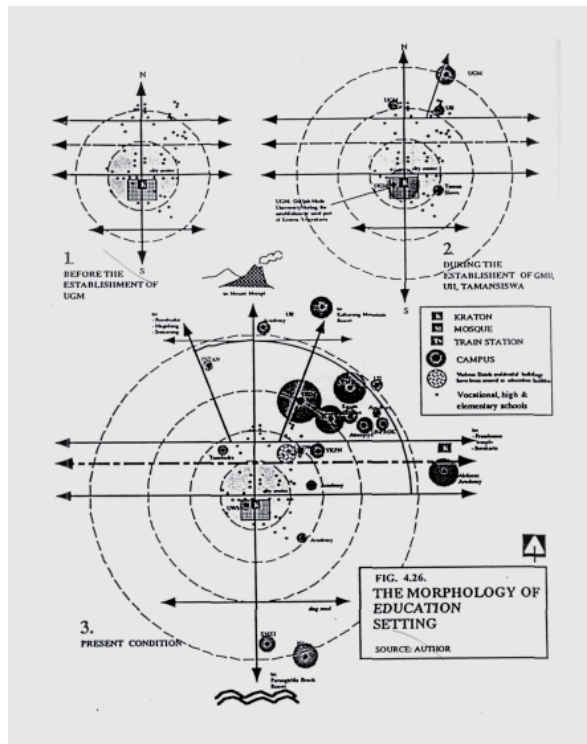


Fig. 14: Increasing number of education facilities in the Yogyakarta area. (Source: Adishakti 1997)



Fig. 15: Seturan, an area in Yogyakarta changing rapidly due to the presence of a university campus. (Source: Kompas, 19 Juli 2008)

Public Open Space

Nowadays the open spaces most actively used for public activities in Yogyakarta are:

1. *Alun-alun Lor*
2. Kilometer Zero Area
3. UGM Campus Area
4. *Taman Pintar* (Smart Park)
5. Corridor Malioboro

After more than two centuries, the *Alun-alun Lor* still features most of its original elements such as the palace, mosques, and banyan trees, although some el-

ements, such as the *Pekapalan* pavilion, have changed. Some rituals, like the *Sekaten*- or the *Grebeg*-Ritual are still maintained, mainly for the tourists, while other rituals, such as the *Pepe*-, the *Rampogan*- and the *Watangan*-Ritual, are considered not to be in line with the spirit of the present era and thus are no longer performed. The southern part of the square, where the kingdom's soldiers once trained, has now been made into a popular tourist attraction called *masangin* (entrance between two banyan trees). The square's sacred atmosphere of the past has been greatly reduced but today the square serves as a true public space. Everyone can move around freely, without the need of an awareness of the context of the past, when the square served as a symbol of unity. The use of the *Alun-alun Lor* as a parking area also confirms the absence of memories of the sanctity of the square in the past. Nevertheless, in a political context, the *Alun-alun Lor* still occupies the most important position as a public space and has been chosen repeatedly for declaring a stance in a ritual known as *Pisowanan Ageng*. The *Pisowanan Ageng* rituals take place in the northern part of the square and involve tens of thousands of citizens and the king. Thus in 1998 people gathered in the *Alun-alun Lor* to support the reform of the republic. In 2008, people gathered in the square to hear Sultan Hamengku Buwono X declare his intention to stand for the 2008 presidential election. The latest gathering in the *Alun-alun Lor* was a citizens' protest to the *Kraton* in 2010, for their right to conduct the *Pisowanan Ageng* ritual and to keep the privileged status of Yogyakarta (Fig. 16).

The area that is today known as the Kilometer Zero Area used to be a region with European character. It is surrounded by the Great House, the Sonobudoyo Museum, the Vredeburg fort, Bank Indonesia, the Post Office, National Bank Indonesia and the Indonesian Protestant Church of the West and is still characterized as a public space with European-influenced artifacts. The area features a neater structure than the town square and the activities that take place in this area are more diverse and more dynamic, and often occur spontaneously. Events and rituals that take place in this area reflect cultural and social aspects of the city. Thus, celebrations took place in this area during the Chinese New Year several years ago and groups have collected donations for the victims of the disaster of the eruption of Merapi (Fig. 17).

The *Taman Pintar* (Smart Park) is an initiative by the government of the city of Yogyakarta to provide a public space that combines the concept of urban entertainment with education. The area was developed



Fig. 16: From top down: the area around the *Alun-alun Lor*: a) Protesting citizens demanding their right to conduct the *Pisowanan Ageng* Ritual; b) *Grebeg Maulud* Ritual in 2011; c) The *Sekaten* Ritual (market and entertainment) in the North *Alun-alun*; d) Gamelan is played in the courtyard of the Great Mosque to attract visitors. (Source: survey, 2010-2011)

Fig. 17: From top down: The Kilometer Zero Area: a) Unique piggy banks to raise money for victims of the Merapi disaster; b) *Becakfenders* as decorative elements in the city, representing the existence of traditional transportation in the modern era; c) Lion dance during the carnival, representing the city's cultural pluralism; d) *Grebeg Maulud* Ritual towards the *Kepatihan*, the administrative centre of the provincial state government. (Source: survey, 2010-2011)



two decades ago and contains a cinema and a shopping- and entertainment centre, which can be accessed by the city's citizens at low cost (Fig. 18).

The campus of the Gadjah Mada University (UGM) has been used by the people of Yogyakarta City for public activities for a long time. The campus area is criss-crossed by public circulation routes which connect the campus with the city. In the 1980s and the 1990s, the Pancasila Square and the Campus Boulevard area were well known as open spaces where the city's citizens would go to exercise, as well as for their street vendors. In the past decade, the character of the space, which was originally open to the public, has changed to a more private area. Authorities require stricter campus order for security and ease of maintenance of the campus environment. Limiting the space accessible to the public generally discourages people from organizing activities around the campus area. The road in the east and west periphery of the campus and the boundary area are the only remaining public areas. Public activities occur mainly on the eastern side of the campus, including the Sunday Morning Market, known as *Sunmor*. One activity that has not changed over the past few decades is the student demonstrations, which always take place at two main points: the *Bundaran UGM* (UGM roundabout) and in front of the *Kantor Pusat* (head office/rectorate) (Fig. 19).

Conclusion

The morphology of the public space of Yogyakarta city is full of history and influences from the city's formation. A transformation process is always occurring and changes concern the physical form as well as the concept of public space itself. Some of the physical artifacts and rituals in the city's public spaces have survived to this day and have found new meaning in the context of the present era. It can be said that the public space in the city of Yogyakarta is still trying to preserve the core values that shaped its identity.

The public's attitude towards situations such as the struggle to reform the republic, the conflict with the central government policy, the desire to assert the city's cultural pluralism, the earthquakes and the eruption of Mount Merapi are clearly reflected in the city's public spaces. Rituals, carnivals, demonstrations and exhibitions are only some of the activities that take place in the public spaces of the city of Yogyakarta to express the public's attitudes towards actual conditions. In this context, the public spaces selected remain the public spaces of the traditional city: the main city square, the



Fig. 18: Taman Pintar, the city government's initiative to create new public spaces. (Source: Suyuti 2010)

Kilometer Zero or the Corridor Malioboro. In expressing their collective attitudes, the citizens of Yogyakarta are always looking for spaces that clearly reflect the city's identity. The palace, the main square, and the Malioboro Road are places with a strong character that provide a stage for the events.

On the other hand, economic globalization and information are factors which drive the formation of new typologies of public space in the city. One of the major agents for change of the city is the college campus, with dynamic young immigrants who have a thirst for new things. Therefore, new typologies of public space are springing up around the campus area. One of the most active modern urban public spaces is even located outside the administrative boundaries of the city, close to the college area at the eastern end of town. Nevertheless, this new typology of public space has not had a strong influence on the formation of urban identity. The market in these areas is dominated by national or even global brands and is in line with the wishes of consumers who want to connect themselves with the world.



Fig. 19: Sunday Morning activities: a temporary market in the campus area. (Source: survey, 2011)

A new form of public space that is clearly trying to associate itself with the identity of Yogyakarta is occupied by tourist facilities such as hotels and restaurants, whose aim is to offer a distinctive 'Yogyakarta feeling' as strongly as possible. The venues are not limited to upper class economic facilities, such as cafes or hotel restaurants. Even at the lowest economic level, the *angkringan* (street vendors) are an integral part of the unique atmosphere of Yogyakarta.

Despite these new public spaces, there needs to be a discussion as to whether the public character of the city should be oriented solely on economics. The economic character of public space results in certain limitations for the owners, since people are not free to express themselves, for example in terms of ideology, political attitudes, or ritual. Similarly, the 'allocation' of certain public spaces to certain economic classes has led to restricted access of the community as a whole.

This issue has been taken on board by the present City Government, which is focusing on a balanced development of urban public spaces that are relatively accessible to all levels of society. The government is continuing to maintain the traditional public spaces such as the town square, the Kilometer Zero, the Corridor Malioboro and the Beringharjo market. In addition, new public spaces have been created with the development of educational areas such as the *Taman Pintar*, the transformation of the old terminal into a park, the revitalization of the market and the revitalization of the open space by the riverside. The city government's design approach usually follows the paradigm of positivism and determinism and is often top-down. This approach is understandable, considering the constraints of an unprepared bureaucratic system which finds it hard to deal with public participation methods that tend to take a long time. Some of the concepts for new public spaces that tend to minimize government involvement will in future be incorporated into the distinctive identity of Yogyakarta. The pursuit of aspects of design novelties tends to be emphasized and identity is limited to decorative elements and street furniture.

The reformation of the design approach and of the management of public spaces would need to be a step-by-step process and needs to be a communal process involving, among others, all stakeholders, the palace, the government, the private sector, consultants, academics and the citizens of the city. In order to achieve a positive synergy and mutual benefits, the whole community has to be involved in the planning and the designing of the city's public spaces.



Then, the emerging character of the city will possess a strong identity, which will be expressed in public spaces. Identity is an important factor in preparing cities (and citizens) for continuing the transformation of the soul of the city at several levels in the demanding era of globalization. The identity needs to be raised from an awareness of historical and cultural context, not only by planners, but also by users. It is important to understand that user-awareness of urban public space will link the historical and the cultural contexts, which are the determining factors. Thus, planning approaches using participatory methods that include all potential users need to be considered in the future.

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- 1 This process was started during the Japanese occupation, when all Dutch schools were converted into Indonesian schools. During the years of revolution and the struggle for independence (1945-1950), there was a rapid increase of educational facilities as the government and private entities established private schools and public high schools (Khudori 2002).
- 2 In 2007, a total of 235,616 students were studying in 127 institutions for higher education (universities, institutes, high schools, colleges, and polytechnics) in the Province D.I. Yogyakarta
- 3 Setiawan (2005) recorded that 14000 housing units were constructed in 73 locations by the *Perusahaan Umum Pembangunan Perumahan Nasional* (National Housing Agency) and by 32 private developers from 1973 to 1995.
- 4 This concept had been around since the construction of the Dutch settlements in Bintaran and Kotabaru in the early 19th century, but it had been limited to the European settlers.
- 5 Examples of the housing projects of the 1970s that follow this concept include New Pogung, Housing Bull and Perumnas Condongcatur.
- 6 The concept of fenced-off housing estates with single-gate access has become a new trend in Indonesia, including Yogyakarta, since the 1990s. Some examples of housing estates that follow this concept are Mataram Bumi Sejahtera, Castle Gejayan, Kaliurang Pratt and Taman Griya Indah. The target demographics for these housing estates are the economic middle- and upper classes.
- 7 According to research carried out by the YUDP (Yogyakarta Urban Development Project) in 2001, approximately 70% of students are immigrants from outside the region of Yogyakarta.

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